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CHINA IN CENTRAL ASIA

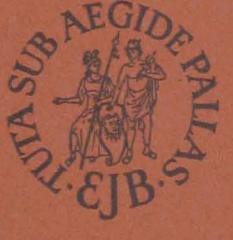
THE EARLY STAGE: 125 B.C.–A.D. 23

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF CHAPTERS 61 AND 96
OF THE HISTORY OF THE FORMER HAN DYNASTY

BY

A. F. P. HULSEWÉ
Emeritus professor for Chinese at Leiden University

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
M. A. N. LOEWE
Lecturer in Chinese Studies in the University of Cambridge



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PREFATORY NOTE

The translations presented in this volume were originally undertaken in 1967 at the request of Professor Hellmut Wilhelm, director of the Chinese Dynastic Histories Project of the University of Washington in Seattle (since then succeeded by Professor Jack L. Dull), for publication in the series of the Han Dynasty History Project. However, the envisaged publication of the work by the University of Washington Press eventually proved to be impossible. We are therefore very grateful to the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research for their decision to grant a generous subsidy towards the publication of the present volume. These circumstances have caused some delay, for in principle the manuscript was completed by the summer of 1975; the intervening years have enabled us to introduce some minor revisions and some additional information, mainly based on recent periodical literature.

The work was done in close collaboration with Dr. M. A. N. Loewe, Lecturer in Chinese Studies in the University of Cambridge. We made the translation together, and together we decided which points merited annotation. Dr. Loewe wrote the first draft of the Introduction and I made the first draft of the notes, but we subsequently revised and emended each other's work, so that it is now difficult to distinguish between our individual contributions.

As Dr. Loewe was hard pressed by other commitments, I undertook the textcritical study of chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi*, the Memoir on Ta Yüan, a study which is indispensable for the correct appreciation of its counterpart, i.e. chapter 61 of the *Han shu*, the Memoir on Chang Ch'ien and Li Kuang-li. As the present work is destined first and foremost for the non-sinological reader, we considered it inadvisable to include that study here. It has been separately published in *T'oung Pao* 61 (1975), but its results have been assimilated in the Introduction, the translation and the annotation of *Han shu* ch. 61.

The annotation to our translation is extensive, for we have consistently tried to elucidate all points that would not be immediately clear to the non-sinological reader as well as to those students of Chinese history and culture whose field lies outside the domain of the Han period and Han institutions. We are well aware that recently the

writer of a review-article[1] has criticized the continued use of an annotated translation as the vehicle for presenting material concerning "the barbarians" assembled by Chinese historians. He believes that this results in "the background of policies and trends of development" being "appended to the facts; the essentials are appended to the accidentals". This procedure he calls a "pernicious tradition" and "an intellectually confining and stifling ... form".

Now this author is undoubtedly right in those cases where a wealth of material is available and where the quality of the basic texts does not constitute a major problem. In the present case, however, it is the basic texts which are at issue. As long as there remain doubts about the reliability of the few fundamental texts, and, consequently, as long as "the facts" cannot be definitely established, the first task must be the close critical scrutiny of these texts and the presentation of a faithful translation, openly avowing all doubts and difficulties, and warning the non-specialist reader against all possible pitfalls so as to enable him to avoid hasty conclusions. Still, the survey presented on pp. 39-66 of the Introduction partly fills the need expressed by the reviewer quoted above.

Some time ago, a colleague drew my attention to the remark made by the German historian Beloch that "the historian believes what his sources say only when it is proved that this is correct".[2] We cannot vouch for the historical reliability of what our sources say; we have only done our best to make their voices speak, however haltingly and falteringly, in an unambiguous manner.

Romont (Switzerland), autumn 1977 A. F. P. Hulsewé

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[1] Timothy Connor, "Translating the 'barbarians'; a new book in an old tradition", in *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 32 (1972), pp. 240-255; this specific criticism is to be found on p. 241.

[2] K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. I, pt. 2 (1916^2), p. 16: "Der Historiker glaubt was in den Quellen steht nur, wenn es bewiesen wird, dass es richtig ist".

INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The particular chapters of the Chinese Standard Histories that are translated below have as much, or even a greater, bearing on the history of Central Asia as on that of China herself. That they may have received more attention than many of the other chapters of those works is due in part to the stimulus of specialists working in fields other than sinology. Such scholars have been anxious to utilise the Chinese writings in so far as they constitute unique source material with which to supplement the rather meagre data at their disposal in the form of other evidence. As a result the translations of these chapters that have appeared in print from 1828 onwards[1] have been utilised by historians and scholars ever since.

There has resulted a certain lack of balance in the treatment of this aspect of the history of Central Asia which it is still difficult to correct. For whereas scholars such as Tarn have been able to apply contemporary canons of historical and textual criticism and archaeological method to the non-Chinese evidences, they have perforce needed to rely on translations from Chinese texts that were made long before sinologists could attempt to treat their own materials in such a way.

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[1] M. Brosset, "Relation du pays de Ta Ouan", in *Journal Asiatique* II (1828), pp. 418-450;

A. Wylie, "Notes on the Western Regions", in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. X (1881), p. 20f., and vol. XI (1881), p. 83f.;

Fr. Hirth, "The story of Chang K'ien", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVII (1917), p. 89f.;

J.J.M. de Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens*, II (Berlin, Leipzig, 1926);

E. Chavannes, "Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han Chou", in *T'oung Pao* 8 (1907), p. 149f.;

Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China, translated from the Shih-chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien* (New York and London, Columbia University Press, 1961, 1962[2]), vol. II, pp. 264-289, also included in his *Records of the Historian, chapters from the Shih-chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien* (*ibid.*, 1969), pp. 274-299.

Brosset's translation ultimately goes back to Abel Remusat (see also *Urkunden* I, p. v). De Groot's work was sharply criticized by E. von Zach in *Asia Major* I (1924), p. 125-133, and in *Deutsche Wacht* XII-10 (Batavia, 1926), p. 40. Watson's translation has been generally praised, but his rendering of *Shih-chi* ch. 123 is much smoother than the original. His polished English, which makes for effortless reading, completely obscures the difficulties and the actual corruptness of the Chinese text.

It cannot yet be claimed that the texts in question have been subjected to the same rigorous criticism, as very considerable work remains to be done in the field of sinology before that can be undertaken. Nevertheless the conspicuous advances that have been made in the subject over the last few decades make it possible to offer a new version of these chapters in which it is hoped that earlier misinterpretations have been corrected and some technical difficulties solved. It may perhaps be added that the need for a new translation is brought out in at least one important publication of recent years where the author has relied on translations of selected passages that were prepared specifically for his own purpose.[2]

The chapters in question present problems of a wide variety, of which the first is purely linguistic. A certain familarity with Han usage on the one hand; regular comparison with parallel texts; and constant recourse to the critical observations of generations of Chinese scholars, have made it possible to overcome difficulties previously unsolved by earlier translators. These translators often did not notice difficulties or inconsistencies in the text, misled as they were by the silence of the Chinese commentators.

Like the early translators of the Bible, they considered the text to be inviolable and as a result they often made forced renderings of obscure and corrupt passages. In addition it is necessary to interpret the text in the full light of contemporary Chinese institutions and practice; and considerable progress has been made in this field of studies in recent years, particularly by Japanese scholars. Working as they did between a century and a half and sixty years ago, the early translators were not equipped to deal with the identification of the names and places in Central Asia. Such matters constitute problems of immediate concern to scholars in other disciplines, where the texts under study often constitute the sole source of information. In addition, the translators of a bygone age had not the aids at their disposal that are available to scholars to-day, and scholarship had not advanced sufficiently to enable them to appreciate the difficulties of the reconstruction of Han-time Chinese. As a result, they made unwarranted identifications, based on a vague resemblance between the modern pronunciation of the Chinese characters and a term known from other sources.

The version which follows has been designed as a rendering on which specialists of other fields may work. The translators have endeavoured to frame an accurate translation and to solve, or at

[2] Narain (1957), p. 129f.

least define, those problems that are properly the concern of the sinologist. Equivalents are therefore suggested for technical expressions where possible; due account is taken of the machinery of Chinese government and the use of official titles; the views of the more important Chinese scholars are summarised where appropriate; and as a step towards the identification of proper names, the reconstructed pronunciations of Chinese words are given where necessary. As far as possible attention has been paid to comparison with parallel texts[3] and suggestions have been made for textual emendations, especially as regards *HS* 61.

2. THE CHINESE SOURCES INCLUDING SECONDARY WRITINGS

No apology is needed for an attempt to describe the form and content of the chapters which are presented here in translation, for the benefit of scholars whose special interests lie in the field of Central Asia or Greek history rather than Chinese studies. Indeed, sinologists are grateful to those of their colleagues such as Tarn[4] and Narain[5] who have pointed out some of the difficulties encountered in assessing the relationship between the texts that are concerned; and the notes that follow are written with the full recognition that a number of basic textual questions require solution.[6]

Chapter 96 of the *Han-shu*, the monograph on the Western Regions, forms one of a series of chapters which describes with varying measure of detail the alien peoples who surrounded the Chinese world on three sides, and with whom the Chinese came into greater contact during the expansion which followed the foundation of the first empire in 221 B.C. During the pre-imperial period, and indeed for

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[3] I.e. the *Shih-chi*, *Han-chi* and *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*; for an evaluation of these sources see Beasley and Pulleyblank (1961), the essays by Hulsewé and Pulleyblank.

[4] Tarn (1951), pp. 513-14.

[5] Narain (1957), chapter VI.

[6] For this reason it seems somewhat premature to a sinologist to conclude, as Narain does (*ib.*, p. 140) "It therefore seems evident that Bactria proper south of the Oxus river must have come under the complete political subjugation of the Yüeh-chih either after the *Shih-chi* was written or at a time quite near its completion, when the news had not reached Ssu-ma Ch'ien, but definitely long before the composition of the *Ch'ien Han Shu*. *Shih-chi* was completed in 99 B.C., and therefore, in round numbers, we may say that the occupation took place about 100 B.C.". For our view that chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi* is a late reconstruction, see below, p. 20ff.

nearly a hundred years after 221, there had occurred a gradual process of penetration, conquest or absorption of the regions which were inhabited by "barbarians" on the outer borders of the states of China, or which were occasionally situated as enclaves within their territories. But from c. 130 B.C. onwards the Han governments set out on a series of far-flung conquests, to the north, northwest and south. It is to the aliens who were encountered in the process of imperial expansion that these chapters are devoted, i.e., to the peoples of the south-east, in present-day Kiangsi, Kuangtung and northern Annam; to those of the south-west in modern Yünnan; to the proto-Tibetans of Kokonor; and, most important, to the Hsiung-nu, who constituted China's dangerous neighbours in the north.

In the form that is before us to-day, Chapter 96, which is the monograph on the Western Regions, is divided into two sections of about the same length. However, in all probability the division was made at some stage in order to ease the production or handling of the text rather than as a means of separating basically different types of material from each other. The chapter is conceived and compiled in the form of a catalogue of entries of varying lengths; and such a form lends itself very readily to division, without doing violence to the content of the chapter or the logical order of its subjects.

The chapter opens with an introductory statement of the major historical and geographical considerations against which Han ventures in the Far West should be set. The reader is assumed to be acquainted with the principal facts of Han history and the institutions practised within the empire, and he is referred very briefly to events or developments that occurred before its foundation in 202 B.C. The introductory statement also mentions a number of proper names or places that recur in the history of those remote territories and which are duly defined or explained in the immediately succeeding parts of the chapter.

This statement leads directly to the main part of the chapter. This is set out as a series of entries which are separated from each other in printed editions; and it is probable that such an arrangement can be traced back to the original lay-out of the chapter in manuscript.[7] Each entry is concerned with one of the communities, states or groups of inhabitants who were settled along the two routes that led round the Taklamakan desert or who were situated further to the west. The

[7] This type of lay-out is seen in the earliest surviving print of the *Han-shu*, the *Ching-yu* edition of 1035.

order of the entries is systematic, proceeding westward along the Southern Route until reaching its extremity. After making appropriate reference to the states lying beyond the western end of the route, the text brings the reader back to Han territory in an easterly direction, by means of the Northern Route. The form of the entries is identical; they note the site from which the states were governed, their distance from Ch'ang-an, figures for the population, the titles of the principal officials, and their geographical relationship with their neighbours. But while many of the entries consist exclusively, or almost exclusively, of this type of information, others are supplemented with long accounts of historical detail.

Chinese histories do not aim at providing encyclopaedic information for information's sake. In the chapters which concern the alien peoples, especially, the histories try to provide a corpus of information that could still be of value to the administration and to the individual administrator. As a result, the more intimate the contacts, whether military, diplomatic or commercial, that Han China had with each of the states, the richer the information, and consequently the greater the detail that will be found in the appropriate sections of the book. However, the compilers sometimes include data that is of interest owing to its strangeness, concerning as it may places which lay far afield and with whom Chinese contacts had been anything but intimate.

As a result there is a very considerable variation in the length of the entries. To students of Central Asian or Chinese history, the most rewarding entries are probably those which provide historical narratives for some of the Central Asian states, i.e., Shan-shan, Chi-pin and K'ang-chü; those which refer to states that lay beyond the Routes and thus shed light on the contacts between the Western and the Eastern worlds, i.e. Wu-i-shan-li, An-hsi and the Ta Yüeh-chih; and those which relate the endeavours of the Chinese to establish Han institutions in distant parts of Asia, i.e. Lun-t'ai and Ch'ü-li.

The chapter ends with a critical appreciation written by the compiler, such as is usually appended to chapters in these histories. This part is couched in a more rhetorical style than that of the main body of the chapter, and sets out to be a considered review of the success of Han ventures in the far west. This review places these successes in the major context of imperial policy and the implications of foreign relations and in fact shows an underlying criticism of some of the decisions taken by Han emperors or governments.

Chapter sixty-one is one of the sixty-nine chapters of the *Han-shu* that were framed as monographs or biographies of specified individuals

or people. Such individuals were chosen as the subjects of chapters if their actions had affected the destinies of the Han empire. Mainly, they were men who had served as officials in the central or the provincial government or as military leaders, and who had been responsible for the implementation of the imperial will. Usually, they were men whose careers had ended meritoriously, but quite a few of these *vitae* concern men whose lives ended in disaster.

The term biography must, in effect, be accepted with some reserve. With few exceptions, the compilers of the histories were not so much interested in details of a personal nature, the characters of their subjects, or in isolated events. Because these subjects were mainly chosen on account of the role they had played in the history of China, and because their personal characteristics were mostly irrelevant to the main purpose of the compilation, the most that a reader can hope to learn about the subject of a biographical chapter is his native place or origin; his ancestry; the official posts that he held and the fate of his descendants; and, if available, the gist of the documents he had submitted to the imperial government.

Chang Ch'ien and Li Kuang-li, who form the subjects of Chapter sixty-one, had been concerned in the same aspect of Han government, i.e. the extension of relations to the states of the Far West. It is by no means exceptional for the *Han-shu* to group two or more names together for treatment in one "biography", and this chapter is divided into two sections, covering the two men concerned.

In these chapters, simple statements of historical fact or event are usually recorded without comment, but occasionally the historian permits himself a remark on the side, e.g. of the type which points out the origin of a particular practice or institution. In addition, the biographical chapters often incorporate the text or summaries of documents or statements concerning the direction of the events described, and Chapter sixty-one includes two fairly long passages that are said to be statements made by Chang Ch'ien in person to the emperor.[8] There is also a reference[9] to a further report submitted by Chang Ch'ien on the subject of Ta Yüeh-chih, Ta Hsia and K'ang-ch'ü, and their neighbouring states, and the compiler states that he has incorporated this information in the chapter on the Western Regions, i.e., *Han-shu* Chapter 96. There are in fact two references in Chapter 96

[8] See trs. pp. 211f. and 214f.

[9] See trs. p. 210 "He told the Son of Heaven in full about the lay of the land and their resources and his account is given in the chapter on the Western Regions".

to Chang Ch'ien's statements;[10] and although information is included about Ta Yüan and the other places that are specified, this is scattered in different parts of the chapters, and there is no direct acknowledgement that the information derived from Chang Ch'ien's report. However, in the corresponding passage of the *Shih-chi*[11] (which will be discussed below), the ascription to Chang Ch'ien is stated explicitly. There are several instances[12] in which a reader of Chapter 61 or Chapter 96 is referred to the other chapter or to other parts of the *Han-shu* for amplification; in addition there are passages elsewhere in the history which supplement these two chapters.[13]

Certain chapters of the dynastic histories, namely those that are entitled "Imperial Annals", were deliberately compiled on a strictly chronological basis and recount events in their exact sequence. Possibly because of this precision, in other chapters the historians have felt free to write without such attention to exactitude in regard to time, and certainly some of the statements about time in Chapter 96 of the *Han-shu* cannot be pressed too deeply. Some of those statements are couched in vague terms, such as the remark that Chang Ch'ien was detained by the Hsiung-nu for over ten years;[14] and as the evidence before us is by no means complete, there are a number of instances in which it is not possible to work out a satisfactory chronological sequence of events. This negative conclusion may cause some surprise among those who are not sinologists and who expect China's voluminous historical records to be complete in this respect. It is regrettable and disappointing that clear-cut results cannot be expected in respect of some historical problems or situations for which very little other hard evidence can be adduced by way of control. In particular, the question of the date at which Greek rule came to an end in Bactria has an important bearing on the history of India and Central Asia, but although Chang Ch'ien's travels in that area probably took place

[10] See trs. pp. 85, 132.

[11] *SC* 123.3a. It is also of interest to note further references to Chang Ch'ien in contemporary or near-contemporary writings, e.g. *YTL* pp. 116 and 298.

[12] E.g., *Han-shu* 61 refers the reader to *HS* 96, 95 and 94 (see trs. pp. 210, 218, 221 and 236); *HS* 70.3a refers to *HS* 94 and *HS* 96A and B refer to *HS* 94 and 96 (trs. pp. 135, 145 and 151).

[13] E.g., see *HS* 95.3b, for Chang Ch'ien's report of his observation of goods in Ta Hsia that had originated from Shu or other parts of China. For an example of duplication between two chapters of the *Han-shu*, see *HS* 70.2b *et seq.*, which appears in *HS* 96B.3b *et seq.* and 13b *et seq.*

[14] See trs. p. 208.

within decades of this crucial change, the Chinese sources cannot be used to provide a direct and incontrovertible answer to this problem.[15]

The compilation of the *Han-shu*, which was started from A.D. 36, was probably completed between A.D. 110 and 121, some two hundred years after the completion of the other standard history with which we are concerned. This is the *Shih-chi*, probably finished shortly before 90 B.C.; and much of the material that concerns the period up till then appears in identical or near identical form in the two works. But although the *Shih-chi* was compiled at a time nearer to the events that are described, the chapters of the *Han-shu* have been considered first here for two reasons. The first will be discussed extensively below; it concerns the authenticity of the text of chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi*. The second is, that the *Han-shu* chapters present a more complete, systematic and well-ordered account than does chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi*. That *Shih-chi* chapter is entitled "The monograph on Ta Yüan", perhaps a little misleadingly, as it is concerned with considerably more aspects of the Far West than those of that state in isolation.

The opening sentence of chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi* states that the first knowledge of Ta Yüan is to be traced to Chang Ch'ien, but then there follows what is in fact a biographical account of that official. At an appropriate position,[16] the chapter incorporates the text of what is described as a detailed report made by Chang Ch'ien to the emperor on the subject of Ta Yüan, the Ta Yüeh-chih, Ta Hsia, and K'ang-chü, and the five or six adjoining states of which he had heard tell; and the passage that follows is in fact to be found in a corresponding version in different parts of *Han-shu* Chapter 96. It is, however, to be noted that the *Han-shu* does not give as full treatment as the *Shih-chi* to the subject of Ta Hsia.

The places that are described in this passage all lay beyond the confines of the Taklamakan desert and well beyond the Northern and Southern Routes. As these routes had not been developed in the time of Chang Ch'ien, it is not surprising that there is no hint that that traveller submitted either a written or a verbal report on the communities that lay along those routes and which form the subjects of the entries in *Han-shu* Chapter 96. For the states that lay beyond the routes, the *Shih-chi* gives a full account of historical events and ventures there; and these matters feature likewise in *Han-shu* Chapter 61, partly in the section on Li Kuang-li. Chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi*

[15] Cf. Daffinà (1969), p. 152.

[16] *SC* 123.3a.

concludes with a short appreciation that is given as the work of the Grand Historian; it is also incorporated — but without acknowledgment! — in the appreciation that is found at the end of *Han-shu* Chapter 61.[17]

The development of the form of the Standard Histories at the hands of Ssu-ma Ch'ien and Pan Ku, whose names are cited here as the principal compilers of the *Shih-chi* and *Han-shu* respectively, has been discussed in a number of other places,[18] and there is therefore no need to consider these chapters in the main context of the growth of Chinese historiography. Although the other chapters in the histories that are concerned with non-Chinese peoples[19] are not cast in the same form as Chapter 96 of the *Han-shu*, the difference is probably a reflection of the different type of material that was available to the compiler. This difference is in turn due to different historical factors. In the north-west the Chinese came into contact with a somewhat large number of non-Chinese communities, as compared with the fewer peoples who confronted the Chinese in other areas; and in the north-west there had been established a unique type of Chinese official, the Protector General, specially charged with administrative responsibility for the area. The inclusion of the entries in *Han-shu* Chapter 96 in the form of a catalogue is understandable enough, if it is regarded as an attempt to include the facts and figures that had become known thanks to the existence of this Chinese post that was capable of collecting the information.

There is possibly a further factor that is of special application to the *Han-shu*'s treatment of the Western Regions, i.e., the particular association of the Pan family, whose members compiled the work, with the area. So far as is known there is no certain means of determining whether Chapter 96 was put together in its final form by Pan Piao, Pan Ku or Pan Chao; but it could perhaps have been of some significance if it could be shown that compilation was completed after the return of Pan Ch'ao, brother of Pan Ku and Pan Chao, from campaigning in the north-west.[20] The existence of a family interest could conceivably account for the greater detail that the *Han-shu*

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[17] This passage is also incorporated in the *Lun-heng* Chapter 31 (*T'an-t'ien* 談天; Huang Hui edition p. 480).

[18] E.g., see Hulsewé (1961).

[19] I.e., *SC* chapters 110, 113, 114, 115, and 116; *HS* chapters 94, 95.

[20] Pulleyblank (1968), p. 250f., finds good reasons to assume that some information is — perhaps indirectly — due to Pan Ch'ao.

gives for the peoples and states of the north-west than for those of other regions.

We have seen (p. 6 above) that the authors of the *Shih-chi* and *Han-shu* incorporated the text or summaries of documents in their biographies. So also in the monographs of those histories there are a number of occasions when the authors saw fit to incorporate either in whole, part or summary the texts of official reports, imperial decrees, or of a catalogue that had been drawn up for the use of the palace. There is thus no need to explain the inclusion of all or part of Chang Ch'ien's report in the standard histories, as such a procedure was by no means exceptional, especially since Chang Ch'ien's mission derived directly from imperial orders. Probably we must make allowance for the inclusion of extracts from other reports that were available at the capital city, duly submitted by some of the deputy envoys who had been sent further afield by Chang Ch'ien and who returned to Ch'ang-an after his death; or by some of the more junior members of those missions, whose anxiety to impress their hearers evidently overcame their regard for accuracy.[21] We may also note that there are signs of the inclusion in the texts of certain statements by way of amplification or comment that were extraneous to the main account of the history, and where the compiler may have been wishing to draw the attention of the reader to his use of a somewhat different source.[22]

As a working hypothesis it is suggested that much of the statistical and factual information that appears in *Han-shu* 96 derives from reports that were submitted to the central government from the office of the Protector General.[23] Such an office, which was founded in 59 B.C., would probably have been the only institution capable of assembling such information, and the only one to be charged with the duty of forwarding it elsewhere. It is perhaps significant that one statistic that is regularly given for the states that lay on the routes is their distance from the seat of the Protector General himself; and it is unlikely that any other Han office would have thought it necessary to include those figures or would have been capable of supplying them. If this hypothesis is accepted, it can be taken that the information

[21] See trs. p. 222.

[22] See *Remarks to Translation*, 6 (p. 67 below). It is to be noted that this feature also appears in the *Shih-chi*, e.g. 123.4a, 8a and 12a.

[23] For the establishment of the post of Protector General, see Loewe (1974), pp. 228-230.

applies to the period when a Protector General was actively in his post in the Far West, i.e. some time between 59 B.C. and A.D. 16.

The relationship between the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu* constitutes a question that bears on many historical problems of the western Han period. For this relationship is somewhat peculiar. The *Shih-chi* is framed as a general history of China, starting from remote antiquity and continuing until the lifetime of the compiler, i.e., c. 90 B.C.[24] The *Han-shu* is the history of China during the Former, or western, Han dynasty; and in principle it covers the period from the foundation, in 202 B.C. (including the earlier career of the founder, from c. 210), to the fall of Wang Mang in A.D. 23. However, for the period from 210 to c. 90, i.e., the period for which the two histories overlap, the two works do not present different or independent accounts; with some important exceptions the texts are identical. Apart from a few fragments of 8th-10th century manuscripts, written on paper and by no means contemporary with the compilation of these works, the earliest complete copies of both texts that we possess are the printed editions that were made in the twelfth century for the *Shih-chi* and the eleventh century for the *Han-shu*.[25] There is thus a break of some thousand

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[24] The dates of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's life, as well as the time when he concluded his history, continue to be an unsolved — and perhaps insoluble — problem, constantly discussed in sinological literature. As regards the former, much is to be said for accepting 145 B.C. as the date of his birth, a date proposed early in this century by Wang Kuo-wei (T'ai-shih kung). As regards the time of his death, Wang Kuo-wei (T'ai-shih kung), p. 16a-17a, has pointed out that *HSPC* 62.16a reports that Ssu-ma Ch'ien after having been castrated, held the post of *chung-shu ling* 中書令, Leader of the Secretariat (cf. Loewe, 1974, p. 239, note 89) who were all eunuchs. Wang then shows that early in 87 B.C. a certain Kuo Jang held a similar title and function according to *HSPC* 8.2a, *HFHD* II, p. 201, leading to the conclusion that at this time Ssu-ma Ch'ien was at least out of office, if he had not yet died. Wang therefore thinks it safest to assume that Ssu-ma Ch'ien must have died at about the same time as emperor Wu, i.e. in 87 B.C.; Cheng Hao-sheng (1956), original preface p. 2, agrees with this view.

Another remark that can be made is that in 78 B.C. *HSPC* 21A.20a-b reports the presence of another Grand Astrologer. This implies that, in case Ssu-ma Ch'ien had continued to hold his original function, he must have left it, c.q. he must have died, several years earlier. In either case the date of his death is to be placed in the eighties of the 1st century B.C.

Owing to the inclusion of later material in the *Shih-chi* it will always remain impossible to decide what were the last events which Ssu-ma Chi'ien described personally. For a modern, rather superficial survey of the suggestions concerning the last year which Ssu-ma Ch'ien included in his work see Pan Chung-kwei (1970); Chang Ch'un-shu (1974), p. 48, note 10, presents a survey of the literature on the subject. See also *RBS* 1, nos. 74, 75; 2, nos. 96, 97; 3, no. 138.

[25] See Loewe (1963), pp. 164-165.

years in the textual transmission, which bedevils many attempts at textual criticism. As it cannot be said for certain to what extent portions of the text were lost during that period, only cautious statements can be made regarding the inclusion of material uniquely in either the *Shih-chi* or the *Han-shu* for the period that they both cover.[26]

The fact[27] alluded to in the foregoing paragraph, namely that the texts of the *Shih-chi* and the *Han shu* concerning the period 210 to c. 90 B.C. are practically identical, warrants serious consideration, because of the bearing it has on the following translation. It goes without saying that the reliability of a translation depends on the knowledge and the ability of the translator. However, if this is taken for granted, the usefulness of the translation to scholarship depends on another factor, namely the quality of the text.

The former translators of the texts, of which another English version is presented here, have shown remarkably little concern about the quality of the texts, even hardly indicating which printed edition they used. To them, as to the great majority of Chinese scholars, the *Shih-chi* and the *Han shu* evidently were two given entities which they accepted as they stood. In the same way, traditional scholarship has likewise taken for granted that the *Han shu* chapters which concern the second century B.C. were compiled on the basis of the *Shih-chi*, if they were not copied downright.

However, on the one hand Chinese scholars have known since the first century of our era that already at that early date the *Shih-chi* was incomplete, and that ten chapters were missing. On the other hand, since the end of the 19th century, doubts have been raised about the authenticity of the whole text of the *Shih-chi*. The first problem is not of importance for the present study, because in the discussions throughout the centuries it has never been suggested that *Shih-chi* ch. 123, the Memoir on Ta Yüan, was missing; in a study published posthumously in 1963 the bibliographer Yü Chia-hsi (1883-1955) has presented a survey of the problem and of the many solutions offered.[28]

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[26] For examples of material that is included uniquely in the printed editions of the *Han-shu*, see trs. p. 148 for the song composed by the princess in Wu-sun, probably before the *Shih-chi* had been completed; and p. 235 for the edict "For long the Hsiung-nu ..."

[27] The following pages are based on the research of A.F.P. Hulsewé, who has published a detailed textcritical study in *T'oung Pao* 61 (1975).

[28] Yü first published a brief survey in 1941 (unaccessible), further developed in 1947; the latter study was reprinted in 1963. Yü (1963), p. 2, expressly refuses to discuss the

The second problem, however, is of the greatest importance. Although the manner in which Chinese scholars have expressed their doubts is much too dogmatic and often more founded on general impressions and preconceived notions than on sound investigation, their views merit serious consideration, especially when they touch on the relationship between the *Shih-chi* and the *Han shu*. Besides suggesting that particular Han scholars had tampered with the pre-Han part of the *Shih-chi* for ideological reasons, they have also put forward the view that all the *Shih-chi* chapters dealing with the early Han period, i.e. with the events of the 2nd century B.C., were copied from — or compiled by using the material of — the *Han shu*! Among these doubtful chapters is the 123rd, the Memoir on Ta Yüan; these doubts concern the genuineness of the text of the present chapter, not the fact that such a chapter existed originally, for that is vouched for by the table of contents included in *Shih-chi* ch. 130.[29]

A survey of these Chinese views is presented by Jaeger (1933). As regards the particular problem of the relationship between *SC* ch. 123 and *HS* ch. 61, it is regrettable that the main protagonist Ts'ui Shih (1918) 8, 14a-b[30] only asserts that the Memoir on Ta Yüan in the *Shih-chi* "has been merely copied from the Memoir on Chang Ch'ien and Li Kuang-li in the *Han shu* by later persons" without adducing any proof of his contention.

In the West, Pelliot (1929), p. 178, note 1, succinctly remarked that he was convinced that *SC* 123 was spurious, but he never returned to the problem. Haloun (1937), p. 250, note 1, shared Pelliot's belief, but not without some ambiguity;[31] and although he made the sensible remark that this point would have to be cleared up by "philological

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second problem. Among the suspected chapters of the *Shih-chi* are the treatises on ritual, on music and on the calendar (*SC* 23-26), as described by Chavannes *MH*, vol. I, pp. cci-ccviii. The modern author Ch'iu Ch'iung-sun (1964), p. 14 reaches the conclusion that even the introductions to these chapters, generally still attributed to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, are "definitely lost, and what we have is not (Ssu-ma Ch'ien's) ancient text; even if some parts are original, these have been greatly corrupted" ... 必亡存者非史公之舊其中如有原作則竄亂必多矣

[29] The second part of the partly autobiographical last chapter of the *Shih-chi* contains a brief description of each of the 130 chapters of this work.

[30] In 1.12a he mentions the Memoir on Ta Yüan among the twentynine chapters he considers to have been "maliciously continued by untalented persons" 非才妄續. The general survey by Chang Hsin-ch'eng (1954), pp. 475-488, only quotes Ts'ui Shih's opinion without entering into details. Wang Shu-min (1968) does not mention Ts'ui's study; his remarks on *SC* 123 have not yet been published.

[31] See Daffinà (1969), p. 149.

means of interpretation" (p. 295), he never engaged in this type of research, and his remarks on other facets of the subject are no more than unproved assertions. Finally, Professor Pulleyblank has twice (1966 and 1970) attempted to prove the contrary, namely that *SC* 123 is primary and *HS* 61 secondary. However, he has not submitted both texts to a rigorous critical examination, but uses only geographic and linguistic arguments.

The following pages are therefore devoted to a discussion of the genuineness of the present text of *Shih-chi* ch. 123 and *Han shu* ch. 61, c.q. of the correctness of Ts'ui Shih's statement.

For a better understanding of the argumentation, it is to be stressed, first of all, that both the *Shih-chi* and *Han shu* were written before the Chinese had invented paper; the date for this invention is A.D. 105, but it is certain that for a considerable time after this date the traditional writing material continued to be used.[32] Occasionally this was silk, but normally this material was wood, sometimes bamboo, cut in narrow strips of lengths and widths which varied according to the type of document. The most common type of strip had the length of one Han foot of c. 23.1 cm and a width of c. 1 cm; such a strip contained one column of characters, written with a brush of rabbit hair and black ink, of which the chief ingredient was pine soot. There existed also longer strips of 1' 1", 1' 2", 2' 4", and even of 3 Han feet, or 69 cm., the latter with 40 to 80 characters. The strips were held together by several sets of two intertwined strings (from two to four sets, depending on the length of the strip); in the case of the short strips they were fastened at about a quarter of the length of the strip from the top and the bottom[33] (and in the middle). A — as yet undetermined — number of strips formed a fascicle.[34]

Manuscripts of this type were susceptible to several kinds of damage. Firstly, individual characters might become wholly or partly illegible due to dampness or to the splintering of the bamboo or wood. Secondly, a strip might break at the place where it was crossed by the strings and so the top or the bottom part might become detached and sometimes lost; a strip might even be broken into three fragments. And thirdly, the strings could break; this might entail the loss of one or more

[32] Tsien (1962), p. 90: "Even after paper was invented in the second century A.D., bamboo and wood still survived *for some three centuries* (my italics, A.H.) in competition with the new material", and p. 91: "... as late as the fifth century A.D.", referring in a note to *Sui-shu* 9.3b and 12a.

[33] See the exhaustive description in *RHA* I, pp. 25-39.

[34] See *RHA* I, p. 26.

complete strips, or, when the strings were repaired, the original sequence of the strips might not be maintained, because they were mostly not numbered.[35] A copyist confronted with an ancient text that had suffered these various kinds of damage might well be confused, especially when both the style and the contents of the text he was transcribing were alien to him.[36]

Turning to the texts translated in the present volume after these considerations, it can be said that chapter 96 of the *Han shu*, the Memoir on the Western Regions, has been very well preserved, in general. It suffers from small lacunae and from passages that are evidently corrupt, but these are of minor importance; moreover, there seem to be no instances of confusion in the order of the original strips. Consequently, the statement is warranted that, on the whole, chapter 96 has been transmitted without having suffered serious damage.

However, the situation is very different in chapter 61. Apart from the normal copyists' mistakes concerning individual words, it is evident that the text has suffered considerably in many places, because when broken strings were repaired, the original order of the strips was confused. Also, when a single strip had been broken into several pieces, the copyist was evidently unable to restore the original text. It is highly significant that in all these cases the parallel text of the *Shih-chi* chapter 123 provides no help for restoring the original version, *for the disorder is exactly the same in both texts.*

It is, however, not impossible to unravel this confusion and to arrive at a more satisfactory text by attempting to restore the original order of the strips, guided by Chinese scholarship. For the possibility that an ancient text might become corrupted due to the faulty rearrangement of the strips was long known to the Chinese. It certainly was a phenomenon well known to the scholars of Han times (when bamboo or wooden strips were practically the only writing material) as is

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[35] Numbered strips occur i.a. in the manuscript of the *I-li*, see Wu-wei (1964), *passim*.

[36] Tsien (1962), p. 15, mentions commercial copyists in the 1st century A.D., referring to the biography of Wang Ch'ung in *HHSCC* Mem. 39, 1a, which relates how Wang Ch'ung "visited the market stalls in Lo-yang to look over the texts for sale" 游洛陽市肆閱所賣書. Tsien also refers to a passage in chapter 2 of the *Fa-yen* by Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) which mentions "book stalls" 書肆(*Chu-tzu chi-cheng* ed., vol. 7, *Fa-yen*, p. 6, line 2). Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan) 7.10a-13a, shows that in Han times the classics were copied and that these texts were found in private hands.

Present version of *HS* 61

(Figures in brackets indicate correct sequence)

17 (14)	16 (13)	15 (16)	14 (15)	13 (om.!)	12 (12)	11 (10)	10 (9)	9 (8)	8 (7)	7 (6)	6 (2)	5 (1)	4 (11)	3 (5)	2 (3)	1 (4)	
漢	其	兵	匿	宛	圍	恐	宛	輪	於	而	而	益	宛	伐	轉	天	1
所	外	宜	善	貴	其	留	兵	臺	是	拜	發	發	城	宛	相	下	2
為	城	解	馬	人	城	行	迎	不	貳	習	天	戍	中	五	奉	騷	3
攻	壞	即	殺	謀	攻	而	擊	下	師	馬	下	甲	無	十		動	4
宛	虜	不	漢	曰	之	令	漢	攻	後	者	七	卒	井	餘			5
以	宛	迾	使	王	四	宛	兵	數	復	二	科	十	汲	校			6
王	貴	力	今	毋	十	益	漢	日	行	人	適	八	城	尉			7
毋	人	戰	殺	寡	餘	生	兵	屠	兵	為	及	萬	外				8
寡	勇	而	王		日	詐	射	之	多	執	載	酒	流				9
	將	死	而			迾	敗	自	所	驅	糒	泉	水				10
	煎	未	出			先	之	此	至	馬	給	張	於				11
	靡	晚	善			至	宛	而	小	校	貳	掖	是				12
	宛	也	馬			宛	兵	西	國	尉	師	北	遣				13
	大	宛	漢			決	走	平	莫	備	轉	置	水				14
	恐	貴				其	入	行	不	破	車	居	工				15
	走	人				水	保	至	迎	宛	人	延	徙				16
	入	皆				原	其	宛	出	擇	徒	休	其				17
	中	以				移	城	城	食	取	相	屠	城				18
	城	為				之	貳	兵	給	其	連	以	下				19
	相	然				則	師	到	軍	善	屬	衛	水				20
	與	共				宛	欲	者	至	馬	至	酒	空				21
	謀	殺				固	攻	三	輪	云	敦	泉	以				22
	曰	王				已	郁	萬	臺		煌		穴				23
						憂	成						其				24
						困	城						城				25

Plate I

Reconstructed version of *HS* 61

16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
兵		漢	其	圍	宛	恐	宛	輪	於	而	伐	天	轉	而	益	1
宜		所	外	其	城	留	兵	臺	是	拜	宛	下	運,5	發	發	2
解		為	城	城	中	行	迎	不	貳	習	凡,7	騷	奉	天	戍	3
即		攻	壞	攻	無	而	擊	下	師	馬	五	動	軍,6	下,	田,1	4
不		宛	虜	之	井	令	漢,9	攻	後	者	十			七	卒	5
迺		以	宛	四	汲	宛	兵	數	復	二	餘			科	十	6
力		王	貴	十	城	益	射	日	行	人	校			適	八	7
戰		母	人	餘	外	生	敗	屠	兵	為	尉			民,3	萬	8
而		寡	勇	日	流	詐	之	之	多	執				載	人,2	9
死	匿		將		水	迺	宛	自	所	驅				糒	酒	10
未	善		煎		於,11	先	兵	此	至	馬				給	泉	11
晚	馬		靡		是	至	走	而	小	校				貳	張	12
也	殺		宛		遣	宛	入	西	國	尉				師	掖	13
宛	漢		大		水	決	保	平	莫	備				轉	北	14
貴	使		恐		工	其	其	行	不	破				運,4	置	15
人	今		走		徙	水	城	至	迎	宛				人	居	16
皆	殺		入		其	原	貳	宛	出	擇				徒	延	17
以	王		中		城	移,10	師	城	食	取				相	休	18
為	而		城		下	之	欲	兵	給	其				連	屠	19
然	出		相		水	則	攻	到	軍	善				屬	以	20
共	善		與		空	宛	郁	者	至	馬				至	衛	21
殺	馬		謀		以	固	成	三	輸	云				敦	酒	22
王	漢		曰		穴	已	城	萬	臺					煌	泉	23
					其	憂		人,8								24
					城	困										25

1. corr. for 甲. 2. add. in acc. with Han practice. 3. corr. for 皮. 4. corr. based on Sung Ch'i. 5,6. corr. based on *Han-chi*. 7,8. add. acc. to *Shih-chi*. 9. second *Han ping* redundant. 10. *i chih* perhaps gloss. 11. *yü shih* perhaps redundant.

Plate II

evident, for instance, from the editorial remarks by Liu Hsiang in the 1st century B.C.[37]

Later Chinese scholarship sometimes made use of the rearrangement of texts to arrive at a more acceptable version than the *textus receptus*.[38] In the present case, the confused state of one passage in the text of both *HS* 61 and *SC* 123 was discovered by Wang Nien-sun in the 18th century; he noted that in *HS* 61 a passage of 69 characters, i.e. the contents of three strips of 23 characters, had become disarranged, whereas in *SC* 123 it had been left undisturbed.[39]

Applying Wang's two century old discovery in a closer examination of the texts, a number of other cases of evident confusion was found; here it proved possible to arrive at a more satisfactory reading by rearranging the text when assuming that it had been written on strips containing about twenty-three characters (see plates I and II).

This rearrangement is not arbitrary, for fortunately, there exist materials which are of considerable assistance in restoring the text. These materials are to be found in the first place in the *Han shu* itself, namely in the Memoir on the Western Regions which contains summaries of the events described in greater detail in chapter 61. In the second place, such material is available in the *Han chi*, a summary or epitome of the *Han shu*, compiled about a century after the composition of the *Han shu*. However, although the *Han chi* is an extract amounting to only thirty chapters over against one hundred chapters of the *Han shu*, it contains several passages from *HS* 61, sometimes complete quotations, sometimes mere abstracts (which follow, however, the main line of the original argument); these are of great help in reconstructing some confused passages of the original — unfortunately not all.

Chapter 61 of the *Han shu* consists of two parts: the Memoir concerning Chang Ch'ien and the Memoir concerning Li Kuang-li. The second part contains one long passage which is greatly confused, but here the *Han chi* provides enough evidence to allow its reconstruction with a high degree of certainty. However, the condition of the

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[37] See *HSPC* 30.8a; see also Van der Loon (1952).

[38] E.g. Ma Hsü-lun's reconstruction of the *Tao-te ching*, viz. *Lao-tzu ho-ku*, for which see Duyvendak (1953), p. viii; for another recent case see Graham (1972), pp. 140-147.

[39] A similar case where, however, the reverse is true, was discovered by Liang Yü-sheng (1787), 34.2a, who noted that in *SC* 111 (Tak. ed. p. 5) a passage of 23 characters had been misplaced, whereas the correct order was preserved in the parallel passages in *SC* 110 (Tak. ed. p. 45) and *HSPC* 55.2b and 94A.17a.

text of the first part, which contains the highly important story of Chang Ch'ien, is much worse. Here the *Han-chi* provides some help, but only on a modest scale, and so do the summaries included in *Han shu* ch. 96. This implies that, although it is possible to indicate the corrupt passages, any attempts at restoring the order of the strips, where material support from other sources is lacking, can only be provisional.

Regarding the text of *Shih-chi* ch. 123, the following points can be observed. Firstly, as stated above, the disorder in the parallel parts is exactly the same as in *Han shu* ch. 61. Secondly, the text of the parallel passages in the two works is nearly identical. In the third place, *Shih-chi* ch. 123 contains additional material, viz. material not included in *Han shu* 61.

As regards the first point, viz. that the disorder in *Shih-chi* ch. 123 is exactly the same as in *Han shu* ch. 61, this is nothing remarkable in the eyes of traditional Chinese scholarship. For all authors, both ancient and modern, have taken for granted without further enquiry that Pan Ku for the whole of the early part of his history — from the founding of the Han Dynasty down to the beginning of the 1st century B.C. — simply copied the relevant parts of the *Shih-chi*, merely introducing some minor stylistic changes. Hence, if both texts show identical signs of corruption, this can only mean to traditional scholarship that Pan Ku reverently followed the *Shih-chi* text that had deteriorated in the course of the intervening two centuries.

But this view does not take the personality of Pan Ku into account. The man who is supposed to have copied the *Shih-chi* was not a lowly scribe, but one of the most prominent scholars of his time, the author of a number of literary works,[40] the compiler of an epitome of the discussions concerning the correct interpretation of the Confucian canon,[41] and last but not least, the *historian* who had been charged with the compilation of the history of the founding of the Later Han Dynasty.[42] It is inconceivable that a man of such calibre would have been unable to correct the confusion of his prototype[43] when it proves

[40] Viz. the "rhyme-prose" *fu* on the Two Capitals, the *fu* on Communing with the Mysteries, and the Inscription on Mount Yen-jan (included in *Wen-hsüan* 1, 14 and 56; cf. Margouliès (1925), pp. 31-74, and von Zach (1958), pp. 211-216 and pp. 976-977).

[41] Viz. *The Discussions of the White Tiger Hall*, translated by Tjan Tjoe Som (Leiden, Brill, 1949 and 1952).

[42] See Bielenstein (1954), p. 10.

[43] Regardless whether Pan Ku was faced with a — or perhaps the — old *Shih-chi* text, or with a copy made expressly for Pan Ku by a subordinate scribe who might

to be possible to do so nearly two thousand years later. It is also inconceivable that feelings of respect for a revered predecessor would have withheld Pan Ku from introducing corrections into a hallowed text, for he — and his father Pan Piao before him — was highly critical of Ssu-ma Ch'ien and his *Shih-chi*.[44]

As regards the second point, the similarity between the two texts, this is so close (leaving the additional material in *Shih-chi* ch. 123 aside for the moment), that the explanation for this virtual identity can only be that both go back to one single set of material. But because the disorder in both texts is the same, this can only mean that the one is a copy of the other; the chances that in two completely independent texts, both consisting of several hundreds of bamboo strips, the connecting strings and the individual strips would be broken in exactly the same places are mathematically so infinitesimal as to be virtually impossible.

This explanation is not a return to the traditional view that Pan Ku in the first century of our era simply copied the *Shih-chi*. Rather, it implies that at some time after the completion of the *Han shu* — approx. A.D. 120[45] — either *Shih-chi* ch. 123 or *Han shu* ch. 61 was lost, whereupon it was restored by simply copying the remaining text. It is evident that this remaining text must have been already in confusion, because, as a result, the copy became equally confused. Thereafter, both texts were transmitted independently, which explains the incidental — and sometimes enlightening — differences between the two.

There are several reasons to assume that it was *Shih-chi* ch. 123 which was lost, whereas *Han shu* ch. 61 continued to be transmitted, to be eventually used for the recompilation of *Shih-chi* ch. 123.

The first reason for this assumption is to be found in the circumstance that apparently no scholars were able to work on at least part of the *Shih-chi* down to c. A.D. 400, whereas commentators continued to study the *Han shu* during the second, third and fourth century. Already in the 18th century the historian Wang Ming-sheng noted[46] that in all the *Shih-chi* chapters *concerning the Han period*, the author of the "Collected Explanations to the *Shih-chi*" of c. 470

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have been responsible for the confusion, as has been suggested to us and as Katō Shigeru (1931) had already surmised. Homer may nod occasionally, but not to this extent.

[44] See *Mh* I, pp. ccxxxix-ccxii of the Introduction, appendix 2.

[45] See Hulsewé (1961), p. 139.

[46] See Wang Ming-sheng (1787), 1.12a.

copiously quotes many annotations to ... the *Han shu*, but only one single earlier commentator to the *Shih-chi*, namely his immediate precursor Hsü Kuang,[47] who lived between 352 and 425. Also other indications show that during the 2nd-4th centuries the *Shih-chi* parts dealing with the Han period were not available.[48]

This loss is difficult to explain. That copies of the *Shih-chi* were very rare is apparent from the references collected by Takigawa.[49] Li K'uei-yao[50] has shown that the *Shih-chi* was subjected to serious criticism during the 1st century A.D. because of its treatment both of antiquity and of the Han period. Li's suggestion, however, that the abridgment of the *Shih-chi* ordered[51] by Chang-ti[52] (the emperor

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[47] Noted, but not further pursued by Edouard Chavannes; see *Mh* I, p. ccxii.

[48] It is striking to observe that the number of known but lost *early* commentators to the *Shih-chi* is very small and perhaps even non-existent. Yao Chi-heng (2), p. 2349, mentions 1) Hsü Shen, the author of the *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*, but adds that Wang Ming-sheng (1787) believed Hsü's comments to have been written on the *Han shu*; 2) Yen Tu 延篤(died A.D. 167), mentioned only by the 8th century Ssu-ma Chen (see the Takigawa edition of the *Shih-chi*, vol., 1, *Shih-chi so-yin hou-hsü*, p. 2) as the author of a "pronunciations and meanings of the *Shih-chi*", *Shih-chi yin-i*, in one single chapter. It is to be noted that Yen Tu's biography in *HHSCC* Mem. 54.3a-6a, does not mention this work; it is also significant that the three notes by Yen Tu transmitted in the extant commentaries refer to antiquity and not to the Han period (cf. the Harvard-Yenching Index to the *Shih-chi* s.v. Yen Tu); 3) an anonymous *Shih-chi yin-i* in five chapters. To these vague references should be added a *Shih-chi yin-yin* 音隱 mentioned by P'ei Yin, but Yao suggests that this might well be a reference to the *Ch'un-chiu Tso-shih chuan yin-yin* by the wellknown commentator of the *Han shu*, Fu Ch'ien. As regards 2) and 3) it should be noted that *shih-chi* was a general term for "historical texts", and also, that its sole application to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's work only arose towards the end of the first century of our era. Except the first, these works are mentioned by Chavannes in *MH* I, p. ccxiii.

[49] See *SC* Takigawa ed. vol. 12, *Shiki sōron*, pp. 122-123.

[50] See Li K'uei-yao (1927) and cf. Jaeger (1933).

[51] This order is mentioned in *HHSCC* Mem. 38.2b. Here Chou Shou-ch'ang points out that already several decades earlier a certain Wei Sa 衛颯(active A.D. 25-56) had compiled a *Shih yao* 史要, "Essentials from the History" in 10 chapters, where he had "condensed the essential words of the *Shih-chi* and had arranged these according to subject"; see also Yao (1), p. 2356A, and Yao (2), p. 5281B.

[52] Chinese emperors were referred to by their contemporaries as *shang* 上 "(he who stands) above", or *chin shang* 今上"present above", but never by name. To posterity they were either known by their posthumous title, by their temple name, or, since the 14th century of our era, by the device they gave to their reign (see Dubs, 1945, and Tjan, 1951). In conformity with international practice the man whose surname was Liu and whose personal name was Ch'e will therefore be referred to as Wu ti ("the Martial Divinity"), rather than as "emperor Wu". The emperors of the two Han dynasties were :

who reigned between A.D. 76 and 88) would have led to the — partial — loss of the *Shih-chi*, is invalidated by the many oblique and direct references to the *Shih-chi* contained in the *Lun-heng*, "Opinions weighed in the balance", by Wang Ch'ung, who died shortly before A.D. 100.[53] Among these there are two references to *Shih-chi* ch. 123.[54] Furthermore, the availability of a summary need not lead to the disappearance of the main work, as is proved e.g. by the continued existence of the *Han shu* side by side with its epitome, the *Han-chi*, compiled a century later. Still, the absence of a valid explanation for the disappearance of the *Shih-chi* does not invalidate the contention that of the two chapters *Shih-chi* 123 and *Han-shu* 61, it is the latter which is primary and authentic.

The second reason for accepting the authenticity of *Han shu* ch. 61 is provided by the *Han-chi*. In A.D. 198 Hsün Yüeh received the emperor's order to compile this summary of the voluminous *Han shu*, and, as already stated above (p. 18), it often quotes the *Han shu* text *verbatim*, or it provides abstracts, where the events or arguments follow the original order in which these were set out in the *Han shu*.

Of course, the transmission of the text of the *Han-chi* went through vicissitudes of its own, but Ch'en Ch'i-yün (1968) has shown, that the extant version is very reliable. The importance[55] of the *Han-chi*

Former Han

Kao-tsu	206-195 B.C.	Hsüan-ti	73- 49 B.C.
Hui-ti	194-188 B.C.	Yüan-ti	48- 33 B.C.
Lü-hou	187-180 B.C.	Ch'eng-ti	32- 7 B.C.
Wen-ti	179-157 B.C.	Ai-ti	6- 2 B.C.
Ching-ti	156-141 B.C.	P'ing-ti	1 B.C.-5 A.D.
Wu-ti	140- 87 B.C.	Wang Mang (the usurper)	6- 23 A.D.
Chao-ti	86- 74 B.C.		

Later Han

Keng-shih	23- 24 A.D.	Shun-ti	126-144 A.D.
Kuang-wu	25- 57 A.D.	Ch'ung-ti	145 A.D.
Ming-ti	58- 75 A.D.	Chih-ti	146 A.D.
Chang-ti	76- 88 A.D.	Huan-ti	147-167 A.D.
Ho-ti	89-105 A.D.	Ling-ti	168-189 A.D.
Yang-ti	106 A.D.	Hsien-ti	190-220 A.D.
An-ti	107-125 A.D.		

[53] See Forke (1907), p. 8, and Huang Hui (1935), p. 1234.

[54] Forke (1907), pp. 174 and 254, Huang (1935), pp. 81 and 480; for a list of all references see Forke II (1911), pp. 427-428.

[55] The Imperial Catalogue (1782), 47.2a-b, rightly stresses that the *Han-chi* also allows the correction of mistakes in the text of the *Han shu*.

is greatly enhanced by the fact that it was written on paper,[56] so that confusion of the text owing to broken or misplaced strips could not occur.

Now the passages of *Han shu* ch. 61 quoted in the *Han-chi* vindicate the correctness of the present text of *Han shu* 61, and at the same time they prove that this text was extant at a time when the *Shih-chi* text seems not to have been available. Apart from this, it is even possible that the *Han-chi* was used to fill a lacuna in *Shih-chi* ch. 123.[57]

As regards the additional material in *Shih-chi* ch. 123, a comparative study of the texts of *SC* 123 and *HS* 61 shows that the *Shih-chi* text when compared with the *Han shu* contains additional words and short phrases, as well as whole passages.

Concerning these additional words and phrases, it might be argued that the authors of the *Shih-chi* and of the *Han shu* differed in their treatment of the source material they had in common. Ssu-ma Ch'ien in c. 100 B.C. might have rewritten the terse documents at his disposal in a freer, more colloquial style, in the same way as he had reproduced the contents of the archaic sources for the early part of his history in contemporary language.[58] Pan Ku nearly two centuries later, however, might either have kept more closely to the originals he found in the archives, or, in case he relied exclusively on the *Shih-chi*, he might have pruned away what he considered superfluous verbiage, in accordance with the archaizing tendencies of his time.

A careful analysis shows, however, that there exists no such striking difference in style between the two texts. Fundamentally, both texts are identical; only, in *SC* 123 words or phrases prove to have been added in an attempt to make the text unequivocally clear. A study of the longer additional passages in *Shih-chi* ch. 123 which, with few exceptions, have parallels in other chapters of the *Han shu*, shows that these passages were taken from the *Han shu* and were not inserted in these *HS* chapters from *SC* 123; this is proved by the occasional

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[56] Hsün Yüeh says in his preface that when he was ordered to compile the *Han-chi*, the imperial secretariat had to provide paper and brushes whereas the Guards had to provide copyists 尙書給紙筆虎賁給書吏. In Hsün Yüeh's biography in the *Hou-Han shu* (*HHSCC* Mem. 52.10b), this statement is recast in a more archaic formula, viz. that the imperial secretariat had to provide "brushes and (writing-)strips"筆札. However, this is an anachronism, lifted bodily from the biography of the poet Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, who lived in the 2nd century B.C. when wooden or bamboo strips actually were the only writing material other than silk (*HSPC* 57A.3b).

[57] Hulsewé (1975), remarks to line 179, tentatively suggests the possibility that the compiler(s) of *Shih-chi* ch. 123 used the *Han-chi* to fill a certain lacuna.

[58] Cf. *Mh* I, p. cxxvii.

mistakes which resulted from a misunderstanding of the *Han-shu* text. In the end, the additional material in *Shih-chi* ch. 123 proves to be of four types:

1. clarifying words or short phrases, added by a later editor;
2. passages taken from other chapters of the *Han shu* (especially from ch. 96, the Memoir on the Western Regions); on several occasions, such a passage consists of sentences taken from different parts of the original source and combined in a different and sometimes surprising order. These passages serve to provide information not otherwise available in the *Shih-chi*; they are likewise additions provided by a later editor.
3. a few passages of about the length of a single strip; these may have formed part of *Han shu* ch. 61, from where they were lost owing to the breaking of the strings, and where they can be reincorporated.
4. a number of passages which, in view of their content and their phraseology, must have formed part of an earlier text, perhaps the original version of *Shih-chi* ch. 123.

Besides these internal, textcritical arguments, external data also show that the present text of *Shih-chi* ch. 123 is derivative. These data are provided by two different facts.

The first is that the brief synopsis of this chapter included in *Shih-chi* ch. 130 in no way alludes to the chief subjects and the important events this chapter describes, viz. to Chang Ch'ien or Li Kuang-li, nor to the Ta Yüan campaign or the capture of the blood sweating horses. It is conceived in very general terms, whereas, contrary to this, the synopses of other biographical chapters always mention their subject by name. Chapter 123 is characterized as follows: "Once Han had sent envoys to Ta Hsia, the distant barbarians of the extreme West stretched their necks and looked inward, wishing to observe the Central Land".

The synopsis of *HS* 61, included in *HS* 100, is much more to the point, referring to its protagonists and indicating the most important events in their lives; it reads: "(Chang Ch'ien, Noble of) Po-wang, leaning on his staff of authority, gathered merit in Ta Hsia; (Li Kuang-li), the Erh-shih (General), grasping his battle-axe, was sacrificed on the altar of the Nomads. Close to death (Chang Ch'ien) obtained good fortune (by being appointed to a ministerial post); Desirous to live (and consequently surrendering to the Hsiung-nu, Li Kuang-li) created (his own) disaster" (*HSPC* 100 B. 13b).

The second piece of additional proof that the present text of *SC* 123

is a late reconstruction is the following. The first half of the present text of *SC* 123 is undeniably a biography of Chang Ch'ien, containing the usual basic information : the subject's origin, his career, including the posts he occupied and the honours he received, and finally his death. Now, another chapter, viz. *Shih-chi* ch. 111, not only provides a brief biographical note on Chang Ch'ien,[59] but lists him with other military men who are explicitly stated to have no individual biography elsewhere in the *Shih-chi*! *SC* 111 contains the biographies of the two chief military leaders in the early campaigns against the Hsiung-nu : Wei Ch'ing and Huo Ch'ü-ping. Towards the end of the chapter (Tak. ed. p. 34) the text says : "His (viz. Wei Ch'ing's) subordinate generals and colonels who were made General .were fourteen men. These subordinate generals were : Li Kuang; he has a biography of his own. *Those who have no (separate) biography are*: General Kung-sun Ho ..... (p. 39) *General Chang Ch'ien*".[60]

The conclusion of this long, but necessary digression is therefore that *Han shu* ch. 61 is primary, and that *Shih-chi* ch. 123 was practically lost, to be reconstructed out of *Han shu* material — chiefly *Han shu* ch. 61 —, in which a few fragments of an earlier text, perhaps of the original *Shih-chi* chapter, which had fortunately been preserved were inserted. This reconstruction may have been made some time during the 3rd or 4th century of our era.

After this rather extensive discussion of the relationship between *SC* 123 and *HS* 61 we now return to some general observations.

Any evaluation of the merits of the *Han-shu* as source material must rest on the realisation that at least a century and a half elapsed since the events described had taken place. This period had witnessed a considerable degree of sophistication in Chinese thought and literary composition, and the general standards demanded in such work were somewhat different in the time of Pan Ku from what they had been

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[59] This point was noted by Haloun (1937), p. 250, note 1.

[60] This biography contains no unknown facts; it reads: "General Chang Ch'ien. As an envoy he communicated with Ta Hsia; on his return he became a colonel. He accompanied the Great General (i.e. Wei Ch'ing) and acquired merit; he was enfeoffed as Noble of Po-wang. Three years later, as a general, he set out from Yu-pei-p'ing; he was late at a rendez-vous, (a crime) warranting beheading, (but) he redeemed (the punishment) and was made a commoner. Later, as an envoy, he communicated with Wu-sun. On his return he became Superintendent of State Visits and died; his tomb is in Han-chung (commandery)". It is curious to observe that the information concerning Chang Ch'ien's failure to appear at the rendez-vous and the subsequent loss of his nobility is repeated several times, both in the same chapter 111, viz. on pp. 16 and 18, and in *SC* 109.11-13.

up to two centuries previously. In addition, by the time that the *Han-shu* was being written, the Chinese experience of government, their relations with foreign peoples, the development of foreign interests and the knowledge of foreign parts had increased considerably.

It might thus be expected that the *Han-shu*'s use of earlier material would be marked by some degree of criticism. However, there are obvious dangers that accompanied the practical methods of Chinese historians, characterised as the use of "scissors and paste";[61] and such dangers apply with particular force to topics for which the compilers had no independent means of control.

The compilers of the *Han-shu* were working some time between 36 and 121 A.D., and were probably drawing on material that had been prepared up to two centuries previously. At the same time more recent information was at their disposal, and it is highly likely that they had been affected both by the acceptance of the historical facts of the previous decades and by some unconfirmed, and possibly inaccurate, information that was circulating in Lo-yang at the time. In the early decades of the Christian era, Chinese influence in Central Asia practically disappeared[62] and it was not effectively re-established until after A.D. 73; and it cannot be known whether the relevant chapters of the *Han-shu* were compiled before or after this development took place.[63] But in either case it is possible or even probable, that travellers were exciting interest at Lo-yang by telling tales of the Far West; and in such circumstances it could have become very difficult for an historian to avoid being influenced by hearsay. For this reason some allowance must perhaps be made for misuse or misapplication of source materials by the compilers.[64]

For example, the *Han-shu* records in identical terms that both An-hsi and Ta Yüan sent large birds' eggs and conjurors as presents to the Han emperor.[65] It is possible that in attributing details of this type

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[61] For critical assessments of Chinese historiography, see C.S. Gardner, *Chinese Traditional Historiography* (1938), and the papers in Beasley and Pulleyblank (1961).

[62] Bielenstein (1967), pp. 94-102, convincingly shows that communications between China and Central Asia continued throughout this period, contrary to traditional opinion in China and the West, misled by *HSPC* 99B.31a, *HFHD* III, p. 366, that since A.D. 16 "the Western Regions were cut off".

[63] Pulleyblank (1968), p. 250f., adduces good reasons for the possibility that these chapters were finished after A.D. 74.

[64] Bielenstein (1954), pp. 20-81, contains a masterly survey of early Chinese historiography, in which special attention is paid to the use of *topoi* and the danger of taking these too literally.

[65] *HS* 96A.14a (trs. p. 117) and *HS* 61.7a (trs. p. 224).

to different states, none of which had been visited by the compiler himself, some degree of confusion may have been introduced thanks to loose talk or unauthenticated traveller's tales. This principle should perhaps be borne in mind when evaluating both general statements, e.g. such as those concerning the numbers of towns in the Western Regions, and particular accounts, e.g. of coinage, or the provenance of horses, that were likely to have attracted the attention of an audience in Lo-yang during the first century A.D.[66]

There is also a material factor which may have affected the use and accuracy of earlier texts. As has been discussed above (p. 14) these were compiled in the form of rolls of wooden strips, and with the rupture of the strings which tied the strips together, the displacement or loss of columns of text could occur only too easily. This danger could have affected also the use of earlier material by the historian and not only the transmission of the text at later stages.

Information of three main types, that are not entirely separable, is included in the chapters of the *Shih-chi* and *Han-shu* that are under study. We read of the facts and events of China's history itself; there are accounts of incidents that were properly the concern of peoples or leaders who had not been assimilated as elements within the Han empire; and there are descriptive accounts of topographical features or the way of life of foreign parts, including some graphic descriptions of the difficulties of the terrain.[67] These were all matters that were necessarily of interest to the Han historian and which it was his duty to record. For they affected the acts of imperial government and the services rendered by officials in implementing the imperial commands; they concerned Chinese personages, e.g. princesses of the imperial blood, in so far as they had become members of foreign communities and were involved in relations between the emperor and the leaders of those communities; and they constituted the basic information that statesmen and officials needed for framing policies and advising the emperor. Possibly there was some temptation for the historian, or for the officials who had submitted the reports on which his work was eventually based, to indulge in some measure of undue rationalisation or categorisation; for example, the distances given between the western states and Ch'ang-an or the seat of the Protector

[66] E.g., see the statements regarding the number of towns in An-hsi (trs. p. 117), or the type of coins produced in Chi-pin (p. 106), Wu-i and An-hsi (p. 114-116). References to the provenance of horses from the north-west are somewhat confused by textual difficulties in *HS* 61.

[67] See trs. pp. 109-111.

General bear signs of being round approximations that fit a preconceived idea of geography, which it is impossible to fit with information that is available to-day.[68]

It is also worth noting that there are at least two instances for which Pan Ku evidently thought it right to refer to proposals which had been planned but which were not immediately implemented. The first example was a scheme to attack the Hsiung-nu in 74 B.C. which was cancelled owing to the death of the emperor.[69] Presumably the records available for consultation had included a reference to this proposal. The second example concerns the proposal put forward by Sang Hung-yang and others in c. 92 B.C. to establish military colonies at Lun-t'ai. Here Pan Ku thought it suitable to include the full documentation, i.e. the text of the recommendation submitted by the officials and that of the decree in which the proposal was refused.[70]

The inclusion of technical and statistical information in Chapter 96 of the *Han-shu* is systematic and orderly, and bears witness to a high standard of record keeping, presumably at the office of the Protector General. Some of the information, such as the lists of titles of the leading personalities in the states of the west, both poses problems of interpretation and sheds some light on the Chinese treatment of other communities; it therefore invites brief consideration in the context of the compilation of the histories.

A few of the titles are given in the form of a contemporary transcription of non-Chinese terms (e.g. terms whose modern form is *Shan-yü* or *K'un-mi*), but the majority consist of meaningful expressions which were coined in Chinese for the purpose. Such titles are not identical with those of Han officials proper who served in the central or the provincial government, but they incorporate a number of expressions that were used in the Han institutional practice (e.g., *tu-wei*); and for the most part the titles describe the function, either practical or imaginary, of the dignitary in question.

In this connection it should be noted that whereas the ruler of the Chinese empire was the emperor, or *huang-ti*, the supreme authority in the alien states is referred to as *wang*, or king. This title also featured

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[68] These errors may be due to ignorance or false assumption rather than to prejudice. See Pulleyblank (1966), p. 22ff.

[69] See trs. p. 150. This is also referred to in *HS* 70.2b-3a and in *YTL*, p. 298.

[70] See trs. pp. 166f., 231 and 76. The inclusion of this material may possibly be explained by the fact that Sang Hung-yang's proposal was eventually accepted, at a later stage, during the reign of Emperor Chao.

in the institutional framework of the empire, where it implied a minor role, and a position that was specifically subordinated to the emperor.

The other titles apply to the non-Chinese persons who took a leading part in the conduct of affairs in the western regions; and their authority derived, in the first instance, from the rulers of those communities. However, by adopting Chinese terminology for describing these functionaries, Chinese statesmen, officials and historians alike, as it were, included them within the sphere of the Han imperial order; and in this way the device served several purposes. It brought these functionaries within the company of officials duly recognised by the emperor and at the same time acknowledged that they were both authorised and capable of exercising their powers of leadership and government. With the fulfilment of these requisite qualifications, it became possible for duly appointed Han officials such as the Protector General to co-operate with the local, non-Chinese leaders and to support them with the resources of the empire should such action be necessary or desirable. In addition, by accepting such titles, the local dignitaries showed themselves willing to accept a defined relationship with the Han emperor.[71]

The conferment and acceptance of these titles was thus of considerably greater value than that of a gesture devoid of practical significance, as it made political and military action possible. The passage late in *Han-shu* Chapter 96, which gives a total figure for those who "carried on their belts Han seals and ribbons" may therefore be taken not solely as a vainglorious boast but as a statement in measurable terms of the practical achievement reached in the process of empire building.[72] At least one example survives, albeit from the post-Han period, to show that the seals that are mentioned did exist in material form.[73]

For all but three[74] of the descriptive notices of the states, *Han-shu* Chapter 96 regularly includes figures of the population, sub-divided

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[71] The establishment of an official Chinese post to protect a local leader and to supervise colonial work at I-hsün (trs. p. 91) is somewhat exceptional.

[72] See trs. p. 197. The inclusion in the list of a few titles that were transcriptions of non-Chinese terms need not invalidate the argument.

[73] For a seal that may have been conferred on the *Shan-shan tu-wei*, see Brough (1965), pp. 590f.; Loewe (1969), pp. 98f.; and Brough (1970), pp. 39ff. Another example, though not from the Western Regions, is the golden seal given to the king of T'ien (in present-day Yünnan) in 109 B.C. (*HSPC* 94A.5a, cf. *HFHD* II, p. 92, and cf. Kurihara 1960, p. 220ff.).

[74] The exceptions are An-hsi, Wu-i-shan-li (where the text is defective); and Chi-pin,

under the three headings of households, individuals and persons able to bear arms. While some of the counts are intended to be accurate down to the final digits (e.g. for Pei-lu, where they are given as 227 households, 1387 individuals and 422 persons able to bear arms), some bear signs of being no more than approximations (e.g. for P'i-shan, where they read 500, 3500 and 500 respectively); and there are wide variations between the proportionate numbers of the three categories. In general there is a greater attempt at precision for the states that lay along the two routes, whose figures were probably supplied by the Protector General's office, than for those states that lay out beyond the Pamir, and whose figures presumably come from hearsay. Those fragments of a more ancient source which are found in the present *Shih-chi* and which were compiled before the Protector General's office had been established, include statistics for those outer states only, and these are usually described as being approximate, as can be seen from the following table :

	Shih-chi		Han-shu		
	population	trained bowmen	households	individuals	persons able to bear arms
Ta Yüan	possibly some hundred thousands	—	60.000	300.000	60.000
Ta Hsia	large, possibly over 1.000.000	—	—	—	—
Wu-sun	—	several myriads	120.000	630.000	188.800
K'ang-chü	—	80-90.000	120.000	600.000	120.000
Yen-ts'ai	—	over 100.000	—	—	100.000
The Ta Yüeh-chih	—	possibly 100-200.000	100.000	400.000	100.000

In the same way, the *Han shu* includes a more precise and systematic set of figures than those fragments to indicate the spatial relationships of the various states under discussion. With a very few exceptions, we are given the number of *li* which separated the states from Ch'ang-an and from the seat of the Protector General, together with a general indication of direction. Sometimes there is added the

where it is said that there were "many" households, individuals and persons able to bear arms.

distance to the Yang barrier or to the immediately neighbouring states; and in a small number of cases, distance is expressed in terms of the days needed for the journey instead of in the number of *li*. Figures of *li* usually end in 0 or 5, but in some instances the final digit is not a mere approximation. However, there may be signs that the figures for distance were sometimes reached by applying a formula to a statistic that had been accepted previously, rather than as an attempt at an actual estimate of the distance involved. In the *Shih-chi* the few figures that are given for distances are expressed more crudely in approximations such as "possibly 2-3000 *li* to the west". The usual attempt made by historians or geographers[75] to reconstruct the geographical knowledge of the time is based on the figures of the *Han-shu*, but no complete attempt has been made to examine all the problems involved or to consider the discrepancies between the accounts of the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu*.[76]

The compilers of the *Han-shu*, then, presented information concerning the far west in two chapters, drawing, as far as we may know, on the (verbal?) report presented by Chang Ch'ien and other envoys and the reports submitted from the office of the Protector General, and, perhaps, on the ancient text included in the present chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi*. They included other passages by way of amplification, sometimes with a suitable marking for the reader; and in some cases they referred a reader from one part of the history to another.[77] There were obviously some cases when the context of the two chapters merged together, and the historian found himself alluding to or leading up to the same event. But in general the compilers avoided the duplication of long passages in the two chapters; and in some cases they inserted a short summarised statement, before referring a reader to

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[75] I.e., those based on the work of the Ch'ing scholars and the atlas published by Yang Shou-ching 楊守敬 (*Li-tai yü ti-t'u* 歷代輿地圖); see also Huang Wen-pi (1948), map 5, facing p. 52.

[76] See Pulleyblank (1966), p. 22f.

[77] Exceptionally, there are some comparatively long passages that are duplicated, effectively *in toto*, between Chapters 61 and 96 (e.g., the passages concerning the defeat of Lou-lan that appear in *HS* 61.7a (trs. p. 223) and *HS* 96A.4a (trs. p. 86), as well as in *SC* 123.13b). More regularly, where duplication is needed for clarity, the *Han-shu* includes a long account in one chapter and a short summary in the other, e.g.:

	Long account	Summary
Chang Ch'ien's mission to Wu-sun	*HS* 96B (trs. p. 145f.)	*HS* 61 (trs. p. 218)
The campaign of the Erh-shih General	*HS* 61 (trs. pp. 228f.)	*HS* 96A (trs. p. 135)
The expedition sent to relieve Wu-sun	*HS* 94A.33b *et seq.*	*HS* 96B (trs. p. 151)

the other chapter for a detailed account. No positive statement can be made regarding the methods or system adopted in the process of compilation, but it is possible that the following principles may have been operative:

(a) For chapter 61 the compiler took as his main material the deeds of Chang Ch'ien and Li Kuang-li, the two men who had contributed most to the establishment of Chinese power and influence in Central Asia, in the same way as he had done in the case of the two men who had been instrumental in consolidating Chinese power by defeating the Hsiung-nu, Wei Ch'ing and Huo Ch'ü-ping, whose actions are described in *HS* 55. It is impossible to say how far the compiler let himself be guided by the genuine *Shih-chi* Chapter 123, now lost. During the process of compilation some of the copy was set aside for incorporation in chapter 96.

(b) For Chapter 96, the compiler took other documents, such as the reports of envoys and the Protector General, as the main source of information, and edited them by including some historical information obtained elsewhere.

Whatever processes were involved in the compilation of these two chapters of the *Han-shu*, the finished product gives a general impression of orderly and methodical treatment of source material, so as to provide readers with a consistent whole. There are, however, a few instances in which the composition may be regarded as faulty.

(1) *Han-shu* 96B refers (see p. 147) to the pressure exerted by the Hsiung-nu on Wu-sun, and the continual journeyings of Han envoys to Ta Yüan and the Yüeh-chih, with Wu-sun's consequent apprehensions. The passage is only fully understood by reference to *Han-shu* chapter 61 (see p. 218), where it is stated that the Han envoys to Ta Yüan and elsewhere were sent out by Chang Ch'ien as his deputies, while he was still in Wu-sun. The omission of this detail in *Han-shu* Chapter 96 leaves the logical sequence incomplete.

(2) *Han-shu* 96A (p. 127f.) incorporates the gist of several memorials that were submitted to the central government by Kuo Shun, the Protector General. It is clear that the compilers were summarising several documents and that some relevant points in the argument have been omitted (e.g. the introduction of the question of a matrimonial alliance with Wu-sun is abrupt, and the reader is not provided with all the facts that are necessary. It is also possible that the text had been abbreviated excessively, e.g. in the passage 故為無所省 and 為好辭之詐也; and it is also possible that the text of the memorials had been terminated before a final recommendation was made).

(3) *Han-shu* 61 (p. 220) refers to An-hsi, Yen-ch'i, Li-kan, T'iao-chih and Shen-tu. So also does the corresponding passage in *Shih-chi* 123, where, however, the treatment is more logical. For in *Shih-chi* 123 those places have already been described, whereas for the *Han-shu* such notices have been incorporated in Chapter 96; and although the reader had duly received some warning of this (see *Han-shu* 61, p. 210 below), he is in fact presented with proper names without a suitable explanation.

(4) Similarly *Han-shu* 61 (p. 233) uses the term Southern and Northern Routes, although these are not meaningful expressions unless the introductory part of Chapter 96 has been studied.

(5) *Han-shu* 61 (p. 215) uses the term *Hsi-hou* without explanation, which only appears from the list of *Hsi-hou* that is given in Chapter 96 (p. 121f.).

To the translators of these texts, *Han-shu* 96 gives an impression of far greater orderliness than the other chapters under consideration, and there is little doubt that the text had been subject to less corruption than that of Chapter 61. As compared with *Shih-chi* Chapter 123 the chapters of the *Han-shu* together form a more consistent and more logically arranged account, as is to be expected from authors who were writing with more information at their disposal and wider experience of foreign parts than the men who reconstructed *Shih-chi* chapter 123 centuries later.

Apart from the works of contemporary Chinese and Japanese scholars, which appear as individual entries in the bibliography (see p. 240f. below) the secondary sources may be classified in three groups, including:

1. Early summaries and rearrangements of the dynastic histories,
2. Traditional commentators on the dynastic histories,
3. Commentators who have specialised in the problems of central Asia.

1. The incorporation of the text of certain parts of the *Shih-chi* and *Han-shu* in other types of historical writing or in the later encyclopaedias, so far from being valueless, frequently provides a significant corrective for the primary sources. For, although they were compiled subsequently to the Dynastic Histories, such works may nonetheless retain a better preserved version of the originals on which they drew and may thus permit the correction of errors that have been

due to faulty textual transmission. The principal works which are concerned with the present enquiry are the *Han-chi*, *T'ung-tien* and *Tzu-chih t'ung chien.*

(a) The *Han-chi*, or chronicle of Han, was compiled on the basis of the *Han-shu* as an attempt to present the historical events in an abbreviated and systematic form. While the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu* disperse their information in different chapters, e.g. as between the Imperial Annals and the Biographies, in the *Han-chi* selected facts that are relevant to a particular situation are collected together and presented to the reader in one context. In this way the historian provides his readers with a more immediately complete version than the one that may be gathered from the various chapters of the *Han-shu.*

As already noted above (page 22) the *Han-chi* was compiled by Hsün Yüeh (148-209) about a century after the completion of the *Han-shu*,[78] and the work is valuable for two principal reasons. In the first instance the interval between the compilation and that of its source was rather short; and there had consequently been considerably less chance that the text of the *Han-shu* had been subject to corruption than is the case with the received text of that work. Secondly the compiler of the *Han-chi* inserted a number of his own highly critical comments, which are clearly separated from the historical account itself. Thus the *Han-chi* both facilitates the emendation of the *Han shu* where this may be corrupt, and includes some shrewd criticism that was written quite shortly after the events that are described.[79]

(b) The *T'ung-tien* or Comprehensive Statutes, the earliest of the encyclopaedic collections to survive *in toto*, was drawn up for the guidance of officials and in order to assist them in the execution of their duties. To provide his readers with full information about the foreign peoples whom they might be called upon to administer, the compiler (Tu Yu; 735-812) drew extensively on the Dynastic Histories and included extracts from those works in the relevant section of his encyclopaedia. Like the author of the *Han-chi*, Tu Yu, whose preface

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[78] The *Han-shu* was probably completed by A.D. 92 (see Hulsewé, in Beasley and Pulleyblank (1961), p. 39); for the circumstances in which the *Han-chi* was compiled and the motives of Hsün Yüeh, see Ch'en Ch'i-yun (1968).

[79] The doubt expressed by Ch'en Ch'i-yün (1968) do not affect the authenticity of these remarks, but only their provenance, viz. whether they were all originally to be found in the *Han-chi* or whether they were (partly) supplied later from his extensive biography in *HHS* Mem. 52.

is dated in 801, may have had access to a more accurate version of the *Han-shu* than those that are available to-day.[80]

The same considerations apply to a number of other encyclopaedic collections which were drawn up in the succeeding centuries for the same purpose as the *T'ung-tien.*

(c) The *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, or Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government, was compiled by Ssu-ma Kuang and certain other scholars in the middle part of the eleventh century. Like the *Han-chi* it was designed to provide a more directly complete account of Chinese history than the one that is dispersed among the various chapters of the dynastic histories; but whereas the *Han-chi* was concerned solely with the period of western Han, the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* sets out to cover the period from 404 B.C. to A.D. 960. The work is framed in the same form as the *Han-chi*, i.e., as a straight account of events in strictly chronological order. The scholars who compiled the work possessed advanced powers of criticism and added their comments where they were appropriate. In addition they were ready and able to draw on certain materials other than the dynastic histories by way of supplement, or in order to define and solve problems of readings and interpretation. Although this advantage applies with considerably greater force to the later periods of Chinese history than to the Han dynasty, the work is none the less of great value in particular instances for that period. Moreover, in addition to their comments on the historical developments that they were recording, the compilers made a valuable contribution to Chinese historiography by appending a further and separate set of notes. In these they explained the reasons and quoted sources to show why they had chosen one of several versions and how they had solved certain obvious problems.[81]

2. The *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu* formed a pattern that was to be followed subsequently both by private compilers of the dynastic histories and by the commissions which were appointed by the imperial governments to prepare these works. Partly for this reason the two histories have attracted considerably greater interest than most of their successors, and attention has been focussed both on the intrinsically interesting subject matter and on the literary style, which became the norm for later historians to emulate.

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[80] For an account of the *T'ung-tien*, see Balazs, in Beasley and Pulleyblank (1961), p. 88 f.

[81] For a full account of the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* and its compilation, see Pulleyblank, in Beasley and Pulleyblank (1961), p. 151 f.

However, the two works were written for contemporary readers who were living in the Han period; and they do not hesitate to use the technical nomenclature of Han institutions. In addition, the compilers assumed a general knowledge of the dynastic and political situation; and it is hardly surprising that both in their own writings and in the documents which they cite there occur expressions which soon became outmoded in the Chinese language and incomprehensible in so far as they denoted practices which were obsolete. It was probably from a very early stage, perhaps the second century A.D., that scholars and teachers found it necessary to explain these matters and to attempt the solution of textual anomalies and the other difficulties which they encountered. We do not know at what stage precisely such explanations were first written down or the form in which such notes may have appeared. But whatever the origin of the written commentaries for the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu*, we possess today a bewilderingly rich variety of such notes. These were probably first incorporated in copies of the histories that were made from the sixth or seventh centuries; and the commentators may be classified for convenience in three groups:

(a) Early scholars for whose work we possess no independent source, and for which we must rely on inclusions in (b). These are dated prior to the fifth century.

(b) Later commentators, dating from the fifth to the twentieth centuries who both collected the remarks of earlier scholars and drew up their own explanations. These comments were inserted together, with due acknowledgement to earlier sources, in manuscripts and early printed editions from the seventh and eleventh centuries respectively. The practice of including comments in substantially smaller writing or printing between the columns of the text of these histories is testified in fragments that have been found at Tun-huang and which date perhaps from the seventh century; and it has been continued in the editions that have been printed in traditional style until the middle of the twentieth century. Some of these editions were sponsored by the government and some include the fruits of a new type of criticism dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

(c) Authorities such as Cheng Hsüan (127-200), whose scholastic work was directed to elucidating texts which pre-date the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu*. In so far as such works, often revered as canonical texts, are quoted verbatim in the histories, the commentators do not hesitate to cite the remarks which apply to such sources. It may also be noted that the commentators sometimes quote from independent

works which concerned Han institutions and which were written as early as the first century A.D. and have been subsequently lost.[82]

A list of the more important of these commentators and authorities follows :

Chang Shou-chieh	張守節	fl. c. 737
Chang Yen	張晏	? 3rd, 4th century
Cheng Chung	鄭衆	5-83
Cheng Hsüan	鄭玄	127-200
Cheng shih	鄭氏	265-317
Ch'i Shao-nan	齊召南	1703-1768
Ch'ien Ta-chao	錢大昭	1744-1813
Ch'ien Ta-hsin	錢大昕	1728-1804
Chin Cho	晋灼	fl. c. 208
Chou Shou-ch'ang	周壽昌	1814-1884
Chu I-hsin	朱一新	1848-1894
Ch'u Shao-sun	褚少孫	fl. 47-7 B.C.
Ch'üan Tsu-wang	全祖望	1705-1755
Fan Yeh	范曄	398-436
Fu Ch'ien	服虔	c. 125-195
Hsieh Tsan	薛瓚	fl. 352-386 (sometimes identified as Fu Tsan 傅瓚 fl. ca. 285.)
Ho Ch'o	何焯	1661-1722
Hsieh Ch'eng	謝承	fl. 3rd century
Hsü Kuang	徐廣	352-425
Hsü Sung	徐松	1781-1848
Hsün Yüeh	荀悅	148-209
Hu San-hsing	胡三省	1230-1287
Hui Tung	惠棟	1697-1750
Hung I-hsüan	洪頤煊	1765-1837
Ju Shun	如淳	fl. 221-265
Juan Yüan	阮元	1764-1849
K'ung Ying-ta	孔穎達	574-648
Kuo Sung-tao	郭嵩燾	1818-1891
Li Ch'i	李奇	c. 200
Li Fei	李斐	? 3rd century
Li Hsien	李賢	651-684
Li Shan	李善	648-689

[82] E.g., the various short descriptions of Han institutions, whose fragments have been collected as *Han kuan liu chung* etc.

