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The Earliest Tocharians in China

by YU Taishan

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The discovery of the Tocharian documents, accompanied by research on the Tocharians and the geo-historical problems concerned with them, is a great event in the comparative historical linguistics field, as well as in the field of Central Asia studies. Since the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, among the excavated ancient documents in China's northwestern region, there are several documents written in hitherto unknown languages. One of these languages is "Toγrī," for a time given the name "the first language" before the current name was established.¹ The foundation on which the name was established is a colophon to the *Maitreyasamiti-nātaka* in Uigur. According to the colophon, the *Maitreyasamiti-nātaka* was translated from the Toγrī into the Türks' language. The version in the Toγrī was translated and edited by Aryač(a)ntri from Äntkäk. Since there are some manuscripts of the *Maitreyasamiti-nātaka* in the "first language" that were edited and translated by Aryač(a)ntri, the so-called first language must be Toγrī.²

Most of the Toγrī materials that have survived are Buddhist literary works that were translated from Sanskrit between A.D. 500 and 800. According to researchers, Toγrī is a branch of the Indo-European language family, and there are two dialects, A and B. Both have the same or similar basic vocabulary and grammatical construction. Dialect A was called "Toγrī" by the Uigur, but its true name was Ārśi.³ Ārśi was a transcribed term among the Türks for "Yanqi 焉耆" (Ārgi).⁴ Dialect B was called "Küsän" by the Uigur. Küsän was a transcribed term for "Qiuci 龜茲" (Kučā, Kuči) in the Turkic language.⁵

Dialect A occurred in Yanqi 焉耆, Gaochang 高昌. Dialect B was mainly used in Qiuci 龜茲, though it also appeared in Yanqi 焉耆, etc.

Some language features (e.g., the numeral 100 is respectively *känt* and *kante* in Toyri A and B, equal to *centum* in Latin language) show that Toyri is part of the *centum* group,⁶ and that its birthplace must be in Europe. The Celtic, Germanic, Greek, Baltic, and similar languages east of the Celtic region are the most closely related to it.⁷ This seems to show that the ethnic group that spoke Toyri detached itself from the Indo-European community in very early times, and that some of these people moved east into Chinese territory after a long journey.

If this version of the origins of Toyri is true, a range of questions that requires elucidation must be referred not only to linguists, but also to historians.

First, since the ethnic groups who spoke Toyri arrived in China in very early times, they must have left footprints in the Chinese historical books, no matter where their roots were. In other words, under what names do they appear in the Chinese historical books?

Second, if it is true that the early Indo-European tribes have roots deep in the West,⁸ when did these Toyri-speaking ethnic groups arrive in northwest China, and what route did they follow as they moved east?

Third, what does the name “Toyri” refer to? According to phonetic identification, it is not hard to identify it with Θογαρ, Θαγουρ-, Τοχαρ-, Tuḡār, Təḡwār, Tukhār-, or Chinese “Tuhuoluo 吐火羅.” If this is true, what were the relations between the ethnic groups who spoke Toyri and the Sacae (Sai tribes)? According to Strabo, the Tochari were a tribe of the Sacae.

Fourth, if “Toyri” is simply the same as Tochari, why did the residents in Tokharestan and other areas in which the Tochari people lived at the same time not speak the Toyri language? In particular, the main languages of the residents in the area referred to as “Tokharestan” (“former land of the state of Duhuoluo 睹貨邏” as seen in the *Datang*

Xiyuji, ch. 1) were the Iranian languages,⁹ and certainly different from the Toγrī.¹⁰ If the languages of the residents in Aqini 阿耆尼 and Quzhi 屈支 were respectively Toγrī A and B, how would we explain the language of the residents in the state of Duhuoluo 睹貨邏, since the time at which Xuanzang 玄奘 lived is not far from the date of the Toγrī documents?

Fifth, why did the Uigur call dialect A “Toγrī” since it has a true name?

Sixth, what is the relationship between the residents who spoke dialect A and B, since dialect B was called the Kūsān by the Uigur, and there are documents that were translated from the Toγrī, e.g., *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*,¹¹ that show that the two dialects are different and distinct?

Of the above-mentioned six questions, the most important is the first. To answer this question is the indispensable duty of Chinese scholars. This article outlines my thinking concerning the various problems, and the first point is the key question.

An additional challenge to our research is that Toγrī had various dialects. This must have been caused by disruptions of the ethnic groups who spoke this language. Thus it is possible that these ethnic groups appeared in history under various names. Not only did the ethnic groups speaking different dialects possibly have different names, but it is possible also that the people who spoke the same dialect had different names. In other words, some of the ethnic groups who spoke Toγrī would have had Chinese names. Therefore those groups who satisfy all the following three conditions should take precedence over all others in our quest.

Those whose names can be identified with Toγrī, Kūsān or Ārśi.

The time at which the tribal peoples emerged in the Chinese historical arena is early enough to connect them with the appearance of the Indo-European language family.

The possibility that they were Indo-Europeans in language and physical characteristics cannot be excluded.

There are three tribes, the Daxia 大夏, the Yuezhi 月氏, and the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 in the pre-Qin 秦 books and records that accord roughly with the above requirements. The following description gives information about each of the three in succession.

A¹²

1 The earliest appearance of the name “Daxia 大夏” is in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the first year of Duke Zhao 昭), where it is said that “[Yao 堯 also] removed Shichen 實沉 to [the land of the] Daxia 大夏.” Furthermore, in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the fourth year of Duke Ding 定), it is said that “The charge was given to him (Tang Shu 唐叔), as contained in the ‘Announcement of Tang 唐,’ and the ruins of Xia 夏 were assigned as the center of his state. He was to commence his government according to the principles of Xia 夏 there, but his boundaries were defined by the rules of the Rong 戎.” Daxia 大夏, or the ruins of Xia 夏 here, was possibly located in Yicheng 翼城, or Yuxiang 虞鄉, Pingyang 平陽 and Taiyuan 太原.

Further, in the “Benwei 本味” chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, it is said that someone admires “the salt of Daxia 大夏.” “Salt” here refers to that of Jiechi 解池, hence the Daxia 大夏 in this case must have been in Anyi 安邑. In the “Qince 秦策 4” of the *Zhanguoce* 戰國策 it is recorded that “Wei 魏 attacked Handan 邯鄲, and when they withdrew to the meeting at Fengze 逢澤, [their leader], riding in a carriage of the Xia 夏, proclaimed himself the king of Xia 夏. He held court as the ‘Son of Heaven’ and all the

land under heaven joined him.” Wei’s capital Anyi 安邑 was originally the ruins of Xia 夏, i.e., the ruins of Daxia 大夏.

There is also a statement that “Yu 禹 cut through Longmen 龍門 and went to Daxia 大夏” in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 6, etc. The Daxia 大夏 here must have been in E 鄂, because E 鄂 is quite close to Longmen 龍門. The *Shiben* 世本 states that Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞 “dwelt in E 鄂” because the ruins of Daxia 大夏 were also there.

The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 31, also records that “[The King Wu 武] granted to Yuzhong 虞仲, Zhouzhang’s 周章 younger brother, the former ruins of Xia 夏, which were north of Zhou 周.” The ruins of Xia 夏 were located in Dayang 大陽.

The “Daxia” or the “ruins of Xia 夏” in the above-quoted literature were the Tufang seen in the oracle inscriptions. We may regard the “*Tu* 土” [tha] of “Tufang 土方” as “*Da* 大” of “Daxia 大夏” [dat-hea], thus “*Tu*[fang] 土[方]” was a shortened form of “Daxia 大夏.” The geographical situation of the Tufang 土方 agrees with that of Daxia 大夏. Both must have been located to the northwest of Yin 殷, specifically, the southern part of Jin 晉. Both “Tang 唐” and “land of Tang 唐” as seen in the oracle inscriptions refer to Daxia. “Tang 唐” [dang] and “*Tu* 土” can be taken as different transcriptions of the same name.

The “Shangsong 商頌” section of the *Shijing* 詩經 says that “Yu 禹 came down to put the land of the Tufang 土方 in order throughout.” The “Tianwen 天問” in the *Chuci* 楚辭 also says that “Yu 禹 worked hard to build up his reputation for confidence, and came down to inspect the land of the Tufang 土方.” This shows that Yu 禹 had governed the

Tufang 土方. According to legend, Yu’s 禹 capital was Yangcheng 陽城, Pingyang 平陽, Anyi 安邑, or Jinyang 晉陽. As mentioned above, it is possible that remains of Daxia 大夏 existed in Pingyang 平陽, Anyi 安邑 and Jinyang 晉陽.

In sum, the ruins of Daxia 大夏 or Xia 夏, i.e., the remnants of the Daxia 大夏 people, existed in southern Jin 晉, specifically, Yicheng 翼城 (the present Yicheng 翼城), Yuxiang 虞鄉 (Yongji 永濟), Pingyang 平陽 (to the west of the present Linfen 臨汾), Taiyuan 太原, Anyi 安邑 (the present county of Xia 夏), E 鄂 (the present county of Xiangning 鄉寧 to the west of Linfen 臨汾), and Dayang 大陽 (the present Pinglu 平陸).

2 Later, the Daxia 大夏 people in southern Jin migrated to the Linxia 臨夏 and even the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region.

In the “Xiaokuang 小匡” chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 the words of Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 are recorded as follows: “I went west on an expedition ... and arrested the Taixia 泰夏 people, I went west on an expedition, and conquered the Flowing Sands and the Western Yu 虞.” In the “Fengshan 封禪” chapter of the same book, it is also recorded that “[Duke Huan 桓] attacked Daxia 大夏 in the west and crossed the Flowing Sands.” “Daxia 大夏” (or “Taixia 泰夏”) in the above-cited passages must have been located in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region.

In the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 4, it is recorded that King Mu 穆 of Zhou 周 (947–928 B.C.) traveled through the land of the “Xi Xia 西夏” (Western Xia 夏) when he went west on an expedition. The Western Xia 夏 can be identified with the Daxia 大夏.

The fact that the Daxia 大夏 in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region were called the “Xi Xia 西夏” (Western Xia 夏) is because the former land of the Daxia 大夏 was located farther to the east of the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region. Since the book *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳 was compiled earlier than the third century B.C., its contents can be dated to the Spring and Autumn period at the latest, the Western Xia 夏 described in it can therefore be regarded as the Daxia 大夏 who had been attacked by Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊. Furthermore, the “Guyue 古樂” chapter of the *Liushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 and so on also recorded that the Daxia 大夏 were on the only route to Mount Kunlun 崑崙 (the present Altai Mountains).

The “Mount Dunhong 敦薨” and “Dunhong 敦薨 River” recorded in the “Beishanjing 北山經” of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 must be identical with the present Qilian 祁連 Mountain and the Dang 黨 River. “Dunhong 敦薨” and “Daxia 大夏” can be regarded as different transcriptions of one and the same name. The above-mentioned mountains and river must have been named after the Daxia 大夏 people. This fact shows that the Daxia 大夏 people were at the western end of the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region. The “Dunhuang 敦煌” Prefecture [tuən-huang] established in Han 漢 times probably derived its name from Dunhong 敦薨 [tuən-xuəng].

Not only did the Daxia 大夏 (i.e., Tochari) people live in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region, but their remnants were also in the region of Linxia 臨夏 farther to the southeast. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, it is recorded that there was a county named “Daxia 大夏” in Longxi 隴西 Prefecture. In the “Heshui 河水 2” chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, ch. 2,

it is recorded: "[The Tao 洮 River] joins up with the Daxia 大夏 River on the left, ... flows northeastward, and passes south of the old seat of Daxia 大夏 County."

It seems probable that another branch of the Daxia 大夏 people had moved to the north of Jin 晉 or Hetao 河套 (the big bend of the Yellow River; Ordos) from the south of Jin 晉. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 2, it is recorded that the "Langxietai 琅邪臺 Inscription," which was engraved in the twenty-eighth year of the First Qin 秦 Emperor, Ying Zheng 嬴政 (219 B.C.), says, "All within the whole world is the territory of the Emperor, crossing the Flowing Sands in the west, ending at the Northern Gate in the south, possessing the Eastern Sea in the east, and surpassing Daxia 大夏 in the north; wherever human traces appear, all without exception swear allegiance to him." The place name "Daxia 大夏" in the inscription may well be a relic of the branch of the Daxia 大夏 people who had moved north.

The Thaguri people, Thaguri Mountains and Thogara town in the *Geography* of Ptolemy¹³ (VI, 16) must have been located in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region, which has been further confirmed by studies on the Tibetan and Khotan documents. Thaguri and Thogara can be regarded as different transcriptions of "Daxia 大夏." This shows that the Tochari people were in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region. This can be taken as supporting evidence.¹⁴

3 The source of the Daxia 大夏 people in southern Jin 晉 can be traced back to the Taotang 陶唐, namely, the tribal association that took Yao's 堯 tribe as its suzerain.

Yao 堯 was granted the land of Tang 唐 after his "attack upon the Youtang 有唐" ("Shibing 世兵" chapter of the *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子), thus he was called the Marquis of Tang

唐. Yao 堯 was known as [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 after he succeeded Ku 嚳 and ascended the throne. This is because Yao 堯 or his descendants moved around after occupying the land of Tang 唐, with the result that the places where they dwelled also received the name Tang 唐. Those who were ignorant of the facts transcribed their names as "Tang 唐" or "Tao 陶" [du], so the name of "Taotang 陶唐" may have arisen in this fashion.

"Youtang 有唐" was the name of an ancient state, which was located on the ruins of Xia 夏. The Tang 唐 people derived their name from Daxia 大夏 in the same way that the Shang 商 people derived their name from Shangqiu 商丘. It can be seen that, so far as the appellation is concerned, both "Tang 唐" [dang] and "Tao 陶" [du] were in fact shortened forms of "Daxia 大夏."

