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A Study of the History of the Relationship  
Between the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin,  
Northern and Southern Dynasties  
and the Western Regions

by  
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OF THE HISTORY OF THE RELATIONSHIP  
BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND EASTERN HAN,  
WEI, JIN, NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN  
DYNASTIES AND THE WESTERN REGIONS**

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AND SOUTHERN DYNASTIES AND THE WESTERN REGIONS*

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## INTRODUCTION

This volume complements my *A History of the Relationship between the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties*. That work, as its name implies, explains political affairs, economy and culture only as needed.

I allowed the primary data to speak there, assisting with limited textual research and explanatory notes and striving for a coherent and comprehensive account. This volume offers more extensive textual researches and commentary.



Chapter 1  
**A NEW THEORY  
ABOUT ZHANG QIAN'S MISSION  
TO THE WESTERN REGIONS**

A

The aim of Zhang Qian's 張騫 first mission to the Western Regions was to form an alliance with the Yuezhi 月氏 to enable the Han 漢 to make a pincer attack on the Xiongnu 匈奴 from east and west. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan 大宛), the background of this mission is recorded:

Zhang Qian 張騫 was a man of Hanzhong 漢中 [Prefecture]. During the Jianyuan 建元 reign-period [140-135 B.C.], he served as a courtier. At that time the Son of Heaven made inquiries concerning deserters from the Xiongnu 匈奴, and they all reported that the Xiongnu 匈奴 had defeated the king of the Yuezhi 月氏 and made a drinking vessel of his skull. The Yuezhi 月氏 had fled, but, while they were enraged with the Xiongnu 匈奴, there was no party with whom they could attack them jointly. As it happened, the Han 漢 wished to start operations to eliminate the Hu 胡; and, hearing of this report, wished to make contact [with the Yuezhi 月氏] by means of envoys. Their route would perforce have to pass through the Xiongnu 匈奴. A call was then made for persons able to undertake the mission.

The Yuezhi 月氏 originally were a powerful nomadic tribe. The center of their dominion extended from the present Qilian 祁連 mountains in the east to the eastern end of the present Altai and Tian 天 mountains; they extended their influence to the Hetao 河套 (“Bend of the Yellow River”) area for a time. At the end of the third century B.C., the Xiongnu 匈奴 had risen in the Mongolian plateau, and checked the tendency of the Yuezhi 月氏 advance eastwards. About 177/176 B.C., the Xiongnu 匈奴 advanced westwards with a great force and drove the Yuezhi 月氏 out of their former lands; the greater part of the Yuezhi 月氏 moved westwards to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, driving out the Sakās who lived there and settling. The group of Yuezhi 月氏 who moved westwards are called the “Da Yuezhi 大月氏” (the Great Yuezhi 月氏) by historians.<sup>[1]</sup> The reference “the Xiongnu 匈奴 had defeated the king of the Yuezhi 月氏”, combined with the reference “the Xiongnu Chanyu 單于 Laoshang 老上 killed

the king of the Yuezhi 月氏, making his skull into a drinking vessel” in the same chapter, shows that the man who defeated the king of the Yuezhi 月氏 was the Chanyu 單于 Laoshang 老上 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 (174-161 B.C.). Thus the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who had moved to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers suffered another severe blow from the Xiongnu 匈奴, when their king was killed. However, the blow from the Xiongnu 匈奴 did not lead the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 to give up the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. The reference “the Yuezhi 月氏 had fled” just means “was defeated”. It is quite possible that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 advanced eastwards on one occasion and drew back west again because they were defeated during the reign of the Chanyu 單于 Laoshang 老上 of the Xiongnu 匈奴. If the Yuezhi 月氏 had left the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers during the reign period of the Chanyu 單于 Laoshang 老上, Zhang Qian’s 張騫 mission to them during the reign Jianyuan 建元 (140-135 B.C.) would have no meaning. In sum, the object of Zhang Qian’s first mission to the Western Regions was the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who lived in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.

## B

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is also recorded that “In his capacity as a courtier, [Zhang] Qian [張騫] answered the call and was sent to the Yuezhi 月氏. Setting out from Longxi 隴西 [Prefecture] in company with Ganfu 甘父, formerly a Hu 胡 slave of the Tangyi 堂邑 family, he took the short route through [the land of] the Xiongnu 匈奴, who captured him and had him sent to the Chanyu 單于. The Chanyu 單于 said: ‘The Yuezhi 月氏 lie to the north of us; how may Han 漢 send its envoys there? If I wished to send envoys to Yue 越, would Han 漢 be willing to let me [do so]?’ For over ten years he detained [Zhang] Qian [張騫], giving him a wife by whom he had children. However, [Zhang] Qian [張騫] [constantly] retained the Han 漢 emblems of authority, never losing them”. In my opinion, the Xiongnu 匈奴 not only controlled the large territories from the north of the Qilian 祁連 Mountains to the eastern end of the Tian 天 and Altai Mountains, but also controlled the southern foot of the Altai Mountains including the Dzungarian Basin and the oasean states in the Tarim Basin, which were originally probably subject to the Yuezhi 月氏, after they had driven the Yuezhi 月氏 out of the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.<sup>[2]</sup> Therefore, Zhang Qian 張騫 and his party had to pass through the territories which were controlled by the Xiongnu 匈奴 when they, setting out from Longxi 隴西 [prefecture], went to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, where the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were, and finally were detained by the Xiongnu 匈奴. The statement of the Chanyu 單于 that “the Yuezhi 月氏 lie to the north of us” also



shows that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 still really were in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers at that time.