Li Tz'u-ming	李慈明	1813-1894
Liu Chao	劉昭	7th century
Liu Pin	劉攽	1022-1088
Meng K'ang	孟康	fl. 180-260
P'ei Yin	裴駰	fl. 465-472
Shen Ch'in-han	沈欽韓	1775-1832
Ssu-ma Chen	司馬貞	fl. 713-742
Ssu-ma Kuang	司馬光	1019-1086
Ssu-ma Piao	司馬彪	240-306
Su Lin	蘇林	fl. 196-227
Su Yü	蘇輿	early 20th century
Sun Hsing-yen	孫星衍	1753-1818
Sung Ch'i	宋祁	998-1061
Ts'ai Yung	蔡邕	133-192
Teng Chan	鄧展	fl. c. 208
Tu Yü	杜豫	222-284
Wang Hsien-ch'ien	王先謙	1842-1918
Wang Hsien-shen	王先慎	1859-1918
Wang Ming-sheng	王鳴盛	1722-1798
Wang Nien-sun	王念孫	1744-1832
Wang Yin-chih	王引之	1766-1834
Wang Ying-lin	王應麟	1223-1296
Wei Chao	韋昭	197-273
Wei Hung	衛宏	fl. 25-57
Wen Ying	文穎	fl. 196-220
Wu Jen-chieh	吳仁傑	fl. 1137-1199
Yang Shu-ta	楊樹達	1885-1956
Yeh Te-hui	葉德輝	1864-1927
Yen Shih-ku	顏師古	581-645
Ying Shao	應劭	fl. 140-206
Yü Yüeh	俞樾	1821-1907
Yüan Hung	袁宏	328-376

3. Two authors deserve special notice in view of the particular knowledge and experience which they possessed in respect of central Asia. These are Hsü Sung (1781-1848) and Huang Wen-pi (20th century).

Hsü Sung[83] entered official service after taking his degree in 1805. After a somewhat chequered, but by no means abnormal, career, he

[83] See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, p. 321.

was brought to trial on a number of charges and sentenced to banishment in Sinkiang Province (1813). This unfortunate fate has proved to be of considerable value to historians of a later generation, for during the seven years which elapsed before he was pardoned Hsü Sung devoted his not inconsiderable intellectual powers to a study of the area where circumstances had brought him. Subsequently he was able to deepen his knowledge of the province in the course of a long journey which he undertook in 1815-16. On that occasion he enjoyed the support of the governor, and one of the purposes of the journey was to collect information for a full topographical study of the region. Of three works which Hsü Sung compiled as a result of his experiences in this part of central Asia, one concerns the river system of Sinkiang (printed in 1823) and one consists of detailed notes to chapter 96 of the *Han-shu*.

More recently, Huang Wen-pi has been able to take part in field work in Sinkiang province itself, following the discoveries made earlier in the century by Sir Aurel Stein and the members of the Sino-Swedish expedition. As a result of these expeditions it has become possible to apply archaeological and epigraphical evidence to the study of the historical texts and to comment on these in the light of topographical detail. Huang Wen-pi's publications include reports on the archaeology of the Lop-nor and the Tarim Basin.[84]

3. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT*

Speculation and surmise rather than authentic evidence and record provide the basis for any view regarding the contacts that existed between China and the peoples of central Asia before the historical period. The existence of very early cultural contacts has been adduced to account for the cultivation of certain grains in China in the neolithic period. To some archaeologists certain finds suggest that western influences were not entirely absent from some of China's earliest pottery; and the western origin for China's horse-drawn chariot is generally conceded.[85] China's own early written sources refer to a number of tribes who were actively engaged in hostilities with the Chinese in about the eighth and seventh centuries, but the peoples

[84] *Lo-pu-no-erh k'ao-ku chi* 羅布淖爾考古記 (Peiping, 1948) and *T'a-li-mu p'en-ti k'ao-ku chi* 塔里木盆地考古記 (Peking, 1958).

[85] See Pulleyblank (1966), p. 13, who rightly refers to Von Dewall (1964), but cf. Yang Hung (1977), p. 89.

* For the place-names mentioned in these pages, see p. 267f. below.

who are named cannot be identified with any certainty; and for some time a few anthropologists and historians even supported the theory that the settlement of the kings of Chou in the Yellow River valley in the twelfth century B.C. owed its origin to a movement of peoples from Asia to the east.[86]

China's own knowledge of the west, as far as may be ascertained from early records, was hazy and inchoate. Lacking a precise sense of topography and unable to distinguish between various types of peoples, the Chinese regarded the west as a never-never land which housed mysterious and immortal beings, and which lay beyond the realm of human knowledge.[87] This picture survived in the Chinese imagination well into the Han period, long after the Chinese had met Asiatics in the flesh, had fought bitter wars with their horsemen and had built a series of walls by way of defence. The impression lingered on after those defence-lines had been united in a single system (c. 215 B.C.), and after the Chinese had begun to receive validated reports from reliable explorers, in the last quarter of the second century B.C. By now China was strong enough to embark on a positive policy vis-à-vis the peoples of the north and the north-west.

Owing partly to the dispersal of information in the different parts of the *Han-shu* and the authors' treatment of the subject-matter, a clear picture does not immediately emerge of the diplomatic moves undertaken by Han governments in Central Asia, of the success of those undertakings or even of the incidents that took place. The following summary is an attempt to single out the more important incidents and factors, prior to a discussion of the methods and conduct of Chinese foreign policy.[88]

Chinese penetration into Central Asia was the unforeseen result of the struggle of Han China against the Hsiung-nu. The latter had been

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[86] On various aspects of this problem see i.a. Fairservis (1962), von Dewall (1964), Pulleyblank (1966) and Průšek (1971); for a general survey see also Needham (1959), p. 150 ff.

[87] For a detailed description of these ideas see Haloun (1926). The *Shan-hai-ching*, the Canon of the Mountains and the Seas, a mythological geography, partly pre-Han and partly Han (cf. Maenchen-Helfen 1923), presents a curious image of Chinese knowledge of the lands beyond its confines.

[88] For a review of these events see *Mh* I, pp. lxxxviii-cvii, Drake (1935-36) and especially Ōba (1977), pp. 157-172. A more detailed survey, extending also to later periods including T'ang times, is provided in the work on the Chinese administration of the Western Regions (including Tibet) by Ise (1968); there Han developments are outlined on pp. 37-94. Chang Ch'un-shu (1966) and (1967) deals in great detail with the Kansu corridor.

thrust back by the first emperor of the Ch'in dynasty in the years around 215 B.C.; but after the collapse of the Ch'in empire and the ensuing civil war, they had returned in some force and continued to harrass the Han for many decades. In the first half century of its existence the Han empire was internally divided and weak, and unable to do more than have the local authorities try to defend themselves against the Hsiung-nu attacks. These were delivered sporadically along the whole length of the northern border; and their raiding parties sometimes penetrated very close to Ch'ang-an city itself. Only when a degree of political, dynastic and economic consolidation had been achieved, from c. 130 B.C., did it become possible for the central government to initiate strong measures to put an end to the raids of the northerners. In addition to the despatch of offensive expeditions to take the fighting into the lands where the Hsiung-nu operated, the Han government sent out an exploratory mission under the famous Chang Ch'ien to secure the alliance of other peoples against the Hsiung-nu.

The failure of Chang Ch'ien to secure an agreement with the Ta Yüeh-chih to join an alliance with the Han against the Hsiung-nu was followed by important and positive changes in Han's appreciation of the non-Chinese world. This change came about in the first instance thanks to the reports in which Chang Ch'ien described the possibility of acquiring luxury goods for China's enrichment, of expanding Han territory and of increasing imperial prestige. A premature and abortive attempt to make a contact with the world of which the court was learning took place by way of the south-west, probably a few years before 123 B.C.[89]; this was before the decisive defeat of the Hsiung-nu and their expulsion to the north in 119 B.C. It was this defeat, coupled with the clearing of the long belt of fertile country constituting the present-day Kansu corridor, which brought the Chinese right into central Asia and made direct contact with the alien communities a practical possibility.

Chang Ch'ien's second major mission, which was directed to Wu-sun, will be considered below in connection with Chinese relations with that state. It may however be noted here that, as a result of that mission, some Chinese diplomatic activity was initiated with states that lay further to the west. For Chang Ch'ien sent deputies to proceed to Ta Yüan, K'ang-chü, the Yüeh-chih and Ta Hsia, and these returned to Ch'ang-an after Chang Ch'ien's death, sometimes accompanied by visitors from those places. Their example was followed a few, perhaps

[89] See trs. pp. 212-213.

fifteen,[90] years later by the despatch of missions to An-hsi, Yen-ch'i, Li-kan, T'iao-chih, Shen-tu and Wu-i-shan-li; but their frequency cannot be estimated for certain.[91] Nearer to China the missions which were sent to the states of the Far West were staffed by men who — if we are to believe the historian — were ill-chosen and ill-disciplined.[92]

At the time when an attempt was being made to find a passage to the states of the west by way of the south-west, the Han government had accepted the advice of the newly appointed Imperial Councellor, Kung-sun Hung, to abandon any further attempts in that direction and to concentrate resources on attacking the Hsiung-nu.[93] The next attempt to proceed by way of the south-west took place after 111 B.C., i.e. not only after the Chinese defeat of the Hsiung-nu, but also after the conclusion of campaigns against the Yüeh people in the south-east. But once again it proved impossible to establish a regular means of communication with the western states through those mountainous and intractable regions.

Reports of the existence of a supply of fine horses in Ta Yüan were brought to Wu-ti both by Chang Ch'ien[94] and members of later missions who may well have been speaking in order to flatter their emperor.[95] But whatever their reliability, the reports were evidently sufficient to persuade the Han government to send a mission to buy a supply of the animals for gold. The mission's failure coupled with the

[90] Precise dating is very difficult. The missions set out after Wu-sun had contracted a matrimonial alliance with Han (*c.* 110) and after the fortification of Ling-chü and the foundation of Chiu-ch'üan commandery (for the date of this latter event, see *RHA*, vol. I, p. 59). Daffinà (1967), p. 72, points out that apart from embassies exchanged between Wu-ti and an Arsacid ruler (probably Mithradatēs II), the An-hsi paragraph in *HS* 96A reflects historical conditions that are considerably later than the time of Chang Ch'ien's mission to Wu-sun (which Ssu-ma Kuang *TCTC* 20, p. 656, places in 115 B.C.). Daffinà stresses that it is only *SC* 123 — which he also believes to be spurious — which explicitly mentions An-hsi among the countries where Chang Ch'ien despatched missions. The lateness of the information in *HS* 96A is apparent from the coins described there; these seem to be coins issued by Phraatēs V (2 B.C. - A.D. 4) with the head of his wife (and mother) Thea Ourania Mousa. Daffinà notes that the head of the queen only reappears together with that of the king on the coins of Gōtarzēs (c. A.D. 38-51).

[91] See trs. p. 220 for the passage describing the frequency and size of the Han missions. This general statement cannot however be substantiated in respect of missions sent to particular destinations; and elsewhere (trs. p. 115) we learn that Han missions to Wu-i-shan-li, which lay well to the west of the two routes, were rare.

[92] See trs. p. 221.

[93] *HS* 95.3a.

[94] See trs. pp. 133-135.

[95] See trs. p. 225.

reduction of Han prestige and the reports that Yüan was a weak state further persuaded the government to despatch a large military expedition to achieve the desired result, and there followed the famous expedition of Li Kuang-li, who on this occasion was given the title of Erh-shih general (104-101 B.C.). Li's first attempt was a failure, but at his return to besiege the city of Yüan, the king was murdered by his noblemen and his place taken by Mei-ts'ai, who was known to have treated Han envoys favourably in the past. At the same time a large number of the greatly desired animals were presented to the Han forces. Later, when Mei-ts'ai was killed in his turn, Ta Yüan maintained good relations with Han by sending a hostage to the court of Ch'ang-an; and in an exchange of gifts, the Han government managed to secure an agreement for the supply of two horses each year.[96]

In the course of the four-year campaign against Ta Yüan, the Chinese took forceful action gainst two other places. As distinct from the other communities which lay in the path of Li Kuang-li's armies, Lun-t'ai refused to provide facilities, and its inhabitants were butchered.[97] Similarly the town of Yü-ch'eng had dared to resist the advance of the Han forces. At its eventual defeat the king fled to another state for protection, but was then delivered to Han authorities. He was put to death by the escort which was taking him under custody to Ch'ang-an.[98]

Chang Ch'ien had advised that advantages would accrue from making an agreement with the people of Wu-sun.[99] These had had a varied history of relations with other peoples of Central Asia, and Chang Ch'ien had believed that they could be settled into lands that were comparatively near China, and that their loyalty could be secured by offering a matrimonial alliance with a Han princess. At this time the people of Wu-sun had scant knowledge of China, and the offer was refused despite Chang Ch'ien's diplomacy; and it was only after a mission from Wu-sun had visited Ch'ang-an and seen with their own eyes the extent of Han strength and wealth that the leaders of Wu-sun became open to these suggestions.

There followed a highly complex story of the relations between Han and Wu-sun that included the marriage of the *K'un-mo* (i.e. leader

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[96] See trs. pp. 225f. and 135f.

[97] See trs. p. 231.

[98] See trs. p. 234.

[99] See trs. p. 145.

of the Wu-sun people, also called *K'un-mi*) to a Chinese princess (*c.* 110 B.C.), and the simultaneous gift of a concubine from the Hsiung-nu. Later the Chinese princess was married to the *K'un-mo*'s grandson, and on her death she was replaced by another Han princess.[100] In 71 B.C. Han and Wu-sun launched a joint campaign against the Hsiung-nu; and despite some misgivings at the Han court it was agreed in principle (64 B.C.) that the alliance should be strengthened by concluding a further marriage with the heir of the *K'un-mi*, Han receiving the gift of a thousand horses and a thousand mules. However, this arrangement was cancelled when the people of Wu-sun themselves altered the line of succession, and members of the Han mission were involved in an abortive plot to murder the newly acceded *K'un-mi* who was known as the Mad King.

By now the Han government was exercising sufficient pressure in Wu-sun to affect the succession of its leaders. In 53 there were established two *K'un-mi*, both under the aegis of Han authority, who divided the Wu-sun lands and peoples between them. The succession in both lines was accompanied by plot and murder, with the Han Protector General taking part, sometimes in negotiation, sometimes in action. In 1 B.C. the greater *K'un-mi* paid a visit to Ch'ang-an together with the *Shan-yü* of the Hsiung-nu, and in the succeeding years the question of the succession remained somewhat unstable.

Although Han had been in contact with Chi-pin[101] since the time of Wu-ti, Han envoys who reached that community were subject to threat or murder. However, at a time which is not specified, the king of Chi-pin was put to death as a result of a plot which had been hatched by a Chinese official and Yin-mo-fu. This local leader was then established as king under Han authority. The results however were not entirely of advantage to Han, and relations were severed during the reign of Yüan-ti (48-33 B.C.). During the next reign, Chi-pin's proposal to re-open relations was refused on the grounds that Chi-pin was simply seeking material profit and had no real desire for friendship with Han.[102]

Sometime during Wu-ti's reign a Han colonelcy had been established with the express purpose of founding military colonies at Ch'ü-li.[103]

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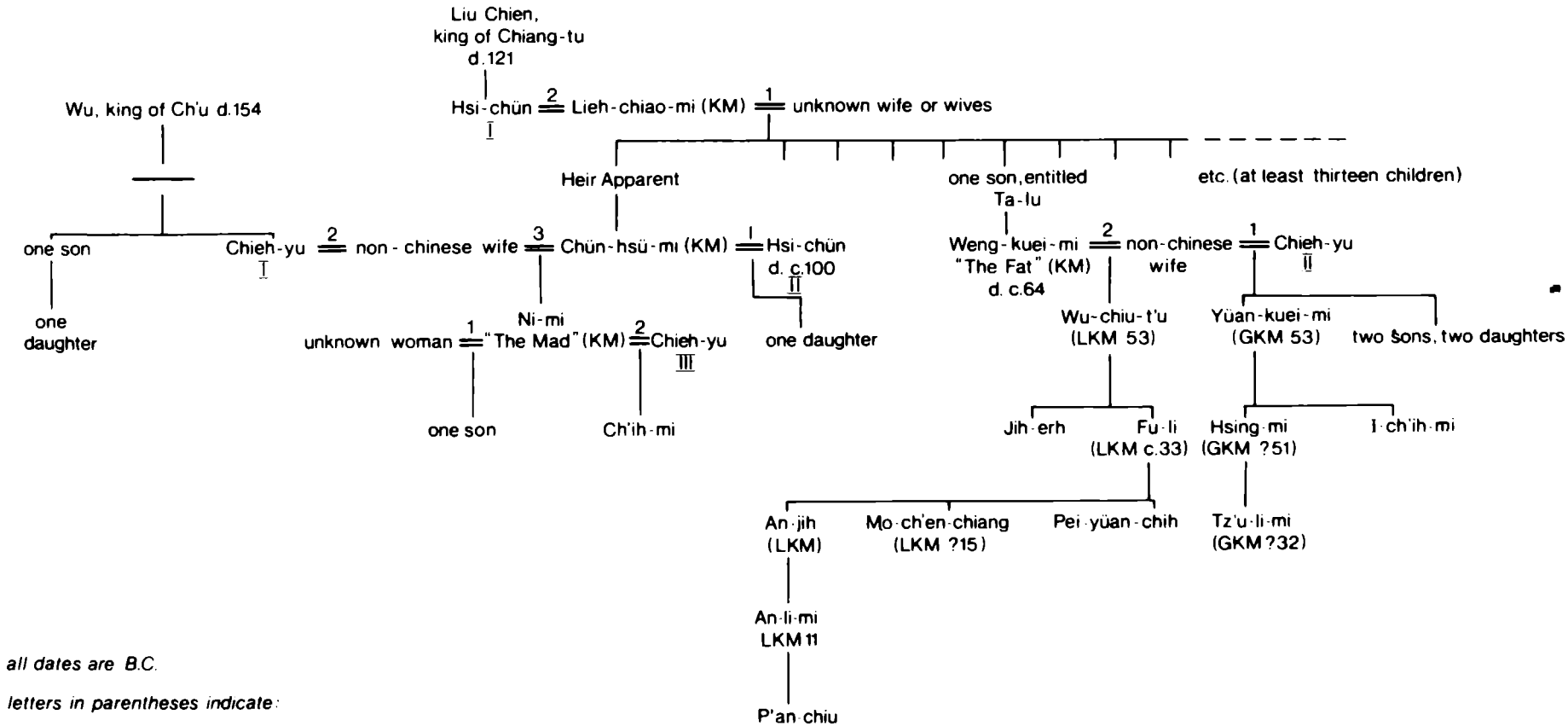
[100] Details of the matrimonial arrangements may be seen in the appended diagram; see also note 183 below.

[101] See trs. p. 104f.

[102] See trs. p. 109f. for the text of a highly significant memorial presented by Tu Ch'in. For Tu Ch'in's place in Han politics, see Loewe (1974), pp. 245-6.

[103] See trs. p. 165f.



all dates are B.C.

letters in parentheses indicate:

KM K'un-mo

GKM Greater K'un-mi

LKM Lesser K'un-mi

Arabic figures indicate successive marriages of Wu-sun leaders

Roman figures indicate successive marriages of Chinese princesses

Plate III. Matrimonial Relations between Han and Wu-sun

Later, when the main military effort of the Chinese had been spent in various ventures, the famous statesman Sang Hung-yang re-opened the question by suggesting the establishment of military colonies at Lun-t'ai. His arguments are given in the text of a submission that is included in *Han-shu* chapter 96; but his proposal was rejected, mainly on the grounds of expense and impracticability. It will be recalled[104] that Lun-t'ai had already featured in the history of Chinese relations with the states of the west and that it had paid the price of resisting the Chinese advances by suffering butchery of its inhabitants. But by the time of Chao ti (86-74 B.C.) it had evidently become possible to accept Sang Hung-yang's advice, and a colony was established at Lun-t'ai under Han sponsorship.

The officer appointed by the Chinese to supervise this venture was a native of one of the western states, who was later put to death by the leaders of Ch'iu-tzu.[105] This act prompted the Chinese to attack Ch'iu-tzu, successfully; and in 65 B.C. the king was granted the hand of a Chinese princess, whose mother had been married to one of the leaders in Wu-sun. A close friendship was now formed between Ch'iu-tzu and Han. To the merriment of the neighbour states, Ch'iu-tzu took positive steps to assimilate Chinese customs, and the king paid frequent visits to Ch'ang-an, as late as the reign of Ai ti (6-2 B.C.).

As a result of military action, the kingdom of Lou-lan[106] surrendered to Han in 108 B.C. However, the state was still somewhat involved in relations with the Hsiung-nu; hostages were sent both to Hsiung-nu leaders and to Han, and Lou-lan was ready to harass Han envoys so as to please the Hsiung-nu. Later Han received somewhat more favourable treatment; but when a series of problems arose concerning the succession, it became clear that Han could not be certain of retaining Lou-lan's friendship, as a competitor with the Hsiung-nu. In a singularly unpleasant plot, the king was murdered by a group of Chinese desperadoes, on an occasion when he had become intoxicated. A candidate for the succession who favoured the Han cause was enthroned in his place (77 B.C.), and the formal significance of the change was marked by adopting Shan-shan as the name of the state. At the request of the king a detachment of Han officers was sent to found a military colony at I-hsün and to afford him some protection.

At So-chü[107] conditions should have been favourable for the esta-

[104] See trs. p. 43 above and trs. p. 231.

[105] See trs. p. 175.

[106] See trs. p. 86f.

[107] See trs. p. 140.

blishment of a leader who would have Han interests at heart. The king had died during the reign of Hsüan ti (73-49 B.C.) and the local dignitaries asked that he should be succeeded by Wan-nien, a son of the Chinese princess of Wu-sun, for whom the late king had had a marked affection. Predictably the Han government acceded to the request; but after his enthronement and subsequent misbehaviour Wan-nien was put to death by the late king's brother and a Han envoy suffered the same fate. The Chinese were able to repair the situation by means of armed intervention and by establishing one of their own favourites as king (65 B.C.).

Direct relations with K'ang-chü [108] did not come into question until the division of the Hsiung-nu under the leadership of two *Shan-yü*, Hu-han-yeh and Chih-chih, and the latter's defeat by the Chinese in 36 B.C. When the king of K'ang-chü sent a son and gifts to the Han court, there arose the question of how far Han could become involved with this very remote state, which had pretensions to more favourable treatment from Han than was given to other states of the west. The view was expressed that as K'ang-chü refused to accord a due measure of respect to Han envoys, Han should not permit full relations. Nevertheless it was decided that some form of contact should be maintained, and relations between the two were not severed.

Chü-shih [109] — which extended both to the North and to the South of the T'ien-shan Range — included lands in its southern part that could be exploited for agricultural purposes and thus formed an object of competition between Han and the Hsiung-nu. After some early unsuccessful attempts Han forces, supported by some of the western states, brought about the king's surrender (89 B.C.). However, by the reign of Hsüan ti (73-49 B.C.) the Hsiung-nu were again in the dominant position. Wu-kuei, the king of Chü-shih, was married to a Hsiung-nu woman, and persuaded the Hsiung-nu to cut communications between Han and Wu-sun. This state of affairs was soon reversed thanks to the military action of Cheng Chi who received the king's surrender in about 68 B.C. Later, the king fled to Wu-sun in fear of Hsiung-nu reprisals, and was finally conveyed to Ch'ang-an where he was treated very generously.

Competition to exploit the lands of Chü-shih was now acute, with both the Hsiung-nu and Han displaying their power. Cheng Chi reported on the isolated nature of the lands and on the need to

[108] See trs. p. 126.

[109] See trs. p. 185f.; see also Shimazaki (1969), pp. 27-81.

strengthen the establishment of colonists, so that the Han outpost could survive independently. However, it was evidently realised at Ch'ang-an that the situation was untenable, and that Han colonial activity should best be concentrated at Ch'ü-li, some thousand *li* distant. With the king of Chü-shih detained at Wu-sun, the heir apparent was established in his place, and enjoyed Han protection and friendship. The population of Chü-shih was removed to Ch'ü-li and the lands that had formally belonged to Chü-shih were made over to the Hsiung-nu.

This arrangement was concluded some time before 62 B.C. We are told of an attempt that was made at resettlement when the Wu and Chi colonelcy was established (48 B.C.), with the specific purpose of founding agricultural colonies in the area of Chü-shih.[110]

At the end of the western Han period, Chü-shih figured in the rather complex story of the relations between Han and the Hsiung-nu. An unsuccessful attempt on the part of Han to open up a new communication route through Chü-shih ended in the defection of a king of Chü-shih to the Hsiung-nu (A.D. 1-5). Further evidence of Han weakness may be seen in the inability of the Protector General to succour a king of another state in the west, who was being molested, and who then made over to the Hsiung-nu. The *Shan-yü* had the two kings sent back to the Chinese authorities, now under the control of Wang Mang, who duly had them executed. Shortly afterwards (c. A.D. 10) the Protector General had the next king of Chü-shih executed, suspecting that he was planning to defect to the Hsiung-nu. These fears were duly realised under the leadership of the king's brother, just at the time when Han relations with the Hsiung-nu were strained.

Some junior Chinese officers now weakened the Han cause by murdering the Wu and Chi colonel and defecting to the Hsiung-nu; but at the accession of the next *Shan-yü* (A.D. 13) these officers were sent back to Ch'ang-an for punishment. Nevertheless, the restoration of good relations between Han and the Hsiung-nu was only momentary. When the Hsiung-nu launched a large-scale attack on the northern borders, relations with the states of the western regions were affected very seriously. The Protector General was killed by men of the state of Yen-ch'i, but an expedition which was sent out in A.D. 16 was able to restore Han prestige. It was only during the civil war, after

[110] See trs. p. 79.

the death of Wang Mang, that the Protector General disappeared and that the Chinese hold on the states of the west came to an end.[111]

From the foregoing summary of the events and from further details that are recounted in the Standard Histories of China, it may be seen that up to c. 60 B.C. the governments of Western Han were ready to take drastic and violent action to secure or promote their interests. We know of two military expeditions designed to force the submission of other peoples and their acceptance of kings favoured by Han (Ta Yüan and Ch'iu-tzu); of five occasions in which Han officials staged or were implicated in plots to murder a local king (So-chü, Yü-ch'eng, Wu-sun, Chi-pin and Lou-lan); of one case when the local inhabitants were all put to the sword as a reprisal for resistance (Lun-t'ai); of one instance in which a puppet king was set up and the inhabitants displaced from their lands, which were then made over to the Hsiung-nu (Chü-shih); and one case in which the authority of a state and control of its population was divided between two local leaders (Wu-sun).

In taking such positive measures the Chinese were evidently not restrained by feelings of delicacy or tenderness towards the leaders of other communities, and were clearly willing to spend considerable effort and expense in achieving their aims. The problems of defining those aims, however, cannot be answered readily, as there are no contemporary attempts to analyse the issues that faced the Han governments. The most valuable evidence is to be found in the documents that have been incorporated in *Han-shu* Chapter 96;[112] in submissions put forward by certain prominent officials and included in the *Han-shu* elsewhere:[113] and in the statements of the opposing spokesmen of the *Yen-t'ieh lun*.[114] In assessing the importance of the last mentioned work, it can probably be assumed that it was compiled within a decade or so of 50 B.C.; and the dialogue is slanted so as to show conservative and reformed opinion as dominant. However, at the time when relations with the western states were being initiated, it was the views of their opponents, who may be termed realists or modernists, which moulded Chinese policy.[115]

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[111] For the relations between China and the Hsiung-nu during this period see Bielenstein (1967), p. 98.

[112] E.g., trs. pp. 109, 127, 166, 168 and 198.

[113] E.g., *HS* 52.15b and *HS* 70.6b.

[114] E.g., *YTL* pp. 1f., 13, 20f., 43f., and *p'ien* nos. 14, 15, 16, 38, 43, 46-52. Translations of some of these passages will be found in Gale (1931), pp. 3ff. 15, 85ff.

[115] See Loewe (1974) for an attempt to distinguish between two groups of Han statesmen, which are described as Modernist and Reformist. Chapter Five of that book

As has been stated above, the offensive action taken against the Hsiung-nu, the mission of Chang Ch'ien and the occupation of the Kansu corridor resulted in direct contact between a Chinese government and the states of the western regions. Consequently, from c. 110 onwards, the question of relations with the west was becoming a live issue in Han politics which demanded positive decisions of state. Clearly it was an issue in which compromise was next to impossible. The choice lay between a defensive policy against the Hsiung-nu and an all-out offensive which included attacks against the areas that lay on their wings. For from these areas they were known to obtain material support, commandeered by one of their own nominees who was known as the Commandant of Slaves. In the face of the Hsiung-nu power over the states in the west, the Chinese must either be ready to extend their operations over a vast area, or to leave the field free for their rivals. Han statesmen then must either support an expansionist policy or accept a negative plan of retrenchment.

Here we should not overlook the fact that, just as the first Han campaigns against the Hsiung-nu had been a Chinese reaction to Hsiung-nu aggression, the attitude of the Chinese at a later stage was likewise determined to a considerable degree by the activities of the nomads along the northern frontier of China.

In fact we find that parallel to the temporary decline of Hsiung-nu power Han policy changed from the offensive to the defensive, and that there was a marked period of transition. The government had been able to maintain an offensive policy fully for some fifty years after 130; but perhaps from 80 B.C. it had become necessary to modify the aims of government not only because of the decreasing Hsiung-nu pressure, but also in view of the heavy casualties and great expenditure that had been involved. So, whereas for the next twenty years or so the rather infrequent Han exploits in the far west were still marked by bravery and dash, from c. 65 B.C. the emphasis of Chinese policy changed. Governments now directed their efforts to founding static colonies as a means of maintaining the Chinese position rather than to displaying armed strength on the field of battle. In addition, along with other changes of a similar nature, Han foreign policy became subject to further modification in the ensuing decades; and from

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is concerned with the different approaches to foreign relations, and the change whereby the positive policy practised in the last half of the second century gave way to a policy of colonial settlement rather than military expansion, and finally to an attempt at disengagement.

c. 40 B.C. onwards the central government, favoured by the internal divisions among the Hsiung-nu, was choosing deliberately to maintain a peaceful and trouble free state of affairs rather than to retain the initiative and uphold the prestige of the Han armies.

In recognising the main issues which faced the Chinese, due attention must also be paid to the strength and motives of the other parties concerned and their ability to exploit local situations in a way that was very different from those open to Chinese officials on the spot. For a local leader who wished to express enmity against Han could do so expeditiously and with comparative ease, and could probably trust to time and distance to defer or prevent Chinese retaliation. However, if a Han government wished to engage in an agreement or acts of hostility, considerable planning was necessary, together with an assurance of the goodwill of the states which would be encountered by Chinese diplomats or forces on their way. In so far as allowance must be made for the power of the non-Chinese parties to show initiative, Han policies, apart from war, cannot be analysed simply into a choice between two different types of relationship that was always open to the Chinese, i.e. that of the *ho-ch'in* 和親 on the one hand or of tributary types of relation on the other.[116]

Recent attempts[117] to examine the motives that lay behind Chinese foreign policy as practised in the Western Regions have discussed the importance of security and material enrichment, and the appreciation of these topics in contemporary Han thought. According to some statesmen, the security of the empire demanded positive expansionist measures designed to prevent the incursions of the Hsiung-nu; and at least one statesman pointed to the value of adding to China's material resources by the expansion of trade. However, such opinions were by no means universally accepted. Opponents argued that the needs of security did not justify deliberate territorial enlargement, and that the resources acquired in this way were valuable solely as unnecessary luxuries; a policy of expansion was therefore extravagant of human labour; it made misuse of the efforts of the armed forces and could only succeed in bringing material benefits that were not of real value to China's population.

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[116] For the policy that has been described as *ho-ch'in*, see Yü Ying-shih (1967), pp. 9ff., e.g., p. 10: "This first *ho-ch'in* agreement assured the Hsiung-nu a fixed amount of annual imperial 'gifts' and the hand of a Han 'Princess' to their *Shan-yü*, the barbarian counterpart of the Son of Heaven. On the other hand, the Hsiung-nu made the pledge that they would stop raiding the Chinese border areas".

[117] See Yü Ying-shih, *op. cit.*; and *RHA*, vol. I, p. 48f.

These arguments may be studied most profitably from the text of the *Yen-t'ieh lun*,[118] but there are a number of allusions to the question in *Han-shu* Chapters 61 and 96. In submitting the case against the maintenance of formal relations with Chi-pin,[119] Tu Ch'in made the point that there was little to be said for encouraging a trade which would simply benefit the other party; and it seems that some unreliable accounts of the wealth of the west that were circulating in Ch'ang-an may have been inspired by the personal ambitions of the informants.[120] In his appreciation at the end of the chapter the compiler describes in some detail the luxurious trappings that had become available for the enrichment of the palace; and the only reference to the cultivation in China of the imported grape and lucerne remarks that these were "planted in increasingly greater quantities alongside the detached palaces and the lodges as far as the eye could reach".[121]

As against this view, attention may be drawn to one of the statements of the spokesman for the government side in the *Yen-t'ieh lun*,[122] where it is argued that Chinese products may serve to attract the outer states and captivate the treasures of the non-Chinese tribes of the north and the west.

It is fully understandable that these questions of policy only came to the fore from about 130 B.C. Only from this period did the Han empire emerge from the first stages of consolidation and the assertion of the central government's powers within the empire. And by this time the Han government possessed the necessary material resources and power of control to make possible the adoption of a positive policy of expansion.

Of the variety of terms that are used in our texts to denote the non-Chinese peoples[123] (i.e. *Man* 蠻, *I-ti* 夷狄, *Ssu-i* 四夷, *Man-i* 蠻夷, *Hu* 胡 and *Lu* 虜), *Hu* probably appears most generally and widely. The terms bear derogatory overtones that express a scorn for the non-Chinese and their standards of living and culture, and the versions adopted in the translations endeavour both to differentiate

[118] See the passages cited in note 114 above.

[119] See trs. p. 109f.

[120] See trs. p. 219.

[121] See trs. p. 136.

[122] *YTL* p. 12 (Gale, (1931), pp. 13f.).

[123] These terms will be found as follows: *man*, *HS* 96A.34b (trs. p. 128); *i-ti*, *HS* 96B.7a (trs. p. 154); *ssu-i*, *HS* 96B.19a (trs. p. 187); *man-i*, *HI* 61.6a (trs. p. 210); *hu*, *HS* 96B.7b (trs. p. 156); *lu*, *HS* 96B.19b (trs. p. 174); see also notes 33, 69 and 71 to the translation.

between the Chinese words and to do justice to the Chinese point of view. It is of interest to note that some of the terms (e.g. *Lu*, *Hu* and *I*) also appear as elements in the names of the fighting formations that were stationed as garrison units along the defence lines of Tun-huang and Chü-yen; and it is perhaps not too much to assume that they were adopted in those contexts partly for propagandist purposes.[124]

The Chinese view is reiterated in a number of passages. Kuo Shun, the Protector General, once suggested steps whereby "we would demonstrate that the Han dynasty has no dealings with states that lack a sense of proper behaviour".[125] Elsewhere a state is characterised as being untrustworthy. "If there is something which it [Chi-pin] requires, its language is servile; if there is nothing which it desires, its behaviour is arrogant";[126] and one statesman is reported as taking the view that it was impossible to enter into relations with a state whose attitude was equivocal.[127] These strictures are expressed forcefully in a fragment of a document found in Central Asia whose nature or purpose cannot be determined for certain, but which states that "... the barbarian-peoples, being greedy, having no cognizance of the humanities and harbouring insincerity, requested with deception...".[128]

The Protector General whose words are cited above had no illusions about the lack of faith that existed between one barbarian and another;[129] and in the final appreciation of *Han-shu* Chapter 96 the historian drew attention to the failure of the non-Chinese peoples to operate a united control over the large forces of which they were severally possessed.[130] There is also an expression of distrust of the motives whereby barbarian peoples tried to win the friendship of Han. "In fact Chi-pin was seeking to profit from the imperial gifts and from trade".[131]

Just as there existed several terms for the "barbarians", a similar variety of expressions[132] is used to denote the relationship that existed

[124] See *RHA* vol. I, p. 77 and vol. II, pp. 384f. for examples of the names of units stationed at Chü-yen.

[125] See trs. p. 128.

[126] See trs. p. 109.

[127] See trs. p. 154.

[128] Chü-yen strip 387.7, 564.15; for an attempt to place this strip in its context, see *RHA* vol. II, pp. 245f.

[129] See trs. p. 127.

[130] See trs. pp. 202-203.

[131] See trs. p. 112.

[132] I.e., 臣 *ch'en*; 服 *fu*; 屬 *shu*; 君 *chün*; 羈 *chi* (see L.S. Yang (1968), p. 31ff.); 降 *chiang*; 附 *fu*.

between Han and the states of the West, whether this had been established by the more powerful authority of Han, or as a result of compact (e.g. as in the case of the larger states, such as Wu-sun, or eventually that of the Hsiung-nu). There is apparently no terminological distinction which would correspond with a difference between relations that existed between the small communities and Han on the one hand, or other powers on the other (e.g., terms are used to signify the surrender (降) or a state of dependence (屬) both for the communities who made over to Han and for those who submitted to the Hsiung-nu).

Nevertheless, some distinctions of concept may perhaps be revealed in the texts. In the catalogue of entries of *Han-shu* 96, five states that were situated beyond the Northern and Southern Routes (Chi-pin, Wu-i-shan-li, An-hsi, the Ta Yüeh-chih and K'ang-chü) are described as being not subject to the Protector General;[133] and in the final statement of a number of officials of the states who were recognised by Han authority, it is specified that those appointed by those five states were not included.[134] Possibly the compilers of the history recognised a distinction between the states which came under the aegis of the Protector General and those to whom envoys were sent. In this connection, attention should be drawn to two passages in *Han-shu* 96. First,[135] to the statement that "The Protector General kept under observation the activities of the various outer states such as Wu-sun and K'ang-chü, and in the case of incidents he submitted a report to the throne. If the situation was suitable for launching an attack, he attacked". Secondly, in his arguments that were directed to prevent the establishment of regular relations with Chi-pin, Tu Ch'in is reported as saying[136] "At first Yin-mo-fu king of Chi-pin had originally been established by Han, but later he turned after all in rebellion".[137]

The Chinese view of their own obligations towards states with whom they had opened relations is not expressed overtly, but may be partly discerned from two incidents. Some time after 36 B.C., Han had accepted a hostage and gifts from K'ang-chü; and when the question arose of whether, in view of K'ang-chü's evident arrogance, the relationship should be continued, it was finally decided that the bonds

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[133] See trs. pp. 104, 112, 116, 119, 125.

[134] See trs. p. 197.

[135] See trs. p. 79.

[136] See trs. p. 109.

[137] See trs. p. 109. The expression *p'an-ni* 畔逆 is also used in respect of the rebellion of some of the Han kings (*chu-hou-wang*) against the authority of the central government (*SC* 123.3a).

should be maintained "for the reasons that communications had been started only recently and that it [i.e. Han] attached importance to bringing people from remote places to court".[138] A further hint of a feeling of the need to keep good faith with foreign peoples is seen in a discussion regarding Wu-sun, when the statesman Hsiao Wang-chih was conscious of the need to avoid a breach of confidence;[139] and in a discussion of foreign affairs that is reported for 45 B.C., at least one statesman, Ku Chi, recognised some degree of moral obligation to maintain a long-standing relationship with other peoples rather than abrogate it for the sake of expediency.[140]

Regardless whether Chinese penetration into central Asia was prompted by military motives connected with the war against the Hsiung-nu or by commercial considerations, Han efforts had to be bent on winning the friendship of local communities. Here the long distance which separated China from the western regions was of paramount importance; reliable relay stations had to be found in those communities, or colonies had to be set up which could furnish Han officials, and, if need be, their armies, with supplies.

A number of states are said to have relied on distance to enable them to act against Han interests without the danger of reprisals. According to Tu Ch'in's statement, "The reason why [Chi-pin] has not requited imperial grace and favour and does not fear punishment is that it knows itself to be cut off from [Han] by a long distance beyond the range of [Han] troops";[141] and similar motives are attributed to K'ang-chü, Ta Yüan and the states to the west and Wu-sun.[142] In one passage we are told that the behaviour of Han envoys aroused the anger of the western states and that they were able to exploit the remoteness of their situation so as to embarrass Han representatives and deny them supplies.[143]

For their part too the Chinese were aware of the difficulties of time and space. Wu ti was evidently impressed with what he was told, and could not believe that anyone would go to such remote places

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[138] See trs. p. 128.

[139] See trs. p. 154. For Hsiao Wang-chih's policies, see Loewe (1974), pp. 147, 158ff., etc.

[140] *HS* 70.6b. For Ku Chi's attitude and the contemporary view of Han statesmen, see Loewe (1974), p. 234.

[141] See trs. p. 109.

[142] See trs. pp. 126, 135, 146, 225.

[143] See trs. p. 223.

for pleasure.[144] Possibly he had heard tales such as that repeated by Tu Ch'in :

> "But starting in the area south of P'i-shan, one passes through some four or five states which are not subject to Han. A patrol of some hundred officers and men may divide the night into five watches and, striking their cooking pots [to mark the hours] so keep guard; but there are still occasions when they will be subjected to attack and robbery. For asses, stock animals and transported provisions they depend on supplies from the various states to maintain themselves. But some of the states may be poor or small and unable to provide supplies, and some may be refractory and unwilling to do so. So our envoys clasp the emblems of mighty Han and starve to death in the hills and valleys. They may beg, but there is nothing for them to get; and after ten or twenty days man and beast lie abandoned in the wastes never to return. In addition they pass over the ranges [known as the hills of the] Greater and the Lesser Headache, and the slopes of the Red Earth and the Fever of the Body. These cause a man to suffer fever; he loses colour, his head aches and he vomits; and asses and stock animals all suffer in this way. Furthermore there are the Three Pools and the Great Rock Slopes, with a path that is a foot and six or seven inches wide, but leads forwards for a length of thirty *li*, overlooking a precipice whose depth is unfathomed. Travellers passing on horse or foot hold on to one another and pull each other along with ropes; and only after a journey of more than two thousand *li* do they reach the Suspended Crossing. When animals fall, before they have dropped half-way down the chasm they are shattered in pieces; and when men fall, the situation is such that they are unable to rescue one another. The state of these precipices beggars description."[145]

Hsiao Wang-chih was another statesman who thought that long distance precluded effective Chinese action, in this case against Wu-sun;[146] and the isolation of Chü-shih by a mere thousand *li* from the neighbouring settlements is twice cited as a reason not to proceed with the colonisation of the area.[147]

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[144] See trs. p. 221.

[145] See trs. pp. 110-111.

[146] See trs. p. 152.

[147] See trs. p. 168 for a passage in an imperial decree; trs. p. 188 in a report submitted by Cheng Chi.

Distances prevented the central government from reaching a full understanding of local conditions; and as a general officer responsible for conducting a campaign, Li Kuang-li was fully alive to the difficulties of supply over such long distances.[148] Due attention was paid to the achievement of his forces in overcoming these difficulties in the rhetorical language of the edict that was issued after the campaign.[149]

If, then, the Han envoys, colonies or isolated military detachments were to survive, they clearly needed the active goodwill and material support of the states which lay across their path, and whose behaviour could be of vital importance. The states must be dissuaded from murdering the Han envoys, as had happened in Chi-pin,[150] and persuaded to provide food and water, guides and transport.[151] Such facilities must be denied to the Hsiung-nu, and if possible the local leaders must be induced to make common cause against that enemy.[152] It was therefore necessary for Chinese diplomats to insist on suitable courtesies, both to mark the dignity of the Son of Heaven and to show their own superior status as compared with that of the envoys sent from the other states. This point was made very early in the history of Han diplomacy by Chang Ch'ien;[153] and a reason for refusing to extend relations to one state was given about a century later as follows:

> "However, K'ang-chü is behaving arrogantly, even refusing to treat our envoys with the respect that is their due. When the officials of the protectorate general go to the state they are seated below the envoys of Wu-sun and the various other states. The king and noblemen take their food and drink first, and when they have finished they then have the officials of the protectorate general served with theirs; hence they make out that there is nobody they (need to) regard and thereby show off to the neighbouring states."[154]

The provision of facilities to the Han missions was no inconsiderable burden. We are told that at first the missions comprised several hundred members and that they were sent out very frequently; but even with the reduction that was effected later, they may still have been fairly strongly

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[148] See trs. p. 229.
[149] See trs. p. 235.
[150] See trs. p. 107.
[151] See trs. p. 89.
[152] See trs. p. 149.
[153] See trs. p. 145f.
[154] See trs. p. 127.

manned, if only in the interests of security; and something between five and ten sponsored caravans of this type may have set out along the routes each year.[155] The provision of the necessary supplies must have taxed some of the states with some severity, e.g. Lou-lan, which was short of water and pasture,[156] or Chü-shih, whose own population is given as 154 households or 960 individuals.[157] The reluctance of some of the states to part with their own hard won supplies must have been accentuated, and their sense of hospitality severely tried, if they were also subject to robbery or the misbehaviour of their visitors.[158]

The reliance placed by the states of the west on their remote situation and the need for the Han envoys to enjoy their support is brought out in the following passage:

> "[The area] west of Wu-sun as far as An-hsi is close to the Hsiung-nu. The Hsiung-nu had once harassed the Yüeh-chih; consequently when a Hsiung-nu envoy carrying tokens of credence from the *Shan-yü* reaches one of the states, the states en route provide a relay service of escorts and food, and do not dare to detain or harm the envoy. When the case of Han envoys arises, if they do not bring out valuables they do not get any food; and if they do not buy horses they have no means of travelling on horseback. The reason for this state of affairs is that Han has been regarded as being distant. However, Han possesses many valuable goods, and consequently purchasing has been necessary to acquire what is required. By the time that the *Shan-yü* Hu-han-yeh came in homage to the Han court and thereafter, all have held Han in high esteem."[159]

This passage also alludes to a point which favoured the Han cause, i.e. the material advantages which the Han envoys could offer to the foreigner. The value and beauty of Chinese manufactures were highly appreciated by the leaders of the Western states as is born out e.g. by the insistence of the Hsiung-nu on the regular delivery of silks and other products already early in the second century B.C.[160]

[155] See trs. p. 220.

[156] See trs. p. 89.

[157] See trs. pp. 184, 190.

[158] See trs. p. 89.

[159] See trs. p. 137.

[160] The popularity of Han products is demonstrated by their wide distribution; Umehara (1930) lists Han bronze mirrors and jade sword buckles and scabbard slides not only in Siberia, but even in the Caucasus and in the Crimea. For the spread of Han products in the Northeast, hundreds of miles beyond the frontier, see especially

They "coveted Han goods" and their desire will have been increased when Han envoys displayed the gifts which they had brought from Ch'ang-an, or when the periodic consignment of brocades and embroideries arrived to console a Chinese princess in her exile.[161] The statesman Sang Hung-yang at least realised the potential value of these attractions and wrote of the possibility of exchanging gold and silks with the peoples of the north-west for corn.[162]

There were also occasions when foreigners learnt to admire Han products and the Han standard of living in China itself. As early as the time of Chang Ch'ien a mission from Wu-sun took the opportunity to make a thorough observation of Han and to find out its extent.[163] Similarly, at a later stage, "The *K'un-mo's* envoys returned to their state after observing the large numbers of the Han people and the abundance of Han's wealth; and thereafter the state's appreciation of Han was considerably enhanced".[164] We hear also of more positive measures designed to impress foreign visitors, of how they accompanied the emperor on his tours of the provinces and witnessed his distribution of silks and other bounties; we hear of the games and performances that were staged by way of amusement, together with exhibitions of rarities; and in addition to the Lucullan banquets at which foreigners were entertained, they were deliberately shown the stockpiles that lay in Han's famous granaries.[165]

"Whenever barbarians were assembled at court they were always honoured conspicuously, so as to make an example."[166] By such means the foreigners would be flattered and enabled to vaunt their prestige on their return to their own peoples. The same motive is seen in the bestowal of titles of nobility on foreigners who had served the Han cause meritoriously; and sometimes these were phrased with a clear propagandist message, such as Noble of *Kuei-i* (Allegiance to the Right).[167] By the same token a reduction of the honours given by the Han emperor formed a marked humiliation. Such deprivations of dignity could be used to show imperial displeasure, or even consti-

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T'ung (1956); for the Northwest see Umehara (1960) and Rudenko (1969) and (1970). Wang Ning-sheng (1977) provides a detailed survey of the elements of Chinese culture — mainly material — which slowly penetrated into Central Asia. See also Hulsewé (1974).

[161] See trs. p. 148.

[162] See trs. p. 166f.

[163] See trs. p. 218.

[164] See trs. p. 147.

[165] See trs. pp. 201, 224.

[166] See trs. p. 187.

[167] See trs. p. 161f.

tute a form of punishment;[168] and if applied on a major scale, such a measure could lead to anger and reprisal.[169]

Agreements for the conclusion of matrimonial alliances or for the despatch of hostages feature conspicuously in the conduct of Han foreign relations. As might be expected, such arrangements are described in the Chinese histories in terms that suggest that the Chinese were always the superior party and that the other states were always the beneficiaries. However, it may be suggested that the despatch both of Chinese princesses to the remote and uncomfortable parts of Central Asia and of the sons of the local leaders of the west to serve in attendance at the court of the Han emperor are reflections of the same factor, i.e., the desire of both Han and the other states to possess a guarantee of good behaviour. Han princesses were acting as hostages in the western regions no less than the sons of the Asiatic kings at Ch'ang-an.

There were obvious advantages accrueing to a Central Asian state from the presence of a Chinese princess who was married to the king. The state could claim that it was receiving a privileged form of treatment from Han as compared with other states. A further consideration may have existed in the hope that Han would thereby be willing to succour a state which was threatened by a neighbour; for such threats might endanger the person of the emperor's daughter or close relative, and it could be supposed that Han would send forces to save her from capture. In at least one instance it seems that a state had such considerations in mind when negotiating for the hand of a Han princess.[170]

For their part the Han statesmen would hope that in due course a son would be born of the marriage of a Han princess and the king; and that if his succession could be assured, so also would the maintenance of a friendly policy to China. Thus, as early as the time of Chang Ch'ien it was being hoped that the gift of a princess would result in the implantation of a pro-Han friendship in Wu-sun.[171]

It could be claimed by Han that the presence of foreign hostages in Ch'ang-an added materially to the emperor's dignity as a visible symbol of the acceptance of his authority in remote areas; and the importance attached by the Chinese to hostages and their value to

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[168] See trs. p. 161.

[169] See trs. p. 108.

[170] See trs. p. 147f. The principle of asking for a princess or highly esteemed woman is illustrated in *HS* 94A.6a. at the outset of the Han period, between the Hsiung-nu and another non-Chinese people.

[171] See trs. p. 145.

Han is brought out in several incidents. Sometimes, hostages could be used to bring pressure to bear on their relatives. "Previously when the noble of K'ai-ling attacked Chü-shih, the sons or younger brothers of [the kings of] the six states of Wei-hsü, Wei-li, Lou-lan and others who were present at the capital city all returned to their home lands before [the expedition] to arrange for supplies of food to be brought out to meet the Han forces."[172] When Mei-ts'ai, who had been established as king of Ta Yüan under Han sponsorship, had been killed by his fellow noblemen, his successor soon sent a son to Ch'ang-an as a hostage, and the Chinese were pleased to confirm their acceptance of the situation by the despatch of envoys and gifts.[173] Above all the story of the relations with Lou-lan emphasizes the importance placed by Han on arrangements for hostages.

The Chinese were not altogether satisfied with the behaviour of the king's son who had served as a hostage in Ch'ang-an, and had actually had him punished for an offence against the Han laws. When the people of Lou-lan asked for his return so that he could be established as king, the Han government refused the request and retained him at Ch'ang-an, presumably to prevent the succession of a prince whose loyalties were unreliable.[174] Later it was evidently worth while to stage an incident which was tantamount to downright murder, so as to replace a king who had been brought up under Hsiung-nu domination by one whose loyalties had been nurtured in Ch'ang-an.[175]

The possession of hostages from the western states and the gift of princesses in marriage feature similarly in the relations between the Hsiung-nu and the states of the western regions. There are instances in which a state accepted a princess both from Han and from the Hsiung-nu,[176] and, "once Lou-lan had surrendered and presented tributary gifts [to the Han emperor], the Hsiung-nu heard of those events and sent out troops to attack [Lou-lan]. Whereupon [the king of] Lou-lan sent one son as a hostage to the Hsiung-nu and one as a hostage to Han."[177] It is also significant that when the smaller state of Ch'iu-tzu had ventured to accept a hostage from Wu-mi, the Chinese general Li Kuang-li protested that Ch'iu-tzu had no authority to do so from a state which had accepted Han authority, and had the hostage

[172] See trs. p. 168f.
[173] See trs. p. 135.
[174] See trs. p. 88f.
[175] See trs. p. 90.
[176] See trs. p. 148.
[177] See trs. p. 87.

transferred to Ch'ang-an.[178] There is one reference to the possibility of Hsiung-nu forces being sent to Wu-sun to aid the cause of a leader who had been born of a nomad mother;[179] and after marrying a Hsiung-nu woman, Wu-kuei king of Chü-shih successfully persuaded the Hsiung-nu to cut communications between Han and Wu-sun.[180]

Some Chinese statesmen realised that matrimonial alliances involved obligations and could be of little advantage to Han. Towards the end of the Western Han period, at the time of an entirely different policy from that of Wu ti's statesmen, Kuo Shun the Protector General wrote "In terms of the present [situation] the conclusion of a matrimonial relationship with Wu-sun has never brought any advantage, but has, on the contrary, involved trouble for China";[181] and Hsiao Wang-shih, whom we have already found voicing similar sentiments, pointed out that despite the presence of a Han princess in Wu-sun for over forty years, the situation was far from being settled to Han's advantage.[182]

The history of relations with Wu-sun shows that Han governments took considerable trouble to maintain a continuous influence on the distaff side of the kings, and that to serve this purpose Chinese princesses were at times required to submit to the alien custom of marriage to successive leaders.[183] A somewhat more complex relationship than usual arose when the king of Ch'iu-tzu allied himself both to Wu-sun and to Han by sueing successfully for the hand of a daughter of one of the Han princesses who had been married into the Wu-sun house.[184]

The establishment of sponsored colonies staffed by servicemen in order to grow supplies of food for the use of Han official travellers or the armed forces was an obvious means of increasing their degree of independence from the non-Chinese communities. Steps to found such colonies form a characteristic of the intermediate stage of Han foreign policy. From records of Han administration we know something of the operation of these colonies further east at sites where conscript

[178] See trs. p. 174.

[179] See trs. p. 156.

[180] See trs. p. 185.

[181] See trs. p. 127.

[182] See trs. p. 154.

[183] The princess Hsi-chün was married to the *K'un-mo* Lieh-chiao-mi and to his grandson Chün-hsü-mi. At her death, Chün-hsü-mi was married to the princess Chieh-yu, who later married Chün-hsü-mi's brother Weng-kuei-mi, and, later still, his son Ni-mi.

[184] See trs. p. 175.

servicemen were specifically detailed for the work; and we hear both there and elsewhere of offices which were set up to supervise these establishments.[185] From chapter 96 of the *Han-shu* we learn of the application of the idea in regions further west. There is a reference to a colonel of the agricultural colonies[186] who was subordinate to the Protector General, and the foundation of military colonies is given as the reason for the establishment of the post of Wu and Chi colonel.[187] The situation of these colonies is mentioned first of all for I-hsün (in Lou-lan, or Shan-shan);[188] another favourable area was at Lun-t'ai, and in proposing the establishment of colonies there, Sang Hung-yang suggested the recruitment of members of the Han civil population to carry out the work of reclamation and irrigation;[189] although his proposals were at first refused, they were eventually accepted during the reign of Chao ti (86-74 B.C.). At nearby Ch'ü-li, Cheng Chi had had the land worked by a force of convicts who had been excused punishment and were working out their time, and imperial commands ordered the expansion of this effort both here and at Chü-shih, so that stocks could be laid in and plans made for attacking the Hsiung-nu.[190] However, the Han position proved to be untenable at Chü-shih, whose occupation was contested by the Hsiung-nu, and the main effort had to be kept at Ch'ü-li.

Reference has already been made to the migration of a civil population to Lun-t'ai[191] and the removal of the local population from Chü-shih in the face of enemy pressure.[192] In addition to the movements of the non-assimilated tribes which were initiated by their own leaders or which were made in response to Han military action,[193] there is the well-known but unimplemented proposal of Chang Ch'ien to resettle the people of Wu-sun in the lands that they had formerly inhabited.[194] It must remain open to question how far such movements represented a wish of the local inhabitants to accept Han

[185] I.e., the T'ien-kuan 田官 and Nung tu-wei 農都尉; see trs. p. 189. For these offices, see *RHA* vol. I, p. 56, and 144, note 26.

[186] See trs. p. 79.

[187] See trs. p. 189.

[188] See trs. p. 91f.

[189] See trs. p. 166.

[190] See trs. pp. 186-187.

[191] See trs. p. 167.

[192] See trs. p. 189.

[193] See trs. p. 79 for the movement of the people of P'u-lei.

[194] See trs. p. 145.

authority, or how far they were motivated simply by a search for new pasture grounds.

The post of Protector General was created in 59 B.C.,[195] and officials were appointed in this capacity from then until the end of Wang Mang's government.[196] The establishment of the post was an innovation in Han institutions and marked a new and more sophisticated stage in the development of Han policy. It was now recognised that some degree of co-ordination was desirable, both so as to regulate relations with the states of the west and to facilitate the passage of travellers and goods along the northern and southern routes. The post was designed to extend Han protection to those alien communities who wished to benefit from it, to act as an authority to which they could appeal in times of emergency, and to seek help from such communities when this was needed by Han. The existence of the protectorate general served to confirm rather than invalidate the authority of the local leaders and their officials who had received Han titles, seals and ribbons of office; and members of the protector general's staff would visit the states of the west or were occasionally stationed there.[197] Such officials were presumably the men to whom we owe the statistical information that was eventually incorporated into Chapter 96 of the *Han-shu*.

The headquarters of the Protector General was situated in the state of Wu-lei, which had been chosen for its comparatively central position among the western states.[198] He would therefore not only be reasonably accessible to messengers coming from the states but would also be well situated for calling for their assistance in the form of armed forces. Wu-lei itself is said to have been fertile and could presumably have

[195] See trs. p. 78.

[196] See trs. p. 197. The following are the known incumbents of the post of Protector General (dates are taken from Huang Wen-pi (1948), p. 179 f.):

Cheng Chi	鄭吉	60-49
Han Hsüan	韓宣	48-46
Kan Yen-shou	甘延壽	36-34
Tuan Hui-tsung	段會宗	33-31
Lien Pao	廉褒	30-28
Han Li	韓立	24-22
Tuan Hui-tsung	段會宗	21-19
Kuo Shun	郭舜	12-10
Sun Chien	孫建	A.D. 1-3
Tan Ch'in	但欽	4-13
Li Ch'ung	李崇	16-23

[197] See trs. pp. 127, 194.

[198] See trs. p. 79, and *HS* 70.5a.

been made self-supporting; it is perhaps significant that it lay between Lun-t'ai and Ch'ü-li, and was therefore well-placed for supervising the work of the colonists of those localities.

The ideal state of affairs as conceived by Han statesmen was one in which the non-Chinese communities made a deliberate attempt to seek Chinese protection. This principle is clearly seen in the historian's appreciation of Chapter 96 : "Hence, since the reign-period of *Chien-wu* [i.e., since A.D. 25], the Western Regions have borne in mind the might and power of Han and have all rejoiced to make themselves its subjects. Only small settlements such as Shan-shan or Chü-shih, whose borders lie close to the Hsiung-nu, are still involved with them; whereas large states such as So-chü or Yü-t'ien repeatedly send envoys and lodge hostages with Han, requesting that they may be made subject to the protector general."[199] That the protector general was ready to exercise decisive and summary powers to display Han authority is shown by his execution of a king who was planning to defect to the Hsiung-nu.[200] However, the statement that the two leaders of Wu-sun trusted to the protector general for support against potential enemies[201] should be set against an account of one particular incident in which such support was sought without avail.[202]

It is likely that the strength of the Chinese forces that were normally available west of the passes of Tun-huang was comparatively slender, and it is quite clear that for effective military action it would be necessary to call on the support of the non-Chinese states, including their cavalry. Before the active development of the Han interest in the Far West, Chao P'o-nu had called on the cavalry of the dependent states;[203] and in his first campaign against Ta Yüan, General Li Kuang-li had a force of 6000 alien cavalry in his command.[204] During the second campaign, Wu-sun was asked to call out forces on a large scale, but in fact sent no more than 2000 cavalry.[205] Before his appointment as protector general Cheng Chi had been able to muster a force of 10000 men from the states of the west (68 B.C.)[206] and this example was followed by a comparatively junior officer (guards'

[199] See trs. p. 203.

[200] See trs. p. 193.

[201] See trs. p. 161 f.

[202] See trs. p. 191.

[203] See trs. pp. 86, 223; for the status of these areas and their relationship to Chinese authority, see *RHA* vol. I, pp. 61 f.

[204] See trs. p. 228.

[205] See trs. p. 234.

[206] See trs. p. 186.

captain) in 65 B.C.,[207] and by Ch'ang Hui.[208] In the latter case we are given a figure of no less than 50000 men who were recruited from non-Chinese sources, while Ch'ang Hui's own troops amounted to a mere 500 officers and men.[209] The same principle was invoked by at least two protectors general, i.e. by Cheng Chi, to come to the aid of a Han princess and her fellow plotters in Wu-sun,[210] and by Ch'en T'ang, in his campaign against the Hsiung-nu leader Chih-chih (36 B.C.).[211]

4. REMARKS TO THE TRANSLATION

1. *Han-shu* Chapter 96 is presented before Chapter 61, as it is of a more general and comprehensive nature and should logically be read before Chapter 61 (for the contents of the two chapters, see pp. 3-7 above).

2. References are printed alongside the translation to the following three editions :

(i) Left-hand margin, in italics : the *Ching-yu* edition of 1035 (included in the *Po-na-pen* reprint, *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*).
(ii) Left-hand margin, in roman type : the Palace edition of 1739 (*Wu-ying-tien*).
(iii) Right-hand margin : Wang Hsien-ch'ien's annotated edition of 1900.

In principle the translation follows the text of the *Ching-yu* edition, and the existence of variant readings or other versions that are to be found in parallel texts is remarked in the notes.

3. Square brackets are used in the translation as follows :

(i) For the insertion of translations of text found in other editions, or where it has been felt to be justifiable to depart from the readings of the *Ching-yu* edition.
(ii) For the inclusion of words needed to complete the sense or clarity in an English version (e.g., the addition of terms such as *commandery*).
(iii) For the insertion of dates in western style, to correspond with those given in the Chinese text.

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[207] See trs. p. 141.
[208] See trs. p. 175.
[209] See *HS* 70.3b.
[210] See trs. p. 155.
[211] See trs. p. 126.

4. Proper names are rendered in the modern Mandarin version (Wade-Giles, with the modifications that are usually adopted); details of various reconstructed pronunciations and identifications are given in the notes. It is regrettable that, apart from isolated words, so far no linguists have ventured to offer a reconstruction of the Han pronunciation of the Chinese characters as a whole; this seems to present insurmountable difficulties, in spite of the enormous amount of spade-work done by Lo and Chou (1958). Not being linguists ourselves, we have been compelled to restrict ourselves to the only available full-scale reconstructions of the ancient pronunciation of the Chinese language. These are Bernhard Karlgren's reconstructions of Archaic and Ancient Chinese — i.e. those of approximatively the 7th century before and of the 7th century after the beginning of the Christian era — as laid down in his *Grammata serica recensa* (abbreviated to GSR), although we are well aware of the criticisms directed in particular against his reconstruction of Archaic Chinese.

5. The term Han has been used both as a proper name and as an adjective (i.e., it is used to do duty for terms such as Rome and Roman).

6. On a number of occasions a statement in the text is followed by the word *yün* 云, and it seems likely that in such instances the compiler of the history was drawing on explanatory material to supplement his main account. Although there may sometimes be some ambiguity regarding the starting point for such additional material, such passages have been marked off by quotation marks and preceded by the formula *It is said.*[212]

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[212] The word *yün* occurs in the following pages:

HS	*HSPC*	*Translation*
96A. 3b	96A. 9b	p. 81.
6b	14a	92; note 124.
9a	19b	99f.
13a	27a	112.
13b	28b	114.
17a	35a	129f.
96B. 1b	96B. 2b	145.
3b	4b	149.
6b	9a	158.
[8a	10b]	161; note 492.
61		
7b	8a	224.
[8b	8b]	—; note 823
9b	11a	231.

7. The rendering of technical or semi-technical terms in English presents translators with difficulties which, in the present state of scholarship, can hardly be solved to the satisfaction of all types of reader. As the present translation is intended for the guidance of specialists in fields other than sinology, the solutions that have been adopted have been designed to clarify the text for such readers, rather than for sinologists themselves, who will in any event prefer to think in terms of the Chinese expressions. In arriving at a solution, it has been necessary to compromise between a number of principles that have sometimes been practised elsewhere in this connection, i.e., transliteration, literal translation, explanation in functional terms, invention of special terms, or the loan of terms from a civilisation that is alien both to Han China and to English usage of the twentieth century. In general, the following guiding principles have been borne in mind for rendering the titles of Han officials serving in the government, the titles of officials or dignitaries serving in the non-Chinese states of Central Asia, for certain key expressions in Chinese and for technical terms in subjects such as botany, zoology or mineralogy.

(i) In general we have tried to translate terms into meaningful English if they are titles of the established Han officials;[213] or if they are Chinese terms coined by the Han officials or historians, either to designate in Chinese expressions a post in one of the Central Asiatic states, or to translate an Asiatic title for such a post, e.g.:
Officials in the Han establishment: *ch'eng-hsiang* 丞相, Chancellor (see also (ii) below)
Chinese terms coined to designate posts in the Central Asiatic states: *i-chang* 譯長, interpreter-in-chief.
In choosing terms, we have preferred to indicate a function rather than adhere to a literal rendering, and have attempted to retain a consistent usage.

(ii) The titles of honour held by both Chinese and non-Chinese officials and dignitaries consist sometimes of place-names and sometimes of expressions chosen for their idealist or propagandist significance; and these in their turn were sometimes adopted as place-names. These titles are given in transliteration, with a translation in parenthesis where this is appropriate. (See (a) below). The same principle has been adopted for some titles of official posts; but where titles are functional and descriptive rather than

[213] An exception has been made for the Wu and Chi colonel, where the Chinese term incorporates the terms used in a series of symbols.

honorific or propagandist they have been translated with a transcription added in parenthesis to aid the sinologist who is seeking an identification as in (b); e.g.,

a) Fu-min hou 富民侯 Noble of Fu-min (Enrichment of the people)
Fu-kuo tu-wei 輔國都尉 Commandant of Fu-kuo (Support of the State)
P'o-ch'iang chiang-chün 破羌將軍 General of P'o-ch'iang (conquest of the Ch'iang)

b) P'iao-ch'i chiang-chün 驃騎將軍 General of cavalry on the alert (P'iao-ch'i).

It may be added that in a few cases where Chinese usage was deliberately anachronistic an attempt has been made to retain the archaism in translation (e.g. see p. 192, for the titles conferred by Wang Mang).

(iii) Where it is clear that the Chinese rendered a foreign expression phonetically, such terms have been retained in transliteration; e.g., *K'un-mo*, *Shan-yü*.

(iv) Botanical and other technical expressions are rendered with a meaningful equivalent in English, and notes are given to explain problems of identification. While it is recognised that in some cases this may result in some inaccuracies in the rendering, it is felt that a non-specialist reader is better served with expressions such as *beryl* and *lucerne* than with *vaidurya* and *medicago*.

(v) It has proved all but impossible to choose terms for certain key Chinese words such as *kuo* 國, *hou* 侯, *ch'eng* 城, *i* 夷, or *hu* 胡, which do not imply the overtones of a later civilisation, which express the implications of Chinese thought and institutional practice and which preserve the distinctions of Chinese usage consistently. Where necessary, attention has been drawn in the notes to the implications of some of the terms in question.

In our notes we refer by means of self-evident abbreviations to publications listed in full in the bibliography, i.e. we only note the author's name (on a few rare occasions a title), followed by a date, which is the date of publication, and a page reference: "Haloun (1926)" appears in the bibliography in full as Gustav Haloun, *Seit wann kannten die Chinesen die Tocharer oder die Indogermanen überhaupt* (Leipzig, Asia Major, 1926), whereas "Haloun (1937)" will be found to refer to Gustav Haloun, "Zur Üe-tsï-Frage", in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 91 (1937), pp. 243-318.

In the notes we refer to several geographical atlasses, but the reader will hardly find a reference to the Japanese historical atlas for Asia by

Matsuda and Mori, *Ajia rekishi chizu*, because the relevant maps are practically identical with those in Albert Herrmann's useful work, being moreover drawn on so reduced a scale, as to render them useless for questions of detail.

Among the text-editions which were consulted but not further used we mention in the first place the publication of Chien Po-tsan (1958) and others which is a practical compilation, containing punctuated texts and all the available traditional commentaries, including those assembled in the Takigawa edition of the *Shih-chi* and in Wang Hsien-ch'ien's *Han shu pu chu*, but lacking any further remarks by the modern editors or references to modern studies.

In the second place we mention the enormous facsimile edition of the manuscript "Draft of New Textcritical Notes to the *Shih-chi*" left by Chang Sen-k'ai (1858-1928) and published in 1967, but the reader will find no reference to it in our notes, because it does not contain remarks relevant to our researches.

As regards geographical data, we have listed the identifications suggested by various scholars in our notes. The older identifications are often based on a superficial resemblance between Chinese sounds and names found in non-Chinese sources. The speculations by e.g. de Groot in his *Urkunden* and by his Japanese contemporaries like Fujita Toyohachi and Shiratori Kurakichi are therefore misleading and incorrect, being based on faulty linguistic comparisons. The same verdict has to be pronounced on the hypotheses put forward by Albert Herrmann, who went to the other extreme by stipulating that geographical and economic data were of primary importance, whereas linguistic information had to take second place (Herrmann, 1941, p. 218).

TRANSLATION OF *HAN SHU*, CHAPTER 96, THE MEMOIR ON THE WESTERN REGIONS

HS 96A

Communications with the Western Regions started only in the time 1A
of Emperor Hsiao Wu.[1] Originally there had been thirty-six[2] states,[3]
but afterwards these were gradually divided into more than fifty. 1B
These all lie to the west of the Hsiung-nu[4] and south of Wu-sun.[5] To
the north and south there are great mountains, and a river flows 2A
through the middle. The distance from east to west extends for more
than 6000 *li*[6] and from north to south for more than 1000 *li*.

On the east the area adjoins Han [territory], being blocked by
the Yü-men and the Yang barriers.[7] On the west it is confined by 2B

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* For the figures in the margins see Introduction, p. 66.

[1] For the early relations between China and Central Asia see the introduction, p. 40.

[2] The Chinese commentators attempt, with some difficulty, to relate the figure 36 to states actually mentioned in the text. The figure was probably chosen for a symbolical significance or mythical connotation, it is in fact a "pseudo number"; see Liu Shih-p'ei (1928), 8. 6a-9a, Katō (1952), p. 432 and Ise (1968), pp. 21-37. For the figure of 36 commanderies of which the Ch'in empire was alleged to have been formed, see Kurihara (1960), p. 76-81, and Kamada (1962), p. 74f. For a reference to "the 36 states beyond the seas" mentioned in the *Huai-nan-tzu*, ch. 4, see Erkes (1917), p. 65, and Haloun (1926), p. 135.

[3] The term *kuo* 國, which is used throughout this chapter, has been rendered "state" with some reserve, and should not be taken to imply the characteristics of western states or modern nations.

[4] Hsiung-nu is the designation for the nomad tribes living to the North of China; they have often, but by no means certainly, been identified with the Huns; see Sinor (1963), p. 263 (cf. p. 220) for the literature on this point; cf. also Pulleyblank (1963), p. 139, for further identifications.

[5] For Wu-sun see below, the translation of *HS* 96B.1aff., p. 143f.

[6] See *HFHD* III, p. 160, note 9.7, for the view that the *li* of Han times measured approximately 400 metres.

[7] For discussions regarding the location of the Yü-men and Yang-kuan, which were located at the western terminal of the Han defence lines at the northwestern tip of present-day Kansu province, see Hulsewé (1957), p. 7, Lao Kan (1959), pp. 375-382 and (1960 : 1), pp. 40-52 (abstracted in *RBS* 6, no. 101), Lo Che-wen (1964) and Ch'en Meng-chia (1965); see also Chavannes (1902), p. 67, note 2, and Chavannes (1913), p. vi.

the Ts'ung-ling.[8] Its southern mountains emerge in the east in Chin-
1B ch'eng [commandery[9]] and are linked with the Nan-shan of Han.[10]
Its river has two sources, of which one rises in the Ts'ung-ling and
the other in Yü-t'ien.[11] Yü-t'ien lies at the foot of the southern moun- 3A
tains, and its river runs northward to join the river that comes from
the Ts'ung-ling. Eastward it flows into the P'u-ch'ang Sea.[12] Another
name of the P'u-ch'ang Sea is the Salt Marsh; it is [1]300 *li* distant
1B from the Yü-men and the Yang barriers and measures 300 [to 400][13]
li in width and length. Its waters remain stagnant, and are not increased 3B
or reduced in winter or summer. It is said: "It is generally believed
that the water flows hidden below ground, and that it emerges to the
south at Chi-shih[14] to form the Ho of China".[15]

Starting from the Yü-men and Yang barriers there are two routes 4A
which lead into the Western Regions. The one which goes by way of 4B
Shan-shan, skirting the northern edge of the southern mountains and
proceeding along the course of the river west of So-chü[16] is the
Southern Route. To the west, the Southern Route crosses the Ts'ung- 5A

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[8] The Ts'ung-ling or Onion Range, so called because of the alleged growth of wild onions there, has long since been identified with the Pamirs, see e.g. E. Chavannes (1907), p. 168.

[9] Chin-ch'eng Commandery was established in 81 B.C.; it lay in the area of present-day Lan-chou in S. E. Kansu province — see *HS* 28BI.6b.

[10] This is identified by the Chinese commentators with the Chung-nan shan 終南山, South of present-day Hsi-an.

[11] For Yü-tien or Khotan see below, the translation of *HS* 96A.16b, and note 147.

[12] The P'u-ch'ang Sea is Lob-nor. From Huang (1948), pp. 1-21, it is clear that the lake in antiquity was situated where Lob-nor lies at present, since the change in the course of the Tarim and the Kum or Kuruk Darya in 1921; see also Hedin (1940), pp. 231-280. Herrmann (1922), p. 213, discusses the mistaken idea of the early Chinese concerning the identity of the Tarim and the upper course of the Yellow River. Huang, *loc. cit.*, surveys the ancient texts which claimed that the Yellow River flowed out of Lob-nor; beside *SC* and *HS* these include the *Shan-hai ching* (both the *Hai-nei ching* and the *Hsi-shan ching*) and the *Huai-nan-tzu*, ch. 4, Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng ed., p. 57.

[13] Wang Nien-sun proves from ancient quotations of this passage that this is the correct reading.

[14] Chi-shih, according to the author of the Han history, was situated in the south-western Ch'iang territory, in Ho-kuan Prefecture in the Chin-ch'eng Commandery 金城郡河關縣, see *HS* 28BI.8b (repeated in brief in *HS* 29.2a). The site may perhaps be identified as being near the modern Lin-hsia 臨夏, 103° 5' East, 35° 35' North. Chavannes (1903), p. 230, believed it to be clear that the Chi-shih of the *Yü-kung* was situated in the defile of that name, West of 河州, during the republic renamed 導河 Tao-ho subprefecture, but Eichhorn quoted in Flessel (1974), p. 4, considers Chi-shih of the Han period and earlier an elusive place and purely legendary.

[15] See note 12.

[16] For So-chü or Yarkand, see below, the translation of *HS* 96A.40bff. and note 361.

ling and then leads to Ta Yüeh-chih[17] and An-hsi.[18] The one which starts from the royal court of Nearer Chü-shih,[19] running alongside the northern mountains and following the course of the river west to Shu-lo,[20] is the Northern Route. To the west, the Northern Route crosses the Ts'ung-ling and leads to Ta Yüan,[21] K'ang-chü[22] and Yen-ts'ai.[23]

The states of the Western Regions for the most part [have inhabitants 5B
2A who are] settled on the soil, with walled cities, cultivated fields and domesticated animals. Their customs differ from those of the Hsiung-nu and Wu-sun. Formerly[24] they were all subject to the Hsiung-nu; at the western edge of the Hsiung-nu, the Jih-chu king[25] established the post of Commandant of T'ung-pu (Slaves) with orders to direct the Western Regions. He was permanently situated in the area of
2A Yen[-ts'ai],[26] Wei-hsü[27] and Wei-li,[28] and acquired wealth and resources by levying taxes from the various states.

From the decline of the Chou, the Jung and Ti peoples lived as elements of a mixed population to the north of the Ching and Wei rivers.[29] By the time of the first Ch'in Emperor,[30] the Jung and the

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[17] For Ta Yüeh-chih or Bactria see below, the translation of *HS* 96A.30bff. and note 276.

[18] For An-hsi, the Parthia of the Arsacids, see below, the translation of *HS* 96A.29b ff. and note 267.

[19] For Chü-shih or Turfan, see below, the translation of *HS* 96B.28bff. and note 618.

[20] For Shu-lo or Kashgar, see below, the translation of *HS*96A.41bff., and note 373.

[21] For Ta Yüan (Ferghana or Sogdiana?), see below, the translation of *HS* 96A.36bff., note 325, and *HS* 61. Yen Shih-ku writes that 宛 is to be pronounced *yüan* and not *wan* (GSR, no. 260b, gives only iwan/iwan and notes that "the Peking reading *wan* is irregular"; in view of Yen's remark it has an older history).

[22] For K'ang-chü see below, the translation of *HS* 96A.33a and note 298.

[23] For Yen-ts'ai, see below, note 316. Wang Nien-sun shows that the addition of the word *ch'i* 耆 in some editions is due to later copyists; the country of Yen-ch'i 焉耆 is not located in the area described here.

[24] *Ku* 故 rendered here "formerly" could also be translated as "consequently" without affecting the argument of the passage.

[25] *Jih-chu* king was a Hsiung-nu title, see Pritsak (1954), p. 188ff. (but note the correction by Daffinà (1970), p. 120f.).

[26] For Yen-ch'i or Karashahr, see below, the translation of *HS* 96B.23a and note 588.

[27] For Wei-hsü, see below, the translation of *HS* 96B.22b and note 587.

[28] For Wei-li, see below, the translation of *HS* 96B.22bff. and note 585.

[29] The text says literally: "The Jung-Ti were living intermixed to the north of the Ching and Wei (Rivers)", but it seems that the implications are wider.

The terms Jung and Ti were applied originally to tribes living west and north of the Chinese *oikoumenè*, but were subsequently invested with the more general meaning of "barbarians". For the general concept of barbarians see the remarks by L. S. Yang in Fairbank (1968), pp. 20-33.

Ti were driven away and the long walls[31] were built to form a boundary for China. However, in the west, these did not extend further than 6A
Lin-t'ao.[32] The Han dynasty arose, and we come to the time of Emperor Hsiao Wu; he undertook the task of subduing the various barbarian peoples[33] and of spreading [Han] prestige, whereas Chang Ch'ien[34] for the first time opened up a way in the Western Regions. Thereafter the general of cavalry on the alert (*P'iao-ch'i*)[35] attacked

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The term *ts'o chü* 錯居, "intermixed dwelling" is rare, but, as noted by Yen Shih-ku (581-645), it is identical with *tsa chü* 雜居. The latter is often used to indicate that alien peoples were living in the same area as the Chinese population. Hence, the implication of the sentence seems to be that non-Chinese and Chinese were living together in the area north of the Wei and Ching rivers, i.e. in the central part of present-day Shensi province. This explanation is confirmed by *HHS* Mem. 77.23b, which states explicitly that the lesser Yüeh-chih lived intermingled with the Chinese (but cf. Haloun (1937), p. 267).

[30] Acceded as king of Ch'in in 246 B.C., and adopted the title *Shih-huang-ti*, "First emperor", after the unification of 221 B.C.

[31] For the course of the Long Walls (traditionally translated as "the Great Wall") see e.g. Herrmann (1935), maps 16-18, Herrmann (1966), maps 8-9, Hulsewé (1962), p. 559, and, in greater detail, Wang Kuo-liang (1933), pp. 29-37, and especially Huang Lin-shu (1959); see also T'ang (1977). — For the organization of the defence system see *RHA* I, p. 83 ff.

[32] Lin-t'ao, a prefecture in Lung-hsi commandery according to *HS* 28 BI.5b. It was located in the area of present-day Min-hsien 岷縣, in Kansu province at ca. 104° E and 34° 25' N; it is not identical with modern Lin-t'ao, which name was given to the former Ti-tao 狄道 in 1928.

[33] Literally "the barbarians of the Four (Directions)", *ssu i* 四夷, cf. Introduction, p. 52.

[34] For Chang Ch'ien see below, the translation of *HS* 61.1a ff.

[35] *P'iao-ch'i chiang-chün* 驃 (or 票) 騎將軍, the P'iao ch'i general. This title refers to Huo Ch'ü-ping 霍去病, whose biography is to be found in *HS* 55.7a ff. (*SC* 111, 14 ff.); it seems to be an abbreviation of 票姚, *p'iao-yao* (GSR 1157b and 1145d : p'ịog/p'iäu - dịog/jäu), meaning "alert", which forms part of the title — found nowhere else — of *p'iao-yao hsiao-wei*, *p'iao-yao* colonel, bestowed on Huo Ch'ü-ping by emperor Wu (*loc. cit.*).

Huo Ch'ü-ping was a nephew of the Supreme General Wei Ch'ing and when the latter's sister became empress, in 128 B.C. (*HS* 6.9b, *HFHD* II, p. 49), their nephew was made Palace Attendant at the age of eighteen; he was therefore born in 146/145 B.C. He served with distinction in Wei Ch'ing's campaigns against the Hsiung-nu and in 123 B.C. he was rewarded with the honour of a nobility. This comprised the right to levy taxation in parts of Nan-yang commandery under the title of Noble of Kuan-chün 冠軍 (*HS* 18.9a; see also *HS* 28AII.13a; for this title, "being the foremost *kuan* in the army *chün*", see *SC* 7.17 and *Mh* II, p. 262, note 4). In 121 he was given the title of *P'iao-ch'i chiang-chün*, which, in view of the above, should be rendered as the General of Cavalry on the Alert (and not as Dubs writes, *HFHD passim*, the General of Agile Cavalry). Due to his victorious campaigns the number of the households of his fief was several times increased. The campaign referred to in the text is the expedition of

and vanquished those lands of the Hsiung-nu that lay to the right [i.e. to the west]. He forced the kings of K'un-yeh and Hsiu-ch'u[36] to surrender and thereupon had those territories evacuated.[37] For the first time [fortifications] were built at Ling-chü[38] and further west; and, once Chiu-ch'üan[39] had been founded, members of the [Han] population were gradually removed there to fill that area. This was then divided; Wu-wei, Chang-i and Tun-huang were founded[40] to form a line of four commanderies based on the two barriers.

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121 B.C., for which see *HFHD* II, p. 60, and *Urkunden I*, pp. 120-128. Huo Ch'ü-ping died in 117 B.C., greatly mourned by the emperor. His tomb, Northeast of Ch'ang-an, is the earliest extant example of Han monumental statuary; see e.g. Segalen (1926), I, p. 33ff., II, pl. ii and iii. In recent years some additional material, including brief inscriptions, has been excavated in the neighbourhood; see the contributions by Ma Tzu-yün (1955), Ch'en Chih (1958), Fu T'ien-ch'ou (1964), Ma Tzu-yün (1964), Swann (1963), p. 62f., and Ōba (1977), pp. 154-155.

[36] Cf. *HFHD* II, p. 62. Actually, the king of Hun-yeh killed the king of Hsiu-ch'u and then surrendered to the Chinese.

The principal victories over the Hsiung-nu took place in 121 and 119 B.C. resulting in the eventual acquisition of the Kansu corridor; for the course and conduct of the campaigns fought at this time, see Kierman and Fairbank (1974), p. 69ff.

It is to be noted that throughout *HS* we find both 昆邪 *k'un-yeh* (GSR 417a and 47a : kwən/kuən - zi̯å/i̯a or dzi̯å/zi̯a) and 渾邪 hun-yeh (GSR 458b : g'wən/γuən), as remarked by Daffinà (1969), p. 143, note 1. The choice seems to be completely arbitrary : *k'un* is to be found in *HSPC* 6.15a, 17.12a, 54.17a, 64B.4b, 68.18b, 73.18a and 94A.19a, whereas *hun* occurs in 17.12b (twice), 50.12a-b, 58.9a, 59.3b, 61.4a, and in the present instance, viz. 96A.6a. The arbitrariness of the choice of character is most fully apparent in the extracts of patents of nobility *bearing the same date* in *HSPC* 17.12a-b, where one patent has *k'un* and two others *hun*!

Yen Shih-ku indicates that 屠 is to be pronounced like 除, hence Hsiu-ch'u 休屠, GSR 1070a and 82m (not 45i') : xi̯ôg/xi̯əu-d'io/d'i̯wo (not d'o/d'uo).

The so-called "golden man" acquired among the booty of the king of Hsiu-ch'u has given rise to several studies : Shiratori (1930), Dubs (1937), Ware (1938).

[37] Cf. the parallel passage in *HS* 61.4a below (translation p. 213).

[38] Ling-chü 令居 (GSR 823a and 49c' : lieng/liäng - kio/kiwo; it is to be noted that Meng K'ang prefers 令 — normally *ling* — to be pronounced as 連 *lien*, GSR 213a : lian/liän) became a prefecture in the second year of the yüan-ting period, i.e. in 115 B.C. (*HS* 28BI.7a-b, *Shui-ching chu* 1.80b). *TM* p. 179 (or rather, the ancient authorities it quotes) places it to the Northwest of P'ing-fan 平番 subprefecture, or modern Yung-teng 永登 (cf. Herrmann (1935), p. 68, sq. 2b, or *Atlas* (1962), vol. III, p. D 30 and D 32, sq. 7C and D), i.e. close to 103° E and between 36° and 37° N, East of the Ta-t'ung 大通 river.