His descendants multiplied and migrated after Yao 堯 attacked the Youtang 有唐, thus remnants of the Xia 夏, i.e. the Daxia 大夏, have been found in various places in southern Jin 晉. As to the Daxia 大夏 who were in the area of E 鄂, it is quite possible that they were "the Western Xia 夏" seen in the "Shijijie 史記解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu 逸周書*. A group of the former Youtang 有唐 moved westwards to the area of present-day Xiangning 鄉寧 County, very probably because their former land had been attacked by Yao 堯. Then they were swallowed up by their eastern neighbor. The reason they were called "the Western Xia 夏" is that their land was located to the west of Daxia 大夏 in Yicheng 翼城. The so-called "Rong 戎 of Northern Tang 唐" seen in the "Wanghuijie 王會解" of the *Yi Zhoushu 逸周書* may have been the Jinyang 晉陽 of Taiyuan 太原. It is not

impossible that some of the Taotang 陶唐 people moved northwards to the area around Taiyuan 太原.

After the Taotang 陶唐 had declined and fallen, the emperor of Xia 夏 ordered the Shiwei 豕韋 whose surname was Peng 彭 to guard the land. Kongjia 孔甲 of the Xia 夏 Dynasty replaced the Shiwei 豕韋 with Liu Lei 劉累 to guard the land of Tang 唐. The Shiwei 豕韋 moved their state to Tang 唐 at the end of the Yin 殷 Dynasty. When King Cheng 成 of Zhou 周 defeated Tang 唐, they were removed to Du 杜.

Aside from those who served Xia 夏 and Shang 商, Liu Lei 劉累 and a group of his descendants set out to migrate westward or northward. There is no harm in considering that the prelude to the migration had been initiated as early as the beginning of the succession of Shun 舜.

Those who moved west, as mentioned above, and the Taotang 陶唐 who moved north were probably the Daxia 大夏 who paid a tribute of Zibai 茲白 oxen, as seen in the "Wanghuijie 王會解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書. It is also possible that the "Daxia 大夏," are juxtaposed with the "Yuezhi 月氏," who were due north of Zhou 周 as seen in the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section attached to the same chapter. Their settlement should be to the north of Jin 晉 or Hetao 河套 (Ordos) at the time described by the inscription. The "Daxia 大夏" as seen in the "Langxietai 琅邪臺 Inscription" may also have been their remnants.

4 According to the Chinese historical books, there were Daxia 大夏 in the Western Regions, in addition to the Daxia 大夏 in southern Jin 晉 and the Hexi 河西 (Gansu)

region. From the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, one can infer that the state of Daxia 大夏 in the Western Regions was located on the southern bank of the River Gui 媯 (the present Amu Darya). The Daxia 大夏 people were settled on this soil, and were conquered by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 in c. B.C. 130.

It has been suggested that the state of Daxia 大夏 that was conquered by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 must have been the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria,¹⁵ but this theory is unconvincing. According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the people of Daxia 大夏 “have no overlord or chief,” “their troops are weak and afraid of fighting,” which was not characteristic of the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. Furthermore, “Daxia 大夏” cannot be taken as a transcription of “Bactria.”¹⁶

Additional evidence is that the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria was destroyed in c. 140 B.C. In other words, the kingdom had been destroyed for about ten years when the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 moved to the valley of the Amu Darya. Therefore, the state of Daxia 大夏 that was conquered by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 cannot be identified with the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria.

From the *Geography* of Strabo¹⁷ (XI, 8) one can infer that the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria must have been destroyed by the Sacae tribes — Asii, Gasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli — who moved south from the north bank of the Syr Darya. Therefore, the Daxia 大夏 must have been the Tochari, one of the four tribes of the Sacae listed by Strabo. “Daxia 大夏” [dat-hea] may be taken as an exact transcription of “Tochari.” The Tochari people originally were also nomadic tribes, but they gradually became sedentary agriculturists after they entered the valley of the Amu Darya.

The statement in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, that the Daxia 大夏 had “no great king or chief,” probably reflects the situation whereby the various tribes of the Sacae that came into Bactria did not subordinate each other. As for Zhang Qian’s 張騫 referring to Bactria as an area that had been controlled by the various tribes of the Sakas “Daxia 大夏,” it is possibly because the Tochari people were nominal suzerains of the various tribes at that time or because the Tochari people accounted for the overwhelming majority.

Some scholars who refer to the state of Daxia 大夏 as the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria also refer to the Tochari people who destroyed that kingdom as the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, and try to match Strabo’s record about the four tribes including the Asii, Tochari, and the others taking Bactria from the Greeks with the records about the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 destroying Daxia 大夏 in the *Shiji*, ch. 123.¹⁸ In my opinion, Strabo's four tribes are all Sai 塞 tribes. There is a clear difference between the Sai 塞 tribes and the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 in Chinese historical works, and the pronunciation of “Yuezhi 月氏” does not accord with that of Tochari. This shows that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were not the Tochari people who had destroyed the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. The fact that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 destroyed the state of Daxia 大夏 was not recorded in Western historical books, just as the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria was not recorded in Chinese historical books, is very natural and not at all surprising.

It should be pointed out that Tochari is known as “Tuhuoluo 吐火羅” or “Tuhuluo 吐呼羅” and other variants, and the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, ch. 221B, identifies for the first time “Daxia 大夏” with Tochari (Tuhuoluo 吐火羅): “The Tuhuoluo 吐火羅 is also named ‘Tuhuoluo 土豁羅’ or ‘Duhuoluo 覩貨邏.’ It was known as Tuhuluo 吐呼羅 in the period

of the Yuan Wei 元魏 (Northern Wei). These people lived to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains, on the south bank of the River Wuhu 烏滸, which was the land of Daxia 大夏. ... The Da Yuezhi 大月氏 moved west, passing Dayuan 大宛, and attacked and subjugated Daxia 大夏 after their land had been seized by the Wusun 烏孫. The seat of the royal government of the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 is at the town of Jianshi 監氏. Daxia 大夏 is simply Tuhuoluo 吐火羅." The "Tuhuoluo 吐火羅" or "Daxia 大夏" here is undoubtedly "Daxia 大夏" as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, and is obviously different from Da Yuezhi 大月氏.¹⁹

The Daxia 大夏 people in the valley of the Amu Darya came from the valleys of the rivers Ili and Chu. From the *Geography* of Strabo one can infer that the four tribes of the Asii and others came from these valleys (the so-called "land of the Sai 塞" in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A). The time when the Sai 塞 tribes occupied these regions cannot be exactly known, but it was possibly as early as the twenties of the sixth century B.C., or before Darius I of the Achaemenids ascended the throne (B.C. 521).

When the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 migrated west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, they drove out the Sai 塞 tribes whom they encountered there. Thereupon, a group of the Sai 塞 tribes went south to the Pamir regions, and another group withdrew to the northern bank of the Syr Darya. The Sai 塞 tribes, including some of the Tochari people, finally crossed the Syr Darya, *via* Sogdiana, and invaded Bactria, ruled by the Greeks. They occupied the regions that were mainly located on the southern bank of the Amu Darya, which was subsequently named Tukharestan. This was probably because they continued to

suffer oppression from their powerful eastern neighbor. The state of Daxia 大夏, as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, was thereupon established.

It is possible that when a group of the Sai 塞 tribes went south to Bactria, another group of Sai 塞 tribes, mainly the Tochari, entered the Ferghāna Basin and established the state of Dayuan 大宛, as noted in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. “Dayuan 大宛” [dat-ian] can also be regarded as a different transcription of “Tochari.”²⁰ Among the Sai 塞 tribes who moved south into the Pamir regions, one group entered the northwest of the Indian subcontinent and another group went east, probably entering the oases of the Tarim Basin. Among the latter there were also Tochari people. Of the names of places and states as recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, “Qule 渠勒” [gia-lek], “Taohuai 桃槐” [do-huəi], “Quli 渠犁” [gia-lyei], “Danhuan 單桓” [duat-huan], “Duixu 兌虛” [duat-khia] and “Danqu 丹渠” [tan-gia] can all be regarded as variant transcriptions of “Tochari.”

5 The following presents some circumstantial evidence indicating that the Daxia 大夏 in the Western Regions came from the south of Jin 晉.

First, Zhang Qian 張騫 acquired information concerning the Daxia in the Western Regions, i.e., the Tochari, during his first mission to the west. The destination of Zhang Qian’s 張騫 first mission was originally the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏, which was located in the valleys of the rivers Ili and Chu. He traced the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and arrived in the valley of the Amu Darya, and it was only from this that he realized there was a state of Daxia 大夏. Zhang Qian 張騫 stayed in the land of Daxia 大夏 for more than a year, and he gained a relatively full understanding of the local climate and customs. Therefore, when he adopted the ancient term “Daxia 大夏” to refer to the state that was founded by

the Tochari people who had submitted themselves to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 at that time, it is highly unlikely that he did so only to seek an exact transcription for “Tochari.” When he referred to the Amu Darya (whose name was Vakhshu or Wakshu at that time), which was close to the state of Daxia 大夏, as the Gui 媯 River, obviously an important factor was that he had in mind that there was a Gui 媯 River in southern Jin 晉. Huangfu Mi’s 皇甫謐 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 1, says, “The Gui 媯 River flows to the west of Mount Li 歷 in Yuxiang 虞鄉 County of Hedong 河東 Prefecture.” As stated previously, according to a legend, there were ruins of Xia 夏, i.e., of Daxia 大夏, in Yuxiang 虞鄉. It is possible that Zhang Qian 張騫 was thinking of the Daxia 大夏 in southern Jin 晉, and even of Yuxiang 虞鄉, when he adopted the term “Daxia 大夏.”

Second, the aim of Zhang Qian’s 張騫 first mission to the west was to unite with the Yuezhi 月氏 and resist the Xiongnu 匈奴 together. Though he was not able to carry out this specific aim because the situation had changed, the two-way contacts between the various states in the Western Regions and Han 漢 were, nevertheless, initiated as a result of this mission, during which Zhang Qian 張騫 went through many hardships and difficulties, taking thirteen years to go there and come back. As Sima Qian 司馬遷 put it, Zhang Qian 張騫 “opened up spaces.” However, the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 20, says only that he “was sent as an envoy to Daxia 大夏, a distant and inaccessible region,” and makes no mention whatsoever of his being sent as an envoy to Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Dayuan 大宛, and Kangju. These facts are sufficient to show that particular stress was laid on the discovery of Daxia 大夏 when people of the time appraised Zhang Qian’s 張騫 mission to the west.

Such being the case, it is not at all surprising that the statement “[Marquis] Bowang 博望 (Zhang Qian 張騫), holding the tally, succeeded in Daxia 大夏” was actually adopted to sum up the life of Zhang Qian 張騫 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 100B.

The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 116, states that, after returning to his homeland, “Zhang Qian 張騫 reported to the emperor with enthusiasm that Daxia 大夏, which is located southwest of Han 漢, is eager to open relations with the Middle State and is much distressed that the Xiongnu 匈奴 are blocking the road in between. If we could find a new route from Shu 蜀 *via* the state of Shendu 身毒 (India), however, we would have a short and convenient way to reach Daxia 大夏 which would avoid the danger.” From then on the Western Han 漢 began large-scale management of the Southwestern Barbarians, and Zangke 牂牁, Yuexi 越巂, Shenli 沈黎, Wenshan 汶山, Wudu 武都 and Yizhou 益州 prefectures were set up from the sixth year of the reign-period *Yuanding* 元鼎 (114 B.C.) to the second year of the reign-period *Yuanfeng* 元封 (109 B.C.). According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the motivation for setting up the prefectures was mainly “the wish that these territories should form a link in the development of the route to Daxia 大夏.” In fact, the envoys were sent out by Emperor Wu 武 in more than ten parties “from these newly founded prefectures to reach Daxia 大夏,” but in the end did not succeed because of the obstructions of the Kunming 昆明. Emperor Wu’s 武 large-scale management of the Southwestern Barbarians, despite the unfavorable conditions at that time, was precisely because Zhang Qian 張騫 “reported to the emperor with enthusiasm.” It can be seen that Zhang Qian’s 張騫 report on Daxia 大夏 must have had a deep impact on Emperor Wu 武.

Afterward, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, "the Son of Heaven thereupon consulted Zhang Qian 張騫 several times about Daxia 大夏 and other countries." Zhang Qian 張騫 then persuaded Emperor Wu 武 to establish relations with the Wusun 烏孫. He said, "Once we are connected with the Wusun 烏孫, Daxia 大夏 and the other states to the west of them all could be persuaded to come to court and acknowledge themselves our outer subjects." As expected, the Son of Heaven approved of Zhang Qian's 張騫 proposal, and Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent as an envoy to the Wusun 烏孫. According to the same chapter, "Zhang Qian 張騫, therefore, sent deputy envoys in several directions to the states of Dayuan 大宛, Kangju 康居, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Daxia 大夏, Anxi 安息, Shendu 身毒, Yutian 于寘, Wumi 扞罽 and the adjacent states." More than one year after Zhang Qian 張騫 died, "some of the envoys whom Zhang Qian 張騫 had sent to Daxia 大夏 and other states returned with natives of those states, and after this the various states of the northwest began to have intercourse with Han 漢." Thus it can be known that Zhang Qian's 張騫 mission to Wusun was ostensibly for the purpose of combining with the Wusun 烏孫 to resist the Xiongnu 匈奴, but fundamentally was aimed at forging closer relations with Daxia 大夏. The arrival of Daxia's 大夏 envoys with the deputy envoys Zhang Qian 張騫 had sent was simply taken as an indication that the various states of the northwest had begun to have intercourse with the Han 漢.

During the reign-period *Taichu* 太初, Li Guangli 李廣利 went on a punitive expedition to Dayuan 大宛. At the beginning of the war, the Han 漢 army suffered a defeat and returned to Dunhuang 敦煌. The dukes, ministers, and councils were called

upon to deliberate policy. All wished to give up the expedition against Dayuan 大宛, but Emperor Wu 武 did not agree with them. The reason, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, was that Emperor Wu 武 thought that “[Da]yuan [大]宛 was a small state, and that if Han 漢 was unable to subdue it, states such as Daxia 大夏 would gradually come to despise Han 漢, the [supply of] the fine horses of [Da]Yuan [大]宛 would be cut off and never reach Han 漢, Wusun 烏孫 and Luntou 侖頭 could easily harass Han 漢 envoys, and he [Emperor Wu 武] would become a laughing stock among the outer states. He then brought a case against Deng Guang 鄧光 and those others who had declared that an expedition against [Da]Yuan [大]宛 would be most impractical.” Thus, he dispatched large numbers of troops once again to attack [Da]yuan [大]宛, not hesitating to make “all parts of the Empire bestir themselves in contributing offerings.” Here Emperor Wu’s primary object was still to reach Daxia 大夏.