## C

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is also recorded that “Living among the Xiongnu 匈奴 people, when in the course of time he was allowed greater liberty, he found an opportunity to escape with his followers in the direction of the Yuezhi 月氏, and after speeding west for days numbered by the tens, he reached Dayuan 大宛”. In my opinion, Dayuan 大宛 was located in the present Ferghāna Basin.<sup>[3]</sup> Opinions have long been quite divided on the route by which Zhang Qian 張騫 went to Dayuan 大宛 after he had escaped, because there are no clear records in the history books. However, the three main theories are as follows:

The first is that Zhang Qian 張騫 went to Dayuan 大宛 through “the Southern Route in the Western Regions”, namely, westwards along the northern foot of the Kunlun 崑崙 Mountains, arriving at Dayuan 大宛. The reasoning is that most of the various states in the Tarim Basin mentioned in the first half of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, were located on the Southern Route, and the record was written on the basis of Zhang Qian’s 張騫 report, which was made when he returned to his homeland.<sup>[4]</sup>

The second is that Zhang Qian 張騫 went to Dayuan 大宛 through “the Northern Route in the Western Regions”, that is, he crossed the Cong 葱 Mountains and arrived at Dayuan 大宛 after going westwards along the southern foot of the Tian 天 Mountains and arrived at Shule 疏勒. This is because the four states, Gushi 姑師, Loulan 樓蘭, Wumi 于闐 and Yutian 于闐, are mentioned in the first half of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. Of them, Gushi 姑師 (i. e., Jushi 車師) undoubtedly was a state on the Northern Route. Since Zhang Qian’s 張騫 journey home was the Southern Route, his way must have lain along the Northern Route. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain that Gushi 姑師 was mentioned.<sup>[5]</sup>

The third is that Zhang Qian 張騫 went to Dayuan 大宛 by the route along the northern foot of the Tian 天 Mountains, that is, he went to Dayuan 大宛 by way of Dzungarian Basin, the southern bank of Issyk kul, and the valley of the Naryn River from north of the Gobi desert. This is because the Xiongnu 匈奴 established the post of Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕 (Slaves) on the Northern Route after they had controlled the Western Regions, thus Zhang Qian 張騫 did not necessarily take the Northern Route. Moreover, in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is said that Gushi 姑師 (and Loulan 樓蘭) “closely border on the Salt Lake”, which shows that Zhang Qian 張騫 did not go

through Gushi 姑師. Hearsay resulted in this wrong record. It also can be taken as evidence that Qiuci 龜茲 and Shule 疏勒 are not mentioned in this chapter. Of the material concerning the Western Regions recorded in this chapter, that on the Wusun 烏孫 is the most detailed, which serves to show that Zhang Qian 張騫 took the route along the northern foot of the Tian 天 Mountains.<sup>[6]</sup>

In my opinion, all three theories are inadequate.

First, on the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, we know that Zhang Qian 張騫 “returned making his way along the Southern Mountains, as he wished to go back by way of the Qiang 羌 peoples”, after having departed from the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. This not only shows that his way home was the Southern Route in the Western Regions, but also that he drew a lesson from the fact that he had been detained by the Xiongnu 匈奴 earlier. This proves from the reverse side the proposal that Zhang Qian’s 張騫 route was not the Southern Route in the Western Regions.

Second, the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, refers to Gushi 姑師, which is taken as evidence by those who hold the theory of the Northern Route. In fact, Gushi 姑師 was not located on the Northern Route when Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent on his first mission to the Western Regions, but in the northwest of Lob nor, and assuredly it does “closely border on the Salt Lake”.<sup>[7]</sup> Therefore, we cannot infer that Zhang Qian’s 張騫 route was the Northern Route in the Western Regions on the basis of Gushi’s 姑師 being mentioned in the first half of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. The chapter does not mention the states on the Northern Route, such as Qiuci 龜茲 and Shule 疏勒. Thus we also cannot approve the idea that Zhang Qian 張騫 went to Dayuan 大宛 by way of the Northern Route.

Third, if Zhang Qian 張騫 went to Dayuan 大宛 along the northern foot of the Tian 天 Mountains, then he must have gone by way of Wusun 烏孫, which occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. However, the related record in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, shows that Zhang Qian 張騫 did not arrive in Wusun 烏孫 in person on his first mission to the Western Regions. This shows that the part in Zhang Qian’s 張騫 report on this mission concerning Wusun 烏孫 is very simply like that on Yancai 奄蔡, which he did not reach in person. As for the legend that ravens fed the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 and a wolf suckled him and so on, recorded in that chapter, this is what Zhang Qian 張騫 heard during his captivity among the Xiongnu 匈奴, and not knowledge acquired in Wusun 烏孫 in person. Zhang Qian 張騫 dared not risk taking the Northern Route because the Xiongnu 匈奴 had established the post of Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕 (Slaves) on the Northern Route. However, it is difficult to imagine that Zhang Qian 張騫 dared go through the territory of Wusun 烏孫 since he was going on a mission to the Yuezhi 月氏 for Han 漢, because the Yuezhi 月氏 recently had been defeated by the Wusun 烏孫, and the latter were supported by the Xiongnu 匈奴 (see the next section). Since Zhang Qian 張騫 did not go to Dayuan 大宛 by way of Wusun

烏孫, we have to consider that the third theory also is not believable.

Fourth, since the above-mentioned three theories cannot be established, the most probable route that Zhang Qian 張騫 took west to Dayuan 大宛 was by way of the northern bank of Lake Balkhash, then south along the Chu River, and then through the Kirghiz Mountains and along the Naryn River, finally entering the Ferghāna Basin.<sup>[8]</sup>

A further clue is that Zhang Qian 張騫 was arrested by the Xiongnu 匈奴 after he set out from Longxi 隴西 [Prefecture]. The locale in which he was arrested is not known, but it is quite possible that the Xiongnu 匈奴 people “had him sent to the Chanyu 單于”, meaning that he was sent under escort to the court of Chanyu 單于 in the north of the Gobi desert. This is an interpretation of Zhang Qian’s 張騫 “speeding west” to Dayuan 大宛 from the north of the Gobi desert. If we interpret the statement “Living among the Xiongnu 匈奴 people” in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, as “Living in the western part of the Xiongnu 匈奴” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Zhang Qian 張騫), it is more likely that Zhang Qian 張騫 went west, setting out from the southern foot of the Altai Mountains.