[39] Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉, lit. "Wine-spring" (GSR 1096k and 237a : tsi̯ôg/tsi̯əu - dz'i̯wan/dz'i̯wän); for the approximate location of the commandery of that name see *RHA* I, p. 183.

[40] For the dates of the establishment of the four commanderies of the north-west, see Hulsewé (1957), pp. 6-7, and *RHA* I pp. 59-60, where it is concluded, tentatively

2B After the Erh-shih[41] General's attack on Ta Yüan,[42] the Western 6B
Regions were shocked and frightened. Most of the states sent envoys to China to present tributary gifts, and those persons who were sent by Han on missions to the Western Regions felt more satisfied [with the reception that they now received].[43] Government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westwards from Tun-huang to the Salt Marsh, and a complement of several hundred
2B agricultural conscripts[44] was stationed at both Lun-t'ai[45] and Ch'ü-li.[46] A colonel [for the assistance of imperial] envoys was established to 7A
protect them and to provide supplies for the Han envoys who were proceeding to the outer states.

In the time of Emperor Hsüan a guards' major[47] was sent with a commission to protect Shan-shan[48] and the several states to the west. At the conquest of Ku-shih[49] [the state] was not completely destroyed

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that (i) Chiu-ch'üan and Chang-i were established in 104, (ii) Tun-huang was established shortly afterwards, at least before 91 B.C.; (iii) Wu-wei was probably set up between 81 and 67, although minor administrative units had existed there previously. See also Chang Ch'un-shu (1967), p. 748: Chiu-ch'üan 111 B.C.; Chang-i between 111 and 109 B.C.; Tun-huang between 101 and 94 B.C.; Wu-wei c. 72 B.C.

[41] Erh-shih 貳師 GRS 564g and 559a: ńi̯ər/ńźi - si̯ər/śi. All authorities agree that this place is the early medieval Sutrishna, near Uratepe, between Khojend and Samarkand; see *Mh* I, p. lxxv, note 1; Chavannes (1906), p. 153, note 2; Herrmann (1935), map 37; Tarn (1951), p. 309, and Pulleyblank (1966), pp. 26-27. The latter adds that "the striking similarity between Erh-shih < *nyis-si̯i and the Nisaea, famous for its horses ... has often been noted ... the various locations given for Nisaea ... seem to be in Iran proper south of the Oxus and not in Transoxiana".

Emperor Wu appointed Li Kuang-li Erh-shih General in 104 B.C. in command of the armies that were to conquer Ta Yüan in order to obtain the "blood sweating" horses. For Li Kuang-li's career, as recorded in the *Han-shu*, see p. 228ff. of the translation, below.

[42] I.e. after 101 B.C.

[43] As indicated by Wang Nien-sun (1870), 4-15.2bff., *te chih* 得職 means "to be satisfied, to obtain one's due"; Wang's examples could be considerably extended. Dubs has mistranslated this term several times in his *HFHD*, e.g. I, p. 329, 333, II, p. 60, 332, 381, 393, 405.

[44] For *t'ien-tsu* 田卒, "agricultural conscripts", see *RHA* I, p. 56 and 106; cf. also Chang Ch'un-shu (1966), p. 160.

[45] For Lun-t'ai, see below, note 527.

[46] For Ch'ü-li, see below, note 515.

[47] Major of the Guards 衛司馬; as remarked by Hsü Sung, these were officers in the different *t'un* 屯 or garrisons under the command of the *wei-wei* 衛尉 or Superintendent of the (Palace) Guards, as indicated by *HS* 19A.11b.

[48] For Shan-shan see below, note 77.

[49] These events are described in greater detail on p. 86f. and in the parallel passage on p. 223. Ku-shih 姑師, GSR 49h and 559a: ko/kuo - si̯ər/śi, is the older name of a group of statelets in the Turfan oasis, extending North beyond the T'ien-shan, discussed

but was split between the two kings of Nearer and Further Chü-shih[50] and six other states[51] north of the mountains. At that time Han

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on p. 183ff. After its conquest by the Chinese in the sixties of the 1st century B.C. it was called Chü-shih 車師, GSR 74a and 559a: kịo/kịwo - ṣiər/ṣi. Because the *Shih-chi* description of events stops long before the latter date, this text only mentions Ku-shih, whereas the *Han shu* mentions both Ku-shih and Chü-shih.

The *Shih-chi* mentions Ku-shih five times in four passages, in three of these linking it with Lou-lan.

(1) *SC* 123.1b line 11 (*HS* 61.2b, *HSPC* 61.2b; transl. p. 210)
(2) *SC* 123.5a, line 10 *HS* 96A.4b, *HSPC* 96A.11b; transl. p. 85f.
(3) *SC* 123.5a, lines 13, 14 *HS* 61.7a, *HSPC* 61.7b; transl. p. 223.
(4) *SC* 123.5b, line 9 (*HS* 96A.2b, *HSPC* 96A.7a; transl. p. 76)

(1) occurs in Chang Ch'ien's general statement about the places he knew, either by having visited them or through hear-say; in view of their place in the text, Lou-lan and Ku-shih must have belonged to the second group, but the whole passage seems disorganized. This general statement is also found in *HS*, but there Lou-lan and Ku-shih are not mentioned; (2) and (3) agree with *HS*, but it is difficult to find an exact *HS* parallel for (4), where again *HS* does not mention Lou-lan nor Ku-shih.

The third instance where the *Han-shu* chapters under discussion mention Ku-shih — again coupled with Lou-lan, here called by its later name Shan-shan (*HS* 96A.2b, *HSPC* 96A.6b, transl. p. 76) — falls outside the scope of the *Shih-chi*, as it refers to events in the sixties.

Herrmann (1910) pp. 62 and 64, denied the identity of Ku-shih and Chü-shih. Locating Chü-shih in the Turfan area, he believed that Ku-shih was situated close to Lou-lan, because, as mentioned above, the *Shih-chi* mentions the two states together, stating in passage (1) "the towns of Ku-shih and Lou-lan have walls; they lie close to the Salt Marsh" (not in *HS*!). Again in passage (2): "Lou-lan and Ku-shih are merely small states; being situated on the route, they harassed and robbed the Han envoys". However, Shimazaki (1969), pp. 27 and 35, rightly stresses the identity of Ku-shih and Chü-shih, which is beyond doubt. He suggests (p. 35) that "since Lou-lan and Ku-shih were connected because of the influence the Hsiung-nu exerted upon them, Chang Ch'ien and others must have thought that Lou-lan and Ku-shih were under the same power".

We suggest that Chang Ch'ien's ideas about Lou-lan and Ku-shih were inevitably vague, because he never visited these places, as seems evident from his itinerary. He was captured by the Hsiung-nu after having started from Lung-hsi, i.e. from southernmost Kansu, for the whole length of the Kansu corridor was still in the hands of the Hsiung-nu. He was held captive in the western part of the Hsiung-nu domain, i.e. somewhere in western Mongolia. He escaped from there by going West, i.e. into Sinkiang. On his return from the Yüeh-chih he followed the "Southern Mountains", i.e. the present-day K'un-lun, to enter into the territory of the Ch'iang, i.e. somewhere in the border zone between the modern provinces of Ch'ing-hai and Kansu. In other words, both on his outward journey and on his return, he bypassed Lou-lan at a considerable distance, whereas the place of his captivity must have been far to the north of Ku-shih.

[50] For the states of Nearer and Further Chü-shih (i.e. the Turfan area), see below, p. 183f. and notes 618, 621. The event occurred in 60 B.C., see *HFHD* II, p. 243.

[51] As enumerated by Hsü Sung, these six states were East and West Chü-mi 且彌, Nearer and Further Pi-lu 卑陸 and Nearer and Further P'u-lei 蒲類, but cf. Shimazaki

only protected the Southern Route, being unable to take over the 7B
Northern Route completely. However the Hsiung-nu no longer felt at ease.

After this the Jih-chu[52] king rebelled against the *Shan-yü*[53] and led his people to submit to [China]. Cheng Chi,[54] commissioner for the protection of Shan-shan and the west, received him, and on his arrival the Han [government] invested the Jih-chu king with the title of Noble of Kuei-te (allegiance to imperial authority),[55] and Cheng Chi with that of Noble of An-yüan[56] (Pacification of distant areas). These events took place in the third year of the reign-period *Shen-chüeh*[57] [59 B.C.], and [the government] took the occasion to commission Cheng Chi to act as protector of both the Northern Route
3A [and the Southern Route]. He was therefore entitled Protector General, [an office] which originated with this appointment. From that time onwards the [post of] Commandant of T'ung-pu (Slaves) was abolished. The Hsiung-nu became increasingly weaker and were unable to approach the Western Regions. Agricultural colonists[58] were thereupon removed to work the land in northern Hsü-chien,[59] and the lands of
3A [Chü-shih][60] were allocated [for this purpose].

(1969). For these events see *Urkunden I*, p. 206, II, p. 50, and e.g. Fuchs (1926), p. 126, as well as An Tso-chang (1955), pp. 97-123.

[52] For the Jih-chu king see note 25. Concerning these events, *HSPC* 70.4a adds that on hearing the news of the Jih-chu king's intention to submit to the Han, Cheng Chi sent out 50.000 men to go and meet him, whereas the number of persons who made over was 120000.

[53] Shan-yü 單于 (GSR 147a and 97a: tân/tân or dîan/ziän-giwo/jiu), the title of the paramount ruler of the Hsiung-nu. The reading *shan-yü* is traditional; Pulleyblank (1963), p. 256, reconstructs the 'Old Chinese' pronunciation as dān-ĥwaĥ and believes this to be "the ancestral form of ..[a].. title that reappears among the Turks and Mongols... namely *targan*, *tarxan*, etc."

[54] Cheng Chi 鄭吉; for his life and career see *HS* 70, *Urkunden* I, p. 205ff., and cf. note 634.

[55] Kuei-te 歸德, lit. "to turn towards virtue", c.q. towards the possessor of the all-pervading civilizing influence who is the ruler. — This incident occurred in 60 B.C., see *HFHD* II, p. 243.

[56] An-yüan 安遠, lit. "Pacifier of Distant Areas".

[57] Shen-chüeh or Divine Bird is the name of one of emperor Hsüan's so-called "reign-periods", see *HFHD* II, p. 121ff., and Dubs (1945), p. 26ff.; see also below, note 223.

[58] For the *t'un-t'ien* 屯田 or agricultural colonies, see *RHA* I, p. 56ff. and 70, and e.g. Ch'en Chih (1958: 2), pp. 1-77.

[59] The location of Hsü-chien 胥鞬 (GSR 90e and 249c: si̯o/si̯wo - ki̯ăn/ki̯en), only mentioned in this passage, is unknown; it is clear from the context that it was situated in the Chü-shih area (cf. note 60).

[60] The text reads So-chü 莎車. Hsü Sung points out that its region lay far removed

The colonel of the agricultural colonies was first subordinated to the protector general. This officer kept under observation the activities of the various outer states such as Wu-sun and K'ang-chü, and when 8A an incident occurred he submitted a report to the throne. If the situation was suitable for peaceful settlement, he settled it peacefully; if it was suitable for launching an attack, he attacked.

The protector general had his seat in the town of Wu-lei,[61] which was 2738 *li* distant from the Yang barrier but close to the agricultural office[62] of Ch'ü-li. The land was fertile and the location was at the centre of the Western Regions; for these reasons the protector general had his seat there.

In the time of Emperor Yüan the additional post of the Wu and Chi colonel[63] was established to set up agricultural colonies at the royal court of Nearer Chü-shih. At this time Tzu-li-chih,[64] king of 8B P'u-lei[65] to the east of the Hsiung-nu, led more than 1700 of his people to submit to the protector general. The protector general separated the western part of [the land of] the king of further Chü-shih to become the territory of Wu-t'an-tzu-li,[66] in order to settle them 9A there.

Since the time of Emperors Hsüan and Yüan, the *Shan-yü* has styled 3B himself vassal[67] and the Western Regions have been submissive. [So] the extent of the lands of the Western Regions, their mountains and

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from the area under discussion, whereas *HS* 94A.31b and 96B.31a show that Chü-shih 車師 is meant. These events occurred in 67 B.C.

[61] For Wu-lei see below, note 514.

[62] For the *t'ien-kuan* 田官 or agricultural office see *RHA* I, pp. 56 and 70, and note 26 on p. 140.

[63] For the *wu-chi hsiao-wei* 戊己校尉, see Lao Kan (1959), pp. 485-496. Lao's conclusion is that the latter post was established in 48 B.C. and filled by one officer down to the end of the Former Han, although as early as 31 B.C. a *chi* regiment was split off from his command and placed elwhere under the command of a *ssu-ma* major. After the renewed penetration of the Chinese into Central Asia in 74 A.D., there were two officers, a *wu* and a *chi* colonel, down to 78 A.D. In 89 only the *wu* colonel and his regiment were reestablished, to be abolished again in 107 A.D. See also Chavannes (1907), p. 153, note 2, and Ise (1968), pp. 9-14.

[64] This king 茲力支 (GSR 966a, 938a : tsiəg/tsi - liək/liək - tiĕg/tśię) is only mentioned here and is otherwise unknown.

[65] P'u-lei 蒲類(澤), (Lake) P'u-lei (GSR 102n' and 529a : b'wo/b'uo - liwəd/ljwi), since long identified with Lake Barkul, see e.g. Chavannes (1907), p. 209, n. 2.

[66] For Wu-t'an-tzu-li see below, p. 179 and note 592.

[67] *fan-ch'en* 藩臣, lit. "a servant (who acts as) a screen (viz. for his ruler)"; the term is used in Han texts both for Chinese kings and nobles, and for leaders of foreign peoples, see e.g. *HSPC* 8.22b, *HFHD* II, p. 269. The term "vassal" is used here for convenience, without implying any specified legal or contractual relationship.

rivers, their kings and nobles, the numbers of their households and the distances by road have become clearly known.[68]

Setting out from the Yang barrier the state nearest to Han is that
3B one of the Ch'iang[69] [tribes that is termed] Ch'o.[70] Its king is entitled Ch'ü Hu lai (abandoner of the nomads who made over to the King).[71]

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[68] Presumably, this information was provided by the Chinese officials in this area outside China proper, in conformity with the regular practice of the Han empire. The duties of the local administration included the annual presentation of detailed reports on the area administered, with details such as population figures. These latter were needed to organise taxation and to regularise liability for service. This process of "forwarding accounts", *shang chi* 上計, has been very well described by Kamada (1962), pp. 369-412.

That the military authorities kept extensive records is proved by documentary finds from Tun-huang and Chü-yen and by passages concerning military activities in the *Han shu* chapters 39, 40 and 41, and in e.g. *HS* 50.8a. There are also several passages in the *Han-shu* where the material, especially food, needed for distant campaigns, is meticulously calculated, see e.g. *HS* 69.10bff. For these reasons it may be supposed that attention was paid to distances, an all important element in far-flung expeditions.

[69] Ch'iang 羌 is a general term for the tribes living to the southwest of the Kansu corridor, mostly in the area of present-day Ch'ing-hai province; see Eberhard (1942), pp. 69-87, Lao Kan (1960 : 2), pp. 89-100 (mainly quotations), Stein (1961), p. 84ff., Hu Chao-hsi (1963) and Li Shao-ming (1963).

[70] Ch'o 婼. The only known earlier occurrence of this word is in the Spring and Autumn Annals and its attendant works, the *Tso-chuan* and the *Ku-liang chuan*, as the personal name of one nobleman in the state of Lu in the 7th century B.C. (see *Tso-chuan*, duke Chao, 4th year). According to GSR 777k, the early pronunciation of this word is t'ṇiak/t'ịak. However, Wei Chao (197-273/4) states that it was pronounced like *erh* 兒, i.e. GSR 873a : ńiĕg/ńźię, whereas Yen Shih-ku maintains that the pronunciation was 而遮反 (i.e. GSR 982 and 804d : ńiəg/ńźi - tiăg/tśịa, leading to niăg/ńźịa).

[71] *Hu* 胡, GSR 49a' : g'o/γuo, is one of the most general terms for the non-Chinese peoples of the North and West; it is here rendered as "nomads", although the Chinese term, originally meaning "dewlap", has no such connotations. Several authors have devoted attention to this term. Naba (1926), p. 493, believed that this designation arose rather late, presumably not earlier than the 4th century B.C.; Průšek (1971), p. 225, thinks that the term is probably not of Chinese origin, and that "in Han times it became the term for all the nomads of the north as well as for the Hsiung-nu", although "unless they are referring to the nomads in general, the Chinese sources make a clear distinction between the Hsiung-nu and the Hu-tribes". On the contrary, Chang Tsung-chang (1970), p. 83, referring to Shima (1958), p. 385, states that the word *hu* is already to be found in the Shang oracle inscriptions, denoting an enemy tribe on the northwestern borders of the Shang domain, dwelling approximately in the Ordos region. Also Pulleyblank (1952), p. 319, note 1, discusses the changing value of the word *hu*.

As indicated by Chavannes (1905), p. 527, end of note 8, and in *Urkunden* II, p. 52, note 1, the king's appellation contains a reference to the canonical Book of Poetry, viz. to ode 305 verse 5, where the expression *lai wang* 來王, "to come to the king (viz. in homage)" occurs. Although it seems hardly likely that this appellation covers a

Distant by 1800 *li* from the Yang barrier and 6300 *li* from Ch'ang-an, 9B
[the state] lies secluded in the south-west and is not situated on the main route.[72] There are 450 households, 1750 individuals with 500 persons able to bear arms. To the west it adjoins Ch'ieh-mo.[73] In company with their stock animals [the inhabitants] go in search of water and pasture and do not apply themselves to agricultural work. For field-crops[74] they rely on Shan-shan and Ch'ieh-mo. The mountains produce iron and they make military weapons themselves. For military weapons they have bows, lances, short knives, swords[75] and armour.[76] It is said : "advancing to the north-west, one reaches Shan-shan and then meets the Route".

The original name of the state of Shan-shan was Lou-lan.[77] The 10A

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non-Chinese term, we indicate the pronunciation of *ch'ü Hu lai wang*; GSR 642a, 49a', 944a and 739a : k'ịab/k'ịwo — g'o/γuo — ləg/lại — gịwang/jịwang.

[72] The explanation by Yen Shih-ku of 孔, sometimes 空, 道 as "tunnel" followed by de Groot (*Urkunden* : "Lochweg", *passim*) is to be rejected, and so is Needham's speculation in Needham (1971), p. 23; see the remarks by other Chinese commentators.

[73] For Ch'ieh-mo see below, note 125.

[74] The text reads *ku* 穀, lit. "grain", but the term will have to be understood as implying "the Five Grains" which traditionally include peas and beans.

[75] Short knives, *fu-tao* 服刀. The second century commentator Liu Te explains this term as 拍髀 "thigh-knocker", which expression is again explained by the early 3rd century dictionary *Shih-ming* as "short knife". It may be remarked in passing that *fu* 服 occasionally stands for 箙 "quiver"; cf. *RHA* II, p. 161, n. 12.

The distinction between *tao* 刀 and *chien* 劍, here translated as "knife" and "sword" respectively, is based on their being single-edged (*tao*) or double-edged (*chien*), not on their size.

[76] For the Chinese scale-armour see the early study by Laufer (1914), p. 211 ff.; for the recent discovery of a complete suit of armour see "Huheḥot" (1975) and the fundamental study by Yang Hung (1976); cf. also Hayashi (1972), pp. 405-415, and Hayashi (1976), pp. 469-472, and ills. 10/69-76.

[77] Shan-shan 鄯善 GSR [205a? and] 205a : [dịan/źiän] – dịan/źiän, and Lou-lan 樓蘭, GSR 123k and 184n : glu/ləu – glân/lân, with the capital Wu-ni 扜泥, GSR 97? and 563d : [gịwo/jịu?] – niər/niei.

Lou-lan is the Krora'iṃna or Krorayina of the Kharoṣṭhī-documents; it was originally, it seems, the name of the whole country and known as such to the Chinese — although they may have been ignorant of its position — since 176 B.C., when the Hsiung-nu ruler Mao-tun informed emperor Wen of his conquest of this and of other states (*HS* 94A.10b, *Urkunden* I, p. 76). In a more restricted sense, Lou-lan continued to refer to the town of Krora'iṃna, i.a. the area designated as LA by Stein (1921), vol. I, pp. 414-415 : see also Enoki (1963), p. 147.

Shan-shan was the name adopted when the state had come under Chinese domination in 77 B.C. The name has been identified as being the origin of Cherchen or Charchan by Hamilton (1958), p. 121; see also Pulleyblank (1963), p. 109.

Wu-ni, however, has given rise to considerable discussion because of the uncertainties surrounding the word here transcribed as *wu*, viz. 扜. According to Yen Shih-ku, it is

4A seat of the king's government is the town of Wu-ni, and it is distant 10B
1600 *li* from the Yang barrier and 6100 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are

pronounced ·o·/·ua, and this view is repeated in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 792.5a (it is not clear whether this passage belongs to the original *Hua-lin p'ien-lüeh* of 524, or whether it was copied from a later — T'ang or Sung — manuscript of the *Han-shu* only around 983; see Tjan (1949), pp. 60-61; Pulleyblank (1963), p. 89, calls it "an anonymous gloss", but the chances are that it is Yen Shih-ku's remark).

Secondly, although *wu* 扜 is included in the dictionary *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* of A.D. 100 (see *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin* 5505a) and even in the earlier wordlist *Fang-yen*, compiled before A.D. 18, if we follow the emendation by Tai Chen (1937) in his *Fang-yen su-cheng*, p. 295, in the *Shuo-wen* it is not written 扜 but 扜亏. Still more curious, however, is the fact that it does not seem to occur in Han inscriptions or in pre-Han literature, i.e. it is not found in Uchino's index to the *Li shih* (1966), nor in *Grammata Serica Recensa*. According to its rare occurences in Han literature, assembled in T. Morohashi's *Dai Kan-wa jiten*, vol. V, p. 103, no. 11799, *wu* 扜 seems only to occur in these few place-names in *HS* 96!

Thirdly, there are variant readings, where *wu* 扜 is replaced by 扞 (GSR 139q: g'ân/γân), or 拘, (GSR 108p: kịu/kịu, or ku/kəu or g'ịu/g'ịu). These variants occur in some editions of *SC* 123 (Shao-hsing ed. 123.1b; Palace ed. of 1739, 123.3b. This reading has not been adopted by Takigawa, *SC* 123.7, who writes 扞 without further explanation), cq. *HHS* Mem. 78.6bff., both not regarding the city of Wu-ni, but the country of Wu-mi (*HS* 96.16a; see note 138).

Now either Wu-mi or Chü-mi (not ni !) may be correct for the completely different *country* (see below), but, as regards the capital of Lou-lan — Shan-shan, it would seem that 扞泥 Han-ni is right, supported as it is by the reading 驩泥 (GSR 158.1: χwân/χuân) in the *Hou Han chi* by Yüan Hung (328-375), for this agrees with the word occurring in the kharoṣṭhi inscriptions: *kuhani* (or *kvhani*), meaning "capital" (Enoki (1963), p. 129-135 as well as Enoki (1961) and Enoki (1967), cf. Brough (1965)), Pulleyblank (1963), p. 89, reconstructs the "Old Chinese" pronunciation of Wu-ni as *·wāĥ-ne(δ) and believes it "unnecessary ... to adopt the reading 扞 ... The variant 驩泥 *hwan-nei seems closer to *·waĥ than to *ganh as an attempt to render the hypothetical original behind *khvani* or *kuhani*".

Nearly all authorities have accepted the identification of Lou-lan with the site discovered at a place slightly west of 90° E and 40° 31' N by Hedin and by Stein, except Wang Kuo-wei (*Kuan*) 17.3b-6b, in an article written in 1914. Wang believed this site to be the remains of the Chü-lu Granary (see the translation, p. 156, and below, note 460), also mentioned in the *Wei lüeh* (see Chavannes 1905, p. 529, without further remarks), which during the Former Liang in the 4th c. A.D. was called Hai-t'ou 海頭 and was the seat of a military governor. Now the *Shui-ching chu* 2.35b mentions a "Town of the Dragon" 龍城, which it identifies with "the ruins of the ancient Chiang-lai 姜賴"; the poetic name "Town of the Dragon" Wang believed to have been given by Central Asian traders. Chiang-lai is not mentioned in the *Han shu* nor in the *Wei-lüeh*, but Wang Kuo-wei wished to identify Chü-lu with Chiang-lai, which seems phonetically impossible, Chü-lu being GSR 49c[1] and 69d: kịo/kịwo-lo/luo, and Chiang-lai GSR 711a and 272e: kịang/kịang-lâd/lâi-. One of Wang's reasons for denying the identity of the Hedin-Stein site was, because the wooden documents found there had been *despatched from* Lou-lan. (Pelliot, 1929, pp. 160-161, does not discuss these remarks). Feng Ch'eng-chün (1932), pp. 9-10, holds a similar opinion (he does not refer to Wang Kuo-wei), and believes that Lou-lan extended far to the North, up to the area of Hami

1570 households, 14100 individuals with 2912 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials]: the noble of Fu-kuo (support
4A of the state),[78] the noble of Ch'üeh-hu (resistance to the nomad),[79] the commandant[80] of Shan-shan, the commandant of Chi Chü-shih

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and Pidjan (on p. 6 he states that the capital I-hsün must be present-day Miran, and the old capital of Wu-ni present-day Charklik).

Stein (1921), pp. 423-425, mentions this "City of the Dragon", but dismisses the story as a traveller's tale; it is just an enormous *yardang* (see below, note 108). Elsewhere, Stein (1933), p. 160, writes: "a far stretching array of big Mesas which with their fantastically eroded shapes curiously suggested ruined towers, mansions or temples. It was easy to recognize in them ... a mythical 'Town of the Dragon'".

Huang (1948), p. 11, who also visited these localities, says that the "Town of the Dragon" is a *yardang*. Furthermore, he is convinced (p. 12) that the Hedin-Stein site is ancient Lou-lan, being situated to the North of the ancient — and again the present-day — Lob nor, and deserted in the 4th century of our era. The place later called "Nob" was South of the lake; Pelliot's (1906), p. 371, suggestion that *nob* might be derived from the Sanskrit word for "new", Huang (p. 2) considered highly important, for it could well have been given after a change in the circumstances.

Finally, Enoki (1963), p. 139, refutes Wang Kuo-wei's suggestions, stating that in effect letters *sent to* Lou-lan have been found at the site.

[78] "Noble who supports the State", *fu-kuo hou* 輔國侯 (cf. the title "King who supports the State" *fu-kuo wang* in Ta Yüan, *HS* 96A.36b; see note 327), a title which is found in many of the states in the Western Regions.

As remarked by Hsü Sung, this and similar posts or titles were filled, c.q. borne, by men of the locality in question, but it was the Chinese who bestowed them. *HS* 96B.36a-b enumerates a number of such titles or functions and adds: "there were altogether 376 men who carried on their belts Han seals and ribbons". The nomenclature depended on the circumstances of the time: titles including e.g. the words "(for) attacking Chü-shih" were presumably no longer used after the fall of that state in about 60 B.C., whereas those including Shan-shan were hardly likely to have come into existence before the state of this name had been established.

Enoki (1963), p. 128, note 8, warns against attempts at identifying these Chinese titles with native titles; all, except *fu-kuo hou* and interpreter-in-chief, being "military ones, showing the military nature of the Chinese administration ... because of the policy of the Han government to organize the countries ... for mobilisation to attack their strongest enemy ... the Hsiung-nu ... (they) were established for the convenience of the government of Han". Professor Enoki criticizes in particular the equation of *fu-kuo hou* with *rajadharagá* by Thomas (1934), pp. 52-53.

This means that Chinese precedents and examples were closely followed. The word *hou* 侯, which in the Han empire denotes the single aristocratic title below that of "king", is translated here as noble (rendered by other scholars as marquis). It should be noted that, whereas for the Han we do know something about the legal rights of the *hou* "noble", we know nothing about the position of the nobility among the non-Chinese peoples.

[79] "Noble who Repels the Hu", *ch'üeh Hu hou* 郤胡侯. For Hu see note 71; for "noble" see note 78.

[80] Commandant, *tu-wei* 都尉. Within the commanderies of the Han empire, this title was borne by the chief officer of a commandery in command of the troops in that

(assault on Chü-shih), the Chü-ch'ü[81] of the left and the right, the master of Chi Chü-shih[82] (assault on Chü-shih) and two interpreters-in-chief.[83] To the north-west it is a distance of 1785 *li* to the seat of the protector general. It is 1365 *li*[84] to the state of [Mo]-shan,[85] and to the north-west it is 1890 *li* to Chü-shih. 11A

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area, under the direction of the chief civil official, the Governor, *t'ai-shou* 太守, of the commandery. In A.D. 30 the post of *tu-wei* was abolished, except in the commanderies situated on China's borders, see *HHSCC* Tr. 28.5a-b. Here the title is evidently applied to a non-Chinese official in non-Chinese territory; cf. note 78, and introduction, p. 68ff.

[81] *Chü-ch'ü* 且渠, GSR 46a and 95g : ts'i̯o/ts'i̯wo or ts'i̯å/ts'i̯a-g'i̯o/g'i̯wo.

This is a Hsiung-nu title, also mentioned in *HSPC* 94A.7a and in *HSPC* 8.20a, cf. *HFHD* II, p. 251. Neither the commentators nor modern authors like Pritsak (1954) or Mori (1950) provide further explanations.

[82] "Master", *chün* 君. This rendering is an emergency solution, for *chün* does not possess this meaning; it normally signifies "prince" or even "ruler". However, in "Ch'in documents" (1976), p. 7, column 1, we find the term *chün-tzu* 君子, frequent in Confucian literature to denote "the True Gentleman", applied to a subordinate "overseer" of convict labour. In Han colloquial and in the epistolary style *chün* was a polite form of address, being used as a substitute for the pronoun "you". In the present context *chün*, coming as it does after a series of officers, cannot mean "ruler"; we have compromised on the rendering "master". — During the Han period *chün* was occasionally used as an honorific title, bestowed i.a. on the descendants of Confucius and on those of the Chou dynasty (see *HFHD* II, pp. 75 and 213; cf. *HSPC* 81.15a); it was outside the sphere of the normal aristocratic ranks, for which see Loewe (1960), p. 97ff.

[83] Among the leading ministers was the Superintendent of State Visits, whose title was originally *Tien-k'o* 典客; in 144 B.C. this was changed to *Ta-hsing ling* 大行令, which was again altered to *Ta-hung-lu* 大鴻臚 in 104 B.C., cf. *HFHD* I, p. 233, and *MH* II, pp. 506 and 618; for the traditional explanation of the latter term see Maspero and Balázs (1967), p. 61, note 2. According to *HSPC* 19A.13b, he was i.a. in charge of "the barbarians who come to the correct allegiance"; among his subordinates he had e.g. keepers of the hostels for persons coming to the capital from the commanderies. Likewise subordinate to the Superintendent of State Visits were the director, *ling* 令 and his assistant, *ch'eng* 丞, in the interpreters' office; these posts were abolished in the Later Han period (*HHSCC* Tr. 25.11a). Nothing is said about the size or the nature of their staff, which was concerned with aliens coming to China in an official capacity. In Central Asia, the existence of as many as 39 interpreters-in-chief is mentioned for no less than 22 places; their mention together with other definitely native officials bearing Chinese titles in *HS* 96B.36a (translation p. 197) makes it seem reasonable to suppose that these men were not Chinese, contrary to the tentative suggestion by Zürcher (1959), p. 40.

[84] The text reads 1365 *li*, but some versions of the 6th century *Shui-ching chu* read 1865 *li*, a difference of 500 *li*, i.e. ca. 200 km. or 125 miles; already Wang Nien-sun did not know which figure was correct (*HS* 96A.11a). The Academy of Science edition of the *Shui-ching chu*, 1.79a, writes 1365; here Yang Shou-ching holds that Chao I-ch'ing was responsible for this "mistake", which was taken over by Ch'üan Tsu-wang and Tai Chen; however, as is shown by Hu Shih in his "Note on Ch'üan Tsu-wang,

The land is sandy and salt, and there are few cultivated fields. The state hopes to obtain [the produce of] cultivated fields and looks to
4B neighbouring states for field-crops. It produces jade and there is an abundance of rushes,[86] tamarisk,[87] the balsam poplar,[88] and white grass.[89] In company with their flocks and herds the inhabitants go in 11B search of water and pasture, and there are asses, horses and a large number of camels. [The inhabitants] are capable of making military weapons in the same way as the Ch'o of the Ch'iang tribes.

Originally[90] Emperor Wu had been won over by Chang Ch'ien's[91] reports and whole-heartedly wished to open communications with Ta Yüan and various states. [Han] envoys were in sight of each other [as they made their way] along the routes,[92] and as many as ten missions were sent during a single year. Lou-lan and Ku-shih, being situated on the route, harrassed these missions,[93] attacking and robbing
4B envoys such as Wang Hui.[94] In addition they frequently acted as ears

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Chao I-ch'ing and Tai Chên" (in *Eminent Chinese*, p. 970 ff.), Tai Chen must have arrived at the figure 1865 independently.

[85] The text has only *shan* 山, but the commentators show by means of ancient quotations of this phrase, as well as of parallel passages, that Mo-shan 墨山, GSR 904c and 193a : mək/mək-săn/ṣăn (literally : Ink Mountain) is the correct reading. This was also accepted by Chavannes (1905), p. 552, n. 7. See below, note 615, for further details.

[86] *Chia-wei* 葭葦, a general term for rushes; see *Botanicon sinicum* II, p. 268 ff.

[87] Tamarisks, *sheng liu* 檉柳, see *Botanicon sinicum* II, p. 364 ff.

[88] Hu-t'ung 胡桐, "balsam poplar" according to Laufer (1919), p. 339 f.

[89] White grass, *pai ts'ao* 白草. This term evidently covers several plants; *Chih-wu* provides two different identifications. When *pai-ying* 白英 is meant, this is Solanium dulcamara L., the common bittersweet or woody nightshade; when *pai-lien* 白蔹 is meant, this is the creeper Ampelopsis serianaefolia, identified by the Japanese as the sorrel vine. *Botanicon sinicon* II, p. 79 and III, p. 187, resp. II, p. 453, and III, p. 180, agrees with these identifications, only calling the ampelopsis : vitis. See also *HSPC* 94B.14b and *Urkunden* II, p. 55, note 2.

[90] That is : after the return of Chang Ch'ien from his journey through Central Asia in 126 or 125 B.C. (for this date see below, note 774).

[91] See below, p. 211 ff.

[92] "Envoys in sight of each other" is a cliché of the same type as 冠蓋相望 "hats and hoods (over the carriages) were in sight of each other", indicating the frequency of the official traffic.

[93] 苦之. Yen Shih-ku understood this to mean "suffered therefrom", or "considered this as obnoxious", but the expanded version of this passage in *HS* 61.7b and *SC* 123.27 makes it clear that "harassed" is correct (Wylie transl. p. 25 : "harassed"; Hirth transl. p. 106 : "annoyed").

[94] Wang Hui 王恢. Most of the information about this man is contained in the following passage and in *HSPC* 61.9a, translated below; see also *Urkunden* II, p. 31 f. and p. 55 f. *HSPC* 17.21b reports that he was made Noble of Hao on 30 January 107 B.C.

and eyes for the Hsiung-nu, enabling their troops to intercept the Han envoys. The Han envoys frequently said that those states possessed towns,[95] and that their troops were weak and easy to attack.

Whereupon Emperor Wu sent Chao P'o-nu, Noble of Ts'ung-p'iao,[96] to take command of a force, composed of cavalry from the dependent states[97] and troops from the commanderies,[98] and numbering several

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for his role in the campaign against Ku-shih, but in the fourth month of the same year he was adjudicated because "on a mission to Chiu-ch'üan (commandery) he had forged an imperial decree, with evil consequences; a crime warranting the death penalty. He redeemed his punishment by being deposed from his nobility" (see also *SC* 20.21b, *Mh* III, p. 161, no. 8). We do not possess further details about this mission, nor do we know the exact nature of the crime. The loss of his nobility explains why in *HSPC* 61.9b (transl. p. 228) he is called "the former Noble of Hao".

This Wang Hui is not to be confused with his namesake, who planned the first attack against the Hsiung-nu in 133 B.C. and who was forced to commit suicide when the plan miscarried (see *HSPC* 6.6a, *HFHD* II, p. 39, and *HSPC* 94A.16a-b, *Urkunden* I, pp. 95-102).

[95] The text reads 城邑 which here seems to be merely a general term, not to be split up in "walled towns" and "(unwalled) settlements", for by Han times *i* 邑 had lost this meaning.

[96] *HSPC* 17.11a (*SC* 20.10b, *Mh* III, p. 168, no. 68) reports that Chao P'o-nu, who has a very brief biography in *HSPC* 55, 20a, was created Noble of Ts'ung-p'iao on 14 June 121 B.C. for his military merits in campaigns against the Hsiung-nu; this nobility included the right to tax 2000 households, but there are no indications where it was located. In 112 B.C. he lost his nobility because the gold he had contributed on the occasion of the sacrifice of the Eighth Month Liquor was underweight (see *HFHD* II, pp. 126-128, and cf. *RHL* I, p. 38, no. 15). As the following text of *HS* 96 shows, he was ennobled again for his success in the Ku-shih campaign, being made Noble of Cho-yeh in 108 B.C. In 103 B.C. he was made prisoner by the Hsiung-nu, whereupon the nobility was abolished. Eventually (*HSPC* 55.20a says after ten years, but *HSPC* 94A.24a, *Urkunden* I, p. 162, gives a date equivalent to 100 B.C.) he returned. He does not seem to have been prosecuted, but in 91 B.C. he became involved in the black magic case and was executed together with his family.

The meaning of the name of his nobility Ts'ung-p'iao is that Chao P'o-nu *joined* 從 the army of the *P'iao* 票 *ch'i* General Huo Ch'ü-ping (see above, note 35).

[97] For "dependent states", *shu-kuo* 屬國, see *RHA* I, pp. 60-64.

[98] Troops from the commanderies, *chün ping* 郡兵; we believe these to be conscripts available for call-up as needed for specified campaigns. Theoretically, all men between the ages of 23 and 56, except for the holders of the higher aristocratic ranks, were liable for military service, as well as statute labour duty. They had to serve as "regular conscripts", *cheng-tsu* 正卒, for one year under the orders of the Commandant, *tu-wei* of their commandery of origin. It is to these men that the text evidently refers. It should be noted that the men had to serve another year as "garrison conscripts", *shu-tsu* 戍卒, either guarding the imperial palaces in the capital or the royal palaces in their place of origin, if this happened to be a kingdom, or they had to serve in the defence forces on the border. In the latter case, however, they do not seem to have been necessarily organized in units consisting of men from the same place of origin, so that the text

tens of thousands, to attack Ku-shih. Wang Hui had on several occasions been harrassed by Lou-lan, and the emperor ordered him to assist [Chao] P'o-nu in leading the troops. [Chao] P'o-nu reached the destination first, with seven hundred light cavalry; and having captured the king of Lou-lan he then defeated Ku-shih. He took the 12A
opportunity to stage a display of his military power so as to shock (states) like Wu-sun and Ta Yüan. On his return,[99] [Chao] P'o-nu was invested with the title of Noble of Cho-yeh and [Wang] Hui with that of Hao. Han now [built] a line of government posts and defences[100] stretching as far as the Yü-men barrier.

Once Lou-lan had surrendered and presented tributary gifts [to
5A the Han emperor], the Hsiung-nu heard of those events and sent out troops to attack [Lou-lan]. Whereupon [the king of] Lou-lan sent one son as a hostage to the Hsiung-nu and one as a hostage[101] to Han.

Later,[102] the army of the Erh-shih [general] attacked Ta Yüan. Although the Hsiung-nu wished to intercept him, the Erh-shih [general's] forces were strong and [the Hsiung-nu] did not dare to
5A confront them. So they sent cavalry to make use of Lou-lan so as to await those of the Han envoys who were the last to pass by, with the intention of cutting them off and denying them a way through. At this time Jen Wen, an army controller,[103] was in command of a force; he was garrisoning the Yü-men barrier, and acting as a rear-guard for the Erh-shih [general]. From live captives whom he had taken he ascertained the facts of the situation and reported accordingly. The emperor commanded [Jen] Wen to lead the troops by a suitable route, to arrest the king of Lou-lan and to bring him to the palace at

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would seem to refer to the "regular conscripts". It is, however, also possible that these men had already finished their regular service and were now called up for an emergency.

[99] The nobility was bestowed in 108 B.C., *HSPC* 17.11a; Wang Hui received his nobility early in 107 B.C., *HS* 17.21b.

[100] Government posts and defences, *t'ing-chang* 亭障. This is a general term: a *t'ing* is a post, whereas *chang* are earth works. For a description of the border defence system in Han times, see *RHA* I, pp. 74-107, and Fujieda (1955).

[101] The taking of hostages was an old-established Chinese practice; see e.g. Yang Lien-sheng (1952: 2). See also p. 60ff. of the introduction above, and note 448.

[102] This campaign was started in 104 B.C., but it was only brought to a successful conclusion later, in 101 B.C., cf. *HFHD* II, pp. 101 and 102.

[103] Army Controller Jen Wen 軍正任文. For this post see *RHL* I, p. 304, note 19, where this title is rendered as Army Corrector. Jen Wen is unknown except for a brief mention in *HS* 94A.23b, *Urkunden* I, p. 155, to the effect that in the autumn of 102 B.C. he drove away the Hsiung-nu who had raided the Kansu corridor (cf. *HFHD* II, p. 102).

the capital city. [Jen Wen] interrogated the king by presenting him with a bill of indictment, which he answered by claiming that [Lou-lan] was a small state lying among large states, and that unless it subjected itself to both parties, there would be no means of keeping itself in safety; he therefore wished to remove his kingdom and take up residence within the Han territory. 12B

The emperor accepted this statement as true and sent him back to his state; in addition he employed [the king's] services to keep a watch on the Hsiung-nu, who from then on showed no great friendliness or trust in Lou-lan. In the first year of the reign-period *Cheng-ho*[104] [92 B.C.] the king of Lou-lan died. His countrymen came to [Ch'ang-an] to request the person of the king's son who was serving as a hostage in Han, as they wished to set him up as king. But the king's son who was held as a hostage had been indicted according to the terms of the Han laws and sent down to the silk-worm house to undergo castration.[105] For this reason Han did not send him to Lou-lan, but affirmed in reply that "the Son of Heaven has become greatly attached to his attendant and is unable to send him away; in his place you should enthrone the next son who is suitable to
5B accede." Lou-lan established a king in his place and Han once more claimed an hostage. Another son was likewise sent as hostage to the Hsiung-nu.

5B Later the king died, in his turn. The Hsiung-nu heard the news first and sent their hostage back to [Lou-lan] so that he could be established as king. Han sent an envoy bearing a command for the new king, ordering him to come to court,[106] and [promising that] the Son of Heaven would reward him richly. Now the later wife of the king of Lou-lan was his step-mother,[107] and she spoke to the

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[104] Nearly all texts which deal with these years, with but few exceptions (*HSPC* 17.19b and 23b) call this reign period cheng-ho 征和; the original Han documents on wood, found in the Tun-huang and Edsin-gol areas, show that this is correct and that the period was not called yen-ho 延和 as had been suggested. The mistake is due to the similarity between the two characters; see Hsia Nai (1948), pp. 236-237, ills. 1 and 2; cf. also *RHA* II, p. 322.

[105] For this punishment see *RHL* I, p. 127 ff.

[106] The nobles were obliged to come to court in spring and in autumn; see *HS* 35.5b, cf. 52.1b (*SC* 106.6 and 107.3).

[107] Hsü Sung remarks that in this respect the people of Lou-lan followed the Hsiung-nu custom. The example he must have had in mind is that of the unfortunate Chinese palace lady whom the Han court gave as a wife to the Hsiung-nu ruler Hu-han-yeh and who complained of having been compelled, upon the latter's death, to marry his son Fu-chu-lei; see *HS* 94B.9a, *Urkunden* I, p. 247.

king in the following terms: "Neither of the sons sent by the previous king as hostages to Han has come back; what purpose is there in proceeding to court?" The king accepted her advice and made his apologies to the envoy; he said that he had but recently acceded to the throne and that his land was not yet stable; he would prefer to wait for a subsequent year before making his way to court for an audience with the Son of Heaven.

However, Lou-lan was the furthest east [of the states of the Western Regions]. It lay close to Han and confronted the White Dragon Mounds.[108] The locality was short of water and pasture, and was regularly responsible for sending out guides, conveying water, bearing provisions and escorting or meeting Han envoys. In addition the state 13A
was frequently robbed, reprimanded or harmed by officials or conscripts and found it inexpedient to keep in contact with Han. Later the state again conducted espionage for the Hsiung-nu, often intercepting and killing Han envoys.

The [king's] younger brother, Wei-t'u-ch'i,[109] submitted to Han and gave a full account of the situation. In the fourth year of the reign period Yüan-feng[110] [77 B.C.], the supreme general Huo Kuang[111] laid before the emperor a plan for sending Fu Chieh-tzu,[112] inspector [of the stables] at the P'ing-lo Palace,[113] to go out and stab the king
6A to death. [Fu] Chieh-tzu lightheartedly led a group of bold and

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[108] White Dragon Mounds, *pai-lung tui* 白龍堆. Sir Aurel Stein (1921), p. 341 f., describes these *yardang*, flattened, salt-encrusted sandhills; see also Hedin (1940), *passim*, and "Channel shifting" (1959), pp. 102-104, and the plates on pp. 127-128. Chavannes (1905), p. 529ff., note 7, has assembled the relevant ancient passages; he stresses the wide extent of this belt.

[109] Wei-t'u-ch'i 尉屠耆, GSR 525b, 45i' and 5521; ·iwəd/·jwẹi - d'o/d'uo - g'iər g'ji. As Hsü Sung remarks, the two last signs are used also for a Hsiung-nu word meaning "wise"; see *HS* 94A.7a: 匈奴謂賢曰屠耆: *Urkunden* I, p. 55.

[110] The following incident is reported more fully in *HS* 70.1b. The veracity of these events, at least of the dispatch of the king's head, is substantiated by an actual document; see Lao Kan (1959), p. 365, or (1960: 3), p. 23; and cf. *RHA* II, p. 228 and Hulsewé (1957), p. 7.

[111] Huo Kuang, 霍光, was one of the leading figures in the Han imperial government, acting as regent between 87 and his death in 68 B.C. For a survey of his life see A. Jongchell (1930); cf. also *HFHD* II, pp. 143-149, 182-186, and Loewe (1974), ch. 2 and 4.

[112] Fu Chieh-tzu 傅介子. For a brief survey of his life see *HS* 70 and *Urkunden* II, p. 57ff.

[113] Amended according to *HS* 17.28a; the text here leaves out the crucial word "stables", *ch'u* 廄. The P'ing-lo Stables were presumably attached to the P'ing-lo Lodge, *kuan* 觀 or 館, in the Shang-lin Hunting Park (cf. *HS* 6.31a, *HFHD* II, p. 98).

venturesome men who were carrying gold and valuables[114] with them; and he let it be known that these were intended as presents for the
6A outer states. Once he had reached Lou-lan he deceived the king [by giving out] that he intended to make him a presentation. The king was delighted; and he became intoxicated while drinking with [Fu] Chieh-tzu, who now took the king aside for a private word. Two of his strong men followed and stabbed the king to death, and all his noblemen and attendants fled in confusion. [Fu] Chieh-tzu proclaimed the following message of admonition from the Han emperor: "The Son of Heaven has sent me to punish the king, by reason of his crime in turning against Han. It is fitting that in his place you should enthrone his younger brother Wei-t'u-ch'i who is at present in Han. Han troops are about to arrive here; do not dare to make any move which would result in yourselves bringing about the destruction of your state."

[Fu] Chieh-tzu then beheaded the king, who was named [An]-kuei,[115] and sent his head by the mounted messenger service to the palace, where it was suspended at the Northern Tower. [Fu] Chieh-tzu was 13B
invested with the title of Noble of I-yang;[116] and [Han] then established

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[114] Cf. *HS* 70.1b. For the use of silk as one of the most important items among the "gifts" to alien tribes, c.q. to their rulers, see Hulsewé (1974) and Yü Ying-shih (1967), *passim*.

[115] Amended in conformity with *HS* 7.9a, *HFHD* II, p. 171, and *HS* 70.2a (where the name occurs twice). Our text here reads Ch'ang-kuei 嘗歸, GSR 725f and 570a: d̂ịang/z'ịang - kịwər/kjwei, whereas the other passages read An-kuei 安歸, GSR, 46a *ân/*ân - kịwər/kjwẹi. However, note has to be taken of the remark made by Enoki Kazuo (1963), p. 126, note 5, where, referring to T. Burrow (1927) §17, he suggests that these varying renderings may imply that not only intervocalic *c* and *j* (as noted by Burrow), but also initial *c* and *j* might have become *y*, with the result that *ca* (*c'a*) or *ja* (*j'a*) was heard by the Chinese as *a* or *'a*. Ch'ang-kuei and An-kuei might therefore represent *Chaṅgi or *Chaṅġi and *Aṅgi or *Aṅġi respectively. *HSPC* 70.2 a quotes the imperial decree of enfeofment which reads: "An-kuei, the king of Lou-lan, acted as a spy for the Hsiung-nu, repeatedly obstructing Han envoys, mobilizing troops, killing and kidnapping the three groups of [respectively] the Guards' major An-lo, the Palace Counsellor Chung and the Gentleman of the Ch'i-men Guard Sui-ch'eng and the envoys from An-hsi and Ta Yüan, robbing their insignia and seals as well as the objects for presentation [to the Han court]. This was highly contrary to the rules of Heaven. The director of (the stables of) the P'ing-lo Palace, Fu Chieh-tzu, holding credentials, in causing the head of An-kuei, King of Lou-lan, to be cut off and to be hung at the northern palace gates, has requited enmity with rightness (a quotation from *Lun-yü* XIV, 36, 3), without causing trouble to the armies. Let (Fu) Chieh-tzu be enfeoffed as Noble of I-yang enjoying the revenue of settlements (to the amount of) 700 households". The soldiers who had stabbed the king were all appointed Gentlemen-in-Attendance.

[116] The date of the conferment of the nobility is yüan-feng, 4th year, 7th month,

Wei-t'u-ch'i as king, changing the name of the state to Shan-shan. An official seal[117] was engraved for [the king's] use; he was presented with one of the women of the palace to be his wife, and carriages, a mounted retinue and baggage carts were prepared for him. The chancellor[118] and generals led [a group] of government officials to escort him outside the Kuang Gate;[119] and when the ceremony of "godspeed"[120] had been performed he was sent on his way.

6B The king had made a personal request to the Son of Heaven. "For a long time", he said, "I have been in Han. Now I am returning home deserted and weak at a time when sons of the former king are 14A
6B alive, and I fear that I may be killed by them. There is a town [called] I-hsün[121] in the state, whose land is fertile. I would be grateful if

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day *i-ssu*, i.e. 8 September 77 B.C. (Julian); he died in yüan-k'ang, 1st year, i.e. in 65 B.C. (*HS* 17.28a).

[117] Seal and seal ribbons *yin shou* 印綬, were the visible insignia of rank and office; they are specified in the "Treatise of carriages and clothing" in the History of the Later Han Dynasty, *HHS* Tr. 30.13bf.; the measures of these ribbons, with different colours depending on the rank, varied between 21 and 15 Han-feet, with a constant width of 1 ft. 6 in.; the tighter the weave, the higher the rank. There are several instances known of "barbarian" rulers receiving these insignia, like e.g. the king of Tien, near the K'un-ming Lake in presentday Yünnan province (*HS* 95.5a; this seal has been found, see the discussion in *Kaoguxuebao* 1956/1 and in *Wenwucankaoziliao* 1957/4; see also Kurihara (1960), p. 220ff.) and the rulers in Central Asia and of the Hsiung-nu (e.g. *HS* 99B.11a, *HFHD* III, p. 294).

The expression used here for "seal" is the binome *yin-chang* 印章, which is likewise used in the text carved on the seal itself (cf. *HFHD* II, p. 99, n. 31.8). It is to be found i.a. on an actual Han seal, that of the chancellor of the Kingdom of Huai-yang, reproduced in *Shodō zenshū* II, p. 162, ill. no. 3. The commentator Chou Shou-ch'ang says (*HS* 96A.13a) that the seals given to the lesser Hsiung-nu kings (諸王) also contained the term *yin-chang*, but he gives no references to substantiate his statement. See also *RHA* II, p. 20 and the remarks in Chavannes (1913) added to slip 367. An extensive discussion on Han seals is to be found in Kurihara (1960), pp. 123-228; the normal seals of the Chinese officials are dealt with on pp. 160-173, those bestowed on alien rulers on pp. 174-228. See also notes 470, 492 and 687 below.

[118] Ch'eng-hsiang 丞相, nominally the highest functionary in the empire and actually so during the early part of the dynasty, viz. the 2nd century B.C.; see Wang Yü-ch'üan (1949), p. 134ff., esp. pp. 143-146. Some editions, including *HSPC*, following the Chi-ku ko ed., omit the word "generals", as indicated by Wang Hsien-ch'ien *ad loc.*, and Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 597.

[119] 橫門: acc. to Meng K'ang, 橫 is to be pronounced 光, i.e. *kuang*. The Kuang Gate was one of the city gates of Ch'ang-an; according to the *San-fu huang-t'u*, p. 10, it was situated in the northwest part of the wall. See also *Ajia rekishi chizu*, p. 62.

[120] For this religious ceremony, called *tsu* 祖, see B. Schindler (1924), p. 649ff.

[121] I-hsün 伊循, GSR 604a and 465f: *ʔiɛr/*ʔi-dzwi̯ən/zi̯uen. Shimazaki (1969), p. 76, says that some earlier commentators locate this place at northern Charklik, whilst Enoki (1963), p. 131, places it in "the Charklik and Mirân district". Chavannes (1905), p. 533,

Han could send one leader[122] to set up an agricultural colony there and accumulate a store of field-crops, so that I would be able to rely on the support of Han prestige." Thereupon Han sent one major and forty officers and others to colonise I-hsün, in order to maintain a peaceful situation. At a later time the office of commandant[123] was established instead; the foundation of an official post at I-hsün started at this juncture.

Shan-shan is situated on the Han communication routes; to the west it is connected with Ch'ieh-mo at a distance of 720 *li*. From Ch'ieh-mo and beyond, [the states] all sow the five field-crops. The land, vegetation, stock-animals and manufacture of weapons are in general similar to those of Han. Where there are differences they will be noted.[124]

The state of Ch'ieh-mo.[125]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Ch'ieh-mo, 14B
and it is distant by 6820 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 230 households, 1610 individuals with 320 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the leaders of the left and the right and one interpreter-in-chief. To the
7A north-west it is a distance of 2258 *li* to the seat of the protector general. To the north it adjoins Wei-li,[126] and to the south one reaches
7A Hsiao Yüan[127] after some three days' journey. There are grapes[128] 15A

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note, merely suggests that it must have been close to Wu-ni (see note 77). Pulleyblank (1963), p. 127, reconstructing an "Old Chinese" pronounciation **ē(δ)-sδūn, believes "that it is likely that [this] is a transcription that lies behind the Ἰσσηδών of Ptolemy"; he also refers to Herrmann (1938), p. 126, and, for another conjecture, to Hamilton (1958), p. 120.

[122] Other texts, including *HSPC*, read 二將, "two leaders". — We use the term "leader" for *chiang* 將, in distinction to "general" for *chiang chün* 將軍; the precise function of the "leader" is unknown.

[123] The Commandant, *tu-wei* 都尉, was, as the commentators indicate, higher in rank than the *ssu-ma* 司馬, major, sent originally. He was, of course, an official appointed by the central government, and not, as was the case with the commandant mentioned previously (p. 83; see note 80), a local dignitary on whom the title had been conferred.

[124] The text ends in *yün* 云, which is used elsewhere in this chapter to show the end of a citation from a different source (see note 212 to the Introduction). It is difficult to understand the use of the term in this passage, where it may be corrupt for 之. This, however, would not affect the sense of the translation.

[125] Ch'ieh-mo 且末, GSR 46a and 277a: ts'ịå/ts'ia - muât/muât, long since identified with Calmad(ana), in the area of modern Cherchen or Charchan; see e.g. Brough (1965), p. 592. For older literature see Chavannes (1905), p. 536, note 4, and Stein (1906).

[126] For Wei-li see below, note 585.

[127] For Hsiao Yüan, i.e. little Yüan, see below, note 130.

[128] Grapes, *p'u-t'ao* 蒲陶. For the western origin and phonetic changes of this

and various types of fruit. To the west there is communication with Ching-chüeh[129] at a distance of 2000 *li*.

The state of Hsiao Yüan[130]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Wu-ling,[131] and it is distant by 7210 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 150 households, 1050 individuals with 200 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state) and the commandants of the left and the right. To the north-west it is a distance of 2558 *li* to the seat of the protector general. In the east it adjoins the [land of the] Ch'iang [tribes who are termed] Ch'o. It lies secluded to the south and is not situated on the route.

The state of Ching-chüeh[132]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Ching-chüeh, and it is distant by 8820 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 480 house- 15B
holds, 3360 individuals with 500 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the commandant of Ching-chüeh, the leaders of the left and the right and an interpreter-in-chief. To the north it is a distance of 2723 *li* to the seat of the protector general,

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non-Chinese term see Laufer (1919), p. 225ff., and the corrections suggested by Chmielewski (1958), pp. 7-45, and (1961), pp. 65-69.

[129] For Ching-chüeh, see below, note 132.

[130] Little Yüan, *Hsiao Yüan* 小宛; the name is evidently contrasted with Ta Yüan, Great Yüan, for which see below. The history of the Later Han, *HHS* Mem. 78.1b, reports that early in the first century A.D. it was annexed by Shan-shan, together with other small states; it is not clear whether Little Yüan belonged to those states which later became independent again (*HHS ibid.*). According to the Memoir on the Western Barbarians, 西戎傳 quoted in the commentary to *San-kuo chih*, *Wei chih* 三國志, 魏志 (30.29b, T'ung-wen ed.) of the *Wei-lüeh* (3rd century), Little Yüan "belonged to" Shan-shan in the 3rd century, after which nothing more is heard about it; cf. Chavannes (1905), p. 537.

The exact location of Little Yüan is not known; see Brough (1965), pp. 592-593, who suggests reasons why it might perhaps be the old country of the Tochari. He adds that "an obvious parallel is to be seen in the use of the names 'Great Yüeh-chih' for those who had migrated westwards (or were traditionally believed to have done so) and "Little Yüeh-chih" for those who had remained in or near earlier territory of the tribe". See also Pulleyblank (1966), p. 27, and p. 121 below.

[131] Wu-ling 扜零, GSR [97] and 823u: [*o/*uo]-lieng/lieng or liän/liĕn. In view of the confusion of 扜, 扞 and 拘 (see above, note 77), other possibilities might perhaps be g'ân/ân - lieng/lieng, and kịu/kịu (or ku/kəu, or g'ịu/g'ịu) - lieng/lieng.

[132] Ching-chüeh 精絕, GSR 812g' and 296a: tsịeng/tsịäng - dz'ịwat/dz'ịwāt, identified as Cadota, situated in what is known as the Niya site; see Enoki (1963), pp. 143 and 159, and Brough (1965).

and to the south one reaches the state of Jung-lu[133] after four days' journey. The land is enclosed. To the west there is communication with Wu-mi[134] at a distance of 460 *li*.

7B The state of Jung-lu[135]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Pei-p'in,[136] and it is distant by 8300 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 240 house-
7B holds, 1610 individuals with 300 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 2858 *li* to the seat of the protector general. It adjoins Hsiao Yüan on the east, the [land of the] Ch'iang [tribes who are termed] Ch'o on the south and Ch'ü-lo[137] on the west. It lies secluded to the south and is not situated on the route.

The state of Wu-mi[138] 16A

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[133] For Jung-lu, see below, note 135.

[134] For Wu-mi, see below, note 138.

[135] Jung-lu, 戎盧, GSR 1013a and 69d : ńiŏng/ńźiung - lo/luo. Although the commentators do not indicate any variant readings, and although the use of the word *jung* "barbarians" seems quite apposite, the possibility of confusion of no less than four extremely similar characters is theoretically not to be excluded. Hence, in stead of *jung* 戎, the first syllable might be 1) 戊, GSR 1231a : mug/məu, or 2) 戍, GSR 1243c : ?/śiu, or 3) 戌, GSR 1257h : ?/siuĕt.

HHS Mem. 78.1b says that also this country was annexed by Shan-shan; cf. note 130 and see Chavannes (1907), p. 156.

[136] Pei-p'in 卑品, GSR 874 a and 669a : pi̯ĕg/pji̯ę - p'li̯əm/p'li̯əm. No further information is provided by texts or commentators.

[137] For Ch'ü-lo, see below, note 145.

[138] Wu-mi 扜彌, GSR [97 and] 359m : [wo/•uo] - mi̯ăr/mji̯ę. *HHS* Mem. 78.6b calls the state Chü-mi 拘彌, hence (cf. note 77) ki̯u/ki̯u or ku/kəu or g'i̯u/g'i̯u-mi̯ăr/mji̯ę, whereas the shao-hsing edition of the *Shih-chi* in ch. 123.1b (but not the Takigawa ed., see *SC* 123.7) writes 扞彌, GSR 139q and 359m : g'ân/γân - mi̯ăr/mji̯ę. The *Han-chi* writes Chü-mi. From this it would seem, that the name of this country was Chü-mi and that the character 扞 in *SC* is due to a copyist's error (cf. the remarks in note 77, where the contrary seems to be the case).

However, Chavannes (1905), p. 538, note 1, is in favour of Han-mi (which is the form printed in the *HHS* edition he used), not only because the *SC* writes Han-mi, but also because the pilgrim Sung Yün writes 捍麽 or 麽 (GSR 139i' and 17d : g'ân/γân-mwâ/muâ :), adding that the *Hsin T'ang shu* writes 汗彌 *Han-mi*; see Chavannes (1903), p. 392, note 4. These data lead him to the localization of Chü-mi/Han-mi in the vicinity of Uzum-Tati (repeated in Chavannes (1907), p. 170, note 1). Pulleyblank (1963), p. 88, reconstructs the 'Old Chinese' pronunciation of *HS* Wu-mi as *Wăĥ-mē, and of *HHS* Chü-mi as *Kōh-me, suggesting that it is "probably the place known as Khema in the Kharoṣṭhi documents ... where it is closely associated with Khotan", referring to Barrow (1937), p. 86. The *HHS* passage adds that "leaving the Yü-men barrier, and going via Shan-shan, Ch'ieh-mo and Ching-chüeh, one reaches Chü-mi after more than 3000 *li*". In his remarks to the next line, Hsü Sung computes that the distance to

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Wu-mi, and it is distant by 9820 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 3340 households, 20040 individuals with 3540 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials :] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the leaders of the left and the right, the commandants of the left

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the Yang Barrier should be in the order of 4780 *li* — a considerable difference. Wang Hsien-ch'ien has several more comments to make.

1. He refers to *San-kuo chih, Wei-chih*, which says that in the 3rd century, Wu-mi or Chü-mi formed part of Shan-shan (however, the T'ung-wen edition 30.29b writes Han 扞-mi).

2. His remark that in Fa-hsien's *Fo-kuo chi* (c. 400 A.D.) the area was called Chü-shan-mi 拘炎目彌, Kịu/kịu-śịam/śiăm (GSR 617i) mịar/mjię is irrelevant, for as indicated by Legge (1886), p. 96 and note 3, this "Kausâmbi" was situated on the Indian subcontinent; the same would then apply to the further indications by Hsüan-tsang and *Hsin T'ang shu*.

3. Wang also refers to the passage concerning Wu-mi in the *Shui-ching-chu*, 2.16a, which reads : "The Southern River (coming from Yü-t'ien, i.e. Khotan) further flows northeast and passes the Wu-mi country in the North, eventually entering the country of Ching-chüeh" (cf. Chavannes (1905), p. 566). It then continues with data taken from *HS*, viz. "The seat of government is in the city of Wu-mi, towards the West, 390 *li* from Yü-t'ien".

4. Then Wang Hsien-ch'ien adds remarks of his own — and his textual bases — which do not seem to make matters clearer. He writes :
"Beyond Yü-t'ien (Khotan) the Northern and the Southern River have already merged; that in the commentary (to the Water Classic) Li Tao-yüan still distinguishes between these two rivers is to facilitate checking the areas of the various states in the neighbourhood. The *Hsi-yü shui-tao k'ao* reads : "The Yü-t'ien River joins the Northern and the Southern River and flows East. The Keriya River, coming from the South, joins it. Its waters rise in the Keriya Mountains and flow northward, passing to the East of the town of Keriya, which belongs administratively to Ho-t'ien (Khotan)".

This, we think, brings no light in this matter, as 1° the Yü-t'ien River is evidently the Khotan River and 2° the Keriya River disappears in the desert and does not help to form the Tarim, which is formed by the waters of the rivers of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. — Wang then quotes Hsüan-tsang's *Hsi-yü chi* which says that more than 100 *li* Southeast of Kustana (i.e. Khotan) there is the Chien-te- li 建德力 (GSR 249a, 919k and 928a : kịən-tək-lịək) River with the town of Chien-te-li to the east thereof, which is also called Chü-mi 拘彌, that is to say the old town of Ning-mi 寧彌 (GSR 837a and 359m : nieng/nieng - mịăr/mjię). We doubt, whether these remarks contribute to elucidate the problem.

Huang Wen-pi (1958), pp. 49-51, repeats most of the above data and suggests that Wu-mi 扞彌 should be identical with present-day Kara-dang (at approx. 81° 45' E and 38° 20' N), situated northwest of the third, dried up, arm running NNW of the Keriya River (which flows NNE). During his brief visit the heat did not allow any digging, but he found some Han coins and photographed some ruins of wooden buildings (reproduced on Huang's plate 8, nos. 1-3).

and the right, the masters[139] of cavalry of the left and the right and two interpreters-in-chief. To the north-east it is a distance of 3553 *li* to the seat of the protector general. It adjoins Ch'ü-lo[140] on the south, Ch'iu-tzu[141] on the north-east and Ku-mo[142] on the north-west. To the west there is communication with Yü-t'ien[143] at a distance of 390 *li*. It is now named Ning-mi.[144] 16B

8A The state of Ch'ü-lo[145]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Chien-tu,[146] and it is distant by 9950 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 310 households, 2170 individuals with 300 persons able to bear arms. To the north-
8A east it is a distance of 3852 *li* to the seat of the protector general. It adjoins Jung-lu in the east, the [land of the] Ch'iang [tribes who are termed] Ch'o in the west and Wu-mi in the north.

The state of Yü-t'ien[147]

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[139] For "master" see note 82; this one was mounted, *ch'i* 騎, and may have been the commander of (a troop of) cavalrymen.

[140] For Ch'ü-lo see below, note 145.

[141] For Ch'iu-tzu see below, note 506.

[142] For Ku-mo, see below, note 497.

[143] For Yü-t'ien, i.e. Khotan, see below, note 147.

[144] Ning-mi 寧彌, GSR 837a and 359m : nieng/nieng - mi̯ăr/mji̯ę. The commentators give no further indications. Brough (1965), p. 593, note 45, suggests "as a possibility for consideration ... that the second character here (being a common one in transcriptions) is a corruption, encouraged further by the name of the country, and that the name of the town might be amended to 寧爾 [GSR 837a and 359a : nieng/nieng - ni̯ăr/ńźi̯ę]. This could represent the name of Niya".

[145] Ch'ü-lo 渠勒, GSR 95g and 928f : g'i̯o/g'i̯wo - lək/lək. The commentators only refer to the *HHS* and *SKC* information, already partly given in note 130, viz. that it was annexed by Khotan, and add that the *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* says that it had disappeared in the desert.

[146] Chien (-tu) 鞬都, GSR 249e and 45e' : ki̯ăn/ki̯an - to/tuo. The text here reads 王治鞬都城, and in view of the numerous parallel passages reading 王治 X Y 城, we translate : "the seat of the king's government is at the town of Chien-tu", including *tu* 都 in the transcription of the town's name. However, *tu* also means "city" and the expression *tu-ch'eng* for "capital city" or "chief town" also occurs in Han texts. Consequently, the translation might also be : "the seat of the king's government is at the capital city of Chien". The commentators provide no further indications regarding the situation of this place.

[147] Yü-t'ien 于闐, GSR 97a and 375r : gi̯wo/ji̯u - d'ien/d'ien, later called Ho-t'ien 和闐, GSR 8e and 375r : g'wâ/γuâ - d'ien/d'ien, since long identified with Khotan. It is to be noted that late in the 19th century a subprefecture with the identical name Yü-t'ien was established in Keriya; this figures i.a. on map A12, square D4, of the *Atlas* (1962). See also Pelliot (1959), p. 408 sq., s.v. "Cotan".

The seat of the king's government is at the western town[148] and it is distant by 9670 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 3300 households, 19300 individuals with 2400 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the leaders of the left and the right, the masters of cavalry of the left 17A
and the right, the chiefs of the eastern and the western towns and the interpreter-in-chief. To the north-east it is a distance of 3947 *li* to the seat of the protector general. To the south it adjoins the [land of the] Ch'iang [tribes who are termed] Ch'o; to the north it adjoins Ku-mo.[149] The rivers to the west of Yü-t'ien all flow west, running into the western sea. Its eastern rivers flow east, running into the Salt Marsh. 17B
The source of the Ho [i.e. Yellow River] rises there.[150] There is an abundance of jadestone. To the west there is communication with P'i-shan[151] at a distance of 380 *li*. 18A

8B The state of P'i-shan[152]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of P'i-shan, and it is distant by 10050 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 500 households, 3500 individuals with 500 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the leaders of the left and the right, the commandants of the left and the right, the master of cavalry, and the
8B interpreter-in-chief. To the north-east it is a distance of 4292 *li* to the seat of the protector general, and to the south-west it is a distance of 1340 *li* to the state of Wu-ch'a.[153] To the south it adjoins T'ien-tu.[154] 18B

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[148] West City, Hsi-ch'eng 西城. Hsü Sung refers to *Wei-shu* 102, 4b, which says that the territory of Yü-t'ien extended over a thousand *li*, with one mountain range succeeding the other, the capital city being 8 or 9 *li* square. *Hsin T'ang shu* 221A, 23a, does not call the capital "West City", but "the City of the Western Hills", *Hsi-shan ch'eng* 西山城.

[149] For Ku-mo see below, note 497.

[150] Cf. note 12.

[151] For P'i-shan see the next paragraph and note 152.

[152] P'i-shan 皮山, GSR 25a and 193a: b'ia/b'jię-săn/șăn. *Wei-shu* 102.6a calls it P'u-shan 蒲山, GSR 102n' and 193a: b'wo/b'uo-săn/șăn; according to the geographical chapter of the New T'ang History, *HTS* 43B.27b, it lay 380 *li* southwest of Khotan. Wang Hsien-ch'ien situates it West of Khotan and Southwest of Yarkand, i.e. he identifies it with modern P'i-shan, and so does Huang Wen-pi (1958), p. 56.

[153] For Wu-ch'a see below, note 158.

[154] T'ien-tu 天篤, GSR 361a and 1019g: t'ien/t'ien-tôk/tuok, which the commentators identify with Shen-tu 身毒, GSR 386a and 1016a: śiĕn/siĕn-d'ôk/d'uok, mentioned in *HS* 61.3a, and T'ien-chu 天竺, GSR 361a and 1019f: t'ien/t'ien-tôk/tuok. It is the general designation for (Northern) India.

Pulleyblank (1963), p. 108, agrees with Pelliot (1914), p. 412, and believes (p. 117)

To the north it is a distance of 1450 *li* to Ku-mo; to the south-west it is situated on the Chi-pin[155] and Wu-i-shan-li[156] route. To the north-west there is communication with So-chü[157] at a distance of 380 *li*.

The state of Wu-ch'a[158]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Wu-ch'a, and it is distant by 9950 *li*[159] from Ch'ang-an. There are 490 households, 19A
2733 individuals with 740 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 4892 *li* to the seat of the protector general. It adjoins Tzu-ho[160] and P'u-li[161] in the north and Nan-tou[162] in the west. [The inhabitants] live in the mountains, and work the land that lies between the rocks.[163] There is white grass,[164] and they pile up stones

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that 天竺, "Old Chinese" *hen-tūk, is "a good equivalent for an Iranian Hinduka... The earlier transcription 身毒 'Middle Chinese' śi̯in-dok is superficially easier but ... it will not do to regard it as based directly on the Indian form Sindhu...".

[155] For Chi-pin see below, note 203.

[156] For Wu-i-shan-li see below, note 250.

[157] For So-chü see below, note 361.

[158] Wu-ch'a 烏秅, GSR 61a and 780f: •o/•uo - tag/tuo or d'ăg/d'a. Wang Hsien-ch'ien refers to the *Wei-shu* (T'ung-wen ed. 102.6a), where the 6th century state of Ch'üan-yü-mo 權於摩, GSR 158o, 61e and 17e, Ancient Chinese: g'i̯wän - •i̯wo - muâ, is identified with Wu-ch'a. Wang's reference to the 8th century *T'ung-tien*, p. 1011B, which speaks about Wu-tu is irrelevant, because Tu Yu does not say that the two countries are identical, the latter being situated in Central India. The compilers of the *Chia-ch'ing ch'ung-hsiu i-t'ung chih*, vol. 193, ch. 531, believed Wu-ch'a to have been situated in the Badakhshan area. L. Petech (1950), p. 18, writes: "Wu-ch'a ... corresponds to an original *Uda (note: Pelliot, "A propos du Tokharien", in *T'oung Pao* 32, 1936, pp. 276-279). According to Herrmann, it is to be situated in Sarikol, south of Yarkand (note: Herrmann in Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. VIII, pp. 19 and 451)". — Sarikol is to be found in Herrmann's atlas, map 60, sq. D3, practically due West of Yarkand, East of 75° East, hence, further East than the authors of the *I-t'ung chih* placed it.

Chavannes (1903), p. 398, note 3, identifies Wu-ch'a with Tashkurgan; cf. also Chavannes (1907), p. 175, note 3.

[159] Hsü Sung remarks that the distance of 9950 *li* must be wrong, for Wu-ch'a was further away from Ch'ang-an than P'i-shan, and this latter place was already 10.050 *li* from Ch'ang-an. The distance between P'i-shan and Wu-ch'a is said to be 1340 *li*, so that a figure like 11.390 *li* might have been expected.

[160] For Tzu-ho see below, note 171.

[161] For P'u-li see below, note 180.

[162] For Nan-tou see below, note 195.

[163] Hsü Sung refers to the 6th century *Shui-ching chu* 1.13b which reads 佃于石壁間累石為室民接手而飲所謂猨飲也: "They farm between stone walls and pile up stones to make dwellings; they drink by joining (their) hands — what is called 'drinking like monkeys'". Yen Shih-ku has a similar statement, without indicating a scource, commenting: "They drink water by descending from the high mountain into the valley; joining hands as monkeys do" 自高山下谿澗中...接連其手如蝯之為.

9A on one another to make dwellings. The inhabitants drink by joining
9A their hands together.[165] [The land] produces the short-pacing horse,[166] and there are asses but no cattle. To the west there is the Suspended Crossing,[167] distant 5888 *li* from the Yang barrier and 5020 *li*[168] from the seat of the protector general. 19B

It is said: "What is termed the Suspended Crossing is a rocky[169]

This gives the impression that Yen Shih-ku imagined a line of people on a slope, holding each other by the hand, the lowest person finally scooping up the water. The real explanation may be that the inhabitants drank out of their cupped hands. R. H. van Gulik (1967), p. 42f., provides other instances of the belief that gibbons drank in this way.

[164] For White grass see above, note 89.

[165] See note 163 above.

[166] Lit. "small step horses" 小步馬; "short pacing" seems the most likely translation, although it is also possible to follow some of the commentators who, quoting from later histories, suggest that the horses were small but wiry. It is to be noted that the two words *pu ma* 步馬 mean 'to train or to exercise a horse', see *Tso-chuan*, duke Hsiang 26 (Legge II, p. 525).

[167] See below, note 169.

[168] This is the wording of the Ching-yu edition of 1035, which is followed by the imperial edition of 1739; Wang Hsien-ch'ien in his *Han-shu pu-chu* follows the Chi-ku ko edition of 1641, which reads 5.200 *li*.

[169] The *T'ung-tien* (early 9th C.) reads *ming-shan* 名山, "a well known mountain", instead of *shih-shan* "a rocky (? lit. stone) mountain" of the *Han-shu*.

For a lively description of the passage through the mountains see p. 109ff. below, the statement by Tu Ch'in. In addition, the commentator Shen Ch'in-han adduces the *Wei-shu* which places the Suspended Crossing in the country of A-kou-ch'iang 阿鉤羌, southwest of So-chü, where "over 400 *li* there are repeatedly "scaffold roads", *chan-tao* 棧道, where people pull themselves across by means of ropes". He also quotes Fa-hsien who writes: "When crossing the Pamirs one has already entered into Northern India; there one follows the mountain ranges, going to the Southwest for fifteen days. The road is difficult, the cliff faces steep and abrupt. Nothing but rocky walls, a thousand fathoms high; the eye boggles when looking down. At the bottom is the Hsin-t'ou River (新, var. 辛, 頭 GRS 382k (a) and 118e: siĕn-d'u/d'ęu; identified with the Indus). Formerly, people have hewn these rocks to make a road and provided sloping ladders. In all, one crosses seven hundred ladders". See also L. Petech (1950), p. 15-16, where the author refers to Legge (1886), pp. 26-27.

According to Chavannes (1906), p. 237, note 4, the Suspended Crossing led from the Pamirs into the Gilgit valley. The "scaffold road" occurs repeatedly in Han literature, the most famous instance being the one that connected the Wei and the Han valleys and which Chang Liang in 206 B.C. advised the future emperor Kao to destroy so as to show that he was not coming back (*HS* 1A.28b, *HFHD* I, p. 68).

Archaeological research, undertaken in connection with the engineering work in the San-men gorge in the Yellow River, led to the discovery of vestiges of such roads, or rather, paths. These consisted of beams, inserted into the rock-face, covered with planking; wherever possible, these beams were supported by vertical timbers. A few feet above the planking holes were cut into the rock through which ropes were slipped, in order to provide a handhold. See Yü Wei-ch'ao (1959), pp. 3-6, 21-22, and the photo-

mountain; the valley is impenetrable, and people traverse the place by pulling each other across with ropes."

The state of Hsi-yeh[170]

The king is entitled King of Tzu-ho;[171] the seat of his government 20A
is at the valley of Hu-chien,[172] and it is distant by 10250 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 350 households, 4000 individuals with 1000

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graphs at the end of the volume. For photographs of still extant roads of this type see Needham (1971), pl. cclxxxii, fig. 713, and Fuchs (1933), Abb. 16 and 30; Needham, p. 20ff., calls this type of road "trestle road", whereas Fuchs, pp. 123, 128, 135, speaks of "Pfahlweg". It should be stressed that all the above examples are located inside China.

Needham (1971), pp. 187-188, when speaking of suspension bridges, believes that "we might seek the earliest Chinese reference to bridges of this type" in the passage under discussion, but his translation of 以繩索相引而度 (lit. "using ropes and cords, each other pulling, cross") as "but ropes and cables are stretched across from side to side and by means of those a passage is affected" is unwarranted. This applies also to his rendering of the *identical words* in *HS* 96A.26b, (translated below, p. 111), which he translates "rope suspension (bridges) are stretched across (the chasms) from side to side". Needham's earlier version (in vol. I, p. 194) is to be preferred: Chavannes (1907), p. 217, note 4, had already remarked that "les voyageurs marchaient à la corde".

[170] Hsi-yeh 西夜, GSR 594a and 800j: siər/siei-ziăg/ia. Chavannes (1903), p. 397, note 4, (1905), p. 554, note 5, and (1907), p. 174, note 3, identifies Hsi-yeh with Yularik, South of Yarkand.

[171] Tzu-ho 子合, GSR 964a and 675a: tsiəg/tsi-g'əp/γâp. The author of the corresponding paragraph in the History of the Later Han Dynasty (*HHS* Mem. 78.8b), Pan Yung in the first decades of the second century A.D. (see Chavannes (1907), p. 149-150), remarked that Pan Ku had wrongly combined the two states of Hsi-yeh and Tzu-ho into one, but that in his, Pan Yung's days, there were two, each with their own king, the land of Hsi-yeh also being called P'iao-sha, 漂沙, "Floating Sands", GSR 1157i and 16a: p'iog/p'iäu - sa/ṣa. However, doubts regarding the textual validity of this passage cannot be sustained, (see Chinese commentators *ad loc.*). Chavannes (1907), p. 174, without further explanation writes Lu 虡 sha (GSR 69e and 16a: lo/luo: -sa/ṣa), but this reading is not substantiated by any other version.

Hsi-yeh is supposed to have been situated in the Western part of Ch'ien-chu-t'e 乾竺特, which cannot be traced, but it must have been close to Tzu-ho, which is supposed to have been situated in the southern area of the Bolor tribe of the Kuldja moslims, hence somewhere between the Ili and the Tekes rivers. Chavannes (1907), p. 175, note 1, tentatively situates Tzu-ho at Karghalik (cf. also Chavannes (1903), p. 397, note 4) and so does Huang Wen-pi (1958), p. 56, adding that nowadays it is also called Yeh-ch'eng 葉城. Ts'en Chung-mien (1934: 2) holds the curious belief that Hsi-yeh was the name of a tribe, identical with the Sai or Saka! He places Hsi-yeh in the eastern part of the Wakhan valley, southwest of Tashkurgan.

[172] Hu-chien [-ku] or Hu-chien valley, 呼犍 (*HHS* Mem. 78.8b: 鞬) 谷, GSR 55h, 249c, and 1202a: χo/χuo-kiăn/kian [-kuk/kuk]. Hsü Sung can only suggest that it was a valley "in the Pamirs".

persons able to bear arms. To the north-east one reaches[173] the seat of the protector general after a distance of 5046 *li*. It adjoins P'i-shan in the east, Wu-ch'a in the south-west, So-chü in the north and P'u-li[174] in the west. P'u-li as well[175] as the states of I-nai and 20B
Wu-lei[176] are all of the same type as Hsi-yeh. [The people of] Hsi-yeh are different from the nomads;[177] their race is of the same type as the Ch'iang and the Ti.[178] It is a land of nomads; in company with
9B their stock animals [the inhabitants] move around in search of water and pasture; and[179] the soil of Tzu-ho produces jade-stone.

The state of P'u-li[180]

The seat of the king's government is at the valley of P'u-li, and
9B it is distant by 9550 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 650 households, 5000 individuals with 2000 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 5396 *li* to the seat of the protector general. To the east it is a distance of 540 *li* to So-chü and to the north of 21A
550 *li* to Shu-lo. To the south it adjoins Hsi-yeh and Tzu-ho, and to the west it is a distance of 540 *li* to Wu-lei. [There are the following officials]: a noble and a commandant.[181] The state hopes

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[173] The text here reads *tao* 到 instead of *chih* 至, used elsewhere in similar phrases; this does not affect the meaning.

[174] For P'u-li see below, note 180.

[175] The translation follows the reading *chi* 及, which appears in all editions, except *Han shu pu-chu* which reads 反, as usual following the Chi-ku ko edition.

[176] For I-nai and Wu-lei see below, notes 182 and 187.

[177] For the meaning of Hu 胡 see above, note 71.

[178] For the Ch'iang see note 69. Ti is a general term for the non-Chinese peoples of the mountainous regions in the West, e.g. in *HS* 91.1b. The combination Ch'iang-Ti or Ch'iang and Ti occurs already in the Book of Odes, e.g. in ode 305, verse 2. In the sentence 其種類羌氐 "its race is of the same type as the Ch'iang and the Ti", we have taken the word *chung* 種, "genus, species" for "race".

[179] The occurrence of the connective particle *erh* 而 is surprising, for here it has no grammatical function; it may be an indication that what follows is the remains of a broken strip. The statement that the soil or land, *t'u-ti* 土地, produces jade-stone is also curious.

[180] P'u-li 蒲犁, GSR 102n' and 519g: b'wo/b'uo-liər/liei. — Wang Hsien-ch'ien refers to the *Shui-ching chu* 2.12a which says that the Southern River, after having flowed eastward through P'u-li, descends northward to the country of P'i-shan; he then quotes the *Shui-ching t'u-shuo* (see note 187) which says: "The waters that flow separately between Yengihishar and Yarkand from here on flow eastward to unite with the Yarkand at Yarkand".

Chavannes (1905), p. 555, note 1, believes that P'u-li as well as I-nai (see note 182) were situated in the area of Tashkurgan.

[181] For "noble" and "commandant" see above, note 78 and 80.

to obtain [the produce of] cultivated fields from So-chü. Its race and way of life are similar to those of Tzu-ho.

The state of I-nai[182]

The seat of the king's government is at ...[183] [text defective], and it is distant by 10150 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 125 households, 670 individuals with 350 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 2730 *li* to the seat of the protector general. It is a distance of 540 *li* to So-chü and 540 *li* to Wu-lei;[184] to the north it is a distance of 650 *li* to Shu-lo.[185] To the south it adjoins Tzu-ho[186] 21B
10A and the way of life of the two places is similar. There are few cereals and the state hopes to obtain [the produce of] cultivated fields from Shu-lo or So-chü.

The state of Wu-lei[187]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Lu,[188] and it is

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[182] I-nai依耐, GSR 550f and 982h: *ʔiər/*ʔjei-nəg/nâi. — I-nai is supposed to have been situated in the same area as P'u-li, see note 180.

[183] The text here is evidently defective; in view of the structure of other descriptions, the name of the seat of the king's government is missing.

[184] For So-chü and Wu-lei see below, notes 361 and 187.

[185] For Shu-lo see below, note 373.

[186] For Tzu-ho see above, note 171.

[187] Wu-lei無雷, GSR 103a and 577o: mi̯wo/mi̯u-lwər/luâi.