The state of Daxia 大夏, which was thus always on the minds of the monarch and the subjects of the Western Han 漢, as mentioned above, was merely a distant state whose “soldiers are weak and afraid to fight” and which was subject to the king of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. The central area of the state of Daxia 大夏 was completely controlled by the king of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, but there were five *Xihou* 翮侯 in the eastern mountain area who did not subordinate one another. On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, these five *Xihou* 翮侯 had certain autonomous rights, and were able to “provide supplies for Han 漢 envoys,” but to invite such a state to become an “outer subject” was, after all, not very important in itself. Where, then, did the appeal of the Daxia 大夏 come from? The only

conceivable answer at present is that Zhang Qian 張騫 and Emperor Wu 武 believed that the Daxia 大夏 people had moved from southern Jin 晉, and that they were the descendants of the Taotang 陶唐. It is probably because Zhang Qian 張騫 had been personally on the scene and had studied the remnants of the Taotang 陶唐, and had reported to this effect on his return home, that Emperor Wu 武 — who craved greatness and success — looked upon the Daxia 大夏 with such tremendous enthusiasm. This fact has been lost until now, for the sole reason that Sima Qian 司馬遷 was very cautious, considering Zhang Qian's 張騫 revelations to be blather like what is in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, and did not dare to speak of them.

Thirdly, in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that “The people occupying the tracts from Dayuan 大宛 westwards as far as the state of Anxi 安息 spoke different dialects, but their manners and customs being in the main identical, they understood each other. They had deep-set eyes, and most of them wore beards, and as shrewd merchants they would haggle about the merest trifles.” The descriptive phrase “from Dayuan 大宛 westwards as far as the state of Anxi 安息,” of course, includes the state of Daxia 大夏, since in the same chapter, it is also stated that “Daxia 大夏 is more than two thousand *li* 里 to the southwest of Dayuan 大宛.” In his first mission to the west, Zhang Qian 張騫 passed through the state of Dayuan 大宛 and arrived in the land of Daxia 大夏 in person. After that, according to the same chapter, “It was from this period that the coming and going of envoys of foreign states of the northwest became more and more frequent.” In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is also recorded that the five *Xihou* 翮侯 of Daxia 大夏 even “provided

supplies for Han 漢 envoys." This shows that the Han 漢 people were relatively conversant with the situation of the state of Daxia 大夏 in the Western Regions. Therefore, we have no reason to doubt the general descriptions of the physical appearance characteristic of the Daxia 大夏 people in the Western Regions, namely, "they had deep-set eyes, and most of them wore beards."

To turn to another point, on the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 8, "Gaozu 高祖 (Liu Bang 劉邦) was a man with a prominent nose and a dragon forehead. He had a beautiful beard on his chin and cheeks." And in the eulogy of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 1, it is said that: In the *Chunqiu* 春秋, according to the Jin 晉 historian, Cai Mo 蔡墨, "when the Taotang 陶唐 had lost its power, among its descendants there was a Liu Lei 劉累 who learned to train dragons. He served Kongjia 孔甲. The Fan 范 people were his descendants." It seems clear that Liu Bang 劉邦 was a descendant of Liu Lei 劉累. If this is really the case, it seems that the statements "with a prominent nose and a dragon forehead" and "they had deep-set eyes, and most of them wore beards" are not a coincidence. In other words, the general physical appearance characteristic of the Daxia 大夏 people in the Western Regions agrees with that of Liu Bang 劉邦. This shows that the predecessors of the Daxia 大夏, i.e., the Tochari, in the Western Regions were the main tribal association to give its allegiance to Yao's 堯 tribe, probably including the former Youtang 有唐. It also seems to contribute to an understanding of Emperor Wu's 武 special interest in the state of Daxia 大夏 in the Western Regions.

Fourthly, in the "Yaodian 堯典" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 it is recorded: "Thereupon [Yao] commanded Xihe 羲和, in reverent accordance with the observation of the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate the movements and appearances of the sun, the moon, the stars." *Xihe* 羲和 was an important official position of the Taotang 陶唐. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, there was an official position named "Xihou 翺侯" [xiəp-ho], whose pronunciation approximated that of *Xihe* 羲和 [xia-huai], in the state of Daxia in the Western Regions. Since there were five *Xihou* 翺侯 in the state of Daxia 大夏, it may be possible to trace back *Xihou* 翺侯 to *Xihe* 羲和.

6 In sum, the Daxia 大夏 can be traced back to the Taotang 陶唐. Their homeland was located in southern Jin 晉. Their descendants later slowly moved away from that area. One group of them moved north to northern Hetao 河套 (Ordos), and the other moved west to the regions of Linxia 臨夏 and Hexi 河西 (Gansu). It was possibly as early as the twenties of the sixth century B.C. that a part of the Daxia 大夏 people in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region moved to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, and composed a tribal confederacy with the Asii, the Gasiani and the Sacarauli and so on, which successively arrived there, and expanded their power as far as the northern bank of the Syr Darya.

In c. B.C. 177/176, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers during their first migration to the Western Regions, and the Sai 塞 tribes, including some of the Tochari people, were driven out. A group of them withdrew to the northern bank of the Syr Darya, and another part moved south to the Pamirs. The latter crossed over the Hindu Kush or entered eastward into the Tarim Basin and occupied oases, including Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲, on the Southern and Northern Routes.

In around 177/176 B.C., the Sai tribes were forced to give up the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers because of the western migration of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. Some moved south, separated in the Pamir Regions, and then moved east and entered the oases in the Tarim Basin. About ten years later the state of Daxia 大夏 was destroyed by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 people who once more migrated west.

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1 “Yuezhi 月氏” [njiuk-tjie] is also known as “Yuzhi 禺知” [ngio-tie] and other variants. In the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 1, it is recorded: “On the day *jiawu* 甲午, the Son of Heaven crossed the steep slope of [Mount] Yu 隃; on the day *jihai* 己亥, he arrived on the vast plain of the Yanju 焉居 and the Yuzhi 禺知.” “The vast plain of the Yanju 焉居 and the Yuzhi 禺知” must lie to the northeast of the present Hetao 河套 (the big bend of the Yellow River, Ordos).

In the “Wanghuijie 王會解” chapter of the *Yizhoushu* 逸周書, the “Yuezhi 月氏” [njiuk-tjie] is listed among the tribes “due north.” Since this section was completed during the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), the Yuezhi 月氏 who paid tribute of *taotu* 騊駼 (a kind of horse) to the Zhou 周 Dynasty were probably those who lived during the Spring and Autumn period or earlier, and the location of their territory must have been the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region.

In the “Qingzhong Yi 輕重乙” chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 it is recorded: “Jade originates from the mountains near the Yuzhi 禺氏, which are a distance of seven

thousand *li* 里 from Zhou 周. The way is distant; getting there is difficult.” Identical records occur in the chapters of “Guoxu 國蓄” and elsewhere in the same book. In the “Qingzhong Jia 輕重甲” chapter of that book it is also recorded: “If what is valued at no less than one thousand pieces of gold are white jade discs, then we should be able to persuade the Yuezhi 禺氏, who are at a distance of eight thousand *li* 里, to present tribute. If clasps and earrings worth at least one thousand pieces of gold are made from *qiulin* 璆琳 (a beautiful kind of jade) or *langgan* 琅玕 (a white carnelian), then we should be able to persuade [people of the] Wastes of Kunlun 崑崙, who are at a distance of eight thousand *li* 里, to present tribute.” The mountains near the Yuzhi 禺氏 produced jade. These mountains were the so-called Wastes of Kunlun 崑崙. The Kunlun 崑崙 Wastes and the Yuezhi 禺氏 were approximately equidistant from the capital of Zhou 周. Probably because the Yuezhi 禺氏 once monopolized the jade trade, jade from there was named “jade of the Yuzhi 禺氏.” The Kunlun 崑崙 Wastes here may have referred to the Altai Mountains. Therefore, the Yuzhi 禺氏 had already expanded their power west as far as the eastern end of the Altai Mountains at the time described in the *Guanzi* 管子. The Yuzhi 禺氏 are also the Yuezhi 月氏.

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded: “Originally, the Yuezhi 月氏 dwelt between Dunhuang 敦煌 and Qilian 祁連.” “Dunhuang 敦煌” in the statement “between Dunhuang 敦煌 and Qilian 祁連” may refer to “the Dunhong 敦薨 Mountains,” the present Qilian 祁連 Mountains, and the “Qilian 祁連” (in Han 漢 times) were the present Tian 天 Mountains. From this, one can infer that the former land of the Yuezhi 月氏 lay in the

region from north of the present Qilian 祁連 Mountains to the eastern end of the present Tian 天 Mountains and the Altai Mountains. The nomadic range of the Yuezhi 月氏 is described by the pre-Qin 秦 books, and a record in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, relates that the Xiongnu’s 匈奴 “kings and generals on the Right lived in the west, and their territory extended westwards from the prefecture of Shang 上 and adjoined that of the Yuezhi 月氏, the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌.” The same chapter also records that, after *Chanyu* Modu 冒頓 “attacked the Yuezhi 月氏 and drove them away in the west, he swallowed up the territories of the Loufan 樓煩, the Bai Yang 白羊 and the Henan King 河南.” It can be seen from these records that the sphere of influence of the Yuezhi 月氏 had expanded east as far as the whole of Hetao 河套 (Ordos).

2 It is possible that the Yuezhi 月氏 (Yuzhi 禺知) were a branch of the Youyu 有虞 that came from the land of Jin 晉. The Youyu 有虞 in the land of Jin 晉 came from the land of Lu 魯.

The *Mozi* 墨子 states that “Shun 舜 farmed at Mount Li 歷, made pottery on the banks of the river, and fished at Lake Lei 雷. Yao 堯 discovered him on the sunny side of Lake Fu 服.” With regard to the geographical location of Mount Li 歷, the banks of the river and Lake Lei 雷, there is a divergence of viewpoints among the commentators from past dynasties. The main theories can be divided roughly into two groups. One group believes that they are located in Jin 晉, and the other group in Lu 魯. It is possible that these names, such as Mount Li 歷, etc., appear in both Jin 晉 and Lu 魯. A possible explanation is that “Mount Li 歷,” etc., were originally the settlements of the Youyu in Qi

齊 or Lu 魯, and because the Youyu 有虞 moved westwards to Jin 晉 from Qi 齊 or Lu 魯, similar place names appeared there. "The sunny side of Lake Fu 服" can be regarded as the first locale at which the Youyu 有虞 people who moved westwards came into contact with the Taotang 陶唐.

In the "Yaodian 堯典" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書, we learn that the bend of the Gui 媯 River where Shun 舜 dwelt after moving westwards from Lu 魯 was the land of Yu 虞. The bend of the Gui 媯 River was known as the land of Yu 虞 because it had become the settlement of the Youyu 有虞 led by Shun 舜.

Mencius called Shun 舜 "a native of the Eastern Yi 夷." According to the *Shiji* 史記, "Shun 舜 was a native of Jizhou 冀州." Combining both records, it can be seen that Shun 舜 became "a native of Jizhou 冀州" from "a native of the Eastern Yi 夷," because of leading his Youyu 有虞 people to move to Jin 晉 from Lu 魯.

3 The Youyu 有虞 may possibly have been a branch of the tribe of Zhuanxu 顓頊, which moved to Lu 魯 from Shu 蜀.

In the "Luyu 魯語 1" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, it is recorded that "The Youyu 有虞 performed the sacrifice called *di* 禘 to the Yellow Emperor and the sacrifice called *zu* 祖 to Zhuanxu 顓頊." This seems to show that the source of the Youyu 有虞 can be traced back at least to Zhuanxu 顓頊. Based on the records in the "Dixi 帝繫" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記, we can infer that the former land of Zhuanxu 顓頊 was located in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, the river presently called Yalong 雅礮, in Sichuan 四川.

Based on the records in the "Chuyu 楚語 2" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 and others, we know that it is possible that some members of Zhuaxu's 顓頊 tribe moved from the valley of the Ruo 若 River to Qionsang 窮桑 to assist Shaohao 少皞. Qionsang 窮桑, i.e., Kongsang 空桑, was situated in the north of Lu 魯.

Zhuaxu 顓頊 took "Gaoyang 高陽" as the title of his state. "Gaoyang 高陽" [ko-jiang] is a different transcription of "窮桑" [giuəm-sang] or "Kongsang 空桑" [khong-sang]. "Yu 虞" [ngiua] of "Youyu 有虞" can be understood as a shortened form of "Gaoyang 高陽" or "Kongsang 空桑"; ([k] and [ng], [kh] and [ng] can exchanged for each other respectively, a phenomenon called *pangniu* 旁紐 in ancient Chinese phonology). The Youyu 有虞 were the descendants of the Gaoyang 高陽, namely, members of the tribe of Zhuaxu 顓頊 who moved eastwards to Kongsang 空桑. In other words, "Youyu 有虞" and "Gaoyang 高陽" are in fact different transcriptions of the same name, i.e., a word referring to the tribe of Zhuaxu 顓頊 that moved eastwards. The original meanings of "Kongsang 空桑" or "Qionsang 窮桑," and even "Gaoyang 高陽" or "Yushi 虞氏" all refer to "sunrise."

Mu 幕 of Yu 虞, who is juxtaposed with Yu 禹 of Xia 夏, Qi 契 of Shang 商 and Qi 棄 of Zhou 周, as seen in the "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, was possibly the *de facto* primogenitor of the tribe of Zhuaxu 顓頊 that moved eastwards. Mu 幕 of Yu 虞 was Qiongchan 窮蟬, the son of Zhuaxu 顓頊. "Qiongchan 窮蟬" [giuəm-zjian] can be taken as a different transcription of "Qionsang 窮桑." Zhuaxu 顓頊 named his state

“Gaoyang 高陽,” and his son had the name, “Qiongchan 窮蟬,” because the tribe of Zhuanxu 顓頊 dwelt in Qionsang 窮桑 after Shaohao 少昊.