## D

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is also recorded that “[Dayuan 大宛] sent off [Zhang] Qian [張]騫, providing him with interpreters and guides. He reached Kangju 康居, who passed him on to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. The king of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had been killed by the Hu 胡, and the crown prince had been established as king; having subjugated Daxia 大夏, he occupied that country. The land was fertile, with few brigands, and [the Da Yuezhi 大月氏] had set their minds on [a life of] peace and contentment. In addition, they considered themselves too far away from Han 漢, and had no intention at all of taking revenge on the Hu 胡. From the Yuezhi 月氏, [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 reached Daxia 大夏, but in the end he was unable to rouse the interest of the Yuezhi 月氏”.<sup>[9]</sup>

In my opinion, the so-called Da Yuezhi 大月氏 here described were no longer located in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. In B.C. 130 the Wusun 烏孫 made an expedition against the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 with the support of the Xiongnu 匈奴, and conquered them. The Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were forced to give up the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers and move west once again, into the valley of the Amu Darya via Ferghāna. They conquered the state of Daxia 大夏, which mainly was located south of the Amu Darya. The Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had established their royal court on the northern bank of the river and controlled the territory of the original state of Daxia 大夏, which straddled both banks of the Amu Darya at the time Zhang Qian 張騫 reached there.<sup>[10]</sup> It is

possible that Zhang Qian 張騫 knew that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had once again removed westwards after he had escaped the Xiongnu 匈奴. Therefore, he did not go to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers, but directly down south to Bactria from the northern bank of Lake Balkhash. The “Kangju 康居” that he reached must have been the dependent territory of the Kangju 康居, namely Sogdiana, which was located between the Syr Darya and Amu Darya. This is because the mainland of Kangju 康居 was located on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, thus it is not necessary that Zhang Qian 張騫 went by the roundabout route of the northern bank of Syr Darya when he went to the royal court of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 from Dayuan 大宛, and the court was located on the northern bank of Amu Darya, and Sogdiana was the road that he had to take. <sup>[11]</sup>

As for the reference that “from the Yuezhi 月氏, [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 reached Daxia 大夏”, it must refer to the fact he reached the town of Lanshi 藍市, which was originally the capital of the state of Daxia 大夏, from the royal court of Da Yuezhi 大月氏. This might have been in order to meet the king of Da Yuezhi 大月氏, who was south of the Amu Darya at that time. The reason Zhang Qian’s 張騫 visit in the end “was unable to rouse the interest of the Yuezhi 月氏” is that, as the memoir states, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were located essentially in the valley of the Amu Darya and were far away from their homeland at that time. Therefore, it was in fact impossible to make a converging attack on the Xiongnu 匈奴 with Han 漢. It was inevitable that Zhang Qian 張騫 was unable to rouse the interest of the Yuezhi 月氏.

## E

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that “After staying there for over a year, he [Zhang Qian 張騫] returned, making his way along the Southern Mountains, as he wished to go back by way of the Qiang 羌 peoples; he was again captured by the Xiongnu 匈奴. After he had endured over a year’s detention there, the Chanyu 單于 died, and the Luli 谷蠡 King of the Left attacked the crown prince and usurped the throne; thus the state was thrown into confusion. In company with his Hu 胡 wife and [Gan]fu [甘]父 of Tangyi 堂邑, [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 escaped back to Han 漢.... At the time [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 had started his journey, over a hundred men set out, but thirteen years later only two succeeded in returning”. This refers to the Southern Mountains in the Western Regions, i.e., the present Karakoram, Kunlun, and Altyn-tagh mountains. Zhang Qian’s 張騫 way home was quite possibly along the Southern Route, via Yutian 于闐, Wumi 扞罽 and Loulan 樓蘭, which was located southwest of Lob nor, and then north to Gushi 姑師, which was located northwest of Lob nor. There are records about the four states in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, which show that Zhang Qian 張

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騫 probably was arrested once more after having passed Gushi 姑師. It should therefore be the case that Zhang Qian 張騫 returned “making his way along the Southern Mountains”. However, if combining the statement in the same chapter “Were an envoy to be sent to Daxia 大夏 to make his way through the Qiang 羌, he would find it dangerous going, and the Qiang 羌 people would hate it; and were he to go a little further north, he would be captured by the Xiongnu 匈奴”, it can be seen that he could not really pass through the territory of the Qiang 羌 people, and the reference “wished to go back by way of the Qiang 羌 peoples” is only his contemplation. It is quite possible that he took a route “a little further north”, knowing that “the Qiang 羌 people would hate it”. As a result he was again captured by the Xiongnu 匈奴.<sup>[12]</sup>

It is quite possible that Zhang Qian 張騫 was “sent to the Chanyu 單于” after he had been captured, and was sent under escort to the place where he had been banished (thus he met his barbarian wife and in the end returned together with her), and did not escape until he was able to take advantage of the disorder when the Chanyu 單于 Junchen 軍臣 (161-126 B.C.) died.

The year that Zhang Qian 張騫 returned to his homeland, according to the “Hanji 漢紀” chapter of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, is the third year of the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period (126 B.C.). The Chanyu 單于 Junchen 軍臣 died in this year. Counting thirteen years from the third year of the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period, Zhang Qian 張騫 would set out in the second year of the Jianyuan 建元 reign-period (139 B.C.).<sup>[13]</sup> On this basis, one can know that the period when Zhang Qian 張騫 was arrested by the Xiongnu 匈奴 for the first time was from the second year of the Jianyuan 建元 reign-period to the sixth year of the Yuanguang 元光 reign-period (B.C. 129) (“over ten years”). He reached Da Yuezhi 大月氏 after having escaped from the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the sixth year of the Yuanguang 元光 reign-period. The period when Zhang Qian 張騫 was detained in Da Yuezhi 大月氏 was from the sixth year of the Yuanguang 元光 reign-period to the first year of the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period (128 B.C.) (“over a year”). He started home at the end of the first year of the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period. The time when Zhang Qian 張騫 was arrested by the Xiongnu 匈奴 for the second time was from the beginning of the second year of the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period to the third year (“over a year”).<sup>[14]</sup> It should be pointed out that the event of the Sakās invading Anxi 安息 took place during the time Zhang Qian 張騫 was detained in Da Yuezhi 大月氏. This was possibly a result of the chain reaction caused by the Da Yuezhi’s 大月氏 movement to the west for the second time. This event, at long last, led to the establishment of the state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96.<sup>[15]</sup> Zhang Qian’s 張騫 report does not mention the Sakās’ invasion, which may be because this information had not yet reached Da Yuezhi 大月氏 on his way home.