Apart from the History of the Later Han, *HHS* Mem. 78.19a (Chavannes (1907), p. 196) which says that by going to the West from So-chü and passing through P'u-li and Wu-lei, one arrives among the Yüeh-chih, the only other ancient source which mentions Wu-lei is the *Shui-ching chu*, 1.71b ff., which quotes the *Shih-shih hsi-yü chi* (for which see Petech (1966), p. 173f.). This text says: "There is the country called Chieh-she-lo-shih 伽舍羅逝 (Karlgren (1923), p. 122, GSR 48a, 6a and 287m: -/g'ia-ś'i̯å/ś'i̯a-lâ/lâ-d̂i̯ad/źi̯äi). This country is narrow and small, but it controls the important roads of all the states, which all pass through it. To the south of the town there is a stream which flows to the northeast, coming from the Western mountains of Lo-shih, i.e. the Ts'ung-ling or Pamir. Having passed through the Ch'i-sha 岐沙 (GSR 864h and 16a: g'ieg/g'ji̯ę-sa/ṣa) valley, it divides into two rivers, one flowing east, passing through the northern (part of) Wu-lei". Tung Yu-ch'eng 董祐誠 (1791-1823) the author of the *Shui-ching t'u-shuo* 水經圖說, believed this to be the Yarkand river. The country of Wu-lei he believed to be on the western edge of the Kizil Kar, between the Western Pu-lu-t'e 布魯特 or Burit, and the Po-lo-erh 博羅爾, i.e. Bolor; on these tribes see Imbault-Huard (1881), p. 161 f. and 206 f.

The anonymous commentator of the draft translation of *HS* 96, preserved by the Han Dynastic History Project, refers to Chavannes (1903), p. 393 and p. 401, and to Shiratori (1941), I, p. 194, who assume that Chieh-she-lo-shih is Tashkurgan, and that P'u-li might have been situated on the lower course of the Raskam Darya, I-nai on the Vacha River and Wu-lei around Tashkurgan (Shiratori (1941) I, pp. 152-206).

[188] Lu 盧, GSR 69d: lo/luo. However, Wang Nien-sun shows convincingly that the character *lu* is a corruption of Wu-lei, as is also proved by *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 797.2b.

distant by 9950 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 1000 households, 7000 22A
individuals with 3000 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 2465 *li* to the seat of the protector general. To the south it is a distance of 540 *li* to P'u-li.[189] It adjoins Wu-ch'a[190] in the south, Chüan-tu[191] in the north and the Ta Yüeh-chih[192] in the west. Clothing is of the same type as that of Wu-sun,[193] and the way of life is similar to that of Tzu-ho.[194]

The state of Nan-tou[195]

The seat of the king's government is at ... [text defective],[196] and 22B
it is distant by 10150 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 5000 households, 31000 individuals with 8000 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 2850 *li* to the seat of the protector general. To the west it is a distance of 340 *li* to Wu-lei,[197] and, to the south-west, 330 *li* to Chi-pin.[198] It adjoins [the land of the] Ch'iang [tribes who are termed] Ch'o[199] in the south, Hsiu-hsün[200] in the north and the Ta Yüeh-chih[201] in the West. [The inhabitants] grow the 23A
10B five field-crops, grapes and various fruits. There is silver, copper and iron, and [the inhabitants] make weapons in the same way as the various other states.[202] It is subject to Chi-pin.

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[189] For P'u-li, see above, note 180.

[190] For Wu-ch'a see above, note 158.

[191] For Chüan-tu see below, note 358.

[192] For Ta Yüeh-chih see below, note 276.

[193] For Wu-sun, see below, p. 143ff.

[194] For Tzu-ho see above, note 171.

[195] Nan-tou 難兜. GSR 152d and 117a: nân/nân-tu/tạu. Wang Hsien-ch'ien can only refer to the *Shui-ching chu* 2.3b which merely says that in the Pamir the Western River, coming from Hsiu-hsün (see below, note 355), passes westwards through the northern part of Nan-tou and then enters into Chi-pin (see below, note 203). The *Hsi-yü t'u-kao* suggests that it lay in the western part of Badakhshan. Enoki (1942), follows Shiratori (1941) I, p. 387-394, a.o., in placing Nan-tou on the lower course of the Gilgit river. This name disappears from the Chinese sources after the Han period, the region being incorporated in the 5th century in the larger area of Bolor. However, Enoki believes that the original appellation persisted in the name Nań-goń or Nań-kod in the Tibetan chronicles, suggesting that the term Nan-tou 兜 is an ancient corruption of Nan-ku 勻. The latter occurs in the *Shuo-wen* dictionary of A.D. 100, where it is said to be pronounced like 瞽, GSR 50g: *ko/kuo:*, modern *ku*.

[196] The text is defective; cf. note 183.

[197] For Wu-lei see above, note 187.

[198] For Chi-pin see below, note 203.

[199] For Ch'o-ch'iang see above, note 70.

[200] For Hsiu-hsün see below, note 355.

[201] For Ta Yüeh-chih see below, note 276.

[202] In view of Hsü Sung's remark it is also possible to translate "There is silver,

The state of Chi-pin[203]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Hsün-hsien,[204] and it is distant by 12200 *li* from Ch'ang-an. It is not subject to the protector general. There are many households, individuals and
10B persons able to bear arms, and it is a large state. To the north-east it is a distance of 6840 *li* to the seat of the protector general. To the east it is a distance of 2250 *li* to Wu-ch'a;[205] to the north-east one reaches the state of Nan-tou[206] after nine days'[207] journey. It adjoins the Ta Yüeh-chih[208] in the north-west and Wu-i-shan-li[209] 23B in the south-west.

When, formerly, the Hsiung-nu conquered the Ta Yüeh-chih, the latter moved west and established themselves as master of Ta Hsia; it was in these circumstances that the king of the Sai[210] moved south

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copper and iron and the inhabitants make weapons. In the same way as the various other states it is subject to Chi-pin". Wang Hsien-shen notes that *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 197.3a adds "gold".

[203] Chi-pin 罽賓. *Chi* is not listed in GSR, nor in the earlier *Grammata Serica* of 1940. Bodman, (1954), p. 108, nr. 848, contains 罽, which he reconstructs as kịad/kiäi; Petech (see below) also reconstructs kịad/kiäi. *Pin* is GSR 389a: pịĕn/pịĕn, hence Chi-pin: kịad/kiäi - pịĕn/pịĕn.

Petech (1950), pp. 63-79, has devoted an exhaustive study to the subject; he admits that Chi-pin indicates, especially in later times, Kashmir, but concludes (p. 79): "the name Chi-pin... in the dynastic histories from the 1st century B.C. to the end of the 5th century A.D. ... indicates the Indian territories of the great political power of the North-West, whatever it was at the time of writing (Saka, Kushan, Hephtalites)". However, Pulleyblank (1963), p. 218, sharply criticises Petech's solution; he believes Petech's "alleged" geographical and historical grounds to be invalid and finds further support for the traditional identification with Kashmir in linguistics, namely: "if ... we have to suppose a final sibilant for the first character in the Han period", reconstructing for Middle Chinese (i.e. Karlgren's Ancient Chinese) kịei/ - pyin, derived from kā̱(t)s - pīn (< pēn) = *Kaspir.

[204] Hsün-hsien 循鮮 *sic*; however, as indicated by Hsü Sung and Wang Hsien-ch'ien, an early quotation and references show that this should be read Hsiu-hsien 脩鮮, GSR 1077e and 209a: sịôg/sịu̯-sịan/sịän; the confusion between *hsün* and *hsiu* is not uncommon.

The discussion on Chi-pin in *Chiu T'ang-shu* 198.22 shows that in 658 the area of Hsiu-hsien became the seat of a governor general, but indications concerning its location are lacking.

[205] For Wu-ch'a see above, note 158.

[206] For Nan-tou see above, note 195.

[207] Wang Hsien-ch'ien supposes that the figure "nine" is wrong, because the distance between the two states is said to be a mere 330 *li* or ca. 140 km.

[208] For Ta Yüeh-chih see below, p. 119, and note 276.

[209] For Wu-i-shan-li see below, p. 112, and note 250.

[210] *Sai* 塞, *GSR* 908a: sək/sək, or səg/sâi. It is to be noted that the text writes *Sai wang* 塞王, literally meaning "the king of the Sai", which we have adopted in our

and established himself as master of Chi-pin. The Sai tribes split and separated and repeatedly formed several states. To the north-west of Shu-lo, states such as Hsiu-hsün[211] and Chüan-tu[212] are all of the former Sai race.

The land of Chi-pin is flat and the climate is temperate. There is lucerne,[213] with a variety of vegetation and rare trees, sandalwood,[214]

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translation. However, the mention of the title "king" is odd in this context, for in other cases of a comparable nature, it is the tribe or people that is mentioned, not the ruler; the *Wei-lüeh* mentions alternative names for two small states which contain *wang*, viz. 車離, also called 沛隸王, and 盤越, also called 漢越王 (see Chavannes (1905), p. 551-552; cf. Chavannes (1907), p. 193-195). Later, our text mentions *Sai chung* 種 "the Sai race", without adding the word "king".

De Groot suggests that 王 *wang* could be a copyist's error for 圭 *kui*, which in its turn might have been an abbreviation for a character in which 圭 occurred as the phonetic element, leading to *k(u)a*, and eventually to a — to de Groot acceptable — rendering of the name of the Saka of the Indian sources, c.q. the Sakai of Sacae of the classical texts (see *Urkunden* II, p. 25). In case *wang* or *kui* form part of the name of this tribe, the two possibilities are :

Sai-wang 王 - GSR 908a and 739a : sək/sək or səg/sâi - gi̯wang/ji̯wang.

Sai-kui 圭 - GSR 908a and 879a : sək/sək or səg/sâi - kiweg/kiwei, or, with different classifiers, kĕg/kai or kwĕg/kwai.

De Groot believed that support for his hypothesis could be found in the chapter *Yü-kung*, "The tribute of Yü", in the canonical *Book of Documents*, which contains 析支 — modern Hsi-chih — as the name of a region in the Far West, a name De Groot rendered as "Sik-ki". This support seems to be rather tenuous, the GSR pronunciation being : siek/siek - t̂i̯ĕg/tśi̯ę, or if we assume the omission of a classifier before 支, possibly k'i̯ĕg/k'ji̯ę or g'i̯ĕg/g'ji̯ę. The date of the compilation of the *Yü-kung* is late; opinions vary between the 6th and 3rd century B.C. and even later, see Ch'ü Wan-li (1964). It is highly questionable whether the Chinese could have had knowledge of the distant people of the Sai before the opening up of the Western Regions. De Groot's suggested identification becomes practically groundless in view of the localisation of Hsi-chih proposed by the *Shui-ching chu* 2.39a-b, and its commentators.

De Groot conceded, that the rendering "king of the Sai" could be defended and referred to Franke (1904), pp. 54-55, and to Konow (1916), p. 791. — See also Haloun (1937), pp. 246 and 251 (referring to other studies), Tarn (1951), p. 276, note 4, and Humbach (1961), p. 7, whose suggestion that *Sai-wang*, "Sai king(s)" might be explained with reference to the Σκύθοι βασιλήιοι is inacceptable from the standpoint of Chinese grammar. Akišev and Kušaev (1963) assume without evidence that the Sai or Saka inhabited the Ili valley between the 7th and 4th century B.C. As pointed out by Zürcher (1959), p. 39, "in phonetic renderings... preference was given to those characters which seldom occurred in normal written Chinese".

[211] For Hsiu-hsün see below, note 355.

[212] For Chüan-tu see below, note 358.

[213] Mu-su 目宿 or 苜蓿, variously called medicago, lucerne or alfalfa. Whereas Laufer (1919), p. 212, assumed a Ferghana-Iranian prototype **buksuk*, **buxsux* or *buxsuk*, Chmielewski (1961), pp. 81-83, constructs "a hypothetical Sanskrit *mākṣika*, or rather some vernacular (Kashmirean) form", meaning "(something) relating or belonging to

"oaks",[215] catalpa,[216] bamboo and the lac tree. [The inhabitants]
11A grow the five field crops, grapes and various sorts of fruit, and they 24A
manure their orchards and arable land. The land is low and damp, producing rice, and fresh[217] vegetables are eaten in winter. The inhabitants are skilful at decorative work, engraving and the art of inlay, at building residences, at weaving woollens[218] and at patterned embroidery. They are fond of [wine][219] and food. There is gold, silver, copper and tin with which they make utensils, and they have markets
11A with stalls.[220] They use gold and silver to make coins, with [the image of] a mounted rider on the obverse and a human face on the reverse. The [state] produces humped cattle,[221] water-buffalo, elephant, large 24B

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bees", or, as an alternative, a "Sanskrit compound *mṛgaśāka-* (or rather its supposed vernacular form), meaning something like 'animal fodder'" (p. 83).

[214] *T'an* 檀. In our translation we have rendered this term provisionally as "sandalwood", which according to all authorities is a tree which grows only in tropical regions. However, before being applied to this imported type of wood — in which case it is usually called *t'an-hsiang* 香 — the word *t'an* was used to indicate trees native to China. *Tot homines quot sententiae*: Herbert Giles in the second edition of his *Chinese-English dictionary* (1911), p. 1324, no. 10706, calls it *Dalbergia hupeana*, or "hance", identifying the "dark 青 *t'an*" with *Celtis sinensis*, Pers. The *Botanicon sinicum* II, p. 375 sq., mentions *Caesalpinia japonica* S. & Z., again *Celtis* but also *Symplocos crataegoides* Don.; Vol. III, p. 459, gives the usual *Santalum album* L. for *t'an hsiang*, and so does *Chih-wu*, p. 1426.

[215] "Oaks"; 櫰 *huai* is by some said to be identical with 槐, the so called "Japanese pagoda tree".

[216] Catalpa, *tzu* 梓.

[217] *Sheng* 生, is here used in the sense of "fresh", not as "raw". Hsü Sung refers to the *Chiu T'ang shu* 198.22b, which says: "The area is warm and moist; herbs and trees withstand the cold and do not die".

[218] 罽, or rather 繨 *chi*, are woollen blankets and carpets; they were a luxury much sought after. See e.g. Yen K'o-chün, *Ch'üan Hou-Han wen* 25.4a, quoting a fragment of a letter by Pan Ku: "Palace Attendant Tou has lately sent somebody 800000 cash, for which he bought more than ten varicoloured *chi*". In *Yen-t'ieh lun* 2 (cf. Gale (1931) p. 15) "figured *chi*" are mentioned, and the same text, ch. 29, speaks of woollens embroidered with gold thread. In addition, this commodity was among those whose wear was forbidden to merchants at the outset of the Han period (see *HFHD* I, p. 120). See for the importation of woollen goods from the Western Regions the study by Ch'en Chu-t'ung (1957), pp. 7-9.

[219] As Wang Nien-sun indicates, the *Han-chi* reading 好酒食 is correct, whereas the reading 好治食 of all *HS* editions is meaningless.

[220] The text should include the character *yu* 有 (*sic* in *Han-chi*).

[221] The fundamental meaning of *feng* 封 is "mound"; beside 封牛, the "humped cattle" of our translation, the name of the zebu was also written 犎牛, e.g. by Kuo P'u in his commentary to *Erh-ya* 犦牛.

dogs, monkeys,[222] peacocks,[223] pearls of different kinds,[224] coral,[225] amber[226] and beryl.[227] The other stock animals are the same as those of the various other states. 25A

Communications started from [the time of] Emperor Wu. Chi-pin believed that it lay cut off by the long distance and that Han troops would not be able to reach it; and Wu-t'ou-lao,[228] the king, frequently menaced or killed Han envoys. When Wu-t'ou-lao died, his son acceded
11B in his place, and despatched envoys bearing gifts. Han ordered Wen Chung,[229] Commandant of the barrier,[230] to escort them [back to

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[222] The text reads *mu-hou* 沐猴; already the oldest commentators — Chang Yen in *HS* 31.17b, and P'ei Yin quoting Chang Yen in *SC* 7.36 — identify *mu-hou*, GSR 1212e: muk/muk, with *hsien* 獮 *-hou*, GSR 359l: snịan/sịän or *mi* 獼 *hou*, GSR 359m: mịâr/mjię, all meaning "monkey, ape". The reading *mu* 母 *hou*, GSR 947a: məg/məu, also occurs, i.a. in the *Shuo-wen* dictionary of A.D. 100 (*Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin*, 10A, p. 4422b). See also van Gulik (1967), p. 35sq.

[223] *k'ung-chüeh* or *chiao* 孔爵 or 雀; the *k'ung-chüeh* (N.B.: GSR 1121a and 1122a have the identical pronunciation tsịok/tsịak) is the peacock. The earliest reference to this bird is probably in *HS* 95.11a, in the letter Chao T'o, king of the South China state of Nan-Yüeh, sent to emperor Wen in 179 B.C. The form 孔雀 is normal. The form 孔爵 employed here is unusual, but 爵 meaning "bird" occurs already in Mencius IV, ix, 3, and the "divine birds", which appeared in 61 B.C., leading to the adoption of the period designation *shen chüeh* (see *HSPC* 8, 15b, *HFHD* II, p. 238 and above, note 57), are written 神爵, whereas Pan Ku in the preface to his "Prose-poem on the Two Capitals", when alluding to the same incident uses the term 神雀 (*Wen-hsüan* 1.2a, Margouliès (1925), p. 32).

[224] *Chu-chi* 珠璣. *Chu* is the normal word for pearls; *chi* occurs in the *Book of Documents* ch. Yü-kung, § 13; cf. Karlgren's translation in *BMFEA* 22, p. 15. However that may be, the *Shuo-wen* dictionary of 100 A.D. (*Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin* p. 194b) defines *chi* as "pearls that are not round".

[225] *Shan-hu* 珊瑚, Karlgren (1923), nr. 852 and GSR 49i: -/sân-g'o/γu. Chmielewski (1961), p. 86, believes that "the etymology deriving the Chinese word *shan-hu* (** sâng'o) from an early Iranian *(ā) *sanga* is highly probable, if not certain"; this word designated "stone" or "stone *par excellence*" (p. 85).

[226] *Hu-po* 虎魄, GSR 57b and 782o: χo/χuo-pak/pɐk. Pulleyblank (1963), p. 124, reconstructs as the "Old Chinese" pronunciation of *hu-po* *hạ*-phlak, and thinks — contrary to Laufer (1919), p. 523 — that this may represent Greek ἄρπαξ, "amber".

[227] *Pi-liu-li* 璧流離, GSR 853d, 1104a and 23f: pịĕk/pịäk-lịôg/lịạu-lia/ljię. According to Pelliot in *TP* 13 (1912), p. 443, this is sanskrit *vaiḍūrya*, which is Greek βηρυλλος; see Lionel Giles in *TP* 24 (1926), p. 357. Laufer prefers "quartz" in *TP* 16 (1915), p. 198, note 1.

[228] Wu-t'ou-lao 烏頭勞, GSR 61a, 118e and 1135a: *o/*uo-d'u/d'ẹu-log/lâu. Tarn (1951), p. 340 sq., equates Wu-t'ou-lao with the Greek term ἀδελφοῦ, "of (the king's) brother".

[229] This man is further unknown.

[230] Commandant of the Barrier, 關都尉. The office is mentioned in *HS* 19A.29b as having been established under the Ch'in, but without further details; passages in the

Chi-pin], but the king reverted to earlier practice and tried to injure [Wen] Chung. When he realised what was happening, [Wen] Chung entered into a plot with Yin-mo-fu,[231] son of the Jung-ch'ü[232] king, to attack Chi-pin and kill the king. Yin-mo-fu was established as king of Chi-pin and invested with a seal and ribbon.[233] Later Chao Te,[234]
11B an army captain, was sent as an envoy to Chi-pin and fell out with Yin-mo-fu. Yin-mo-fu had [Chao Te] bound in[235] chains, and put to death seventy members [of his mission] including his deputy; and he then submitted a written account of the incident [to the Han emperor] begging to be forgiven. In view of the distance [at which the state lay] Emperor Hsiao Yüan did not order the matter to be considered [for further action],[236] and he had the envoy [from Chi-pin] set free at the Suspended Crossing. Relations were severed and there was now no communication [between Han and Chi-pin]. 25B

In the time of Emperor Ch'eng, [Chi-pin] again sent an envoy with gifts and a message of apology. Han intended to send an envoy in return, to escort the mission back [to Chi-pin], but Tu Ch'in addressed Wang Feng,[237] the supreme general, in the following terms.

Han-shu make it clear these functionaries were placed at the different *kuan* or passes, both at the border and in the interior, e.g. the Hsien-ku Pass. These posts were abolished by the first emperor of the Later Han in A.D. 33, see *HHS* 1B.6a. For the work of the *kuan tu-wei* at the frontier, see further *RHA* vol. I, p. 107ff.

[231] Yin-mo-fu 陰末赴, GSR 651ij, 277a and 1210i : iəm/iəm - mwât/muât - p'i̯ug/p'i̯u.

[232] Jung-ch'ü 容屈, GSR 1187a and 496k : di̯ung/iwong - k'i̯wət/k'i̯uət. — Hsü Sung suggests that this must have been a "lesser king", i.e. a subordinate ruler, in Chi-pin; in view of the construction, Jung-ch'ü is either part of the royal title, or it is the name of an area or a tribe.

[233] For seals and seal ribbons see above, note 117.

[234] Chao Te is further unknown.

[235] As indicated by Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 596, referring to *HSPC* 99.12b (*HFHD* III, p. 410), the word *i*, 以 "using", has been omitted.

[236] According to the *Kuang-yün*, as quoted by the *Tz'u-hai* and by Morohashi, *Kan-Wa dai jiten* s.v. 錄, the pronunciation of this character is not *lu*, but *lü* (cf. GSR 1208m), being identical with 慮, "to ponder, to consider", also meaning 省, "to ponder, to inspect". This is the sense it has in the frequently occurring expression 錄囚, *lü ch'iu*, "to inspect the incarcerated convicts" (cf. *RHL* I, pp. 91 and 247f.). *Pu-lü* 不錄 then comes to mean "not to take notice", evidently, as in the present case, in offical matters (cf. also *HSPC* 61.13a : ... 不錄其過, "(the emperor) took no notice of their faults"), but also without official connotations: "no notice was taken of the man who had spoken about the chimney being crooked" 不錄其言曲突者, (*HSPC* 68.18a). Where *pu-lü* occurs in *Hsün-tzu*, ch. 2 it might be rendered as "inconsiderate"; Dubs, (1928), p. 48, renders it as "careless", whereas Watson (1963), p. 28, translates it as "unattentive".

[237] Tu Ch'in 杜欽 has a biography in *HS* 60. He was the trusted counsellor of Wang Feng (see below). He not only advised the government to sever all relations with

"At first, Yin-mo-fu king of Chi-pin had originally been established by Han but later he turned after all in rebellion. Now there is no greater [proof] of prestige than the possession of a state and treatment of its inhabitants as one's children, and there is no greater [example of] criminal behaviour than the apprehension and murder of envoys. The reason why [Chi-pin] has not requited imperial grace and favour and does not fear punishment is that it knows itself to be cut off from [Han] by a long distance beyond the range of [Han] troops. If there is something which it requires, its language is servile; if there is nothing which it desires, its behaviour is arrogant; and in the end the state will not be fit for acceptance as our subject.

"All the instances in which China enters into generous relations with barbarians and gratifies their requests occur because, their territories being close, they make incursions [into China]. In the present case, the bar formed by the Suspended Crossing is such that it cannot be traversed by [the inhabitants] of Chi-pin. Their show of respect is not sufficient to bring peace to the Western Regions, and although they do not adhere to [Han] they are incapable of endangering the walled cities [of the Western Regions]. Formerly [the king] personally defied the emblems [of Han authority], and his iniquity lay exposed to the Western Regions. For this reason relations were severed and there was no communication [between Chi-pin and Han]. Now they regret their earlier misdemeanours and come [with a show of submission],[238] but there are no members of the 26A
royal family or noblemen among those who bring the gifts; the latter are all merchants and men of low origins. They wish to exchange their goods and conduct trade, under the pretext of presenting gifts. Thus we have been put to the trouble of providing envoys to escort [the men of Chi-pin] to the Suspended Crossing; we have

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Chi-pin, but also (in 28 B.C.) not to endanger the relations with the Hsiung-nu by accepting the submission of an emissary (*HS* 94 B.9b-10a, cf. *Urkunden* I, p. 247-249). On the other hand, he shortly afterwards showed himself in favour of a campaign against the Yeh-lang in Southwest China (*HS* 95.5b-6a). The present incident is not dated, but Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC* 20, p. 978 ff., places it in 25 B.C. Chavannes (1907), p. 217, note 4, quotes a remonstrance by Tu Ch'in, adduced in the commentary to *HHSCC* 78.27a, which is an abstract of the following description of the dangers of the passage through the mountains. Wang Feng was the all-powerful uncle of emperor Ch'eng (reigned 32-7 B.C.) and of the later "usurper" Wang Mang; he was the leading statesman from 32 until his death in 22 B.C.

[238] The translation includes the word *shun* 順, as given in the citation of the passage by Li Hsien in his commentary to *HHSCC*, Mem. 78.27a.

forfeited any real [gains to be made from their visit] and have been subject to deceit.

"All cases in which we have sent envoys to escort visitors back have been due to our wish to provide them with defensive protection against the danger of robbery. But starting in the area south of P'i-shan, one passes through[239] some four or five states which are not subject to Han. A patrol[240] of some hundred officers and men may divide the night into five watches and, striking their cooking pots[241] [to mark the hours] so keep guard, but there are still occasions when they will be subject to attack and robbery. For asses, stock animals and transported provisions, they depend on
12B supplies from the various states to maintain themselves. But some of the states may be poor or small and unable to provide supplies, and some may be refractory and unwilling to do so. So our envoys clasp the emblems of mighty Han and starve to death in the hills and
12B valleys. They may beg, but there is nothing for them to get, and after ten or twenty days man and beast lie abandoned in the wastes 26B never to return. In addition, they pass over the ranges [known as the hills of the] Greater and the Lesser Headache, and the slopes of the Red Earth and the Fever of the Body.[242] These cause a man

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[239] As Yen Shih-ku correctly explains, *keng* 更 here means "to pass through", as in *SC* 123.3 : 道必更匈奴 "(their) road necessarily passes through Hsiung-nu (territory)".

[240] *Ch'ih-hou shih* 斥候士. One of the meanings of *ch'ih* is "to look out, to spy", that of *hou* is "to watch, to look out"; the binome is used both as a verb "to watch, to guard", and as a noun "watcher guard". The present combination is therefore to be rendered as "guard soldiers", in other words : "guards".

[241] Cookingpots, *tiao-tou* 刁斗. Meng K'ang explains in his commentary to *HSPC* 54.3a that this was a brass skillet, holding one *tou* or ca. 2 litres (cf. *HSPC* I, p. 279), used for cooking by day and for striking the watches at night. The *Chin-shih so* 3.37a f. contains drawings of such an utensil, dated i.a. yüan-k'ang 4 = 62 B.C.; recent archaeological research has also produced similar examples, see Hsü Chia-chen (1958). Here the author shows that the *chiao tou* 鐈斗 and the *tiao tou* are probably identical, being a skillet on three short legs, with a short or a long handle, and occasionally provided with a spout. The *wei tou* 熨 was shaped like a warming pan, flat-bottomed, with a long handle and without feet or spout; it was filled with glowing charcoal and used for ironing tissues.

[242] The encyclopedia *T'ung-tien* (by Tu Yu, 735-812), ch. 193, p. 1043 I and the New History of the T'ang dynasty (*Hsin T'ang shu* 221.22b) both say that these mountains are situated south west of the country of Ho-p'an-t'o 嗢槃陀, GSR 313k, 182d and Karlgren (1923), no. 1011 : χât/χât-b'wân/b'uân-d'â/d'â which Petech (1950), p. 78, identifies with Tashkurgan, referring in a note to Ed. Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-k'iue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 224. The commentators provide no further indications regarding the location of the Slopes of the Red Earth and the Fever of the Body.

to suffer fever; he has no colour, his head aches and he vomits; asses and stock animals all suffer in this way. Furthermore there are the Three Pools and the Great Rock Slopes,[243] with a path that is a foot and six or seven inches wide, but leads forward for a length of thirty *li*,[244] overlooking a precipice whose depth is unfathomed. Travellers passing on horse or foot hold on to one another and pull each other along with ropes; and only after a journey of more than two thousand *li* do they reach the Suspended Crossing.[245] When animals fall, before they have dropped half-way 27A
down the chasm they are shattered in pieces, and when men fall, the situation is such that they are unable to rescue one another. The danger of these precipices beggars description.

"When the Holy Kings divided the world into nine provinces and made the regulations for the five zones,[246] their efforts were directed to making the inner regions prosperous without seeking anything beyond. But now the envoys who are sent out on missions carry the commands of the Most Honourable[247] to escort merchants of the barbarians.[248] Large numbers of officers and soldiers are made to toil, being sent out on journeys over dangerous and arduous roads; and the resources on which we rely are dissipated and exhausted for a cause which brings no [material] advantage. This is no long-term plan. Those of our envoys who have already received their emblems of authority should be permitted to proceed as far as P'i-shan and then to return."

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[243] Hsü Sung refers to the *Pei-shih* 97.25b which says that in the country of Po-chih 波知, GSR 251 and 863a: pwâ-puâ-tịeg/tiẹ, there were three ponds, inhabited by the dragon-or *naga*-king, his wife and his daughter, and that travellers when passing these, made sacrifice, to avoid meeting with snowstorms. — *P'an-shih* 盤石: the original meaning of *p'an* is "dish", but, as indicated by Karlgren, GSR 182e, it is occasionally a loanword for 磐, with the same pronunciation, meaning "big stone, rock". The expressions 盤石 and 磐石 both occur in pre-Han and Han poetry and prose with the identical meaning "a solid and immovable rock".

[244] With the Han inch at 2.31 cm. this implies a path of less than 40 cm. wide.

[245] As indicated by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, the *Shui-ching chu* 1.13a correctly reads "twenty *li*" in stead of the impossible "two thousand *li*" of the *Han-shu*; the characters for 10 and 1000, viz. 十 and 千, are very often confused. — For the Suspended Crossing see above, note 169.

[246] For these divisions of the realms of the legendary rulers of antiquity, see Karlgren (1948), p. 135, gloss 1335, and p. 159f., gloss 1384.

[247] *Chih-tsun* 至尊, "the Most Honourable", a current designation of the emperor.

[248] *Man-I chih ku* 蠻夷之賈, "merchants of the barbarians", where the latter are indicated by a general term, the members of which usually refer to the tribes of the South.

Wang Feng then proposed to the emperor that [Tu] Ch'in's advice should be accepted. It is said: "In fact Chi-pin was seeking to profit from the imperial gifts [that were presented to the state] and from trade,[249] and its envoys came [to Han] once every several years."

The state of Wu-i-shan-li[250]

The seat of the king's government is at ...[251] and it is distant by 12200 *li* from Ch'ang-an. It is not subject to the protector general ... [There are many][252] households, individuals and persons able to bear arms, and it is a large state. To the north-east it is a distance of sixty 27B
days' journey to the seat of the protector general. It adjoins Chi-pin in the east, P'u-t'ao[253] in the north, and Li-kan[254] and T'iao-chih[255]

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[249] *Ku-shih* 賈市, "trade", cf. *HSPC* 96A.38a; in Han texts it also occasionally means "market".

[250] Wu-i-shan-li 烏弋山離, GSR 61a, 918a, 193a and 23f: *o/*uo-diək/i̯ək-săn/ʂăn-lia/ljię, evidently a transliteration of Alexandria. Wang Hsien-ch'ien points out that in *HSPC* 70.7a the name has been partially inverted to Shan-li-wu-i, but also, more important, that in *HHSCC* 78.9a, besides saying that this country is several thousand *li* square, it is stated that its name was changed to P'ai-ch'ih 排持, GSR 579x and 961p: b'ɛr/b'ai-d'i̯əg/d'i. The 3rd century *Wei-lüeh* says that the country has both names; in a note to his translation, Chavannes (1905), p. 555, note 7, mentions the remark of the editors of the 1739 edition, that a Sung copy of the *San-kuo chih* writes 排特, GSR 579x and 961h: b'ɛr/b'ai-d'ək/d'ek. On the same page Chavannes identifies Wu-i-shan-li with "Alexandria ἡ ἐν 'Αρίοις" i.e. Herat, and on p. 514 he opposes the identification with "Alexandria in Arachosia", i.e. Kandahar, suggested by Marquart (1905), p. 175-176. Chavannes (1907), p. 176, note 1, notes that the *Wei lüeh* (*San-kuo chih*, *Wei chih* 30.31a, T'ung-wen ed., cf. Hirth (1885), p. 74) mentions 緋持布 "Fei-ch'ih cloth" (*fei-ch'ih* GSR 579 and 961p: pi̯wər/pjwe̯i or p'i̯wər/pj'we̯i or b'iwər/bj'we̯i-d'i̯əg/d'i) among the exports of Ta Ch'in, i.e. the Roman Orient; he suggests that *fei-ch'ih* might be a variant of *p'ai-ch'ih*, and that this cloth may have been manufactured in Wu-i-shan-li, "Alexandria".

[251] In view of the identical structure of all these notices, the text here is evidently defective, the statement about the king's seat of government at a named capital being missing.

[252] The text is evidently defective; we have supplied the word *to* 多, "many", as at the beginning of the paragraph on Chi-pin, *HSPC* 96A, 23a.

[253] P'u-t'ao 撲挑, GSR 1211j and 1145o: p'uk/p'uk-t'iog/t'ieu or d'iog/d'ieu or t'og/t'âu. Sung Ch'i points out that one text read *p'u* 樸, GSR 1211g: p'uk/p'uk. Hsü Sung remarks that the country of P'u-ta, 濮達 GSR 1211b? and 271b: b'uk/b'uk or b'ôk/b'uok or p'uk/p'uk-d'ât/d'ât or t'ât, is mentioned in *HHSCC* Mem. 78.14b, and suggests that the latter form is correct. Shen Ch'in-han (1778-1831), however, shows that the *T'ung-tien* reads P'u-t'ao 樸桃, GSR 1211g and 1145u: puk/puk or b'uk/b'uk or p'uk/p'uk or p'ŭk/p'åk-d'og/d'âu, and he believes that both are mistakes for T'ao-huai 桃槐, GSR 1145u and 569i: d'og/d'au-g'wər/γuâi or g'wɛr/γwâi, a country which is briefly described in *HSPC* 96A.39a; see note 353.

Chavannes (1905), p. 514, refers with some reserve (cf. Chavannes 1907, p. 19,

in the west; after travelling for some hundred days one then reaches T'iao-chih. The state is situated on the Western Sea;[256] it is warm 28A
13B and damp, and the fields are sown with rice; there are birds' eggs as large as [water] jars.[257] The population is very numerous and

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note 3) to Marquart (1905), p. 175ff., who thought that P'u-t'ao was the country of the Paktues mentioned by Herodotus (VII. 67); this should have occupied part of Arachosia, West and Southwest of Kabul. Chavannes personnally is inclined to identify P'u-t'uo with Bactra (Balkh).

Pulleyblank (1963), p. 101, reconstructs the 'Old Chinese' pronunciations of P'u-t'ao and P'u-ta as *phok-δeauĥ and *pok-δạt and thinks that "both names must represent a Prakrit form of Puśkalāvatī, Greek Πευκελαῶτις, the present Charsada".

[254] For Li-kan see below, note 275.

[255] T'iao-chih, GSR 1077f and 864a: d'iôg/d'ieu or t'iôg/t'ieu-tịĕg/tśiẹ. Here it is said that T'iao-chih lies to the West of Wu-i-shan-li, and slightly later, on p. 29b, that it likewise lies to the West of An-hsi. *Han-chi* 12.9a adds that it was 12900 *li* distant from Ch'ang-an. This passage, devoted to far-away T'iao-chih, is evidently an insertion, concluded by 云 *yün*, "it is said ...", as in *SC* 123.13.

Speculations on the location of T'iao-chih have been legion; they have been summarized by Shiratori (1926), p. 919ff. (273ff.) and by Herrmann (1941), p. 229ff., whose information we summarize in the following lines.

In the 18th century Visdeloup identified T'iao-chih with Egypt, Neumann in 1837 placed it on or near the Caspian, in which he was partly followed by Von Richthofen (*China* I, p. 451) who located T'iao-chih near Khiva. H. J. Allen in *JNChBRAS* 21, p. 93, believed T'iao-chih represented Daci, as did von Gutschmid in his *Geschichte Irans*, p. 65. On the other hand, de Guignes in his *Histoire générale des Huns* II, p. 51, of 1756, had located T'iao-chih on the Persian Gulf. Similarly, Hirth (1885), p. 147, placed it in the Nedjef, south of Babylon, near later-day Hira; Chavannes (1905), p. 555, identified it with Chaldaea, and on p. 556, note 2, with Assyria, but in (1907), p. 176, note 3, he suggested, that T'iao-chih might be an attempt at rendering *desht* in the name Desht Misan at the mouth of the Tigris.

Shiratori (1926), p. 949, wants to locate T'iao-chih at Charax, capital of Messene, or Charasene, near present-day Abadan, deriving his reconstruction "d'eu-chi" from Djezire or Djezair.

Suzuki (1964-65), p. 59, identifies it with Susis.

Herrmann (1941), p. 230, upholds the identification already suggested in Herrmann (1922), p. 18, viz. that T'iao-chih is Taokè at the mouth of the river Granis, the modern river Hilla, near Bushire (the latter he believes to be ancient Ionaka, to be identified with An-ku 安谷, GSR 146a and 1202a: *an/*an-kuk/kuk, mentioned in the *Wei-lüeh*, which Hirth (1885), pp. 68, 156 and 187, wishes to place at Ochroë or Charax).

Considering that quite a number of characters in which 支 is the phonetic element anciently had an initial *k'* or *g'* (see GSR 864), the identification of T'iao-chih and Taokè seems to have something to commend it, and Pulleyblank (1963), p. 101, reconstructing *δeuĥ-kēĥ, as the 'Old Chinese' pronunciation of T'iao-chih, accepts Herrmann's identification with Ταοκή, "later Tawwaǧ near Bushire", there being "good grounds for thinking [that] this identification is correct".

[256] See below, note 916.

[257] HS 61.7a (*HSPC* 61.7b, transl. p. 224) mentions envoys from some Western

in many places there are minor overlords or chiefs. An-hsi subjugated it and treated it as an outer state; the people are expert at conjuring.[258]

It is said: "The elders of An-hsi[259] have learnt by hearsay that 28B
13B in T'iao-chih there is the Weak Water and the Queen Mother of the West; but they have all the same never seen them.[260] If you travel by water westward from T'iao-chih for some hundred days[261] you draw near the place where the sun sets."

The land of Wu-i is very hot; it is covered in vegetation and flat. For matters such as grass, trees, stock-animals, the five field crops, fruit, vegetables, food and drink, housing, market-stalls, coinage, 29A
weapons, gold and pearls, [conditions] are identical with those of Chi-pin, but there are antelope,[262] lion and rhinoceros. The way of

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states who presented "large birds' eggs" 大鳥卵 to Han. Here Ying Shao remarks that these eggs were as large as "one or two bushel jars" 一二石甕, but Yen Shih-ku denies this and says that these eggs were "merely like jars for drawing water"; here, in *HS* 96A.28a, Yen explains the word *weng* "jar" as "a flask for drawing water".

[258] The commentators adduce a number of later texts, dating from the 3rd century A.D. onwards, which show that the Chinese at that time believed that conjurors or magicians were a special feature of the countries of the Far West; see also *HHSCC* Mem. 78.14b, Chavannes (1907), p. 187, the text on Ta Ch'in in the History of the Later Han.

[259] i.e. Arsacid Persia; see below, p. 115.

[260] The "Weak Water", *Jo-shui*, and the "Queen-Mother of the West", *Hsi Wang mu*, are situated in the extreme West of the world by a number of ancient Chinese texts. Both were specifically Chinese concepts and so they cannot have been known to "the elders of An-hsi". Their presence in this text is presumably to be explained by a Chinese having asked an elderly man from An-hsi about these — to us mythological — geographical features and the elder replying that they *might* be there, this evasive answer being turned again into a more positive statement, which the author of this section of *HS* 96 considered worthwhile to insert into his account.

To the Chinese, the Weak Water continued to be a reality; the *Wei-lüeh*, *apud* Chavannes (1905), p. 556, corrects the *Han shu*, saying that the Weak Water was not to the West of T'iao-chih (see above, note 255), but to the West of Ta Ch'in, i.e. the Roman Orient. Chavannes adds that in T'ang times the Weak Water was identified with the river Yasin, referring to his *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue occidentaux* (Peterburg, 1903), pp. 153 and 313.

[261] *HHSCC* Mem. 78,14a reads 二百餘日, "more than 200 days", instead of the 可百餘日 "some hundred days" of our text.

[262] *t'ao-pa*, 挑拔, GSR 1145u and 276h: d'og/d'âu-b'wăt/b'wat or b'wât/b'uât or b'wâd/b'wâi. Meng K'ang comments: "Another name for it is *fu-pa* 符拔, GSR 136m and 276h: b'ịu/b'ịu-b'wăt/ etc.; it resembles a deer with a long tail and one horn, or a *t'ien lu* 天鹿, "heavenly deer" with two horns, or a *pi-hsieh* 辟邪, "who wards off evil influences", in other words: a mythical animal, or a set of these, stone statues of which were placed in front of buildings or tombs (cf. *HHSCC*, Ann. 8.13a, and Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), *Chi-ku lu* 集古錄, (*SPTK* ed.), 3.20a). Shen Ch'in-han points out that in *HHS* Ann. 3.18a it is said that the animal resembled the mythological

14A life is such that a serious view is taken of arbitrary murder.[263] The obverse of the coins is exclusively[264] that of a human being's head with a mounted rider on the reverse; and their staves are embellished[265] with gold and silver.

[The state] is cut off and remote and Han envoys reach it only rarely.[266] Proceeding by the Southern Route from the Yü-men and the Yang barriers, and travelling south through Shan-shan one reaches 29B Wu-i-shan-li, which is the extreme point of the Southern Route; and turning north and then proceeding eastward one arrives at An-hsi.

The state of An-hsi[267]

14A The seat of the king's government is at the town of Fan-tou,[268]

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animal *ch'i-lin*, with which a number of deer-like animals were identified: emperor Wu of the Han, for instance, caught one (*HSPC* 6.13a, *HFHD* II, p. 57), but as late as the 15th century of our era the giraffe was considered to be the *ch'i-lin* (see J. J. L. Duyvendak in *T'oung Pao* 34 (1938), p. 399 f.). Hsü Sung remarks that in the passage in *HHSCC* 3.18a the animal is called *fu-pa* 扶拔, GSR 101a and 276h: pịwo/pịu or b'iwo/b'ịu-b'wăt/ etc. Chavannes (1906), p. 232, accepts the identification with the βούβαλις proposed by von Gutschmid in his *Geschichte Irans* (1888).

[263] Hsü Sung believed that these scruples were due to the effects of Buddhist doctrine from nearby northern India.

[264] The text reads 獨文, but see a similar passage in 30a below for 文獨.

[265] Yen Shih-ku believed the single word *chang* 杖 mentioned in the text to be "arms, weapons", but Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 596, correctly assumes that *chang* means "staff" or "walking-stick"; it is to be noted that "weapons" 兵器 have been mentioned just before. Staves were common in Han China; emperors granted "stool and staff" to elderly princes (cf. *HSPC* 6.10a, *HFHD* II, p. 51, 35.6a and 44.9b) and "pigeon staves" to select aged commoners (see Loewe (1965), p. 18 ff.).

[266] *HHSCC*, Mem. 78.14a, Chavannes (1907), p. 186, says more realistically that no envoys of the Former Han ever went further than Wu-i-shan-li.

[267] An-hsi 安息, GSR 146a and 925a: *ân/*ân-sịək/sịək, long since identified with the country of the Arsak, the Arsacides i.e. Persia: see Chavannes (1907), p. 177, note 1.

[268] Fan-tou, or rather Po-tou, 番兜, GSR 195b and GS 117a: p'ịwăn/p'iwɐn or pwâr/puâ-tu/təu. This would evidently seem to be a rendering for a local form of the name of Parthia, as already noted by Hirth (1885), p. 139; see also Laufer (1919), p. 187, note. Su Lin comments that 番 was to be pronounced like 盤 GSR 182d: b'wân/b'uân, but this indication is not binding. — As remarked by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *HHSCC*, Mem. 78.10b, calls the capital Ho-tu 和櫝, GSR 8e and 1023h: g'wâ/γuâ-d'uk/d'uk, adding that the town of Mu-lu 木鹿, GSR 1212a and 1209a: muk/muk-luk/luk (literally: "wooden deer"), on the eastern border was called Little or Lesser An-hsi. Chavannes (1907), p. 177, note 2, refers to a suggestion by Hirth in "Syrisch-chinesische Beziehungen", in R. Oberhummer and H. Zimmerer, *Durch Kleinasien und Syrien* (1899), p. 438, that Ho-tu represents a local name for Hekatompylos, perhaps *Volog. Chavannes likewise refers to a suggestion by A. von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans* (1888), who thought Ho-tu might represent Karta (Strabo, XI, 7, § 2), corresponding

and it is distant by 11600 *li*[269] from Ch'ang-an. It is not subject to the protector general. It adjoins K'ang-chü in the north, Wu-i-shan-li in the east and T'iao-chih in the west. The land, climate, type of 30A
goods and popular way life are identical with those of Wu-i and Chi-pin. Likewise they use silver to make coin, the obverse being decorated exclusively with the [image] of the king's face and the reverse with that of his consort. Whenever a king dies, a change of coinage is cast. There are large horses and large birds.[270]

Several hundred towns, large and small, belong [to An-hsi]. The territory extends for several thousand *li* and it is the largest of the states. It is situated on the Kuei River.[271] Its merchants travel by vehicle or ship to the neighbouring states.[272] They rule [pieces of]

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to Zadrakarta (Arrian, Exp. Alex., ci. 23 and 25), the capital of Hyrcania. To us, Hirth's suggestion seems more likely.

Chavannes (1907), p. 177, note 5, also reports that both Hirth and von Gutschmid suggested that Mu-lu could be identified with Mûru, modern Merw. Chavannes considered this identification "très vraisemblable"; it is approved by Pelliot (1959), p. 494.

[269] Hsü Sung remarks that although An-hsi was a fortynine days' journey from Ta Yüeh-chih, the text indicates the distance from both An-hsi and from Ta Yüeh-chih to Ch'ang-an by the identical figure of 11600 *li*, and so he supposes that the An-hsi figure is wrong.

[270] *HSPC* 96A.30 a writes 大馬爵, "big horse-birds", but parallel passages (i.a. *Han-chi* 13.8b, *T'ung-tien*, p. 1036, col. 3) read *ta ma ta* 大 *chüeh*, the reading we have followed in our translation. The "large birds" have been identified as ostriches; Yen Shih-ku quotes the *Kuang-chih* 廣志 by Kuo I-kung 郭義恭, who writes: "The big bird's neck, breast, body and hoofs resemble the camel; its colour is blueish. With raised head, it is 7 to 8 feet (161-184 cm.) tall, its wingspread is more than 10 feet (230 cm): it eats wheat". (As demonstrated by Sugimoto (1964), pp. 88-107, the *Kuang chih* was compiled between 420 and 520; Pelliot (1904), p. 172, had already suggested that the work was pre-T'ang).

[271] Kuei River (lit. "Water") 嬀水, GSR 279 (and 576a): kwia/kwię (-śiwər/świ). The *Shui-ching chu* 2.6a says that the "Western River", having risen in the Pamirs (2.3a), flows westward, i.a. through the southern part of the country of An-hsi and that "(the) walled town(s) lie(s) on (lit. overlooks) the Kuei River". Hsü Sung expands this to mean that "the capital city of An-hsi on the South lies on the Kuei River"; he adds that the late 13th century *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* states that "At present it is called the Wu-hu 烏滸".

It has customarily been identified with the Oxus, i.e. the Amu-Darya; Chavannes (1907), p. 200, note 1, asserts that 嬀 represents Wéh, the pehlevi form of the name for the Oxus. Pulleyblank (1963), pp. 89-90, writes that "we may conjecturally suppose that the intended value of the transcription was *•wā", and believes that "it is possible that 水 ... performed a phonetic function".

[272] The text seems corrupt; the passage and its parallels in *Shih-chi* 123 and *Han chi* read:

HS 96A: ○○○商賈○車○船行旁國○○○○
HC : ○○○ " " 有 " ○ " ○○○○○○○
SC 123 : 有市民 " " 用 " 及 " " " " 或數千里

leather,[273] with lines running horizontally to form written records.
14B Emperor Wu was the first to send envoys to An-hsi. The king 30B
ordered a general to take a force of 20000 cavalry to greet them at the eastern border. The eastern border is several thousand *li* distant from the king's capital. When in the course of a journey one is about to approach [the capital] one passes through towns which can be numbered by the ten, and where settlements are uninterrupted.[274] [The king] took the occasion to send out [his own] envoys to come to Han in company with the Han envoys so as to observe Han
14B territory. They took large birds' eggs and conjurors from Li-kan[275]

Here the *SC* addition of 用, reflected in the *Han chi* by the probably corrupt 有, seems correct; see further Hulsewé (1975), remarks to line 34.

[273] As indicated by Wang Nien-sun, both *SC* 123.2a, and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 793.2a, quoting the *Han-shu*, write 畫, not 書, the *so-yin* commentary to the *SC* passage indicating that 畫 was not to be pronounced *hua* "to paint", but *huo*, meaning "to delineate, to mark off", here rendered as "to rule".

[274] 人民相屬. Here we have rendered *hsiang-shu* as "uninterrupted". The same binome occurs in *HSPC* 96B.3b, where we have translated the term, referring to numerous missions, as "continuously". It is to be noted, that in the first case the parallel passage in *SC* 123.2b reads (人衆) 甚多 "very numerous"; in the second case the *Han-shu* text contains an additional clarification, viz. 不絕, "uninterruptedly".

[275] Li-kan. — The identifications of Li-kan have been legion; they are enumerated in Dubs (1957), p. 26, note 8. These are, with further additions:

1. Hirth (1885), p. 77; Rekem, the Roman Petra, denoting Syria and the Roman Orient in general; this identification has been accepted by Chavannes (1907), p. 179.
2. Brosset (1828), p. 425, and de Groot, *Urkunden* II, pp. 18 and 91: Hyrcania; this identification has been accepted by Herrmann (1935), maps 17 and 26-27, and further argued in Herrmann (1941), pp. 222-223.
3. Boodberg (1936), p. 290, note 3, suggests one of the Alexandrias in Central Asia.
4. Tarn (1951) locates it in Media.
5. Pelliot (1915), pp. 690-691, identifies it as Alexandria in Egypt; this identification has been accepted by Dubs (1957).
6. Haloun (1937), p. 274, note 3, calls it, without further explanation, the Chinese designation for the Seleucid empire, reconstructing an archaic pronunciation * Sl̥eg-g'l̥an.
7. Fujita Toyohachi identifies it with Rai, ancient Rhagae or Rhages (Teheran).

It is to be noted that the vast difference between the location of Li-kan in the North, viz. in Hyrcania, and its location somewhere in the West, is due to the ambiguity of the *Shih-chi* text. *SC* 123.2b (*Chien-yu* ed.), when describing An-hsi, i.e. Arsacid Persia, writes 其西則條枝北有奄蔡犁軒條枝安息西數千里, "to the West there is T'iao-chih. In the North there is Yen-ts'ai [and?] Li-kan [and?] T'iao-chih is? are? several thousand *li* West of An-hsi". *HS* 96A.13a (Ching-yu ed.), however, when speaking about Wu-i-shan-li, leaves no room for doubt when writing 西與犁軒條支接, "it adjoins Li-kan and T'iao-chih in the West". Herrmann (1941), pp. 222-223, believed that Pan Ku made a mistake when copying the *Shih-chi*; concerning the unreliability

as a present for the Han [emperor], and the Son of Heaven was delighted. East of An-hsi are the Ta Yüeh-chih.

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of the *Shih-chi* see our Introduction, p. 12f.; to Herrmann Li-kan is Vehrkāna, i.e. Hyrcania.

An argument against Hirth's "Rekem" is that ancient Chinese possessed words with initial *k* ending in *m*, whereas the final sound of all the characters used to indicate the second syllable of the name have always ended in *n*. The argument against Pelliot's "Alexandria" is that the present text already contains a clearly recognizable transcription of this name in *Wu-i-shan-li*, or rather *O-(d)iək-san-lia* (see note 250). Finally, the argument against Herrmann's contention — apart from the unreliability of the text of *SC* 123 — is that, although *Liər-g'iän* could be said to resemble "Hyrcania", it is a far cry to the original "Vehrkāna", in spite of the enticing remark in Strabo (XL, 7, 3, c. 510; cf. II, 1, 15, c. 73) that "Indian" goods were transported via this area along the Oxus. We shall not enter further into this matter and therefore in the following we merely list the forms "Li-kan" assumes in the different sources.

犁靬, *HS* 96A.13a (borders on Wu-i-shan-li), 14a-b (An-hsi forwards jugglers from Li-kan). GSR does not contain the character 靬; Li Ch'i (ca. A.D. 200) says in *HSPC* 61.6a that this character was pronounced like 虔刂, but GSR only has 虔, 198a: g'i̯an/g'i̯ăn. This leads to GSR 519g and (198a?): liər/liei or li̯ər/lji-? g'i̯an/g'i̯än.

犁軒 – GSR 519k and 139g[1]: liər/liei-χi̯ăn/χi̯ɐn. *SC* 123.2b (situated North or West of An-hsi); 4b (Han envoys go there, as well as to An-hsi, Yen-ts'ai, T'iao-chih and Shen-tu); 5b (An-hsi forwards jugglers from there).

犁靬 – GSR 979j and (198a?): li̯eg/lji-? g'ian/g'i̯ăn. *HS* 61.5b (Han envoys to go there; identical with *SC* 123.4b, see above). Yen Shih-ku here identifies Li-kan with Ta Ch'in, the "Roman Orient", based on *HHSCC* Mem. 78.12a.

驪靬 – GSR 878f and (198a?): lieg/liei or li̯ĕg/li̯ę-? g'i̯an/g'i̯ăn. *HSPC* 28B I.16a, *HHS* Tr. 23A.38b (name of a prefecture in the Han commandery of Chang-yeh in present-day Kansu; perhaps settled by people from distant Li-kan). Yen Shih-ku adds that the local pronunciation in his day was力虔, GSR 928a and 198a: liək/liək-g'ien/g'iän; Wang Hsien-ch'ien remarks that the geographical chapter of the *Sui-shu* (compiled ca. 640) writes力乾, GSR 928a and 140: liək/liək-kân/kân or g'i̯an/g'i̯än.

麗靬 – GSR 878a and (198a?): lieg/liei-? g'i̯an/g'i̯än. *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin*, p. 1160b, s.v. 靬 (name of a prefecture in the Han commandery of Wu-wei; evidently the same as the preceding.). There is a possibility that still another reading for the name of this prefecture, viz. 麗軒, i.e. lieg/liei-χi̯ăn/χi̯ĕn, occurs in a contemporary Han document; see *RHA* II, pp. 214-215, concerning strip UD 5, no. 33. — For completeness' sake we note that the late Professor Dubs' contention that Li-kan in Kansu was a settlement of surrendered Roman legionaries who had belonged to Crassus' army (defeated in 54 B.C.), has been disproved by a number of scholars; see i.a. Yü Ying-shih (1967), p. 89ff., and Daffinà (1969: 2), pp. 227-230.

犁鞬 – GSR 519g and 249c: liər/liei or li̯ər/lji-ki̯ăn/ki̯ɐn. *HHSCC* Mem. 78.12a (another name for Ta Ch'in).

黎汗 – GSR 519k and 139t: liər/liei-g'ân/γân, occurs in the Harvard-Yenching index to *HS*, but this is a misprint for Li-wu 汙, for which see *HS* 96B.4a and note 431. Haloun (1937), p. 274, note 3, considers Li-*han* the correct form of what he calls a Hsing-nu princely title, and he believes that the place in Kansu is connected with this title, the resemblance with Li-kan in the Far West being purely fortuitous.

The state of the Ta Yüeh-chih[276]

The seat of [the king's] government[277] is at the town of Chien-shih,[278] and it is distant by 11600 *li*[279] from Ch'ang-an. It is not 31A
subject to the protector general. There are 100000 households, 400000

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[276] Ta Yüeh-chih 大月氏 or 氐, GSR 317a, 306a and 867a or 590a: d'âd/d'ai-ngịwăt/ngịwɐt-d̂ịĕg/źiẹ or tiər/tiei. In view of the fact that our text further on mentions Yüeh-chih as the name of this people when they were still living in the present-day Kansu area and that it calls the remnant that stayed there after the main group had migrated, the *hsiao*, i.e. "Little" or "Lesser" Yüeh-chih, it seems likely that the word *ta*, meaning "great", does not belong to the name, as in the case of Ta Yüan and Hsiao Yüan.

For the Yüeh-chih see Haloun (1937) and Pulleyblank (1966), (1968), (1970), and cf. Pelliot (1929), pp. 150-151. Pulleyblank (1963), p. 92 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 106 and Pulleyblank (1966), p. 17), is inclined to accept the identification (already suggested by Marquart, *Eranšahr*, 1901, p. 206) of the Yüeh-chih with "the Ἰάτιοι on the north side of the upper Yaxartes in Ptolemy", but this refuted by Daffinà (1967), p. 45, note 5. Maenchen-Helfen (1945), p. 77 and p. 80, note 110, believes Yüeh-chih to be a transcription and etymologization of "Kusha", the Moon people.

[277] In view of the parallel forms of these regional descriptions, it seems likely that the word "king" has been omitted in this passage; it has been inserted in the 1739 edition.

[278] 監氏 Chien-shih, GSR 609a and 867a: klam/kam-d̂ịĕg/źiẹ: *HHSCC* Mem. 78.14 writes Lan-shih 藍氏, GSR 609k and 867a: glâm/lâm-d̂ịĕg/źiẹ, whereas *SC* 123.14 writes Lan-shih 藍市, GSR 609k and 963a: glâm/lâm-diəg/źi. — Chavannes (1907), p. 187, note 2, suggests Badhakhshan, Tarn (1951), p. 115, thinks it was Alexandria κατὰ Βάκτρα. The identification with Bukhara by a modern Chinese author quoted by Takigawa in *SC* 123.14 needs no further consideration. — Pulleyblank (1963), p. 122, believes that "the first syllable of this transcription must represent the name later known as Khulm. Khulm is a large ancient site in the heart of Tokharestan east of Balkh, strategically situated on the cross roads between the east-west road and the north-south route between Transoxiana and the Hindukush". See also Pulleyblank (1966), p. 26. — It seems doubtful whether Chien-shih could be identified with the nameless Greek city destroyed in the course of the 2nd century B.C., situated on the southern bank of the Amu-darya at slightly over 37° North and approximately 69° 20' East; see Bernard (1974) for the excavation of the site. It should be noted that another tempting identification proved impossible. This would have been to identify *glâm* (*HS*) or *klâm* (*SC*) with modern Garm in Southern Tadjikistan, on the river Surkhob, an affluent of the Wakhsh, at 70° 23' East and 39° 4' North. However, the name Garm is modern Tadjik and Persian, meaning "hot", indicating the possible presence of hot springs, and the settlement dates at the earliest from late medieval times; no ancient vestiges were found in the area. I am very grateful to Professor J. Kroll of the Oriental Institute in Leningrad for having investigated this matter, i.a. by interviewing Dr. A. M. Mandelstam of the Institute of Archaeology of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science, who personally explored the area in the fifties.

[279] Cf. above, note 269. — Hsü Sung calculates the distance to Ch'ang-an at 12212 *li*, and that to the seat of the Protector General at 4974 *li* instead of the 4740 *li* mentioned in the text a few lines further.

individuals with 100000 persons able to bear arms. To the east it is a distance of 4740 *li* to the seat of the protector general, and to the west one reaches An-hsi after 49 days' journey; to the south it adjoins Chi-pin. The land, climate, types of goods, popular way of life and coinage are identical with those of An-hsi. The land produces the single-humped camel.

Ta Yüeh-chih was originally a land of nomads. The people moved 31B
15A around in company with their stock-animals and followed the same way of life as the Hsiung-nu. There were more than 100000 trained bowmen,[280] and for this reason they relied[281] on their strength and thought lightly of the Hsiung-nu. Originally [the people] dwelt between Tun-huang and Ch'i-lien.[282] Then the time came when the *Shan-yü* Mao Tun[283] attacked and defeated the Yüeh-chih, and the *Shan-yü* Lao-shang killed [the king][284] of the Yüeh-chih, making his skull into a drinking vessel. The Yüeh-chih thereupon went far away,
15A passing Ta Yüan and proceeding west to attack and subjugate Ta Hsia.

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[280] "Trained bowmen", *k'ung-hsien*, 控弦, literally "(men) pulling the bowstring". Elsewhere the usual expression is *sheng ping* 勝兵, "(men) capable of (handling) arms", translated as "persons able to bear arms".

[281] *HS* reads故彊, but in his commentary Yen Shih-ku inserts the word 恃 *shih*, "to rely on". Hsü Sung indicates that the quotation of the *HS* passage in the 13th c. encyclopedia *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* contains the word *shih*, but it is more important to note that the parallel passage in *SC* 123 reads 故時彊, where 時 is surely a mistake for 恃; cf. also Hulsewé (1975), remarks to line 31.

[282] Ch'i-lien祁連, GSR 553i and 213a: g'iɛr/g'ji - lian/liän. According to Yen Shih-ku, *ch'i-lien* was a Hsiung-nu word, meaning "heaven" (*HSPC* 55.9b). Pulleyblank (1966), p. 20, however, believes that it is a Yüeh-chih word, although he cannot suggest a Tocharian etymology; he also suggests a possible connection with *ch'i-lin* 麒麟, which might be a Heavenly [Horse] (*ibid.*, p. 34).

The Ch'i-lien Mountains are usually identified with the T'ien-shan, but Fujita (1926) insists that this range is to be located in Kansu province.

[283] For Mao-tun see e.g. *Urkunden* I, p. 49 ff.

[284] *Lao-shang* 老上 "old and elevated" was either the Hsiung-nu appellation (GSR 1055a and 726a: lôg/lâu - d̨iang/ź̨iang) or a translation into Chinese of a Hsiung-nu epithet. The word "king", *wang* 王, omitted in this passage, occurs in the parallels in *HSPC* 61.1a and *SC* 123.10.

Chang Ch'un-shu (1967a), pp. 711-712, maintains that the king of the Yüeh-chih was not killed by Lao-shang *shan-yü*, but by the Wu-sun *k'un-mo*. He argues that since the Yüeh-chih had been expelled from the Kansu area in ca. 175 B.C. and had settled in the territory of the Sai, there had not been any military contact between the Yüeh-chih and the Hsiung-nu, whereas it was the Wu-sun *k'un-mo* who went to attack them in the distant West in order to avenge his father's death with the approval of the Hsiung-nu ruler Lao-shang.

The principal city was established north[285] of the Kuei River to form the king's court. The remaining small group [of the Yüeh-chih] who were unable to leave sought protection among the Ch'iang[286] tribes of the Southern Mountains and were termed the Hsiao Yüeh-chih.

Originally Ta Hsia had no major overlord[287] or chief, and minor 32A
chiefs were frequently established in the towns. The inhabitants are weak and afraid of fighting, with the result that when the Yüeh-chih migrated there, they made them all into their subjects. They provide supplies for Han envoys.

There are five *Hsi-hou*.[288]

The first is entitled the *Hsi-hou* of Hsiu-mi,[289] and the seat of

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[285] Hsü Sung remarks that *SC* 123.2b says that Ta Hsia lay more than 2000 *li* (800 to 900 km.) Southwest of Ta Yüan and South of the Kuei-river; he suggests that under the Ta Hsia the capital lay South of the river and that the Yüeh-chih moved it North. We believe that *SC* in the first instance only speaks of the lay of the country as a whole; the capital need therefore not necessarily also have been situated South of the river.

[286] For the Ch'iang, see above, note 69. — *Pao* 保 normally means "to protect", but here, as well as in other passages it means "to seek protection or refuge with". Examples are *HSPC* 99C.25b: Wang Mang's defeated generals 保京師倉, *HFHD* III, p. 460: "took refuge in the Capital Granary"; *SC* 40.78: the armies of king Hsiang of Ch'u, having scattered, 保於陳城, rendered by Chavannes, *Mh* IV, p. 44 as: "se mirent à l'abri derrière les ramparts de Tch'en". That this is correct is shown by the parallel in *Chan-kuo ts'e* which reads 伏 *fu*, "to hide" in stead of *pao*. Chang Ch'un-shu (1967a), p. 712, note 1, rightly points out that the Hsiao or Lesser Yüeh-chih fled into the hills and sought refuge among the Ch'iang when the main body of the Yüeh-chih fled westward as a result of the attack under the Hsiung-nu ruler Mao-tun, and not under his successor Lao-shang, as is clearly stated in the Memoir on the Western Ch'iang in the history of the Later Han, *HHSCC* Mem. 77.23b.

[287] We have rendered *ta chün-chang* 大君長 in the singular, as evidently one single supreme ruler is intended.

[288] Yabghu, the generally accepted rendering of this non-Chinese term for a prominent leader. The text reads *hsi-hou* 翕侯, GSR 675q and 113a: χiəp/χiəp-g'u/γəm. Pulleyblank (1966), p. 28, suggests that this word may be connected with the Tocharian word for "land", "country", A *yapoy*, B *ype*. — Pulleyblank (1968), p. 250ff., finds good reasons to assume that the following passage was added "after the chapter on the Western Regions ... was already complete". He rightly believes that "there is strong circumstantial evidence for thinking that it is based on information received in a report from Pan Ku's brother, Pan Ch'ao, dating from around A.D. 74-75", which he provides in the following pages.

[289] For Hsiu-mi 休密, GSR 1070a and 405p: χi̯ôg/χi̯əu-mi̯ĕt/mi̯ĕt, see further below, note 296.

government is at the town of Ho-mo;[290] it is distant by 2841 *li* from [the seat of] the protector general and 7802 *li* from the Yang barrier.

The second is entitled the *Hsi-hou* of Shuang-mi,[291] and the seat of 32B
government is at the town of Shuang-mi; it is distant by 3741 *li* from [the seat of] the protector general and 7782 *li* from the Yang barrier.

The third is entitled the *Hsi-hou* of Kuei-shuang,[292] and the seat of government is at the town of Hu-tsao;[293] it is distant by 5940 *li*
15B from [the seat of] the protector general and 7982 *li* from the Yang barrier.

The fourth is entitled the *Hsi-hou* of Hsi-tun,[294] and the seat of
15B government is at the town of Po-mao;[295] it is distant by 5962 *li* from [the seat of] the protector general and 8202 *li* from the Yang barrier.

The fifth is entitled the *Hsi-hou* of Kao-fu,[296] and the seat of 33A

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[290] For Ho-mo, 和墨, GSR 8e and 904c: g'wâ/γuâ-mək/mək, see further below, note 296.

[291] For Shuang-mi 雙靡, GSR 1200a and 17h: sŭng/ṣâng-mia/mjie, see further below, note 296.

[292] Kuei-shuang, 貴霜, GSR 540b and 731g: kiwəd/kjwei-ṣiang/ṣiang. *HHSCC* Mem. 78.14b says: (cf. Chavannes (1907), p. 191 ff.) "more than one hundred years later, the yabghu of Kuei-shuang (named) Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh 丘就卻, GSR 994a, 1093a and 776b: k'ịŭg/k'ịəu-dz'iôg/dz'ịəu-k'ịak/k'ịak (identified by Chavannes with Kozulokadphises) attacked and destroyed the four (other) yabghu and established himself as king of Kuei-shuang; he invaded An-hsi (i.e. the land of the Arsacids) and took the area of Kao-fu 高附, GSR 1129a and 136k: kôg/kâu-b'ịu/b'ịu. He destroyed P'u-ta (see note 253 above), Chi-pin (see note 203 above) and T'ien-chu (i.e. (Northern) India; see note 154 above), and called himself king of Kuei-shuang. The Han, following the former appellation, call them the Ta (or Greater) Yüeh-chih". See further below, note 296.

[293] Hu-tsao 護澡, GSR 784k and 1134g: g'wâg/γuo-tsog/tsâu; see further below, note 296.

[294] Hsi-tun 肹頓: neither the first character, nor its variant 肹, is included in GSR. Yen Shih-ku says it was to be pronounced in T'ang times as 許乙反, i.e. acc. to GSR 60i and 505a: χi(wo)-•iĕt, i.e. χiĕt. The pronunciation of 兮 is GSR 1241d: -/γiei). *Tun* is GSR 427j: twən/tuən. The name of the country was therefore presumably χiĕt-twən; see further below, note 296.

[295] Po-mao 薄茅, GSR 771p and 1109c: bâk/bâk or p'âk/p'âk-môg/mau; see further below, note 296.

[296] Kao-fu 高附, GSR 1129a and 136k: kôg/kâu-b'ịu/b'ịu, usually identified with present-day Kabul. Wang Hsien-ch'ien points out that the author of *HHSCC* Mem. 78.15a says: "The *Han shu's* idea that it (viz. Kao-fu) was one of the five yabghu (territories) is not true. It later belonged to An-hsi (Parthia); only when the Yüeh-chih had defeated An-hsi they obtained the Kao-fu (area)"; cf. Chavannes (1907), p. 192. For Kao-fu, *HHS* substitutes Tu-mi 都密, GSR 45e and 405p: to/tuo-mịĕt/mịĕt, as the fifth yabghu-area. Chavannes (1907), p. 190, note 1, refers for further identification of the yabghu areas to *Pei shih* 97.20a-b, whereas Hsü Sung in a few instances refers

government is at the town of Kao-fu; it is distant by 6041 *li* from [the seat of the] protector general and 9283 *li*[297] from the Yang barrier.

All the five *Hsi-hou* are subject to the Ta Yüeh-chih.

The state of K'ang-chü[298]

to the latter's source, the *Wei shu* (102.15a-b). Chavannes furthermore refers to Marquart, *Eranšahr*, pp. 242-248, for the localization of these areas. This results in the following.
1. Hsiu-mi = 6th cent. Ch'ieh-pei 伽倍 GSR (15) and 999 c[1] : (?k'a/k'ia?)-b'wəg/b'uai, which Marquart locates in the Wakhan.
2. Shuang-mi = 6th cent. Che-hsieh-mo-sun 折薛莫孫, GSR 287a, 289e, 802a and 434a : t̂iat/tsiàt-siat/siät-mâg/muo or mâk/mâk-swən/suən, located in the Chitral.
3. Kuei-shuang = 6th cent. Ch'ien-tun, 鉗敦 GSR 606i and 464p : g'iam/g'iäm-twən/tuən, located North of Gandhara.
4. Hsi-tun = 6th cent. Fu-ti-sha 弗敵沙 GSR 500a, 877q and 319d : piwət/piuət-d'iek/d'iek-săt/săt, located at Parwân, on the Panjshir River.
5. Kao-fu = 6th cent. Yen-fou-yeh 閻浮謁, GSR 672m, 1233l and 313x : diɛm/iäm-b'iôg/b'iəu-*iat/iɐt, located near Kabul.

Pulleyblank (1963), discusses these principalities; in the following lines the page-numbers between brackets refer to his study. He suggests that "the five *yabghu* seem to have formed an arc along the north side of Tokharestan from the valley of Wakhan in the east to Tou-mi ... and Balkh in the West" (p. 222). Tu (or Tou)-mi he reconstructs as "Old Chinese" *tə̂h-mlīt, and believes that this "must be a transcription of Tarmita, later Termes, situated north of the crossing of the Oxus and an important strategic point that the Yüeh-chih would have been certain to occupy" (p. 124, cf. also p. 213). Kuei-shuang is Kušan (p. 118); the name of its "centre of government" Hu-tsao, "Old Chinese" *ĥwaχ-tsau, "probably stands for Waxšab, that is the River Waxš, a tributary of the Oxus entering it from the north somewhat east of Termes" (p. 222). Kao-fu, "Old Chinese" *kəuh-b̂ōh, he also accepts as Kabul, Greek Κάβουρα (p. 223).

[297] Hsü Sung complains that the distances in the *Han shu* are all wrong; basing himself on the *Wei shu*, he provides the distances indicated there, *plus his own additional corrections*, arriving at the following figures :

	distant from Protector General.		distant from Yang Barrier	
	HS text	Hsü Sung	*HS* text	Hsü Sung
Hsiu-mi	2841	3474	7802	6212
Shuang-mi	3741	3974	7782	6712
Kuei-shuang	5940	4034	7982	6772
Hsi-tun	5962	4134	8202	6872
Kao-fu	6041	4234	9283	6972

[298] K'ang-chü 康居, GSR 746h and 49c[1] : k'âng/k'âng-kio/kiwo. Pulleyblank (1963), p. 247 ff. (cf. Pulleyblank (1966), p. 28), discusses the Tokharian origin of the name, in his reconstruction of "Old Chinese" *khân-kiâ̂h; in Tokharian there is a word *kaṅk* which means "stone". In later times the K'ang-chü region was known as the Stone Country, 石國, i.e. Samarkand.

From *HS* 96 and 61.2a, as well as from *SC* 123.6 one obtains the impression that Chang Ch'ien was the first to mention this Central Asian country, as well as other states. However, two texts mention K'ang-chü some years before the return of Chang

The seat of the king's government in winter is in [Lo]-yüeh-ni-[ti]...to the town of Pei-t'ien.[299] It is distant by 12300 *li* from Ch'ang-an, 33B

Ch'ien in 126 or 125 B.C. One of these texts is the address by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju to the governors of Pa and Shu, to be dated approximatively in 131 B.C. (*SC* 117.60; *HSPC* 57B.1b). The other is a memorial by Tung Chung-shu, presented either in 136 or 134 B.C. (*HSPC* 56.11b, translated by W. Seuffert (1922), p. 5-6); the date 136 B.C. is advocated by Ch'i Shao-nan and adopted by Seuffert, whilst 134 B.C. is maintained by Wang Hsien-ch'ien (*HSPC* 56.8b), strongly supported by the modern historian Shih Chih-mien (1961), p. 356. The latter also believes that actual contact between China and K'ang-chü had earlier taken place (*op. cit.*, p. 262).

Hervouet (1964), p. 89, suggests that the reference to K'ang-chü offering tribute as a result of Han victories over the Hsiung-nu is merely a hyperbole used by the poet Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju while noting parenthetically that the classical authors of the West were not averse from similar hyperboles, attributing victories by the Romans over the unknown peoples of Central Asia to Octavianus Augustus (see Coedès (1910), pp. 2, 3, 18, 21). We feel, however, that the evidence of *HS* 96 and *HS* 61 does not necessarily imply that K'ang-chü's existence first came to the notice of the Chinese as a result of Chang Ch'ien's journey and his report. It may, and even probably does, imply that official Chinese action in respect of K'ang-chü followed only from Chang's information, but Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju and Tung Chung-shu may well refer to a topic or area which featured in "everyday talk" before it had found its way into official writings.

[299] The text is evidently corrupt, as remarked also by Hsü Sung. On the one hand, words or perhaps whole sentences are missing, on the other, there seem to be mistakes, especially in the figures, but that is far from unusual. However, the corruption does not seem to be due to the presence of a misplaced strip, for the information, as far as it is provided, is presented in the usual order. This normal sequence is:

1. The name of the country;
2. The name of the seat of the ruler's government;
3. The distance of the latter from Ch'ang-an;
4. The remark that the country is not subordinate to the Protector General;
5. The number of households, inhabitants and men capable of bearing arms;
6. The distance to the seat of the Protector General, indicating the direction;
7. Similar data regarding neighbouring countries;
8. The countries with which the state under discussion has common borders;
9. A description of its customs and its products, sometimes reduced to a bare "its customs and products are identical with those of ...".

Most of these points are also found in the present description; the omission of some (nos. 7 and 8 above) might be due to the omission of one or more strips. On the other hand, extra information is provided by the data concerning distances from Pei-t'ien to the two royal residences. Pei-t'ien seems to have been the main point of reference, as distances to the seat of the Protector General and to a neighbouring state (not in this passage, but on p. 30b, cf. note 324) are measured from there.

As it stands, the text reads: 王冬治樂越慝地到卑闔城去長安萬二千三百里不屬都護至越慝地馬行七日至王夏所居蕃內九千一百四里

1. We suggest that the underlined passage is the remainder of a longer phrase. However, *T'ung-tien* 193, p. 1093 omits 冬 "in winter" and 到 "to", and adds 亦居蘇薩城, leading to the translation: "the seat of the king's government is in the town of Pei-t'ien

and is not subject to the protector general. One reaches [Lo-]yüeh-ni-[ti] after a journey of seven days on horseback, and it is a distance of

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in the area of Lo-yüeh-ni; he also dwells in the town of Su-hsieh" (for the latter see note 320).

2. The distance to Ch'ang-an is given as 12300 *li*. However, the distance to the seat of the Protector General is given as being 5500 *li*, which would lead to a distance from Ch'ang-an of 12788 *li*, i.e. 5500 *li* plus the distance from the Chinese capital to the seat of the Protector General of 7238 *li* (easily calculated; see *HSPC* 96.8a and 9b), or about 500 *li* more. That the figure of 5500 *li* is not wrong is shown by its practical agreement with the sum of the distances from Pei-t'ien to Kuei-shan, i.e. 1510 *li* (*HSPC* 96A.36b) and from the latter place to the Protector General, i.e. 4031 *li* (*ibid.*), or 5541 *li*. The difference of 500 *li* noted above we think to have been the distance between Pei-t'ien and Lo-yüeh-ni (-ti), which is stated to have been a journey of seven days on horseback; this would imply marches of seventy *li* or nearly thirty kilometers a day in the saddle through mountainous country. *RHA* 1, pp. 43-44, mentions some examples of the time used to cover certain distances. The most telling example is that given on p. 43, which says that "it probably took nine days to convey routine mail along a distance of some 160 kilometres", that is to say about 18 km. per day.

The distance indicated from Pei-t'ien to the king's summer residence of 九千一百四里, 9104 *li* is surely corrupt. In view of the frequent confusion between 十 "ten" and 千 "thousand", we suggest that the text may originally have read 九十一里, "ninetyone *li*", where 十 was misread as 千 and 一里 was misread as 百四, to which a copyist added the "missing" but indispensable 里 *li*. Wang Kuo-wei, *KTPCP* 1.11a, (cf. Pelliot (1929), p. 151) suggests that 九 is a corruption of 一, without further proof, so that the distance would be 1104 *li*.

Lo-yüeh-t'e (var. ni)(-ti) 樂越匿 (var. *ni* 匿) (地), GSR 1125a, 303e, 777o (var. 777l), (4b'): glâk/lâk - gi̯wăt/jiwɐt - t'nək/t'ək (var. ni̯ək/ńiək) - (d'i̯a/d'i̯). Wang Hsien-ch'ien believed the variant *ni* to be correct; we think that he is right, because 匿 *t'e* means "evil" and such ominous words are not seen in transcriptions. *T'ung-tien* 193 writes *ni*. We have bracketed *ti* because it has the meaning "land, area, region" and might therefore be a purely Chinese word leading to the translation "The area of Lo-yüeh-ni". Wang Kuo-wei, *KTPCPI* 12b (cf. Pelliot (1929), p. 151), believed (lo-) yüeh-ni to be identical with Yü-ni 窳匿, which occurs below as the name of a part of K'ang-chü, but, as indicated by Pelliot (*loc. cit.*), the ancient pronunciations of *yüeh* and *yü* were completely different (see note 322 below). Pelliot personally suggests that Yüeh-ni could be identical with *yüeh-no* 越諾 GSR 303e and 777f: gi̯wat/jiwɐt - nâk/nâk, mentioned by Sui and T'ang authors as the name of a tissue or of the place of origin of this tissue, for which see Laufer (1919), pp. 493-496. See also Schafer (1963), p. 201.

Pei-t'ien 卑闐, GSR 874a and 375r: pi̯ĕg/pji̯ę - d'ien/d'ien. Hsü Sung suggests that this town was perhaps situated on a lake, in view of the occurence of T'ien-ch'ih 闐池, in *HSPC* 70.8a, which says that in 36 B.C. Ch'en T'ang (cf. *HFHD* II, p. 281 f.) "came to the borders of K'ang-chü, to the West of the T'ien lake". Wang Kuo-wei *KTPCPI* 12a (Pelliot (1929), p. 150), identifies this lake with the Issig-köl. Pulleyblank (1963), p. 94, provides arguments to show that Lo-yüeh-ni-ti might "represent some form of the name Yaxartes".

9104 *li*, within the realm, to the king's summer residence.[300] There are 120000 households, 600000 individuals with 120000 men able to bear arms. To the east it is a distance of 5550 *li* to the seat of the protector general. The way of life is identical with that of the Ta Yüeh-chih.

In the east [the inhabitants] were constrained to serve the Hsiung-nu.
16A In the time of Emperor Hsüan, the Hsiung-nu became ill-disciplined and disordered, with five *Shan-yü* contending for power simultaneously. Han supported the *Shan-yü* Hu-han-yeh[301] and had him
16A established; so the *Shan-yü* Chih-chih,[302] felt offended and put the Han envoys to death and blocked the way west to K'ang-chü. Later the protector general Kan Yen-shou[302] and deputy colonel Ch'en T'ang[304] brought out troops of the *Wu* and *Chi*[305] colonel and of the various states of the Western Regions. On reaching K'ang-chü 34A he punished the *Shan-yü* Chih-chih and exterminated [his line], as is described in the biography of Kan Yen-shou and Ch'en T'ang. These events occurred in the third year of the reign-period *Chien-chao* of Emperor Yüan [36 B.C.].[306]

At the time of Emperor Ch'eng, [the king of] K'ang-chü sent a son[307] to attend at the Han [court] with a present of gifts. However, K'ang-chü felt that it was separated [from Han] by a long distance, and alone in its arrogance it was not willing to be considered on the

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[300] We have rendered the words *fan nei* 蕃內 as "within the realm", but they could also be rendered as a place name, viz. Fan-nei, GSR 195m and 695e: b'iwan/b'iwɐn or piwan/piwɐn - nəp/nâp or nwəd/nuâi, or, in case 蕃 would be an unwarranted copyist's "improvement" (see Hervouet 1974, p. 73 f.) of 番: Po-nei, GSR 195b and 695e: pwâr/puâ - nwəd/nuâi, which shows an unexpected resemblance to "Parni" marked by Herrmann in his atlas in the northern part of Parthia; see Herrmann (1935), map 17, I, or (1966), map 10-11, I.

[301] Hu-han-yeh 呼韓邪, GSR 55h, 140i and 47a: χo/χuo - g'ân/γân - ziå/ịa or dziå/zia or dzịo/zịo.

[302] Chih-chih 郅支, GSR 413 and 864a: (t'ịĕd/tsí) - tịĕg/tiạ.

[303] Kan Yen-shou has a biography in *HS* 70; see also *HFHD* II, p. 279 f.

[304] Ch'en T'ang has a biography in *HS* 70; see also *HFHD* II, p. 279 f.

[305] See above, note 63.

[306] For a description of these events of the year 36 B.C. see *HFHD* II, p. 279 f. and p. 331, Daffinà (1969 : 2) and Loewe (1974), pp. 211-251.

[307] Ssu-ma Kuang *TCTC*, p. 1031, places this event in 11 B.C., adding the word *fu* 復 "again". The commentator Hu San-hsing remarks that already in the days of emperor Yüan (48-33 B.C.) the king of K'ang-chü had sent a son as a hostage. However, the dating of this earlier gesture is uncertain, for it is mentioned, without any date being referred to, in the early days of emperor Ch'eng (cf. *HSPC* 70.14a); Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 966, relates it under the year in 29 B.C. in view of the titles borne by the persons mentioned in this connection.

same terms as the various other states. Kuo Shun,[308] the protector general, submitted a number of reports to the following effect.

"The prosperity which the Hsiung-nu originally enjoyed was not due to the fact that they had achieved united possession of Wu-sun and K'ang-chü; and when the time came that they declared themselves [our] servants,[309] this was not because they had lost those two states. Although Han has received hostages from them all, amongst themselves these three states are sending each other presents and communicating as they did previously. Likewise they keep a watch on one another; and if they see a suitable opportunity, they then send out troops [against each other]. If they unite, they are incapable of enjoying each other's friendship or trust; if they are split apart, they are unable to make subjects of one another. In terms of the present [situation], the conclusion of a matrimonial relationship with Wu-sun has never brought any advantage, but has,
16B on the contrary, involved trouble for China. Nevertheless, since Wu-sun has been so related previously, and now together with the
16B Hsiung-nu declares its allegiance [to Han], it would not be right to refuse [its request]. However, K'ang-chü is behaving arrogantly, even refusing to treat our envoys with the respect that is their due.[310] When the officials of the protectorate general go to the state, they are seated below the envoys of Wu-sun and the various other 34B [states].[311] The king and noblemen take their food and drink first, and when they have finished they then have the officials of the protectorate general served with theirs; hence they make out that there is nobody to whom they need pay attention and thereby they show off to the neighbouring states.

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[308] Kuo Shun is only further mentioned in passing in *HSPC* 70.21, where he is listed among the Protectors General and in *HSPC* 78.13a as a prefect. Hsü Sung places Kuo Shun's term of office in the yung-shih period, i.e. between 16 and 12 B.C.; Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 1037, dates the event in 11 B.C.

[309] This refers to the submission of Hu-han-yeh in 51 B.C.; cf. *HFHD* II, pp. 190-193 and 256-259.

[310] 不拜使者. *Pai* 拜 occasionally means "to appoint" or "to be appointed", but then the construction usually is "*pai* X *wei* 為 a certain post". As, moreover, the despatch of envoys from K'ang-chü is not mentioned (though they may, of course, have accompanied the princes sent as hostages), we have taken *pai* in the normal sense of "to make obeisance to", which we have rendered here as "to treat (our envoys) with the respect that is their due".

[311] Actually, the text reads 烏孫諸使, without adding the word *kuo* 國, "state", after *chu* 諸.