In sum, members of the tribe of Zhuanxu 顓頊 moved eastwards to Qionsang 窮桑 from the valley of the Ruo 若 River. At first they assisted Shaohao 少昊, but after they took the latter’s place the area was called “Gaoyang 高陽” (i.e., “Youyu 有虞”). “Youyu 有虞” was identical with “Gaoyang 高陽,” probably named after Mount Kongsang 空桑 in the north of Lu 魯. But as soon as “Kongsang 空桑” became the name of a geopolitical group, it would be transferred to all the places of the people’s migrations. As Shun 舜 led his tribe westwards to the bend of the Gui 媯 River in southern Jin 晉, the place name “Kongsang 空桑” was carried to the land of Jin 晉. Thereupon the bend of the Gui 媯 River was known as “the land of Yu 虞.” Thus the descendant of Taibo 太伯 who was granted “the land of Yu 虞” came to be named “Duke of Yu 虞.”

4 A part of the Youyu 有虞 slowly began to move away from the land of Jin 晉 after Shun 舜 died. One branch moved west, passing Beidi 北地 and Anding 安定, etc., and entered into the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region.

The Youyu 有虞 people living in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region (“the Western Yu 虞” as they are called in the “Xiaokuang 小匡” chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子) again moved west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers by the end of the twenties of the seventh century B.C. Some of the Daxia 大夏 people and the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 also moved there — either with the Youyu 有虞 people, or in subsequent migrations. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 5, it is recorded that, in the thirty-seventh year of Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 (623 B.C.),

“Qin 秦 attacked the king(s) of the Rong 戎 by using the stratagem of the Youyu 由余. Thus the Qin 秦 increased their lands of the twelve states, opened up territories that extended for one thousand *li* 里, and came to dominate the Western Rong 戎.” This may be the period at which the Youyu 有虞 people and others gave up the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region and moved west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.

5 The tribal association composed of the Youyu 有虞 people and the others who moved west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers was called the Issedones by Herodotus’ *History*²² (I, 201; IV, 13, 16). Of them, the Youyu 有虞 people could be the Gasiani of Strabo’s *Geography* (XI, 8), and the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Daxia 大夏 could be the Asii and the Tochari, respectively. By the end of the twenties of the sixth century B.C., the Issedones had expanded westwards as far as the northern bank of the Syr Darya, and had driven out the Massagetae who lived there. At this time the tribal association connected with the Persians, and was called the Sakā in the Behistum inscription of Darius I of Achaemenian Persia. These Sakā must have been the Sai 塞 tribes in the Chinese historical books.

The Sai 塞 tribes (the tribal association composed of the four tribes, including the Youyu 有虞 people) gave up the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers because the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 moved westwards. Some fell back to the north bank of the Syr Darya. Others moved south, split and separated in the Pamir Region. In around 140 B.C., various tribes of the Sai 塞 moved away from the northern bank of the Syr Darya in succession. One branch crossed the Amu Darya and destroyed the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. They founded the state of Daxia 大夏, as noted in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, and the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. About ten years later, the state of Daxia 大夏 that had been founded by the four

tribes of the Sai 塞 was destroyed by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who came from the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.

The Youyu 有虞 people who split and separated in the Pamir Region then moved east and entered the oases in the Tarim Basin. Here they established some small states of walled towns. The names of the states and places in the Western Regions recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, e.g. Gaochang 高昌 [ko-thjiang], Gushi 姑師 [ka(kia)-shei], Jushi 車師 [kia-shei], Qixu 危(敝)須 [khiai-sio], Qiuci 龜茲 [khiuə-tziə] and Xiuxun 休循 [xiu-ziuən], etc.; of the names of places, Juyan 車延 [kia-jian], Juyan 居延 [kia-jian] and Guishan 貴山 [giuət-shean], etc., and “Kongsang 空桑,” “Qionsang 窮桑,” “Gaoyang 高陽,” “Yushi 虞氏” and “Jiuzi 鳩茲,” etc. can all be taken as different transcriptions of the same name. “Gaochang 高昌” and “Gaoyang 高陽,” “Qiuci 龜茲” and “Jiuzi 鳩茲” form a satisfying continuity from east to west and from early to late. Some of the aforementioned names of states and places are possibly remnants left behind by the Youyu 有虞 people when they moved west by the end of the seventh century B.C.

6 It is possible that a branch of the Youyu 有虞 people moved north to Yanmen 雁門 at the same time that this branch of the Youyu 有虞 people moved west. The latter expanded their power west as far as the eastern end of the Altai Mountains, dominated both sides of the Tian 天 Mountains, and monopolized the trade of the East and West for a time. A great part of them were forced to move west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, displacing the Sai 塞 tribes who dwelt there, until they had been defeated by the Xiongnu 匈奴, a rapidly growing nomadic tribe in northern Asia, in 177/176 B.C. This part of the Yuezhi 月氏, namely, the Youyu 有虞 people, was known as “the Da Yuezhi

大月氏 (the Great Yuezhi).” The others who left their former land were known as “the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏 (the Little Yuezhi 月氏).” Around 130 B.C., the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers were defeated by the Wusun 烏孫 who were supported by the Xiongnu 匈奴. They abandoned the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, and moved west to the valley of the Amu Darya. They overthrew the state of Daxia 大夏 and settled there.

After they occupied the territory of the Daxia 大夏, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 ruled Bactra and its surrounding area directly. They controlled the eastern mountain regions by means of the so-called five Xihou 翯侯, who were originally people of the state of Daxia 大夏, who came to be used as puppets by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏.

Qiujiuque 丘就卻, the Guishuang 貴霜 Xihou 翯侯, who overthrew the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and established the Kushān kingdom, must have been a descendant of the Gasiani people, one of the Sakā tribes that invaded Bactria in ca. 140 B.C. As mentioned above, the Gasiani must have been the Youyu 有虞 people who moved west before the seventh century B.C. “Guishuang 貴霜” can be taken as a variant transcription of “Kongsang 空桑” [giuət-shiang], “Yuzhi” and “Yurzhi” etc. Therefore, the Kushān Empire, which had been very powerful in ancient Central Asia, can be assumed to have been founded by the Youyu 有虞 people who moved west.

7 The following are some additional pieces of evidence that the ancestors of the Yuezhi 月氏 can be identified with the Youyu 有虞 people.

Firstly, “Yuzhi 禺知,” “Yuzhi 禺氏,” etc. and “Yuezhi” were obviously all different transcriptions of the same name. These names and “Gaoyang 高陽,” “Qionsang 窮桑”

and “Kongsang 空桑” also were different transcriptions of the same name. “Yu 虞” [ngiua] of “Youyu 有虞” can be understood as a shortened form of “Gaoyang 高陽” or “Kongsang 空桑.” The “Dahuang Beijing 大荒北經” chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says, “... and catch it in Yu 禹 Valley,” Guo’s 郭 commentary says, “Yu 禹 Pool ...is now called Yu 虞 Pool.” This further proves that “禹” and “虞” are interchangeable.

Secondly, the migration of the Youyu 有虞 can be connected with that of the Yuezhi 月氏 (or their precursor, Yuzhi 禺知) from the point of view of both time and area, thus we can identify them as the same.

Thirdly, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, after Zhang Qian 張騫 had visited the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and had returned home, he reported to Emperor Wu 武 that the Da Yuezhi’s 大月氏 “principal city was established north of the Gui 媯 River.” The Gui 媯 River is the present Amu Darya, so it is obvious that Zhang Qian 張騫 called the Amu Darya by the name “River Gui 媯.” As mentioned above, the place of origin of the Youyu 有虞 people led by Shun 舜 was the bend of the Gui 媯 River in Jin 晉. If we believe the view presented in the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, that the father of Shun 舜, “Gusou 瞽叟, was surnamed Gui 媯,” then “the bend of the Gui 媯 River” where Shun 舜 dwelt after moving west from Lu 魯 would have been named after the surname of his father. Therefore, it must not be coincidental that the river, to which the principal town of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 (i.e., the Youyu 有虞 people) was close, was called the “Gui 媯 River” by Zhang Qian 張騫. It can thus be seen that, besides the relationship between Daxia 大夏

and the Gui 媯 River, a more important factor for Zhang Qian 張騫 when naming it was the relationship between the Youyu 有虞 people and the Gui 媯 River.

Fourthly, on the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the Yuezhi 月氏 or Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were a nomadic tribe. But there is no reference that declares the Youyu 有虞 to have been nomadic. Thus it seems impossible to identify the Youyu 有虞 with the Yuezhi 月氏 or Da Yuezhi 大月氏. However, this is not the case. If circumstances permit, ways of life and modes of production can be changed. Even though the Youyu 有虞 people may have been settlers in their former location, it is not impossible for them to have become nomadic once they began to move west, especially after they arrived in the steppes in the valleys of the rivers Ili and Chu. After reaching the valley of the Amu Darya, i.e., the Gui 媯 River, and entering the agricultural regions in Bactria, they began to give up nomadism. They settled down again, owing to relatively stable surroundings. On the basis of historical records, Shun 舜 led the Youyu 有虞 people first to farm, fish and make pottery, and finally to form villages, towns, and cities. This seems to indicate that the Youyu 有虞 people before Shun 舜 who had no villages, towns and cities had once led a nomadic way of life. In addition, it is not reasonable to assume that there was no possibility of the Youyu 有虞 people after Shun 舜 having been nomadic. In other words, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the tribes of the Youyu 有虞 people who moved north or west were those who had always lived as nomads.

All in all, it seems clear that the ancestors of the Yuezhi 月氏 (Yuzhi 禺知) themselves, the precursors of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, were a branch of the Youyu 有虞 people. They moved to Lu 魯 from Shu 蜀, and then moved to Jin 晉 from Lu 魯.

Afterward they began to move away from the land of Jin 晉. One branch, passing Beidi 北地 and Anding 安定, entered into the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region. This branch moved west to the valleys of the rivers of Ili and Chu by the end of the twenties of the seventh century B.C. Some of the Daxia 大夏 people and the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 also moved there. The tribal association composed of the aforementioned Youyu 有虞 people and the others there was called the Issedones by Herodotus. The Issedones had expanded westwards as far as the right bank of the Syr Darya. After that, they were called "Sakās" by the Persians. A part of the Sakā people, including the Youyu 有虞 people, giving up the valleys of the rivers Ili and Chu, fell back to the north bank of the Syr Darya while others moved south, split and separated in the Pamir Regions, and went eastward into the Tarim Basin, where they occupied oases, including Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲, on the Southern and Northern Routes, because the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 moved westwards.

Another branch of the Youyu 有虞 people moved north to Yanmen 雁門. By the twenties of the third century B.C. at the latest, this branch of the Youyu 有虞 people had moved west and expanded their power as far as the eastern end of the Altai Mountains, and monopolized the trade of the East and West for a time. A great part of them were not forced to move west to the valleys of the rivers Ili and Chu, displacing the Sai 塞 tribes who dwelt there, until they were defeated by the Xiongnu 匈奴 in 177/176 B.C. This part of the Yuezhi 月氏 was known as "the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 (the Great Yuezhi 大月氏)." The others who left the former land were known as the "the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏 (the Little Yuezhi 月氏)." Around 130 B.C., the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were defeated by the Wusun 烏孫. They abandoned the valleys of the rivers Ili and Chu, moved west to the

valley of the Amu Darya, and overthrew the state of Daxia 大夏 that was founded by the Sakā people who had entered there *c.* ten years earlier.

C²³

1 The earliest appearance of the name “Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓” is in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. They originally dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州. Those who moved inward to the land of Yin 陰 were known as the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰. The settlement of the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 in Guazhou 瓜州 was known as Luhun 陸渾, so the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 who moved inward were called the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾. A place known as Luhun 陸渾 existed in the land of Yin 陰. Since the land of Yin 陰 belonged to Jiuzhou 九州, the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 were a part of the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州.

It is very possible that Guazhou 瓜州 was to be found in the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River, in the Pingliang 平涼-Guyuan 固原 area. “Guazhou 瓜州” [koa-tjie] can be taken as a different transcription of “Yuezhi 月氏” [njuik-tjie] or “Yuzhi 禺知” [ngio-tie]. The original settlement of the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 was called “Guazhou 瓜州” as a result of its conquest by the Yuezhi 月氏.

The Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 were forcibly driven away by Qin 秦. Some were subjugated by Qin 秦 and were removed to Yichuan 伊川 by Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉. It is possible that there was also a group who moved to the west of Guazhou 瓜州.

2 The "Xiyuzhuan 西域傳" (M memoir on the Western Regions) of the *Hanshu* 漢書, cited by Xun Ji's 荀濟 "Lun Fojiao Biao 論佛教表" (Memorial on Buddhism) in the "Bianhuo 辨惑" chapter of the *Guang Hongmingji* 廣弘明集 states: "The Sai 塞 tribes were originally the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 who dwelt in Dunhuang 燉煌 for generations, and then moved to the south of Congling 葱嶺 (the Pamir Regions) as a result of their being forcibly driven off by the Yuezhi 月氏."²⁴ Here Xun Ji 荀濟 connected the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 with the Sai 塞 tribes. The above-cited reference of the *Hanshu* 漢書 does not appear in the present *Hanshu*, so this identification may be only a conjecture of Xun Ji 荀濟, but the possibility does exist that the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 belonged to the Sakā tribes.

The so-called "Sai 塞 tribes" are the "Sakā," as they were called by the Persians. Their precursors were the Issedones described in the *History* of Herodotus. By the end of the seventh century B.C. the Issedones had already lived in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, i.e., "the land of Sai 塞" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. The Issedones had expanded westwards as far as the right bank of the Syr Darya. After that, they were called "Sakās" by the Persians. "Sakā" was actually a general term for the nomadic tribes on the northern bank of the Syr Darya.

The Sai 塞 consisted mainly of four tribes: the Asii, the Gasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli. The Isse[dones] were in fact the Asii of the four tribes ("don" may be a suffix for place, since it also subsequently occurs in the Osset language). At that time, as described by Herodotus, the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers could have been the location of the settlement of the four tribes. Thus "Issedones" was actually the name of a tribal

association. That the tribal association was known as “Issedones” may be because the Asii achieved a dominant position within it.