## F

The aim of Zhang Qian's 張騫 second mission to the Western Regions was to ally with the Wusun 烏孫 to make an attack on the Xiongnu 匈奴 from both sides. Combining the related records seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Zhang Qian 張騫) and 96 (Memoir on the Western Regions), we can infer that the Wusun 烏孫 originally roved about as a nomad tribe in the Hami area. It is quite possible that they were subject to the Yuezhi 月氏 for a time. In 177/176 B.C. the Chanyu 單于 Modu 冒頓 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 attacked the Yuezhi 月氏 on a large scale; the Yuezhi 月氏 gave up their former land and removed west. It is quite possible that the defeated Yuezhi 月氏 lashed out at the Wusun 烏孫 and killed their Kunmo 昆莫, Nandoumi 難兜靡, at this moment, when Liejiaomi 獵驕靡, the son of Nandoumi 難兜靡 had just been born. The rest of the Wusun 烏孫 thus went with the orphan to the Xiongnu 匈奴 for shelter. After Liejiaomi 獵驕靡 had grown up, the Chanyu 單于 Junchen 軍臣 ordered him to lead his men to defend the western boundary of the Xiongnu 匈奴. In 130 B.C. Liejiaomi 獵驕靡 made an expedition to the valley of the Ili and Chu rivers with the support of the Xiongnu 匈奴. After the Chanyu 單于 Junchen 軍臣 had died, Liejiaomi 獵驕靡 "was no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu 匈奴 and serve them".<sup>[16]</sup> Therefore, with regard to the destination of Zhang Qian's 張騫 second mission to the Western Regions, it was also the valley of the Ili and Chu rivers, and identical with his first.

The aim of Zhang Qian's 張騫 mission to the Wusun 烏孫 was to "induce [its people] to move east and live in their old lands" and to cut off "the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴". As mentioned above, the former land of the Wusun 烏孫 was located in the present Hami area. At that time this territory was "empty and deserted" because the Hunxie 渾邪 king had surrendered to the Han 漢. If this territory was controlled by a state allied with the Han, there would be a very important advantage to cutting off the connection between the Xiongnu 匈奴 and the Western Regions. It is thus not inappropriate to infer that there was a plan to induce the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 to move east and live in their old lands, when Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent on his mission during the Jianyuan 建元 reign-period.

In addition, in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that "Once a link has been forged with Wusun 烏孫, the states such as Daxia 大夏 to its west could all be induced to come to court and become outer subjects of Han 漢". From this, it can be seen that the mission to Wusun 烏孫 had the purpose of opening up the route from east to west. This is because in the same chapter it is recorded that "[The area] west of Wusun 烏孫 as far

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as Anxi 安息 is close to the Xiongnu 匈奴. The Xiongnu 匈奴 earlier had once harassed the Yuezhi 月氏; consequently, when a Xiongnu 匈奴 envoy, carrying a token of credence from the Chanyu 單于, was sent abroad, all the states on the route would provide a relay service of escorts and food, and would not dare to detain or harm the envoy. But in the case of the Han 漢 envoys, if they do not bring out valuables and silk, they do not get any food, and if they do not buy horses, they have no means of traveling on horseback. The reason for this state of affairs is that Han 漢 has been regarded as being distant. However, Han 漢 possesses many valuable goods, and consequently purchasing has been necessary to acquire what is required; indeed they were more afraid of the Xiongnu 匈奴 than of the Han 漢 envoys”. Therefore, before Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent on his mission to Wusun 烏孫 at least, Wusun 烏孫, as a dependency of the Xiongnu 匈奴, in fact had been obstructing the intercourse between Han 漢 and the various states in the Western Regions.

**G**

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, when Zhang Qian 張騫 went on his mission to Wusun 烏孫, Emperor Wu 武 “appointed [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 to be Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, with a force of 300 men; each man had two horses, and the cattle and sheep were counted by the tens of thousands. He took gold, valuables, and silk which was worth an enormous amount, and there were a large number of deputy envoys bearing their insignia to be sent to the neighbouring states if the roads were feasible”. One may conclude that this was an exceptionally grand occasion. However, after Zhang Qian 張騫 had presented his gifts and a message from the emperor he returned home, being unable to rouse the interest of the host once again. This is because “The Wusun 烏孫 state was divided; the king was old, thought that Han 漢 was remote, and had no informed idea of its size. Moreover [Wusun 烏孫] was close to the Xiongnu 匈奴, to whom it had been subject for a long period, so that none of the senior officials, who were afraid of the Hu 胡, wished to move. The king was unable to exercise complete and unified control”. Zhang Qian 張騫 “was unable to rouse his interest” and returned once again. “Wusun 烏孫 provided interpreters and guides to accompany [Zhang] Qian [張]騫, together with a mission from Wusun 烏孫; this comprised men and horses, each numbered by the tens, and it was to render thanks [to the emperor]. The mission was ordered to use the opportunity to make a thorough observation of Han 漢 and find out its extent”. This action had great importance. This is because “the envoys of Wusun 烏孫 returned to their state after observing the large numbers of Han 漢 people and the

abundance of Han's 漢 wealth; and the state's appreciation of Han 漢 was considerably enhanced". It can be considered that this was the beginning of Wusun's 烏孫 path to an alliance with Han 漢. The support or opposition of Wusun 烏孫 was crucial to the Western Han's 漢 ultimately conquering the Xiongnu 匈奴.<sup>[17]</sup> Zhang Qian 張騫 was unable to rouse the interest of Wusun 烏孫, but his mission eventually produced an effect in the days to come. His endurance of great hardships in his pioneering work indeed will not be forgotten.

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is also recorded that "Zhang Qian 張騫, therefore, sent his deputy envoys on separate missions to the states of Dayuan, Kangju 康居, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Daxia 大夏, Anxi 安息, Shendu 身毒, Yutian 于窰, Wumi 扞采 and the adjacent states". In my opinion, the states to which Zhang Qian's 張騫 assistant envoys were sent were visited by Zhang Qian 張騫 in person or were those from which he gained information during his first mission to the Western Regions. Of these, Yutian 于窰 and Wumi 扞采 must have been the states on the Southern Route by which he went on his first mission to the Western Regions. And the so-called "Daxia 大夏" may be the "minor chiefs" in the state of Daxia 大夏 that were originally subject to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏.

It is notable that Loulan 樓蘭 and Gushi 姑師 are not among the above-listed states. As mentioned above, both were states which Zhang Qian 張騫 went through when he returned to his homeland by way of the Southern Route. The reason they are not mentioned is more that Zhang Qian 張騫 already had passed through both states than an omission in the text. Since Zhang Qian 張騫 had been there in person, it was not necessary that the deputy envoys be sent.