"If in view of these considerations we ask why [K'ang-chü] sends its sons to attend [at the Han court], [we find] that desiring to trade, they use a pretence couched in fine verbiage.[312] The Hsiung-nu are the largest state of the many barbarians. At present they serve Han scrupulously; but if they are informed that K'ang-chü is not treating [our envoys] with proper respect,[313] it will soon come about that the *Shan-yü* will believe that he is being humiliated. It is fitting to send back the son of [K'ang-chü] who is now attending at court and to sever relations and send no further envoys. Thereby we would demonstrate that the Han Dynasty has no dealings with states that lack a sense of proper behaviour. Tun-huang and Chiu-ch'üan, which are small commanderies, and the eight states of the Southern Route, have supplied our envoys in their coming and going with men, horses, asses, camels and food, and have all suffered thereby. The places en-route have been emptied and their resources spent,
17A in providing an escort or welcome for [envoys of] an arrogant state
17A that lies cut off at a great distance. This is no wise policy." 35A

For the reasons that communications had been started only recently and that it attached importance to bringing people from remote places to court, Han in the end maintained its ties[314] and did not sever relations.

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[312] The text reads其欲賈市為好辭之詐也. The modern editors of Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 1037, place a stop after 市, evidently based on the commentary by Hu San-hsing (adopted by Wang Hsien-ch'ien) who paraphrases: 特欲行賈以市易其為好辭者詐也, "they merely want to engage in trade and barter; that they use fine words is to deceive". However, Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 597, followed by the modern scholars who prepared a new edition of the *Han shu* (see Loewe (1963), p. 162ff.), as well as by Chien Po-tsan (1958), p. 338, note 25, punctuates differently, namely after *hao*, leading to the translation "Their desire for trade and friendship is a deceitful use of words". This is, we believe, inadmissible in view of the occurence of the binome *hao-tz'u* in *Shih-chi* 110.56 (Tak. ed.) and in the parallel in *HS* 94 A.20a and 21a. Here we find the Hsiung-nu 好辭請和親 and 好辭甘言求和親 which de Groot, *Urkunden* I, pp. 144 and 148, correctly renders as "mit freundlichen Worten — und süssen Redensarten — um ein friedliches Verhältnis bitten". We have therefore followed the first explanation, being well aware that a matter of considerable importance is at stake, for this first explanation implies a willingness of distant Sogdiana to engage in trade with China.

[313] The text merely says 不拜 which, we suggest, should be taken in the same sense as in the earlier passage on p. 34a; cf. note 310.

[314] 漢 ... 終羈縻而未絕. A *chi-mi* is a "halter" or a "rope"; the expression occurs often, both in *HS* and in later historical and political texts. Its meaning in the political field is that of a "loose rein" or "appeasement policy", as Prof. L.S. Yang puts it in his essay entitled "The *Chi-mi* or loose rein policy; a historical survey",

It is said: "Some 2000 *li* to the north-west from[315] K'ang-chü is the state of Yen-ts'ai.[316] The trained bowmen number 100000.[317]

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included in Fairbank (1968), p. 31 ff.; it has some connotation with our own expression: "to keep ... on a string". From the sinocentric view, starting out from the idea that in theory, if not in fact, all-under-Heaven was subject to the Chinese emperor, the image of the Chinese keeping all nations on a loose rein which they could tighten if it pleased them, was quite logical. In the Han context it means little more than that the Chinese decided that it was useful to maintain some kind of relations, not to say "ties" — a word that evokes fundamentally the same connotations.

We find the term used under quite similar conditions in *HSPC* 94A.28 where it is said that the Hsiung-nu wanted to make peace, but were unwilling to take the first step. So "they made less incursions into Han territory and they gave Han envoys a more liberal treatment" in order to bring about peace and friendship. The Han likewise kept them on a loose rein", 亦羈縻之, which implies a complete reversal of the actual situation, where the initiative, both military and political, lay with the Hsiung-nu! A curious use of the very phrase used here is found in *HSPC* 25B.7a, where it is said that emperor Wu, although disappointed that his favorite magicians were unable to produce any results (終無驗) "still kept them on a loose rein and did not sever relations" 猶羈縻而不絕.

[315] The text of this paragraph is corrupt, both in the *Han shu* and in the parallel passage in *SC* 123.2a. Firstly, all *HS* editions read *ch'i* 其 at the beginning of the *HS* paragraph (*SC* is organised slightly differently); similar passages, e.g. *HSPC* 96A.14a and 28b, have led us to assume, in spite of the silence of the commentators, that *ch'i* 其 is a copyist's mistake for *tzu* 自, "from". Secondly, *SC* says that Yen-ts'ai was a *hsing kuo* 行國, "a nomad state"; it would seem that the word *hsing* 行 has been omitted in the *HS* text. Thirdly, the word *ta* 大 "great" in the *HS* text must be a mistake for *jen* 人, "man, men", which in similar passages in *HS* always follows numbers of "trained bowmen". The *SC* text also contains the word *ta* 大, but places it before *t'ung* 同 "same, similar", which leads to the translation that "its customs are greatly similar to those of K'ang-chü". Finally, the *SC* text inserts *nai* 乃 "thereupon", after *kai* 蓋 "presumably", which is contrary to normal usage. However, these signs of corruption do not seriously impair our understanding of this passage, apart from point 2, the omission of 行 in the *HS* text.

[316] Yen-ts'ai 奄蔡, GSR 614a and 337i: *ʔi̯am/*ʔiäm - ts'âd/ts'âi.

The commentators refer the the History of the Later Han, where *HHSCC* Mem. 78.16b, remarks that the country was a dependency of K'ang-chü, that the dress and the customs of the people, who lived in towns, were identical with those of K'ang-chü, that the climate was mild, and that there were many fir-trees. The memoir adds, that Yen-ts'ai later adopted the name of A-lan-liao 阿蘭聊, GSR 1m, 185n and 1114u: *ʔâ/*ʔâ - glân/lân - liôg/lieu, but Chavannes (1905), p. 559, note 1, shows that the *Hou-Han shu* has mistakenly combined the names of two states, viz. A-lan, and — not Liao but — Liu 柳, GSR 1114: li̯əg/li̯ə̯u which is mentioned separately in the *Wei-lüeh* (Chavannes (1905), p. 558-559). Some commentators assert that Yen-ts'ai was also called Su-t'e 粟特 or Su-i 弋, GSR 1221a and 961h or 918a: si̯uk/si̯wok and d'ək/d'ək or diək/iək, i.e. Soghd; others point out that this country has a separate entry in the *HHS* memoir (*HHSCC* Mem. 78.16b; *HHS* 栗 is an obvious mistake for 粟).

Chavannes (1905), p. 558, note 5, approves of the identification of Yen-ts'ai with the Ἀορσοι mentioned by Strabo, as proposed by Hirth (1885), p. 139, note 1; he believes

It has the same way of life as K'ang-chü. It is situated on the Great Marsh,[318] which has no [further] shore and which is presumably the Northern Sea."[319]

In K'ang-chü there are five lesser kings.

The first is entitled the Su-hsieh[320] king and his seat of government is at the town of Su-hsieh. It is distant by 5776 *li* from the 35B
[seat of the] protector general and 8025 *li* from the Yang barrier.

The second is entitled the Fu-mo[321] king and his seat of government

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this identification to be strengthened by the later name Alan, which explains Ptolemy's "Alanorsi". Marquart (1905), pp. 240-241, did not accept this identification, but Pulleyblank (1963), pp. 99 and 220, does, referring for additional support to *HSPC* 70.6b where the name Ho-su 闔蘇, reconstructed in 'Old Chinese' as ɦa̱p-sa̱ɦ, can be compared with Abzoae found in Pliny VI, 38 (see also Pulleyblank (1968), p. 252). Also Humbach (1969), pp. 39-40, accepts the identification, though with some reserve.

[317] Wang Hsien-ch'ien rightly remarks that *ta* 大, "great" is a mistake for *jen* 人, "men", the reading adopted in the 1739 edition. The *SC* version has not only adopted the word "great", but has tried to make the sentence grammatically correct by moving this word, reading 與康居大同俗! Moreover, *SC* has inverted the order of the phrases, evidently confronted with a broken strip.

[318] 大澤無崖, "the Great Marsh without a (further) shore". It is to be noted that Lobnor is also called a *tse* 澤, "marsh", like many large lakes in China; on the other hand, lakes are sometimes called "seas", *hai* 海. There is not much use in speculating whether "marsh" might indicate the presence of salt water. The commentators believe it to be the Caspian, but Daffinà (1967), p. 62, reviewing all the arguments, identifies it with the Aral Sea.

[319] We believe the insertion, concluded by the word *yün*, "it is said", to start with the passage beginning from "some 2000 *li* to the north-west K'ang-chü ...".

[320] Su-hsieh 蘇薤(identical with 薤) GSR 67c and 1240g : so/suo - -/ɣai. Wang Hsien-ch'ien points out that according to the chapter on the Barbarians of the Four Directions of the History of the Chin Dynasty (compiled ca. 640), i.e. *Chin shu* 97.13b, the king of K'ang-chü lived in this place. Hsü Sung remarks that acc. to *Hsin T'ang shu* 221B.5b, the "ancient territory of the king of Su-hsieh of K'ang-chü South of the river Tu-mo 獨莫", GSR 1224i and 802a : d'uk/d'uk - mâg/muo or mâk/mâk or măk/mək, was occupied in T'ang times by the Shih Country, 史國, also called Ch'ü-sha 佉沙, Karlgren (1923), no. 491 and GSR 16a : k'i̯wo - ṣa, or Ch'ieh-shuang-na 羯霜那, GSR 313m, 731g and 350a : k'i̯ăt/k'i̯ăt or k'i̯ăt/k'i̯ɐt - ṣi̯ang/ṣi̯ang - nâr/nâ. Chavannes (1906), p. 554, note 3, believed that the place name Chieh-shih 竭石, GSR 313r and 795a : g'i̯at/g'i̯ăt - d'i̯ăk/z'i̯äk in the *Wei-lüeh* should be compared with the T'ang names 佉沙 ki̯wo-ṣa and 迦師, Karlgren (1923), no. 342 and GSR 559a : ka - ṣi, both indicating Kashgar; the *Wei-lüeh* term would then provide the necessary authority to identify Kashgar with Ptolemy's κασία χώρα. Pulleyblank (1963), p. 219 (cf. p. 124), reconstructing an "Old Chinese" pronunciation *sa̱ɦ-gleats, believes this to be an early form of transcribing Soghd, to be identified with Kesh.

[321] Fu-mo 附墨, GSR 136k and 904e : b'i̯u/b'i̯u - mək/mək. Hsü Sung points out that *Hsin T'ang shu* 221B.5a, when discussing the country Ho 何, also called Ch'ü-shuang-ni-chia 屈霜你迦, GSR 496k, 731g (359a) and (15) : k'iwət/k'iuət - ṣi̯ang/ṣi̯ang - ńi̯ăr/ńźi̯ą - ka/ka, identifies this with the "ancient territory of the King of Fu-mo", but cf. below, note 326, for another identification of Ch'ü-shuang-ni-chia.

is at the town of Fu-mo. It is distant by 5767 *li* from [the seat of the] protector general and 8025 *li* from the Yang barrier.

The third is entitled the Yü-ni[322] king and his seat of government is at the town of Yü-ni. It is distant by 5266 *li* from [the seat of the] protector general and 7525 *li* from the Yang barrier.

The fourth is entitled the Chi[323] king and his seat of government 36A
is at the town of Chi. It is distant by 6296 *li* from [the seat of the] protector general and 8555 *li* from the Yang barrier.

The fifth is entitled the Yü-chien[324] king and his seat of government is at the town of Yü-chien. It is distant by 6906 *li* from the [seat of the] protector general and 8355 *li* from the Yang barrier.

All the five kings are subject to K'ang-chü.

The state of Ta Yüan[325] 36B

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Kuei-shan and it is distant by 12250 *li*[326] from Ch'ang-an. There are 60000 house-

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[322] Yü-ni 窳匿, GSR 1243b and 7771 : -/ịu - nịək/ńịək. Hsü Sung points out that the *Hsin T'ang shu* identifies the seat of the king of Che-chih 柘支, GSR 7951 and 864a : tịăg/tśịa - tịĕg/tśie, or Che-che 柘折, GSR 7951 and 287a : tịăg/tśịa - tịat/tśiät, or Che-shih 赭時, GSR 45d and 961z : tịå/tśịa - dịəg/źi, viz. the town of Che-che, i.e. tịăg/tśịa - tịat/tśiät with the area where Yü-ni was situated.

[323] Chi 罽, kiad/kiäi (see note 203). Hsü Sung points out that the *Hsin T'ang shu* 221B.2a identifies this place with the later A-lan-mi 阿濫謐, GSR 1m, 609j and 405t : *â/*â - glâm/χlâm - miĕt/miĕt, capital of the country of Pu-ho 布豁, GSR 102j and 314g : pwo/puo - χwât/χuât, also called Pu-ho 捕喝, GSR 102j' and 313k : b'wo/buo - χât/χât, situated on the Southern bank of the River Wu-hu 烏滸, GSR 61a and 60k : *o/*uo - χo/χuo, i.e. the Oxus. Pulleyblank (1963), p. 219, suggests that Chi "probably stands for Kāth, the ancient capital of Khwarezmia".

[324] Yü (or Ao) -chien 奧鞬, GSR 1045a and 249a : *ôg/*âu or *ịôk/*ịuk - kịăn/kịɐn. Hsü Sung points out that the *Hsin T'ang shu* 221B.5a, identifies this place with part of the later Huo-hsün 火尋 GSR 353a and 662a : χwâr/χuâ - dzịəm/zịəm, or Huo-li-hsi-mi-chia 貨利習彌伽, GSR 19a, 519a, 690a, 359m and (15) : χwa/χwa - lịəd/lji - dzịəp/zịəp - mịăr/mjiẹ - ka (?) or Kuo-li 過利, GSR 18e and 519a : kwâ/kuâ - lịəd/lji, on the North bank of the river Wu-hu (see note 323), in other words, with Khwarezmia.

[325] Ta Yüan 大宛 GSR 317a and 260b : d'âd/d'âi or t'âd/t'âi - *ịwan/*ịwɐn presumably "Greater Yüan" in contrast to lesser Yüan; cf. note 276. It is usually identified with the region around Ferghana, but Pulleyblank (1966), p. 25, believes it to have been situated in Sogdiana; he fully accepts the identification of Ta Yüan and *Taχwar, the land of the Tokharians, made by Henning (1938). See also Tarn (1951), p. 474, Appendix 10.

[326] Kuei-shan 貴山, GSR 540b and 193a : kịwəd/kjwẹi - săn/ṣăn. — The *Ching-yu* edition, followed by the Palace edition of 1739 and others, reads 12550 *li*.

Pulleyblank (1966), p. 22, remarks "It was the Kushan 貴霜 Jabghu of the Yüeh-chih who was responsible for the founding of the Kushanian empire. It can hardly be sheer coincidence that the capital of Ta-yüan is also called Kushan (貴山) in the *Han-shu*". He would like (*ibid.*, p. 26) "to identify this with Kushaniya, a city a little west of Samarkand which was known as 屈霜你迦, or (with a distinct correspondence to the

holds, 300000 individuals with 60000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials] : the king's deputy and the king of Fu-kuo[327] (support of the state). To the east it is distant by 4031 *li* to the seat of the protector general; to the north by 1510 *li* to the town of Pei-t'ien[328] in K'ang-chü; and to the south-west by 690 *li* to the Ta Yüeh-chih. It adjoins K'ang-chü in the north and the Ta Yüeh-chih in the south. The land, climate, types of goods and popular way of life are identical with those of the Ta Yüeh-chih and An-hsi.

In Ta Yüan and to its left and right [i.e. east and west] grapes 37A
are used to make wine. Rich people store up to ten thousand *shih*[329]
or more, and in cases when it is kept for a long period it may last for
several decades without being spoilt. The general custom is to enjoy
wine; and the horses enjoy lucerne.[330] The individual settlements of
18A Yüan amount to more than 70 towns.[331] There are many fine horses.
The horses sweat blood, and it is said that their progenitors were
18A descended from the Heavenly Horses.[332] When Chang Ch'ien first

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Han Dynasty name of the Kushan Dynasty) 貴霜匿 in the time of Hsüan-tsang (7th century A.D.) and which retained its name into Moslem Times (see W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol invasion*, pp. 95-96). The only real obstacle to this identification is the fact that it is said in the *Han-shu* to be north-*east* of the capital of the Great Yüeh-chih. Kushaniya is in fact somewhat west of north from Khulm, which I wish to identify with Chien-shih or Lan-shih, the Yüeh-chih capital". See above, note 278. Pulleyblank then offers the suggestion "I suspect that the *Han-shu* editor has made the direction north-east rather than north in order not to contradict too blatantly the statement in the *Shih-chi* that the Yüeh-chih were west of the Ta-yüan". This suggestion is inacceptable in our view, because we believe we have demonstrated that the *Shih-chi* version of the Ta Yüan chapter is secondary. Herrmann (1935), map 24, square C2, places it in the Ferghana Basin.

[327] For Fu-kuo see above, note 78.

[328] For Pei-t'ien see above, note 299.

[329] *Shih* 石, "bushels"; cf. *HFHD* I, p. 276f., where this name of a measure is translated by means of a term of weight, viz. "picul". The term is used both as a measure of weight and of capacity; see Loewe, (1961), p. 64-95.

[330] For lucerne see above, note 213.

[331] 宛別邑七十餘城: *SC* writes *shu* 屬 "dependent, subordinate" instead of *pieh* 別. *I* 邑 is used here, neither technically, as "an apanage of empresses and princesses" (*HSPC* 19A.30a-b), nor as "unwalled settlement", in contrast to *ch'eng* 城, "walled town", but as a general term, Yüan 宛 is written here without the prefixed *ta* 大 "great"; so does *HSPC* 61.11a *passim*, considering Yüan to be the chief town of the country of Ta Yüan. *SC* writes *ch'i* 其, "its", instead of Yüan.

[332] The term *t'ien ma* 天馬, 'heavenly horses', seems to have originated during the Former Han period, at the time when contacts with the West began. Izushi (1930) has surveyed pre-Han literature and collected all the material concerning horses in early Chinese mythology, but these are never called "heavenly"; Pulleyblank (1966), p. 25, rightly concludes that the term could only apply to horses from Wu-sun, about which

told Emperor Wu about this, the emperor sent envoys bearing a 37B

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the Chinese only learned after Chang Ch'ien's visit there. This visit he dates "around 119 B.C.", but a date as late as 115 B.C. is not impossible, in view of other information; Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC* 20, p. 656, dates Chang Ch'ien's visit and his return in 115 B.C. (see below, note 390).

T'ien-ma is occasionally replaced in later times by the term *shen-ma* 神馬, "supernatural horses", e.g. the 3rd century *Po-wu chih*, ch. 3, *sub* 物產, which says that "when the harmonious emanations influence each other ... the waters bring forth (a) supernatural horse(s)". 和氣相感 ... 澤出神馬. However, with the exception of the oracle-text translated below (*HS* 61.8b, transl. p. 226), the term *shen-ma* does not seem to occur in the earlier literature, more especially not in pre-Han texts. *Shen-ma* appear only once in *HS*, viz. in *HS* 61.8b, (transl. p. 226) when emperor Wu consulted a divination text which said that "Supernatural horses are due to come from the Northwest", but the time when he did this is completely uncertain. After Chang Ch'ien's return, in 126-125 B.C.? Or much later, "once missions had become numerous"? (*HSPC* 61.8a-b).

"Horses from Heaven" formed the subject of two sacrificial hymns, included among the hymns that are inserted in the *Han shu* chapter on Ritual and Music, *HSPC* 22.26a-27a, translated by Chavannes in *Mh* III, pp. 620-621; the Annals of emperor Wu specially mention the composition of these hymns (*HSPC* 6.19b and 33a, *HFHD* II, pp. 75 and 102-103). The writing of these hymns was occasioned by the appearance or the acquisition of these horses.

The texts relating these events are slightly, but not seriously confused. They are as follows. The Annals of emperor Wu mention the emergence of a horse — not qualified as "heavenly" or "supernatural" — from the Yü-wu River in the 2nd year of the period yüan-shou, 121 B.C., without mentioning the composition of a hymn (*HSPC* 6.14a, *HFHD* II, p. 60).

For the 4th year of the period yüan-ting, 113 B.C., the Annals of emperor Wu mention the "birth" of a horse from the Wo-wei River, as well as the composition of the hymn "The Heavenly Horse"; the chapter on Ritual and Music quotes the text of the hymn, and indicates the same place where the horse emerged, viz. the Wo-wei River, but it provides a wrong date, viz. the 3rd year of the period yüan-shou, i.e. 120 B.C. (*HSPC* 6.19b, *HFHD* II, p. 75; *HSPC* 22.26a, *Mh* III, p. 621, hymn X.1).

The hymn of 113 B.C. mentions that the horse was "moistened with red sweat, its foam is purple". Because the arrival of blood-sweating horses in 121 or 120 B.C. is out of the question, it is evident that the date of 120 B.C., indicated by *HS* 22, is wrong. The testimony of *Shih-chi* 24 is valueless; see the notes by Liang Yü-sheng (quoted in *SC* 22.8-9 of the Tak. ed.) and the final verdict by Ch'iu Ch'iung-sun (1964), pp. 7-8, as well as pp. 8-9 of his introductory *Chui-yen*.

For the 4th year of the period t'ai-ch'u, 101 B.C., the Annals of emperor Wu mention the arrival of the blood-sweating horses from Ta Yüan as well as the composition of the hymns "The Heavenly Horses from the Extreme West"; this information is repeated in the chapter on Ritual and Music, where the text of the song is quoted in full (*HSPC* 6.33a, *HFHD* II, pp. 102-103; *HSPC* 22.26b-27a, *Mh* III, p. 621-622, hymn X.2).

As regards the two places where these horses appeared, the Wo-wei River of 113 B.C. is placed by the commentators South of Tun-huang, near modern Tang-ho; cf. *Mh* III, p. 236, note 3.

Yü-wu, where the horse appeared in 121 or 120 B.C., is the name for two different localities. One, the Yü-wu River, is completely out of the question, for it was beyond

thousand [pieces of] gold[333] and a golden horse[334] with which to make

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the ken of the Chinese at that time, being situated far away in Hsiung-nu territory, North of Shuo-fang and perhaps identical with the Ongin (Izushi, 1930), or, less likely, with the Tula or Urga River (*Urkunden* I, p. 137). Here various encounters with the Hsiung-nu took place, but very much later, between 97 and 79 B.C. (*HSPC* 6.35a, *HFHD* II, p. 108; *HSPC* 94A.24b-25a, 28a, *Urkunden* I, p. 173ff., pp. 178, 189).

The other Yü-wu was a prefecture, situated in Shang-tang 上黨 commandery near present-day T'un-liu 屯留 in the southeastern part of Shansi province at approx. 36° N and 113° E; see *HSPC* 28Ai.57b. Wang Hsien-ch'ien rightly believes that the horse "emerged" there and ridicules Ying Shao for having suggested that it was the river in the Hsiung-nu realm.

The emergence of a horse from a river was an excellent augury; the prototype of these creatures was, of course, the "dragon-horse" which came out of the Yellow River with the "River Chart" on its back (for a convenient survey of the legendary material see Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*, vol. 6, p. 1014, no. 182).

Arthur Waley (1955) dealt with the possible religious implications of the quest for these "heavenly" horses, being part of emperor Wu's well-known search for immortality, and Pulleyblank (1966), p. 31, agrees with him. Archaeological evidence so far has not produced tangible proof to substantiate this view. Winged horses appear in Later Han stone engravings and on tomb tiles — both art forms which do not occur in the Former Han period or earlier — but their role in Han mythology remains unknown; see Finsterbusch (1966), p. 230, and Rudolph (1951), ill. 46 (the Chinese authors to which these scholars refer do not provide any further explanation).

Yü Chia-hsi (1940) maintains that, contrary to the traditional view, emperor Wu did not undertake the expedition to Ta Yüan in order to obtain fine horses for his imperial stables, but to improve the breed of the Chinese horse so badly needed in the campaigns against the Hsiung-nu. — See also note 730.

[333] Gold was usually counted in units one *chin* or "catty" of approx. 224 grams, cf. Dubs, *HFHD* I, p. 280. Dubs' remark (*HFHD* III, p. 510), based on *HSPC* 24B.1b (cf. *HFHD*, I, p. 111, note 3) that gold "circulated in the shape of *square* cakes an inch on a side... and weighing a catty" evidently refers to antiquity and does not seem to be true for Han times; during excavations of Han tombs, round "cakes" of gold, c.q. of gilt clay, have been found; see *Wen-wu*, 1960/7, p. 52ff., and cf. *HFHD* II, p. 10 and note 35.10.

See also *Wen-wu* 1964/7, pp. 35-37, for a report on the discovery of gold "cakes" of a fineness of 99% and weighing approx. 250 grams, or only slightly more than a Han *chin*, although the badly legible inscriptions seem to contradict this; the diameter of these "cakes" varied between 5.1 and 6 cm. Sekino (1971) and An Chih-min (1973) both have collected all the available archaeological and literary data on the subject of gold cakes.

It is to be noted that gold units were not generally used in Han as media of trade; in the rare transactions in which they feature, their standard equivalent was fixed at 10.000 cash, see L. S. Yang (1952), pp. 40-43.

[334] As this "golden horse" had to be transported, and was of such a size that it could be easily "smashed" (see below, p. 227, the translation of *HS* 61.9a and note 862) we suggest that it was relatively small. It may be observed that examples of horses cast in bronze averaged some 40 to 50 cm. in height; these were funerary furnishings of the 2nd. century A.D., for which see *Wenwu* 1972/2, pp. 16-24, with ills. and plates, and *Relics* (1972), plates 108-110, as well as the catalogues of the Chinese exhibition in Paris and in London (1973).

a request for the fine horses of Yüan. The king took the view that Han lay cut off and the distance was long; and that [Han] troops would be unable to reach [Yüan]. He grudged his precious horses and was unwilling to give them away. The Han envoys spoke in unrestrained terms, and Yüan then had them attacked and killed and their goods taken away. At this the Son of Heaven sent the Erh-shih[335] general Li Kuang-li to take a force that amounted altogether to over a hundred thousand men, and the offensive against Yüan lasted for a continuous period of four years. The people of Yüan beheaded Wu-kua,[336] their king, and offered [Han] a present of 3000 horses; and the Han army then withdrew, as is described in the biography of Chang Ch'ien.[337]

When the Erh-shih [general] had beheaded the king of Yüan,[338] he established in his place as king of Yüan one of the noblemen who had previously treated the Han [envoys] in a pleasant manner and who was called Mei-ts'ai.[339] Over a year later the noblemen of Yüan were taking the view that Mei-ts'ai had brought about the destruction of their state by his ingratiating behaviour; and together[340] they killed Mei-ts'ai and established Ch'an-feng,[341] younger brother of 38A
Wu-kua, as king. They sent a son to attend at the Han [court] as a hostage, and Han took the occasion to send out envoys with gifts so as to pacify [the area]. In addition they sent out missions numbered in tens to proceed to the various states west of Yüan to seek rare[342] goods; and they were also to take the opportunity to admonish [the
18B states] and impress them with the strength [shown by Han] in conquering Yüan.[343] Ch'an-feng, king of Yüan, reached an agreement with Han to present two Heavenly Horses each year, and the Han envoys

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[335] For the Erh-shih General see above, note 41.

[336] Wu-kua 毋寡, GSR 107a and 42a : miwo/miu - kwå/kwa.

[337] viz. *HSPC* 61.8b ff. and *SC* 123.33 ff., with some differences; see below, pp. 226-232.

[338] This is in contradiction with the preceding statement, that it was the nobles who had killed Wu-kua, and with the more detailed version of these events in *HS* 61.11b, transl. p. 232.

[339] Mei-ts'ai 昧蔡, GSR 531n and 337i : mwəd/muậi - ts'âd/ts'ai. However, in *HSPC* 61.12a the early commentator Fu Ch'ien indicates that *ts'ai* is to be pronounced "in the manner of the Ch'u dialect", whereas Yen Shih-ku says that it should be 千曷反, i.e. ts'iât (cf. GSR 313d and 365a) and that *mei* should be pronounced like *mo* 末, GSR 277a : mwât/muât.

[340] As remarked by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, the reading *kung* 共, 'together', is to be preferred to *ping* 兵.

[341] Ch'an-feng 蟬封, GSR 147z and 1197i : đian/źiän - piung/piwong.

[342] Our translation is based on the reading *ch'i* 奇, "rare", with the *Ching-yu* and the 1739 Palace editions, in stead of 其.

[343] Our translation is based on the reading *fa* 伐, "to attack, to cut down", with the *Ching-yu* and the 1739 Palace editions, in stead of 代.

returned, having collected seeds of grape and lucerne. The Son of Heaven, considering that the Heavenly Horses were many, and that moreover the envoys who came from the outer states were numerous, had grapes and lucerne planted in increasingly greater quantities alongside the detached palaces and the lodges,[344] as far as the eye could reach.

To the west of Yüan and as far as the state of An-hsi there are many different languages spoken, but they are in general the same, and people understand each other clearly. The inhabitants of the area all have deep-set eyes, and many wear moustaches and beards. They are expert traders, haggling over fractions of a *shu*.[345] They hold the women in honour, and what the women say the men act upon.[346] Their land has [no][347] silk or lac trees, and [the people] do not

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[344] The text reads *li kung kuan* 離宮館, whereas the *Shih-chi* parallel has *li-kung pieh-kuan* 別觀, "detached palaces and separate pavilions" (*SC* 123.31); the two characters *kuan* had an identical pronunciation, GSR 157k and 158i both giving kwân/kuân in the rising tone. The encyclopedia *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 793.3a, follows the present *Han-shu*. It is to be noted that the main author of the *Han-shu*, Pan Ku, in his *fu*, "prose poem", on the Western Capital, talks about "thirty six detached palaces and separate pavilions", (*Wen-hsüan*, SPTK ed., 1.10b, Margouliès (1925), p. 42). The earliest occurrence of the expression *li-kung pieh-kuan* seems to be in the biography of Li Ssu (*SC* 87.14, cf. Bodde, (1937), p. 24: "palaces and country villas"). These terms are never explained, but it is clear that they refer to imperial residences outside the walled palace area in the capital. One of these palaces was the Chien-chang Palace 建章宮, built in 105 B.C. outside the western walls of Ch'ang-an (*HSPC* 6.31b, *HFHD* II, p. 98). An example of a pavilion or lodge is the P'ing-lo Lodge 平樂館, built in the summer of the preceding year, 106 B.C., in the Shang-lin Hunting Park (*HSPC* 6.31a; *HFHD* II, p. 98). It is to be noted that in the Shang-lin park there stood a "Grape Palace", P'u-t'ao kung 葡萄宮, see *HSPC* 94B.14b, *Urkunden* I, p. 261.

[345] The *shu* 銖 was the smallest Han unit of weight at 0.64 grams; the denomination occurring on the cast bronze coins is expressed in *shu*, as on many specimens of the 5-*shu* (cf. *HFHD* I, p. 196, and II, p. 66, note 16.7).

[346] The meaning of the binome *nü-tzu* 女子, is "woman, women" and as such belonged to current usage, as is shown e.g. by *HSPC* 76.28a: 非女子所知也 "this is not a thing women know about". *Chang-fu* 丈夫 is a current word for "man, men", in the sense of "adult"; the meaning "husband" seems to be a later development.

[347] *HSPC* 96A.38a here reads 其地皆絲漆, as does *HS* 96A.18b in the Ching-yu edition (Po-na pen), but the latter inserts 無 after 皆. *SC* 123 (p. 6a of the Chien-an edition (Po-na pen) and p. 6a of the Shao-hsing edition, as well, of course, as the Takigawa edition 123.32). *T'ung tien* 92.1035a (Comm. Press 1-vol. edition) reads 無 in stead of 皆. Wang Nien-sun (1744-1832) rightly remarks that in this passage, which underlines the differences between China and Ta Yüan, the inclusion of 無 is correct. We suggest that 皆 is a corruption of 無, both being maintained in the late version of *SC* ch. 123. There is no need for *chieh* "both, all", as no third party beside China and Ta Yüan is involved.

know how to cast iron utensils.[348] When conscripts who had deserted 38B
from the Han missions surrendered, they taught [the inhabitants] how to cast and manufacture weapons and utensils other than [those which they had].[349] Whenever they acquire Han gold or silver they make utensils with [the metal] and do not use it as currency.[350]

[The area] west of Wu-sun as far as An-hsi is close to the Hsiung-nu. The Hsiung-nu had once harassed the Yüeh-chih; consequently when a Hsiung-nu envoy carrying tokens of credence[351] from the *Shan-yü* reaches one of the states, the states en route provide a relay service of escorts and food, and do not dare to detain or harm the envoy.
19A When the case of Han envoys arises, if they do not bring out valuables they do not get any food, and if they do not buy horses they have no means of travelling on horseback. The reason for this state of affairs 39A
is that Han has been regarded as being distant. However, Han possesses many valuable goods, and consequently purchasing has been necessary to acquire what is required. By the time that the *Shan-yü* Hu-han-yeh

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[348] The text reads *t'ieh ch'i* 鐵器 "iron utensils", whereas *SC* 123.32 reads 錢器 "coins and utensils". We have retained the *Han shu* reading, because the manufacture of cast iron was a Chinese invention which only gradually spread to the outside world because of the technique involved, as demonstrated by Needham (1958), pp. 7-9.

[349] The insertion of the word *t'o* 它, (*SC* 123.32 has the variant 他), "other", before *ping ch'i* 兵器, "arms (or weapons) and utensils" is inexplicable, as in this section devoted to Ta Yüan, arms in use there have not been discussed. Where this has been done, like in the case of Ch'o-Ch'iang (9b), Shan-shan (14a), Nan-tou (23a), the single word *ping* is used; in the case of Wu-i-shan-li (29a) *ping-ch'i* is used, whereas in the Chi-pin paragraph (24a) *ch'i* is used for "utensils". In our translation we have therefore followed the suggestion of Wu Jen-chieh in his comment to the preceding line (*HSPC* 96A.38b).

[350] The text reads *pi* 幣, which is curious, because "coins" are normally referred to as *ch'ien* 錢, "cash". *Pi* is used in a rhetorical passage in *SC* 106.25 (= *HSPC* 35.12b), where the commentator Ju Shun has to explain it as *ch'ien*. The normal meaning of *pi* is "presents, valuables".

[351] "Token of credence", *chieh* 節. This seems to be a case where Han usage is attributed to the Hsiung-nu, although it remains possible that also this non-Chinese community had a similar custom. The Han *chieh* seem to have been a stafflike object, decorated with cow- or yak tail hair, dyed red. The commentary to *HHS* Am. I A.8a quotes the lost *Han kuan i*: "*chieh* are made of bamboo; the staff is 8 feet (i.e. 185 cm.) long. The plumes are made of yak hair; these are threefold"; the last phrase seems to mean that there were three clusters of these hairs, presumably on a string attached to the top of the staff. Cf. also Dubs, *HFHD* I, p. 56 and II, p. 114, note 37.1. The basic study on this object is by Ōba (1969); see also Hayashi (1966), p. 195, who refers to the object held by the "Han envoy" 漢使者 in fig. 86 of Sekino (1916), and Hayashi (1976), p. 480ff. and ills. 10/91-93.

came in homage to the Han court,[352] and thereafter, all have held Han in high esteem.

The state of T'ao-huai[353]

The ... king ... [text defective];[354] it is distant by 11080 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 700 households, 5000 individuals with 1000 persons able to bear arms.

The state of Hsiu-hsün[355]

The seat of the king's government is the Niao-fei valley.[356] It is 39B
west of the Ts'ung-ling, and is distant by 10210 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 358 households, 1030 individuals with 480 perons able to bear arms. To the east it is a distance of 3121 *li* to the seat of the protector general, and 260 *li* to Yen-tun valley, [in the state of] Chüan-

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[352] This event occurred in 51 B.C.; cf. *HFHD* II, p. 256-259.

[353] T'ao-huai 桃槐, GSR 1145u and 569i: d'og/d'âu-g'wər/γuâi or g'wɛr/γwăi. Wang Hsien-ch'ien points out that in T'ang times there existed a T'ao-huai prefecture in the area of the Yüeh-chih governor-general, with its seat of administration at the town of A-la 阿臘, GSR 1m and 637j: *â/*â-lâp/lâp.

[354] The text is evidently defective; the information about the seat of the king's government and its distance from Ch'ang-an, occurring in all comparable cases, is missing.

[355] Hsiu-hsün 休循, GSR 1070a and 465f: χi̯ôg/χi̯ə̯u-dzi̯wən/zi̯uĕn; in the *Hou Han chi* the second character is written 修 GSR 1077d; si̯ôg/si̯ə̯u. Hsü Sung points out that this country is also mentioned in the *Shui-ching chu* 2.3b f., where it is said that the "West River" coming from the country of Chüan-tu (see below, note 358) flows westward through Hsiu-hsün and then "descends to the South into the country of Nan-tou", (for which see n. 195). Chavannes (1905), p. 555, note 4, locates this state in the Irkeštam area, on the road between Kashgar and Osh. This is where Matsuda (1956), p. 152 ff., locates Chüan-tu, placing Hsiu-hsün "in the Alai" (p. 156 f.).

It is in this area that western authors locate the Stone Tower, Πύργος λιθικός mentioned by Ptolemy's basic informant, Maes Titianus; see Stein (1933), p. 47 and pp. 292-295, followed by Herrmann (1938), p. 103 ff., and by Innes Miller (1969), pp. 126-132. Both Herrmann and Innes Miller give a survey of the earlier literature on this subject. Stein believed the Stone Tower to have been situated in the Alai valley, near the village of Chat, from where the route led to Irkeštam on the Sino-Russian border. The Chinese expression *shih ch'eng* 石城, "stone walled-city" or "stone fortress" occurs occasionally, but it is not applied to the Stone Tower; cf. note 638.

[356] Niao-fei ku 鳥飛谷, "the valley where the birds fly"; GSR 1116a and 580a (and 1202a): tiôg/tieu-pi̯wər/pjwei (-kuk/kuk). Wang Hsien-ch'ien remarks that, according to *Hsin T'ang shu*, during the hsien-ch'ing period (656-660) a Niao-fei prefecture was founded in the area called Hu-mi 護密, GSR 784k and 405p: (g'wâg)/γuo-(mi̯ĕt)/mi̯ĕt and earlier, under the Toba-Wei, probable P'o-ho 鉢和, Karlgren (1923), no. 707, and GSR 8e: ?/puât-g'wâ/γuâ. This T'ang nomenclature may have been based simply on the knowledge of the old *name*, without any firsthand acquaintance with the place itself.

tu;[357] to the north-west it is a distance of 920 *li* to the state of Ta-Yüan; and 1610 *li* to the west, to the Ta Yüeh-chih. The popular 40A
way of life and clothing are of the same type as in Wu-sun, and in company with their stock animals they go after water and pasture. Originally they were of the Sai race.

19B The state of Chüan-tu[358]

The seat of the king's government is at Yen-tun[359] valley and it is distant by 9860 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 380 households, 1100 individuals and 500 persons able to bear arms. To the east it is distant 2861 *li* to the seat of the protector general ... [text defective?] to Shu-lo.[360] To the south it adjoins the Ts'ung-ling; there are no human 40B
inhabitants. By ascending the Ts'ung-ling on the west, one is at Hsiu-hsün. To the north-west it is a distance of 1030 *li* to Ta Yüan, and to the north [the state] adjoins Wu-sun. Clothing is of the same type as that of Wu-sun. [The people] go after water and pasture, keeping close to the Ts'ung-ling. Originally they were of the Sai race.

The state of So-chü[361]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of So-chü, and it is distant 9950 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 2339 households, 16373 individuals with 3049 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials]: the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the 41A
leaders of the left and the right, the masters of cavalry of the left and the right, the master[362] of Pei Hsi-yeh (Defence against Hsi-yeh),[363] two commandants and four interpreters-in-chief. It is a distance of 4746 *li* in the north-east to the seat of the protector general, 560

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[357] For Chüan-tu see below, note 358.

[358] Chüan-tu 捐毒, GSR 228g and 1016a: gi̯wan/i̯wän-d'ôk/d'uok. Wang Hsien-ch'ien tries to provide modern identifications; Chavannes (1905), p. 555, note 3, locates this state West of Kashgar, on the Northern slopes of the Pamirs, in the Karategin area. Matsuda (1956), p. 152ff., places it near Irkeshtam.

[359] Yen-tun 衍敦, GSR 197a and 464p: gian/iän-twən/tuən (in view of the well-known placename Tun-huang, the other pronunciation of *tun* provided by GSR *s.v.* can hardly have been intended).

[360] In view of the well established pattern, the text must be defective, the number of *li* to Shu-lo being missing; the connection with the previous sentence suggested by Hsü Sung is fallacious.

[361] So-chü 莎車, GSR 16f and 74a: swâ/suâ or sa/ṣa-ki̯o/ki̯wo or t'iå/tś'i̯a. It is identified with present-day So-chü.

[362] For this type of title see above, notes 82 and 139.

[363] For Hsi-yeh see above, note 170.

li in the west to Shu-lo and 740 *li* in the south-west to P'u-li. There
20A are iron-mines[364] and [the land] produces blue- green jade.[365]

In the time of Emperor Hsüan, the princess of Wu-sun had a younger son called Wan-nien[366] whom the king of So-chü loved. The king of So-chü died without a son, and at his death Wan-nien was in Han. The people of the state of So-chü made plans with the intention of attaching themselves to Han, and in addition wished to secure the good-will of Wu-sun. So they promptly sent a letter asking that Wan-nien should be made king of So-chü. Han allowed the request, and sent the envoy Hsi Ch'ung-kuo[367] to escort Wan-nien. As soon as he was established, Wan-nien behaved oppressively and wickedly, and the people of the state took no pleasure [in his rule]. Hu-t'u-cheng,[368] younger brother of the [former] king of So-chü put Wan-nien to death. He also killed the Han envoy, and setting himself up as king entered

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[364] The text reads 有鐵山出青玉. There are several possible ways of translating this passage: 1. "They have iron; the mountains produce blue-green jade"; 2. There is an Iron Mountain (which) produces blue-green jade; 3. There are "iron mountains", i.e. iron mines; (the country) produces blue-green jade". — *T'ieh shan* meaning "iron mines" is common, like *t'ung* 銅 *shan* for "copper mines"; see, e.g., *HSPC* 28A II.54b, and *HHS* Tr.21.5b and 23.5b. We have therefore followed this common usage in our translation.

[365] In view of this passage, the history of So-chü started for the author of the *Han shu* in the days of emperor Hsüan, i.e. after 72 B.C. However, there are indications that relations between China and So-chü had begun twenty years earlier. Chavannes (1913) contains a strip, no. 310, which reports the issue of grain to members of the suite of "the legate to So-chü, Hsü Hsiang-ju" 使莎車繻相如. This person occurs in the History of the Han Dynasty, viz. in the Tables of Nobles (*HSPC* 17.23a), which report that in the 3rd year of the t'ai-shih period, 94 B.C., Hsü Hsiang-ju was nominated Noble of Ch'eng-fu 承父侯 (a place in Tung-lai Commandery in the Shantung peninsula) for "when on a mission to the Western Regions having mobilized the relatives of the Outer king (*wai wang* 外王, further unknown) and executed the Fu-lo king (扶樂王; GSR 101f and 1125a: b'i̯wo/b'i̯u-nglŏk/ngåk or glâk/lâk, or less probably, nglŏg/ngau), taking prisoner 2500 persons". The texts are silent about this event; about Hsü Hsiang-ju we still know that in 89 B.C. he was executed by being cut into two at the waist for "having murdered (an) army officer(s), plotting to join the barbarians, also having uttered imprecations against the emperor", *HSPC* 17.23a. Strip and text together prove that the Chinese sent at least one mission to So-chü, probably before 94 B.C. and certainly earlier than 89 B.C.

[366] Wan-nien 萬年 is a typical Han time personal name, meaning "ten thousand years". For this kind of name see Yü (1965), p. 121 f. Wan-nien's mother was the Chinese princess Chieh-yu, see below, p. 149 and note 409.

[367] Hsi Ch'ung-kuo is only mentioned here and in the parallel passage in *HSPC* 79.2a.

[368] Hu-t'u-cheng 呼屠徵, GSR 55h, 45i and 891a: χo/χuo-d'o/d'uo-ti̯əng/ti̯əng.

into an agreement with various other states to turn against Han.[369] It happened at this time that Feng Feng-shih,[370] guards' captain,[371] was being sent on a mission to escort back visitors from Ta Yüan.
20B He seized the opportunity to call out troops from various states to 41B attack and kill [Hu-t'u-cheng]; and in his place he established as king of So-chü the son of another of [the late king's] brothers. On his return, [Feng] Feng-shih was appointed Counsellor of the Palace;[372] this year was the first in the period *Yüan-k'ang* [65 B.C.].

The state of Shu-lo[373]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Shu-lo, and it is 42A distant by 9350 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 1510 households, 18647 individuals with 2000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following
20B officials]: the noble of Shu-lo, the noble of Chi-hu (assault on the

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[369] These events are described in the biography of Feng Feng-shih, *HS* 79. There (*HSPC* 79.2a) it is said that after the murder of the king and the Chinese legate, the new king Hu-t'u-cheng sent messengers to pretend that all the states along the Northern Route had made their submission to the Hsiung-nu, whereupon he started to threaten the states along the Southern Route and entered into a sworn alliance with them. As the Protector General was hemmed in by the northern states, Feng Feng-shih, who happened to be on a mission to Ta Yüan, levied troops, attacked and took So-chü and sent the king's head to Ch'ang-an; as a result, the Western Regions were pacified and Chinese prestige restored. Wang Hsien-ch'ien suggests (*HSPC* 96A.41a) that this happened in the 3rd or 4th year of the period ti-chieh, i.e. in 67 or 66 B.C.; Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 825, places it in 65 B.C. See also Loewe (1974), p. 252f.

[370] Feng Feng-shih, born of a family of officials was made a *lang* or Courtier and eventually appointed Chief of a prefecture. Having been dismissed, he studied both the Spring and Autumn Annals (attributed to Confucius) and military authors. Eventually he received a subordinate army post and in this capacity took part in an expedition against the Hsiung-nu about 70 B.C. Thereupon he was selected to go to the Western Regions "to accompany the guests from Ta Yüan and the other countries"; it was during this mission that the events related in *HS* 96A took place. He then held metropolitan posts, occasionally being sent on campaigns on the borders. In this way he was *ssu-li hsiao-wei*, Colonel of police in the capital (48 B.C.), General of the Right and Superintendent of the Dependent States (47 B.C.) as well as *kuang-lu hsün*, Superintendent of the Counsellors of the Palace, and General of the Left (41 B.C.); he died in 40 B.C. (cf. *HSPC* 19B.37a-38b).

[371] Guards captain, *wei hou* 衛侯, a function in the *t'un* or garrisons around the capital, subordinate to the Superintendent of the Guards, *wei wei* 衛尉; see *HSPC* 19A.11b and note 47 above.

[372] Counsellor of the Palace, 光祿大夫, the highest rank among the counsellors, *ta fu*, with a salary "comparable to two thousand bushels"; see *HSPC* 19A.8b. These counsellors of different rank did not form a permanent body with a fixed number of incumbents; "at most there were several tens" (8b).

[373] Shu-lo 疏勒, GSR 90b and 928f: ṣio/ṣiwo-lək/lək. The country is identified with the modern prefecture of that name, i.e. Kashgar.

nomads), the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the commandant, the leaders of the left and the right, the masters of cavalry of the left and the right and the interpreters-in-chief of the left and the right. 42B To the east it is a distance of 2210 *li* to the seat of the protector general, and to the south a distance of 560 *li* to So-chü. There are markets with stalls. To the west it is situated on the route to the Ta Yüeh-chih, Ta Yüan and K'ang-chü.

The state of Wei-t'ou[374]

The seat of the king's government is at the valley of Wei-t'ou, and it is distant by 8650 *li* to Ch'ang-an. There are 300 households, 2300 individuals with 800 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials]: the commandants of the left and the right, and the masters of cavalry of the left and the right. To the east it is a distance of *21A* 1411 *li* to the seat of the protector general. To the south it adjoins Shu-lo, but the mountain roads do not permit communication. To the west it is a distance of 1314 *li* to Chüan-tu; there is a direct road, 43A and it is a journey of two days by horse.[375] [The people work] the fields and keep stock-animals, and they go after water and pasture. Their clothing is of the same type as that of Wu-sun.

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[374] Wei-t'ou 尉頭, GSR 525b and 118e: *ʔi̯wəd/*ʔjwe̯i-d'u/d'əu; Wang Hsien-ch'ien identifies it with Wu-shih County, at approx. 41° N, 79° E. Chavannes (1905), p. 554, note 1, refers to Grenard, *Mission scientifique en Haute Asie* II, p. 61, who localizes Wei-t'ou at Safyr bay, Southwest of Uch Turfan.

[375] For Chüan-tu see above, note 358. — Hsü Sung remarks that the "direct road" was a mountain path. He adds that the post road from Uch to Kashgar was 2220 *li* (in 19th century *li* of slightly over 0.6 km., equivalent to ca. 1350 km.), whereas the track along the Ulanusu was still over 600 *li* (ca. 360 km.); he suggests that the latter might have been the "direct road". It is to be noted, however, that the "direct road" of the *HS* text had a length of 1314 *li* or ca. 550 km., and so it seems highly doubtful that it could have been covered by a two days' ride.

1A 1A The state of Wu-sun[376] 1A

The seat of the Greater K'un-mi's[377] government is at the town of Ch'ih-ku,[378] and it is distant by 8900 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 1B 120000 households, 630000 individuals with 188800 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the chancellor, the *Ta-lu*,[379] the two supreme leaders of the left and the right, three

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[376] Wu-sun 烏孫, GSR 61a and 434a: *o/*uo-swən/suən. Apart from the distances to the seat of the Protector General from which the capital is said to be 1721 *li* distant in the West and from Fan-nei (ti) (see note 300 above) from which it lay 5000 *li* eastward, there are no indications regarding the exact location of this country. According to *HHSCC* Mem. 78.4b, they "had moved West of the Pamir and consequently relations had been disrupted". Wang Hsien-ch'ien refers to the geographical chapter of the (New) T'ang history and concludes that the Wu-sun territory must have been in the area South of the Tekes River. Another reference to the Wu-sun is to be found in the Old T'ang history, *Chiu T'ang shu* 40.68b (T'ung-wen ed.), which mentions the office of the governor-general of Chin-man 金滿州都督府, where "the flowing sands" North of this place are indicated as being "the old territory of the Wu-sun tribe" 烏孫部舊地. *TM*, pp. 546-547, identifies Chin-man with Chin-p'u 金蒲 and locates it near present-day Ti-hua or Urumchi, but Chavannes (1907), p. 169, places Chin-man in the vicinity of Jimsa. As regards modern localizations of the Wu-sun territory, Chavannes (1907), p. 558, note 3, places it in the Ili-valley, extending up to the Issyk-kul. Modern Russian archaeological studies, like Gamburg and Gorbunowa (1957), and Akišev and Kušaev (1963), tacitly accept this identification, although the sites contain nothing to indicate definitely a Wu-sun — or any other — origin. In this way the grave mounds excavated by the former and situated a few kilometers South of the town of Ferghana on a ridge East of the river Shah-i-mudan, are dated between the 3rd and the 1st century B.C. and attributed to "the time of the Wu-sun and the Sai"; cf. Tsunoda (1958). Pulleyblank (1963), p. 136, reconstructing **ʔ̂ən-smən as the "Old Chinese" pronunciation of Wu-sun, thinks that they "are probably to be identified with the Ἀσμίραιοι of Ptolemy".

[377] K'un-mi 昆彌, GSR 417a and 359m: kwən/kuən-miăr/mjię. It is to be noted that in the following text, the king is no longer referred to as *k'un-mi*, but as *k'un-mo* 昆莫, GSR 417a and 802a: kwən/kuən-mâg/muo, (or mâk/mâk or măk/mək), as in *HS* 61.

[378] The walled town of Ch'ih-ku 赤谷, GSR 793a and 1202a: t'ịăk/tś'ịăk-kuk/kuk or gịuk/ịwok, i.e. "Red Valley"; it does not seem very likely that the name is a transliteration. Hsü Sung remarks that the Pei-yen 北鹽 Mountain North of Aqsu is of a pure red colour and he suggests that this might be the Red Valley.

[379] *Hsiang ta lu* 相大祿, GSR 317a and 1208h: d'âd/d'ai or t'âd/t'ai-luk/luk. The *hsiang* was the highest administrative officer in the kingdoms in the Chinese empire, usually rendered as "chancellor". As the text does not explicitly say "one man each", as it does in cases where several officials are enumerated, *ta lu* might be a title; the words *ta-lu* recur on p. 3a as the name — or again as the title — of one of the sons of the ruler.

nobles,[380] a commandant for each of the supreme leaders [of the left and the right], two supreme inspectors, the supreme official,[381] two supreme officials of the household and the master of cavalry. It is a distance of 1721 *li*, to the east, to the seat of the protector general, and
1B 5000 *li*, to the west, to land within the realm[382] of K'ang-chü. The land is covered in vegetation and is flat. There is heavy rainfall, and it is cold, and there are many pine and [elm] trees.[383] [The people] do not work at cultivating the fields or planting trees, but in company 2A with their stock animals they go in search of water and pasture. Their way of life is the same as that of the Hsiung-nu. The state has
1B numerous horses, and rich persons may own as many as four or five thousand animals. The people are hard-hearted and greedy; they are unreliable and much given to robbery. [Wu-sun] is an exceedingly strong state.

Formerly [the state] had been in submission to the Hsiung-nu; later, with the growth of prosperity, the state accepted [the need to maintain] ties but was unwilling to proceed to their court meetings.[384] [Wu-sun] adjoins the Hsiung-nu in the east, K'ang-chü in the north-west, Ta Yüan in the west and the various states of the walled towns in the south. Originally it was the land of the Sai.[385]

When the Ta Yüeh-chih turned west, defeated and expelled the king of the Sai, the latter moved south and crossed over the Suspended Crossing;[386] and the Ta Yüeh-chih took up residence in his lands.

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[380] "Three nobles", *hou san jen* 侯三人. It is striking that in this survey of Wu-sun officials no mention is made of the *yabghu* 翎侯, although these functionaries existed among them, as is shown by the occurrence of the title on pp. 5a, 5b, 7b and 8b. We therefore suggest that this reference to "three nobles" might be a mutilated reference to "three *yabghu*". An additional support for this suggestion is that elsewhere the titles of the "nobles" are specified.

[381] Supreme official, *ta-li* 大吏, GSR 317a and 975g: d'âd/d'âi or t'âd/t'âi-liəg/lji; it does not seem very likely, however, that this very general, but apt term would hide a non-Chinese word.

[382] For the expression 康居藩內地, see above, note 300.

[383] 楠; Karlgren, GSR 183e, calls this tree a kind of elm, modern *men* or *wan*; the character also means "resin" or "gum". No references to this tree could be found in botanical dictionaries.

[384] For the "court meetings" 朝會, of the Hsiung-nu, a purely Chinese term is used; in Han China, the kings were expected to attend court-meetings in spring and in autumn. *HSPC* 94A.7a-b mentions that in the fifth month the Hsiung-nu kings and army leaders customarily met at Lung-ch'eng 龍 or 籠城 (cf. *HFHD* II, p. 43 and p. 44, end of note 78; de Groot, *Urkunden* I, p. 59, 103 and esp. 167, believed that "the walled town of Lung" was situated on the Ongin-River in Mongolia).

[385] For Sai 塞 see above, note 210.

[386] For the Suspended Crossing see above, note 169.

Later, when the *K'un-mo* of Wu-sun attacked and defeated the Ta Yüeh-chih, the Ta Yüeh-chih migrated to the west and subjugated the 2B
Ta Hsia;[387] and the K'un-mo of Wu-sun took up his residence here. It is said: "For this reason, among the people of Wu-sun there are [elements of] the Sai race and the Ta Yüeh-chih race."

Formerly Chang Ch'ien had said: "Originally the Wu-sun [people] dwelt together with the Ta Yüeh-chih in the area of Tun-huang;[388] although they are now strong and great, it would be suitable to offer them generous presents so as to induce them to turn east and take
2A up residence in their former lands, and to give them a princess in marriage, so as to establish brotherly relations and in order to restrain the Hsiung-nu." These events are described in the biography of Chang Ch'ien.[389]

Emperor Wu forthwith[390] ordered [Chang] Ch'ien to go [to Wu-sun] with presents of gold and valuables. The *K'un-mo* received [Chang]
2A Ch'ien with ceremonial such as that [used for receiving] a *Shan-yü*. Greatly mortified, [Chang] Ch'ien said: "The Son of Heaven has

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[387] Ta Hsia, 大夏, GSR 317a and 36a: d'âd/d'âd or t'âd/t'âi-g'å/γa. Haloun (1926), pp. 136, 201-202, has made it clear that the term Ta Hsia originally referred to a mythical or fabulous people, vaguely located in the North (but eventually shifted to the West and even to the South). He states that it was Chang Ch'ien personally who identified the Bactrians with the Ta Hsia, the westernmost people he knew, but that he did not use the words *ta* and *hsia* to reproduce their actual name. Haloun rightly stresses this last point, viz. that the pronunciation of this old-established, mythological term need not have been anything like an approximation of the name of the actual country. Henri Maspero completely endorses Haloun's views in his review of the latter's work in *JA* 1927, pp. 144-152.

[388] Tun-huang in this context refers to the area, or to the ancient "state", and not, of course, to the commandery of the same name established there nearly a century later; cf. note 40.

[389] *HSPC* 61.4a-5b; the long account given there is summarised here, in *HS* 96, in not quite three lines.

[390] *Chi* 即 "forthwith", omitting *wei* 位, which is obviously a *lapsus calami*, for emperor Wu had *chi wei* "ascended the throne" more than twenty years before the events described here. It is practically impossible to determine the exact date of this journey for lack of indications. *HSPC* 61.4a places Chang Ch'ien's interviews with emperor Wu after the campaigns of Huo Ch'ü-ping in 119 B.C.; this is the last effective date provided by the text. On p. 5b Chang Ch'ien's appointment as Leader of the Palace Courtiers, *chung-lang chiang*, is mentioned, but no date is given. The next fixed date is that of Chang Ch'ien's appointment as Superintendent of State Visits, *ta hsing*, which *HSPC* 19B.19b places in 115 B.C., whereas *HS* 61 merely says that he received this appointment after his return. This means that the journey to the Wu-sun must have taken place between 119 B.C., or, more likely, the spring of 118 B.C., and 115 B.C., when Chang Ch'ien was definitely back in China. Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 656, places the whole story — interviews with the emperor, mission to Wu-sun, and return — in the year 115 B.C.

sent some gifts, and unless the king makes obeisance, I shall return with them [to Han]." The *K'un-mo* stood up and made obeisance, and the other [parts of the ceremonial were continued] as formerly.

Initially, the *K'un-mo* had over ten sons. The *Ta-lu*,[391] whose place 3A
was in the middle of this group, was a man of valour and a skilful leader, and he had led over ten thousand horsemen away to take up his abode separately. The elder brother of the *Ta-lu* was heir apparent [to the *K'un-mo*] and he had a son who bore the title *Ts'en-tsou*.[392] The heir apparent, who had died while still young, had said to the *K'un-mo* "You must without fail appoint the *Ts'en-tsou* as heir", and in his sorrow the *K'un-mo* had promised to do this. Enraged, the *Ta-lu* thereupon collected his brothers and led a large group of the people in revolt, planning to attack the *Ts'en-tsou*. The *K'un-mo* ordered him to take up residence separately; the *K'un-mo* himself retained over ten thousand horsemen as a measure of self-defence. The state was divided into three parts, being on the whole tied and subject to the *K'un-mo*.

Having delivered the [imperial] presents, [Chang] Ch'ien gave [the *K'un-mo*] a message of guidance from the Han emperor, saying: "If the [people of] Wu-sun are able to move east and dwell in their former lands, then Han will send a princess to be [the *K'un-mo's*] 2B wife, and a fraternal alliance will be formed; we will together stand against the Hsiung-nu who will not be hard to defeat".[393]

Wu-sun thought that Han was remote, and had no informed idea of *2B* its size. Moreover [Wu-sun] was close to the Hsiung-nu, to whom it had been subject for a long period. None of the senior officials of Wu-sun wished to move. The *K'un-mo* was old; and, the state being divided, he was unable to exercise complete and single control. So he sent out envoys to escort [Chang] Ch'ien [back], and to take the opportunity to present the emperor with horses, numbered by the ten, and to reply

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[391] For this title see above, note 379.

[392] Ts'en-tsou (or chü), 岑陬 or, acc. to *SC* 123.28, 娶, GSR 651t, 1311 and e (*SC*): ngiəm/ngiəm (or -/ts'iəm or -/dz'iəm) - tsu/tsəu (or *SC*: ts'iu/ts'iu).

[393] Our translation of the final passage 匈奴不足破也 has been inspired by two similar passages which contain the same rather unexpected terminology. The first occurs in Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC* 21, p. 3125; it reports that a certain general was "brave but a poor tactician, whereas his troops were hungry and tired, so that, in spite of the excellence of their equipment, this was nearly useless, and that consequently they were not hard to defeat", 勇而無謀其士卒飢疲甲兵雖精其實難用不足破也. The second occurs in *Jung-chai hsü-pi* 6.14a: "People with insight know that the rebels will not be hard to defeat" 識者知賊不足破. The more usual formula is 不足患 or 憂, "not worth fearing or worrying about".

[to his message] with apologies. The *K'un-mo*'s envoys returned to their state after observing the large numbers of the Han people and the abundance of Han's wealth; and thereafter the state's appreciation of Han was considerably enhanced.

Hearing that Wu-sun was in contact with Han, the Hsiung-nu grew angry and wished to attack. Moreover, when[394] the Han envoys to 3B
Wu-sun came to leave thence by the south, they made their way to Ta Yüan and the Yüeh-chih continuously without interruption.[395] Wu-sun now grew apprehensive, and sent envoys with presents of horses [to the emperor], in the hope of obtaining a princess in marriage and of forming a fraternal alliance. The Son of Heaven asked his attendant officials for their views. They advised that [the request of Wu-sun] should be granted, with the stipulation that only when the marriage gifts had been delivered to the court should a girl be sent. Wu-sun provided a marriage gift of 1000 horses; and during the *Yüan-feng* period [110-105 B.C.] Han sent Hsi-chün,[396] daughter of [Liu] Chien, king[397] of Chiang-tu, as a princess to wed [the *K'un-mo*].

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[394] The *HSPC* 96B.3b, line 1 reads 迺出其南, whereas the corresponding *SC* passage (123.23 Tak. ed) has 若. However, the *SC chi-chieh* commentary quotes Hsü Kuang who cites the *Han-shu* as reading 及. The latter must be the correct reading, which became corrupted to 乃, the word found in all *HS* versions, except in the archaizing *Chi-ku ko* edition of 1641, and the Wang Hsien-ch'ien edition of 1900, based on the latter, which consistently replaces 乃 by the "archaic" 迺. However, it is to be noted that 及 is occasionally used for 若 as a supposition, "if", e.g. in *Tao-te ching* 13 : 及吾無身: "If I had no body ....".

[395] This refers to Chang Ch'ien sending out many deputy-envoys to Ta Yüan, K'ang-chü, Yüeh-chih and Ta Hsia, as reported in greater detail in *HSPC* 61.5b-6a. — Tarn (1951), p. 342, says that some time after 114 B.C. "China succeeded in securing ... a perpetual alliance with the Yueh-chi", based on a mistranslation by Wylie (part 2, p. 85) of 相屬不絕 (actually "continuously without interruption") by "forming a perpetual alliance". 相屬 — but not 不絕 — occurs also in *SC* 123.23, but de Groot neglects these words in *Urkunden* II, p. 28. So Tarn, p. 342, note 1, is right when he says that de Groot "neither translated nor noticed the passage", but unfortunately Tarn was misled by Wylie's mistake.

[396] Liu Hsi-chün 劉細君 was the daughter of Liu Chien 建, king of Chiang-tu between 127 and 121 B.C. The latter, whom Wilbur (1943), p. 316, rightly calls "incestuous, unspeakably cruel and perverted", committed suicide in 121 B.C. when his rebellious plots, quite apart from his cruelties, were discovered. His queen who had indulged in witchcraft directed against the emperor (cf. Loewe (1969), was executed, as were an unknown number of other persons (*HSPC* 53.5a ff.; cf. *RHL* I, p. 162, sub 3). The kingdom of Chiang-tu was in the area of modern Yang-chou, cf. *HFHD* I, map. sq. H4.

[397] *Wang* 王 or king was the ancient Chinese title of the supreme ruler of the community. Abolished after the unification of China in 221 B.C. and the adoption of the title *huang-ti*, "emperor", the title of king was reintroduced in 202 or 201 B.C.

The presents included imperial carriages, wearing apparel and equipment for imperial use. There was established for her an official staff, and a complement of several hundred eunuchs and serving attendants,[398] and she was sent off with a very rich store of gifts. The *K'un-mo* of Wu-sun appointed her to be a Lady of the Right.[399] The
3A Hsiung-nu similarly sent a girl to be a wife for the K'un-mo, who 4A
appointed her to be a Lady of the Left.[400]

When the princess reached the state [of Wu-sun], she had buildings
3A constructed for her residence. Once or twice a year she had a meeting with the *K'un-mo*, when a banquet was set out, and she presented the noblemen who attended the king with valuables and silk. The *K'un-mo* was old, and [he and the princess] had no verbal communication. In her deep sorrow the princess composed a song[401] for herself, which ran :

> My family sent me off to be married on the other side of heaven;
> They sent me a long way to a strange land, to the king of Wu-sun.
> A domed lodging is my dwelling place, with walls made of felt;
> Meat is my food,[402] with fermented milk[403] as the sauce.

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for rulers of large parts of China under the supreme ruler or emperor. Under the Han, it became the rule that only sons of emperors (and the heirs of kings) could become king. Initially, the kings had great powers, but after the rebellion of the Seven Kings in 154 B.C., these were practically abolished, the kingdoms being administered on their behalf by imperially appointed officials. See Hulsewé, (1962), pp. 525-532, and, in greater detail, Kamada (1962), pp. 152-164, sect. II, ch. 1, "The official organisation of the kingdoms" 王國之官制 ; pp. 188-231, ch. 3, "The Han court's repressive policy against the kingdoms", 漢朝の王國抑損策; and pp. 244-272, ch. 4, "The kingdoms during the Later Han", 後漢の王國.

[398] Serving attendant, *shih-yü* 侍御; cf. Wilbur (1943), pp. 70-71 and 377.

[399] *Yu fu-jen* 右夫人. *Fu-jen* is a general term for members of the imperial harem (*HSPC* 97A.2a) and for wives of nobles (*HSPC* 4.13a, cf. *HFHD* I, p. 250).

[400] The Hsiung-nu seem to have esteemed the left higher than the right (the heir-apparent was 左屠耆王 "*t'u-ch'i* king of the left", *HSPC* 94A.7a; for *t'u-ch'i*, perhaps "the ancestral form of Turkish *tegin*, "prince", see Pulleyblank (1963), pp. 123 and 257), and the Wu-sun seem to have done the same; being under the control of the Hsiung-nu, the woman they had given him in marriage necessarily became the First (Left) Lady, whereas the Chinese "princess" had to be content with the second place, viz. on the right.

[401] For this type of verse see J. P. Diény, *Aux sources de la poésie chinoise* (Leiden, Brill; 1968), p. 45-46. This poem has been translated by Watson (1962), p. 288.

[402] Wang Nien-sun shows by means of quotations of this poem in 7th century literature, that the initial 以 in this phrase is a later addition; this does not alter the sense nor our translation.

[403] *Lo* 酪, GSR 766p : glâk/lâk, "soured or fermented milk, yoghurt", see Pulleyblank (1963), p. 253 f. ; p. 250 : this "typical milk of the nomads can have nothing to do with *arrack*, *raki*, *araki*, as Karlgren (1926), p. 138, thought".

I live with constant thoughts of my home, my heart is full of sorrow;
I wish I were a golden swan,[404] returning to my home country.

When the Son of Heaven heard this, he felt pity for her, and every other year sent envoys carrying drapes, brocades and embroideries to supply her needs.

The *K'un-mo* was old and wished to have his grandson the *Ts'en-tsou* married to the princess. However, she would not consent, and sent a written message to [the emperor] describing the state of affairs. The Son of Heaven replied "You should follow the customs of the state. 4B
I wish to make common cause with Wu-sun to destroy the Hsiung-nu". The *Ts'en-tsou* then took the princess as a wife; and when the *K'un-mo* died, the *Ts'en-tsou* was established in his place.

3B 3B It is said: "[The term] *Ts'en tsou* is the title of an office, and the man's name was Chün-hsü-mi.[405] [The term] *K'un-mo* is the title of the king, whose name was Lieh-ch'iao-mi.[406] Hereafter [the term] will be written *K'un-mi*."[407]

The *Ts'en-tsou* was married to the princess of Chiang-tu, and she bore one daughter named Shao-fu.[408] At the death of the princess, Han for a second time appointed a princess to be wife of the *Ts'en-tsou*, in the person of Chieh-yu, granddaughter of Wu, king of Ch'u.[409] Ni-mi,[410] son of the *Ts'en-tsou*'s nomad wife, was still young, and when the *Ts'en-tsou* was about to die, he made over his state to Weng-kuei-mi,[411] son of his father's younger brother the *Ta-lu*, saying that the state was to be given to Ni-mi as soon as he reached majority. After his accession Weng-kuei-mi was called Fei, (the Fat)[412] king;

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[404] "Golden", lit. yellow swan 黃鵠; see *HFHD* II, p. 153, note 2.2.

[405] Chün-hsü-mi 軍須靡, GSR 458a, 133a and 17h: kịwən/kịuən - sịu/sịu - mia/mjię. — The names of all Wu-sun rulers end in *mi*; Pulleyblank (1963), p. 227 and (1966), p. 29, reconstructing as the "Middle Chinese" and "Old Chinese" pronunciation of this word mie' < *mïaδ, suggests that this "may be Tocharian A *wäl*, B *walo*, 'king'".

[406] Lieh-ch'iao-mi 獵驕靡, GSR 637e, 1138o and 17h: lịap/lịăp - kịog/kiău (χịog/χiău) - mia/mjię.

[407] For K'un-mi see above, note 377.

[408] Shao-fu 少夫 would seem to be a normal Chinese name; for completeness' sake we add the pronunciation: GSR 1149e and 101a: śịog/śịău - pịwo/pịu.

[409] Liu Wu劉戊, king of Ch'u 楚, between 174 and 154 B.C., when he committed suicide due to the failure of the rebellion of the kings in which he had participated; cf. *HSPC* 36.3b and *HSPC* 5.4a-b, *HFHD* I, p. 314. See also note 397.

[410] Ni-mi 泥靡, GSR 563d and 17h: niər/niei - mia/mjię.

[411] Weng-kuei-mi 翁歸靡, GSR 1173g (?), 570a and 17h: (?)*ung/*ung - kịwər/kjwẹi - mia/mjię.

[412] The Fat king, Fei wang 肥王; as Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 599, remarks, the "Fat king" and the "Mad king" (see below) were names used by the Chinese.

in his turn he was wedded to Chieh-yu princess of Ch'u, who bore three sons and two daughters. The eldest son was called Yüan-kuei-mi;[413] the second, by name Wan-nien,[414] became king of So-chü; 5A
and the third, by name Ta-lo,[415] was Supreme Leader of the Left. Ti-shih,[416] the elder daughter, became the wife of Chiang-pin,[417] king of Ch'iu-tzu, and Su-kuang,[418] the younger daughter, became the wife of the *Hsi-hou*[419] Jo-hu.[420]

In the time of Emperor Chao, the princess sent a written message [to the emperor] saying: "the Hsiung-nu have called out cavalry to work the land at Chü-shih;[421] Chü-shih and the Hsiung-nu are
4A forming a single unit to attack Wu-sun in concert; only the Son of Heaven is in a position to save Wu-sun". Han was rearing horses for military [use];[422] and after taking counsel [the government] decided
4A to attack the Hsiung-nu, but at that juncture Emperor Chao died.

As soon[423] as Emperor Hsüan had acceded to the throne, the princess and the *K'un-mi* both sent envoys with letters saying: "The Hsiung-nu have time and again sent out large forces to penetrate and attack Wu-sun and have taken the lands of Chü-yen[424] and Wu-shih,[425] removing the inhabitants. They have sent envoys ordering

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[413] Yüan-kuei-mi, 元貴靡, GSR 257a, 5401 and 17h: ngi̯wăn/ngi̯wɐn-ki̯wəd/kjwe̯i-mie/mji̯ę.

[414] See note 366.

[415] Ta-lo大樂, GSR 317a and 1125a: d'âd/d'âi or t'âd/t'âi-glâk/lâk or nglôg/ngau, "Great Joy". In spite of its being meaningful, this name does not appear to be Chinese, similar constructions being unknown.

[416] Ti-shih弟史, GSR 591a and 975a: d'iər/d'iei-sli̯əg/si̯.

[417] Chiang-pin 絳賓, GSR (1015?) and 389a: (kộng/kang?)-pi̯ĕn/pi̯ĕn. — We have failed to find *chiang* in GSR; Karlgren (1923), no. 351, provides the "ancient" pronunciation kång; by analogy with GSR 1015a and d, the "archaic" pronunciation should be kộng.

[418] Su-kuang 素光, GSR 68a and 706a: so/suo-kwâng/kwâng, might perhaps be a Chinese name: "plain-silk brilliance".

[419] For hsi-hou = *yabghu* see above, note 288.

[420] Jo-hu若呼, GSR 777a and 55h: ńi̯ak/ńzi̯ak-g'o/γuo.

[421] For Chü-shih see below, note 618.

[422] 士馬 not "soldiers a n d horses", but "soldiers' horses", cf. *HSPC* 24B.12b: 漢軍士馬死者十餘萬匹. "The soldiers' horses of the Han troops that died were over 100.000 head", where the last word "head", 匹 is conclusive (cf. Swann (1950), p. 274).

[423] *HSPC* 70.2a dates the next event more precisely at 72 B.C. and includes the further detail that Ch'ang Hui was sent in that year as an envoy to Wu-sun.

[424] Chü-yen車延, GSR 74a and 203c: kio/kiwo or t'i̯å/tś'i̯a-di̯an/i̯än. The same information occurs in *HSPC* 70.2a and 94BA.29a, *Urkunden* I, p. 192f., where de Groot identifies this place with Kucha.

[425] Wu (or O) -shih 惡師, GSR 805h and 559a: âk/âk or *âg/*uo-si̯ər/si̯. The

Wu-sun to bring the princess with all speed, and they wish [Wu-sun] to sever relations with Han.[426] The *K'un-mi* is willing to put half the state's best troops in the field; he will himself produce 50000 cavalry, men and horse, and will exert his strength to the utmost to attack the Hsiung-nu.[427] It rests only with the Son of Heaven to send out a force so as to save the princess and the *K'un-mi*."

Han called out a large force which amounted to 150000 cavalry, with five generals setting out by separate routes at the same time. 5B
A description is given in the chapter on the Hsiung-nu.[428] Ch'ang Hui,[429] a colonel, was sent with emblems of authority to act as protector of the forces of Wu-sun. The *K'un-mi* took personal command of 50000 cavalry [led by] the *Hsi-hou*, and lesser [officers], and made his way from the western side into the court of the Lu-li king of the right.[430] He took prisoner a paternal relative of the *Shan-yü* and his sister-in-law, noble women, famous kings, and 40000 men including the commandant of Li-wu,[431] chiefs of the thousands

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commentators do not indicate which pronunciation of 惡 was intended (*HSPC* 17.11b; 70.2b); de Groot identifies it with Aqsu (*Urkunden* I, p. 192f.).

[426] A practically identical version of this passage occurs in the biography of Ch'ang Hui, *HS* 70.2b-3a.

[427] Cf. *HSPC* 8,6a *HFHD* II, p. 211-212; cf. also *HSPC* 94A.29aff., *Urkunden* I, 192ff., which contains a detailed description of the campaign.

[428] Cf. *HSPC* 94A.29aff., *Urkunden* I, p. 192, and *HSPC* 8.5b-6a, *HFHD* II, p. 211ff.

[429] For Ch'ang Hui see *HSPC* 70.2b-3b, and 17.28b, and cf. *Urkunden* I, pp. 197-199. He was ennobled on a day corresponding with 23 May 70 B.C. and died aged about 80 in 47 B.C. He held the post of Superintendent of the Dependent States (*Tien shu-kuo*) for periods which are unidentified.

[430] The Right Lu-li King, 右谷蠡王. Fu Ch'ien in commenting *HSPC* 8.20b says that 谷, normally *ku*, is to be pronounced like 鹿, i.e. *lu* (adopted by Dubs, *HFHD* II, p. 253 and note 20.7), and it is in fact the latter character that is used in *HHSCC* Mem. 70A.3b. Lu-li is GSR 1209a and 1241o: luk/luk -/liei or -/luâ, whereas ku-li would have been GSR 1202a and 1241o: kuk/kuk--/liei or -/luâ. For this campaign see *Urkunden* I, pp. 190 and 197; it is mentioned in the very brief survey of the most salient facts of Han history contained in the poem on the capital composed shortly after A.D. 44 by Tu Tu 杜篤; see *HHSCC* Mem. 70A.3b.

[431] 單于父行及嫂居次名王. *Fu-hang* has been translated as "paternal relative", i.e. a member of the generation of the father — of the *shan-yü*, in view of *SC* 120.15 (*HSPC* 50.15a) 大父行, "members of the generation of his grandfather". *Sou* 嫂 we have taken literally; *chü-tz'u* (GSR 49c[1] and 555a: kịo/kịwo-ts'iər/ts'i) is the title for wives of kings and nobles, acc. to *HSPC* 94B.9b, hence our translation "noble women".

Famous kings名王. "Famous" 名 is not, as might be believed as first sight, a mistake for 右 "Right", for it occurs also in the extract of the decree of investiture of Ch'ang Hui in *HSPC* 17.28b. The term recurs in *HSPC* 8.17b and 8.20a (*HFHD* II.

and leaders of cavalry, in addition to over 700000 head of horse,
4B cattle, sheep, asses and camels. The [men of] Wu-sun themselves took all their booty away, and on his return [Ch'ang] Hui was invested with the title of noble of Ch'ang-lo; [these events occurred] in the third year of [the reign-period] *Pen-shih* [71 B.C.].

4B Han sent [Ch'ang] Hui with gold and valuables as presents for the Wu-sun noblemen who had served with merit. In the second year of the [reign period] *Yüan-k'ang* [64 B.C.] the *K'un-mi* of Wu-sun 6A availed himself [of the services of Ch'ang] Hui to send a letter [to the emperor.] He wished to have Yüan-kuei-mi, whose grandmother had been of Han, appointed as his heir, and to be able to bring about a further marriage with a Han princess so as to strengthen family ties. He would turn his back [on former loyalties] and make a complete break with the Hsiung-nu, and would be willing to provide marriage gifts of a thousand horses and mules each. It was commanded that the senior ministers of state should consider the matter. Hsiao Wang-chih,[432] the Superintendent of State visits,[433] took the view that Wu-sun was situated in a remote, isolated region; it would therefore be difficult to guard against untoward events, and [the request] should not be granted. The emperor thought highly of the great service recently rendered by the Wu-sun, and, moreover, took a serious view of relinquishing the work of his forebears.[434] So he sent an envoy to go to Wu-sun, to take prior delivery of the marriage gifts. The *K'un-mi* and the heir apparent, together with the supreme leaders of 6B the Left and the Right and the commandant all sent an embassy, consisting of altogether more than 300 persons, to come to Han to fetch the princess[435] for her marriage. The emperor thereupon ap-

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pp. 243 and 251); on its first occurrence Yen Shih-ku explains, that the term means kings who had a great reputation 大名, to distinguish them from lesser kings (*HFHD* II.243, note 17.10). Li-wu 犁汙 acc. to GSR 519g and 97b[1] is pronounced; liər/liei-•wo/•uo. It is to be noted that *HSPC* 70.3b omits the words 犁汙 and 都尉千長.

[432] For the place of Hsiao Wang-chih (c. 110-46 B.C.) in Han politics and his attitude to contemporary controversies see Loewe (1974), pp. 147-149 and 158f. He was appointed *ta hung lu* in 61 B.C.; his advice on the Hsiung-nu - Wu-sun problem is given in extenso in *HSPC* 78.6a-b.

[433] For this post see above, note 83.

[434] 故業, is "the ancient heritage", "the legacy of one's forebears", in other words: the work of the former emperors. The latter, i.e. in particular emperor Wu, had established and consolidated relations with Wu-sun; hence emperor Hsüan "took a serious view of relinquishing the ancient heritage".

[435] Here, as well as in *HS* 78.6a-b, the text does not contain the normal word for "princess", viz. *kung-chu* 公主, but the term 少主, which Su Lin explains as 皇室女

pointed Hsiang-fu,[436] [daughter of] the younger brother of Chieh-yu, princess of Wu-sun, to be the princess. He established an official staff and a complement of over 100 serving attendants, who were lodged in the Shang-lin [Park][437] to study the language of Wu-sun. The emperor attended in person at the P'ing-lo Lodge.[438] He called a meeting of the Hsiung-nu envoys and the leading chiefs of the outer states, and after a display of wrestling[439] and a musical entertainment sent the party on their way.

[Ch'ang Hui] noble of Ch'ang-lo[440] and cousellor of the Palace[441]
5A was appointed deputy [envoy][442] and altogether four men bearing credentials escorted the princess as far as Tun-huang. But before they had passed beyond the defence lines it was reported that Weng-kuei-mi, the *K'un-mi* of the Wu-sun, had died, and that the noblemen of Wu-sun had together complied with the original agreement, establishing Ni-mi, son of the *Ts'en-tsou*, to be *K'un-mi* in his place; he

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"a woman (girl) of the imperial house", in other words, a girl of the Liu clan, and not necessarily the daughter of an emperor.

[436] Hsiang-fu 相夫, looks like a Chinese name; in view of other possibilities we provide the pronunciation, GSR 731a and 101a: siang/siang-piwo/piu. In view of the context she was the great-granddaughter of the king of Ch'u, Liu Wu; see note 409. The *Ching-yu* ed. omits the word 子, "child", c.q. "daughter".

[437] Shang-lin park 上林苑, an extensive area, originally established as the emperor's hunting ground by emperor Wu, with palaces and lodges; see Hervouet (1964), pp. 222-231. It was celebrated in verse i.a. by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (179-117 B.C.); see von Zach (1958), vol. I, p. 108f. and Hervouet (1972), p. 57-142; cf. also *HSPC* 19A.19b for its organisation.

[438] P'ing-lo kuan 平樂觀, the Lodge of Peace and Joy, was one of the establishments in the Shang-lin Park; cf. above, notes 113 and 344.

[439] *Chiao-ti* 角抵, usually rendered by "wrestling" or "competitive games". The annals report the holding of *chiao-ti* games at court, as well as their abolition in 44 B.C. (see e.g. *HSPC* 6.27b and 9.6a; *HFHD* II.92 and 314). For an attempt at description see Dubs *HFHD* II. pp. 129-131; Bishop (1926), p. 452; Rudolph (1960), p. 241f., and Diény (1968), p. 58f.

[440] As Ch'ien Ta-chao rightly points out, 廬 of the text should be corrected to 羅 in view of *HSPC* 17.28b, 70.3a and 94A.29a.

[441] *Ta-fu* 大夫, lit. "great men"; Dubs, *HFHD passim* renders this term as "Grandee". In the Han institutions there were various types of *ta-fu*, which we have rendered as "counsellor". These included *kuang-lu ta-fu* (*kuang* 光, "glorious" 祿 *lu*, "with rank-and-emoluments"), called *Chung ta-fu* 中大夫, "counsellor of the palace" before 104 B.C., and e.g. *chien* 諫, lit. "admonitory", *ta-fu*, whom we call "political counsellors". For further details see *HSPC* 19A.8b-9a, and cf. Wang Yü-ch'üan (1949), p. 153. The Ching-yu edition omits the name Hui 惠.

[442] No reason is given in the text to explain why Ch'ang Hui was appointed deputy and not chief envoy.

was entitled *K'uang* (the mad)[443] king. [Ch'ang] Hui reported in writing [to the emperor] suggesting that the princess should be detained at Tun-huang and that he himself should proceed on horseback with all speed to Wu-sun, where he would reproach [the noblemen] for not establishing Yüan-kuei-mi as the *K'un-mi*; he would then return and fetch the princess. The matter was referred to the senior ministers of 7A
state, and [Hsiao] Wang-chih again took the view that Wu-sun's attitude was equivocal, and that it was impossible to enter into an agreement with [that state]. Previously a princess had been in Wu-sun for over forty years; [in spite of] the favour and kindness [shown to Wu-sun], an intimate friendship had not been created and the border lands had not attained a state of peace. This was the evidence of the events of the past; the return of the princess at the present juncture, when Yüan-kuei-mi had not been established [as *K'un-mi*], would involve no breach of faith towards the barbarians and would be a fortunate matter for China. But if the princess were not kept back,
5B conscripts would be called up for service ...[444] such actions starting from this incident.

The emperor followed this advice, and summoned the princess for recall. The Mad king was in his turn married to Chieh-yu, princess of Ch'u, who bore one son Ch'ih-mi.[445] [The Mad king] did not live in a state of amity with the princess; in addition he was oppressive and wicked and lost the goodwill of the people. When the Han envoy, the guards' major Wei Ho-i[446] and the deputy,[447] the captain Jen Ch'ang, escorted [back to Wu-sun] the son who had served as an attendant [in Han],[448] the princess said that the Mad king was a source of distress and suffering to Wu-sun and could easily be punished.
5B A plot was then laid for a banquet to be set out; at the conclusion of the gathering a soldier was to be sent in to draw his sword and

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[443] The Mad King 狂王; this, like the Fat King (see note 412) was undoubtedly a Chinese apellation.