The above-mentioned Duke Mu’s 穆 opening up of territories could have caused the western migration of the various barbarians. Of these, the Wushi 烏氏 (i.e., the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓) had left Guazhou 瓜州 and the area to its west and moved farther west to the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu at that time. The time tallies exactly with the time at which the Issedones appeared in the valleys of the rivers Ili and Chu, as recorded in the *History of Herodotus*.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, there was a place called “Eshi 惡師” [a-shei] in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, which can be regarded as a different transcription of “Isse[dones]” of Herodotus. This is also evidence that the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 had occupied the land of Sai 塞. “Yunxing 允姓” [jiuən-sieng] can be regarded as a variant transcription of “Isse[dones]” or “Asii.”

3 The westward movement of the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 (the Asii) to the land of Sai 塞 from Guazhou 瓜州 can be traced step by step as follows:

In the thirteenth year of Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉 (638 B.C.), that is to say, around the time at which the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 羌 moved inwards, it is possible that a part of the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 moved to what later became Jincheng 金城 Prefecture. Place names such as “Yunwu 允吾” and “Yunjie 允街,” etc., as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, were all their remnants. In addition, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, it is recorded that there was the “Great Valley Yun 允” within Jincheng 金城 Prefecture. It received its name because the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 had dwelt there.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 55, there was a Mount Yanzhi 焉支 in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture ("Yanzhi 焉支" is noted as "Yanqi 焉耆" in the same book, ch. 94). "Yanzhi(qi) 焉支[耆]" [ian-tjie (tjiei)] can be regarded as a different transcription of "Yunxing 允姓" or "Asii." This shows that the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 who moved west left some of their tribal members behind when they passed over the mountain.

It is undoubtedly wrong for Du Lin 杜林 to have identified Guazhou 瓜州 with Dunhuang 敦煌. However, it seems that Du Lin 杜林 would not have hastily concluded that Guazhou 瓜州 was in Dunhuang 敦煌 only because Dunhuang 敦煌 produced good melons. Du Lin 杜林 had reached the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region in person, it is quite possible that he there discovered the traces of the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and thus concluded that the ancient Guazhou 瓜州 must have been there. This shows that the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 had passed through and lingered there when they moved west.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61, it is recorded that the Wusun 烏孫 "originally had lived with the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 between the Qilian 祁連 and Dunhuang 敦煌 (i.e., Dunhuang 敦煌) [Mountains], and they had been a small state." In my opinion, "Qilian 祁連" here refers to the present Tian 天 Mountains, and "Dunhuang 敦煌" to the present Qilian 祁連 Mountains. At the time described by the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61, i.e., before 177/176 B.C., the settlement of the Wusun 烏孫 was between the Tian 天 and Qilian 祁連 mountains. Since "Wusun 烏孫" [a-siuən] can be regarded as a different transcription of "Yunxing 允姓" or "Asii," it seems acceptable to consider that the Wusun 烏孫 were the tribal people

whom the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 left between the Tian 天 and Qianlian 祁連 mountains when they moved to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.

4 The Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were defeated by *Chanyu* 單于 Modun 冒頓 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 and, giving up their former land, moved west in 177/176 B.C. The Da Yuezhi's 大月氏 attack forced the Sai 塞 tribes (in fact the tribal association composed of the Asii, the Gasiani, and the Tochari, etc.) to give up "the land of Sai 塞." A part of the Sai 塞 tribes fell back to the northern bank of the Syr Darya. Some Asii among them moved farther west to north of the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea. They formed the state of Yancai 奄蔡 [iam-tsai] as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch.123, i.e., the Aorsi of Western literature. Another group of Asii, together with the other three tribes, invaded the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. Still another part of the Sai 塞 tribes moved south to the Pamir regions from the land of Sai 塞. Of these, a group entered the northwest of the subcontinent and another group moved east, entered the Tarim Basin, and founded some small states in the oases along the Southern and Northern Routes in the Western Regions. Of the names of the states of walled towns as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, "Wensu 溫宿" [uen-siuet], "Wulei 烏壘" [a-liuei], "Yanqi 焉耆," "Wucha 烏秣" [a-deai] and "Yixun 伊循" [iei-zuən], etc., all can be regarded as different transcriptions of "Yunxing 允姓" or "Asii." This shows that the earlier pioneers of these oases could have been the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓, i.e., the Asii people.

It merits attention that "Yanqi 焉耆" is noted as Argi in Kharoṣṭhī documents, and as Ark in Medieval Persian documents. The phonetic identification of Argi, Ark, "Yuanqu 員渠" [hiuən-gia], the name of the seat of its king's government, and "Yunge 允格" [jiuən-

keak], the ancestor of the Yunxing, is very clear. If one considers that “Long 龍” [liong], the royal surname of the state of Yanqi 焉耆, can be regarded as a shortened transcription of “Luhun 陸渾” [liuk-huən], its source will become even more clear.

5 The Yunxing 允姓 were the descendants of Yunge 允格 (“Yunxing 允姓”; “Yunge 允格” can be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name. [k] can be palatalized to [s]). The Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 were the descendants of Shaohao 少昊, i.e., the lord of Jintian 金天. Of the sons of the Yellow Emperor, there were two Qingyang 青陽. One was surnamed Ji 己, and the other, Ji 姬. The former was Xuanxiao 玄囂, and the latter was Shaohao 少昊. The Qingyang 青陽 by the surname of Ji 己 came down and dwelt in the valley of the Di 氾 River; the one who came down and dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River was Changyi 昌意. There had been a state of Yunxing 允姓 in the valley of the Ruo 若 River before Changyi 昌意 came to dwell there. This shows that Shaohao 少昊 dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River earlier than Changyi 昌意. The valley of the Ruo 若 River therefore must be the earliest settlement of Shaohao 少昊. According to the legend, Yunge 允格, the son of Shaohao 少昊, dwelt at Ruo 都. Yunge’s 允格 son had the surname Ruo 都. It is quite clear that the place was named Ruo 都 because Shaohao 少昊 had dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River.

On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, the seat of the king’s government of the state of Wusun 烏孫 was the town of Chigu 赤谷 (Red Valley). The “Shi Caibo 釋采帛” chapter of the *Shiming* 釋名 (Vol. 4) says, “*Chi* 赤 means red as fire, the color of the Sun.”

We can also note, in the *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記, ch. 2, that it is recorded that “In the fourth year of the reign period *Jianwu* 建武, the fifth month, on the day of *jiashen* 甲申, Yang 陽, the crown prince, was born. His head, with a plump chin, was pointed, and his face, red as fire, was like that of Yao 堯. The Emperor named him Yang 陽, because his face’s color was red as fire.” Therefore, Chigu 赤谷 is the Valley of the Sun. And the *Shizi* 尸子, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 3, states, “Shaohao 少昊, i.e., the lord of the Jintian 金天, founded his settlement at Qionsang 窮桑. The sun shone five colors upon Qionsang 窮桑.” The “Yaodian 堯典” chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 says that “He (Yao 堯) separately commanded Xizhong 羲仲 to reside at Yuyi 嵎夷, in what was called Yanggu 暘谷 (Bright Valley).” In the *Pseudo-Kong’s* 孔 *Commentaries*, it is said that “The lands of the eastern border are called Yuyi 嵎夷. Yang 暘 means bright. The sun rises from the valley making the land under heaven bright, thus it is called Bright Valley. The Bright Valley and Yuyi 嵎夷 refer to the same place. Xizhong 羲仲 was the direction of the East.” “Qionsang 窮桑” and “Yuyi 嵎夷” [ngio-jiei] can thus be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name. Qionsang 窮桑, where Shaohao 少昊, i.e., the lord of the Jintian, founded his settlement, was Yanggu 暘谷 (Bright Valley), i.e., the Valley of the Sun.

The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, recounts the legend regarding the Wusun’s 烏孫 primogenitor, and says, “The king of the Wusun 烏孫 was styled *Kunmo* 昆莫, and the *Kunmo*’s 昆莫 father was [chief of] a petty state on the western borders of the Xiongnu 匈奴. The Xiongnu 匈奴 attacked and killed his father, and the *Kunmo* 昆莫, at his birth, was

cast away in the wilderness, where meat was brought to him by a raven and a she-wolf nursed him with her milk." This shows that the legend of the Wusun's 烏孫 primogenitor has something to do with a raven. The name "Wusun 烏孫" was derived from this legend of their primogenitor. "Wusun 烏孫" means "grandsons (or descendants) of the raven." The statement that "meat was brought to him by a raven" and so on shows that the raven was a bird that procured food.

According to the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the seventeenth year of Duke Zhao 昭), Shaohao 少皞 named his officers after birds, which shows that the legend of the Jintian's 金天 primogenitor is closely related to birds. Of them, "Green-bird," the "Master of the Opening," i.e., Canggeng 倉庚 was also known as the raven with three feet, the supernatural bird that procured food for Xi Wangmu 西王母. The "Shuori 說日" chapter of Wang Chong's 王充 *Lunheng* 論衡 states, "There is a raven with three feet in the sun." The "Jingshenxun 精神訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 says, "There is a *dun* 踰 raven in the sun." Gao's 高 commentary says, "*Dun* 踰 means to squat. A squatting raven is a raven with three feet." The *Chunqiu Yuanmingbao* 春秋元命包, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 3, says, "The positive numbers start with one, and are accomplished by two, thus there is a raven with three feet." The seat of the king's government of the state of Wusun 烏孫 was named "Chigu 赤谷," which means "Red Valley." This shows that the Wusun 烏孫 people adored the sun, and also that the raven with three feet relates to worship of the sun.

From this, it can be seen that the legends of both the primogenitors of the Wusun 烏孫 and the Jintian 金天 are interrelated. The so-called “Wusun 烏孫,” in actuality, are the descendants of the Blue-green Bird, i.e., the raven with three feet.

The “Dahuang Nanjing 大荒南經” chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says, “There is a land of Xihe 羲和.” The *Qishi* 啓筮, cited by Guo’s 郭 commentary, states, “The son of Xihe 羲和, who had risen from the Bright Valley, was there.” Since the Bright Valley, from which the son of Xihe 羲和 had risen, can be identified with the Red Valley, “Xihou 翺侯” (the name of an official in the state of Wusun 烏孫) can be regarded as a different transcription of “Xihe 羲和.”

6 To sum up, the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 originally dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州 (in the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River). They moved to the west of Guazhou, because of being forcibly driven away by Qin 秦. A great part of them, together with some Daxia 大夏 and Yuzhi 禺知 people, arrived in the valleys of Ili and Chu rivers and composed a tribal confederacy towards the end of the seventh century B.C. at the latest, because Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 opened up new territories. Of these, the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 probably played the role of suzerains, and thus this confederacy was called the Issedones by Herodotus. They had expanded westwards as far as the northern bank of the Syr Darya, and were called Sakā by the Persians. The remainder, who were left behind between the Qilian 祁連 and Tian 天 Mountains, when they moved west developed into the Wusun 烏孫 tribe, and those who moved west further to the north of the Aral and Caspian seas were the Yancai 奄蔡.

The Issedones gave up the valleys of the rivers Ili and Chu because the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 moved westward. Some fell back to the north bank of the Syr Darya. The others moved south to the Pamir Region, one group entering the northwestern Indian subcontinent and another going east, probably entering the oases of the Tarim Basin, including Yanqi 焉耆 and others.

The Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 were the descendants of Yunge 允格, and Yunge 允格 was the descendant of Shaohao 少昊. Zhuanxu 顓頊, ancestor of the Youyu 有虞 people, was born in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, because Changyi 昌意, the father of Zhuanxu 顓頊 dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若, which was originally the settlement of Shaohao 少昊. There had been a state of Yunxing 允姓 in the valley of the Ruo 若 River before Changyi 昌意 came and dwelt there. The state must have been established by Shaohao 少昊. Afterwards Zhuanxu 顓頊 moved east to Lu 魯 to assist Shaohao. All this shows that the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 are closely related to the Youyu 有虞 people. It is possible that both originally belonged to the same tribe, but they were located at different places due to their moving in separate groups. The names "Yunxing 允姓" and "Yushi 虞氏," "Wusun 烏孫" and "Yueshi 月氏," "Asii" and "Gasiani," "Yanqi 焉耆" and "Qiuci 龜茲," and so on, all came from the same origin, though they represented respectively different political or tribal entities.

D

On the origin of the ethnic group that spoke the Toyri language, many hypotheses have been put forward by scholars. Of these, the most reasonable seems to be that it came from the Middle East. This hypothesis suggests that the precursor of the ethnic group must have been the Guti, a name that appears in some documents in cuneiform characters. The closing *-i* is part of the name, for the Akkadian case-endings are added to it: nom. *Gutium* etc. The Guti came from the hills of Western Persia. They descended upon Narâm-Sin, the ruler of Babylonia, and dominated the whole of Babylonia for *c.* 100 years. The time of the Guti rule centers around the year 2100 B.C. There is also a tribe whose name, Tukriš, appears in some documents in cuneiform characters. The sibilant at the end of the name is presumably an indigenous case-ending, so that it is actually *Tukri*. Their settlements adjoined the Guti territory in the east or southeast. The dates of the Guti and Tukri settlements are earlier than that of the Hittites in Asia Minor. Both the Guti and the Tukri left the west of Persia together before the end of the third millennium B.C. They arrived in China after covering a great deal of ground. Some of their tribes settled in permanent habitations; others clung to the nomadic life. The latter is the Yuezhi 月氏, seen in the Chinese historical books subsequently. "Yuezhi 月氏" is a transcription of "Guti." The name "Tuhuoluo 吐火羅" comes from *Tukri*.²⁵

The above theory is based on the hypothesis that the Indo-European people came from the Near and Middle East. This theory is explored in depth because it is fundamental to understanding the research findings on the Toyri language.²⁶

The following demonstrates the points of coherence between this theory and the study on the Daxia 大夏, and the the Yuezhi 月氏 (Yuzhi 禺知).

1 Name: The *Guti* and the *Tukri*, two brother nations, may have set out from Persia together in the distant past. These two groups fused in the course of the centuries into a new whole, that could claim either this or that name. In my opinion, since the *Guti* and the *Tukri* can be identified with Yuezhi 月氏 and Daxia 大夏 respectively, one can consider that either the ethnic group that spoke the Toyrī language had been divided into two branches early on, before they left Persia, or the Toyrī language had formed two dialects during this period.