There are no clear records on the exact route which Zhang Qian 張騫 took when he went on the mission to Wusun 烏孫. We can speculate that Zhang Qian's 張騫 route was west along the northern foot of the Āltin-tagħ until he reached Loulan 樓蘭 which was located southwest of Lob nor, then went north from Loulan 樓蘭 to reach Gushi 姑師, which was located northwest of Lob nor (in the area of the present ruins of the ancient town of Loulan 樓蘭), and then west along Konche Darya until he arrived at Wusun 烏孫 by way of Qiuci 龜茲.<sup>[18]</sup> At that time, Han 漢 had won a grand victory in attacking the Xiongnu 匈奴. Especially after Hunxie 渾邪, the king of the Western Regions of the Xiongnu 匈奴, had surrendered to Han 漢 in the second year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period, the situation that "[The area] west of Jincheng 金城 and Hexi 河西 [Prefectures] and along the Southern Mountains as far as the Salt Marsh was empty and without Xiongnu 匈奴", as mentioned in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, had occurred. Since there are no Xiongnu 匈奴 all along the Southern Mountains as far as the Salt Lake (Lob nor), it is quite possible that Zhang Qian 張騫 went to Wusun 烏孫 by this way. In addition, Han 漢 had driven the Xiongnu 匈奴 north of the Gobi Desert



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in the fourth year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period (119 B.C.), but the Xiongnu 匈奴 did not lose control over the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains, including the Dzungarian Basin. Therefore, the Northern Route of the Tian Mountains was not necessarily a level road for Zhang Qian 張騫. As for Zhang Qian's 張騫 way home, it is reasonable to consider that it was the same as the way he traveled out.

## H

For the date on which Zhang Qian 張騫 departed on his mission to Wusun 烏孫 there are no clear records in the history books. It is generally assumed that he set out in the fourth year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period and returned home in the second year of the Yuanding 元鼎 reign-period (115 B.C.). In my opinion, in the fourth year of the reign-period Yuanshou 元狩, the Han 漢 troops attacked the Xiongnu 匈奴 north of the Gobi Desert, and thus the roads to the Western Regions were opened up. It is not impossible that Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent in this year. However, strictly speaking, this year can only be taken as the upper limit of the date when Zhang Qian 張騫 could have set out. On the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, or the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61, it can be known that Zhang Qian 張騫 did not meet with obstruction, and seemingly did not stay in Wusun 烏孫 for a longer time. Since according to the “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, Zhang Qian 張騫 returned to his homeland, it is reasonable to consider that Zhang Qian 張騫 set out in the first or second year of the Yuanding 元鼎 reign-period.

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that Wusun's 烏孫 “king was old” when Zhang Qian 張騫 arrived in Wusun 烏孫. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that Wusun's 烏孫 “Kunmo 昆莫 was old” at that time. This king or Kunmo 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 could only have been Liejiaomi 獵驕靡, the son of Nandoumi 難兜靡. Since a man was regarded as “old” when he was at the age of seventy, Liejiaomi 獵驕靡 could not be called “old” at the beginning of the Yuanding 元鼎 reign-period because he was born in 177/176 B.C.. Therefore, the “old” here was only the impression of Zhang Qian 張騫. In the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period when Kunmo 昆莫 married the Han 漢 princess, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, also states “the Kunmo 昆莫 was old”. It can be affirmed categorically that “old” means “at the age of seventy” since both sides made a marriage contract.<sup>[19]</sup>

## I

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that “the deputy envoys whom he had sent to make contact with states such as Daxia 大夏 all came to court, in many cases with people from those places, and for the first time the states of the northwest then came into communication with Han 漢”. Therefore, Sima Qian 司馬遷, the author of the *Shiji* 史記, says that Zhang Qian’s 張騫 westerly mission is “*zaokong* 鑿空”.

What is the meaning of *zaokong* 鑿空? The explanation of Su Lin 蘇林, cited by Pei Yin’s 裴駟 *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, is “*Zao* 鑿 means to open up, and *kong* 空 means to pioneer. This was to say that Zhang Qian 張騫 had pioneered the way to the Western Regions”. However, the evidence of archaeology and literature both show that the way to the Western Regions had been pioneered as early as the pre-Qin 秦 period.<sup>[20]</sup> With regard to the Han 漢 period, the evidence on the relations between the Western Regions and the Central Plains is verifiable. For example, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 56, a memorial by Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 is recorded, which says: “Yelang 夜郎 and Kangju 康居, the places beyond 10,000 *li* 里, enjoy virtue and submit to justice. This is caused by peace”. And in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 57B, is recorded Sima Xiangru’s 司馬相如 address to the people in Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀, which says: “Kangju 康居 and the Western Regions, with a series of interpreters, pay tribute, kowtow, and offer sacrifices.” In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 117, there is an identical record. Also, Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 presented the memorial in the first year of the Yuanguang 元光 reign period (B.C. 134). Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 addressed the people in Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀 in the middle of the Yuanguang 元光 reign period (B.C. 130). The reference by Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 and Dong Zhongshu 董鍾舒 must have pointed to one and the same event. This shows that Kangju’s 康居 paying tributes was, at the latest, before Zhang Qian 張騫 returned home on his first mission to the Western Regions.<sup>[21]</sup> In view of this, the so-called *zaokong* 鑿空, Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 statement may not refer to pioneering the ways to the Western Regions, in common signification. The original meaning may be in order to emphasize that Han 漢 began to exchange envoys with the various states in the Western Regions after Zhang Qian’s 張騫 two westerly missions. Or, to be more specific, the so-called situation that “for the first time the states of the northwest came into communication with Han 漢” is not civilian, but official; is not unidirectional, but bidirectional.

## J

According to the present view, the significance of Zhang Qian’s 張騫 western mission is still considered to be that it provides important material about the political

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situation both inside and the outside of Central Asia and that it shows about the distribution of nations at that time.

On the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, “the states reached by [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 in person comprised Dayuan 大宛, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Daxia 大夏, and Kangju 康居, and those of which he heard tell included five or six large states bordering them” when he went on his mission to the Western Regions. Those states of which he heard reports, according to the chapter, we know were Wusun 烏孫, Kangju 康居, Anxi 安息, Tiaozi 條枝, Lixuan 黎軒, and Shendu 身毒. Of these, Anxi 安息 must have been the name given to the Persians under the rule of the family of Arsaces, and Tianzhi 條枝 refers to Seleucid Syria, to its west and southwest; Lixuan 黎軒 refers to Ptolemaic Egypt. To the southeast of Anxi 安息, Shendu 身毒 was located, occupying the reaches of the Indus River.<sup>[22]</sup> To the north of Anxi 安息, from north of the Black Sea, via the Caspian Sea and the Aral to the reaches of the Ili and Chu rivers, the nomadic tribes, Yancai 奄蔡, Kangju 康居, and Wusun 烏孫, moved in an eastward direction. At that time, Kangju 康居 was in possession of the reaches of the Zarafshan River, which is known as “Suyi 粟弋” in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions). To the east of Anxi 安息 another great nomadic tribe, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, controlled the reaches of the Amu Darya after they had conquered Daxia 大夏, whose territory was mainly located south of the Darya. To the northeast of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 or Daxia 大夏 was the present Ferghāna, in which was the so-called state of Dayuan 大宛. Of the above-mentioned ten states, there are descriptions in Zhang Qian’s 張騫 report to Emperor Wu 武 after he had returned home. It is certainly true that, if there were not the report of Zhang Qian 張騫, it would be impossible today to reestablish the history of Central Asia (especially its western part) before the second century B.C..