[444] The text seems to be incomplete in view of the *non-sequitur*; it is to be noted, however, that the Chinese commentators have no remarks to make and that the identical passage-again uncommented- occurs in Hsiao Wang-chih's biography, *HSPC* 78.6b.

[445] Ch'ih-mi 鴟靡, *GSR* 590s and 17h : t'i̯ər/tś'i - mia/mji̯ę.

[446] Nothing further is known about Wei Ho-i.

[447] He was *fu* 副, Assistant to the main person in charge, viz. Wei Ho-i. Nothing further is known about Jen Ch'ang.

[448] Although there is no previous mention of the Wu-sun sending a son of the ruler to the capital, this passage shows that they, like the other kingdoms, sent sons of the ruler to the Chinese court as hostages; cf. above, note 101.

strike the king. The sword [struck him] on his side, and the Mad king, though wounded, mounted his horse and galloped off. His son Hsi-shen-sou[449] assembled troops and surrounded [Wei] Ho-i, [Jen] Ch'ang and the princess in the town of Ch'ih-ku. Several months later Cheng Chi, the protector general, called out forces of the various states to relieve them, and they were then set free. Han sent Chang Tsun, leader of the gentlemen of the palace,[450] to take medicines to cure the Mad king and to give him a present of 20 *chin* of gold and coloured silks. Using the opportunity to take [Wei] Ho-i and [Jen] Ch'ang in custody, he had 7B
them bound in chains and sent in a criminals' van[451] from Wei-li to Ch'ang-an, where they were beheaded. Chang Weng, aide-in-chief of the general of chariots and cavalry (*chü-ch'i*)[452] was left to investigate the case of the plot of the princess and the envoys to kill the Mad king. The princess did not admit to the charge[453] and, striking her head on the ground, denied complicity. Chang Weng seized her head by the hair and roundly reviled her. The princess sent in a written report, and on his return [Chang] Weng was brought up on a charge and put to death.

Chi Tu, a deputy envoy, separately brought a physician to attend the Mad king, who, accompanied by over ten horsemen, escorted him back. On his return [Chi] Tu was charged with knowing that the Mad king merited[454] punishment by death and failing to take any action, despite seeing an opportunity to do so. He was sent down to the silk-worm house [for castration].[455]

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[449] Hsi-shen-sou 細沈瘦: GSR 1241b, 656b and 1097i: -/siei-d'i̯əm/d̂'i̯əm (or śi̯əm/śi̯əm or t̂'i̯əm/tś'i̯əm)-si̯ôg/si̯əu.

[450] *Chung-lang chiang* 中郎將, "leader or general 將, of the Palace 中 Gentlemen-in waiting *lang*"; these *lang* were men — mostly, but not necessarily, young men — who served in the offices of the palace, hence their name; see *HSPC* 19A.9b, and Yen Keng-wang (1951). Chang Tsun is further unknown.

[451] For this type of vehicle see Goodrich (1975).

[452] *Chü-ch'i chiang-chün chang-shih* 車騎將軍長史. Some of the "army leaders" or generals, 將軍, were posts created for a special campaign, others were established permanently. The one in question, viz. the General of Chariots and Cavalry, ranked third in the hierarchy. All generals had a *chang-shih* "senior scribe" in their staff, see *HSPC* 19A.6b. For the development of the command structure during the Former Han see Ōba (1968). The war-chariot was no longer used since early Han times (see Yang Hung 1977, p. 89), but the ancient title remained unchanged. — Chang Weng is further unknown.

[453] For *fu* 服 "to admit (to the charge)", in other words: to confess, see *RHL* I, p. 77.

[454] For this translation of *tang* 當, see *RHL* I, pp. 80-81.

[455] For this punishment see *RHL* I, p. 127. Chi Tu is further unknown.

At the time when the Mad king had been wounded, Wu-chiu-t'u,[456] son of Weng-kuei-mi the Fat king and his nomad wife, had been frightened, and had made off with the various *Hsi-hou* to live in the northern hills. He gave out that Hsiung-nu troops of his mother's
6A family were coming, and as a result large numbers attached themselves to his cause. In a surprise attack he later killed the Mad king and set himself up as *K'un-mi*. Han sent Hsin Wu-hsien,[457] general of the P'o-ch'iang (conquest of the Ch'iang), to lead a force of 15000 men to Tun-huang; and messengers were sent to reconnoitre, mark out the courses and dig [for water] to the west of the Pei-ti-hou wells.[458] 8A
They wished to construct water-channels[459] for the transport of grain, so that this could be accumulated and stored in the Chü-lu Granary[460] in order to defeat [Wu-chiu-t'u].

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[456] Wu-chiu-t'u 烏就屠, GSR 61a, 1093a and 45i[1] : *o/*ou - dz'iôg/dz'i̯ə̯u - d'o/d'uo. For a reference to Wu-chiu-t'u in Han archive material, see *RHA* II, p. 245f.

[457] For Hsin Wu-hsien 辛武賢, a military officer during the first half of the first century B.C. especially active in fighting the Ch'iang see *HS* 69. As indicated by Shih Chih-mien (1961), p. 350, these events occurred in 55 B.C.

[458] Pei-ti-hou Wells 卑鞮侯井. A *hou* is a defence post, either a small fort or a watchtower. Pei-ti is evidently a non-Chinese word, pronounced, acc. to GSR 874a and 866h (and 113e) pi̯ĕg/pji̯e - tieg/tiei or d'ieg/d'iei. (-g'u/γəu, in case *hou* belongs to the name). Wang Kuo-wei (*Kuan*) 17.5a, believed these wells to be identical with the Well(s) of the Protector General, 都護井 mentioned in the *Wei-lüeh*; see Chavannes (1905), p. 529, who adds no remarks.

[459] The text reads 欲通渠轉穀. Usage in *HSPC* 29.3a-4b shows that 通渠 or 通溝 is the technical term for "to dig (or construct) canals". Meng K'ang believed that the words "West of the Pei-ti-hou Wells" referred to "the Six Communicating Canals of Ta-ching" 大井六通渠 and Hsü Sung believed he could identify these with remains visible in the Hala-nor area where, early in the 19th century, six canals ran from the Tang 黨 River to the Su-lo. But this is conjectural.

Wang Kuo-wei wrote a study, called 西域井渠考, *KTCL* 13.16a, on the "well-canals", about which Pelliot (1929), p. 123f., remarks "Il s'agit de *kārīz*, ou canaux souterrains avec puits creusés de distance à distance, bien connus dans l'Iran, au Turkestan russe et dans la région de Tourfan ... (p. 124) Il n'est pas douteux ... qu'il s'agisse, sous les Han, d'un *kārīz* de la région de Touen-houang dans le *Ts'ien Han chou*, 96B.3b", i.e. the passage under review; Pelliot also refers to Chavannes (1905), p. 529. However, it would seem that in the present instance actual canals for the transport of grain are meant.

[460] The Chü-lu Granary, *Chü-lu ts'ang* (GSR 49c[1] and 69q : ki̯o/ki̯wo - li̯o/li̯wo); Wang Kuo-wei, in his Preface to the *Liu-sha chui-chien*, *KTCL* 17.6a, believed this granary to have been situated to the West of the sand dunes of the White Dragon Mounds *Pai-lung tui*, but Enoki (1963), p. 146f., referring to Chavannes (1905), pp. 529-531, has demonstrated that this granary was located to the East of the White Dragon Mounds, between these dunes and the San-lung sha Desert. — Wang Kuo-wei, *KTPCHP* 4b-6b, also shows that, at least since the 2nd century of our era, the term for a large granary was *ti-ko* 邸閣. For Wang Kuo-wei's mistaken identification of Lou-lan and this granary see above, the end of note 77.

Feng Liao, an attendant serving the princess of Ch'u, had been competent at the official style of writing[461] and was well-versed in [official] business. Once, carrying emblems of Han [authority], she had been sent on behalf of the princess to present gifts to the various towns, and all the states held her in esteem and trust. She was entitled
6B 'Lady Feng' and was the wife of the supreme leader of the right of Wu-sun. The supreme leader of the right was an intimate friend of Wu-chiu-t'u; and Cheng Chi, the protector general, sent Lady Feng to urge Wu-chiu-t'u that, as Han troops were about to set out, and that as [the state] would undoubtedly be destroyed, the best thing to do would be to surrender. Wu-chiu-t'u was afraid and said that he would like to have the use of a lesser title. Emperor Hsüan summoned Lady Feng and asked her personally about the situation; and he sent Chu Tz'u,[462] the messenger, with Kan Yen-shou, guardian[463] of the gate, as his deputy, to escort Lady Feng. Lady Feng [rode in] a 8B carriage decked in brocade and carried emblems of authority, and it
6B was commanded that Wu-chiu-t'u should proceed to the Noble of Ch'ang-lo at the town of Ch'ih-ku. Yüan-kuei-mi was established as the Greater *K'un-mi* and Wu-chiu-t'u as the Lesser *K'un-mi*, each one being presented with seals and ribbons. The general of P'o-Ch'iang (conquest of the Ch'iang) returned without having passed outside the defence lines.

Later Wu-chiu-t'u had not made a complete restoration to the *Hsi-hou* of their peoples, and Han again sent [Ch'ang] Hui, noble of Ch'ang-lo, to lead three colonelcies to garrison Ch'ih-ku. He took the opportunity to divide the inhabitants and lands for the Greater *K'un-mi* with over 60000 households and for the Lesser *K'un-mi* with

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[461] 史書 *shih shu*, "the official style of writing"; we prefer this rendering to Dubs' term "clerkly writing", because it is evidently not the style or formation of the characters that are meant, but the style of the language (cf. *HFHD* II, p. 339ff., "The nature of the 'clerkly writing'"). "Competent at the official style of writing" may not have implied much more than the ability to read — and perhaps to write — the documentary style.

[462] 謁者(竺 *recte*) 竺次, "the messenger (Tu *recte*) Chu Tz'u". The *yeh-che* were medium rank ("comparable to 600 bushels") court officials, whose functions were partly that of a receptionist, partly that of a messenger (cf. *HSPC* 19A.10a). — Chu Tz'u is further unknown.

[463] Gentleman-Guardsman of the Gate-Watchers 期門 (郎), one of the military formations of the *lang* or Gentlemen; see *HSPC* 19A.10a-b. — Kan Yen-shou, whose brief biography occurs in *HS* 70.4b-5a, was Protector General during the period 36-34 B.C. During his tenure of office he and Ch'en T'ang defeated the Hsiung-nu leader Chih Chih in 36 B.C. (cf. *HFHD* II, p. 331, Daffinà (1969 : 2) and Loewe (1974), pp. 211-251), for which Kan Yen-shou was ennobled as Noble of I-ch'eng on 14 June 33 B.C. (*HSPC* 17.31a). He died in 24 B.C.

over 40000. However, the affections of the majority lay with the Lesser *K'un-mi*.

Yüan-kuei-mi and Ch'ih-mi both fell ill and died and the princess
7A sent a written report to the effect that she was old and her thoughts were with her homeland, and that she would like to be able to bring her bones back for burial in Han territory. The emperor felt pity for her and had her fetched, and she arrived at the capital city in company with her three grandchildren.[464] These events occurred in the third year of the reign-period *Kan-lu* [51 B.C.].

It is said: "At this time she was approaching seventy years of age, 9A
and she was presented with the lands, residences and slaves usually given to a princess, and treated very generously; and during court audiences the ceremonial position which she occupied was that of a princess.[465] Two years later she died, and her three grandchildren thereupon remained to keep watch over her grave."

Hsing-mi,[466] son of Yüan-kuei-mi, became the Greater *K'un-mi* in his place; but he was weak, and Lady Feng sent a letter suggesting that she should be sent to Wu-sun to support Hsing-mi.[467] Han sent her
7A there with an escort of a hundred conscripts.[468]

Han Hsüan[469] the protector general submitted a statement suggesting that the supreme official, the *Ta-lu*, and the supreme inspector should all be presented with golden seals and purple ribbons,[470] so as to provide honour and support for the Greater *K'un-mi*, and the emperor gave permission for this. Later the protector general Han Hsüan

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[464] Extant editions of *HS* read *Wu-sun*, but it is clear from the subsequent passage, the corresponding passage in *Han-chi* and the citation in *TPYL* that *wu* is an interpolation; for the same phenomenon see note 655.

[465] 朝見儀比公主. The word 儀 *i* here implies the whole sphere of ceremonial and material distinctions, including i.a. dress and its appurtenances, the type of conveyance, the number and kind of accompanying articles and personnel, conduct when appearing before the emperor etc. 比公主 *pi kung-chu*, lit. "comparable to a princess", because she was in fact not the daughter of an emperor.

[466] Hsing-mi 星靡, GSR 812x and 17h: sieng/sieng-mia/mjie.

[467] The *Ching-yu* and the 1739 Palace edition read 靡 instead of 彌.

[468] The word Wu-sun is omitted in the translation, as in the *Ching-yu* and other editions.

[469] Han Hsüan held the post of Protector General between 48 and 46 B.C.

[470] A number of the highest officials as well the kings and nobles in the Chinese empire had gold seals and purple seal ribbons; sometimes gold seals were given to rulers of foreign kingdoms, like the kings of T'ien in present Yünnan province and of ancient Japan. This case appears exceptional in that gold seals are being bestowed on officials below the king. For further information concerning seals and seal cords see notes 117, 492 and 687.

submitted a further statement to the effect that Hsing-mi was cowardly and weak, and that he should be dismissed; he should be replaced as *K'un-mi* by his uncle *Ta-lo*,[471] the supreme leader of the left, but Han did not give permission for this.

Later Tuan Hui-tsung[472] was protector general and recalled those
7B who had fled or rebelled in order to have them settled. At Hsing-mi's 9B
death, his son Tz'u-li-mi[473] took his place, and at the death of Wu-chiu-t'u, the Lesser *K'un-mi*, his son Fu-li[474] took his place. He was killed by his younger brother Jih-erh,[475] and envoys sent by Han established Fu-li's son An-jih[476] as Lesser *K'un-mi*. Jih-erh fled and entrusted himself to K'ang-chü and Han moved the *Chi*[477] colonelcy to garrison Ku-mo,[478] so as to look for a favourable opportunity for attack. An-jih sent Ku-mo-ni[479] and two other noblemen who were to make a pretence of deserting to Jih-erh in order to stab
7B him to death; and Lien Pao[480] the protector general presented Ku-mo-ni and the others each with twenty *chin* of gold and 300 rolls of silk. Later An-jih was killed by some of the people who had surrendered, and Han established his younger brother Mo-chen-chiang[481] in his place. At this time Tz'u-li-mi, the Greater *K'un-mi*, was strong and the *Hsi-hou* all submitted to him in fear. He gave 10A

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[471] As shown by the commentators, especially by Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 600, the word *Ta* has been inadvertently omitted before *lo*; the text of the *Ching-yu* edition (p. 7a) reads 以季父左代將樂大, which is clearly corrupt.

[472] For the biography of Tuan Hui-tsung see *HSPC* 70.19a-21c. He was Protector General twice, the first time as the successor of Kan Yen-shou (see note 463) between 33 and 31 B.C., and again between 21 and 19 B.C.; he was also sent out especially to settle Wu-sun affairs, i.a. in 15 B.C. and 11 B.C. He died at 75 years of age among the Wu-sun, sometime during the last decade of the 1st century B.C.

[473] Tz'u-li-mi 雌栗靡, GSR 358f, 403a and 17h : ts'i̯ăr/ts'i̯ę - li̯ĕt/li̯ĕt - mia/mjie.

[474] Fu-li 拊離, GSR 136g and 23f : p'i̯u/p'i̯u - lia/li̯ę.

[475] Jih-erh 日貳, GSR 404a and 564g : ńi̯ĕt/ńźi̯ĕt - ńiər/ńźi.

[476] An-jih 安日, GSR 146a and 404a : °ân/°ân - ńi̯ĕt/ńźi̯ĕt.

[477] For this post see above, note 63.

[478] For Ku-mo see below, note 497.

[479] Ku-mo-ni 姑莫匿, GSR 49g, 802a and 7771; ko/kuo - mâg/muo or mâk/mâk or măk/mɐk - ni̯ək/ńi̯ək.

[480] Lien Pao was Protector General between 30 and 28 B.C. *HS* carries no biography for Lien Pao but he is probably to be identified with the Lien Pao who held office as Governor of Chin-ch'eng commandery, chief of the Palace Police (14 B.C.) and General of the right (13 B.C.) (*HSPC* 19B.46a). Possibly a second man of this name was involved in politics a few years later (mentioned in *HSPC* 77.7a, 81.17a, cf. 99A.16b, *HFHD* III, p. 182).

[481] Mo-chen-chiang 末振將, GSR 277a, 455p and 727f: mwât/muât - t̂i̯ən/tśi̯ĕn - tsi̯ang/tsi̯ang.

notice that people who herded horses or stock animals should not be ordered to pay herding [dues],[482] and within the state there was greater peace than there had been in the days of Weng-kuei-mi.[483] Mo-chen-chiang the Lesser *K'un-mi* was afraid that he would be taken over and sent Wu-jih-ling[484] a nobleman, to make a pretence of
8A surrendering, so as to stab Tz'u-li-mi to death. Han wished to attack him with troops but was unable to do so. So Tuan Hui-tsung, leader of the gentlemen of the palace, was sent to take gold and valuables, and to plan tactics with the protector general. They established I-ch'ih-mi,[485] grandson of the princess and uncle of Tz'u-li-mi, as Greater *K'un-mi*, and Han took into custody[486] the son of the Lesser *K'un-mi* who was in attendance at the capital city [i.e., Ch'ang-an].

After a long period, Nan-hsi,[487] *Hsi-hou* of the Greater *K'un-mi*, killed Mo-chen-chiang, and An-li-mi,[488] son of Mo-chen-chiang's older brother An-jih, became Lesser *K'un-mi* in his place. Han was angry that he had not personally punished Mo-chen-chiang, and again sent Tuan Hui-tsung on a mission. He promptly killed the heir apparent, 10B
8A F'an-ch'iu,[489] and on his return the rank of *Kuan-nei-hou*[490] was

[482] 告民牧馬畜無使入牧 "that people who herded horses or stock animals should not be ordered to pay herding [dues]". This is a tentative translation, as other interpretations are possible, viz. (1) he warned (the *yabghu*) that people who herded horses and stock-animals must not be made to pay herding [dues], or again (2) that people when herding horses and stock animals should not let (these animals) enter into (the *k'un-mi*'s) pastures.

[483] 國中大安和翁歸靡時. Yen Shih-ku comments: "Better than in the days of Weng-kuei-mi"; this leads Wang Hsien-ch'ien to suggest that 和 is probably an error for 加. Li Tz'u-ming believes 和 to be an error for 如, but this is unlikely, for the days of Weng-kuei-mi were anything but peaceful. Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 600, thinks that the particle 於 used for comparisons has been deliberately omitted as in other examples he cites, but that is not acceptable in view of the syntax, with the "adverbial" use of 大 "greatly". We have followed the oldest explanation, accepting Wang Hsien-ch'ien's suggested emendation.

[484] Wu-jih-ling 烏日領, GSR 61a, 404a and 823f: *o/*uo - ńi̯ĕt/ńźi̯ĕt - li̯ĕng/li̯äng.

[485] I-ch'ih-mi 伊秩靡, GSR 604a, 402f and 17h: *i̯ɛr/*i - d'i̯ĕt/d'i̯ĕt - mia/mi̯ę.

[486] *Mo-ju* 沒入 is normally used for "to confiscate"; it is also sometimes used for persons, as a rule family-members, retainers or servants of a person guilty of a major crime and as such condemmed to death, whereas those who were "confiscated" were reduced to slavery. See Wilbur (1943), p. 72 and note 2.

[487] Nan-hsi, 難栖, GSR 152d and 594f: nân/nân - siər/siei.

[488] An-li-mi 安犁靡, GSR 146a, 519g and 17h: *ân/*ân - liər/liei or li̯ər/lji - mia/mi̯ę.

[489] Fan-ch'iu 番丘, GSR 195b and 994a: p'iwan/p'iwɐn or pwâr/pwâ - k'i̯ŭg/k'i̯əu.

[490] *Kuan-nei hou* 關內侯, "nobles within the passes", the one but highest of the twenty aristocratic ranks. The meaning of this term remains obscure, for the estates that occasionally accompanied this title did not necessarily lie "within the passes", i.e. in present-day Shensi province. The commentators say that the nobles of this type did

conferred upon him. This was in the second year of the reign-period *Yüan-yen* [11 B.C.].

[Tuan] Hui-tsung took the view that although the murder of Mo-chen-chiang by the *Hsi-hou* Nan-hsi had not been directed for the Han cause, the action was tantamount to punishing a criminal. He recommended in a written report that he should be appointed Commandant of Chien-shou (Stout defence).[491] The *Ta-lu*, supreme official and supreme inspectors were asked to explain the circumstances in which Tz'u-li-mi had been killed; their golden seals and purple ribbons were removed from them and replaced by bronze and black [ones].[492]

Pei-yüan-chih,[493] younger brother of Mo-chen-chiang, had originally
8B plotted to kill the Greater *K'un-mi*; and leading a group of over 80000 persons north he attached himself to K'ang-chü. He made plans in the hope of borrowing troops so as to annex [the lands of] the two *K'un-mi*, who were afraid and put their friendship and trust in the protector general.

In the second year of the reign-period *Yüan-shou* of the Emperor Ai [1 B.C.] I-ch'ih-mi the Greater *K'un-mi* paid a visit to the court together with the *Shan-yü*, and Han felt that this was a magnificent 11A
[achievement].[494] In the middle of [the reign-period] *Yüan-shih* [A.D. 1-5], Pei-yüan-chih killed Wu-jih-ling as a means of self-assertion, and Han invested him with the title of noble of Kuei-i (Allegiance

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not receive actual estates, but merely a certain revenue, but this is disproved by the texts. On the other hand, these titles seem to have been inherited only exceptionally; see on this point Makino (1932), p. 261, note 2, and Loewe (1960), p. 152ff.

[491] Commandant of Chien-shou (Stout defence), 堅守都尉. As Hsü Sung rightly remarks, this title was created for the occasion.

[492] All editions read 更與銅墨云, but this makes no sense. Our translation "bronze and *black ones*" is based on our emendation of 墨云 to 黑者; the commentators, ancient and modern, keep silent on this point (but in *HSPC* 36.20b Yeh Te-hui signalizes a similar case; here a parallel in the 說苑 allows him to correct 皆小 into 山步). The kings and a few of the highest ministers had gold seals and purple seal cords, the other ministers and the governors, i.e. incumbents of posts with a salary of 2000 bushels, silver seals and blue-green cords, whereas officials ranked at a salary of 600 bushels and more, including heads of prefectures, had bronze seals with black cords; see *HSPC* 19A.30b-31a and *HHSCC* Tr.30.14bf. See also notes 117 and 470 above.

[493] Pei-yüan-chih 卑爰疐, GSR 874a, 255a and 415a : piĕg/pjię - gi̯wăn/yi̯wɐn - tiĕd/ti̯. As indicated by Hsü Sung, in 5 B.C. Pei-yüan-chih successfully raided the western borderlands of the Hsiung-nu, but eventually sent his son there as a hostage (*HSPC* 94B.11b); this is confirmed by *HSPC* 45.15b-16a, which adds that Pei-yüan-chih was in possession of a horde of 100000 persons. Cf. *Urkunden* I, p. 253ff.

[494] For this event see also *HSPC* 11.81, *HFHD* III, p. 37 and 94B.14bf., *Urkunden* I, p. 261.

to the Right).[495] The two *K'un-mi* were both weak, and Pei-yüan-chih harrassed them; Sun Chien[496] the protector general killed him in a surprise attack.

From the time when Wu-sun was split between the two *K'un-mi*, Han suffered sorrows and troubles and had no years of tranquillity.

8B The state of Ku-mo[497]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Nan,[498] and 11B
is distant by 8150 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 3500 households, 24500 individuals with 4500 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials]: the noble of Ku-mo, the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the commandant, the leaders of the left and the right, the masters of cavalry of the left and the right and two
9A interpreters-in-chief. It is a distance of 1021 *li*[499] to the seat of the protector general in the east and fifteen days' journey on horseback to Yü-t'ien in the south. It adjoins Wu-sun in the north. [The land] produces copper, iron, and orpiment.[500] To the east there is communi- 12A
cation with Ch'iu-tzu at a distance of 670 *li*. In the time of Wang Mang, Ch'eng[501] king of Ku-mo killed the king of Wen-su and annexed his state.

The state of Wen-su[502]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Wen-su, and

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[495] A number of non-Chinese were given this honorific title, as shown by *HS* 17 (For the seal of a Ch'iang chief who had demonstrated his "allegiance to the Right" see Hsiao 1976), but this chapter does not mention Pei-yüan-chih. — Hsü Sung points out that *HSPC* 99B.22a, *HFHD* III, p. 332, speaks of the Greater K'un-mi as a "grandson of the Han", which shows that at this time, i.e. A.D. 16, I-ch'ih-mi was still alive.

[496] Sun Chien is further unknown; he was Protector General between A.D. 1 and 3.

[497] Ku-mo 姑墨, GSR 49g and 904c: ko/kuo-mək/mək. The country was situated in the Aqsu area, see Chavannes (1905), p. 553; Chavannes (1906), p. 224, note 3, places the "stone fortress" 石城 of Ku-mo, at Uch-Turfan.

[498] Nan 南, GSR 650a: nəm/nâm; *nan* means "South", so the name of this place might also be rendered as "The Southern City". This is further unknown.

[499] The *Ching-yu* edition reads 2.021 *li*.

[500] For orpiment see Schafer (1954).

[501] Ch'eng 丞, GSR 896g: d̂i̯əng/zi̯əng. The meaning of this word is "to assist" and it is with this sense that it occurs in Chinese titles as "Assistant ..." or "Deputy ..."; here, however, it must represent the king's name, although it is contrary to the normal procedure of using uncommon characters for transcribing names, see Zürcher (1959), p. 39, and cf. the end of note 210 above.

[502] Wen-su 溫宿, GSR 426c and 1029a: *wən/*uən-si̯ôk/si̯uk; it is localised at Uch in the area of present-day Aqsu; Chavannes (1905), p. 553, note 1, and p. 554 writes Uch-Turfan.

it is distant by 8350 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 2200 households, 12B
8400 individuals with 1500 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the leaders of the left and the right, the commandants of the left and the right, the masters of cavalry of the left and the right and two interpreters-in-chief. It is a distance of 2380 *li* to the seat of the protector
9A general in the east, 300 *li* to Wei-t'ou[503] in the west and 610 *li* to Ch'ih-ku,[504] Wu-sun, in the north. The land and kind of goods are the same as those found in Shan-shan[505] and the other various states. To the east there is communication with Ku-mo at a distance of 270 *li*.

9B The state of Ch'iu-tzu[506]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Yen,[507] and 14A
it is distant by 7480 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 6970 households, 81317 individuals with 21076 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the supreme commandant, the assistant, the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the noble of An-kuo (peace of the state), the noble of Chi-hu (assault on the nomad), the commandant of Ch'üeh-hu (resistance to the nomad), the commandant of Chi Chü-shih (assault on Chü-shih), the leaders of the left and the right, the commandants of the left and the right, the masters of cavalry of the left and the right, the masters of Li-fu (strong support) of the left and the right, two chiefs of thousands respectively for the divisions of the east, west, south and north, three masters of Ch'üeh-hu (resistance to the nomad) and four interpreters-in-chief. It adjoins Ching-chüeh[508] in the south, Ch'ieh-mo[509] in the south-east, Wu- 14B

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[503] For Wei-t'ou see above, note 374.

[504] For Ch'ih-ku see above, note 378.

[505] For Shan-shan see above, note 77.

[506] Ch'iu-tzu 龜茲; GSR 985a and 966a: kiwəg/kjwi-tṣiəg/tsi; this is the traditional pronunciation of this name, and not the normal Kuei-tzu. It is usually identified with present-day Kucha. See Liu (1969).

[507] Yen 延, GSR 203a: diạn/iän. However in the 7th century commentary to the History of the Later Han (*HHSCC*, Mem. 37.3a), this passage is quoted with the name of the town as Chü-yen 居延, GSR 49c[1] and 203a: kịo/kịwo-diạn/ịän. Exactly the same name is borne by the lakes and the settlement at the northen extremity of the Edsin-gol; Pulleyblank (1966), p. 21, considers this to be additional support for his view, that "the Yüeh-chih were an eastward extension of the same linguistic (i.e. Tokharian) stock that was found on the north side of the Tarim basin and around Lop Nor".

[508] For Ching-chüeh see above, note 132.

[509] For Ch'ieh-mo see above, note 125.

mi[510] in the south-west, Wu-sun[511] in the north and Ku-mo[512] in the west. [The people] are capable of casting iron, and there is lead. To the east it is a distance of 350 *li* to the seat of the protector general at the town of Wu-lei.[513]

9B Wu-lei[514]

There are 110 households, 1200 individuals with 300 persons able to bear arms. There is a commandant of the town and an interpreter- 15A
in-chief. The seat of the government is the same as that of the protector general. To the south one reaches Ch'ü-li at a distance of 330 *li*.

10A Ch'ü-li[515]

There is one commandant of the town. There are 130 households, 1480 individuals with 150 persons able to bear arms. It adjoins Wei-li[516] in the north-east, Ch'ieh-mo[517] in the south-east and Ching-

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[510] For Wu-mi see above, note 138.

[511] For Wu-sun see above, p. 143ff. and note 376.

[512] For Ku-mo see above, note 497.

[513] Wu-lei, see below, the next paragraph and note 514 (烏壘is not to be confused with the homophonous Wu-lei 無雷 on the Southern Route for which see note 187).

[514] Wu-lei 烏壘, GSR 61a and 577d: *o/*uo-li̯wər/ljwi. It is to be noted that Wu-lei is not qualified as a *kuo* or "state"; Wang Hsien-ch'ien rightly points out that apparently this site was chosen as the seat of the Protector General. He also remarks that the History of the Later Han (*HHSCC*, Mem. 78.20b) states that king Hsien 賢, "the Wise", of So-chü in c. A.D. 47 "detached a part of Kucha and made it the state of Wu-lei". He transferred his own creature, "the king of the Saka on the Oxus (? *Kuei Sai wang* 媯塞王; Chavannes (1907), p. 200, note 1, says that this might have been a principality on the Upper Oxus, governed by a Saka prince, subject to the king of Yarkand, adding that this is a hypothesis of doubtful value.), named Ssu-chien 駟鞬, GSR 518e and 249c: si̯əd/si-ki̯ăn/ki̯ɐn, to be king of Wu-lei". It was situated West of Karashahr. — Huang Wen-pi (1958), p. 9, indicates possible Han remains near the village of Yeh-yün-kou, formerly called I-shih-ma (野雲溝依什瑪), located at c. 86° E and 42° N on his map 4. Inside of what during his visit was an oval quagmire (540 × 240 meters), there was an earthwork elevation of 120 meters circumference, where he found iron fragments, broken tiles and traces of burning. Huang also notes that the villagers "long ago" had found tombs and Han-time pottery some 20 *li* (c. 12 km.) South, at Akdong 阿克墩.

[515] Ch'ü-li 渠犂, GSR 95g and 519g: g'i̯o/g'i̯wo-liər/liei or li̯ər/lji. It lay southeast of Kucha; the *Shui-ching chu* 2.29a, mentions a place in the fork of the confluence of the Kucha "East River" and the "Western Branch River", as being the residence of "the former colonel of the garrison" *t'un hsiao* 屯校. Huang Wen-pi (1958), p. 9, believes that this might be near present-day Kurchu of Charchi(庫爾楚查爾赤) at c. 85° 22' E, 41° 53' N.

[516] For Wei-li see below, note 585.

[517] For Ch'ieh-mo see above, note 125.

chüeh[518] in the south. In the west there is a river;[519] it is a distance of 580 *li* to Ch'iu-tzu.[520] 15B

From the time when Emperor Wu first opened up communications with the Western Regions, a colonelcy was established to found military colonies at Ch'ü-li.[521] At this time military expeditions were setting out one after another and armies were on the move for 32 years. [The resources] within the four seas were spent and wasted; and in the *Cheng-ho* period [92-89 B.C.] the Erh-shih general Li Kuang-li surrendered to the Hsiung-nu with his army.[522] The emperor had already come to regret the policy of fighting punitive campaigns at remote distances, when Sang Hung-yang,[523] commandant for the collection of grain,[524] together with the chancellor[525] and the imperial counsellor[526] made a written recommendation in the following terms:

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[518] For Ching-chüeh see above, note 132.

[519] The later commentators believe that this river is identical with the Tun-hung 敦薨 River, GSR 464p and 902g: twən/tuən or twər/tuâi or d'wân/d'uân or d'wən/d'uən-χmwəng/χwəng. Pulleyblank (1966), p. 21, draws attention to the similarity of this name and that of Tun-huang 敦煌, GSR 708g: g'wâng/wâng. *Shui-ching chu* 2.30a f., mentions the Tun-hung River as a lefthand tributary of the Tarim, probably near modern Korla.

[520] For Ch'iu-tzu see above, note 506.

[521] Hsü Sung points out that *HSPC* 70.4a says that this took place after the campaigns by Li Kuang-li, i.e. after 101 B.C.; the next sentence also leads to 101 B.C. if the "thirty two years" mentioned there are taken to begin with the first concerted action against the Hsiung-nu, viz. the (unsuccessful) ambush of Ma-i of 133 B.C.

[522] Li Kuang-li surrendered in the early summer of 90 B.C., see below, p. 236, the translation of *HSPC* 61.14a and note 926; cf. also *Urkunden* I, p. 177 sq. and *HFHD* II, pp. 115-116.

[523] Sang Hung-yang served as *Sou-su tu-wei*, commandant for the collection of grain (see note 524), from 100 B.C. and as imperial counsellor from 87 B.C.; he was executed in 80 B.C., after involvement in a plot against the emperor and Huo Kuang. See *HSPC* 7.6a-7a, *HFHD* II, pp. 146-147, Jongchell (1930), pp. 47 and 70, and Loewe (1974), pp. 73-75. For a sketch of his career see Ma Yüan-ts'ai (1934) and S.C. Ch'en (1936).

[524] Commandant for the collection of grain. This is described (*HSPC* 19a.15a) as a military post of the time of emperor of Wu which was not permanently established. The *Han-shu* names four officials who held the post, during the period ending in 102 B.C. and again from 96-87 or possibly 81 B.C. At these times the office of *Ta ssu-nung* was not filled, and the *Sou-su tu-wei* probably had supreme responsibility for his department which was one of the two financial organs of state.

[525] Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 738, relates this event for the year 89 B.C.; at that time the Chancellor was T'ien Ch'ien-ch'iu 田千秋.

[526] This was Shang-ch'iu Ch'eng 商丘成.

"To the east of old Lun-t'ai[527] there are Chieh-chih[528] and Ch'ü-li which are both ancient states. The land is extensive and rich in water and pasture, and there are over 5000 *ch'ing*[529] of irrigated arable land. The place enjoys a warm and temperate climate; the land is fine and it is possible to dig more ditches and canals and
10A to sow the five field crops, which will ripen at the same time as they do in China. The neighbouring states rarely use coined money[530] 16A and value gold[531] and silks. If it were possible to exchange these

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[527] Lun-t'ai 輪臺, GSR 470f and 939a: liwən/liuĕn-d'əg/d'âi. Hsü Sung, basing himself on *Shui-ching chu* 2.28b, places it Southeast of present-day Kucha. Huang Wen-pi (1958), pp. 10-11, believes that the ruins and the traces of an ancient irrigation system near "Che-kuo-t'e-ch'in" 着果特沁 at c. 84° 25' E and 41° 38' N could be the ruins of Han time Lun-t'ai, whereas those near "K'o-yu-k'o-ch'in" 柯尤克沁 at c. 84° 20' E and 41° 37' N would be those of the original autochthonous settlement which — he thinks — was called Lun-t'ou. Shimazaki (1969), p. 44, locates Lun-t'ai near Bügür. The prefix *ku* 故, "old, ancient, former" is used, according to Hsü Sung, because Li Kuang-li had butchered its inhabitants in 102 B.C., during his march on Ta Yüan (*HSPC* 61.11a, translation p. 231). The resulting absence of an autochthonous population may have been an inducement for planting colonies at Lun-t'ai. It is to be noted that wherever this locality is mentioned in the *Han-shu* (ch. 61 and 96) it is called Lun-t'ai, but that on the three occasions that it occurs in the *Shih-chi* (all in ch. 123), it is called Lun-t'ou 侖頭; the commentators, ancient and modern, provide no explanation for this discrepancy. The pronunciation of the two characters used for *lun*, viz. 侖 and 輪, was — and still is — identical; GSR 470a and f: liwən/liuĕn, but *t'ai* was d'əg/d'âi (GSR 939a), whereas *t'ou* was d'u/d'ə̯u (GSR 118e).

[528] Chieh-chih 捷枝, GSR 636b and 864b: dz'iap/dz'iäp-tiĕg/tśiẹ. Hsü Sung concludes from the *Shui-ching chu* that, whereas Ch'ü-li lay South-east of present-day Kucha, Chieh-chih lay to the North-east; he also notes that the 13th century (!) encyclopedia *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* writes the first character of Chieh-chih as 接, GSR 635e: tsiap/tsiäp. Chang Ch'un-shu (1974), p. 145, identifies Chieh-chih with present-day Charchi.

[529] 1 *ch'ing* = 100 *mu* of 0.0461 hectare or 0.114 acre = 4.61 hectare or 11.4 acres; see *HFHD* II, p. 160, note 9.7.

[530] The text reads *chui-tao* 錐刀, lit. "awls and knives". The binome occurs in the *Tso chuan*, duke Chao, 6th year, where it means "trifles, unimportant things", but this is out of place in the present context. For this reason Wu Jen-chieh suggests that *chui* 錐 is a copyist's mistake for *ch'ien* 錢, pointing out that the binome *ch'ien-tao*, lit. "hoes and knives", is an old term for "coined money"; this meaning has evolved from the ancient use of these objects as means of exchange; see Wang Yü-chüan (1951), p. 90.

[531] For the *huang chin* 黃金 of the text, the parallel passage in the *Han-chi* writes *huang t'ieh* 鐵. Now *huang-chin*, lit. "yellow metal", usually means "gold", but, as indicated by Wu Jen-chieh, it occasionally means "copper", which is likewise the meaning of the term *huang t'ieh* used in the *Han-chi*. Wu therefore believes that the metal referred to here is copper and not gold. However, the occurrence of the term in combination with coloured silk makes it far more probable that it means "gold" and not "copper".

goods for corn, food supplies would be adequate for our needs and there would be no deficiency. We humbly suggest that conscripts detailed for work in agricultural colonies should be sent to old Lun-t'ai and the area east[532] and that a complement of three[533] colonels should be established with divided responsibilities for the supervision of the area. Each one should survey the topography[534] and build and exploit water-courses, with their efforts bent on increasing the yield of the five field crops according to season. Chang-i and Chiu-ch'üan [commanderies] should despatch temporary 16B majors of cavalry[535] to form patrols and to be placed under the orders of the colonels; and when the situation permits, mounted couriers[536] may be used as a means of conveying information. When the fields have been worked for a year there will be an accumulation of corn. A call may then be made to able-bodied and fit members of the [Han] population who have family responsibilities[537] and who are ready to emigrate, suggesting that they should proceed to the sites of the farms and make the collection of the harvest their main occupation. More and more land may be reclaimed and irrigated, and gradually a line of posts may be constructed, leading to the west and connected by a wall; these may be used to advantage as a means of overawing the states of the west and supporting Wu-sun.

"We are respectfully sending your servant the consultant Ch'ang[538]

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[532] Chang Ch'un-shu (1974), comparing the relevant texts, suggests that only these "areas east" are intended, and that Lun-t'ai had already been colonized since approx. 102 B.C.

[533] Hsü Sung notes that *Han-chi* writes "two".

[534] The term *chü-t'u ti-hsing*, 舉圖地形, is unknown elsewhere, but cf. the expression *chü chi* 舉籍 used for "surveying" in *HSPC* 65.7a; see also Needham (1959), p. 533ff. For clear reproductions of the excellent Han maps of the 2nd century B.C. discovered at Ma-wang tui see *Wenwu* 1976/1, pp. 18-32.

[535] *Ch'i chia ssu-ma* 騎假司馬. Our translation is based on the indication provided by *HHSCC*, Tr. 24.8a: 假司馬假侯皆為副貳.

[536] For the mounted couriers see Ōba (1949), pp. 1-30; see also *RHA* I, p. 39-45.

[537] The text reads 累重 *lei chung*; the later commentators accept the interpretation given by Yen Shih-ku that this term, which literally means "ties and heavy (burdens)", has the meaning of "wife and children, family relations".

[538] 徵事, *cheng-shih*, rendered as "consultant" in *HFHD* I, p. 165. There was no fixed complement of consultants, and the title is used occasionally in the *Han shu*, usually to denote senior officials resident in the capital city. Hsü Sung suggests that "the consultant Ch'ang" might be identified with Kuo Ch'ang 郭昌 (mentioned in *HSPC* 6.27b, 28b, 31a, *HFHD* II, pp. 92, 94, 98; *HSPC* 55.19a; 94A.22b, *Urkunden* I, p. 149; *HSPC* 95.4b).

on a tour to the various divisions of the borders. He is to issue a 17A
stern order to the governors and commandants to maintain a clear system of flags and fire signals,[539] to select soldiers' horses,[540]
10B to pay careful attention to patrols and to collect stores of fodder.[541] We suggest that Your Majesty should send envoys to the states of the west in order to set their minds at rest. In all humility we make this request."[542]

The emperor thereupon issued a command expressing his deep regret for past actions in the following terms:

11A "On earlier occasions officials have recommended an increase of thirty [coins] in the rate of the poll-tax,[543] to help meet the expenses incurred on the borders. Such measures would serve to bring grievous suffering to the old and the weak, the orphans and those who are solitary; and now there is a further request to send conscript servicemen to set up farms at Lun-t'ai. Lun-t'ai lies a thousand *li* to the west of Chü-shih. Previously when the noble of K'ai-ling[544] attacked Chü-shih, the sons or younger brothers of [the kings of] the six states 17B
of Wei-hsü, Wei-li, Lou-lan[545] and others who were present at the capital city all returned to their home lands before [the expedition],

[539] For the system and practice of signalling, see *RHA* I, pp. 102-104 and II, pp. 216f., 221f.; for patrols see *RHA* I, p. 118f., II, p. 139f.

[540] For *shih ma* 士馬 see above, note 422.

[541] Cf. Loewe (1964), p. 344f.; for comparable orders, issued at the operational level, see *RHA* I, pp. 94, 105f., 125.

[542] Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 738-739, dates this memorial and the subsequent order in 89 B.C.

[543] The text reads *fu* 賦, which is identical with the *suan-fu* 算賦, a tax per head of the population and per 10000 cash of capital (for this second detail see Hiranaka (1967), p. 251). The fixed tax of 120 cash per unit per year was occasionally lowered or increased, as shown by Hiranaka (1967), p. 427 (contrary to the opinion of Katō (1926)).

[544] 開陵侯, see *HSPC* 17.23a and *HSPC* 94A.25b (which writes *k'ai* as 闓); he was a Hsiung-nu *Chieh-ho*/介和 (GSR 327a and 8f: kăd/kăi or kăt/kăt-g'wâ/γuâ) king who had surrendered to Han and who was ennobled for the siege he had laid around Chü-shih and for his capture of the king and the whole population, shortly before the surrender of Li Kuang-li in 90 B.C. *HS* 17 gives his name as Ch'eng-wan 成娩, GSR 818a and 222g: d̂i̯ĕng/ź i̯äng-mi̯wăn/mi̯wɐn or mi̯an/mi̯än.

It is to be noted that the nobility of K'ai-ling had been held earlier by another alien, this time from Yüeh in the South, ennobled in 110 B.C.; the nobility had become vacant due to a crime of the first incumbent's successor in 91 B.C.; cf. *HSPC* 17.19a.

[545] For Wei-hsü, Wei-li and Lou-lan see below, notes 587, 585 and above, note 77. Hsü Sung suggests that the other three might have been Ch'ieh-mo, (Mo-)shan and Yen-ch'i, for which see above, note 125, and below, notes 615 and 588.

to arrange for supplies of food to be brought out to meet the Han forces. In addition they themselves put a force in the field which was several myriads strong, with the kings taking personal command in each case. Working together [these forces] laid siege to Chü-shih and forced its king to surrender. The forces of the various states were then disbanded, and the strength [of these six states] was insufficient to reach the route again and bring up supplies for the Han armies. When the Han armies had conquered the town, the food supplies were very abundant; nevertheless the rations which the men personally carried were not sufficient to last until the end of the campaign. Those who were strong consumed the stock animals and those who were weak died on the roads to the number of several thousands of men. We had asses and camels sent out from
11A Chiu-ch'üan [commandery] to carry supplies, and they passed out of the Yü-men barrier to meet the troops. The officers and conscripts who left from Chang-i [commandery] did not march for a very long distance; none the less there were very large numbers of stragglers.

"In earlier days in our ineptitude we took note of a report submitted by Hung, captain of the army. He said that the Hsiung-nu were tethering the fore and hind feet of their horses, setting them down beside the walls, and galloping up to say "A present of horses 18A
for you, men of Ch'in."[546] For this reason, and because there were also Han envoys who had been long detained without returning home, we raised forces and despatched the Erh-shih general, with the intention that our prestige should be enhanced for the benefit of our envoys.

[546] To the outside world, China was known as Ch'in, the name of the westernmost state of the Chinese oikoumene under which the whole country was unified in 221 B.C.; it was also the First Emperor of Ch'in who had his armies expel the Hsiung-nu from the Ordos region in 215 B.C. As Pulleyblank (1963), p. 229, writes, it has been demonstrated that θῖναι, Seres, Sanskrit Cīna and our "China" must come from Ch'in-*dzēn in his reconstruction of "Old Chinese". To him "it seems highly likely that the earlier Σῆρες is likewise derived from the same name, based on a pronunciation of the final *-n* which was heard as *-r* by the foreign interpreter". The word σηρικόν he believes to have been reintroduced into Chinese as 鮮㠯, "Old Chinese" * sa̱n-kēĥ, meaning "white or undyed silk", "because it was the word for 'silk' among the foreign traders [which] the Chinese, not recognising its origin, took ... as a foreign word". — The suggestion by Suzuki (1964-65), pp. 59-62, that Θῖναι is to be derived from the geographical name Chi-nan 濟南, GSR 593o and 65a: tsiər/tsiei-nəm/nâm, in the Shantung peninsula, because this was a centre of silk cultivation and "consequently well known to the barbarian merchants", is completely unfounded. — The captain of the army, Hung, mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, is further unknown.

"In times gone by, when ministers and counsellors consulted together they took the omens of the milfoil and the tortoise [shell], and if these were unpropitious, they did not initiate an action. On this occasion we showed the report [that the Hsiung-nu] were tethering their horses to the chancellor, the imperial counsellor, the officials of prime rank, the counsellors, the gentlemen who were learned in literature,[547] and even to [the governors of] the commanderies and the commandants of the dependent states,[548] such as Ch'eng Chung and Chao P'o-nu[549] and others. And they all took the view that it was highly inauspicious that the savages[550] should themselves be tethering their horses. Some believed[551] that they were wishing to make a display of strength, in so far as those 18B
11B who have not sufficient make a show to others of having a surplus. We had the Book of Changes consulted, and in its symbols we obtained *Ta-kuo*, with the moving line, a nine, being situated at
12A the fifth line;[552] and [this was interpreted to mean] that the Hsiung-

[547] Hsü Sung suggests that 為文學者 refers to the foregoing, leading to the translation "the counsellors, the gentlemen who were versed in literature". The term *wen hsüeh* 文學 denoted men who possessed particular qualities that would fit them to be candidates for office; provincial authorities were sometimes ordered to recommend such persons for service, see e.g. *HFHD* II, p. 160. They took part in "the discussions on salt and iron" in 81 B.C.

[548] For the establishment (from 121 B.C.) of *shu kuo* 屬國 Dependent States, in areas inhabited by non-Chinese that lay outside the sphere of the commanderies, see *RHA*, I, p. 61 ff. The commandants were responsible for their administration, see Kamada (1962), pp. 329-336.

[549] Ch'eng Chung and Chao P'o-nu are further unknown. As Hsü Sung rightly remarks, the famous military leader with the same name Chao P'o-nu had been executed in connection with the witchcraft trials of 91 B.C.; see Loewe (1969), p. 163.

[550] Savages. The text reads *lu* 虜, "captive" (not a regular "prisoner", for this is *ch'iu* 囚), a term regularly used in an opprobious sense to designate alien peoples, usually those at war with the Chinese. The term occurs in the names of defence-posts on the western border, see e.g. *RHA* II, p. 385: 遮虜 "Stop the savages", 夷虜 "Exterminate the savages", 收虜 "Arrest the savages", 累虜 "Bind the savages". Dubs, *HFHD*, *passim*, has rendered this word by the archaic term "caitiff", which was used in the Middle Ages for the enemies of Christendom; in spite of the advantage of a perfect parallel — for *caitiff* is derived from *captivus* — we have preferred a more modern expression.

[551] 或以. These two characters are omitted in the *Ching-yu* edition, but are present in Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 740.

[552] The point at issue concerns the evolution of the hexagram from *ta-kuo* 大過 during the process of consulting the *I-ching*. For methods of consultation, see Wilhelm-Baynes (1967), pp. 721-723; for the two hexagrams in question, see the same work, pp. 126 and 545. Meng K'ang interpreted the passage in the Book of Changes to mean that the defeat of the Hsiung-nu would not be long delayed. Hsü Sung was able to

nu would be discomfited and defeated. The sorcerers in attendance,[553] the watchers of the stars,[554] the observers of the vapours,[555] who come under the director of astrology,[556] as well as the experts in tortoise and milfoil who come under the director of divination[557] all regarded this as auspicious; and they thought that an opportunity when the Hsiung-nu would be bound to be defeated would not be found a second time. It was further said that if, in the campaign in the north, a leader of the army were to operate at the Fu hills,[558] he would be certain to win. The oracle was consulted [so as to make a choice among] the various generals, and the Erh-shih[559] general [was pronounced to be] the one most subject to fortune. We therefore personally sent out the Erh-shih general on an expedition to 19A
the Fu hills, and commanded him that he should on no account penetrate deeply.

"And now the strategists and the prognosticators have all been gainsaid and confounded. Enemy patrols taken[560] by the noble

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understand the text as being a symbol of tying horses' legs by means of rope, and as alluding to the flight of foreign tribesmen in disarray.

[553] *Kung-chü fang-shih* 公車方士. The Gate of Public Carriages was the southern palace gate, where, according to *HSPC* 19A.11b and *HHSCC* Tr. 25.8a, all persons summoned to the capital and conveyed there by means of such a carriage, had to pass. These "sorcerers" had evidently been called and made to wait for an imperial summons at this place.

[554] *Chih hsing* 治星. The (lost) *Han kuan* 漢官, quoted by the 7th century commentator to the *Hou Han shu*, calls these men *hou hsing* 候星 "look-outs for the stars"; fourteen of these men belonged to the staff of fortytwo attached to the observatory called *Ling-t'ai* 靈臺, see *HHSCC* Tr. 25.1b-2a.

[555] *Wang ch'i* 望氣, called *hou ch'i* 候氣 in *HHSCC*. 252a; see the contribution by Hulsewé in *NOAG* 1979/1, Festschrift for Werner Eichhorn.

[556] *T'ai shih* 太史, or rather *t'ai shih ling* 令, under whose orders stood thirtyseven men, including the personnel mentioned in the preceding notes. He was in charge of astronomical observations (for mantic purposes) and of the calendar, a copy of which he had to present for the coming year; he also selected auspicious days for the state sacrifices and marriages and gave warning of inauspicious days. Finally he had to record all auspicious phenomena and disastrous events, *HHSCC*, Tr. 25.1b.

[557] *T'ai pu* 太卜. No further information is available concerning the details of this functionary's tasks, which were eventually amalgamated with those of the *t'ai shih*; *HSPC* 19A.7a and *HHSCC* Tr. 25.3a.

[558] Fu hills 鬴山, where *fu* is a variant of 釜 *fu*, "kettle", (GSR 102y and f both: b'i̯wo/b'i̯u). The position of these hills is unknown; as Hsü Sung remarks, they must have been within Hsiung-nu territory, beyond Wu-yüan Commandery (see *RHA* I, pp. 180-181, n. 94), from where Li Kuang-li started out.

[559] I.e. Li Kuang-li; see *Urkunden* I, p. 177f.

[560] Reading *te* 得 instead of the meaningless *wu* 毋, in accordance with other editions.

of Chung-ho[561] inform us that when the Hsiung-nu hear of the approach of Han forces they have their sorcerers bury sheep or cattle on the roads [that the Han forces] are taking, and by the water, in order to bring a curse[562] upon our armies; and when the *Shan-yü* sends a present of horses or fur-garments to the Son of Heaven, he regularly has his sorcerers lay a spell upon them; and the tethering of horses is a curse brought to bear upon our military undertakings.

"In addition [the Hsiung-nu] have consulted the omens about the fortunes of the Han armies [and have learnt that] one general would meet with an inauspicious fate. The Hsiung-nu always said that the Han [empire] was extremely great, but that [its people
12A were] incapable of withstanding hunger and thirst; and that once the single wolf[563] was lost, the thousand sheep would be put to flight.

"Recently the Erh-shih general was defeated; his troops lay dead,
12B or they were captured or scattered; and our heart has constantly 19B been filled with sorrow. Now We are asked to set up farming establishments at a great distance away, at Lun-t'ai; and it is desired that We should establish posts and beacon stations. Such measures would bring anguish and toil to the world and are no way of treating its people with generosity; We cannot at present bring Ourselves to accept such advice.

"The superintendent of state visits and others are in addition advising that incarcerated convicts should be recruited to escort the envoys of the Hsiung-nu, ... to make clear the reward attendant on investiture with the rank of noble,[564] ... in order to requite

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[561] The noble of Chung-ho was Mang T'ung, 重合侯莽通; he was ennobled due to the role he had played in quelling the rebellion of the heir-apparent in 91 B.C.; see *HSPC* 17.24a and 66.3b. Three years later he made an attempt on the emperor's life and was killed in the ensuing affray; see *HSPC* 6.38b, *HFHD* II, p. 118 and 68.2a and 19b, also Loewe (1969), p. 166 ff. and cf. below, note 628.

[562] Curse, *chu* 詛, like "the curse against Ch'u" 詛楚文 (in Yen K'o-chün, *Ch'üan shang-ku ... wen* 14.5b); cf. also *RHL* I, pp. 168-169, and Loewe (1969), p. 190.

[563] The wolf is here taken as the leader. Wolf, *lang* 狼, and sheep, *yang* 羊, rhyme: GSR 735l and 732a: lâng/lâng - ziạng/ịang.

[564] There may be reason to believe that the state of the present text is due to corruption and a possible conflation of the accounts of more than one incident. The logical sequence is not clear, as between the emperor's rejection of the suggestion to colonize Lun-t'ai and the recommendation made by the Superintendent of State Visits for recruiting incarcerated convicts to escort Hsiung-nu envoys. There appears to be no further reference to that recommendation in the *Han shu*, but it is of some importance to note that Ssu-ma Kuang *TCTC*, p. 741, in his account of this incident appends

feelings of hatred; conduct of which even the Five Leaders[565] were incapable.

"In addition, when the Hsiung-nu obtain Han persons who surrender, they usually have them raise their arms and search them, interrogating them for what they have learnt. ... [How could this plan ever be carried out?][566] ...

"At present the defence lines on the frontier are not in order, and unauthorised journeys outwards are not stopped. The senior officers of the defence stations have the conscripts hunt animals and make a profit from their skins and carcasses. The conscripts suffer hardship and the system of flag and smoke [signals] is not maintained effectively; and even when the collected reports are presented, no information is forthcoming [on these points].[567] It is

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豈得行其計乎 after 問以所聞. This addition is not carried in the *Han chi* and its existence is apparently not mentioned by the Chinese commentators.

It is clear from *HSPC* 94A.27a that at this juncture the Hsiung-nu leaders included members of a peace party (i.a. the *Shan-yü* himself), and their opponents, and that the issue of relations with China may have been involved with the question of the *Shan-yü*'s succession. It is also to be noted that at the time in question the situation in government and court circles in Ch'ang-an was far from stable, owing to dynastic and political intrigues. It is by no means clear which of the three incumbents of the position of the Superintendent of State Visits (i.e. T'ien Ch'ien-ch'iu, (90-89, VI, B.C.) Tai Jen (89, VI-89?) or T'ien Kuang-ming (89-85)) submitted the recommendation. It is perhaps not impossible that in the present text the decree of emperor Wu, rejecting Sang Hung-yang's memorial, closes with the passage 不忍聞 "We ... cannot bring ourselves to accept such advice", whereas the succeeding text is an incomplete account of (1) a proposal to enter into a plot to have one of the less favourably inclined Hsiung-nu leaders murdered by infiltrating armed members of an escort of convicts to the Hsiung-nu court, and (2) a further imperial statement rejecting such a scheme, and continuing by enjoining attention to home affairs. If this explanation can be accepted, the additional text of Ssu-ma Kuang *TCTC* is a crucial part of the document, in so far as it gives a second cogent reason for the refusal of the proposal.

[565] The Five Leaders (sometimes called hegemons; *wu po* 五伯 or *wu po* 五霸), were leaders of confederations of the Chinese states against aggression from the South in the 7th century B.C.; cf. Maspero (1955), p. 245f. However, the Confucians of a later age considered them as evil men and usurpers, e.g. Mencius VI B, 7. In the scale of moral values they stand at the lowest level, far below the saintly rulers of mythical antiquity, the full series being the Three August Ones, the Five Emperors, the Three Royal Houses, and finally the Five Leaders.

[566] 豈得行其計乎 added according to Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 741; cf. note 564.

[567] The beginning of this sentence is rather cryptic, reading 亦上集不得; perhaps a final word like *wen* 聞 "to hear, to learn" or *chih* 知 "to know" has been omitted. 上集 is the same as 上計: "to present the collected accounts to the throne". For the presentation of annual accounts by the governors see Kamada (1962), pp. 369-412.

12B only later, when persons come to surrender or we capture the savages that we understand about [these matters]. 20A

"At the present juncture our duty lies in nothing more than forbidding oppression; in preventing arbitrary exactions; in increasing
13A the effort spent in agriculture; and in implementing the ordinance which gives exemption from obligations in return for rearing horses;[568] our purpose being to supplement deficiencies and to prevent any lack in military preparations. Let the officials of prime rank in the commanderies and kingdoms each forward plans for raising a stock of horses and for repairing [deficiencies at] the borders; and let those who present the periodic reports be ready to answer questions[569] involved therein and in such plans."[570]

From this time armed forces were not sent out again. T'ien Ch'ien-ch'iu the chancellor was invested with the title noble of Fu-min (enrichment of the people),[571] so as to publicise the emperor's intention of resting and his thoughts for promoting the people's prosperity.

When on an earlier occasion the Erh-shih general Li Kuang-li had attacked Ta Yüan, he had passed through Wu-mi[572] on his return. Wu-mi had sent its heir apparent, Lai-tan,[573] to be a hostage at Ch'iu-tzu, and [Li] Kuang-li had upbraided Ch'iu-tzu, saying: "The outer states are all subject to Han; by what authority[574] has Ch'iu-tzu accepted hostages from Wu-mi?" He immediately sent Lai-tan to the capital city [of Ch'ang-an]. Emperor Chao thereupon adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hung-yang, and appointed Lai-tan, heir apparent of Wu-mi, as a colonel to lead a force to work the 20B
13A land at Lun-t'ai. The lands of Lun-t'ai and Ch'ü-li are contiguous.

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[568] 馬復令; this ordinance was probably instituted in 178 B.C. (see *HSPC* 24A.14b, Swann (1950), p. 168), but it was made unnecessary by the establishment of government pastures some time before 144 B.C.; it was revived in 113 B.C. (*HSPC* 24B.17b, Swann (1950), p. 304) and presumably abolished in 82 B.C. (*HSPC* 7.4a, *HFHD* II, p. 159).

[569] For the interrogation of the regional officials who presented the annual accounts in the capital see Kamada (1962), p. 393 f.

[570] *Yen-t'ieh lun*, ch. 16, briefly alludes to this edict, cf. Gale (1931), p. 101.

[571] Fu-min 富民, see *HSPC* 18.10a. This nobility of eighthundred households was situated in Chi 蘄 prefecture in P'ei 沛 commandery: the administrative geography in *Han shu* 28, which describes the state of the empire in A.D. 1-2, does not mention it, because it had been abolished in 71 B.C., when T'ien Ch'ien-ch'iu's son had committed suicide because of a crime.

[572] For Wu-mi see above, note 138.

[573] Lai-tan 賴丹, GSR 272e and 150a: lâd/lai-tân/tân.

[574] The text reads 何以得受 ... 質, where *te* has the meaning of "to be enabled to, to be allowed to"; hence our translation.

Ku-i,[575] a nobleman of Ch'iu-tzu, spoke to the king saying: "Lai-tan was originally subject to our state; but now he comes here wearing a Han seal and ribbon on his belt; and he is going to work the land right close to our own state. This is bound to cause harm." The king immediately put Lai-tan to death and forwarded a written statement of explanation to Han, which was unable to take corrective action.

In the time of Emperor Hsüan, Ch'ang Hui,[576] noble of Ch'ang-lo, was sent on a mission to Wu-sun. On his way back he found a suitable 21A
opportunity to call out forces from the various states, amounting altogether to 50000 men, and to attack Ch'iu-tzu. He blamed them for having formerly killed Colonel Lai-tan, and the king excused himself by saying that at that time his predecessor had been deceived by Ku-i, a nobleman, and that he himself was guiltless. He arrested Ku-i and sent him to [Ch'ang] Hui, who had him beheaded.

At this time the princess of Wu-sun had sent her daughter to the capital city to study lute-playing. Han sent Lo Feng, a gentleman in attendance,[577] to escort her back, and they passed through Ch'iu-tzu. Ch'iu-tzu had previously sent men to Wu-sun to request the hand of the daughter of the princess, but they had not yet returned. It so happened that the princess' daughter was then passing through Ch'iu-tzu, and the king detained her without sending her on. He sent a further messenger to report matters to the princess who gave her consent. Later the princess sent a written message expressing her wish that her daughter should be treated like a member of the imperial household and admitted to court. For his part, Chiang Pin,[578] king of
13B Ch'iu-tzu, loved his wife, and he wrote that, having obtained the hand of a granddaughter of the Han [imperial family], he had become a brother [of the Han house]; and he would like to pay a visit to the court in company with the princess' daughter. In the first year of the reign-period *Yüan-k'ang* [65 B.C.] they thereupon came to court to offer their congratulations.[579] The king and his consort each had

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[575] Ku-i 姑翼, GSR 49g and 954d: ko/kuo-giək/jək.

[576] See above, note 429.

[577] Shih-lang Lo Feng 侍郎樂奉. Lo Feng is further unknown. On the *lang*, Gentlemen, see Yen Keng-wang (1951). Gentlemen-in-attendance were the second lowest of the four grades of Gentlemen; their number was not fixed. They served in the palace in various functions.

[578] See above, note 417.

[579] The annals of emperor Hsüan (*Han shu*, ch. 8) do not mention this visit. The congratulations were presented at the New Year's audience when, at least according to an author to the second century A.D., the alien tribes offered their tribute (*HHSCC*, Tr.5.12a, Ts'ai Chih's *Han-i* 蔡質漢儀 quoted in Liu Chao's commentary).

seals and ribbons bestowed upon them. His consort was granted the style and title of princess, and given carriages and a complement of riders, banner-carriers, drummers, singers and flautists[580] numbered 21B by the ten, together with patterned silks, embroideries, variegated silks and precious gems corresponding altogether in value to tens of millions [of cash].[581] After remaining for a visit of almost a year, they were given generous presents and sent on their way.

Later they paid several visits to the court to present their congratulations. They delighted in the Han style of dress and institutions; on return to their own state they built residences, with an outside road running round the perimeter; they arranged a relay system of calls to announce their arrival or departure with the beating of bells and drums; and their protocol[582] was like that of the house of Han. The outer states and the nomads[583] all said: 'An ass that is no ass; a horse that is no horse; it's like the king of Ch'iu-tzu, what we call a mule.'

At the death of Chiang-pin his son Ch'eng-te[584] styled himself grandson of the Han house in the female line of descent. In the time of Emperors Ch'eng and Ai, the king undertook the journey to and

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[580] The text reads 車騎旗鼓歌吹, which lends itself readily into taking each word separately, as we have done. However, Hsü Sung points out that the seventh century commentator of the *Hou Han shu* quotes a (lost) *Ku-chin yüeh-lu* 古今樂錄 which mentions a foreign *heng-ch'ui* 橫吹, 'traverse blower" (*HHSCC* Mem. 37.5b), and he believes that the *ko-ch'ui* of our text is such a flute. According to Liu Chao's note in *HHSCC*, Tr. 24.7b, the Supreme General in Han time was given an escort of thirty cavalrymen, and drummers and flautists; see also Diény (1968), p. 96f.

[581] The text reads 凡數千萬; we have followed the suggestion by Hsü Sung and considered the figures as referring to the value of these goods, in which case only the translation (thousand of myriads =) "tens of millions", *scl.* of cash, is applicable. However, another view is also possible, viz. that the figure applies to the objects mentioned before, and then the translation should be "several thousand, up to ten-thousand".

[582] For an actual example of a "palace" purely Chinese in style, built in Han times in present-day Southern Siberia see *Palaeologica* VI, 1 (1957), p. 87ff. Chou Lien-k'uan (1956), basing himself only on literary evidence, suggests that this may have been the dwelling in Wang Mang's time (early 1st. century A.D.) for the eldest daughter of a Chinese princess (cf. *Urkunden* I, p. 279). — As regards the Han protocol, Hsü Sung refers to the opening paragraph of Wei Hung, *Han chiu i*, which describes the guards and retinue of the emperor in very general terms.

[583] For the term *hu* see above, note 71. Here it is probably used with particular reference to the Hsiung-nu, in view of the fact that in Kucha there existed a Noble of Chi-hu, i.e. for attacking the Hu, i.e. the Hsiung-nu. (*HSPC* 96B, 14a, transl. p. 163).

[584] Ch'eng-te 丞德 might be a Chinese name; GSR 896g and 919k: d̂i̯əng/źi̯əng-tək/tək.

from [Ch'ang-an] very frequently, and Han likewise treated him with a very close friendship.

To the east there is communication with Wei-li at a distance of 650 *li*.

The state of Wei-li[585]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Wei-li, and it is 22A
distant by 6750 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 1200 households, 9600
individuals with 2000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following
14B officials:] the noble of Wei-li, the noble of An-shih (Peace of the
age), the leaders of the Left and the Right, the commandants of the
14A Left and the Right, the masters of Chi-hu (assault on the nomads) and
two interpreters-in-chief. To the west it is a distance of 300 *li* to the
seat of the protector general. To the south it adjoins Shan-shan and
Ch'ieh-mo.[586] 22B

The state of Wei-hsü[587]

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[585] Wei-li 尉犂, GSR 525b and 519g: *iwəd/*jwei-liər/liei or ljər/lji. The 19th and 20th century *Han shu* commentators locate it around Bugur. Chavannes (1905), p. 552, note 5, and (1906), p. 234, note 2, locates Wei-li — and Wei-hsü (for which see note 587) — in the vicinity of Lake Bagrash or Bostang nor. He criticizes Wylie for following the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen chih* 西域同文志 of 1766, and consequently locating Wei-li at Kalgan-aman, close to and NE of Korla. Huang Wen-pi (1958), pp. 6-7, suggests that the extensive ruins NE of Korla and South of Ssu-shih li ch'eng 四十里城 (marked on his "additional map 5" at c. 86° 28' E and 41°55' N) might be the capital of Wei-li, containing a Han settlement. Shimazaki (1969), p. 44, still places Wei-li at Kalgan-aman.

[586] For the two states Shan-shan and Ch'ieh-mo see above, notes 77 and 125.

[587] Wei-hsü 危須, GSR 29a and 133a: ngwia/ngwię-siu/siu. The *Shui-ching chu* 2.30aff., says that the Tun-hung river's (see above, note 519) eastern tributary flows southeast and then divides into two; coming from Yen-ch'i (i.e. Karashahr), it is led West of Wei-hsü and then flows southeast to end in the Tun-hung Marsh (but see below, note 589). The latter is identified with Bostang Lake or Bagrash Kul and the former with the Hai-tu or Yulduz. Hsü Sung locates Wei-hsü to the Southeast of Bostang Lake; Chavannes (1905), p. 552, note 6, seems to accept this localization, criticizing Wylie for following the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen chih* (see note 585 above) and placing Wei-hsü at Chagan-tungi, Northeast of Karashahr.

[588] Yen-ch'i 焉耆, GSR 200a and 5521: *ian/*iän or gian/jiän-g'iər/g'ji, traditionally identified with Karashahr. Huang Wen-pi (1958), p. 7, suggests that "the old walled town of Ha-la-mu-teng" 哈拉木登, a few *li* South of the modern settlement of that name and North of the Haidu River might have been the administrative centre of Yen-ch'i; the site is located on Huang's map nr. 2 at c. 86° 5' E and 42° 16' N. — For different ancient misspellings of this name see Chavannes (1905), p. 564, note 2. Wang Ching-ju (1944), p. 91, believes that in Han-times Yen-ch'i was pronounced * *ārgi*, leading to a later **arśi*; it is to be noted that the Αορσοι mentioned by Strabo are usually identified with the people of Yen-ts'ai, see note 316 above.

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Wei-hsü, and it is distant by 7290 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 700 households, 4900 individuals with 2000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Chi-hu (assault on the nomads), the commandant of Chi-hu (assault on the nomads), the leaders of the left and the right, the commandants of the left and the right, the masters of cavalry of the left and the right, the master of Chi-hu (assault on the nomads) and one interpreter-in-chief. To the west it is a distance of 500 *li* to the seat of the protector general. It is 100 *li* distant to Yen-ch'i.

The state of Yen-ch'i[588]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Yüan-ch'ü,[589] 23A
and it is distant by 7300 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 4000 households, 23B
32100 individuals with 6000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the 24A
following officials:] the noble of Chi-hu (assault on the nomads), the noble of Ch'üeh-hu (resistance to the nomads), the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the leaders of the left and the right, the commandants of the left and the right, the masters of Chi-hu (assault on the nomads) of the left and the right, the master of Chi Chü-shih (assault on Chü-shih), the master of Kuei-i Chü-shih (the master of Chü-shih who maintains allegiance to the Right),[590] two commandants of Chi-hu (assault on the nomads) and three interpreters-in-chief. To
15A the south-west it is a distance of 400 *li* to the seat of the protector
14B general, and to the south it is 100 *li* to Wei-li. It adjoins Wu-sun on the north. It is close to the waters of the sea[591] and there is an abundance of fish.

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[589] Yüan-ch'ü 員渠, GSR 227a and 95g: ɡi̯wan/ji̯wän-g'i̯o/g'i̯wo. In view of the many cases of identity of the name of both country and capital in the Western Regions, Ch'ien Ta-hsin suggests that Yüan-ch'ü and Yen-ch'i (or rather their ancient equivalents) are merely two different pronunciations of the same name; this seems doubtful. Wang Hsien-ch'ien quotes the *Shui-ching chu*, 2.31a-b, which says that the capital was surrounded by water on all sides; this is confirmed by *HHSCC*, Mem. 37.8a, as indicated by Hsü Sung. The latter points out that the present Yulduz River (i.e. the ancient Tun-hung) does not bifurcate, as indicated by the *Shui-ching chu* (cf. note 587), and suggests that "ancient ruins" with a circumference of 9 *li* (N.B. the 19th century *li* was about 0.65 km.), South of the Yulduz were the remains of Yüan-ch'ü.

[590] Kuei-i Chü-shih hou 歸義車師侯; our translation of this title follows a suggestion of Hsü Sung, see also note 495.

[591] This is, as said before (note 587), Bostang Lake or Bagrash Kul. It is to be noted that the word *hai* 海 "sea" is used.

The state of Wu-t'an-tzu-li[592]

The seat of the king's government is at Yü-lou[593] valley, and it 24B
is distant by 10330 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 41 households, 231 individuals with 57 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), and the commandants of the left and the right. It adjoins Tan-huan[594] on the east, Chü-mi[595] on the south and Wu-sun on the west.

The state of Pei-lu[596]

The seat of the king's government is at the Kan-tang[597] valley 25A
east of the T'ien-shan, and it is distant by 8680 *li* from Ch'ang-an. 25B
There are 227 households, 1387 individuals with 422 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the leaders of the left and the right, the commandants of the left and the right and the interpreters-in-chief of the left and the right. To the south-west it is a distance of 1287 *li* to the seat of the protector general.

The further state of Pei-lu

The seat of the king's government is at Fan-ch'ü-lei[598] valley, and
15A it is distant by 8710 *li* from Ch'ang-an. There are 462 households, 1137 individuals with 350 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the

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[592] Wu-t'an-tzu-li 烏貪訾離, GSR 61a, 645a, 358m and 23f: *o/*uo-t'əm/t'ậm-tsi̯ar/tsi̯ę-lia/lji̯ę. Hsü Sung says it is hard to identify. Chou Shou-ch'ang believes that it was part of Tan-huan (see note 604 below) and was given the name of Wu-t'an-tzu-li after the conquest and division of Chü-shih, but it is to be noted that it is not enumerated among the states which together formed ancient *Ku-shih*; cf. Shimazaki (1969), pp. 28-34. The *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* identifies it with modern Sui-lai 綏來, i.e. Manass, but Chavannes (1905), p. 557, note 4, believes it was situated between Manass and the Ebi-nor.

[593] Yü-lou 于婁, GSR 97a and 123a: gi̯wo/ji̯u-gli̯u/li̯u or glu/ləu.

[594] Tan-huan, see below, note 604.

[595] For Chü-mi see below, note 608.

[596] Pei-lu 卑陸, GSR 874a and 1032f: pi̯ĕg/pji̯ĕ-li̯ok/li̯uk. The commentators are uncertain about the location of this country and the seat of the king. Chavannes (1905), p. 557, note 2, merely notes that the *Wei-lüeh* writes Pi 畢 lu. Matsuda (1956), p. 116, locates it at Tzu-ni-ch'üan 紫泥泉 or *Pai-yang i* 白楊驛.

[597] Kan-tang 乾當, GSR 140c and 7251: kân/kân or g'i̯an/g'i̯än-tâng/tâng. Liu Feng-lu suggests the reading *ku* 谷 (GSR 1202a: kuk/kuk) for *kuo* 國 (GSR 929o: kwək/kwək). The *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* places it in the area of Fu-k'ang 阜康, about 60 km. NNE of Urumchi. Matsuda (1956), pp. 45-49, locates this valley either in Mt. Qara-usen or in the Döss Mengenola.

[598] Fan-ch'ü-lei 番渠類, GSR 195b, 95g and 529a: p'i̯wan/p'i̯wɐn or pwâr/puâ-g'i̯o/g'i̯wo-li̯wəd/ljwi. The commentators do not provide further indications.

commandant, the interpreters-in-chief and two leaders. It adjoins Yü-li-shih in the east, the Hsiung-nu in the north, the state of Chieh[599] in the west and Chü-shih[600] in the south.

The state of Yü-li-shih[601] 26A

The seat of the king's government is at the Nei-tu[602] valley, and it is distant from Ch'ang-an by 8830 *li*. There are 190 households, 1445 individuals with 331 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the commandants of the left and the right and the interpreter-in-chief. It adjoins [the state] of the chief of the further town of Chü-shih[603] in the east, Pei-lu in the west and the Hsiung-nu in the north.

The state of Tan-huan[604]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Tan-huan, and is distant from Ch'ang-an by 8870 *li*. There are 27 households, 194 individuals with 45 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the leader, the
16A commandants of the left and the right, and the interpreter-in-chief.

15B The state of P'u-lei[605]

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[599] For Chieh see below, note 611.

[600] For Chü-shih see below, note 618.

[601] Yü-li-shih 郁立師, GSR 995a', 694a and 559a: *ʻi̯ŭk/*ʻi̯uk-gli̯əp/li̯əp-si̯ər/si. *HHSCC*, Mem. 78.1b, omits *shih*. The *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* asserts that it lay Northwest of Ku-ch'eng 古城, which, according to *TM* p. 193, is situated in Ch'i-t'ai 奇臺 sub-prefecture (Kitai or Kuchengtzu on the maps), ca. 125 km. NNE of Turfan and 275 km. East of Manass as the crow flies. This localization has been accepted by Matsuda (1956), p. 116.

[602] Nei-tu 內咄, GSR 695e and 496h: nəp/nâp or nwəb > nwəd/nuâi-twət/tuət.

[603] As Hsü Sung remarks, this implies that this town lay to the West again of the State of Further Chü-shih, for which see note 621.

[604] Tan-huan單桓, GSR 147a and 164f: tân/tân-g'wân/γuân. The *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* places it in the area of Urumchi.

[605] P'u-lei 蒲類, GSR 102n' and 529a: b'wo/b'uo-liwəd/ljwi. The P'u-lei Sea has long since been identified as Lake Barköl, see note 65, but Chavannes (1905), p. 557, note 3, indicates that although the state of P'u-lei was originally situated near the lake, the Hsiung-nu transferred its population to the Urumchi-Manass area, cf. Chavannes (1907), pp. 209-210. Matsuda (1956), p. 90, however, still places the state near the lake. Pulleyblank (1963), p. 219, reconstructing the "Old Chinese" pronunciation *baĥ-lwə̄(t)s, thinks that this "form might imply something like **barus*. If the name is really related to Turkish *bars* "tiger" as has been supposed, it would prove the presence of Turkish speaking peoples in that region in the first century B.C., but it may be only a popular etymology of a proper name in another language". It is to be noted that Shimazaki (1969), p. 81, for a different reason suggests that the Ku-shih tribes, to which P'u-lei belonged, may have "belonged to the Altaic people".

The seat of the king's government is at the valley of Shu-yü,[606] west of the T'ien mountains, and it is distant from Ch'ang-an by 26B
8360 *li*. There are 325 households, 2032 individuals, with 799 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the leaders of the left and the right and the commandants of the left and the right. To the south-west it is a distance of 1387 *li* to the seat of the protector general.

The state of Further P'u-lei

The king ...[607] [text defective] and it is distant from Ch'ang-an by 8630 *li*. There are 100 households, 1070 individuals with 334 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the leader, the commandants 27A
of the left and the right, and the interpreter-in-chief.

The state of Western Chü-mi[608]

The seat of the king's government is at the Yü-ta[609] valley, east of the T'ien mountains, and it is distant from Ch'ang-an by 8670 *li*. There are 332 households, 1926 individuals with 738 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Western Chü-mi, the leaders of the left and the right and the masters of cavalry of the left and the right. To the south-west it is a distance of 1487 *li* to the seat of the protector general.

16A The state of Eastern Chü-mi

The seat of the king's government is at the valley of Tui-hsü,[610] east of the T'ien mountains, and it is distant from Ch'ang-an by 8250 *li*. There are 191 households, 1948 individuals with 572 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of

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[606] Shu-yü 疏榆, GSR 90b and 125g: ṣio/ṣiwo-diu/jiu, the literal meaning being "widely spaced", i.e. scarce or scattered, "elms". Hsü Sung remarks that elms occur all over this large territory and that many places, both ancient and modern, contain the word "elm". Matsuda (1956) believes that this city should be located in the Barköl-Dawān.

[607] The text is defective, as the name of the seat of the king's government is missing.

[608] Chü-mi 且彌 (according to Yen Shih-ku 且 has to be pronounced *chü*); GSR 46a and 359m: tsio/tsiwo (usually ts'iå/ts'ia)-miăr/mjię. The *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* places both Eastern and Western Chü-mi in the area of the Hu-t'u-pi 呼圖壁 River, South of Manass. Matsuda (1956), p. 91-95, argues in favour of a location in the Yulduz area.

[609] Yü-ta 于大, GSR 97a and 317d: giwo/jiu-t'âd/t'âi. Hsü Sung points out that one version reads T'ien-ta 天大, GSR 361a and 317d: t'ien/t'ien-t'âd/t'âi.

[610] Tui-hsü 兌虛, GSR 324a and 78a: d'wâd/d'wâi or t'wâd/t'wâi-k'io/k'iwo or χio/χiwo.

Eastern Chü-mi and the commandants of the left and the right. To the south-west it is a distance of 1587 *li* to the seat of the protector general.

The state of Chieh[611] 27B

The seat of the king's government is at the valley of Tan-ch'ü,[612] east of the T'ien mountains, and it is distant from Ch'ang-an by 8570 *li*. There are 99 households, 500 individuals with 115 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials :] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the commandant and the interpreter-in-chief. To the south-west it is a distance of 1487 *li* to the seat of the protector general.

The state of Ku-hu[613]

The seat of the king's government is at the valley of Chü-liu,[614]
17A and it is distant from Ch'ang-an by 8200 *li*. There are 55 households, 28A
264 individuals with 45 persons to bear arms. [There are the following officials :] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), and the commandants of the left and the right. To the west, it is a distance of 1147 *li* to the seat of the protector general. It is a distance of 770 *li* to Yen-ch'i.

16B The state of [Mo]-shan[615]

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[611] Chieh 劫, GSR 642h : kiăp/kiep (lit. "robbery"!). This state, which still existed in T'ang times, is placed North of Ch'ang-chi 昌吉(Changki on the maps, ca. 100 km. NW of Urumchi), by the *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao*; it assumes that the people were nomads. Chavannes (1905 : 2), p. 513, referring to *T'oung Pao* 5 (1904), p. 83, note 1, says that Chieh is also called 羯師, GSR 597 and 599 : k'iat/k'iät-şiər/şi, and identifies the inhabitants with the Kaspioi mentioned by Herodotus and Ktesias, the country being present-day Kafiristan.

[612] Tan-ch'ü 丹渠, GSR 150a and 95g : tân/tân-g'io/g'iwo. Matsuda (1956), p. 114, situates this place Southwest of Manass.

[613] 狐胡: GSR 41i and 49a' : g'wo/χuo-g'o/γuo, but *HHSCC*, Mem. 79.1b and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* both read 孤胡 *ku-hu*, GSR 41e and 49a[1] : kwo/kuo-g'o/γuo; we have followed the emendation. The *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* places it at Lu-k'e-ch'in 魯克沁(Lukchin or Lukchun on the maps) on the northeastern edge of the Turfan basin.

[614] Chü-liu 車柳(the parallel in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* shows that the word *shih* 師 is an interpolation, probably owing to the frequent occurrence of the name Chü-shih), GSR 74a and 1114l : kio/kiwo or t'iå/tś'ia-liôg/liəu. Ch'i Shao-nan suggests that this place may have been the seat of the Chinese administration during the Later Han, called Liu chung 柳中, "amidst the willows", cf. *HSPC*, Mem. 78.4b and 6a, the Lukchin or Lukchun of the modern maps.

[615] Mo-shan 墨山, *GSR* 904c and 193a : mək/mək-săn/şăn, adding *mo* in accordance with *Shui-ching chu* 2.54b. The *Hsi-yü-t'u-k'ao* places it "North of Lobnor, in the mountains southwest of Kuang-an 廣安"; the latter, also called An-lo ch'eng 安樂城, is a locality in the Turfan area. Chavannes (1905), p. 552, note 7, follows Grenard, *Mission scientifique en Haute Asie* II, p. 61, and locates it at Kyzyl sanghyr, 130 kilometers South of Korla.

[The seat of] the king's [government is at the town of Mo-shan][616] and it is distant from Ch'ang-an by 7170 *li*. There are 450 households, 5000 individuals with 1000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials :] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the leaders of the left and the right, the commandants of the left and the right and the interpreter-in-chief. It is a distance of 240 *li* to Wei-li in the west, 160 *li* to Yen-ch'i in the north-west and 260 *li* to Wei-hsü in the west. It adjoins Shan-shan and Ch'ieh-mo in the east.[617] The 28B
mountains produce iron and the people live in the hills, relying on getting field produce and buying corn from Yen-ch'i and Wei-hsü.

The state of Nearer Chü-shih[618]

The seat of the king's government is at the town of Chiao-ho. The river divides and flows round the walls, and the town is therefore named Chiao-ho.[619] It is distant from Ch'ang-an by 8150 *li*. There are 700 households, 6050 individuals with 1865 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials :] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), the noble of An-kuo (peace of the state), the leaders of the left and the right, the commandant, the commandant of Kuei-Han (Allegiance to Han), the master of Chü-shih, the master of T'ung-shan (contact with excellence),[620] the master of Hsiang-shan (directed to excellence) and two interpreters-in-chief. To the south-west it is a 29A
17A distance of 1807 *li* to the seat of the protector general and 835 *li* to Yen-ch'i.

The state of Further Chü-shih[621]

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[616] The passage between brackets has been added in accordance with *Shui-ching chu*, 2.54b.

[617] For the places mentioned in this paragraph see : for Wei-li note 585; for Wei-hsü note 587; for Shan-shan note 77; for Ch'ieh-mo note 125; for Yen-ch'i note 588.

[618] The *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* locates this country around Kuang-an (cf. note 615), i.e. in the Turfan area, and so do all authors (see note 49).

[619] Chiao-ho 交河, "connected rivers", located 20 *li* or ca. 13 km. East of Kuang-an. Hsü Sung states that the ruins of this town lie near Yarkol, ca. 12 km. NW of Turfan and so does Chavannes (1907), p. 155, note 1. Huang Wen-pi (1954), pp. 3 and 8, identifies it with the ancient town of Yarkhoto or Idiqutshari.

[620] T'ung shan 通善; 鄉(i.e. 嚮) 善. Hsü Sung remarks that in view of the unstable relationship with Chü-shih, these auspicious names imply submission.