It has been suggested that speakers of the Toyrī (Tokharian) languages in the Chinese historical books appear under the name "Yuezhi 月氏." They were not recorded under the name "Tochari" in historical materials in various languages until they moved west when they were driven out by the Xiongnu 匈奴. Or to be more exact, after the Yuezhi 月氏 moved to the valley of the Amu Darya, "Indians, Persians, Sogdians, Greeks — everybody called the *Yüe-chih* by this new name, and Bactria itself came to be known as *Taxāristān* 'land of the Tokharians.' It is as if that nation had changed its name on the way, had left the fringes of China as *Yüe-chih* and arrived in Bactria as Tokharians."²⁷ However, this is not true: *Toxāristān* has a corresponding name in the Chinese historical books, that is, "Daxia 大夏." As mentioned above, the Yuezhi 月氏 established their state in the valley of the Amu Darya after they conquered the state of Daxia 大夏. To be sure, the Yuezhi 月氏 are different from the Daxia 大夏. In other words, the *Guti* and the *Turki* went their separate ways for a long time.

2 Time: It is generally believed that the date of Yu 禹 is around B.C. 2100 (Chinese academia takes the year B.C. 2070 as the first year of the Xia 夏 Dynasty.). Thus the date for the Youyu 有虞, Taotang 陶唐 and Zhuanxu 顓頊 must be earlier than Yu 禹. Based on Western historical materials, it is suggested that the *Guti* and *Tukri* were defeated in

Babylon and left the west of Persia to embark on travel east as early as the close of the third millennium B.C. However, we can assume that the date that they embarked on travel east is slightly earlier than this. In other words, the possibility that they had embarked on travel east before they entered into the west of Persia cannot be ruled out. If this is true, the time that the Guti and the Tukri moved east can be linked with the time at which the Taotang 陶唐 and Youyu 有虞 appeared.

3 The route of movement: the Guti and the Tukri (or at least part of them) first arrived in the present Sichuan 四川 region, which is the origin of Zhuanxu 顓頊, the primogenitor of the Youyu 有虞 people.

It is very obvious there are some relationships between the highly developed bronze civilization of Sanxingdui 三星堆 and the civilization in the Near and Middle East. At least, from the culture complex that includes such characteristics as, e.g., bronze statues, the Magic Tree, tokens, golden masks, we can infer that intercourse between the Ba-Shu 巴-蜀 region and the civilization in the Near East has existed since at least the fourteenth or fifteenth century B.C.²⁸ Of these, it is particularly worth noting the Magic Tree, which must have been the Ruo 若 tree.²⁹ It was said that the former land of Zhuanxu 顓頊 was located in the valley of the Ruo 若 River (the present Yalong 雅礮 River).³⁰ As we know, the Ruo tree was on the Ruo River.

We cannot be sure that the possessors of the Sanxingdui 三星堆 culture were an ethnic group that spoke the Toyri language, but the possibility that intercourse between the Ba-Shu 巴蜀 region and the Near and Middle East still exists.

4 The relationship between the Taotang 陶唐 and the Youyu 有虞, i.e. the Guti and the Tukri who moved east, was very close.

First, in the “Luyu 魯語 1” chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is recorded that the Youyu 有虞 “performed the sacrifice called *jiao* 郊 to Yao 堯 and the sacrifice called *zong* 宗 to Shun 舜.” In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the eighteenth year of Duke Wen 文) it is recorded that “Shun 舜 became Yao’s 堯 minister, ... when Yao 堯 died, all under heaven, as if they had been one man, with common consent recognized Shun 舜 as the Son of Heaven.” This shows that Shun 舜, the lord of the Youyu 有虞, succeeded Yao 堯 and ascended the throne. Both Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 came down in one continuous line of succession.

According to the *Mozi* 墨子 and the *Guoyu* 國語, etc., Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹, Tang 湯, Wen 文 and Wu 武 can be called the sage kings of the four dynasties. Since Yu 禹, Tang 湯, Wen 文 and Wu 武 undoubtedly belonged to the three dynasties of Xia 夏, Shang 商 and Zhou 周, both Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 must have belonged to the dynasty of Yu 虞. This is because the system of Qingyang 青陽 from which Yao 堯 originated, and the system of Changyi 昌意 from which Zhuanxu 顓頊 originated developed independently for a time but became connected later. According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1, “Emperor Zhuanxu’s 顓頊 son was named Qiongchan 窮蟬. After Zhuanxu 顓頊 died, Xuanxiao’s 玄囂 son, Gaoxin 高辛, ascended the throne. Gaoxin 高辛 was Emperor Ku 嚳.” It is just possible that the “Zhuanxu 顓頊” here, who was succeeded by Emperor Ku 嚳, was from the aforesaid branch that moved east to Qionsang 窮桑. Xuanxiao’s 玄囂 grandson took the place of Changyi’s 昌意 descendants, but did not change the “title of his state,” namely, the symbol of the geopolitical group which had developed around a certain consanguineous nucleus. Furthermore, “Gaoxin 高辛” [ko-sien], like “Gaoyang 高陽,” can

also be regarded as a different transcription of “Kongsang 空桑,” “Qionsang 窮桑” or “Yuyi 嵎夷.”

Since “Qionsang 窮桑,” “Gaoyang 高陽” and “Gaoxin 高辛” were in fact different transcriptions of the same name, it is not unreasonable to consider that Yao 堯, Emperor Ku’s 嚳 successor, also succeeded to the same title of state. The ancient pronunciations of “yao 堯” [ngyə] and “yu 虞” [ngiua] were approximately the same, and there is no harm in taking “Yao 堯” to be a different transcription of “Gaoyang 高陽” and “Gaoxin 高辛,” etc. Thus it is very possible that “Yao 堯” was also the title of his state for a time. Since what Yao 堯 had succeeded to was the land under heaven of Shaohao 少昊 and Zhuanxu 顓頊, rather than referring to Yao 堯 as the emperor of Yu 虞, it is better to consider that Shun 舜 was known as “lord of the Youyu 有虞” because he adopted the state title that Yao 堯 had adopted. Yao 堯 was known as the successor of Shaohao 少昊 (the lord of the Qionsang 窮桑), Zhuanxu 顓頊 (the lord of the Gaoyang 高陽), and Emperor Ku 嚳 (the lord of the Gaoxin 高辛), and was thus naturally an emperor of Yu 虞. Shun 舜 led his tribe to Jin 晉 from Lu 魯 after Yao’s 堯 tribe had moved west. Shun 舜 was thus possibly one of the officials who went “to Tang 唐.”

Second, there are records that Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 went west on an expedition, arrested the Tai(Da)xia 泰[大]夏 people, and conquered the Western Yu(Wu) 虞[吳] in both the *Guanzi* 管子 and *Guoyu* 國語. The event can be placed between the late sixties and fifties of the seventh century B.C. Duke Huan arrested the Daxia 大夏 people and

conquered the Western Yu 虞 from the front and rear, which seems to show that the two were almost interdependent.

Third, in around 140 B.C., large numbers of the Sakās crossed the Syr Darya and moved south. A group of them entered Ferghāna and another group, Bactria. The latter destroyed the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. The states they founded were respectively noted as Dayuan 大宛 and Daxia 大夏 in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. It is remarkable that the name of the state of Dayuan 大宛 was a transcription of "Tochari," but the name of its capital was "Guishan 貴山," which was a transcription of "Gasiani"; and there were the Guishuang 貴霜 (Gasiani) in the state of Daxia 大夏. These also show the close relationship of the descendants of the Guti and the Tukri.

A part of the Guti and Tukri who moved east went their separate ways, and thus the fact that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 moved west and conquered the Daxia 大夏. However, this cannot disavow the relationship between the two that existed previously.

5 Language: the primary evidence that identifies the Yuezhi 大月氏 and Daxia 大夏 with the Guti and Tukri who moved east must be linguistic data. Unfortunately there is no prospect of evidence being excavated in this respect at least for now, owing to the following three reasons:

First, the records on the Yuezhi 月氏 and Daxia 大夏 in the Chinese historical books are grossly deficient. The achievements of their precursors, the Youtang 有唐 (Taotang 陶唐) and the Youyu 有虞, are given as colorful legends, and therefore linguistic data for study must be the more scarce, as it is sometimes very difficult to discern between the true and the false. It is particularly important that there are no relevant records that can be attributed to the Yuezhi 月氏 or Daxia 大夏 themselves. This has added to our difficulties.

Second, neither the Daxia 大夏 or Yuezhi 月氏 could have remained purely of one blood during their migration and development, and a racial mixing would appear. The Yuezhi 月氏, who became increasingly strong, subjugated many tribes, all of which were very likely to call themselves or be called the Yuezhi 月氏 people. Thus Yuezhi 月氏 became actually the name of a tribal association. It seems to be inevitable that the same thing took place with the Daxia 大夏. There were Daxia 大夏 people in the millions in the valley of the Amu Darya, and it seems likely that their race had already blended with others. This also causes obstacles to exploring their language today.

Third, it is certain that the Guti and the Tukri had contact with ethnic groups that spoke various languages during their migration, and their own expressions and words would have been affected by these diverse denizens. Since they practiced exogamy, this phenomenon would have become even more pronounced. Some of the Guti and the Tukri might even have given up their own mother tongues, and used other languages. In other words, the syngenetic tribes would speak different languages.

Because of this, we can neither discover absolute evidence that the Yuezhi 月氏 and Daxia 大夏 spoke the Toχri language nor discover tangible counterevidence. Let us therefore take a step back and choose an approximate criterion: we will search words concerning the Yuezhi 月氏 and the Daxia 大夏 etc., and see if they can be explained by using the Toχri language. Following many attempts of scholars, such words, though few, have been discovered:

First of all, those words shared by Yuezhi 月氏, the Daxia 大夏 and other tribes, that can be explained by using the Toχri language. Of such words there seems to be just one: *Xihou* 翮侯 (A *yapoy*, B *ype*).

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is clearly recorded that “there are five Xihou 翺侯 in the state of Daxia 大夏.” In the “Yaodian 堯典” chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 it is recorded that *Xihe* 羲和 was an important official position of the Taotang 陶唐. Since the pronunciation of “Xihou 翺侯” [xiəp-ho] approximated that of *Xihe* 羲和 [xia-huai], both should have come from the same origin.

There is no direct record that the Yuezhi 月氏 had the title Xihou 翺侯, but the five Xihou 翺侯 in the state of Daxia 大夏 were subject to the Yuezhi 月氏. This shows that the Yuezhi 月氏 approbated the title of “Xihou 翺侯.” In addition, one of the five Xihou 翺侯 was the Guishuang 貴霜 Xihou 翺侯. The Guishuang 貴霜 must have been the Gasiani who entered into the valley of the Amu Darya. The Gasiani and the Yuezhi 月氏 came from the same origin.

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the Wusun 烏孫 also had the title Xihou 翺侯. As previously stated, the Wusun 烏孫 must have had something to do with the ethnic group that spoke the Toyri language.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70, the Kangju 康居 also had the title Xihou 翺侯. Since the Kangju 康居 people must have spoken a kind of Sakā language, it is possible that they had the title Xihou 翺侯 because of the influence of the Tochari or the Gasiani when they were a Sakā tribe.

Next are those words relating to the Yuezhi 月氏 and the Daxia 大夏, and so on, respectively: e.g. “ruoju 若苴” (A *ñākci*, B *ñākc(i)ye*) (see the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 20) and “Qilian 祁連” (A *klyom*, B *klyomo*) (see the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123) relate to the Yuezhi 月

氏.³¹ “mi 靡” (see the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123) that relates to Wusun 烏孫.³² And “jueli 爵離” (see the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47) that relates to Yanqi 焉耆, “Queli 雀離” (see the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, ch. 2) and “zhaohuli 昭怙釐” (see the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 1) that relates to Qiuci 龜茲, all can be taken as a transliteration for *cakir*, a word of the Toçrı language.³³ If these words can be explained by using the Toçrı language, as scholars have said, they will bolster the conclusion that the Yuezhi 月氏, Daxia 大夏 and related groups spoke the Toçrı language.

The third is those words that appear in Archaic Chinese during the period when the Yuezhi 月氏, etc., moved to the north of China, and can be explained by using the Toçrı language. For example, “gou 狗 (dog)” [*koo , kəu] (A *ku*) and “wang 壘 (plenilune)” [*maŋs, mǎn-] (A *mañ*), etc.³⁴ If the Yuezhi 月氏 and Daxia 大夏, etc., all belong to the ethnic group that spoke the Toçrı language, they must be the main origin of these Toçrı words in Archaic Chinese.

Thus, it is not difficult to explain what caused Toçrı B to be called the Kūsän language. Toçrı B was originally the Guti language, and the Qiuci 龜茲 people were a branch of the Guti. The Qiuci 龜茲 people had retained their primordial language for a longer period owing to reasons not entirely clear at present.

As for the fact that there is no Toçrı literature in the valley of the Amu Darya and other regions where the Guti and the Tukri and their descendants may have stayed during their migration, and there is evidence to show that those who were reputed to be descendants of the Guti and the Tukri spoke non-Toçrı languages, this is because they had deserted their own language and used the languages of the aboriginal peoples.

E

The following is a statement of the relations between the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the ethnic group that spoke the Toḡrī language; the emphases are to explain why the autonym of Toḡrī A is Ārśi.

1 Relations between the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 (Asii) and Daxia 大夏 (Tochari):

There are relics of both the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Daxia 大夏 in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region. However, there is no evidence to show that the two tribes had already contacted each other in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region. We know that as late as the late 750s B.C. the Daxia 大夏 people had lived in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region. The earliest possible date at which the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 could have left their former land in Guazhou 瓜州 may be the beginning of the 730s B.C., and the date at which they arrived in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region may be the late 720s B.C.

The Daxia 大夏 people left the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region probably because they were under the influence of the chain reaction created by the western migrations of the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and so on. The Daxia 大夏 were possibly pushed out by the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 who arrived soon after in the valley of the rivers Ili and Chu, and became one of the components of the tribal association known as "Sakā" afterwards. To consider that the Daxia 大夏 had been conquered by the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 in the valley of the rivers Ili and Chu, not only because the Sai 塞 tribes were identified with the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 in the Chinese historical books, but also because Herodotus only made

mention of the Isse[dones], i.e., the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓, when he recorded the tribes that were active in the valley of the rivers Ili and Chu, known as "land of the Sai 塞" by the end of the seventh century B.C.; it is out of question that the Daxia 大夏 and the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 were active simultaneously in the valley of the rivers Ili and Chu.