In addition, it should be pointed out that most of the above-mentioned report of Zhang Qian 張騫 had already been transcribed into the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, but it still has its unique value. This is mainly because the editor of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96 (Memoir on the Western Regions) inserted the information obtained from Zhang Qian 張騫 in his report, and thus the time of some of the information obtained by Zhang Qian 張騫 has been obliterated. It is easy to discover this by comparing the records about Daxia 大夏 and Da Yuezhi 大月氏 from both chapters.<sup>[23]</sup> The emphasis of Zhang Qian’s 張騫 report is on the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains (the Pamirs), the area east of the Cong 葱 Mountains is only mentioned and is not much more detailed than the account in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. In spite of this, the related records in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan 大宛), must not be ignored. Zhang Qian’s 張騫 record that Gushi 姑師 “closely borders on the Salt Lake” is equally very important. This item is completely cancelled in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96; as a result some records in this chapter

have become difficult to understand. <sup>[24]</sup> In sum, while there is the “Memoir on the Western Regions” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, the “Memoir on Dayuan 大宛” in the *Shiji* 史記 is still absolutely necessary if we want to study the situation during the Han 漢 Dynasty.

<sup>[1]</sup> Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 53-57.

<sup>[2]</sup> Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 272-274.

<sup>[3]</sup> Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 70-71.

<sup>[4]</sup> Herrmann, p. 116.

<sup>[5]</sup> Kuwabara.

<sup>[6]</sup> Nagasawa (1979), pp. 385-386.

<sup>[7]</sup> Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 215-217.

<sup>[8]</sup> Cf. the statement about the territories of Wusun 烏孫, Kangju 康居, Dayuan 大宛 in Yu, T. (1992), pp. 70-71, 96-97, 136-137. Also, at that time, before they had established their country, the western border of Wusun 烏孫 was not necessarily joined with that of Kangju 康居 and Dayuan 大宛, as stated in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96.

<sup>[9]</sup> “The crown prince” is noted as “his wife” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Zhang Qian 張騫). In my opinion, it is quite possible that when the king of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 was killed by the Chanyu 單于 Laoshang 老上, his crown prince was a child, who was established as king, but in fact his mother acted as regent. As a result, a contradiction between the books has been caused. The *Shiji* 史記 and *Hanshu* 漢書 each sticks to its own version, concept and objective being.

<sup>[10]</sup> Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 57-61.

<sup>[11]</sup> Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp.98-101. Also, since the memoir states that Zhang Qian 張騫 went to Kangju 康居 from Dayuan 大宛, Zhang Qian 張騫 did not pass through the territory of the Kangju 康居, which was “in service to the Xiongnu 匈奴” at that time (in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123), when he went south to Ferghāna from the north bank of Lake Balkhash.

<sup>[12]</sup> Hulsewé and Loewe, pp. 76-77, considers that, on his return, Zhang Qian 張騫 followed the Kunlun 昆侖 Mountains to enter into the territory of the Qiang 羌 (somewhere in the border zone between the modern provinces of Qinghai 青海 and Gansu 甘肅), and bypassed Loulan 樓蘭, whereas the place of his captivity must have been far to the north of Gushi 姑師. Nagasawa (1979), pp. 385-386 also considers that Zhang Qian 張騫 followed the Southern Route, via Ruoqiang, 婼羌 and Qinghai 青海 on his return. In my opinion, both theories are inadequate.

<sup>[13]</sup> Enoki (1982) considers that “thirteen years” is not necessarily the full number, thus Zhang Qian 張騫 must have set out in the third year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period.

<sup>[14]</sup> This is Kuwabara’s theory; see Kuwabara.

<sup>[15]</sup> Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 171-173.

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[16] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 131-136.

[17] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 274-278.

[18] Cf. Huang, W. (1989-2).

[19] According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 and others, it is known that the Wusun 烏孫 originally lived with the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 “between the Qilian 祁連 [mountains] and Dunhuang 焞煌”. And in 177/176 B.C. the Chanyu 單于 Modu 冒頓 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 concurrently conquered the Wusun 烏孫 when he drove the Yuezhi 月氏 away from their former lands. Therefore, the time when, after Nandoumi 難兜靡 had been killed, the rest of the Wusun 烏孫, bringing with them his orphan, went to the Xiongnu 匈奴 for shelter must have been 177/176 B.C.. This is the reason the *Shiji* 史記 attributes the death of Nandoumi 難兜靡 to the Xiongnu 匈奴. Since Liejiaomi 獵驕靡 had just been born when Nandoumi 難兜靡 was killed, the latter was born in 177/176 B.C., from which time to the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period, he could just have been regarded as “old”.

[20] Cf. Ma and Wang.

[21] Cf. Yu, T. (1995), p. 6.

[22] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp.183-194.

[23] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp.59-63.

[24] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp.215-217.

Chapter 2  
**A BRIEF STUDY OF GAN YING'S  
MISSION TO THE WESTERN REGIONS**

**A**

On the background of Gan Ying's 甘英 mission to the Western Regions, there is a clear record in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88:

In the sixth year [of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period], Ban Chao 班超 attacked again and defeated Yanqi 焉耆. Thereupon, more than 50 states all offered hostages and entered [the Han 漢 Empire] as subjects. States such as Tiaozi 條支 and Anxi 安息, and those right up to the edge of the sea, more than 40,000 *li* 里 distant, all presented tribute via multiple interpreters. In the ninth year, Ban Chao 班超 dispatched his adjutant Gan Ying 甘英 all the way to the coast of the Western Sea and back.