[621] The text reads 車師後王國, which would lead to the translation "the Further Kingdom of Chü-shih". Ch'ien Ta-chao remarks that the words *wang* and *kuo* have been inverted and that *wang* should begin the next phrase, like in many similar cases. It is to be noted that on p. 32b the same construction, with *wang-kuo* reappears. The Palace Edition of 1739 reads ... *kuo-wang* ... Chavannes (1905), p. 558, note 1, and (1907), p. 169, locates this state in the Jimsa area.

The seat of the king's government is at the valley of Wu-t'u,[622] and it is distant from Ch'ang-an by 8950 *li*. There are 595 households, 4774 individuals with 1890 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the noble of Chi-hu (assault on the nomads), the leaders of the left and the right, the commandants of the left and 29B
the right, the master of Tao-min (guidance of the people) and the interpreter-in-chief. To the south-west it is a distance of 1237 *li* to the seat of the protector general.

The state of the commandant of Chü-shih[623]

There are 40 households, 333 individuals with 84 persons able to bear arms.

The state of the chief of the further town of Chü-shih[624]

There are 154 households, 960 individuals with 260 persons able
18A to bear arms.

In the second year of the reign-period *T'ien-Han* [99 B.C.] Emperor Wu appointed the king of Chieh-ho, who had surrendered from the Hsiung-nu, to be noble of K'ai-ling.[625] Taking command of a force from the state of Lou-lan, he was the first to attack Chü-shih, and the Hsiung-nu sent the Wise king of the right,[626] with a force of cavalry several myriads strong, to its relief. The Han forces were unsuccessful 30A

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[622] Wu-t'u 務塗, GSR 1109j and 82d': mi̯ug/mi̯u-d'o/d'uo. The *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* locates the country in the Jimsa area, 20 *li* (ca. 13 km.) North of Pao-hui ch'eng 保惠城, i.e. in the region of Fou-yüan 孚遠 sub-prefecture; the town would then have been in a valley South of Fou-yüan. Chavannes (1905), p. 558, note 2, suggests that the capital was called Yü-lai 於賴 GSR 61e and 272e: *o/*uo or *i̯o/*i̯wo-lâd/lai, and may have been situated in the Wu-t'u valley. Pelliot (1929), p. 151 note 2, mentions that Wang Kuo-wei believed that the town of Fou-t'u 浮圖, GSR 1233 1 and 64a: b'i̯ôg/b'i̯əu-d'o/d'uo, might be the same as Wu-t'u, an idea which to Pelliot was not "*a priori* inadmissible".

[623] The *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* locates this at Karakhoto or Kao-ch'ang.

[624] The *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* locates this at present-day Ch'i-t'ai 奇臺 sub-prefecture (the Kitai or Kuchengtzu on the maps). — The use of the title *ch'eng-chang* 城長 is curious. In the interior of Han China, small or less populous prefectures were governed by a *chang*, "chief", instead of a *ling* 令, prefect, so perhaps we may see in the use of this term that it was a small, c.q. unimportant area, which is also shown by the lack of other officials.

[625] For Chieh-ho, the Noble of K'ai-ling, see above note 544.

[626] For the role of the Wise king of the Right, i.e. the ruler of the Southwestern part of the Hsiung-nu domain, subordinate to the *shan-yü*, see Pritsak (1954), p. 178 sq., esp. p. 184 sq.

and withdrew, and in the fourth[627] year of the reign-period *Cheng-ho*
17B [89 B.C.], Han sent Ma T'ung, noble of Chung-ho[628] with a force of 40000 horse to attack the Hsiung-nu and his route passed north of Chü-shih. In addition [Han] sent the noble of K'ai-ling[629] to take command of troops from a total of six states, including Lou-lan, Wei-li and Wei-hsü, to make a separate attack on Chü-shih, and to prevent it blocking the way of the Noble of Chung-ho. The forces of the various states together laid siege to Chü-shih, whose king surrendered and submitted to Han.[630]

In the time of Emperor Chao the Hsiung-nu took the further step of sending 4000 cavalrymen to work the land at Chü-shih, and after his accession Emperor Hsüan despatched five leaders with troops to attack the Hsiung-nu.[631] Those who were working the land at Chü-shih fled in alarm, and Chü-shih resumed relations with Han. In some anger, the Hsiung-nu summoned Chün-su,[632] heir apparent [of Chü-shih], wishing to make him into an hostage. Chün-su, who was a grandson of Yen-ch'i in the female line of descent, had no wish to serve as an hostage with the Hsiung-nu, and fled to Yen-ch'i. In his place the king of Chü-shih established his son Wu-kuei[633] as heir apparent. On his accession as king, Wu-kuei contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Hsiung-nu, and persuaded them to block the road that communicated between Han and Wu-sun. 30B

In the second year of the reign-period *Ti-chieh* [68 B.C.], Han sent the gentleman in attendance Cheng Chi[634] and Colonel Ssu-ma Hsi[635]

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[627] Hsü Sung remarks that *HSPC* 6.37b (*HFHD* II, p. 115), 17.24a, and 61.14a (see below, p. 236) all write "third year", i.e. 90 B.C.; the latter date should be adopted.

[628] Named here Ma T'ung and identified as the Noble of Chung-ho, who is elsewhere named as Mang T'ung (*HSPC* 6.38, *HFHD* II, p. 118; *HSPC* 17.24a, 66.3b, 94A.25a, *Urkunden* I, p. 178); cf. above, note 561.

[629] For the Noble of K'ai-ling see above, note 544.

[630] These events are also described in *HSPC* 94A.25b, cf. *Urkunden* I, pp. 178-179.

[631] According to *HSPC* 8.6a, *HFHD* II, pp. 211-212, this happened in the autumn of 72 B.C.

[632] Chün-su 軍宿, GSR 458a and 1029a : kịwən/kịuən - sịôk/sịuk or sịôg/sịəu.

[633] Wu-kuei 烏貴, GSR 61a and 540b: ʾo/ʾuo - kịwəd/kịwẹi.

[634] Cheng Chi, see note 54. He was ennobled for his action against Chü-shih, cfr. *HSPC* 8.17b, *HFHD* II, p. 243.

[635] Ssu-ma Hsi 司馬熹 is further unknown, apart from the present passage. *RHA* II, pp. 218-219, contains fragments of a report on a border incident on the Edsin-gol *limes*, submitted by a certain Hsi and datable in the first century B.C., but as the personal name Hsi was not uncommon, it would go too far to assume the identity of the two.

to take a force of convicts who had been excused punishment[636]
18A to work the land at Ch'ü-li[637] and gather the harvest, with the intention of attacking Chü-shih. When the autumn came the corn was gathered in, and [Cheng] Chi and [Ssu-ma] Hsi called out a force of over ten thousand men from the various states of the walled cities, and together with the 1500 agriculturalists who were under their own command took concerted action against Chü-shih. They attacked and took the town of Chiao-ho; and the king, who was still in the stone fortress to the north,[638] was not taken. At this juncture military supplies were exhausted; and [Cheng] Chi and his colleagues temporarily[639] disbanded their forces and returned to work the land at Ch'ü-li. On completion of the autumn harvest, they again sent out a force to attack the king of Chü-shih in the stone fortress. When he heard of the imminent approach of Han forces, the king fled north[640] to the Hsiung-nu to seek help; but before the Hsiung-nu had sent forces for him, he came back to take counsel with his nobleman Su-yu.[641]
19A He wished to surrender to Han but was afraid that he would not be trusted. Su-yu persuaded him to attack Lesser P'u-lei,[642] a state

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[636] The text reads 免刑罪人; this is a general expression. The normal expression for amnestied convicts was *ch'ih hsing* 弛刑. However, they still had to finish their term by performing work for the government and were often sent out on military campaigns; cf. *RHL* I, pp. 240-244.

[637] For Ch'ü-li see above, note 515.

[638] Hsü Sung points out that the expression *shih ch'eng* 石城 "stone walled-city", "stone fortress", also occurs in other contexts and is not a specific name; he suggests that the fortress in the T'an-han 貪汗 Mountains 70 *li* (ca. 45 km.) North of Kao-ch'ang or Karakhoto might be the place. He also suggests that this fortress might be identical with the locality which Cheng Chi attacked according to *HSPC* 70.4a, viz. Tou-tzu 兜貲, GSR 117a and 358m: tu/təu - tsi̯ar/tsi̯ə. In ch. 70 Shen Ch'in-han suggests that it lay in the Urumchi region.

Another "stone fortress" was situated at Uch-Turfan, according to Chavannes (1906), p. 224, note 3, in his translation of the biography of Pan Ch'ao in *HHSCC* Mem. 37.4a. It is to be noted that forts and tower-like beacon stations constructed completely of natural stone have been found in the westernmost part of the present-day Mongolian Autonomous Region (formerly the northeastern corner of Ninghsia) in the Wan Boha desert, west of Teng-k'ou or Bayen kaolo; see the excellent photographs in Hou and Yü (1973). For the Stone Tower or Πύργος λιθικός of Ptolemy see above, note 355.

[639] *Ch'ieh* 且 cannot mean "were about to", like e.g. in the next line. It must be taken in the sense of *ku ch'ieh* 姑且, "for the moment", "temporarily".

[640] "Fled north", quite logical in view of the context. However, it is also possible to take *pei* 北 as 背, as is often the case, and to translate "turned his back and fled".

[641] Su-yu 蘇猶, GSR 67c and 1096z: so/suo - zi̯ôg/iəu.

[642] Lesser P'u-lei 小蒲類. Hsü Sung suggests that this might be identical with Further P'u-lei, for which see p. 181.

neighbouring on the Hsiung-nu; and having executed or imprisoned some of its people, he made over to [Cheng] Chi.

The small state of Chin-fu,[643] neighbouring on Chü-shih, had followed after the Han army to loot Chü-shih, whose king rejoined 31A
by making a personal request to attack and conquer Chin-fu. When the Hsiung-nu heard that Chü-shih had surrendered to Han, they sent out forces to attack Chü-shih, and [Cheng] Chi and [Ssu-ma] Hsi took their forces north to meet them. The Hsiung-nu did not dare to advance; so [Cheng] Chi and [Ssu-ma] Hsi immediately detached a captain with twenty conscripts to stay and guard the king, and [Cheng] Chi and his colleagues led their forces back to Ch'ü-li. Being afraid that Hsiung-nu forces would re-appear and that he would be killed,
18B the king of Chü-shih forthwith fled to Wu-sun, riding light. [Cheng] Chi had his wife and children met and established at Ch'ü-li, and then travelled east to report what had occurred. When he reached Chiu-ch'üan [commandery he was met by] an imperial command ordering him to return to work the land at Ch'ü-li and Chü-shih; he was to lay in store larger stocks of grain, so as to set at rest the western states and [prepare] for an invasion of the Hsiung-nu.

On his return, [Cheng] Chi had the king of Chü-shih and his family conveyed by relay service to Ch'ang-an, where they were rewarded very handsomely. Whenever barbarians were assembled at court,[644] they were always honoured conspicuously, so as to make an example.

Thereupon [Cheng] Chi for the first time had 300 officers and conscripts set up separate farming establishments at Chü-shih.[645] He learnt from persons who had surrendered that the senior servants of the *Shan-yü* all said: "The lands of Chü-shih are fertile and fine, and they lie close to the Hsiung-nu. If Han were to acquire them and accumulate stocks of corn from a large number of land workings, the 31B

[643] Chin-fu 金附, GSR 652a and 136k: kiəm/kiəm-b'iu/b'iu. Hsü Sung indicates the existence of a locality called Sheng-chin k'ou 勝金口 in the Turfan region, but this is probably merely because the word *chin* occurs in both names.

[644] The text reads (每)朝會四夷; we take *ch'ao* and *hui* as two separate words, instead of the usual expression *ch'ao-hui* "meeting at court" (cf. *RHL* I, p. 37, no. 11 and cf. above, note 106); *Han-chi* 18.6a reads *ssu-i ch'ao-hui*, which could mean "gatherings at court for the Barbarians of the Four (Directions)". Still, whatever reading is preferred, the sense is clear.

[645] As indicated by Hsü Sung, these events are also mentioned in *HSPC* 94A.31b, cf. *Urkunden* I, p. 202, which adds that the Hsiung-nu moved the remnants of the population of Chü-shih further East and gave them a new king, viz. a younger brother of the ruler who had surrendered to Han; his name was Tou-mo 兜莫 GSR 117a and 802a: tu/tau-mâg/muo.

[Hsiung-nu] people and state would without doubt suffer loss. [The lands] must not be left uncontested." [The Hsiung-nu] duly sent cavalry to come [to Chü-shih] and attack the field workers, so [Cheng] Chi and the colonel[646] took the entire force of 1500[647] agriculturalists from Ch'ü-li to proceed to the fields [of Chü-shih]. In return the Hsiung-nu despatched reinforcements of cavalry. The Han conscripts detailed for agricultural work were few in number, and being unable to confront [the enemy] sought protection in the town of Chü-shih. The leaders of the Hsiung-nu drew up close to the walls and said to [Cheng] Chi: "The *Shan-yü* will be certain to contest these lands; they are not to be colonised". After surrounding the town for several days [the Hsiung-nu] gave up the siege.

Later several thousands of cavalrymen used constantly to ride to and fro. During the defence of Chü-shih, [Cheng] Chi sent up a written report saying that Chü-shih lay at a distance of over a thousand
19A *li* from Ch'ü-li, separated by rivers and hills. The northern [parts] lay close to the Hsiung-nu and the situation of the Han forces at Ch'ü-li was such that they were unable to come to each other's relief. He would therefore like to increase the establishment of conscripts detailed for agricultural work. The senior ministers considered [this proposal] and concluded that the distance was long, irksome and involved waste; and it would be right[648] to disband the colonies at Chü-shih. It was commanded that the noble of Ch'ang-lo[649] should be put in command of a force of cavalry from Chang-i and Chiu- 32A
ch'üan [commanderies].[650] He advanced over a thousand *li* north of

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[646] That is Ssu-ma Hsi, mentioned above, p. 185 and note 635.

[647] Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 828, reads differently: ... 將渠犁田卒七千餘人救之 "led a force of more than seventhousand agricultural conscripts to save it". The last two words refer of course to the remainder of the *Han shu* text; the great difference in the figures is explained by Hsü Sung as being due to a corruption of 士 "soldier" to 七 "seven", whereupon a copyist added an extra 卒 "conscript" to complete the isolated *t'ien* 田 "field, farming". That "seventhousand" must be a mistake is evident from the subsequent statement that the force was too small. It is to be noted that *T'ung tien* 191, p. 2030A, has the impossible combination 田士卒.

[648] The text reads 可且罷, "could be disbanded for the time being". However, Chü-shih was given up, as is shown in the following passage. Hence we suggest that 可且 is a corruption of 宜, induced by the Han style of writing the 宀 element with long strokes on the right and the left side. 宜 is frequently used in suggestions by inferiors, with the sense "it would be proper or preferable". See for the debate at court also *HSPC* 74.3b.

[649] That is to say Ch'ang Hui; see above, note 429.

[650] Chang-i and Chiu-ch'üan were two commanderies in the Kansu corridor; see above, note 40.

Chü-shih to make a demonstration of military power, and the nomad cavalry in the vicinty of Chü-chih withdrew. [Cheng] Chi was then
20A able to emerge and return to Ch'ü-li, and all [forces] under the three colonels were set to work at the military colonies.[651]

When the king of Chü-shih fled to Wu-sun, Wu-sun detained him and did not send him away. Wu-sun sent envoys with a written message saying that it would like to retain the king of Chü-shih as a precautionary measure so that, should any emergency arise, it would be possible to proceed from the western route to attack the Hsiung-nu.[652] Han gave its consent, and, summoning Chün-su, the former heir apparent of Chü-shih who was present in Yen-ch'i, established him as king. The population of the state of Chü-shih was removed completely and ordered to live in Ch'ü-li, and the former lands of Chü-shih were then made over to the Hsiung-nu. The king of Chü-shih was able to be close to the Han Office of Agriculture,[653] and, breaking with the Hsiung-nu, he enjoyed friendly relations with Han in peace.

Later Han sent Yin Kuang-te,[654] a gentleman in attendance, to reproach Wu-sun and to seek delivery of Wu-kuei,[655] king of Chü-shih,
19B to the palace. He was presented with a residence and lived there with his wife and children. This was in the fourth year of the reign-period 32B *Yüan-k'ang* [62 B.C.].

Afterwards the Wu and Chi colonelcy[656] was established to found military colonies and to settle in the former lands of Chü-shih.

During the reign-period *Yüan-shih* [1-5 A.D.] there was a new route in the further royal kingdom of Chü-shih.[657] This led to the Yü-men barrier from north of Wu-ch'uan,[658] and the journey was comparatively

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[651] Wang Hsien-ch'ien is wrong in suggesting the addition of the words "Chü-shih", for 1. the military colonies were at Ch'ü-li and 2. three lines further the text reports that Chü-shih was abandoned.

[652] Cf. *HSPC* 94A.32a, *Urkunden* I, p. 202.

[653] For *t'ien kuan* 田官, see *RHA* I, pp. 56 and 70.

[654] Yin Kuang-te is further unknown.

[655] For Wu-kuei see before, note 633. The insertion of *sun* 孫, also in the Ching-yu edition, is mistaken as shown by Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC*, p. 836, to which the commentators refer; the same phenomenon has been noted in another passage, see above, note 464.

[656] See above, note 63.

[657] Cf. note 621.

[658] Wu-ch'uan五船, lit. "Five Boats", GSR 58a and 229e : ngo/nguo-d'ịwan/dź'ịwan. Hsü Sung thinks these might be five flat topped hills with steep sides on the Hsiao Nan lu 小南路 (Lesser Southern Route?) which neither Chavannes (1905), p. 533, note 1, nor we have have been able to locate.

shorter. Hsü P'u,[659] the Wu and Chi colonel, wanted to open up
20B this route for use, so as to reduce the distance by half and to avoid the obstacle of the White Dragon Mounds.[660] Ku-kou,[661] king of the further state of Chü-shih, realised that because of [the passage of] the road he would be obliged to make provisions available [for Han travellers] and in his heart thought that this would not be expedient.[662] In addition, his lands were rather close to those of the southern general 33A of the Hsiung-nu. [Hsü] P'u wished to demarcate the territories clearly
20A and report the matter only after the event. He summoned Ku-kou to have him certify the action, but he was unwilling to do so and [Hsü P'u] had him apprehended. On several occasions Ku-kou bribed the officals with cattle or sheep in an endeavour to get out but he was unsuccessful.

Fires broke out on the tips of the spears in Ku-kou's home, and his wife Ku-tzu-tsou[663] said to him: "There has been an outbreak of fire at the tips of the spears; this is a phenomenon that augurs armed action; and advantage will accrue[664] from a resort to arms. Formerly the king of Nearer Chü-shih was killed by the major of the

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[659] Hsü P'u is further unknown.

[660] For the Dragon Mounds see above, note 108.

[661] Ku-kou 姑句, GSR 49g and 108a: ko/kuo-ku/kəu. *HSPC* 94B.15a, writes Kou-ku; cf. *Urkunden* I, pp. 262-263.

[662] The text, also in the *Ching-yu* edition, reads 以道當為拄置心不便也. *T'ung tien* 191, p. 1030A reads 以道通當 etc.; here Tu Yu (735-811) repeats the commentary by Yen Shih-ku, which shows that Tu was quoting the *Han shu*. Two and a half centuries after Tu Yu, Ssu-ma Kuang in his *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 27, p. 1136, quotes what is obviously the same passage, but writing 以當道供給使者心不便也, where he has replaced the highly technical institutional term 拄置 (which, i.a. acc. to *Tz'u-t'ung* I.1211 and II.1640, equals 儲侍), meaning "to provide necessities to the emperor or his representatives on their travels" (Dubs'rendering in *HFHD* III, p. 68, translating *HSPC* 12.3b, is wrong), by the easily understandable 供給使者 "to provide necessities for the envoys". In the 13th century, however, the *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* follows the *T'ung-tien* version. The commentators note these discrepancies, but offer no further solution. The meaning of the sentence, and hence the translation, depends on the position of the word *tang* 當. *Tang tao* (like in *TCTC*) occurs several times, meaning "being situated on the road or route", e.g. in *HSPC* 96A.9b. When *tang* follows *tao*, it cannot but govern a following verbal expression and mean "should, must, be obliged". 為 *wei* in the 4th tone "for, on behalf of" is here, as often, not followed by a specified object, as this is to be understood from the context. We have supplied the *T'ung-tien* amplification 通, rendered in our translation as "[the passage of]".

[663] Ku-tzu-tsou 股紫陬, GSR 51a, 358j and 1311: ko/kuo-tsi̯ăr/tsi̯ę-tsu/tsəu or tsi̯u/tsi̯u.

[664] The expression *li yung* 利用... "advantage will accrue from a resort to ..." occurs frequently in the Book of Changes.

protector general; and now you have been under detention for a long time and will surely die. The best course is to surrender to the Hsiung-nu." He immediately broke out on horseback from the fortress of Kao-ch'ang[665] and made his way to the Hsiung-nu.

In addition, T'ang-tou the Chü-hu-lai-wang king (abandoner of the nomads who makes over to the king)[666] lay close to the Red Water 33B
Ch'iang of the Great Tribes,[667] and was several times subjected to raiding. Finding the situation intolerable, he reported a state of emergency to the protector general, but Tan Ch'in,[668] the protector general, did not bring him relief or help at the right time. T'ang-tou was in a grave and urgent situation; angry with [Tan] Ch'in he went east to seek [the means of] defence from[669] the Yü-men barrier, where he was not admitted. He then took his wife and children and over 1000 of his people and fled to surrender to the Hsiung-nu. The Hsiung-nu received him and sent an envoy [to Han] with a letter describing the state of affairs.

At this time Wang Mang,[670] noble of Hsin-tu, was in sole control of the administration. He sent Wang Ch'ang,[671] leader of the gentlemen of the palace, and others on a mission to the Hsiung-nu to inform the *Shan-yü* that the Western Regions acknowledged allegiance to

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[665] Kao-ch'ang 高昌, GSR 1129a and 724a: kôg/kâu-t'i̯ang/tś'i̯ang, i.e. Karakhojo in the Turfan region; cf. Chavannes (1907), p. 155, note 1.

[666] For this curious title see note 71; it was borne by the ruler of the Ch'o Ch'iang (see note 69) whose name is given here as T'ang-tou 唐兜, GSR 700a and 117a: d'âng/d'âng-tu/tə̯u.

[667] The text reads 國比大種赤水羌 (Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC* 35, p. 1137, under pen-shih 2 = A.D. 2, adopts a different reading). The Han texts know no Ch'ih shui, "Red River"; we have been unable to locate it. We have not been able either to find a formal distinction between "greater" and "lesser" tribes, but it is perhaps not without significance that Fu Ch'ien says of a certain name "this is the name of the Ch'iang of the Lesser Tribes" (*HSPC* 69.8b).

[668] Tan Ch'in is mentioned in this and the following passage in *HS* 96, as well as in *HS* 94 (*HSPC* 94B.17b and 18a; cf. *Urkunden* I, pp. 270 and 271) and in *HS* 99 (*HSPC* 99B.13a,20a and 30b, *HFHD* III, pp. 301, 333 and 366). He was Protector General between A.D. 4 and 13.

[669] The text reads 守玉門關; *shou* 守 cannot mean "to hold, to defend" in view of what follows and consequently it has to be rendered similar to *pao* 保 "to seek refuge", cf. note 286.

[670] For the life of Wang Mang, see *HFHD* III, pp. 88-124. He was ennobled in 16 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 127).

[671] Wang Ch'ang is only known for his participation in the campaign against Chai I in A.D. 7 (*HSPC* 84.18b, cf. Bielenstein (1954), pp. 89-90) and for the incident under discussion, likewise mentioned in *HSPC* 94 B.15a, *Urkunden* I, p. 263 f.

Han and that he had not authority to accept [their fugitives].[672] The *Shan-yü* excused himself for his criminal action, and delivered the
20B two kings to the envoys. [Wang] Mang sent Wang Meng,[673] a gentleman of the palace, to wait at O-tu-nu,[674] the border of the Western Regions, to receive [the kings]. The *Shan-yü* sent envoys to escort them and to take the opportunity to ask for [the remission] of his punishment.[675] The envoys reported this, but [Wang] Mang did not agree. He commanded the kings of the various states of the Western Regions to assemble, and at a military parade he had Ku-kou and T'ang-tou beheaded as an example. 34A

At his usurpation of the throne,[676] in the second year of [*Shih-*] chien-kuo [A.D. 10], Wang Mang appointed Chen Feng,[677] Duke of Kuang-hsin, to be Count of the Right. He was engaged in setting out for the Western Regions, when Hsü-chih-li,[678] king of further Chü-shih, heard of these events and laid a plan with Ku-ti,[679] leader of the right, and Shih-ni-chih,[680] leader of the left. He said: "I have heard
21B that Duke Chen has been made Supreme Count of the Western Regions

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[672] The text reads 不當得受. Here the word *tang* 當 seems redundant, as *pu te* 不得 "not to be allowed, not have the authority", is in itself enough. On the other hand, there is the legal expression *pu tang te wei* 不當得為 "(things) that ought not to be done" (cf. *RHL* I, p. 63). This event led Wang Mang to set up new regulations concerning fugitives to replace the old agreement made under emperor Hsüan. The latter had stipulated that no persons coming from China to surrender themselves to the Hsiung-nu should be admitted; they were to be escorted to the border fortifications, whereupon the emperor was to be informed. Now Wang Mang ordered that the Hsiung-nu should not accept the surrender of Chinese, of Wu-sun, of inhabitants of the various countries of the Western Regions wearing Chinese seals and seal ribbons, nor of members of the Wu-huan tribe. See *HSPC* 94B. 15b-16a, *Urkunden* I, p. 262.

[673] Wang Meng is mentioned also in the parallel passage in *HSPC* 94B.15b, *Urkunden* I, p. 264, and in *HSPC* 99B.14b, *HFHD* III, p. 305.

[674] O-tu-nu 惡都奴, GSR 805h, 45e and 941: *âk/*âk or *âg/*uo-to/tuo-no/nuo. Shen Ch'in-han in commenting *HSPC* 45.16a thinks that this is identical with I-wu-lu 伊吾盧 of the Later Han (it is mentioned i.a. in *HHSCC* 2.15b, identified with present-day I-ho subprefecture, i.e. Aturyuk (?)), but this seems unlikely, in view of the pronunciation, of I-wu-lu: GSR 604a, 58f and 69d: *iɛr/*i-ngo/nguo-lo/luo.

[675] The text reads 請其罪. Normally this would mean that the *shan-yü* was asking to be punished himself, but here the expression is used as in *HHSCC* Mem. 24.12a and 74.2a with the meaning as given in the translation.

[676] This took actually place in January A.D. 9, see *HFHD* III, p. 255ff.

[677] Chen Feng, one of Wang Mang's early collaborators, whose ambitions led to his suicide; cf. *HSPC* 99B.15a-16a, *HFHD* III, pp. 308-311. For his title and its implications see *HFHD* III, p. 310, note 15.9.

[678] Hsü-chih-li 須置離, GSR 133a, 919g and 23f: siu/siu-tiəg/ĵi-lia/ljię.

[679] Ku-ti 股鞮, GSR 51a and 866h: ko/kuo-tieg/tiei or d'ieg/d'iei.

[680] Shih-ni-chih 尸泥支, GSR 561a, 563d and 864a: śiər/śi-niər/niei-ĵieg/tśię.

and is actually setting out there. According to precedent, envoys are supplied with cattle, sheep, corn, cut fodder, guides and interpreters.[681] Previously when the Wu-wei general[682] passed through, it was impossible to supply the needs of the envoys; and now, when the Supreme Count is in his turn setting out, the state is poorer and will probably not be able to meet [the requirements]."

They therefore wished to escape to the Hsiung-nu. When Tiao[683] Hu, the Wu and Chi colonel, heard of this he summoned [Hsü]-chih-li[684] and interrogated him to obtain proof. In his statement he made a confession, and he was then bound and delivered to the city of Lüeh-lou[685] where Tan Ch'in the protector general happened to be. [Hsü]-chih-li's people realised that he would not return, and they all accompanied him on his way, lamenting; and on his arrival,
21A [Tan] Ch'in had him beheaded. His elder brother Hu-lan-chih,[686] the noble of Fu-kuo (support of the state), took the lead of more than 2000 of [Hsü]-chih-li's people; and driving their stock animals he fled and surrendered to the Hsiung-nu with the whole state. At this time [Wang] Mang had had the *Shan-yü*'s signet[687] altered, and, 34B bitterly angry, the *Shan-yü* accepted Hu-lan-shih's surrender. He sent troops to launch a concerted raid on Chü-shih, killing the chief of the further town and wounding the major of the protector general.[688]

At the time when Hu-lan's[689] troops made their way back to the

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[681] For similar regulations, included in the Statutes, *lü* 律, see Maspero (1953), p. 14, strip nr. 3, and the remarks in Hulsewé (1957), p. 26 f.

[682] For the despatch of the officers bearing these titles see *HSPC* 99B. 11b f., *HFHD* III, 296 f.

[683] The text writes *tao* 刀, but, as shown by other passages, the correct word is *tiao* 弔. Tiao Hu is only mentioned in connection with the incidents under discussion in *HSPC* 94B.18a and 20b, *Urkunden* I, pp. 270 and 281, in the present text, and in 99B.13a, *HFHD* III, p. 301.

[684] Here, as well in succeeding passages, the word *hsü* 須 has been omitted.

[685] Lüeh-lou 埒婁, GSR 299d and 123a: liwat/liwät-gliu/liu; identified by Hsü Sung with "the city of Ch'en-mu 陳睦", mentioned in *HHSCC* Mem. 37.3b, close to the capital of Yen-ch'i (for which see notes 588 and 589).

[686] Hu-lan-chih 狐蘭支, GSR 4li, 185n and 864a: g'wo/γuo-glân/lân-tiẹg/tśiẹ.

[687] Signet, *hsi* 璽, the name for seals of the emperor and of the kings; cf. Kurihara (1960), p. 123-228, esp. p. 201 f. — The change of the seal is reported in greater detail in *HSPC* 94B.16b f., *Urkunden* I, pp. 266-268, and *HSPC* 99B.11b, *HFHD* III, p. 295 f. — See also notes 117, 470 and 492.

[688] Hsü Sung suggests that there were two majors, *ssu-ma*, one subordinate to the *Wu* and *Chi* Colonel, and one to the Protector General, the latter major being in charge of the administration of the country of the Further Town of Chü-shih (for which see note 621 above).

[689] Here the last part of the name, viz. the syllable *chih*, seems to have been omitted.

22A Hsiung-nu, Tiao Hu, the Wu and Chi colonel, was ill, and he sent his side Ch'en Liang[690] to encamp at the Huan-chü[691] valley, as a precautionary measure against Hsiung-nu raids. He sent his aide Chung Tai[692] to collect supplies of food; Han Hsüan,[693] major's assistant, to take command of the fortresses; and Jen Shang,[694] army captain of one of the brigades of the right, to take command of the fortifications.[695] [These officers] laid a plot together, saying: "The various states of the Western Regions are inclining towards revolt, and the Hsiung-nu wish to launch a large-scale raid; so we shall die. We should kill the colonel and lead the men to surrender to the Hsiung-nu."

They forthwith led several thousand cavalry to the colonel's head- 35A
quarters, and threatened all the posts, making them light the emergency signal piles.[696] They sent separate notices to the various fortifications, saying that a hundred thousand Hsiung-nu cavalry were on their way in; all officers and men should take to arms, and the
21B last to do so would be beheaded. Obtaining a force of three or four hundred men,[697] they halted at a distance of several *li* from the colonel's

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[690] *Shih* Ch'en Liang史陳良; Hsü Sung (1781-1848) supposes that *shih* here is not a clerk, but the colonel's second in command. Ch'en Liang is only known in connection with this incident, also described in *HSPC* 94B.17b-18a and 21a, *Urkunden* I, p. 270f. and 281 f., and in *HSPC* 99B.13a and 25b, *HFHD* III, pp. 301 and 347.

[691] Huan-chü桓 且, GSR 164f and 46a: g'wân/ɣuân - tsi̯o/tsi̯wo or ts'i̯å/ts'i̯a.

[692] Chung Tai is only mentioned in this connection; cf. note 690.

[693] Han Hsüan is only mentioned in this connection; cf. note 690.

[694] Jen Shang is only mentioned in this connection. In the absence of a full account of the military organisation of the Han period, it is not possible to define details of the command structure or of the order of battle. The terms that are used here are at some variance with those used for the units of the static garrison forces of the north and their officers (see *RHA* II. pp. 384). According to *HHSCC* Tr. 24.7b-8a, the command (*ying* 管) of a supreme general (*Ta chiang chün*大將軍) consisted of five brigades (*pu* 部) which included battalions (*ch'ü* 曲); and these were divided into a varying number of garrison units (*t'un* 屯). The commanding officers of the brigades, battalions, and garrison units were termed respectively colonel (*hsiao-wei* 校尉), army captain (*chün-hou*軍候) and officer in command of the garrison unit (*t'un-chang*屯長).

[695] The text distinguishes here between *chu pi* 諸壁, "all the fortresses", and *chu lei* 諸壘, "all the fortifications". Both terms are explained by each other in the ancient dictionaries and it is difficult to see what is the difference. The "fortress of Kao-ch'ang" mentioned earlier (see note 665) was the residence of the *wu* and *chi* Colonel and we have therefore taken *pi* to be the defence works around this town; the *lei* would then perhaps be detached posts or strongholds.

[696] For the beacon system and emergency fire signals, see *RHA* I, pp. 102-104.

[697] Here we follow the *Ching-yu* edition and the Palace Edition of 1739; the *HSPC*, following the Chi-ku ko edition of 1641, has inverted the figures for 100 and 4 and consequently reads 三百四人, "304 men".

headquarters; the morning fires were alight; and the colonel had the gates opened and the drums beaten to admit the officers and men. [Ch'en] Liang and his colleagues followed in, and promptly killed Tiao Hu the colonel, together with his four sons, his brothers and their sons, sparing only his wife, daughters and infant children. Remaining at the town of the Wu and Chi colonel, they sent men to inform the southern general of the Hsiung-nu, who had 2000 cavalry meet [Ch'en] Liang and his companions. They forced over 2000 officers, men and women [who had been in the charge or care] of the Wu and Chi colonel to make their way to the Hsiung-nu, and the *Shan-yü* appointed [Ch'en] Liang and [Chung] Tai to be Wu-fen[698] commandants.

Three years later the *Shan-yü* died, and his younger brother, the 35B
Wu-lei *Shan-yü* [named] Hsien was established [as *Shan-yü*].[699] Friendly relations were resumed with [Wang] Mang,[700] who sent envoys with ample gifts of gold and valuables as a present for the *Shan-yü*, hoping to obtain in exchange Ch'en Liang, Chung Tai and the others. The *Shan-yü* arrested all the four men together with twenty seven others, including Chih-yin,[701] who had personally killed Tiao Hu and his wife and children. He had them all fettered, put into a criminals' van and delivered to the [Han] envoys, and when they reached Ch'ang-an, [Wang] Mang had them put to death by burning.[702]

Later, [Wang] Mang again deceived the *Shan-yü* and friendly relations were interrupted. The Hsiung-nu mounted a large-scale attack
22A on the northern borders, and [the states of] the Western Regions split apart.[703] The state of Yen-ch'i, being near to the Hsiung-nu, was

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[698] Wu-fen 烏賁. This term evokes the similar Han title *hu-fen* 虎賁, the name of one of the imperial bodyguards. It is possible that a pun was intended; "as rapid as crows", instead of the normal "as rapid as tigers". It is also possible that the word *wu* 烏 has been substituted by a T'ang scribe for *hu* since this was a taboo word, being the name of the grandfather of the founder of the T'ang dynasty. Yen Shih-ku on one occasion replaces *hu* "tiger" by *wu* 武 martial in his comment to *HSPC* 96B.30a; cf. also Ch'en Yüan (1958), p. 147, on taboos. The pronunciation of *hu* 虎, *wu* 烏 and *wu* 武 is: GSR 57b, 61a and 104a: χo/χuo - •o/•uo - mi̯wo/mi̯u.

[699] Hsien 咸, GSR 671a: g'ɛm/γăm; Wu-lei 烏桼, GSR 61a and 577f: •o/•uo - li̯wər/ljwi. In view of the words "three years later", these events must have occurred in A.D. 13.

[700] This happened in A.D. 14, see *HSPC* 99B.25b, *HFHD* III, p. 347.

[701] Further unknown.

[702] These events of the year A.D. 14 are described in greater detail in *HSPC* 94 and 99, as stated in note 683. The "rebels" had called themselves Great Army Leaders of the Han acc. to *HSPC* 99B.13a, *HFHD* III, p. 301.

[703] Both the facts and the chronology of this passage are unclear; this is undoubtedly the result of the attitude of the author of the *Han shu*, Pan Ku, whose

the first to rebel and killed the protector general Tan Ch'in,[704] but [Wang] Mang was unable to take punitive action. In the third year[705] of the reign-period *T'ien-feng* [A.D. 16] he despatched Wang Chün, the Wu-wei general, and Li Ch'ung,[706] protector general of the Western Regions, to take command of the [troops of] the Wu and Chi colonel and to proceed to the Western Regions. The various states all met them with a welcome, and provided them with troops and corn.[707]
23A Yen-ch'i made a pretence at surrendering, but assembled troops in self-defence. [Wang] Chün and his colleagues took a force of over 7000 men from So-chü and Ch'iu-tzu, and, dividing them into several units, invaded Yen-ch'i. Yen-ch'i placed troops in ambush so as to obstruct [Wang] Chün; and when troops of the states of Ku-mo, Wei-li 36A
and Wei-hsü, who had acted as spies, returned, they altogether attacked [Wang] Chün and his colleagues killing them all, except for Kuo Ch'in,[708] the Wu and Chi colonel, who was in command of a separate force and reached Yen-ch'i later. As the forces of Yen-ch'i had not yet returned, [Kuo] Ch'in killed those [of its inhabitants] who were old or weak, and [led][709] his troops back [to China]. [Wang] Mang invested him with the title of Baron of [Chiao-] hu (extirpator of the

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animosity against the "usurper" Wang Mang led him to describe all the latter's actions in a most unfavorable light; see Bielenstein (1967), pp. 89-102. Bielenstein shows that Chinese relations with the Western Regions collapsed only after A.D. 23, not in the year 16, as the Wang Mang biography wants us to believe (*HSPC* 99B.32a, *HFHD* III, p. 366). Neither the biography nor the memoir concerning the Hsiung-nu mention any large-scale activity of the northern tribes during the time in question, as the present text would like to suggest. The "deceit" practised by Wang Mang undoubtedly refers to his execution of a Hsiung-nu hostage in A.D. 12, mentioned i.a. in *HSPC* 99B.18b, *HFHD* III, p. 319, but this did not lead to a rupture with the Hsiung-nu; see Bielenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[704] The death of Tan Ch'in is reported at the end of A.D. 13; *HSPC* 99B.22a, *HFHD* III, p. 333.

[705] All editions read "second year" except the Palace edition of 1739, whose reading "third year" is confirmed in *HSPC* 99B.30b (*HFHD* III, p. 366).

[706] Hsü Sung remarks that the *Hou Han chi* reads Tsung 宗 in stead of Ch'ung 崇. Huang Wen-pi (1958), p. 113, reports that in the area of Yulduzbeg near Shaya he found i.a. a small bronze seal, 1.3 cm square, with the inscription 李崇之印副□. Huang, beside remarking on the unusual addition of the two last words, makes the suggestion that this could be the seal of the Li Ch'ung mentioned here.

[707] Here we follow Hsü Sung's suggestion; another possible translation would be "provided the troops with food".

[708] This event occurred in A.D. 16. Kuo Ch'in is further mentioned in the parallel passage in *HSPC* 99B.30b, *HFHD* III, p. 366, and later as one of Wang Mang's "Tiger Generals" (*HSPC* 99C.25b, and 28b, *HFHD* III, pp. 460 and 467).

[709] The *Ching-yu* edition omits the word *yin* 引.

nomads).[710] Li Ch'ung collected the remaining troops and sought protection in Ch'iu-tzu. After some years [Wang] Mang died[711] and [Li] Ch'ung disappeared; and the Western Regions were completely cut off.

In the total number of fifty states there were altogether 376 men who carried on their belts Han seals and ribbons, ranging from interpreters-in-chief, chiefs of towns, masters, inspectors, officials, *ta-lu*, chiefs of the hundreds, chiefs of the thousands, commandants, *chü-*
22B *ch'ü*, *tang-hu*,[712] leaders and chancellors to nobles and kings; but [those officials] subordinated to K'ang-chü, the Ta Yüeh-chih, An-hsi, 36B Chi-pin and Wu-i are not included in this figure, as they were removed at a distance. When [those states] sent tribute or gifts, [Han] reciprocated, but [Han] did not exercise supervision or control.

Appreciation[713]

In the age of [Emperor] Hsiao Wu, policy was directed[714] to controlling the Hsiung-nu, in the realisation of the danger that they might form a union with the western states and an alliance with the

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[710] As indicated by the commentators, the character 參刂 of our text is a corruption of 桑刂, the latter form having been maintained in *HSPC* 99B.30b (*HFHD* III, p. 366). It also occurs in a quotation of the *Shu-ching* chapter "Kan shih", in the *Shuo-wen*; in the present version, the text reads 勦 *chiao* (cf. B. Karlgren in *BMFEA* 22, 1950, p. 16, last line), which has come to replace the archaic 桑刂 also in other cases.

[711] Wang Mang was killed by the troops of the insurgent forces on 6th October A.D. 23, see *HSPC* 99C.27b, *HFHD* III, p. 465.

[712] For Chü-ch'ü see above, note 81. *Tang-hu* 當戶, GSR 725q and 53a : tâng/tâng-g'o/γuo. The meaning of these, presumably Hsiung-nu, titles is unknown; the bearers of the latter title were high functionaries, subordinate to the "kings". See Pritsak (1954), p. 178-202. esp. p. 193 f. and p. 195 f.

[713] The word *tsan* 贊, literally "praise" or "eulogy", is regularly placed at the head of comments added by the compiler of the history at the end of each chapter. As rightly pointed out by Hsü Sung, this appreciation — assuming that this piece is the work of a single hand — cannot have been written by Pan Ku (32-92 A.D.), referring to emperor Ming (reigned 58-75 A.D.), but it must have been composed by his father, Pan Piao (died 54 A.D.), referring to emperor Kuang-wu (reigned 25-57 A.D.). Pulleyblank (1968), p. 250, enlarging on a remark by Haloun (1937), p. 250, note 1, jumps to the conclusion that the whole chapter 96 "must have been among those completed by Pan Piao". It was during Kuang-wu's reign that on several occasions the Western Regions sent tribute and asked in vain for the re-establishment of the Protectorate General (viz. in 38 and 45 A.D., see *HHSCC*, Ann. IB.11a and 16a). However, under the next emperor, and in Pan Ku's own days, a more active Central Asian policy was again pursued, largely under the leadership of Pan Ku's brother and nephew, Pan Ch'ao and Pan Yung. For the role of Pan Piao as an advisor on border affairs see Bielenstein (1956), esp. p. 18 and p. 22.

[714] *Han chi* 15.8b reads 圖利制匈奴, where 利 is an interpolation in view of the context.

southern Ch'iang. [The Chinese] thereupon demarcated the area [west of][715] the Yellow River; a line of four[716] commanderies was established and the Yü-men [barrier] was opened so as to communicate with the Western Regions, and in order to sever the right arm of the Hsiung-nu and to separate them from the southern Ch'iang and the Yüeh-chih. The *Shan-yü* lost his support, and thereafter fled afar,[717] and no royal court was held south of the desert.

In the time of Emperors Wen and Ching [the mood] had been one of silent contemplation [rather than of positive action]:[718] for five reigns[719] the people had been nurtured; the lands below the skies 37A
were prosperous and rich; there was wealth and strength in plenty, and military horses[720] in full abundance. It was therefore possible [to accumulate manifold resources].[721] Having beheld rhinoceros horn, ivory[722] and tortoise shell, [the men of those days] founded seven commanderies,[723] including Chu-ai;[724] allured by betel-nuts[725] and

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[715] The text reads 迺表河曲, but as indicated by the commentators, who refer to parallel passages and quotations, 曲 is an ancient mistake for 西.

[716] For the character 西 in the *HS* text, *Han-chi* 15.8b reads 四, a reading which is also supported by other evidence adduced by the commentators.

[717] *Han chi* 15.8b adds *mo pei* 漠北, "North of the desert", after "fled afar".

[718] For *hsüan-mo* 玄默, and its connotation of a Taoist attitude see *RHL* I, p. 373, note 148.

[719] *Wu shih* 五世, i.e. the reigns of emperors Kao (202-195), Hui (194-188), the empress Lü (187-180), and the emperors Wen (179-157) and Ching (156-141).

[720] *Shih-ma* 士馬, here, as before, "military horses", not "soldiers and horses"; cf. note 422.

[721] The phrase between square brackets has been added from *Han chi* 15.8b, which reads 積群貨.

[722] We follow *Han chi* 15.8b, substituting *hsiang* 象, "elephant", "ivory", for the meaningless *pu* 布, as indicated by Wang Nien-sun.

[723] The translation follows the *Ching-yu* edition which reads 七郡 in place of *HSPC* 七部. *HSPC* 6.23a (*HFHD* II, p. 82) mentions the foundation of *nine* commanderies in the south, including Chu-ai, in 112 B.C. For a summary of the commanderies established during Wu ti's reign, see Loewe in Kierman and Fairbank (1974), p. 327, note 44.

[724] The *Han chi* here seems to have been corrupted and wrongly emended. It writes ... 則開犍為朱崖七郡 "then opened up seven prefectures, including Chien-wei and Chu-ai"; once *chien* 建, "to found", had been misinterpreted as *chien* 犍, part of the name of Chien-wei, this must have led to the introduction of the second part of this name, viz. *wei* 為, and of a verb, meaning "to found", "to establish" or something similar, for which *k'ai* 開, "to open up" was chosen. That the *Han chi* text is wrong is amply shown by the fact that Chien-wei was established already in 135 B.C. (*HSPC* 28A.III.73b) and that it was situated in the Southwest, in southern Ssu-ch'uan province (cf. *RHA* I, p. 179, map, division no. 16).

[725] 枸 (*Han chi* has the more generally accepted 蒟) 醬 is "betelnut", where *chiang*, lit. "preserve", is part of the name of this fruit; see Hervouet (1964), p. 80, note 4.

bamboo staves, they opened up the commanderies of Tsang-k'o and Yüeh-sui;[726] and learning of the horses of Heaven and of the grape they started communicating with Ta Yüan and An-hsi. From then on rarities such as luminous pearls, striped shells,[727] lined rhinoceros
23A horn[728] and kingfisher feathers [were seen] in plenty in the empress' palace;[729] the *p'u-shao*, dragon-stripes, fish-eye and blood-sweating horses[730] filled the Yellow Gate;[731] groups of great elephants, lions,

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[726] These two commanderies were likewise established in 112 B.C., see *HSPC* 6.23a, *HFHD* II, p. 82.

[727] We have followed *Han chi* in reading 文貝 "striped shells" in stead of *Han shu* 文甲 "striped tortoise shells"; according to Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*, vol. V, p. 5229, no 13450/747, these "striped shells" are identified as *cypraea maculata* or cowries.

[728] Reading with *Han shu* 通犀 in stead of the 犀象 of the *Han chi* which is a repetition of the expression used a few lines earlier. For the lined or striated rhinoceros see Laufer (1914), p. 137f. However, it is to be noted that a very similar enumeration of products presented by the southern provinces in *HHSCC* Mem. 21.15a reads: 明璣翠羽犀象瑇瑁.

[729] The annual tribute presented by the southern provinces included these rarities, see *HHS*, Mem. 21.15a, and the passage from the *Han chiu i* translated by Dubs, *HFHD* II, p. 127, where the cumulative "and" in the enumeration has to be corrected to "or", the Chinese text reading *jo* 若. Here the *Han chi* 15.8b adds 氍毹, 琪瑠, 蒲萄, where the last term, *p'u-t'ao*, "grapes", would seem to be a corruption of 蒲桮 of the *Han shu* text, see note 730. *Ch'ü-yü* occurs in a quotation of the 2nd cent. *Feng-su t'ung* in the *Kuang yün*, which says that "wool woven into bedding, is called *ch'ü-yü* (cf. *Feng-su t'ung* (1945), p. 100). *Ch'i-liu* (GSR 952x and (114): g'i̯əg/g'ji-(li̯ôg/li̯ə̯u) remains untraced.

[730] *P'u-shao* 蒲桮(GSR 102n and 1149g: b'wo/b'uo-sŏg/sau) is the name of a type of horse from Ferghana, mentioned in *SC* 24.8, *Mh.* III, p. 237. — *Lung-wen* 龍文 is a general term for markings "like a dragon". — *Yü-mu* 魚目, lit. "fish eye", is an appellation which the *Erh-ya* 20.7b applies to horses of whom both eyes are surrounded by a white spot. According to Meng K'ang, "fish eye" was one of the Four Steeds 四駿, but, as far as we are aware, there exist only several series of *Eight* Steeds, among which "fish eye" does not occur (for 八駿 see the series given by Morohashi, vol. II, p. 12, no. 1450/281). For the "blood-sweating" horses see note 332. Egami (1951) has identified the horses with alien names; he identifies the *k'uai-t'i* 駃騠, GSR 312 and 866: ? kiwat/kiwet-?tiĕg/tiei, with the Aryan horse (p. 102), the *t'ao-yü* 騊駼, GSR 1047 and 82: ? d'ôg/d'âu-?di̯o/i̯wo, with the Przewalski horse (pp. 106-107), and the *tan-hsi* 驒騱, GSR147d' and 876: d'âr/da or d'ân/d'ân or tian/tien-? g'ieg/γiei with the wild ass or kulan (pp. 121-123); he believes the *k'uai-t'i* to have been identical with the blood sweating horses.

[731] The information about the functions of "the Yellow Gate" in *HSPC* 19A.16a-b and *HHSCC*, Tr. 26.5af. is confusing, but the *Han chiu i* by Wei Hung mentions at least that it was also concerned with horses (see *Han-kuan ch'i-chung*, B.4b, *HSPC* 8.3a, *HFHD* II, p. 206), whilst it likewise contains one explicit reference to "chariots, carriages" etc., under control of the Yellow Gate.

24A ferocious beasts[732] and ostriches[733] were reared[734] in the outer 37B
parks;[735] and wonderful goods of diverse climes were brought from the four quarters of the world.

Thereupon [the emperor] had the Shang-lin [Park] enlarged and the K'un-ming Lake[736] dug out; he laid out the palace with its thousand gates and myriad doors,[737] and erected the [two] eminences, [the one] where the spirits dwell and [the other] which leads to Heaven;[738] he hung aloft[739] the curtains in their different series,[740] fastened together with Sui pearls and Ho jades.[741] The Son of Heaven took his place within, with his back against a screen figured in black and white;[742] he was decked in a coverlet of kingfisher plumes and reclined 38A

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[732] We have followed the *Han chi* which reads 猛獸 in stead of the "ferocious dogs" 犬 of our text.

[733] For the ostriches, lit. "great birds", see above, note 270.

[734] The *Han shu* text includes in three consecutive sentences the "locative particle" *yü* 於 after three verbs which do not require any further word before their object. *HSPC* 96B.37a writes that various treasures 盈於後宮, horses 充於黃門, and curious animals 食於外囿. The *Han chi*, more consistently, writes 實於外囿. For a similar set of phrases, but without the unnecessary word *yü*, see *SC* 87.9, Bodde (1938), p. 19.

[735] Outer parks, *wai yü* 外囿. The *San-fu huang-t'u*, pp. 29-30, states that wild animals were kept both in the Shang-lin Park and in the Ssu-hsien Park 思賢苑. This 5th (?) century text quotes the lost 1st century *Han chiu i* by Wei Hung which states that all kinds of wild animals were reared there and that registers of animals were kept 禽獸簿; see *Han-kuan ch'i-chung* B. 7b-8a.

[736] For the park and the digging of the K'un-ming lake see *HSPC* 6.15b, *HFHD* II, p. 63.

[737] This descriptive phrase is found in *HSPC* 25B.4b and recurs in the *San-fu huang-t'u*, p. 15. Both refer to the Chien-chang Palace which was built in 104 B.C., acc. to *HSPC* 6.31b, *HFHD* II, p. 98; see also *Mh* III, p. 514.

[738] These two "eminences", *t'ai* 臺, terraces or, in this case, towers, were the "Eminence where the Spirits dwell", *Shen-ming* 神明 *t'ai*, and the "Eminence which leads to Heaven", *T'ung-t'ien* 通天 *t'ai*. Their establishment is mentioned in *HSPC* 25B.5a and 2a; the date for the building of the former was 104 B.C., that of the latter 109 B.C., see *HSPC* 6.26b, *HFHD* II, p. 90. See also *Mh* III, p. 508 and p. 514. According to *Han chiu i* the Eminence which leads to Heaven was 300 feet (70 meters) high.

[739] *Han-chi* omits 興, before 造.

[740] The phrase 甲乙之帳 also occurs in *HSPC* 65.14a, meaning "the curtains (numbered) A, B, etc."

[741] *Han-chi* reads 絡 for 落, and 荊 for 和. For the use of the Sui pearls and the Ho jades as examples of treasures see Bodde (1938), p. 18, note 3.

[742] *Han-chi* unnecessarily adds 黼 after 黼. Yen Shih-ku rightly explains 依 as 扆, "a screen figured in black and white"; some commentators of the classics believe that these were "decorated with figures of stylized axes"; see Karlgren (1949), p. 160, gloss 1980.

on an armrest decorated with jade. Wine was set out [sufficient to fill] a lake, and meats [in plenty like] a forest,[743] to entertain the guests of the four barbarian peoples; and as spectacle for them to admire, there were exhibited [the dancers] of Pa-yü, [the perch-climbers] of Tu-lu, the pole springing up from an [artificial] sea, with [the ballets] of the Man-yen [monster] and of the fishes and dragons, and [the performance] of the bull game.[744]

β 23B There came the further expenses of presents sent as gifts or to 38B accompany escorts; of the courtesies exchanged at a distance of ten thousand *li*; and of the armed forces, too high for calculation. When the means at [the emperor's] disposal were insufficient, a monopoly was imposed on the sale of liquors, and the salt and iron workings were brought under official control; coins were cast in white metal and valuables were made in [deer] hide;[745] the scope of the levy was extended to wagons and boats, and taxes were raised even on stock animals,[746] The strength of the people was spent, and resources were exhausted; and there followed some years of poor harvests. Robbers and thieves rose up everywhere and the roads were impassable. For the first time commissioners appointed directly by the emperor were

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[743] The *San-fu huang-t'u* mentions these curious establishments which are ascribed to the extravagances of the last debauched ruler of the Yin, see *SC* 3.27, *Mh* I, p. 200.

[744] For these games see Yü Hao-liang (1961), and Diény (1968), p. 55ff. In the latter the Pa-yü dancers are to be found on p. 55, the Tu-lu perch climbers on p. 60, the dance of the *man-yen* monster (漫衍 in *HS* 96, 曼延 in the poem discussed by Diény; GSR 266n and 197a: mwân/muan-gian/iän, c.q. GSR 266a and 203a: mi̯wăn mi̯wen-dian/iän; as all four words have the meaning "extensive, extend", the binome may quite well be a purely Chinese term, meaning "the long thing", and not an alien word) and of the fishes and dragons on p. 61, and the *chiao-ti* "bull game" (or wrestling?) on pp. 58-59, (cf. above, note 439), with references to contemporary literature and art, and to modern studies. As regards 海中碭 (not 碭 as in the Chi-ku ko edition of 1641, followed by *HSPC*) 極, this "pole jutting out of the (artificial) sea" is probably the magic mountain around which the *man-yen* monster played, parallel to the statement in Chang Heng's prose-poem on the Western Capital, *Hsi-ching fu*, in *Wen-hsüan* 2: 崔巍欻從背見, rendered by von Zach (1958), vol. I, p. 15, as "(da) hinten ist plötzlich der Geisterberg in seinen gewaltigen Dimensionen zu sehen".

[745] For the monopolies on wine (introduced in 98 B.C., see *HSPC* 6.34b, *HFHD* II, p. 107), iron and salt, see the brief remarks in Gale (1931), p. xxvff., and in Swann (1950), pp. 61-66. For the use of "white metal", i.e. a mixture of silver and tin, see *HSPC* 24B, 11a-b, Swann (1950), p. 267ff., *HFHD* II, p. 64, note 15.12, and *Mh*. III, p. 564ff.; see also Loewe (1974), p. 62, as well as Nishijima Sadao's contribution to the forthcoming *Cambridge History of China*.

[746] 算至車船, 租及六畜. For the levy on wagons and boats, see *HSPC* 24B.13b, Swann (1950), p. 282; for the second statement see *RHA* I, p. 71f. and Hiranaka (1967), p. 237ff.

sent out, clothed in embroidered silk and bearing axes,[747] to exterminate [the bandits] in the commanderies and kingdoms and only then was [the danger] overcome. For these reasons, in his latter days [Emperor Wu] abandoned the lands of Lun-t'ai and proclaimed a decree expressing anguish and sorrow.[748] How could good and saintly [rulers] not regret these things?[749]

Moreover, if one passes through the Western Regions, close at hand lie the Dragon Mounds; and far away are the Ts'ung-ling and the obstacles formed by the slopes of the Fevers of the Body, the Hills of the Headaches and the Suspended Crossing. The arguments of
24A [the king of] Huai-nan, Tu Ch'in and Yang Hsiung[750] alike conclude that these are the means whereby Heaven and Earth have separated the zones and cut asunder the inner and outer regions.[751] In the *Book of Documents*[752] it is written "The Western Jung were then 39A reduced to order." It was simply by Yü's arrival that they were reduced to order. Had he not been [a man of] abundant power and prestige, he would have had no means of inducing them to bring their tribute.[753]

The various states of the Western Regions[754] each have their rulers and their chiefs. Their large bodies of armed men are separated[755]

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[747] 衣繡杖斧: for these commissioners "clothed in embroidered silk and bearing axes", sent out in 99 B.C., see *HSPC* 6.34a, *HFHD* II, p. 106. *Han chi* 15.9a reads 衣繡衣. 持斧鉞.

[748] For this decree see above, p. 168.

[749] For the rendering of *jen* 仁 as "good" see Waley, (1938), p. 27ff. *Han-chi* simply writes 聖人 "saintly men". For criticisms levelled against the policies adopted under emperor Wu in the succeeding decades and later, see Loewe in Kierman and Fairbank (1974), p. 104f.

[750] For the warning of Liu An, king of Huai-nan, against undertaking far-flung expeditions see *HSPC* 64a.2b. Tu Ch'in's warning is quoted above, pp. 109-111. Yang Hsiung's veiled admonition against war in the West is contained in his *Ch'ang-yang fu* 長楊賦, *HSPC* 87B.4b, esp. 5b.

[751] We follow the more complete *Han chi* 15.9a version which reads: 此天地所以分別區域隔絕內外也

[752] In the chapter "The tribute of Yü"; cf. Karlgren (1950), p. 17, the end of paragraph 19.

[753] The *HS* text reads 禹既就而序之非上威服致其貢也 We follow *Han chi*, 15.9b, which reads: 禹但就而序之非威德之盛無以致其貢物也. The quotation is already mutilated in the *Wei shu* (T'ung-wen ed.), 102.1a, to which Hsü Sung refers.

[754] For *yü* 域 "regions", *HC* writes *jung* 戎, "barbarians".

[755] For *fen* 分, "divided", *HC* reads *pin* 貧, "poor". The *HS* reading remains preferable.

and weak, with no means of united control. Although they may be subject to the Hsiung-nu, they are not attached to them by ties of friendship. The Hsiung-nu are [merely][756] able to acquire their horses, stock animals, felts and woollens, but are not able to control or lead them, or to act in concert with them. They are cut off from Han and the intervening distance is [very][757] great; if [Han] takes possession of them they bring no profit; if [Han] abandons[758] them they constitute no loss. With glorious power resting with us, there is nothing to take from them.

Hence, since the reign-period of *Chien-wu* [i.e., since A.D. 25],[759] the Western Regions have borne in mind the might and power of Han and have all rejoiced to make themselves its subjects. Only small settlements such as Shan-shan or Chü-shih, whose borders lie close to the Hsiung-nu, are still involved with them; whereas large states such as So-chü or Yü-t'ien repeatedly send envoys and lodge hostages with Han, requesting that they be made subject to the protector general. Our saintly emperor has surveyed the circumstances of past and present; and in view of the expediency of the times he has declined their requests and withheld permission, while the bonds that relate them have not been severed. He has combined together the moral qualities shown by the Great Yü when he reduced the Western Jung to order, of the Duke of Chou when he declined the white pheasants,
24B and of T'ai-tsung when he refused [the gift of] the fine horses; could any conduct be more noble?[760]

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[756] Added in accordance with *HC* 15.9b.

[757] Adopting the *HC* reading *yu* 尤 for *HS yu* 又.

[758] For *HS ch'i* 棄, "to cast off, to abandon", *HC* reads *shih* 失, "to lose", which agrees better with the preceding *te* 得 in view of the common expression *te-shih*.

[759] The author refers to the assumption of power by the emperor Kuang-wu, who reigned between A.D. 25 and 56; see note 713.

[760] For the mythical emperor Yü and the Western Jung see the text indicated in note 752 above. For the story of the Duke of Chou refusing the gift of a white pheasant from the tribes of the distant South see the remarks in *HFHD* III, p. 64, note 2.3. The story of emperor Wen — referred to here by his temple name T'ai-tsung — refusing a fast horse occurs in *HSPC* 64B.16b; *HSPC* 65.14a contains a similar advice given by Tung-fang Shuo to emperor Wu that the latter should "rid himself of his coursers".

TRANSLATION OF *HAN SHU*, CHAPTER 61, THE MEMOIR ON CHANG CH'IEN AND LI KUANG-LI

1A Chang Ch'ien [761] was a man of Han-chung [commandery]. [762] During 1A
the reign-period *Chien-yüan* [140-135 B.C.] he served as a gentleman. [763]
At the time deserters from the Hsiung-nu had said that they had
defeated the king of the Yüeh-chih and made a drinking vessel of his
skull. The Yüeh-chih had fled, but, furious as they were with the
Hsiung-nu, there was no party with whom they could attack them
jointly. As it happened Han was wishing to start operations to elimi-
nate the nomads; and, hearing of this report, wished to make contact
1B [with the Yüeh-chih] by means of envoys; their route would perforce
have to pass through the Hsiung-nu.

A call was then made for persons able to undertake the mission. In his capacity as a gentleman, [Chang] Ch'ien answered the call and was sent to the Yüeh-chih. Setting out from Lung-hsi [com- 1B
mandery] [764] in company with Kan-fu, a slave of the T'ang-i family, [765] he took the short route through the Hsiung-nu, who captured him and had him sent to the *Shan-yü*. The *Shan-yü* said: "The Yüeh-chih lie to the north of us; how may Han send its envoys there? If I

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[761] For the relationship between this chapter and *SC* 123 see the Introduction, p. 15ff., and Hulsewé (1975).

[762] Yen Shih-ku quotes the (lost) *I-pu ch'i-chiu chuan* 益部耆舊傳 by Ch'en Shou 陳壽 (233-297) (see de Crespigny (1970), p. 85), which specifies further that Chang Ch'ien's home-prefecture was Ch'eng-ku 成固 in Han-chung commandery; TM, p. 385, locates this eighteen *li* (approx. 11 km.) Northwest of present-day Ch'eng-ku 城固 in Shensi province, i.e. ca. 33° 10' N. and 107° 15' E. Sung Ch'i suggests that the final 也 might be deleted, but this does not affect the translation; moreover, the usual formula "A was a man from B" is concluded by *yeh*.

[763] For the function of Gentleman or *lang* see Yen Keng-wang (1951).

[764] Lung-hsi commandery was located in the eastermost part of present-day Kansu province, between the Lung Hills in which the Wei river rises and the Yellow River; see *RHA* I, pp. 180-181, nr. 58.

[765] There has been considerable speculation about the origin of the man called Kan-fu, "Father Kan". However, due to the fact that T'ang-i was a nobility in those days (established early in 200 B.C. and only abolished in 116 B.C.; see *HSPC* 16.7a), the translation "Kan-fu, a slave of the T'ang-i family" is warranted. After 116 B.C. T'ang-i presumably became a prefecture, and it is listed as one of the constituent prefectures of Lin-huai commandery in *HSPC* 28A.iii.16a-b. In the *Shih-chi* version the word *nu* 'slave', is preceded by *ku hu* 故胡, "former *hu*-nomad"; Chang Wen-hu 5.58b, believed this to be a case of dittography induced by the similarity of the two characters; he notes that the *So-yin* text of the *Shih-chi* does not contain the word *ku* 故, "former". That Kan-fu was a *hu* 胡, "nomad" is stated later in the present text (*HSPC* 61.2b, our translation p. 210); for *hu* as a general term for the nomadic tribes of the North and Northwest see note 71.

wished to send envoys to Yüeh,[766] would Han be willing to let me [do so]?"

For over ten years he detained [Chang] Ch'ien, giving him a wife by whom he had children. However, [Chang] Ch'ien [constantly][767] retained the Han emblems of authority without loss. Living in the western part of the Hsiung-nu, he found an opportunity to escape with his followers in the direction of the Yüeh-chih, and after speeding west for days numbered by the ten he reached Ta Yüan. Ta Yüan had heard of Han's abundant wealth and had wished to establish contact, but had not been able to do so. [The king of Ta Yüan] was delighted when he received [Chang] Ch'ien and asked him where he was going. [Chang] Ch'ien said: "I was going on a mission to the Yüeh-chih for
2A Han and my way was blocked by the Hsiung-nu. Now that I have escaped[768] it rests with you to send someone to guide me on my way; if I do actually succeed in reaching my destination and returning 2A
to Han, the wealth and goods which Han will present to you will beggar description."

Ta Yüan believed this, and sent off [Chang] Ch'ien, providing him with interpreters and guides.[769] He reached K'ang-chü, who passed him on to the Ta Yüeh-chih. The king of the Ta Yüeh-chih had been killed by the nomads, and his wife had been established as king
2A [*sic*];[770] having subjugated Ta Hsia she reigned over it.[771] The land

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[766] Yüeh. This refers to the so-called Southern Yüeh, who continued to exist as independent communities in present-day South China and northern Vietnam until the Chinese conquest and the establishment of Chinese administration in their territories, beginning in 112 B.C.; cf. *HFHD* II, p. 79-82, and *Mh* I, pp. lxxxii f.

[767] The *SC* parallel adds 常.

[768] Wang Hsien-ch'ien notes that the Palace Edition of 1739, perhaps following an earlier version, writes *t'o* 脫, "to evade", instead of *chin* 今, "now"; as remarked by Ch'ien Ta-hsin, this must be an ancient gloss to *wang* 亡, "to escape", erroneously included in the text.

[769] Reading 道 as 導 "guide", especially as the *Ching-yu* edition 61.1b reads 發道譯, where *tao* cannot mean "route". The Chih-yüan and Shao-hsing editions of the *Shih-chi* both read 導驛, "guides and post-stations", but, as Wang Hsien-ch'ien remarks, it is more logical to read the last word as 譯, "interpreters".

[770] The Sung commentator Sung Ch'i (for his part is editing the early edition of the *Han shu* see Loewe (1963), p. 165 ff.) remarks that he had seen an ancient copy of the *Han shu* which read 夫人太子 "(his) wife (and) heir-apparent" for *fu jen* 夫人, "wife", but on the other hand one of the older commentators of the *Shih-chi*, Hsü Kuang, notes that one version of the *SC* read *fu jen* "wife", like the *Han shu* (*SC* 123.4, Tak. ed.).

All texts have *wang* 王, "king", normally referring to a man, but exceptionally also to a woman, as in the case of Japan, viz. in *San-kuo chih, Wei chih* 30.34b (T'ung-wen edition); cf. Tsunoda and Goodrich (1951), p. 9. Of course, it can be argued that the

was fertile, with few brigands, and [the Ta Yüeh-chih] had set their minds on [a life of] peace and contentment. In addition, being themselves removed afar, they wished to keep their distance from Han, and had no intention at all of taking revenge on the nomads. From the Yüeh-chih, [Chang] Ch'ien reached Ta Hsia, but in the end he was unable to rouse the interest[772] of the Yüeh-chih. After staying there for over a year, he returned making his way along the Nan-shan, as he wished to go back by way of the Ch'iang[773] peoples. He was again captured by the Hsiung-nu. After over a year's detention there 2B
the *Shan-yü* died and the state was thrown into confusion. In company with his nomad wife and [Kan]-fu of T'ang-i, [Chang] Ch'ien escaped
2B back to Han. He was appointed to be supreme counsellor of the palace,[774] and T'ang-i-fu was made Master who served as an envoy.

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use of *wang*, "king", strengthens the argument for reading *t'ai-tzu*, "heir-apparent", instead of *fu-jen*, "wife", but we have retained the *lectio difficilior*.

[771] The *Shih-chi* Shao-hsing edition reads 居之 "dwelt there", whereas the Ching-yüan edition simply reads *chü*, "dwelt". The eighth century *so-yin* commentary to the *Shih-chi* again reads *chün* 君, "lorded, ruled", without a following 之. The reading *chü chih*, "dwelt there", seems preferable.

[772] The text says that Chang Ch'ien was unable to obtain the Yüeh-chih's *yao-ling* 要領. The early commentator Li Ch'i explains this term as "essentials" 要契, but Yen Shih-ku refutes this. He says — what is obvious — that *yao* and *ling* refer to the waist and the collar of a robe (underlined again by Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 371, with references to the *I-li* and the *Li-chi*), and then paraphrases the term *yao-ling* by *i-ch'ü* 意趣, which means "expectations" or "interest"! In spite of this strange transition, this must be the meaning. That beside this *yao ling* also means "waist and neck" and as such is a metonym for "life" (because capital punishment might be either cutting into two at the waist or beheading), as indicated by the dictionaries, is not of interest here.

[773] For the Ch'iang see note 69 above.

[774] The dates of Chang Ch'ien's journey are highly uncertain. Neither the *Han shu* nor the parallel story in the *Shih-chi* provide exact dates for his travels. The *Han-chi* does not do so either, but its chronological arrangement, though made centuries later, viz. at the end of the 2nd century A.D., provides a certain base. The first absolutely certain date is the year 123 B.C. when, some time after his return, Chang Ch'ien was given a nobility. It is under this same year 123, "the 2nd year of the reign-period yüan-kuang", that *Han-chi* 12.6a first introduces Chang Ch'ien and relates his adventures.

Based on the text of the first paragraph of this chapter, which reads "during the reign-period chien-yüan" (which lasted from 140 until 135 B.C.), it is traditionally assumed that Chang Ch'ien started on his journey in 139 or 138 B.C. But this is contrary to the evidence that only in 133 B.C. the first measures against the Hsiung-nu were considered; see e.g. *Han-chi* 11.5a, for the year 133 (yüan-kuang 2, tenth month, or slightly later): "For the first time the ministers were ordered to make suggestions for subjugating the Hsiung-nu" 始詔公卿議伏匈奴. 133 B.C. is also the year of the very first undertaking against the Hsiung-nu: the ambush at Ma-i (see *HFHD* II,

[Chang] Ch'ien was a man of strong physique and of considerable generosity; he inspired the trust of others and the barbarians loved him. T'ang-i-fu was a nomad; and, being an expert marksman, at [times of] critical shortages he would shoot animals to provide a supply of food. At the time when [Chang] Ch'ien had started his journey, over a hundred men set out, but thirteen years later only two succeeded in returning. The states reached by [Chang] Ch'ien in person comprised Ta Yüan, Ta Yüeh-chih, Ta Hsia and K'ang-chü, and those
2B of whom he heard tell included five or six large states at their side. He told[775] the Son of Heaven in full about the lay of the land and their resources, and his account is given in the chapter on the Western Regions.[776]

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p. 39; *Urkunden* I, p. 98f.). Consequently, Chang Ch'ien can hardly have left China before 133 B.C.

Doubts have been expressed about the length of his absence. Haloun (1937), p. 250, note 1, following a personal communication by Arthur Waley, asserts that Chang Ch'ien's thirteen years' wanderings would seem to be a legendary trait, also found in the biography of Confucius.

Haloun (1937), p. 249, note 5, places the time of Chang Ch'ien's return in 126 or 125 B.C.; see also Daffinà (1969), p. 144, note 2. This hinges on the date of the death of the Hsiung-nu ruler, which occurred in the winter of 127/126 or 126/125 B.C.; see *HSPC* 94A, 17b, *Urkunden* I, p. 111, and cf. Franke (1937), vol. III, p. 185.

太中大夫 *t'ai chung ta-fu*. These Supreme Counsellors of the Palace had a salary of "comparable to 1000 bushels", whereas that of the most elevated in rank of the palace counsellors, the *kuang-lu ta-fu*, was "comparable to 2000 bushels". There was no fixed number or "complement" of these and similar counsellors, 無員.

[775] It is to be noted that the text does not say that Chang Ch'ien submitted a written report, 上書, or a similar expression. We are well aware of the existence of the expression 敢言之 in official correspondence.

[776] Here *SC* inserts a brief description of various countries of the Western Regions, adapted from *HS* 96 with a few exceptions; for details see Hulsewé (1975). Fragments of an ancient text, perhaps of the original *SC* chapter, are: "Ta Yüan lies to the Southwest of the Hsiung-nu and due West of Han; it is about 10.000 *li* (ca. 4.000 km.) distant. As regards its habits, (the people) are settled on the land and till their fields, growing rice and wheat ... Their number is about several hundreds of thousands, their arms are bows and lances, and they shoot riding". (*SC* 123.1b, line 6ff.). The passage is interrupted by a sentence taken from *HS* 96A.7b. It is followed by a statement that differs in details from that in *HS* 96A and which therefore has puzzled all commentators (see Pulleyblank 1966, pp. 23-24); it concerns Ta Yüan's neighbours. — In the following passages, the states of the Western Regions are discussed, on the whole using material taken from *HS* 96, interspersed by a few fragments which may have belonged to the "original report" by Chang Ch'ien. Like the Ta Yüan fragment translated in the preceding lines, these provide distances and population figures in very approximative and vague numbers (cf. the Introduction, p. 30).

[Chang] Ch'ien said: "When I[777] was in Ta Hsia, I noticed the bamboo staves of Ch'iung and the cloth of Shu;[778] when I asked how these had been acquired, the men of Ta Hsia said: 'Our merchants go and buy them in the state of Shen-tu.[779] That state lies some 3A
3A thousands of *li* south-east of Ta Hsia. Its way of life is one of attachment to the land, as it is in Ta Hsia, but the place is low, damp and very hot. The people ride on elephants to fight their battles, and the state borders on a large river.' According to my reckoning, Ta Hsia lies 12000 *li* away from Han in the south-west; we now find that Shen-tu lies several thousand *li* to the south-east of Ta Hsia and is in possession of goods from Shu. Were an envoy to be sent to Ta Hsia to make his way through the Ch'iang, he would find it dangerous going, and the Ch'iang people would hate it; and were he to go a little further north, he would be captured by the Hsiung-nu; but if he were to go by way of Shu, he would be on a direct route, and, moreover, there would be no brigands."

So[780] the Son of Heaven heard that [places] such as Ta Yüan as well as Ta Hsia and An-hsi were all large states with many rare goods; that the people were attached to the land and that their way of life was rather similar to that of China; however, their forces were weak, and they prized Han wealth and goods. [He heard that] to their north, there were [peoples or places] such as the Ta Yüeh-chih and K'ang-chü, whose forces were strong; it would be possible to present them with gifts and hold out advantages with which to bring them to court. If they were really won over and made into subjects by the exercise of moral pressure it would be possible to extend [Han] 3B
3B territory for ten thousand *li*. With [the help of] a series of interpreters,[781]

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[777] When addressing the emperor, Chang Ch'ien follows contemporary usage and refers to himself by the word *ch'en* 臣, "servant"; this has been rendered here throughout by the personal pronoun "I".

[778] Ch'iung 邛 in Western Ssu-ch'uan province; see Hervouet, (1964), pp. 36 and 113ff. See also the chapter on the administrative geography of the *Han-shu*, *HSPC* 28A.iii.77a. For Shu see *RHA* I, pp. 180-181, n. 72. — Sang (1969) devotes a highly speculative article to the trade between China and the West.

[779] For Shen-tu or Northern India see above, note 154.

[780] The presence of the word *chi* 既, "since", which needs a following complement, is inexplicable, for no such complement can be found. We have accounted for it in our translation by the word "so".

[781] The cliché *ch'ung chiu i* 重九譯, "by double and ninefold interpreters" has been rendered by "a series of interpreters". This cliché occurs several times in Han literature, but authors are usually content with either *ch'ung i* "double interpreters" or *chiu i* "nine(fold) interpreters".

those whose customs were strange could be brought to court, and imperial power and prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas.

The Son of Heaven was delighted and believed [Chang] Ch'ien's report. He then gave orders that men should be sent out from Shu and Chien-wei [commanderies][782] to reconnoitre,[783] proceeding simultaneously by four routes. Leaving from the Mang, Tse, Ssu, Ch'iung and Po,[784] each one travelled one or two thousand *li*. In the north their way was blocked by the Ti and the Tse, and in the south by the Sui and K'un-ming [tribes].[785] Peoples such as the K'un-ming have no rulers or chiefs and are accomplished brigands; they always
3B killed or pillaged the Han envoys, and in the end none were able to get through.

However, it was learnt that some thousand or more *li* to the west there was the state of the elephant riders, named Tien Yüeh,[786] and that merchants of Shu who were privately[787] taking their goods out had sometimes reached there. Thereupon Han for the first time made contact with the state of Tien, in the search for a route to Ta Yüan. Previously when Han had wished to open communications with the barbarians of the south-west, the expenses had been great and [the attempt] had been abandoned.[788] When [Chang] Ch'ien reported that

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[782] For Chien-wei see *RHA* I, p. 179, no. 16.

[783] The expression *chien shih* 間使 is uncommon; *chien hsing* 行, "to go incognito", or "to go by unknown paths" is quite frequent. *Chien* is used in a similar fashion in *chien tao* 道, "hidden or unfrequented paths".

[784] For these localities see Hervouet (1964), pp. 123-125 for Mang, pp. 77-80 for Tse, pp. 119-121 for Ssu, pp. 113-115 for Ch'iung, and pp. 125-128 for Po. The first three are situated in the hills to the Northwest, West and Southwest of the Ch'eng-tu plain, the Ch'iung to the South and the Ssu in the Southeast, towards the border of the present-day provinces of Ssu-ch'uan, Yün-nan and Kuei-chou; see the map on p. 75 of Hervouet's work.

[785] For the Sui and the K'un-ming see Hervouet (1964), p. 116, note 3, and pp. 117-118.

[786] The country of the Tien was situated around lake K'un-ming. It is to be noted that the text here and its *Shih-chi* parallel use an expression which seems to be a *hapax legomenon*, viz. *Tien-Yüeh* 滇越, "The Yüeh of Tien"; see Hervouet (1964), pp. 111-112, and note 1 on p. 112. This state is expressly said to be situated "more than a thousand *li*" (hence at least 400 km.) to the West of the K'un-ming. The ancient pronunciation of Tien-Yüeh is GSR 375 and 303e : tien/tien - giwăt/jiwɐt.

[787] Reading 閒 with the Chi-ku ko edition in stead of 聞 in the Ching-yu edition.

[788] For these first attempts, given up in 126 B.C. and resumed in 120 B.C., see Hervouet (1964), p. 81-101; cf. also *HFHD* II, pp. 52-53 and 63.

it would be possible to communicate thereby with Ta Hsia, a further venture was undertaken with the barbarian peoples of the south-west.

4A As a colonel [Chang] Ch'ien had accompanied the Supreme General[789] in campaigns against the Hsiung-nu, and thanks to his acquaintance with [the resources of] water and the pasture grounds, the army had been able to get by without a shortage. [Chang] Ch'ien was thereupon invested with the title of noble of Po-wang.[790] This year was the sixth 4A of the *Yüan-shuo* reign-period [123 B.C.]. Two years later, as superintendent of the Guards, [Chang] Ch'ien set out from Yu-pei-p'ing[791] [commandery] to attack the Hsiung-nu, in company with Li Kuang.[792] The Hsiung-nu surrounded General Li, and the army suffered severe losses. Being late for his rendez-vous, [Chang] Ch'ien was deemed worthy of death by beheading, but he redeemed himself from punishment by degradation to commoners' status.[793] In this year the general of cavalry on the alert (P'iao-ch'i)[794] defeated the Hsiung-nu on their west side, killing men by the ten thousand and reaching the Ch'i-lien Mountains.[795] That autumn the K'un-yeh[796] king surrendered to the Han with his community. [The area west of][797] Chin-ch'eng and Ho-hsi [commanderies] and along the southern hills as far as the Salt Marsh was empty and without Hsiung-nu; occasional patrols of the Hsiung-nu went there, but only rarely. Two years later Han attacked and drove the *Shan-yü* to the north of the desert [119 B.C.].[798]

The Son of Heaven frequently asked [Chang] Ch'ien about the

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[789] i.e. Wei Ch'ing.

[790] Po-wang was a prefecture in Nan-yang commandery, see *HSPC* 28A.ii, 16b. According to *HSPC* 17,10a, Chang Ch'ien was ennobled in March-April 123 B.C., but the cyclical date indicated seems impossible.

[791] Yu-pei-p'ing, in present-day northern Ho-pei province; see *RHA* I, p. 181, no. 100. Liang Yü-sheng (1787), 35.13a, remarks that *SC* 123 reading "the next year" is wrong. For the campaign see *HSPC* 6.14b, *HFHD* II, p. 61.

[792] For Li Kuang, one of the most famous early Chinese fighters against the Hsiung-nu, see *SC* ch. 109, *HS* ch. 54 and *Urkunden* I, pp. 93ff., 105ff., 128-131, 141-143; he committed suicide at over sixty years of age in 119 B.C. (see *HFHD* II, p. 66).

[793] For the redemption of crimes see *RHL* I, pp. 205-222.

[794] This was the general Huo Ch'ü-ping, for whom see above, note 35.

[795] For the Ch'i-lien Mts. see above, note 282.

[796] For the submission of this king in the autumn of 121 B.C. see above, note 36.

[797] The *Ching-yu* edition omits *hsi* 西, "West".

[798] For this campaign see *HSPC* 6.16a, *HFHD* II, p. 65-66.

states such as Ta Hsia. Since he had already lost his noble rank,[799] [Chang] Ch'ien took the opportunity to report as follows:[800]

"When I was living among the Hsiung-nu I heard of Wu-sun; the king was entitled *K'un-mo*, and the *K'un-mo*'s father was named Nan-tou-mi;[801] originally [Wu-sun] had lived with the Ta Yüeh-chih between the Ch'i-lien [mountains] and Tun-huang;[802] and they had
4B been a small state. The Ta Yüeh-chih attacked and killed Nan-tou-mi, 4B seizing his lands;[803] and his people fled to the Hsiung-nu. An

[799] The relevance of this remark is not clear, unless it is assumed that it formed the introduction to another statement — which is now missing — to the effect that Chang Ch'ien, who no longer had any official post, had hopes of obtaining another position due to these conversations, and speculated on the possibility of being sent out again as an envoy. *But this is pure guesswork*, although the following *yin* 因, "using (this occasion)" renders it possible. — The date of Chang Ch'ien's mission to Wu-sun is not indicated, see note 390; Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC* 20, p. 656, notes it for the year 115 B.C.

[800] In the following story about the Wu-sun *HS* 61 and *SC* 123 differ most seriously; see Hulsewé (1975), comments to lines 61-68 of the *SC* text reproduced there. As Pulleyblank (1970), p. 156, states, it is evident that mythological elements (for which see Maenchen-Helfen 1945, p. 74, note 32) have become confused with the history of the actual ruler.

[801] Nan-tou-mi 難兜靡; GSR 152d, 117a and 17h: nân/nân-tu/təu-mia/mjię.

[802] The *SC* version omits both the name Nan-tou-mi and the fact that Wu-sun originally dwelt in the Kansu corridor, but it adds the information that Wu-sun lay on the Western edge of the Hsiung-nu territory. The *SC* sentence is strangely ungrammatical: "the *K'un-mo's* father was a small state ..." which indicates an early corruption of this passage.

[803] *SC* writes Hsiung-nu in stead of Ta Yüeh-chih. This statement is one of the main reasons for several scholars to doubt the reliability of *HS* 61 as a whole (Pulleyblank 1966 and 1970), or, at least, the trustworthiness of its version of Chang Ch'ien's report to the emperor (Haloun 1937, p. 293ff. and a number of Japanese scholars, mentioned by Haloun). Haloun collected all references to the original home of the Yüeh-chih and so he allotted to them the whole of the Kansu corridor, as well as an area further to the East and Northeast (see the map opposite (1937), p. 296), without leaving any room for the Wu-sun. Any ancient indications which identified certain areas in Kansu as the original homeland of the Wu-sun he waved aside (p. 293ff.). The problem has been bedevilled by the image, created unconsciously by modern scholars, namely of the Hsiung-nu dominating the whole of Mongolia. As a result, the Wu-sun are automatically relegated to northern Sinkiang. In this way Haloun (1937), p. 296, Matsuda (1970), p. 35, and Pulleyblank (1970), p. 156, without any proof place the Hu-chieh, mentioned in Mao-tun's famous list of Hsiung-nu conquests of 174 B.C., "in the Altai region" (de Groot even identified the Hu-chieh with the Uighur; *Urkunden* I, p. 79) and then assume that the Wu-sun whom the list mentions *after* the Hu-chieh, must necessarily also have lived in that area. But there is no need to go to these extremes, in the first place because Mao-tun's list does not necessarily enumerate the areas he subjugated in a neat series from East to West, as Daffinà (1969), p. 145, believes. But it is more important to note that the description of the

infant *K'un-mo* had recently been born, and the Pu-chiu *Hsi-hou*, who was his guardian,[804] took him in his arms and ran away. He laid him in the grass and searched for food for him; and on coming back he saw a wolf suckling the child; furthermore there were ravens holding meat in their beaks and hovering at [the child's] side.[805] Believing this to be supernatural, he then carried [the child] back to the Hsiung-nu, and the *Shan-yü* loved and reared him. When he had come of age, [the *Shan-yü*] delivered to the *K'un-mo* his father's people; he had him lead troops, and on several occasions he did so meritoriously.[806]

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area occupied by the Hsiung-nu in the early stages shows that in the beginning the Wu-sun could very well have been lodged in part of the Kansu corridor, as "a small state on the western edge of the Hsiung-nu". For *HSPC* 94A.7a (*SC* 110.21, *Urkunden* I, p. 58) writes that after the reconquest of their original homeland (hence in c. 206 B.C.) the Hsiung-nu "Righthand King and Army leaders dwelt in the West, facing Shang commandery and further westward, being in touch with the Ti and the Ch'iang" (to whom *SC* adds the Yüeh-chih). In other words, at this stage the western territory of the Hsiung-nu lay mainly in the Ordos regions, extending beyond the Yellow River into southern and perhaps central Kansu. Later, this was radically changed, for Chang Ch'ien reports that this western area in his day (c. 125 B.C.) extended from Lob-nor down to the Long Walls in Lung-hsi Commandery (cf. *Urkunden* II, p. 12), whereas after the occupation of Kansu by the Chinese the Hsiung-nu moved further to the Northwest, so that "the armies of the righthand faced Chiu-ch'üan and Tun-huang" (*HSPC* 94A.22b).