In the "Memoir on the Western Regions" cited by Xun Ji 荀濟, it is recorded that the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 "dwelt in Dunhuang 燉煌 for generations." It is possible that ancient Guazhou 瓜州 was wrongly identified with Dunhuang 敦煌 at that time; in fact the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 who moved into the "land of Sai 塞" came from the upper reaches of the Jing River. But when we consider that "Dunhuang 敦煌" may have been named after Dunhong 敦薨 and is a different transcription of Tochari, the long relationship between the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Daxia 大夏 found in the legend that they "dwelt in Dunhuang 燉煌 for generations" is worth considering.

In c. 140 B.C. the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Daxia 大夏 together crossed over the Syr Darya and invaded the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. Trogus Prologues states, the Asiani (Asii) who occupied Bactria were "the kings of the Tochari." (XLII)³⁵ This shows that there is no change in the Yunxing 允姓's predominant situation at that point. But Zhang Qian 張騫, who arrived in the valley of the Amu Darya in B.C. 129, knew only the Daxia 大夏 and did not know the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓. It is very possible that the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓, as suzerain, were the first to bear the brunt of the attack by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, were severely wounded, and thus disappeared from the scene.

Whereas the name of the Daxia 大夏 was more conspicuous, because they had a large population.

Of the Asii who left "the land of Sai 塞," moved south through the Pamir region, and then entered the oases around the Tarim Basin, there were also some who maintained contact with the Tochari people. A good example is the state of Yanqi 焉耆. The name of the state was "Yanqi 焉耆," and the seat of the king's government was "Yuanqu 員渠." "Yanqi 焉耆" and "Yuanqu 員渠" were both remnants of the Asii people. However, "Dunhong 敦薨" and the names of the mountains and rivers around the state, were the remnants of the Tochari. It is possible that the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 were still the suzerains of the Daxia 大夏 people in the state of Yanqi 焉耆.

As mentioned above, the relationship between the Yunxing 允姓 and the Daxia 大夏 was one of subjugation (the latter being subject to the former). The following seems to be an exception. The Qiang 羌 of Ruo 婁, as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, were found everywhere along the Southern Road of the Western Regions. A group of them, i.e., the state of Ruoqiang 婁羌, was isolated in the southwest of the Yang 陽 Barrier. As noted in the same chapter, "its king is entitled Quhulai 去胡來 (abandoner of the nomads who went over to the king)." It has long been suggested that "Quhulai 去胡來" must be a different transcription of "Tochari."³⁶ And the Qiang 羌 of Ruo 婁 can be regarded as being of mixed descent from the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Qiang 羌 people. Yunge 允格 was granted Ruo 婁; his son was surnamed Ruo 婁. Thus the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 can traced back to the son of Yunge 允格. Since 婁 could be identified with 婁, the Qiang 羌

of Ruo 婼 were in fact the Qiang 羌 of Ruo 鄯. As mentioned above, there were remnants of both the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Daxia 大夏 in Linxia 臨夏. The Qiang 羌 people also frequented this area. From Linxia 臨夏 one could go west and reach the Western Regions along the southern foot of the Qilain 祁連 Mountains. It may not be a coincidence that there was a tribe called the Qiang 羌 of Ruo 婼, whose suzerain was the Daxia 大夏 people, to the southwest of the Yang 陽 Barrier.

2 The relations between the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Yuezhi 月氏:

First, Shaohao 少昊, the ancestor of the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓, dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River. Zhuanxu 顓頊, the ancestor of the Youyu 有虞, was born in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, and moved east to Qionsang 窮桑 in the north of Lu 魯 to assist Shaohao 少昊 afterwards. From this, it can be seen that there was a rather close relationship between the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Youyu 有虞 (precursor of the Yuezhi 月氏).

Second, according to the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, Mu 穆, the Son of Heaven, passed "the vast plain of the Yanju 焉居 and the Yuzhi 禺知" on his westward journey. "Yanju 焉居" can be taken to be a different transcription of "Yunxing," indicating a somewhat close relationship between the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Yuzhi 禺知.

Third, the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Yuzhi 禺知 together moved to the valley of the rivers Ili and Chu, and became one of the components of the Issedones recorded by Herododotus. Afterwards both together went west to the north bank of the Syr Darya, and invaded Bactria from there.

Fourth, the Wusun 烏孫 and Yuezhi 月氏 lived in Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region and the area to its west. Both had got on very well before the Xiongnu 匈奴 became powerful and drove out the Yuezhi 月氏. This is in conformity with their historical origins.

Fifth, the names “Qiuci 龜茲” and “Yuzhi 禺知,” “Yuezhi 月氏” have the same origin, but in the *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義, it is recorded: “[Quzhi 屈支] was also called ... Wusun 烏孫 and Wulei 烏壘.” The name “Wusun 烏孫” was used here, because there were Asii in the state, but the Wusun 烏孫 people were not necessarily there. The people had only heard the pronunciation of the name, but had not known the actual situation, so they adopted the name of “Wusun 烏孫,” which had a special connotation.

Sixth, “Suoju 莎車 (Sacarauli)” was called “Qusha 渠莎 (Gasiani)” in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, and “Wusha 烏澗 (Asii)” in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 12. This also explains the same problem.

Several states and tribes all came from the same origin: The state of Yunxing 允姓 that had occupied the valley of the Ruo 若 River before Changyi 昌意 came down and dwelt there, the tribe of Shaohao 少昊 that moved east to Qionsang 窮桑 from the valley of the Ruo 若 River, the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 as the descendants of Shaohao 少昊 and the Asii, i.e., the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 who moved west and became a part of the Sai 塞 tribes and scattered and lived in the Western Regions. However, they must have developed differences in language, customs, and physical characteristics, due to their different experiences. Yet, they must have the same origin, given the special relationships

between the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Youyu 有虞, and the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and the Daxia 大夏.

Based on these facts, one may infer that the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 and their branches belong to the ethnic group that spoke the Toḡrī language. The Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 were the ruling clan of the Tochari on many occasions. This can explain why the autonym of Toḡrī B is "Ārśi."

Finally, there are some points that need clarification: "Qionsang 窮桑" (the title of Shaohao 少昊) and "Yunxing 允姓" were different transcriptions of the same name, and "Gaoyang 高陽" (the title of Zhuanxu 顓頊, the ancestor of the Youyu 有虞, who were the precursors of the Yuezhi 月氏) and "Yushi 虞氏" or "Yuezhi 月氏" were different transcriptions of the same name. Therefore, "Yuezhi 月氏" and "Yunxing 允姓" and so on were also different transcriptions of the same name. Thus, it is difficult to know from which of these two the names of places, tribes, and states similar to "Yuezhi 月氏" or "Yunxing 允姓," etc., in the Hexi 河西 (Gansu) region and even the Western Regions were derived, from the Yuezhi 月氏 or from the Yunxing 允姓. In addition, the Gasiani and Asii (Asiani), as seen in the Western sources, who belonged to the Sakā tribes, can of course be identified with the Yuezhi 月氏 and the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 respectively. But there is also no harm in considering the Gasiani to be possibly the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓, and the Asii to be the Yuezhi 月氏. Hopefully, future research will produce more conclusive answers.

F

The following are some complementary observations:

1 Except for the above-mentioned dialect A and B of the Tocharian, it is suggested that the language of the aboriginal peoples in the state of Loulan-Shanshan 樓蘭-鄯善, i.e., the Gāndhārī language, contains many Tocharian elements, e.g., absence of voiced stops, lack of aspirated consonants and absence of spirants. These characteristics are shared with the Tocharian. In other words, the inhabitants of the state of Loulan-Shanshan 樓蘭-鄯善 spoke Tocharian with a little difference; one can think of Tocharian as a third dialect.³⁷

If this is true, the time of the Tocharian documents appears to be much earlier in the Tarim Basin. The problem is, what is the relationship between the inhabitants of the state of Loulan-Shanshan 樓蘭-鄯善 and the above-mentioned ethnic group that spoke Tocharian A and B?

As we know, "Loulan 樓蘭" is the Chinese translation of Kroraimna (Krorayina) as seen in the Kharoṣṭhī documents. The state of Loulan 樓蘭 was renamed "Shanshan 鄯善" afterwards, and the purpose is obviously to cause the state of Loulan 樓蘭 to support the Han 漢 Dynasty and oppose the Xiongnu 匈奴, and to give up evil and return to good. However, it is just possible that the name "Shanshan 鄯善" is a translation that was meant to consider both pronunciation and acceptability. In other words, essentially, "Shanshan 鄯善" is the Chinese transcription of a name that could be accepted by the Loulan 樓蘭 people. Judging strictly from the surface signification of these two characters, they convey the meaning "returning to good." The original name of "Shanshan 鄯善" may be the title of an important clan or royal family.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, the state of Jingjue 精絕 lay to the west of the state of Shanshan 鄯善, and the state of Ronglu 戎盧 lay to the south of Jingjue 精絕. “Jingjue 精絕” [dzieng-dziuat] can be taken as a different transliteration of “Shanshan,” and “Ronglu” [njuəm-la] can be taken as a different transliteration of “Loulan 樓蘭.” This shows that the Kroramna people had entered into both the Jingju 精絕 and Ronglu 戎盧 regions.

Also, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, there was a town whose name was Zhenzhong 楨中 in the state of Shule 疏勒. The town must have been the state of Zhenzhong 楨中 that was located on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, as seen in the “Memoir on the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilue* 魏略. “Zhenzhong 楨中” and “Shanshan 鄯善,” “Jingjue 精絕,” and so on can be taken as different transliterations of the same name. This may be a trace indicating that the people of Kroramna lived there.

In addition, the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 12, records that there was a town named Helaoluojia 曷勞落迦 in the north of the state of Jusadanna 瞿薩旦那, to the west of the town of Pimo 媲摩. “Helaoluojia 曷勞落迦” [hat-lô-lak-keai] and “Loulan 樓蘭” (Kroraimna) are obviously different transcriptions of the same name.

The Kroramna people entered not only the Southern Route but also Northern Route. The evidence is the following:

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that Dan Qin 但欽, the Protector General, garrisoned at the town of Lielou 埒婁 in the second year of the Shijianguo 始建國 reign period of Wang Mang 王莽. The geographical location of the town of Lielou 埒婁 is unknown, but it is certainly located within the state of Qiuci 龜茲. “Leilou 埒婁” can be

taken as a different transcription of "Loulan 樓蘭." "Luntai 輪臺" [liuən-də], the name of a small state that was located in the vicinity of Qiuci 龜茲, as seen in the same chapter (i.e. "Luntou 侖頭" [liuən-do] in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123), also can be taken as a different transcription of "Loulan."

Furthermore, in the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 15, it is recorded that "there is a cantus of Shanshan Moni 善善摩尼" in the Qiuci 龜茲 music division. In the *Wukong Ruzhuji* 悟空入竺記 it is recorded that "there are Mount Qianjian 前踐 and the Qianjian 前踐 Temple in the Anxi 安西."³⁸ "Anxi 安西" refers to the seat of government of the Protector General which was located at the capital of the state of Qiuci 龜茲. The Qianjian 前踐 Temple refers to the present Simsim Thousand-Buddha Caves. "Shanshan 善善" [zjian-zjian], "Qianjian 前踐" [dzian-dzian] and "Shanshan 鄯善" [zjian-zjian] can be taken as the different transcriptions of the same name.

The fact that these place names — "Leilou 埒婁," "Luntai 輪台," "Qianjian 前踐" and "Shanshan 善善" — all appeared in the state of Qiuci 龜茲 or its neighborhood shows that a branch of the Kroraimna people had arrived in the Qiuci 龜茲 area.

The Kroraimna and the Sacarauli, one of four tribes who destroyed the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria described in the *Geography* of Strabo (XI, 8), came from the same origin. Sacarauli can be taken as a textual corruption for Sakā [K]rauli. And Krauli also can be taken as a short transcription of Krorai[m]na. In other words, Kroraimna is a mistaken short transcription of Sakā Krorai[m]na.³⁹

If it is true that the Loulan-Shanshan 樓蘭-鄯善 people are the Sacarauli, it would readily explain why the Gāndhārī language contains many Tocharian elements.

It is possible that the Sacarauli lived in the state of Loulan-Shanshan 樓蘭-鄯善 together with three other tribes: the Tochari, the Gasiani and the Asii entered into the Southern Route in the Western Regions. The date must be after the Sai 塞 tribes were driven out of the “land of Sai 塞” by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and moved south to the Cong 葱 Mountains (the Pamir region) in B.C. 177/176. The Sacarauli lived with the other three tribes of the Sai 塞 race for a long time before that in the valley of the rivers Ili and Chu, and it can be inferred that they had come into contact with each other. It is unavoidable that the Sacaraulis’ language was influenced by the Tocharian whatever their ancestor language was. (It may have been the eastern dialect of Old Iranian.) But it is not hard to imagine that the language of the Sacarauli who alone lived in the state of Loulan-Shanshan 樓蘭-鄯善 developed an unique Gāndhārī language taking Brāhmī script as a vehicle, and containing many Tocharian elements under the influence of the Kushan Empire.

2 It is suggested that *twγry* as seen in the Uygur colophons cannot be identified phonetically with *'tyw'r'k* as seen in a Sogdian “list of nations” (*nāfnāmak*), which was used to indicate the Tokharians. This *twγry* roughly corresponds to “Four-Twγry” (*ctβ'r twγr'k*) as seen in the Sogdian *Karabalgasun Inscription*⁴⁰ and in the colophons of the Turkish Manichæan texts⁴¹ and a Manichæan hymn in Middle Persian⁴². “Four-Twγry” was comprised of Bišbaliq, Qočo and so on.⁴³

In my opinion, this theory would be too mechanical. If “Four-Twγry” was really comprised of Bišbaliq, Qočo and so on, it would be probably because the above-mentioned places all were occupied by the Tochari people in the time described in the *Karabalgasun Inscription* and so on. As for the fact that *twγry* cannot be identified phonetically with *'tyw'r'k* as seen in the Sogdian “list of nations,” probably that is because the translator did not know the context, or the translator did it intentionally to differentiate

the different political or geographic entities. Both these cases can be seen many times in passages on the names of states and tribes in the ancient Chinese historical books; the Sogdian documents may be no exception.