The Eastern Han 漢 reopened their management of the Western Regions when Emperor He 和 ascended the throne. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), after Qiuci 龜茲, Gumo 姑墨 and Wensu 溫宿, the three states, had surrendered to Han 漢 the others all were pacified, and only three states, Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 溫宿 and Weili 尉犁, still were uncommitted because they had attacked and killed the Protector General Chen Mu 陳睦 at the end of the reign period of Emperor Ming 明. "In the sixth year of the [Yongyuan 永元] reign-period, in the autumn, [Ban] Chao [班]超 thus called out the troops of the eight states including Qiuci 龜茲, Shanshan 鄯善 and others, amounting altogether to 70,000 men, with 1,400 officers, soldiers and merchants, to attack Yanqi 焉耆". The Eastern Han's 漢 management of the Western Regions attained its greatest strength, and the three states of Yanqi 焉耆 and others were faced down. Not only did the various states which had been subject to the Western Han 漢 Dynasty all give their hostages and become attached to the court, but also Tianzhi 條支, Anxi 安息, and even those states and areas as far as more than 40,000 *li* 里 distant all presented tribute via multiple interpreters. Under this situation, Ban Chao 班超 sent Gan Ying 甘英 westwards. "Anxi 安息" here must have been the name given to the Persians under the rule of the family of Arsaces. The so-called "Tiaozi 條支" referred to the Syrian region, which was originally under the Seleucids, but which had become a dependent territory of the Roman Empire at that time.

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According to the same chapter, the state of Tiaozi 條支 was one that “borders the Western Sea”. Therefore the reference “right up to the edge of the sea, more than 40,000 *li* 里 distant” should refer to the Roman Empire and its dependents which were located around the Mediterranean. Also, according to the same chapter,

In the ninth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 97), the Protector General, Ban Chao 班超, sent Gan Ying 甘英 as an envoy to Da Qin 大秦. He arrived at Tiaozi 條支, overlooking the great sea. When he was about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi 安息 told [Gan] Ying [甘]英: “The sea is vast. With favorable winds it is still only possible for travelers to cross in three months. But if one meets with unfavorable winds, it may even take two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea always take on board three years’ provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make men homesick, and several have there thus lost their lives”. It was when he heard this that [Gan] Ying [甘]英 gave up.

It can be seen that the reference, 甘英 “all the way to the coast of the Western Sea and back” in the preface of the same chapter, refers to the fact that Gan Ying 甘英 returned after he had arrived at Tiaozi 條支. However, the destination of Gan Ying 甘英 was Da Qin 大秦, i.e., the Roman Empire.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, “until the ninth year of the Yanxi 延熹 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 166), Andun 安敦, king of Da Qin 大秦, sent an envoy from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南 (“South of the Sea”) who offered elephant tusk, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell. It was only then that for the first time communication was established [between the two states]”. This shows that the first direct intercourse of Da Qin 大秦, i.e., the Roman Empire, with the Eastern Han 漢 did not come about until the ninth year of the Yanxi 延熹 reign-period. From this, one can see that the envoys of the various states described as “right up to the edge of the sea, more than 40,000 *li* 里 distant, all presented tribute via multiple interpreters” after the sixth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 did not include envoys from Da Qin 大秦, i.e., the mainland of the Roman Empire. In fact, the reference, which only generally mentions the various states “right up to the edge of the sea, more than 40,000 *li* 里 distant” but does not mention Da Qin 大秦, has already hinted this. However, it should be pointed out that, in all probability, the envoys who came over to pay tribute from the dependencies of Da Qin 大秦 passed on the related messages, and this inspired Ban Chao 班超 to send Gan Ying 甘英 to go on the mission to Da Qin 大秦, i.e., the mainland of the Roman Empire.<sup>[1]</sup>

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that the state of Da Qin 大秦 “trades by sea with Anxi 安息 and Tianzhu 天竺, and the profit is tenfold.... The king of this state always wanted to enter into diplomatic relations with the Han 漢. But Anxi 安息 wanted to trade with them in Han 漢 silk and so put obstacles in their way, so that they could never have direct relations [with Han 漢]”. On the basis of this, some suggest that the words that “the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi 安息” said to Gan Ying 甘英, when he was about to take his passage across the sea were intended willfully to intimidate him, so that Gan Ying 甘英 hesitated to move forward because of being afraid of the difficulty; this achieved the purpose of blocking the direct communications between the Eastern Han 漢 and Da Qin 大秦. In my opinion, this certainty seems overdone.<sup>[2]</sup>

First, it is quite possible that the so-called “sailors of the western frontier of Anxi 安息” were only the people of Tiaozhi 條支. This is because, according to the “Memoir on the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略, the state of Tiaozhi 條支 had been “called the western frontier of Anxi 安息” for a time. Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the sailors whom Gan Ying 甘英 met were in fact people of Tiaozhi 條支 when he arrived there; the state of Tiaozhi 條支 had been subject to Da Qin 大秦. It is not necessary to assume that the sailors of Tiaozhi 條支 prevented Gan Ying 甘英 from going to Rome.

Second, even had the “sailors of the western frontier of Anxi 安息” whom Gan Ying 甘英 met been truly people of Anxi 安息, it would be difficult to assume that these sailors would act on the instructions of the imperial court of Anxi 安息 to obstruct Gan Ying’s 甘英 going to Da Qin 大秦. Gan Ying 甘英 passed through Anxi 安息 and reached Tiaozhi 條支, i.e., the Syrian region, which was located on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, trekking for several thousand *li* 里, but it is never heard that he faced “obstacles” put by the people of Anxi 安息. If it is true that the “sailors” did not make these statements until he was “about to take his passage across the sea”, the plan by which Anxi 安息 destroyed Da Qin’s 大秦 communications with the Eastern Han 漢 would be of a rather trifling sort.

Third, according to the “Memoir on the Western Rong” of the *Weilüe* 魏略, “The state of Da Qin 大秦: it is also named Lijian 犁靛. It lies to the west of the great sea which is west of Anxi 安息 and Tiaozhi 條支. From the town of Angu 安谷 on the frontier of Anxi 安息, one travels by boat directly across to the west of the sea. If one meets with favorable winds, it takes two months, but with delaying winds, it takes perhaps one year, and with no wind at all, perhaps three years”. And it is also recorded that “The water of the sea is bitter and undrinkable, so travelers rarely (succeed in) reaching there”. The so-called “town of Angu 安谷 on the frontier of Anxi 安息” should be read as “town of Angu 安谷, on the [western] frontier of Anxi 安息”. “The



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[western] frontier of Anxi 安息” is used as a synonym for Tiaozhi 條支 in the *Weilüe* 魏略, thus the town of Angu 安谷 was undoubtedly located in Tiaozhi 條支. From this, it can be seen that the words that Gan Ying 甘英 heard from the “sailors of the western frontier of Anxi 安息” in Tiaozhi 條支 were not intentionally exaggerated ones. Given conditions at that time, traversing the Mediterranean was truly a matter of life and death.