It is to be noted that no Chinese scholars, ancient nor modern, have ever doubted the correctness of the statement in *HS* 61, corroborated by *HS* 96. This is clearly apparent from the statements by Ssu-ma Kuang, *TCTC* 20, p. 656-657, in the 11th century, by the *Han shu* commentators quoted in *HSPC* 61.5a-b, and by modern scholars like Shih Chih-mien (1961), p. 268, or Chang Ch'un-shu (1967), p. 708.

[804] Pu-chiu 布就, GSR 102j and 1093a: pwo/puo - dz'i̯ôg/dz'i̯ə̯u; for *hsi-hou* - yabghu see note 288. The term we have rendered as "guardian" is *fu-fu* 傅父. This term does not occur in the Confucian classics, but it is to be found in a passage in the spurious *K'ung-tzu chia-yü* 10.16a (SPTK ed.), which agrees word for word with the text of the *Li-chi* (Couvreur I, p. 436; Legge I, p. 327), apart from the crucial word 父 which is lacking in the latter. Couvreur renders 傅 by "maître", Legge translates it as "master".

[805] In the *Shih-chi* the order is reversed: the ravens are mentioned first, the wolf second. The *HS* version is to be preferred because of the close connection between ravens and the Wu-sun, a term meaning "Grandsons (or descendants) of the Raven"; see Maenchen-Helfen (1945), p. 74, note 32, who in addition expresses as his belief that it is unknown how the foreign name really sounded. The value of this last remark is highly doubtful, for in that case we should have to assume that the Chinese had never known the sound of the name of the Wu-sun and had always used the translation since the earliest moment they were informed about the existence of this tribe in ca. 176 B.C.

[806] In *SC* these events are mentioned in a different order which seems more logical: first the young *k'un-mo* is tested, and when he proves to be successful, his father's

"At the time the Yüeh-chih had already been defeated by the Hsiung-nu; making for the west they attacked the king of the Sai. The king of the Sai moved a considerable distance to the South and 5A
the Yüeh-chih then occupied his lands.[807] Once the *K'un-mo* had

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horde is returned to him. The confusion in the *HS* version is evidently due to a broken strip, the text starting with: "The *Shan-yü* loved and reared him" down to the end of this sentence containing 23 characters.

One of the central points, if not the chief argument, in Daffinà's study on the Wu-sun migration is the age of the K'un-mo when the Hsiung-nu ruler gave him a leading position (Daffinà, 1969, pp. 147 and 151-152). The Chinese term which we have advisedly rendered somewhat vaguely as "of age", is *chuang* 壯. Now Daffinà (p. 147) renders it as "adult age" and notes that the handbook on ritual, the *Li-chi*, states that a man is *chuang* at thirty! (*Li-chi*, Couvreur transl. p. 8). But the theoretical prescriptions of the *Li-chi* do not necessarily reflect normal Han-time usage. In the first place, the age when a *chuang ting* 壯丁or adult male was liable for statute labour and military service was 23 years of age, and often even younger (*HS passim*; cf. *HFHD* I, p. 80, note 2, and p. 312, note 3.8). And secondly, the History of the Later Han quotes Pan Chao who writes "Anciently, one was given arms at fifteen, to return these at sixty" (*HHSCC* Mem. 37.10b).

Daffinà (1969), p. 151, also accepts the *Li-chi* (*op. cit.*, p. 9) definition of *lao* 老"old" as being seventy years of age, but he overlooks that elsewhere in the early texts *lao* is explained as the age of sixty, and even of fifty (*loci* indicated in Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* s.v. *lao*). It is to be noted that during the Han period the age when men were theoretically no longer liable to perform statute labour and military service was fiftysix. This tends to undermine the validity of Daffinà's "only relatively certain point in the highly uncertain chronology of Lieh-chiao-mi... that he was about seventy years old when Chang Ch'ien saw him around 117 B.C." (Daffinà, 1969, p. 151).

[807] The text reads: 時月氏已為匈奴所破西擊塞王塞王南走遠徙月氏居其地. Haloun (1937), p. 246, note 2, writes that this sentence "ist ... nach Ausweis sachlicher wie formaler Gründe interpoliert", but he fails to provide the reasons for this assertion. His "factual grounds" are probably his belief that the *Han shu* version of the common homeland of the Yüeh-chih and the Wu-sun and of the Wu-sun migration from Kansu, is untrue, and that the *Shih-chi* version — which does not mention the eastern origin of the Wu-sun and does not refer to the Yüeh-chih — is correct. Haloun's "formal grounds" might be that this passage contains 24 characters, which is about the average contents of a single strip which in our text normally contains 23 characters, and so he may have thought (although he does not say so) that this passage interrupts the narrative, and therefore it is an "interpolation"; however, it is needed to explain the *K'un-mo*'s next move! But we fail to understand why Haloun then should consider the two passages in *HS* 96 to be genuine, for these passages report the same event in slightly different terms.

The first mention is in *HS* 96A.10b, *HSPC* 96A.23b (transl. p. 104), which also says: "When formerly the Hsiung-nu had defeated the Ta Yüeh-chih, the latter moved West and established themselves as masters of Ta Hsia; it was in these circumstances that the king of Sai moved South ..." 昔匈奴破大月氏大月氏西君大夏而塞王南....

The second mention occurs in *HS* 96B.1b, *HSPC* 96B.2a (transl. p. 144): "When the Ta Yüeh-chih turned West, defeated and expelled the king of Sai, the latter moved

grown to adulthood, he asked permission of the *Shan-yü* to avenge his father's wrongs. Going west he attacked and defeated the Ta Yüeh-chih, who again fled west, moving into the lands of Ta Hsia. The *K'un-mo* despoiled the population of Ta Hsia, and then remained there in occupation. His forces gradually grew stronger, and at the death of the *Shan-yü* he was no longer willing to attend at the court of the Hsiung-nu and serve them.[808] The Hsiung-nu sent
5A forces to attack him, but they had no success; and with an even greater respect for his supernatural powers they kept their distance.

"At present the *Shan-yü* has recently suffered at the hands of Han and the *K'un-mo*'s lands[809] are empty. Barbarians love their old homelands and are also greedy for Han goods. If we could only make use of the present opportunity to send generous presents to Wu-sun, and induce [its people] to move east and live in their old lands;[810] and if Han would send a princess to be the consort of [the king][811] and establish brotherly relations, the situation would be such that they would agree, and[812] this would result in cutting off the right arm of the Hsiung-nu. Once a link has been forged with 5B

South and crossed over the Suspended Crossing; and the Ta Yüeh-chih took up residence in his lands", 大月氏西破走塞王塞王南越縣度大月氏居其地.

Pulleyblank (1966), pp. 36-38, and (1970), pp. 154-160, has strongly argued that the text of the 123rd chapter of the *Shih-chi* "is primary and that [the text of] *Han shu* [61 is] based on it, with the addition of some genuine new information and some arbitrary embellishment" (1970, p. 160), basing his contentions exclusively on the passage under review. Daffinà (1969), p. 155, discussing the problems connected with the migration of the Wu-sun — especially the time of their movement — confesses himself puzzled and unable to reach a decision.

As we have demonstrated (p. 20f.; cf. Hulsewé, 1975) that on the whole it is *Shih-chi* 123 which is secondary and that *HS* 61 is primary, there exists no further need to doubt the authenticity of this passage and to consider it as being an "arbitrary embellishment". If *SC* 123 has preserved a passage from the original *SC*, then *HS* 61 certainly presents "genuine new information".

[808] In Hulsewé (1975), remarks to line 65, it is shown that the mention of the *shan-yü*'s death seems to intrude into the narrative as this is presented in several parallels, but also that on the other hand, it is not possible to assign it another place.

[809] *Shih-chi* 123.10a has "the old lands of (the king of) K'un-yeh", the latter being, of course, not a Wu-sun but a Hsiung-nu leader, who surrendered to Han together with his followers in 121 B.C.; see *HFHD* II, p. 62 and *Urkunden* I, p. 126ff., and cf. p. 75 above.

[810] Here *SC* again reads "the lands of the former K'un-yeh".

[811] The phrase that Han would send a princess as a consort is missing in *SC*.

[812] *SC* correctly repeats 聽, "(if) they agree".

Wu-sun, the states such as Ta Hsia to its west could all be induced to come to court and become outer subjects[813] of Han."

5A The Son of Heaven agreed with this [advice] and appointed [Chang] Ch'ien to be leader of the gentlemen of the palace, with a force of three hundred men; each man had two horses, and the cattle and sheep were counted by the ten thousand. He took gold, valuables and silk which was worth an enormous amount;[814] and there were a large number of deputy envoys bearing their insignia to be sent to the neighbouring states if the roads were feasible. As soon as he reached Wu-sun,[815] [Chang] Ch'ien presented his gifts and a message [from the emperor], but he was not able to obtain a decision from Wu-sun. An account of this is given in the chapter on the Western Regions.[816]

[Chang] Ch'ien forthwith sent his deputy envoys on separate missions
5B to Ta Yüan, K'ang-chü, the Yüeh-chih and Ta Hsia.[817] Wu-sun provided 6A
interpreters and guides to accompany [Chang] Ch'ien, together with a mission from Wu-sun; this comprised men and horses, each numbered by the ten, and was to render thanks [to the emperor].[818] The mission was ordered to use the opportunity to make a thorough observation of Han and find out its extent. On his return [Chang] Ch'ien was appointed superintendent of state visits, and after about a year he died.[819] About a year later the deputy envoys whom he had sent to

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[813] "Outer subjects", *wai ch'en* 外臣, in contrast to the Chinese subjects of Han. Kurihara (1960), pp. 243-262, shows that states designated as "outer subjects" remained politically independent.

[814] The text reads literally 千巨萬 "thousands of great myriads". This would be the astronomical sum of several hundred thousands of millions of cash, or of several tens of millions of gold units. The figure is either a rhetorical exaggeration, or 千, "1000", is a mistake for 十, "ten", as is often the case. Even so, the figure still remains extraordinarily high, for the greatest amount of gold ever accumulated during the Former Han was the treasure of Wang Mang, which contained 600000 units (*HFHD* III, p. 511), whereas here, when "ten" is read for "thousand", the amount would still be "tens of millions of gold units"!

[815] Here *SC* 123 inserts the passage which occurs in *HS* 96B.2a-b, *HSPC* 96B.2b-3a (transl. p. 145).

[816] I.e. the passage indicated above, in note 815.

[817] *SC* 123 adds An-hsi, Shen-tu, Yü-t'ien, Han-mi.

[818] This passage, as well as the parallel in *SC* 123 is corrupt, although the sense is clear; see Hulsewé (1975), remarks to line 80.

[819] For the post see above, note 83. The year of Chang Ch'ien's appointment is 115 B.C. (*HSPC* 19B.19b). The indications regarding the year of his death differ, but Shih Chih-mien (1961), p. 268, shows beyond doubt that he died in 113 B.C. His tomb is situated in Chang-chia ts'un 張家村 near Ch'eng-ku (for which see above, note 762); during repairs carried out in 1945 a clay mold with the inscription 博望家造 was found, as reported by Ch'en Chih (1959), p. 162.

make contact with states such as Ta Hsia all came to court, in many cases[820] with people from those places.

For the first time the states of the north then came into communication with Han. It was [Chang] Ch'ien who had pioneered the way,[821]
B and all those who subsequently went there as envoys mentioned the name[822] of the noble of Po-wang as a pledge of good faith among the outer states, who then trusted them. Subsequently, Wu-sun finally contracted a matrimonial alliance with Han ...,[823] and Han for the
6A first time built [fortifications] at Ling-chü and further west. At first the commandery of Chiu-ch'üan was founded in order to communicate with the states of the north-west. Thereafter [more][824] envoys were

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[820] The word *p'o* 頗, "somewhat, rather", is awkward here. It often qualifies verbal expressions, e.g. 頗採 "to some extent selecting" in *HSPC* 43.15a, but it seems rather unusual to see *p'o* used to qualify *yü* 與, although this word may be conceived as a verbal expression.

[821] Litt. "chiselled the hole".

[822] The text reads 稱博望侯. The Japanese commentator of the *Shih-chi* Nakai Tsuminori paraphrases this passage as "all arbitrarily called themselves "Noble of Po-wang", whereupon the foreign countries trusted them". This is a possible translation, but normally the *Han shu* writes *cha ch'eng* 詐稱 in cases of deception (e.g. in *HSPC* 70.1a and 90.13a). It is, of course, impossible to say whether the author of the *Han shu* would have distinguished between different types of deception, viz. deception of the imperial government (as in the cases mentioned in *HS* 70 and 90), and deception of aliens for the benefit of the Chinese.

[823] Here we have rearranged the text, so that the 46 characters, beginning with 初天子 down to 天馬云 — i.e. the length of two strips of twenty three signs — no longer interrupt the narrative; the passage is translated on p. 225 (signalized in note 857), in our rendering of p. 8b. In view of the occurrence there of the words 天子既好宛馬, we have omitted the nearly identical phrase 而天子好宛馬 on p. 6b.

It is clear from a consideration of the dates that the events mentioned, viz. the marriage alliance with Wu-sun, the building of fortifications West of Ling-chü, and the establishment of Chiu-ch'üan commandery are associated. For the position of Ling-chü see note 38; it was established as a prefecture in 115 B.C. (*Shui-ching chu* 2.80b), and the building of the long line of border defences can therefore only have started in that year, if not later. Ling-chü still served as *a point of departure* for an expedition as late as 111, and there is even one passage which says formally that the lines West of Ling-chü were established in this very year 111 B.C. (*HSPC* 24B.18b; Swann (1950), p. 307), whilst *HSPC* 61.7b reports that it was only ca. 108 B.C. that "the line of posts and defences of Chiu-ch'üan reached up to Yü-men". This brings us quite close to the time when the marriage relations between Wu-sun and Han were established, viz. between 110 and 105 B.C. (*HSPC* 96B.3b; transl. p. 147f). In our view, therefore, nothing militates against joining the statement concerning the marriage relations to that concerning the border defences West of Ling-chü. Finally, Chiu-chüan commandery was probably not established before 104 B.C.; see above, note 40, and *RHA* I, p. 59.

[824] The Ching-yu edition omits 益.

sent out, and reached An-hsi, Yen-ch'i, Li-kan, T'iao-chih and Shen- 6B
tu.[825] These envoys were in sight of each other on the roads. A single mission[826] comprised several hundred members, if large, and a hundred or so if small; and the gifts they carried[827] were generally [chosen to] resemble those sent in the time of the noble of Po-wang. Later [the
6A despatch of missions] became more a matter of routine, and they were reduced to smaller numbers. Each year the number of Han missions amounted to over ten, if many, and five or six if few; those that went on long distances returned after eight or nine years, those on shorter distances after several years.

At this time Han had destroyed Yüeh,[828] and the south-western barbarians with whom [the Chinese in] Shu[829] were in contact were all alarmed and requested the establishment of officials. The commanderies of Tsang-k'o, Yüeh-sui, I-chou, Shen-li and Wen-shan[830] were founded, with the intention that, as these lands adjoined each
6B other, it would be possible to advance thereby and make communication with Ta Hsia. Over ten missions were then despatched[831] annually

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[825] For the communities mentioned here see above, notes 267, 588, 275, 255 and 154.

[826] The *Shih-chi* introduces this statement with the words 諸使外國, "all missions sent to foreign countries", whereas *Han-chi* 14.12 a reads 每使. It is evident that the text of *HS* 61 (and as a result also the text of *SC* 123) suffers from a wrongly replaced broken strip. The passage "the gifts they carried ... Po-wang" interrupts the description of the missions; in fact, it belongs after "Later ... reduced to smaller numbers", and together these two sentences form the contents of one strip of 23 characters; see also Hulsewé (1975), the final remarks to lines 87-91.

[827] Here we disregard the pedantic remark of Yen Shih-ku, that 操 refers to insignia.

[828] These campaigns were completed in 111 B.C., see *HFHD* II, p. 79-83.

[829] Shu 蜀 designates the western part of presentday Ssu-ch'uan province, the Red Basin around Ch'eng-tu, or the commandery of that name, for which see *RHA* I, pp. 180-181, nr. 72.

[830] The location of these commanderies on the map in *RHA* I, pp. 178-179 and the dates of their establishment are as follows:
Ts'ang-ko, no. 81 on the map; est. in 111 B.C. (*HFHD* II, p. 82).
Yüeh-sui, no. 102 on the map; est. in 111 B.C. (*HFHD* II, p. 82).
I-chou, no. 38 on the map; est. in 109 B.C. (*HFHD* II, p. 92).
Shen-li, (no. 72 on the map); est. in 111 B.C. (*HFHD* II, p. 82).
Wen-shan, (no. 72 on the map); est. in 111 B.C. (*HFHD* II, p. 82).

Shen-li lay to the West of Shu commandery, into which it was incorporated in 97 B.C., see *HFHD* II, p. 108, note 35.1. Wen-shan was likewise incorporated into Shu, but only in 66 B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[831] In this narrative of events which occurred during the years 111-109 B.C. the compilers of *SC* 123 insert a reference to the mission of Po Shih-ch'ang c.s. which was despatched ten years earlier, namely in 122 B.C.! See Hulsewé (1975), remarks to line 93.

to leave by way of these new commanderies.[832] They were blocked by K'un-ming, the members being killed and robbed of their valuables 7A
and goods. Han thereupon sent out troops to attack K'un-ming, and they killed people by the ten thousand. Subsequently envoys were again sent out but were ultimately unable to get through; an account is given in the chapter on the barbarians of the south-west.[833]

Since the time when [Chang] Ch'ien had opened up the routes to the outer states and thereby gained honour and a high position, his officers and men vied with each other in submitting written reports describing the strange wonders, the advantages and dangers of the outer states, and in seeking to be sent there on missions. The Son of Heaven thought that because they were cut off by great distances, these were not places where people would go for pleasure; he believed what they said and gave them emblems of authority. Calling for officials and men to volunteer, and quite regardless of their origins, he provided [envoys] with large retinues, and sent them out in order
6B to extend [the use of] the roads.[834] On the outward and return journeys there could not fail to be cases where valuable goods were stolen or where the envoys ignored [imperial] instructions. As [the members of the missions] were well versed [in dealing with foreign states],[835] the Son of Heaven always had the cases investigated and construed[836] as being worthy of capital punishment, in this way goading the men to seek remission from punishment by offering to go out on further

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[832] The expression *ch'u chün* 初郡, explained by the commentators as "newly established commanderies", also occurs in a passage relating these same events in *HSPC* 24B.19a, Swann (1950), p. 352 (*SC* 30.40-41, *Mh* III, p. 297). This passage mentions the establishment of seventeen *ch'u chün* in South and South-West China and adds that the adjacent commanderies had to provide the salaries for the officials serving in these new commanderies, because no taxes were levied on their mainly autochthonous population. For a much earlier period, the similar term *ch'u hsien* 初縣 is found in *SC* 6.49 (Tak.ed.), relating the establishment of "new prefectures" in the 33rd year of Ch'in, i.e. in 214 B.C. (see also *Mh* II, p. 169).

[833] I.e. in *HSPC* 95.5a f. (cf. *SC* 116.9).

[834] 廣其道 evidently refers to 外國道, "the routes to the foreign states" opened by Chang Ch'ien and mentioned just before.

[835] The text reads 天子為其習之. This could be easily made to refer to the preceding misdemeanours of the members of the official missions, but both Yen Shih-ku and Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 372, take these words to refer to their experience in foreign affairs and we have followed them in our translation. The rendering in Watson (1961), II, p. 276, that "the emperor ... was very practiced at handling such matters" is unacceptable.

[836] For this usage of the single word *chih* 致 see *RHL* I, p. 418, note 340, and cf. Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 372.

journeys. The means of serving as an envoy were thus unrestricted, and infringement of the laws was regarded as a light matter.[837]

Officials and people[838] in their turn always praised the possessions
7A of the outer states fulsomely; those who described these in extravagant terms were given emblems of authority,[839] and those who described them in lesser terms were made deputy envoys. As a result, those who spoke with abandon or who lacked scruple, all tried to outdo one 7B another. The envoys[840] all appropriated those officially owned goods that they carried, wishing to sell them at a cheap price for their own private profit. The outer states in their turn[841] detested the way in which the Han envoys each told a different tale.[842] Reckoning that

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[837] The preceding paragraph seems to contain misplaced strips. This is apparent in the first place from the repetition of the phrases about the statements made by former members of Chang Ch'ien's mission and the consequent bestowal of emblems of authority, at the beginning of this paragraph and again in the next. It also appears from the unfortunately meagre abstract in *Han-chi* 14.12a, where the call for volunteers regardless of their origin *follows* the statement about the theft of government property resulting in the thieves being reappointed as envoys.

[838] *Han-chi* 14.12 a reads 吏民, "officials and people", where *HS* and *SC* both read 吏卒, "officials and conscripts".

[839] This is the repetition indicated above, note 837.

[840] *SC* contains the addition that these envoys "were all sons of poor people; they all ...", adding 貧人子.

[841] 亦 means "also, likewise" and its presence is awkward in this context; we have therefore rendered it as "in their turn". However, in view of the corrupt state of both *HS* 61 and *SC* 123, the suspicion is warranted that the sentence under review was preceded by another statement about "the outer states". Now *SC* 123 has preserved such a statement, which, moreover, occurs in an isolated position, between the end of the narrative about the campaign against K'un-ming and the story about the former companions of Chang Ch'ien who wanted to be sent out again. This statement, which is to be found in *SC* 123.5a, line 1, presents moreover two special festures, which single it out as a misplaced strip: it contains 23 characters, or the length of a full strip, and it begins with the word *erh* 而 which often signalizes isolated or broken strips. It reads 而北道酒泉抵大夏使者既多而外國益厭漢幣不貴其物 As regards the translation, the first eight words do not form a normal sentence "northern route Chiu-ch'üan (commandery) reach Ta Hsia"; the phrase either contains (a) mistake(s), or (a) word(s) are missing. The smooth translation given by Watson (1961), vol. II, p. 276, "*by this time, however*, so many envoys had journeyed to Ta-hsia *by* the northern route *out of* Chiu-ch'üan —" is actually not warranted by the text, although it is to be expected that some such meaning was intended. The rest of the sentence is clear, although here again the word *erh* intrudes in an ungrammatical way as it is never together with *chi* 既, "since". It means "since the envoys were (too) many, the outer states became more and more surfeited with Han presents and did not esteem these goods".

[842] 外國亦厭漢使人人有言輕重. In our translation we have followed the paraphrase given by Fu Ch'ien, who takes the whole phrase *Han shih jen-jen yu yen ch'ing-chung* as the object of *ya*, "to be surfeited, to loathe, to detest" (cf. Hirth, 1917, p. 105

Han troops were a long way off and would be unable to reach them, they banned the provision of supplies, so as to embarrass the Han envoys; and, short of supplies, the Han envoys grew querulous and angry, even to the point of coming to blows with each other.

Lou-lan and Ku-shih,[843] being small states and situated on the route, showed particular violence in attacking and robbing Wang Hui and other Han envoys; and surprise parties of Hsiung-nu troops blocked their path or attacked them repeatedly. The envoys tried to outdo each other in describing the dangers[844] of the outer states, saying that they all possessed towns, and that as their forces were weak they were easy to attack. Thereupon the Son of Heaven sent [Chao] P'o-nu,[845] noble of Ts'ung-p'iao, to take command of cavalry from the dependent states, and men numbered by the ten thousand from the commanderies, to attack the nomads who all made off. In the next year [Han] attacked and defeated Ku-shih and captured the king of Lou-lan; and the line of posts and defences of Chiu-ch'üan reached as far as Yü-men.[846]

7B In these circumstances[847] Ta Yüan and other states sent messengers

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and note 2a). A different paraphrase is that given by Ju Shun, who renders it as "in the outer states each person said that he had been repeatedly slighted by the Han envoys". Because the envoys were selling Han goods, it is also possible that the disputed phrase means "they detested they way in which the Han envoys each mentioned another price".

[843] The following paragraph is practically identical with the passage in *HS* 96A.4a-b, *HSPC* 96A.11b (transl. 85f.). For Lou-lan and Ku-shih see above, notes 77 and 49.

[844] This passage seems corrupt. The parallel in *HS* 96A.4b replaces *cheng* 爭 (to which *SC* adds *p'ien* 偏, evidently a gloss that has crept into the text) by *to* 多, "mostly", and, more important, *HS* 96 omits the words *li-hai* 利害 (*SC tsai* 災 *hai*), which may have been inserted under the influence of the similar statement made earlier. Or are we to suppose that *SC tsai-hai* "disasters" is correct, referring in this most unusual way to the vexations the envoys had suffered abroad?

[845] For Chao P'o-nu, Noble of Ts'ung-p'iao, see note 96. These events occurred in 108 B.C., see the remarks by the commentators in *HSPC* 55.20a.

Both the *Han shu*, as remarked by Chou Shou-ch'ang, and the *Shih-chi* are defective. *HS* leaves out the word *ku* 故, "the former", for Chao P'o-nu had lost his rank several years earlier (*HSPC* 17.11a: first ennobled in 121 B.C., then divested of his rank in 112 B.C.). The *Shih-chi* inverses the order of 遣 and 故, writing 故遣, which in its turn must have led a copyist to to insert *i* 以 before *ku*, so that the sentence comes to mean "Thereupon the emperor for this reason sent out the Noble of Ts'ung-p'iao ...". After "Commanderies" *SC* inserts the words 至匈河水欲 "as far as the Hsiung-ho River, wishing ...".

[846] For the Yü-men Pass see above, note 7.

[847] This cumbrous construction serves to translate the single connective particle *erh* 而, which normally connects two verbal expressions. However, as mentioned already, in this text it often indicates a lacuna or a broken strip.

to follow after the Han envoys. They came to court and observed the extent of Han, and submitted a present of large birds' eggs and conjurors from Li-kan.[848] The Son of Heaven was highly pleased, 8A
and Han envoys penetrated to the source of the Yellow River; there is considerable jade-stone in the mountains there, and they collected it and came [back to Han].

7B It is said: "The Son of Heaven consulted ancient maps and books, and named the hills where the Yellow River originates the 'K'un-lun'".[849]

At this time the emperor was frequently progressing on tours of inspection or visiting the coast, and from now on he was always accompanied by visitors from the outer states. If there were great towns with a large number of inhabitants, he distributed wealth and 8B
8A silks when he passed through, granting generous bounties and providing ample supplies, so as to show off the wealth and plenty of Han. The bull-games[850] [were held], strange performers and many types of wonderful goods were brought out and many persons assembled to watch. There were bestowals of gifts with wine set out [sufficient to fill a] lake and meats [in plenty like] a forest; and the visitors from the outer states were sent round to see the stocks accumulated in the famous[851]

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[848] The grammatically impossible juxtaposition of the perfective final particle *i* 矣 and the connective particle *erh* 而 clearly indicate that the text is corrupt. The parallel passage in *SC* 123 has the envoys coming from Arsacid Persia! However, *SC* continues with a statement missing in *HS* that "also the small states West of Yüan, (viz.) Huan-ch'ien and Ta-i, (and) East of Yüan, like Ku-shih, Han-mi (and) Su-hsieh, all followed the Han envoys, to present tribute and to be received by the Emperor" 及宛西小國驩潛大益宛東姑師扜罙蘇薤之屬皆隨漢使獻見天子. Impossible to say what may have been the original text; for some tentative but inconclusive suggestions see Hulsewé (1975), the remarks concerning *SC* 123, line 115.

For Ku-shih, Han-mi and Su-hsieh see above, notes 49, 138 and 320.

Huan-ch'ien, GSR 1581-660n: χwân/χuân dz'iɛm/dz'iäm, is further unknown.

Ta-i, GSR 317a-849a: d'âd/d'âi (or t'âd/t'âi)- *i̯ĕk/*i̯äk. Pulleyblank (1963), p. 90, reconstructs this as dai-*yek; referring to earlier literature he assumes that "this must represent an adjectival form in -k based on the name Daha ..., an Iranian people living in what was later known as Dihistan on the south-east coast of the Caspian".

[849] The K'un-lun Mountains belong to ancient Chinese mythological geography; as mountains in the far West, where the Yellow River rises, they occur i.a. in the *Erh-ya* glossary (3rd century B.C.), in the fantastic geography of the *Shan-hai ching*, the Classic of the Mountains and the Seas (partly pre-Han), and in the *Huai-nan-tzu* (late 2nd century B.C.). See e.g. Erkes (1917), p. 42, and Haloun (1926), *passim*. Eventually the name came to be applied to the northern mountain ridge of the Tibetan plateau.

[850] This passage parallels that in the epilogue of chapter 96B.23a-b, *HSPC* 96B.38.a-b, see p. 201 above; for the bull-games see above, notes 439 and 744.

[851] The Sung editions of both *Shih-chi* and *Han shu* and the imperial edition of 1739 of *HS* read *ming* 名 "famous", the other versions (Chi-ku ko, *HSPC* and the

granaries and stores, so as to demonstrate the great extent of Han and to overawe them with surprise. The acts of the conjurors were put on and each year additions and changes[852] were made in the bull-games and the strange performances; their magnificence dates from these times.

Envoys from the outer states of the north-[west][853] were coming and going one after the other. Ta Yüan and the states to the west all relied on their remote situation and retained an air of arrogance; they could not be won over by a sense of suitable conduct nor managed by the establishment of ties.[854]

Once a large number of Han envoys had made the journey, junior members of the missions were generally introduced to the Son of Heaven and became familiar with him.[855] They said: "Ta Yüan has
8B fine horses which are kept in the town of Erh-shih[856] and the inhabitants are unwilling to show them to Han envoys".[857]

... Now when, on a previous occasion, the Son of Heaven had opened

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imperial edition of 1739 of *SC*) reading *ko* 各 "each"; we have adopted the more ancient version. — The expression *ts'ang-k'u fu-tsang* 倉庫府臧 which we have rendered as "granaries and stores" seems pleonastic, but it may refer to storehouses and storage pits. Hundreds of storage pits, some of which were 12 m. deep, with a diameter of 18 m., situated in a walled area, and dating from the 7th century A.D. were found in Lo-yang in 1972; see *Wenwu* 1973/3, pp. 49-64. As already remarked in note 460, the usual name for a storehouse, at least in the 2nd century A.D., was *ti-ko*邸閣.

[852] *Pien* 變 literally means "to change; a change", but it is possible that here the word may have a meaning which is fully attested only later. As Professor P. Demiéville (1975), p. 166ff., has brilliantly demonstrated, the word *pien* can also mean "theatrical scene, act". In the present context which discusses public performances, the meaning "scene" would fit quite well, leading to the translation "and each year the scenes were increased in (c.q. scenes were added to) the bullgames and the strange performances".

[853] Reading 西北, following *SC*, in stead of *HS* 而北.

[854] See above, note 314. Here *SC* 123.6 a inserts material concerning Ta Yüan taken from *HS* 96A, viz. p. 19a, lines 1-5, p. 18b, lines 4-10, p. 17b, lines 9-10; see Hulsewé (1975), remarks to lines 123-130.

[855] *Chin-shu* 進孰; we have followed the explanation given by Wang K'ai-yün (1833-1916) who says that this expression means "to enter in audience and to grow familiar". The curious explanations professed by Meng K'ang ("fine words that looked like ripe and well-considered"), and Chin Cho (the young men "offered empty but fine-sounding words and plans that seemed certain of success") are to be discarded.

[856] For Erh-shih see above, note 41.

[857] Here we insert the passage that in the printed text occurs on p. 6a, transl. p. 219, signalized in note 823.

the *Book of Changes*,[858] the text had read :[859] "The supernatural horses are due to come from the north-west". When he obtained horses from Wu-sun, he liked them and named them 'The horses of Heaven'; but when he came to acquire the horses from Yüan who sweated blood, they were even finer. So he changed the name of the horses of Wu-sun, calling them 'The horses of the extreme west', and he called the horses of Yüan 'The horses of Heaven'. As the Son of Heaven already had a fondness for the horses of Yüan, he heard this news with pleasure, and he sent a party of men of valour, including Chü Ling,[860] to take a thousand pieces of gold and a golden horse with which to request [in exchange] the fine horses of Erh-shih from the king of Yüan. 9A

The state of Yüan had a rich supply of Han goods, and [the leaders] took counsel together as follows :

> "Han is a long distance away from us, and fatal accidents have occurred frequently in the Salt Marsh.[861] If travellers evade it to the north, they will be subject to raids by the nomads; if they do so to the south, they will be short of water and pasture; in addition they will everywhere be cut off from human settlement, and those who lack food will be many. Han sends out several hundred men to form an embassy to come here; they are always short of food, and deaths account for over half of them. In these circumstances

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[858] The *Han shu* reads 發書易, which the *HS* commentator Teng Chan explains as 發易書以卜. *HSPC* adduces the remark by the commentator Sung Ch'i who states that "an old copy" (presumably a manuscript) read 發易書. The latter is the reading of the *Shih-chi* text, where, however, the early commentary is not attributed to Teng Chan, but to the *Han-shu yin-i* (for which see Loewe (1960), p. 114, note 6). The latter point is immaterial; it is more important that the early versions evidently read 發易書 "he opened the Book of the Changes". It is also worthy of note that the *Han chi*, a product of the 2nd century A.D., reads (14.11b) 初上發讖書 "Previously, when the Emperor had opened a divination text ...", but this might well be an anachronism, as it is doubtful in how far these texts already existed as early as the second century B.C. Yang Shu-ta (1955), p. 372, wants to maintain the present *HS* text and render it "the emperor opened the texts and prognosticated", taking 易 as a verbal expression.

[859] This is not, strictly speaking, a reference to the canonical Book of Changes, but rather the outcome of the oracle, couched in contemporary language (the use of 當 indicating a future event is noticeable). However, it is quite possible that the Book of Changes was used, for, according to the section *Shuo kua*, the hexagram *ch'ien* 乾 indicates the horse, and according to § 4 of the same section, it indicates the North-West (James Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 16, pp. 426 and 429, § viii,12). See Pulleyblank (1966), pp. 34-35, for further possible relations between *ch'ien* in the *I-ching* sense of "Heaven", and the horse.

[860] Chü Ling is otherwise unknown; his mission is mentioned again on p. 235.

[861] Lit. the Salt Water, i.e. Lob Nor, usually called the Salt Marsh.

how can Han send a large army here? Moreover the horses of Erh-shih are Yüan's treasured horses."

So they refused to give [the horses] to the Han envoys who spoke in anger and without restraint, and went away after smashing the golden horse.[862] The noblemen of Yüan, who were furious, said: 'The Han envoys have belittled us extremely.' They sent the Han envoys off and ordered the king of Yü-ch'eng,[863] on their eastern side, to
9A block the way, to attack and kill the Han envoys and to seize their wealth and goods.

The Son of Heaven was furious. Of those who had previously been sent on missions to Yüan, Yao Ting-han[864] and others said: 'The troops of Yüan are weak. If they were to be exposed to the shooting of no more than 3000 [Han][865] heavy bowmen, Yüan would be defeated'. The Son of Heaven had previously sent the noble of Cho-yeh[866] to attack Lou-lan; he had reached the city first with 700 cavalry and 9B captured its king. For this reason [the Son of Heaven] believed [Yao] Ting-han and his colleagues and wishing to bestow noble rank on the family of his favourite concubine Li,[867] he appointed Li Kuang-li to be a general, to attack Yüan.

[Chang] Ch'ien's grandson, by name Meng,[868] and styled Tzu-yu,

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[862] See note 334 above.

[863] Yü-ch'eng 郁成, GSR 995a and 818a: *ʼi̯ŭk/*ʼiuk - di̯ĕng/źi̯äng. No further information is available regarding the position of this locality.

[864] Yao Ting-han is otherwise unknown. His surname and his personal name are both quite common; in view of emperor Wu's condemnation of these early advisers (see below, p. 229), this man can hardly be identical with the court dignitary Yao Ting-han, Gentleman of the Yellow Gate, who arranged the modest burial of the deposed empress *née* Wei who had committed suicide in connection with the rebellion of 91 B.C. (*HSPC* 97A.12b; cf. *HFHD* II, p. 114, and Loewe (1974), pp. 44, 51.

[865] The Ching-yu edition omits 漢.

[866] The Noble of Cho-yeh, i.e. Chao P'o-nu; see above, note 96. — "He had reached the city first" refers to the fact that he and Wang Hui had been sent out to attack Ku-shih; for this undertaking the conquest of Lou-lan was a pre-requisite.

[867] The Concubine Li was one of emperor Wu's favourites; see Loewe (1974), pp. 53-54.

[868] It is strange that the remarks about Chang Meng are restricted to these few words, for in fact the *Han shu* contains more information about him, scattered over several chapters. Chang Meng was a palace counsellor at the time of the accession of emperor Yüan (48 B.C.) who trusted him (*HSPC* 36.8a-b). He was a partisan of the influential Hsiao Wang-chih, who wanted to restrain the influence of the powerful eunuchs Shih Hsien and Kung Hung. The latter were able to bring about Hsiao Wang-chih's suicide early in 46 B.C. (*HSPC* 9.4b, *HFHD* II, p. 310), but Chang Meng remained untouched, for he was still active at court in 44 B.C. (cf. *HSPC* 71, 9a; for the date cf. *HSPC*

was a man of pre-eminent talents. In the time of Emperor Yüan, when he was serving as counsellor of the palace, he was sent on a mission to the Hsiung-nu. When acting as Servant in the palace he was slandered by Shih Hsien[869] and committed suicide.

Li Kuang-li

Li Kuang-li's younger sister, the Lady Li, had gained the affections of the emperor and given birth to [Liu P'o],[870] king of Ch'ang-i, who was posthumously entitled Ai. In the first year of the reign-period
9A *T'ai-ch'u* [104 B.C.] [Li Kuang-li] was appointed Erh-shih general [with orders] to call out a force of 6000 cavalry from the dependent states and some tens of thousands of ill-disciplined young men[871] from the commanderies and kingdoms, and to set out on his way. As it was intended that he should reach the town of Erh-shih and take possession of its fine horses, he was given the title of the Erh-shih general. Wang Hui,[872] who had previously been noble of Hao, was sent to guide the army.

When he had marched west and passed the salt waters,[873] the
9B small states that were situated on the route all strengthened their walls in self-defence, and were not willing to provide supplies. When he attacked he was unable to reduce them; from those that he did reduce he obtained food, and from those that he did not reduce he withdrew after several days. By the time that he drew near to Yü-ch'eng, his force amounted to several thousand troops, all starving

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19B.38a) and was even sent on a mission to the Hsiung-nu early in 43 B.C. (for the date cf. *HSPC* 9.7a, *HFHD* II, p. 317). There he concluded a treaty, which was, however, violently criticized at court; he was even accused of having committed a crime to be qualified as impious (see *HSPC* 95B.5a-b, *Urkunden* I, p. 212ff.; for "impiety" see *RHL* I, p. 156f.). However, he went scotfree, but due to the accusations of Chu-ko Feng, at the time Colonel of the Retainers, he lost his court function and was sent away as Prefect of Huai-li, not too far from the capital, presumably in the same year 43 B.C. (*HSPC* 36.20a; 77.6b). Due to an ominous fire in the tomb temple of emperor Hsüan in July 40 B.C. (cf. *HSPC* 9.9b, *HFHD* II, p. 325) he was restored to his post as court counsellor, but when in the same year his protector Chou K'an had died, the eunuch Shih Hsien was at last able to take his revenge by compelling Chang Meng to commit suicide at the Office of the Public Carriages (*HSPC* 36.18a-b; 93.5a).

[869] For this eunuch see *HFHD* II, p. 294f.

[870] For Liu P'o, king of Ch'ang-i, see below, note 926.

[871] This, and similar expressions occur in *HSPC* 7.10a, *HFHD* II, p. 172, and 90.19b; a description of the activities of these young men is to be found in *HSPC* 90.19a.

[872] For Wang Hui, see above, note 94.

[873] See above, note 861.

and worn out; and when they attacked the city of Yü-ch'eng it offered resistance, and the numbers of men killed or wounded were very large. The Erh-shih general and his assistants reckoned that, since when they reached Yü-ch'eng they could not take the place, their 10A failure would be even more certain were they to reach the king's capital; he then withdrew with his forces. Two years were spent in the outward and return journeys, and when he reached Tun-huang, no more than one or two tenths of his forces survived.

He sent a messenger with a written report, stating: "The road is long and there have been many shortages of food; and, while not 10A being afraid of battle, the men are afraid of hunger. As the men are few in number and are insufficient to take Yüan, I would suggest that the force should be temporarily disbanded, and that when reinforcements are called out I should set out again". The Son of Heaven was furious when he was informed of this. He sent commissioners to have the Yü-men[874] barrier closed and to proclaim that any soldier who dared to make his way in would be beheaded.

The Erh-shih general was afraid, and consequently lay encamped at Tun-huang. That summer[875] Han lost over 2000 men in the command of [the noble of] Cho-yeh[876] to the Hsiung-nu, and those *9B* senior ministers who were consulted all wished to disband the army [that had been sent against] Yüan and to concentrate the effort in an 10B attack on the nomads.[877] The Son of Heaven had already sent out forces to punish Yüan; [he reckoned that] this was a small state, and that if Han was unable to reduce it, places such as Ta Hsia would gradually come to despise Han; the [supply of] fine horses of Yüan would be cut off and would not reach Han; Wu-sun and Lun-t'ai[878] would easily harass Han envoys, and he would become a laughing stock among the outer states.

He then brought up a case against Teng Kuang[879] and those others

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[874] For the Yü-men barrier, see above, note 7.

[875] Shih Chih-mien (1961), p. 269, shows that in view of *HSPC* 94A.23a, "summer" is correct, refuting Wang Hsien-ch'ien's suggestion in *HSPC* 61.10a that, in view of *HSPC* 6.32b, *HFHD* II, p. 101, "autumn" should be substituted for "summer".

[876] I.e. Chao P'o-nu, for whom see note 866; the defeat occurred in the year 103 B.C.

[877] It is to be noted that the general term *hu* 胡 is here used specifically to indicate the Hsiung-nu.

[878] For Lun-t'ai, see above, note 527.

[879] Teng Kuang 鄧光 is further unknown. The HY Index confuses him with Teng Hsien 先 mentioned in *HSPC* 49.24a-b, but the two men cannot be identical, because Teng Hsien had died already in 140 B.C.

who had declared that an expedition against Yüan would be most impractical. Granting an amnesty to incarcerated convicts [so that they could be used to] ward off the raiders,[880] he called out a further force of ill-disciplined young men and cavalry from the border.[881] After about a year 60000 men set out from Tun-huang, exclusive of
10A followers carrying personal [goods].[882] In addition he called out a force of 180000 conscripts engaged on garrison [and agricultural] duties,[883] and Chü-yen and Hsiu-ch'u[884] were founded[885] to the
10B north of Chiu-ch'üan and Chang-i [commanderies] in order to protect Chiu-ch'üan.

There were 100000 head of cattle, [more than][886] 30000 horse and asses and camels by the ten thousand.[887] Food was sent out in even larger[888] quantities, and weapons and cross-bows were in full supply.

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[880] The text of the following passage, relating the conquest of Ta Yüan, has been badly disorganized both in *HS* and *SC*. As mentioned in the Introduction (see above, p. 18), Wang Nien-sun (1870), part IV, 11.4a-b, nearly two centuries ago noted that in the *HS* text a passage consisting of 69 characters or the length of three strips had been displaced, whereas the *SC* had maintained the original order. Because the preceding passage is evidently also disorganized, we have taken Wang's discovery as our starting point in an attempt to restore the original sequence; here the synopsis of this passage in *Han-chi* 14.10b was of considerable help. For a full analysis the reader is referred to Hulsewé (1975). The lastmentioned study shows that not only complete strips had become displaced, but also that strips had been broken and that their fragments had been inserted in a haphazard fashion; some fragments evidently had been lost. The translation follows the text as we have reorganized it. In the beautiful translation by Watson (1961), vol. II, p. 283f., repeated in Watson (1969), p. 293f., the difficulties have been so completely smoothed out, i.a. by means of small amplifications, that the uninitiated reader cannot possibly suspect the corrupt nature of the text.

[881] The normal administrative term is 邊郡騎士.

[882] The actual Han documents make a clear distinction between government and private property; see *RHA* II, p. 263. Wang Nien-sun (1870), pt. IV, 11.4a, points out that Yen Shih-ku is wrong in splitting the term in "carriers of private goods *and* personal followers".

[883] Reading *t'ien* 田 in stead of *chia* 甲, because *shu t'ien tsu* occurs rather frequently in the Han wooden documents; for the duties of these "agricultural conscripts" see *RHA* I, p. 106, and II, p. 276. The combination *chia tsu* occurs far less frequently than one would be led to believe by Hulsewé (1957), p. 25, as several of the passages quoted there have been emended by the commentators.

[884] Chü-yen and Hsiu-ch'u (see note 36) were Han prefectures, situated in present-day Kansu province; see *RHA* I, pp. 182-183, nrs. 23 and 4.

[885] For *chih* 置, "to establish", *SC* reads 至, "to go towards, to arrive; up to", which leads to a highly ungrammatical sentence.

[886] Adding 餘, according to the *SC* version.

[887] *HC* reads *shih wan* "tens of myriads".

[888] Adding *to* 多 "much, more", which occurs in both the *SC* and the *HC* version.

The seven classes of reprobated persons[889] were called out to load 11A
stores to supply transport for the Erh-shih[890] general and there was a continuous stream of [free] men and convicts as far as Tun-huang.

It is said: "The whole world was in turmoil; all-in-all[891] there were over fifty colonels serving in the army in succession in the campaign against Yüan; and two persons who were horsetrainers were appointed colonels for the management and training of horses, to prepare for the selection of fine horses when Yüan would have been conquered".

So, when the Erh-shih general subsequently set out on the march again, his forces were numerous, and none of the small states which he reached failed to meet him and bring out supplies for the army. When he reached Lun-t'ai, it did not surrender and after several days' attack he butchered [its inhabitants]. The area from here to the west was now pacified, and when the expedition reached the town of Yüan, the force that arrived there numbered 30000 strong. The troops of Yüan met and attacked the Han forces, who[892] defeated them thanks to their archery, and the forces of Yüan fled to seek protection within the walls.

The Erh-shih [general] wished to attack the town of Yü-ch'eng, but he was afraid that if he delayed his advance he would allow Yüan to resort to more deception. ... Inside the city of Yüan there were no wells, and [the inhabitants] drew [what they needed] from water that flowed outside the walls. So he despatched water workers to divert the course of the river that lay at the foot of the walls, in order to
11A undermine the walls.[893] ... He then marched first to Yüan, and cut off and diverted[894] the source of its water. As a result Yüan was in

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[889] Reading 民 in stead of 及 which gives no sense in this context; the complete expression is *ch'i-k'e che*-min. For these "seven classes" see *HFHD* II, p. 108, note 35.2, and *RHL* I, p. 136 and note 163 (correcting the "sons-in-law" of *HFHD* to "debt slaves").

[890] In view of the *Han-chi* version, the order of the fragments has been inverted. Also in accordance with this version the word 相, which makes no sense here, has been corrected to 運 and the final 軍 has been added. 車 has been corrected to 軍, a reading attested by Sung Ch'i.

[891] 凡 has been added, following the *SC* parallel.

[892] The second 漢兵 is redundant.

[893] Shen Ch'in-han paraphrases this passage as "draining off the water to make it dry out, proceeding towards the bed to make earth holes for attacking the city". He refers to the chapter in the *Mo-tzu*, called *pei hsüeh* 備穴 "the prevention of holing", i.e. ch. 62, see Sun I-jang (1954), p. 326, and Forke (1922), p. 611.

[894] The words 移之 may be a gloss to 徙 in the next column which was mistakenly included in this line.

serious difficulties, and besieging the town, he attacked it for over forty days. 11B

... The outer fortifications had been destroyed and Chien-mi,[895] General of Valour who was a nobleman of Yüan, was taken prisoner. In Yüan men panicked and fled into the inner fortifications; and taking counsel with each other they said: "The reason why Han has attacked Yüan is because King Wu-kua ... concealed the fine horses and killed Han envoys. If we now kill the king and bring out the fine horses, the Han troops will lift the siege; and if they do not, it will not be too late to fight out the issue in a battle to the death". The noblemen of Yüan all agreed to this, and together killed the king. They then took his head, and sent someone[896] to offer an agreement to the Erh-shih [general] in the following terms: "If Han will not
11A attack us, we will bring out all the fine horses; Han may choose what it likes, and we will supply the Han army with provisions. If Han does not listen to us, we will kill all the fine horses. Moreover, relief from K'ang-chü[897] is about to arrive; and when it does reach us, we will engage the Han army, ourselves from inside and K'ang-chü from outside [the town]. Think this over carefully. What course of action will you follow?"

At this time K'ang-chü was waiting on events, and, observing
11B that the Han troops were in high fettle, did not dare to advance. The Erh-shih [general] heard that inside the town the population had recently acquired men of Han[898] who knew how to dig wells, and that there was still plenty of food in the town. He reckoned that the principal malefactor whom he had come to punish was Wu-kua, whose head had already reached him. If in these circumstances he did not agree [to the proposal], the city would defend itself obstinately; K'ang-chü would wait for the Han troops to weaken and would then come to the relief [of the town], and the defeat of the Han army would be certain. The officers of the army all concurred with this view and 12A

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[895] Chien-mi 煎靡, GSR 245g and 17h : tsi̯an/tsiän - mia/mji̯ę.

[896] *SC* 123 writes "nobleman", probably due to the occurrence of "nobleman" a few lines earlier.

[897] For K'ang-chü see p. 123f.

[898] *SC* reads *Ch'in jen* 秦人, "man of Ch'in". As Wang Hsien-ch'ien correctly points out, the use of this appellation by aliens is also noted elsewhere, e.g. in *HSPC* 94A.27b, cf. *Urkunden* I, p. 188, and in *HSPC* 96.B.18a, see above, p. 169, and note 546. Even the Chinese themselves used the term *Ch'in-jen* for native Chinese, as is evident from a deed of sale of a plot of land, situated in the Lo-yang area and dated A.D. 184. Here the seller provides a guarantee against eviction by "officials or commoners, by Chinese, *Ch'in-jen*, or by nomads"; see Niida (1960), p. 444.

gave their consent to the agreement with Yüan. Yüan thereupon brought out its fine horses, letting the Han [officers] take their pick, and providing an ample supply of food to feed the Han army. The Han army selected some of the best horses, numbered by the ten, and over three thousand stallions and mares of the medium grades and below; and they established as king of Yüan one of the Yüan noblemen who had treated the Han [envoys] excellently in the past, by name Mei-ts'ai.[899] They made a solemn treaty[900] with him and disbanded their troops. In the end they were unable to make their way inside the inner fortifications; so, disbanding their forces, they returned.

When the Erh-shih [general] had initially set out from west of Tun-huang, owing[901] to the large number of his men, the states along the route were unable to supply food; he had divided his forces into several units, who were to make their way by the Southern and Northern Routes. Colonel Wang Shen-sheng and Hu Ch'ung-kuo,[902]
12A former superintendent of state visits, reached the town of Yü-ch'eng separately with over 1000 men. The town defended itself and was unwilling to provide food. [Wang] Shen-sheng lay a distance of 200 *li* 12B from the main army. He relied[903] [on this] and, underestimating [the enemy], had his attack on the town pressed home. Yü-ch'eng observed that [Wang] Shen-sheng's army was small, and attacked it at dawn with 3000 men, killing [Wang] Shen-sheng and others. Some of the men escaped and fled to the Erh-shih [general], who ordered Shang-kuan Chieh,[904] superintendent of grain collection, to set out on the

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[899] For Mei Ts'ai see above, note 339.

[900] A solemn treaty, *meng* 盟, accompanied by sacrifices (cf. *HSPC* 94B.5b, *Urkunden* I, p. 223), in contrast to a simpler "covenant" *yüeh* 約, used above for the peace agreement with Yüan; see on this subject Dobson (1968), pp. 269-282.

[901] *SC* reads *i-wei* 以為, "considering".

[902] Wang Shen-sheng is further unknown. Hu Ch'ung-kuo is mentioned as Superintendent of State Visits in *HSPC* 19B.22b for the year 104 B.C., but no reason is given for his replacement in 103 B.C. In view of the rarity of the surname Hu 壺 it is not impossible that he is identical with the man who accompanied Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju as second ambassador on his visit to the South-West in ca. 131 B.C. (*HSPC* 57B.4a, cf. Hervouet (1964), p. 92).

[903] Wang Hsien-ch'ien suggests that *fu* 負 arose from a mutilated form of the word *chen* 偵, "to spy out", which occurs in the parallel passage in *Shih-chi* 123. However, he neglects the fact that Wang Nien-sun (1870), pt. 3, 6.22a, had pointed out that Yen Shih-ku comments that here *fu* means "to trust, to rely on", and that this indicates that the original character must have been 倚負 which means "to rely on".

[904] Shang-kuan Chieh is mentioned as Superintendent of Grain Collection in *HSPC* 19B.23a, which states that in 102 B.C. he was appointed *shao-fu*, Privy Treasurer; Wang Hsien-ch'ien suggests that this must be a mistake in the table, and that the

offensive and defeat Yü-ch'eng. At the surrender of the town, the king fled to K'ang-chü, and [Shang-kuan] Chieh pursued him there. When K'ang-chü heard that Han had defeated Yüan they brought out the king of Yü-ch'eng and made him over to [Shang-kuan] Chieh, who ordered four cavalrymen to put him in bonds and take him under guard to the supreme general.[905] The four men said to one
12A another: "Yü-ch'eng has been an object of Han's hatred, and the king is now being taken there alive; if he makes a get-away it will be a serious matter". They wished to kill him, but none of them felt competent to strike the first blow. [Then] Chao Ti, a cavalryman of 13A
Shan-kuei [prefecture][906] drew his sword and beheaded the king of Yü-ch'eng. [Shang-kuan] Chieh and his colleagues then caught up[907] with the supreme general.

When the Erh-shih [general] had set out on his later journey, the Son of Heaven had sent messengers to notify Wu-sun that it should
12B call out large forces to attack Yüan. Wu-sun sent out 2000 cavalry to go there, but refused to commit itself, and would not advance. When the Erh-shih general marched east, all the small states which he traversed had heard of the defeat of Yüan. They sent their [king's] sons or younger brothers to go with him with tributary gifts and they were to be received by the Son of Heaven and become hostages.

When the army returned, [those who entered the Yü-men barrier numbered over ten thousand men, with][908] over 1000 horse. On the later expedition there had been no shortage of supplies, and those who fell in battle had not been very many. But the generals and officers were avaricious; they had no thought to spare for the conscripts, and oppressed or robbed them and for this reason deaths had been numerous. In view of the long distance at which the campaign had been fought the Son of Heaven took no notice[909] of their faults and issued the following command:

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appointment must have been made in 101 B.C. He retired the same year because of old age. As also pointed out by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, following Liang Yü-sheng (1787) 35.13b, both in *HS* 19B and in *HS* 61, this man is not identical with his namesake who gained emperor Wu's favour and rose to high estate, to be executed in 80 B.C. (see *HFHD* II, pp. 146-147 and 164-166).

[905] I.a. the Erh-shih General, Li Kuang-li.

[906] The normal way of referring to cavalrymen is by prefixing the name of their prefecture to their title *ch'i-shih* 騎士; see *RHA* II, p. 181 ff. — Chao Ti is only known through this incident and its aftermath.

[907] The *Shih-chi* text seems corrupt here, writing 逐及 for 追及.

[908] The *Ching-yu* edition omits this phrase.

[909] For *pu lü* 不錄 see above, note 236.

"For long the Hsiung-nu have constituted a danger [to us]; removed as they are north of the desert, they have now entered into plots with their neighbouring states, seeking together to intercept our missions to the Ta Yüeh-chih. They impeded and killed Chiang, leader of the gentlemen of the palace, and Jang, formerly governor of Yen-men.[910] Wei-hsü and [the states to the] west as far as Ta 13B
Yüan made a compact, killing Chü Ling, guard of the gate,[911] Ch'ao,[912] leader of the gentlemen of the palace and our envoys to the state of Shen-tu,[913] and severing the route that leads from east to west. [Li] Kuang-li, the Erh-shih general, set out to punish these crimes and fought and conquered Ta Yüan. With the aid of Heaven's spiritual powers,[914] he made his way across the course of rivers and over mountains, and he crossed the wastes of the 'flowing sands',[915] to lead to the western sea.[916] The mountain snows were not piled high, and our officers and men made their way through directly. They took the heads of kings and captured precious and strange objects, and these have finally been arrayed in the palace. Let [Li] Kuang-li be invested with the title of noble of Hai-hsi, with emoluments [levied from] 8000 households;[917] and let Chao Ti, who beheaded the king of Yü-ch'eng, be invested with the title of noble of Hsin-chih; Chao Shih-ch'eng, the army controller, whose achievements have been the most numerous, shall be counsellor of the palace; Shang-kuan Chieh who dared to penetrate deeply [into the enemy] shall be superintendent of the lesser treasury;[918] and

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[910] These men are further unknown.

[911] See above, note 860.

[912] Ch'ao, whose surname is not indicated, is further unknown.

[913] For the missions to Shen-tu and other countries see above, p. 218f.

[914] For this rendering of the word *ling* 靈 see Maspero (1933), p. 284.

[915] "The Flowing Sands" are a *cliché* for the deserts of Central Asia: for the use of this term in pre-Han literature see Haloun (1926), p. 43 sq.

[916] The Hsi-hai 西海 or Western Sea in this case might refer to the sea to which all rivers were said to flow westward from Yü-tien, (see above, p. 97) and on which the state of Wu-i-shan-li was said to be situated (see above, p. 113), but the Chinese never went there. Another "Western Sea" was the present-day Ch'ing-hai or Kokonor, cf. *HSPC* 99A.24a-b, *HFHD* III, p. 215-216.

[917] In contrast to the other nineteen ranks bestowed by the Han government, this rank was hereditary and carried with it the right to collect tax from a specified number of households, from which a fixed amount had to pass to the government; see Loewe (1960), p. 150ff. — Hai-hsi was a prefecture situated in Tung-hai commandery, see *HSPC* 28A.iii, 10b-11a, where the commentators correct the mistake 曲 for 西.

[918] *Shao-fu* 少府, for this post see Wang Yü-ch'üan (1949), pp. 155-156; Wang calls this functionary the Small Treasurer. It was the Privy Purse.

Li Ch'e who made plans and strategems shall be governor of Shang-tang [commandery]."

Of the officials of the army, three men obtained positions among 14A
13A the nine ministers of state;[919] over a hundred became stewards[920] of nobles, governors or officials of prime rank; and over a thousand were appointed to be officials of the lower ranks.[921] Those who went on the campaign [to satisfy their own] enthusiasm [were given] offices which exceeded their hopes; those who went as reprobates had their misdemeanours expunged in place of a hardship allowance.[922] Rewards to the value of 40000 [units of gold][923] were bestowed on soldiers and conscripts.

The two campaigns against Yüan lasted altogether four years for the outward and return journeys before the forces could be disbanded. Eleven years[924] later, in the third year of the reign-period *Cheng-ho*
13B [90 B.C.], the Erh-shih [general] once more took command of a force. This consisted of 70000 cavalry, and they set out from Wu-yüan [commandery] to attack the Hsiung-nu across the Chih-chü[925] river. With the defeat of his army he surrendered to the Hsiung-nu, and was put to death by the *Shan-yü*. An account is given in the chapter on the Hsiung-nu.[926]

[919] *Chiu ch'ing* 九卿; for the ministers included in this group see Wang Yü-ch'üan (1949), p. 150.

[920] *Chu-hou hsiang* 諸侯相, Stewards of the Nobles, an imperially appointed official generally responsible for the administration and the collection of taxes in the nobilities.

[921] The importance of posts in the civil service was indicated by the value of the stipend, expressed in bushels, *shih*, of grain.

[922] For *lao* 勞, "hardship allowance", see RHL, p. 47, no. 27, and *RHA* I, p. 119f.

[923] Whereas all *Shih-chi* editions correctly have *chin* 金, "units of gold", several *Han shu* editions have *ch'ien* 錢, "cash".

[924] Here the *HSPC* edition contains the meaningless reduplication of the word "one", reading 十一一歲.

[925] The position of the Chih-chü River, 郅居, GSR (413) and 49 c[1] : (tịet or tịed)-kịo/kịwo, is unknown.

[926] For this incident see also *HSPC* 6.27a-b, *HFHD* II, pp. 115-116, and *HSPC* 94A.25a ff., *Urkunden* I, pp. 178-186. — The foregoing biography is strangely incomplete, for it does not contain the usual indications : the subject's place of origin and his early career. Moreover, this information is not provided anywhere else, not in the *Shih-chi*, nor in the *Han shu*, and as a result, the life and career of Li Kuang-li before his appointment as Erh-shih General in the autumn of 104 B.C. are completely unknown. *HS* 97A.13b and *SC* 49.22-23 (*Mh* VI, p. 54) write that Wu-ti promised his favourite concubine, Lady Li, on her deathbed that he would take care of her brothers. However, the date of her death is not indicated, nor is the high point in her career, the birth of her son, Liu P'o, who was later, in 97 B.C., enfeoffed as king of Ch'ang-i. Both

Appreciation[927]

In the annals of Yü[928] it is written: "The [Yellow] River rises in

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the death of Lady Li and the birth of her son may have occurred around the year 110 B.C. This date can be deduced from the fact that in 66 B.C. Liu P'o's son, Liu Ho, was c. 26 years old (see Wilbur, 1943, p. 371), which suggests that Liu P'o himself must have been born some 45 years earlier, viz. about 110 B.C. This agrees quite well with the remark in *HSPC* 97A.16b that Liu P'o "died early", implying that he died in his twenties; he died in 87 B.C. (cf. *HSPC* 14.21a and 63.17b, both writing that he died "in the 11th year of his kingship", to which he had been raised in 97 B.C. acc. to *HSPC* 6.35a, *HFHD* II, p. 109; that *HSPC* 6.38b, *HFHD* II, p. 118, places his death in 88 B.C. is evidently wrong). Wu-ti may therefore have given a post to Li Kuang-li in c. 110 B.C., but there is no indication about the nature of this post.

After Li Kuang-li's appointment as Erh-shih General in 104 B.C. we have the information on the Ta Yüan campaign in *HS* 61/*SC* 123 and in the Annals. On the conclusion of the campaign he was raised to the position of Noble of Hai-hsi (a prefecture in Tung-hai commandery) with the revenue from 8000 households on 29 May 101 B.C. (*HSPC* 17.21a; not in *SC*).

After the Ta Yüan expedition, Li Kuang-li was three times sent on campaigns against the Hsiung-nu, viz. in the summer of 99 B.C. (see i.e. *HSPC* 6.33b, *HFHD* II, p. 104; *HSPC* 69.1b; 94A.24a; *SC* 109.20; *SC* 110.66, *Urkunden* I, p. 164), again in the spring of 97 B.C. (see i.a. *HSPC* 6.35a, *HFHD* II, p. 108; *HSPC* 94A.25a; *Urkunden* I, p. 173), and finally in 90 B.C. The date of his surrender is clearly indicated: the summer of 90 B.C. *HSPC* 66.4b-5a and 94A.25b-26b, as well as *SC* 110.67-68 (*Urkunden* I, pp. 179-186) write that he lost heart when he had heard that his wife and children had been executed in connection with a witchcraft case (see *RHL* I, p. 181, nr. 2, and Loewe (1974), pp. 45 and 53). Jealousy and enmity among his Hsiung-nu hosts brought about his death as a sacrificial victim in 89 B.C. (*HSPC* 94A.26a, *Urkunden* I, p. 186).

[927] This appreciation appears at the end of both *HS* 61 and *SC* 123; in the latter the *HS* term *tsan*, "appreciation", is replaced by "His Honour the Grand Astrologer". From *HS* 61 it was incorporated in the *Han-chi* (12.9a), whereas the *SC* version is quoted in Wang Ch'ung's *Lun-heng* (Huang Hui 1935, p. 480; Forke, 1907, p. 254). The two versions differ on a few unimportant points and in several more important respects. Of relative unimportance are: 1) *HS* has 昆侖, where the other three texts write 崐崘; 2) *HS* has 原, where the others have源; 3) *Lun-heng* contains the mistake 於 for 相, and it writes 辟 for 避; 4) in *HC* the mountain is 12500 *li* high in stead of 2500; 5) *HC* mistakenly writes 悉 for 悪; 6) *HC* mistakenly writes 考, i.e. 攷, for 放.

The more important differences are the addition of the description of Mt. K'un-lun in the *SC* version: "on its top there is the wine-spring (*Lun-heng* writes jade-spring) and the jewel pond (*Lun-heng* writes flower-pond; Wang Nien-sun (1870), pt. 3,6.22a-b, proves that ancient quotations show *SC* also to have read "flower pond", the text having been "corrected" later, under the influence of the reading "jewel pond" in the *Shan-hai ching*)", and the different ending in *SC*: "strange things I would not dare to mention". *Han chi* contains a redundant 隱 after "the source of the [Yellow] River"; for a highly hypothetical explanation of this evident mistake see Hulsewé (1975), remarks to line 188.

K'un-lun; K'un-lun is over 2500 *li* high, and it is the place where the sun and the moon hide from each other to create the brilliant lights". After Chang Ch'ien's mission to Ta Hsia, men penetrated to the source of the [Yellow] River; can it be that they gazed upon that
13B which is called K'un-lun? Thus, in describing the rivers and hills of the 14B
nine divisions of the world, the *Book of Documents*[929] approaches [reality]; but the information given in the *Annals of Yü* and the *Classic of the Mountains*[930] is extravagant.

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[928] This text has not come down to us; Chavannes (*Mh* I, pp. clxxiii and clxxxiv) believed this passage to be the only reference to it in the whole of Chinese literature. Liang Yü-sheng (1787), 35.14a, Wang Mo (1961), p. 88, and Chin Te-chien (1963), pp. 407-410, have assembled references to similar texts attributed to the mythical "emperor" Yü, c.q. to the same text current under slightly different titles, without, however, bringing us any closer to this evidently apocryphal work.

[929] This is a reference to the chapter *Yü kung*, "the tribute of Yü", in the canonical *Book of Documents*; see Karlgren (1950), p. 12ff. Scholars differ in dating the composition of this particular chapter, opinions varying between ca. 500 and ca. 200 B.C.; see Ch'ü Wan-li (1964).

[930] The "Classic of the Mountains" could be a reference to the Classic of the Mountains and the Seas, *Shan-hai ching*, a partly real and partly mythological description of the world of a comparatively late date; cf. Maspero (1955), p. 507, and Maenchen-Helfen (1924). It is to be noted that only the *SC* parallel (and not the *SC* quotation in the *Lun-heng*!) writes *Shan*-hai *ching*.

ADDENDA

To p. 38

Hsü Sung wrote a *Hsi-yü shui-tao chi* 西域水道記 (misquoted by Wang Hsien-ch'ien in *HSPC* 96A.16a as *Hsi-yü shui-tao k'ao* 考 maintained in note 138 to the translation), a *Han shu Hsi-yü chuan pu chu* 漢書西域傳補注 and a prose-poem on the province of Sinkiang, *Hsin-chiang fu* 新疆賦 . These three works were republished together under the title *Hsi-yü shui-tao chi* by the Wen-hai 文海 Publishers in Taipei in 1966 as volume 2 in the series *Chung-kuo pien-chiang ts'ung-shu* 中國邊疆叢書. The contents of the first two works have been incorporated in Wang Hsien-ch'ien's *Han shu pu chu*; they are not referred to by title but merely marked as "Hsü Sung says..." Hsü Sung's works were extensively discussed by Karl Himly (1880 and 1902).

To notes 180, 187

In these notes Wang Hsien-ch'ien refers to the *Shui-ching t'u-shuo* 水經圖說. To the information in note 187, viz. that this is a work by Tung Yu-ch'eng, may be added that it was published in 1880 under the title *Shui-ching t'u-shuo ts'an kao* 殘稿 in 4 chapters, and reprinted by the Kuang-wen 廣文 Book Co. in Taipei in 1972; we have not further consulted this work.

To notes 145, 195, 397, 601, 608, 611, 613, 615, 618

In these notes Wang Hsien-ch'ien refers to a *Hsi-yü t'u-k'ao* 西域圖考. According to Wang's preface, p. 7b, this work was written by the 19th century scholar Li T'ing 李廷*, *tzu* Hui-yüan 恢垣. It was published in 1870 with a preface by the well-known scholar and geographer Ch'en Li 陳澧 (1810-1882; see Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 90f.); we have not further consulted this work.

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* The *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh-chia ta tz'u-tien* (Hongkong reprint, 1961), p. 1809, no. 6709, writes Li Chien 建.

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BMFEA	Bulletin of the Museum of Far-Eastern Antiquities
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CYYY	Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
JA	Journal asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JNChBRAS	Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
MSOS	Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen
TP	T'oung Pao

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INDEX

in. = note to the introduction
tr. = note to the translation
heavy type = detailed information

LISTS OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

The following sketch map is intended as a guide for the identifications of the ancient place names proposed by various scholars. The names on the maps are modern names, found in all modern atlasses; the figures refer to the notes to the foregoing translation of chapters 96 and 61 of the *Han shu* (where the identification of an ancient name with a modern site is controversial, these figures are followed by a question mark). To facilitate matters, the map is accompanied by three lists: 1) an alphabetical list of the modern names marked on the map, followed by their degrees of latitude and longitude, mainly according to the index in *The Times Atlas of the World* (London, 1967); 2) an alphabetical list of ancient names, preceded by the number of the notes where they are discussed; 3) a numerical list of the notes, followed by the name of the ancient locality discussed there, and by a brief indication of the suggested localization.

The map is to be used for quick orientation; the first list will enable the reader to find the place on good large-scale maps, like e.g. those in *The Times Atlas* or on the sheets of 1:1.000.000 of the *International Map of the World*, which provide the indispensable physical features.

LIST NO. 1

	North		East	
	degrees	minutes	degrees	minutes
Aksu	41	12	80	12
Alai Valley	c. 39		c. 71-74	
Amu-darya = Oxus	—	—	—	—
Aral Sea	c. 43-47		c. 58-62	
Arsacid empire	—	—	—	—
Bactria	—	—	—	—
Badakhshan = Northeastern Afghanistan				
Balkash, Lake	c. 45-46		74-80	
Balkh	36	46	66	50
Barköl, Lake	c. 43	40	c. 92	40
Bostang, Lake	c. 42		c. 87	
Bugur	41	43	84	15
Bukhara	39	47	64	26
Bushire	28	59	50	50
Ch'ang-chi	44	0	87	20
Charchi	c. 41	55	85	27
Charkhlik	39	2	88	2
Cherchen	38	8	85	33
Ch'i-t'ai	44	2	89	33
Chitral	35	52	71	58
Ebi-nor, Lake	c. 45		83	
Ferghana (town)	40	23	71	19
Fou-k'ang	44	10	87	56
Gandhara = area South of Kabul				
Garm	39	4	70	23
Hami	42	37	93	32
Herat	34	20	62	10
Ili River	—	—	—	—
Irkeshtam	39	40	73	58
Issik-köl, Lake	c. 42	20	76-78	
Jim(a)sa	44	1	89	10
Kabul	34	30	69	10
Karakhoja	42	55	89	25
Karashahr	42	4	86	34
Karategin	c. 39		71-72	
Karghalik, see Yeh-ch'eng				
Kashgar	39	25	76	3
Kashmir	—	—	—	—
Kath = c. Khiva	41	25	60	49
Keriya	36	50	81	50
Kesh = Karshi	40	45	52	54
Khotan	37	7	79	57

	North		East	
	degrees	minutes	degrees	minutes
Khulm	36	44	67	41
Khwarezmia = the area South and East of the Aral Sea				
Korla	41	48	86	10
Koshaniya	c. 40		65	
Kucha	41	43	82	58
Lob-nor	c. 40-41		c. 90-91	
Lukchun	42	49	89	40
Manass	42	20	86	14
Miran	39	15	88	47
Niya (site)	37	58	82	47
Oxus = Amu-darya				
Panjshir	c. 35	20	70	
Peshawar	34	1	71	40
P'i-shan	37	37	78	17
Samarkand	39	40	66	57
Sarikol, range	c. 38-39		c. 74-75	
Sha-ya	41	16	82	52
Sogdiana = the area South and West of Samarkand				
Shu-lo	39	25	76	3
Syr-darya = Yaxartes				
Tarim, River	c. 41		c. 81-87	
Tashkurgan	37	47	75	14
Tekes, River	—	—	—	—
Termes	37	15	67	15
Tun-huang	40	5	94	45
Turfan	42	55	89	6
Uch-Turfan	41	10	79	15
Uratepe	39	58	68	59
Urumchi	43	42	87	38
Wakhsh, River	—	—	—	—
Wakhan	36	59	72	40
Wen-su	41	15	80	11
Yangihissar	41	55	84	34
Yarkand	38	27	77	16
Yaxartes = Syr-darya				
Yeh-ch'eng = Karghalik	37	50	77	59
Yulduz, River	c. 43		84-87	
Yü-men Barrier	c. 40	21	93	47
Yung-teng	36	45	103	16

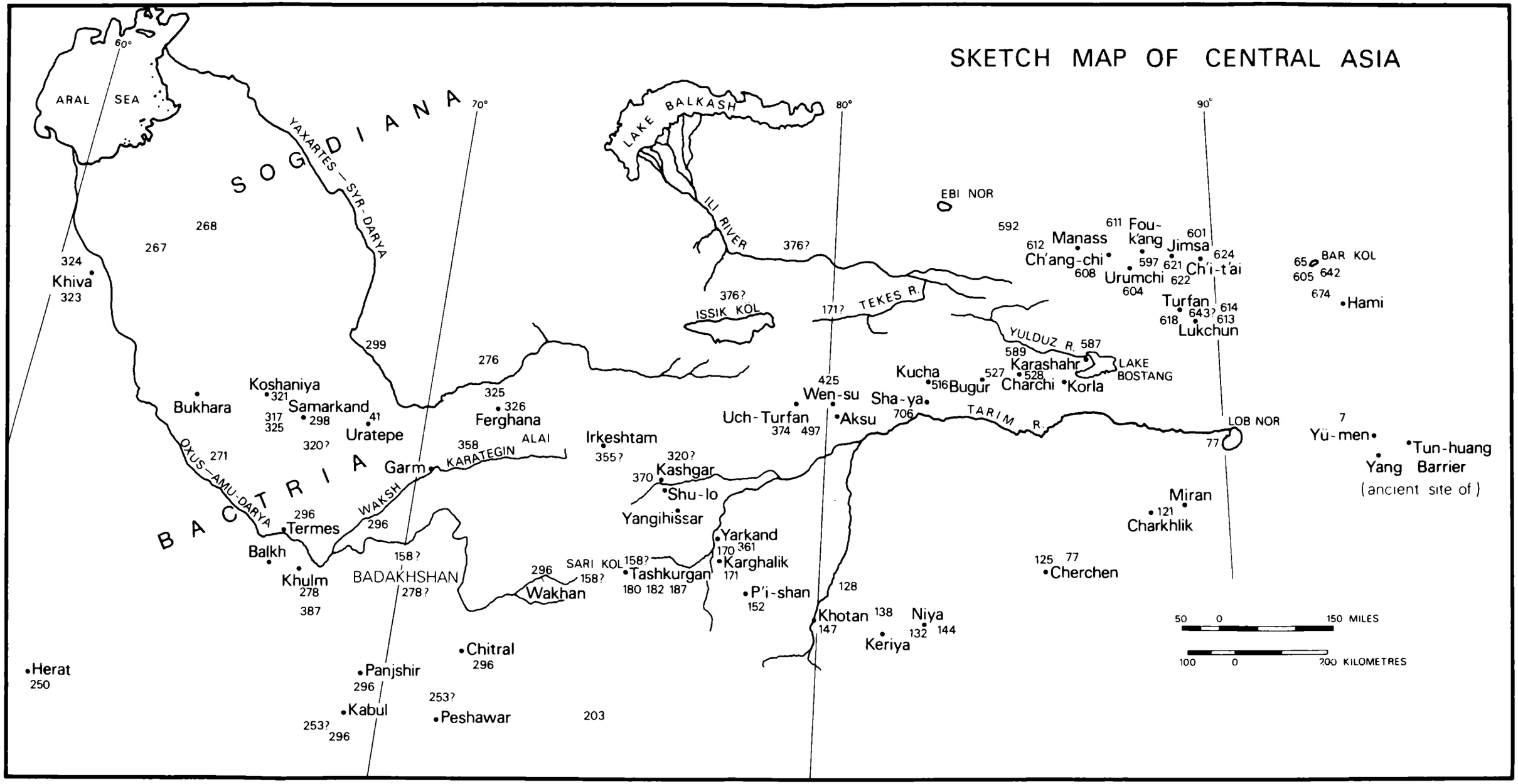
LIST NO. 2

267 An-hsi
324 Ao-chien
323 Chi
203 Chi-pin
619 Chiao-ho
611 Chieh
528 Chieh-chih
125 Ch'ieh-mo
278 Chien-shih
643 Chin-fu
132 Ching-chüeh
516 Ch'iu-tzu
614 Chü-liu
608 Chü-ni
49 Chü-shih
623 —, Commandant of
621 —, Further
624 —, Further Town of
618 —, Nearer
424 Chü-yen
358 Chüan-tu
41 Erh-shih
321 Fu-mo
319 Great Marsh
296 Hsi-tun
170 Hsi-yeh
355 Hsiu-hsün
296 Hsiu-mi
613 Hu-hu
296 Hu-tsao
121 I-hsün
182 I-nai
597 Kan-tang
298 K'ang-chü
665 Kao-ch'ang
296 Kao-fu
497 Ku-mo
49 Ku-shih
271 Kuei River
326 Kuei-shan
296 Kuei-shuang
278 Lan-shih
38 Ling-chü
685 Lo-lou
299 Lo-yüeh-ni (-ti)
77 Lou-lan
527 Lun-t'ai
615 Mo-shan
144 Ning-mi
674 O-tu-nu
299 Pei-t'ien
152 P'i-shan
268 Po-tou
605 P'u-lei
65 P'u-lei, Lake
652 P'u-lei, Lesser
180 P'u-li
253 P'u-t'ao
77 Shan-shan
373 Shu-lo
296 Shuang-mi
361 So-chü
320 Su-hsieh
387 Ta Hsia
325 Ta Yüan
276 Ta Yüeh-chih
612 Tan-chü
604 Tan-huan
255 T'iao-chih
154 T'ien-tu
296 Tu-mi
587 Wei-hsü
585 Wei-li
374 Wei-tou
502 Wen-su
158 Wu-ch'a
323 Wu-hu
250 Wu-i-shan-li
514 Wu-lei (seat of the Prot. Gen.)
187 Wu-lei
128 Wu-mi
425 Wu-shih
376 Wu-sun
592 Wu-tan-tzu-li
— Wu-tu-nu, see O-tu-nu
622 Wu-t'u
588 Yen-ch'i
317 Yen-ts'ai
324 Yü-chien
601 Yü-li-shih
7 Yü-men Barrier
147 Yü-t'ien
589 Yüan-chü

LIST NO. 3

7	Yü-men Barrier	
38	Ling-chü	Yung-teng, North of Lan-chou
41	Erh-shih	Ura-tepe
49	Ku-shih, Chü-shih	Turfan Oasis
65	P'u-lei, Lake	Lake Barköl
77	Shan-shan	Cherchen
77	Lou-lan	40° 32' N, 89° 52' E
121	I-hsün	near Charkhlik
125	Ch'ieh-mo	near Cherchen
128	Wu-mi	Karadong, c. 38° 20' N., 81° 45' E.
132	Ching-chüeh	Niya
144	Ning-nei	Niya?
147	Yü-t'ien	Khotan/Keriya
152	P'i-shan	P'i-shan
154	T'ien-tu	Northern India
158	Wu-ch'a	Badakhshan? Sarikol? Tashkurgan?
170	Hsi-yeh	Yul-arik, South of Yarkand
171	Tzu-ho	Karghalik
180	P'u-li	Tashkurgan
182	I-nai	Tashkurgan
187	Wu-lei	near Tashkurgan
203	Chi-pin	Kashmir
250	Wu-i-shan-li	Herat?
253	P'u-t'ao	SW of Kabul? Charsadda?
255	T'iao-chih	Taokè, N of Bushire on the Persian Gulf.
267	An-hsi	the Arsacid realm
268	Po-tou	Parthia
271	Kuei River	Oxus or Amu-darya
276	Ta Yüeh-chih	1) upper Syr-darya, 2) Bactria
278	Chien-(or Lan-)shih	Badakhshan? Khulm?
296	Kao-fu	Kabul
	Hu-tsao	on the Wakhsh river
	Hsi-tun	Parwan on the Panjshir River: capital Po-mao N. of Kabul
	Hsiu-mi	Wakhan
	Kuei-shuang	N. of Gandhara
	Shuang-mi	Chitral
	Tu-mi	Termes
298	K'ang-chü	Samarkand
299	Lo-yüeh-ni(-ti)	Yaxartes?
300	Po-nei	"Parni"?
317	Yen-ts'ai	Sogdiana?
319	Great Marsh	Aral Sea
320	Su-hsieh	Kashgar? Kash?
321	Fu-mo	Koshaniya

323	Chi	Kāth (Khiva)
324	Ao-chien, Yü-chien	Khwarezmia
325	Ta Yüan	Ferghana? Sogdiana?
326	Kuei-shan	Ferghana
355	Hsiu-hsün	Irkeshtam? Alai Valley?
358	Chüan-tu	Irkeshtam? Karategin?
361	So-chü	Yarkand
373	Shu-lo	Kashgar
374	Wei-t'ou	SW of Uch-Turfan
376	Wu-sun	S of Ili River? S of Tekes River?
387	Ta Hsia	Bactria
424	Chü-yen	Kucha?
425	Wu-shih	N of Aksu
497	Ku-mo	Uch-Turfan
502	Wen-su	Uch in Aksu area
506	Ch'iu-tzu	Kucha
514	Wu-lei	seat of the Protector-General, W of Karashahr
527	Lun-t'ai	Bugur
528	Chieh-shih	Charchi
585	Wei-li	Korla
587	Wei-hsü	W of Lake Bostang, N of Karashahr
588	Yen-ch'i	Karashahr
589	Yüan-chü	S of Yulduz River
592	Wu-tan-tzu-li	between Manass and the Ebi-nor
597	Kan-tang	Fou-k'ang
601	Yü-li-shih	NW of Ch'i-t'ai
604	Tan-huan	near Urumchi
605	P'u-lei	Lake Barköl
608	Chü-mi	S of Manass
611	Chieh	N of Ch'ang-chi
612	Tan-chü	SW of Manass
613	Ku-hu	near Lukchun
614	Chü-liu	near Lukchun
615	Mo-shan	in Turfan Oasis
618	Chü-shih	Turfan Oasis
619	Chiao-ho	NW of Turfan
621	Further Chü-shih	Jimsa
622	Wu-t'u	Jimsa
623	Commandant of Chü-shih	Karakhoja
624	Further Town of Chü-shih	Ch'i-t'ai
642	Lesser P'u-lei	Barköl
643	Chin-fu	Turfan Oasis?
665	Kao-ch'ang	Karakhoja
674	O-tu-nu	W of Hami
685	Lo-lou	near Karashahr
706	—	Shaya


SKETCH MAP OF CENTRAL ASIA
60°
70°
80°
90°
ARAL SEA
SOGDIANA
BACTRIA
YAXARTES – SYR-DARYA
OXUS – AMU-DARYA
LAKE BALKASH
ILI RIVER
ISSIK KÖL
TEKES R.
EBI NOR
YULDUZ R.
TARIM R.
LOB NOR
LAKE BOSTANG
BAR KOL
WAKSH
KARATEGIN
ALAI
SARI KOL
BADAKHSHAN
Khiva
Bukhara
Koshaniya
Samarkand
Uratepe
Ferghana
Garm
Termes
Balkh
Khulm
Herat
Panjshir
Kabul
Peshawar
Chitral
Wakhan
Tashkurgan
Irkeshtam
Kashgar
Shu-lo
Yangihissar
Yarkand
Karghalik
P'i-shan
Khotan
Keriya
Niya
Cherchen
Miran
Charkhlik
Uch-Turfan
Wen-su
Aksu
Sha-ya
Kucha
Bugur
Charchi
Korla
Karashahr
Ch'ang-chi
Manass
Urumchi
Fou-k'ang
Jimsa
Ch'i-t'ai
Turfan
Lukchun
Hami
Yü-men
Tun-huang
Yang Barrier
(ancient site of)
50 0 150 MILES
100 0 200 KILOMETRES