Besides, in fact, “Four-Twγry” was only used to indicate one place, i.e., Yanqi 焉耆, and not the above-mentioned places.⁴⁴

3 In 1980 Л. Ю. Тугушева, a scholar of Soviet Russia, published “A Fragment of the Uigur Version of *Xuanzang’s Life*, Vol. 5,” 16 pages in all, corresponding to the Chinese *Dacienshi Sanzangfashizhuan*, from the end of Vol. 5 to the end of the book, 270 Chinese characters.⁴⁵ This relates Xuanzang’s 玄奘 return journey to Chang’an from Tashkurghan. A large part of over thirty place names involved are in the present Xinjiang 新疆 region. It is most noteworthy that the Uigur people translated the “former country of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏” recorded by Xuanzang 玄奘 into Toyri. It is suggested that the last word has not yet been said on the “former country of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏.” The country must have been founded by the Yuezhi 月氏 when, passing to the west of Ruoqiang 婁羌, they moved southwest from Dunhuang 敦煌, thus “Toyri” in the Uigur version refers to the Yuezhi 月氏.⁴⁶

We should note that, in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 12, it is recorded that “Going on 400 *li* or so we arrive at the former country of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏” from east of the town of Nirang 尼壤. The name “Duhuoluo 覩貨邏” also appears in the same book, ch. 1:

Passing through the Iron Gates (90 km from the present Shahr-i Sabz) we arrive at the former land of the Duhuoluo 覩貨邏 (formerly written by mistake Tuhuoluo

吐火羅). This country, from north to south, is about 1,000 *li* 里 or so in extent, from east to west 3,000 *li* 里 or so. On the east it is bounded by the Cong 葱 Mountains (Pamirs), on the west it touches on Bolasi 波刺斯 (Persia), on the south are the great Snowy Mountains (Hindu Kush), on the north the Iron Gates. The great river Fuchu 縛芻 (Amu Darya) flows through the midst of this country in a westerly direction.

The so-called “former land of the state of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏” was assuredly Tokharestan as seen in the Western historical books. Thus the “Duhuoluo 覩貨邏” in the *Daciensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, Vol. 5, must have been “Tukhāra.”

According to the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, ch. 198, the great desert that was to the east of Yutian 于闐 is called “Tulun 圖倫 Desert,” and “Tulun 圖倫” [da-liuən] also may be taken as a transcription of “Tochari.” From this, we know that the Tochari people also lived between Yutian 于闐 and Qiemu 且末. As mentioned above, it is possible that the Tochari people entered the Southern and Northern Routes in the Western Regions after the Sai 塞 tribes were driven out of the valley of the Ili and Chu rivers.

The Uigur translated the “former country of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏” of Xuanzang 玄奘 into “Toyri,” which shows that “Toyri” was precisely the equivalent of “Tukhāra (Tochari)” in the Uigur language, and there are no other possible explanations. It need not be said that this does not indicate that the Toyri language was spoken widely in the “former land of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏” to the east of the town of Nirang 尼壤, when the *Xuanzang's* 玄奘 *Life* was translated into the Uigur version.

4 In the *Xitian Lujing* 西天路竟 (Dunhuang document S. 383) it is recorded that "To the west one reaches the state of Gaochang 高昌 after one day's journey. Also, going on 1,000 *li* 里 one arrives at the state of Yuezhi 月氏, also 1,000 *li* 里, the state of Qiuci 龜茲."47 "Yuezhi 月氏" here certainly denotes "Yanqi 焉耆."48

Why was Yanqi 焉耆 called "Yuezhi 月氏" at the beginning of the Song 宋 Dynasty? In the past it is believed that this was caused by incorrect copying. In fact there are also at least the following possibilities:

First, the old pronunciations of "Yuezhi 月氏" and "Yanqi 焉耆" were very close, thus it was easy to mix them up.

Second, "Yanqi 焉耆" took its name from the Asii, one of the four tribes of the Sakās. But it is possible that the other tribes (including the Tochari and the Gasiani) entered into the oasis simultaneously or successively. As previously stated, the mountains and rivers around the state of Yanqi 焉耆 bore the name of the Tochari, which shows that there were Tochari people at the oasis. The fact that "Yanqi 焉耆" was called "Yuezhi 月氏" shows that the "Yuezhi 月氏," i.e., the Gasiani people, showed themselves for a period in the time described by the *Xitian Lujing* 西天路竟.

Third, there was a close relationship between the Yanqi 焉耆 and the precursor of the Yuezhi 月氏. It is possible that there were Gasiani among the Asii in the Yanqi 焉耆 oasis. As soon as the place was controlled by the Gasiani people, Yanqi 焉耆 would be called "Yuezhi 月氏."

The *Xitian Lujing* 西天路竟 had been written at the beginning of the Song 宋 Dynasty, which is a long time from the date of foundation of the Yanqi 焉耆 state. It is therefore very difficult to infer what could have happened in the meantime.

5 There is a record called “Doukaluo 兜𠵼羅 (the Little Yuezhi 月氏)” in the *Dazhidu Lun* 大智度論 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra- āstra*), vol. 25, translated by Kumārajīva (344–413).⁴⁹ According to the date of Kumārajīva, “Little Yuezhi 月氏” here refers to the Kidarite Kushans who occupied Tukhārestān.

“Duokaluo 兜𠵼羅” certainly refers to Tukhārestān, which was mainly located on the southern bank of Amu Darya. In the fifth century A.D., or at the time Kumārajīva still lived, the Kidarite Kushans lived there. The Kushans were known as “Great Yuezhi 月氏” for many reasons and it is not surprising that Kidarites were called “Yuezhi 月氏” by Kumārajīva since the Kidarites identified themselves as Kushans. The reason that “Yuezhi 月氏” was crowned with “little” may have been to distinguish it from the “Great Yuezhi 月氏” before that time, i.e., the great Kushan state that had united the south and north of the Hindu Kush.

It should be pointed out also that the Kidarite Kushans were identified as the “state of Great Yueshi 月氏” in the “Memoir of the Western Regions” of the *Weishu* 魏書.

The state of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏: its capital is located at the town of Lujianshi 盧監氏 to the west of Fudisha 弗敵沙, and it is distant by 14,500 *li* 里 from Dai 代. In the north it adjoins the [territory] of the Ruru 蠕蠕. They were often invaded by the Ruru 蠕蠕, [so that] subsequently they moved their capital west to

the town of Boluo 薄羅, which is distant by 2,100 *li* 里 from Fudisha 弗敵沙. Its king Jiduoluo 寄多羅, who was brave and warlike, thereupon raised an army, crossed the great mountains and, going southwards, invaded Northern Tianzhu 天竺. The five states north of Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅 all became subject to him.

The sphere of influence of Kidarite Kushan as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions) included the south and north of the Hindu Kush Mountains, which can generally be matched with the land of the Great Kushan State at its height in the second century A.D. Since Kidarite Kushan was the successor of the Great Kushan State, the *Weishu* 魏書 called it the “state of Great Yuezhi 月氏.” But Kumārajīva was too late to know that its king Jiduoluo 寄多羅 “raised an army, crossed the great mountains and, going southwards, invaded Northern Tianzhu 天竺. The five states north of Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅 all became subject to him.” He knew only that the Kidarite’s “capital is located at the town of Lujianshi 盧監氏,” and he thus called it “Little Yuezhi 月氏.”

There is a “state of the Little Yuzhi 月氏” in the “Memoir of the Western Regions” of the *Weishu* 魏書:

The state of the Little Yuezhi 小月氏: its capital is located at the town of Fulousha 富樓沙. Its king was originally a son of the king of Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Jiduoluo 寄多羅. When Jiduoluo 寄多羅 had moved west under pressure of the Xiongnu 匈奴, he ordered his son to hold this town; hence they are called the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏. [Its capital] is located to the southwest of Bolu 波路, and is distant

by 15,600 *li* 里 from Dai 代. They formerly lived in the region between Xiping 西平 and Zhangye 張掖, and in their way of clothing they considerably resemble the Qiang 羌. As to their customs, they have money made of gold and silver, and they move around following their herds of cattle — [in this respect] they also resemble the Xiongnu 匈奴.

“Little Yuezhi 月氏” here must refer to the remaining forces of the Kidarite Kushan that were entrenched at Fulousha after the king, Kidāra, had been driven out of Tūkhārestān by the “Xiongnu 匈奴,” i.e., Yeda 嚙噠 (Hephthalites), and migrated west. For the editor of the *Weishu* 魏書, this situation was a little like the record in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were driven off by the Xiongnu 匈奴 and went far away, and “the remaining small group who were unable to leave sought protection among the Qiang 羌 tribes of the Southern Mountains and were termed the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏.” Thus this editor called the Kidarites “the state of the Little Yuezhi 月氏.”⁵⁰ The date when the Hephthalites entered into Tūkhārestān must have been after 437 A.D. Therefore, the “Little Yuezhi 月氏” recorded by Kumārajīva is unrelated to the “Little Yuezhi 月氏” in the *Weishu* 魏書.

NOTES

¹ Cf. Leumann1900; Geng2001, esp. 174–175.

² Müller1907.

³ Sieg1918.

⁴ Wang1998(1). Of all studies about this problem, this article is the most capable of getting to the core of the matter. Also, cf. HuangS2002(2), esp. 216–221.

⁵ Müller1907; Müller1931; Haneda1958.

⁶ Sieg1908.

⁷ There are many articles that study the position of Tocharian in linguistics, for example, Adams1984, and so on.

⁸ There are many arguments on the origin of the primitive Indo-European family and the Tochari people. Cf. XuW2005.

⁹ In the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 1, it is recorded that in "The state of Aqini 阿耆尼 (Angi) ...the written character is, with few differences, like that of India." "The state of Quzhi 屈支 (Kucha)The style of writing is Indian, with some differences." Also it is recorded that "The state of Duhuoluo 睹貨邏 (Tokhāra) Their language differs somewhat from that of other countries. The number of radical letters in their language is twenty-five; by combining these they express all objects around them. Their writing is across the page, and they read from left to right. Their literary records have increased gradually, and exceed those of the people of Suli 率利 (Sogdiana)." See Beal1994 (II), pp. 18, 19, 38.

¹⁰ Henning1960.

¹¹ Müller1931. In 1958, W. Winter and A. V. Gabain published a bilingual Manichæan hymn in Tokharian B and Uygur (No. U 103 T III D 260, 19; 260, 30). In this text, Kūsän is definitely used to refer to Tokharian B. See Gabain1958, p. 15. For the studies concerned, see Иванов1959. Also, cf. Geng2003.

¹² For a detailed textual analysis of the Daxia and their precursors, the Taotang 陶唐, see Yu2000, pp. 1–36; Yu1992, pp. 24–51.

¹³ Stevensen1932.

¹⁴ Cf. Yu2009, pp. 145–164.

¹⁵ For example: Gutschmid1888, p. 32; Tarn1951, pp. 283–287.

¹⁶ Narain1957, p. 181.

¹⁷ Jones1916.

¹⁸ Of the scholars who hold to this theory, the earliest is Richthofen1877 (p. 439). Tarn1951, pp. 283–287, seems to hold a similar view.

¹⁹ Wang1998(2).

²⁰ There is evidence to show that the Dayuan 大宛 people also spoke the Tokharian language; see Pulleyblank1966.

²¹ For detailed textual research on the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and their precursors, the Youyu 有虞, see Yu2000, pp. 37–65; Yu1998, pp. 47–66.

²² Grene1987.

- ²³ For detailed textual research on the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓, see Yu2000, pp. 67–97, 150–156; Yu1998, pp. 1–17, 119–129. “Yunxing zhi Rong 允姓之戎” should not be translated into “the Rong 戎 of the surname of Yun 允,” but “the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓”.
- ²⁴ It is recorded in the *Guanghongming Ji* 廣弘明集 (An enlarged collection of miscellaneous writings on the propagation and illustration of the teaching of Buddha, collected by Dao Xuan), Vol. 7. See TSD Book 52, No. 2103: 0129a21.
- ²⁵ Henning1978.
- ²⁶ Гамкрелидзе1989. This paper inherits and develops Henning’s theory.
- ²⁷ Henning1978.
- ²⁸ Duan1993.
- ²⁹ XuZ2002, pp. 205–228.
- ³⁰ Cf. Li1994. Also, "Ruo 若 River" is cited as "Ruo 弱 River" by the *Yuhai* 玉海, vol. 103. It is mentioned here only for reference.
- ³¹ Lin1998.
- ³² Cf. Pulleyblank1966, Pulleyblank1962, Samolin1958 and Henning1978.
- ³³ Pelliot1934; Boodberg1936, esp. 290–291; Pulleyblank1963, esp. 206–207.
- ³⁴ Zhou2002, pp. 190, 364–365. Cf. Pulleyblank1995.
- ³⁵ This is cited from Tarn1951, p. 286; Narain1962, p. 162.
- ³⁶ See HuangW1989.
- ³⁷ Burrow1935; Bailey1937.
- ³⁸ TSD Book 51, No. 2089: 0980c19.
- ³⁹ For detailed textual research on the name of the Shanshan 鄯善 state and the origin of the Shanshan 鄯善 people, see Yu2003.
- ⁴⁰ Hansen1930, esp. 20.
- ⁴¹ Le Coq1912, esp. 417.
- ⁴² Müller1904, esp. 351.
- ⁴³ Henning1938.
- ⁴⁴ HuangS2002(2), esp. 209–216.
- ⁴⁵ Тугушева1980.
- ⁴⁶ HuangS2002(3).
- ⁴⁷ See *Ying Cang Dunhuang Wenxian (Hanwen Fojing yiwai Bufen)* 英藏敦煌文獻 (漢文佛經以外部份) [Dunhuang Manuscripts in British Collections (Chinese Texts Other than Buddhist Scriptures)], Vol. 1, (Sichuan 四川) People’s Publishing House, Chengdu. 1990), p. 170.
- ⁴⁸ HuangS2002(1).
- ⁴⁹ TSD Book 25, No. 1509: 0243a09.
- ⁵⁰ Yu1986, pp. 66–75.

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