In sum, Gan Ying’s 甘英 individual nature played the main role, so that “when he heard this [Gan] Ying [甘]英 gave up”. If he had been Zhang Qian 張騫, the result might have been completely different.

## B

The main achievement of Gan Ying’s 甘英 mission to the Western Regions was to widen the Han 漢 people’s knowledge of the western world. Praising Gan Ying 甘英 for having gone “all the way to the coast of the Western Sea and back”, the preface of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, adds, “Former generations have never reached any of these places, nor has the *Classic of the Mountains* given any details of them. He made a report on the customs and topography of all these states, and transmitted an account of their precious objects and marvels”. This is partly, of course, a result of the fact that “states such as Tiaozhi 條支 and Anxi 安息, and right up to the edge of the sea, more than 40,000 *li* 里 distant, all presented tribute via multiple interpreters”, but Gan Ying 甘英, who went “all the way to the coast of the Western Sea” also had done meritorious service.

In the preface of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is said, “The natural conditions and social customs of the various states recorded by Ban Gu 班固 are all supplied in the *Qian Hanshu* 前漢書. Now I have compiled those matters after the Jianwu 建武 reign-period, which were different from the former, into the ‘Memoir on the Western Regions’. This has all been written down by Ban Yong 班勇 at the end of the reign-period of Emperor An 安”.

Ban Yong 班勇 was a son of Ban Chao 班超. He was appointed as the Chief Official of the Western Regions from the second year of the Yanguang 延光 reign-period of Emperor An 安 to the second year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順. During his term the Eastern Han’s 漢 management of the Western Regions appeared once again to bear a flourishing complexion. Ban Yong 班勇 thus had a very rich experience. The information “written down by Ban Yong 班勇” must include much that he personally observed information. However, Ban Yong 班勇 lived in the Western Regions for only four years, and as recorded in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, “In the second year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順帝 (A.D.

127), [Ban] Yong [班]勇 attacked and subdued Yanqi 焉耆 once more. Thereupon the 17 states such as Qiuci 龜茲, Yutian 于窰 and Suoju 莎車 all came and expressed their subordination. However, contacts with the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains (the Pamirs) were broken off”. Therefore, it is impossible that the information “written down by Ban Yong 班勇”, especially the part from the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains, was entirely from the information obtained by Ban Yong 班勇 during his term as the Chief Official of the Western Regions. Of this information, undoubtedly, some findings had been acquired by his father, Ban Chao 班超. Whatever information Gan Ying 甘英 had gained on his western mission should occupy an important place.<sup>[3]</sup>

Obviously, of the information gained by Gan Ying 甘英 during his western mission, the reports related to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains, especially Anxi 安息, Tiaozi 條支 and Da Qin 大秦, are the most important. We cannot separate out the individual facts gained by Gan Ying 甘英 from what is reported in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, but it is intriguing to guess.

1. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that “From Anxi 安息 going west 3,400 *li* 里 one reaches the state of Aman 阿蠻, then going west from Aman 阿蠻 3,600 *li* 里, one reaches the state of Sibir 斯賓; then from Sibir 斯賓, going south, crossing a river, and continuing southwest, one reaches the state of Yuluo 于羅, after 960 *li* 里, the extreme western frontier of Anxi 安息. From here one puts to sea to the south, and only then does one communicate with Da Qin 大秦. In this land are many of the jewels and exotica of the west of the sea”. It is possible that this passage was the message from Gan Ying 甘英. The journey to Tiaozi 條支 via Aman 阿蠻 (Ecbatana), Sibir 斯賓 (Ctesiphon), Yuluo 于羅 (Hatra) from Anxi 安息 (which refers to the capital, the town of Hedun 和犢, i.e., Hekotompylos) may be the route Gan Ying 甘英 had traversed. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 4, the state of Anxi 安息 had already sent its envoys to pay tribute in the second year of the Zhanghe 章和 reign-period (A.D. 88) of Emperor Zhang 章, but it is more likely that the related records were gained by the envoys of the Han 漢, since each journey covered a number of Chinese *li* 里, and Gan Ying 甘英 was the only envoy of the Eastern Han 漢 dynasty known to have made the full journey.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded: “The state of Tiaozi 條支: It has its town situated on a hill. The town is more than 40 *li* 里 in circumference. The town borders the Western Sea. The seawater curves around it from the south to northeast, so that access is cut off on three sides. Only in the northwest corner is there communication with the land route. The land is hot and damp. It produces lions, rhinoceros, humped buffalo (*zebu*), peacocks, and ostriches, whose eggs are as large as pots”. Since it is clearly recorded that Gan Ying 甘英 was an envoy of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty who arrived at Tiaozi 條支, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the

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information in this passage derived from Gan Ying 甘英. The town of the state of Tiaozhi 條支 described here must have been Seleucia, the outer harbor of Antiochia, the original capital of the Seleucids, namely “the town of Angu 安谷” as seen in “the Memoir of the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略. Since “the town borders the Western Sea”, the situation that “the seawater curves around it” may be what Gan Ying 甘英 had seen with his own eyes “when about to take his passage across the sea”.<sup>[4]</sup>

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that “Envoys of the Han 漢 in former generations all came back from Wuyi[shanli] [烏弋]山離; not one of them got as far as Tiaozhi 條支”. At first glance, this seems to have something to do with the western mission of Gan Ying 甘英. One might also consider that this was said to contrast with the western mission of Gan Ying 甘英, even if this statement did not derive from Gan Ying 甘英.<sup>[5]</sup> In fact, this statement in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, follows the related records in the item of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A. The original intention of the latter was to say that there were no Han 漢 envoys who arrived at Tiaozhi 條支 via Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 and not to say that no Han 漢 envoy arrived at Tiaozhi 條支.<sup>[6]</sup> Since the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, does not say that Gan Ying 甘英 reached Tiaozhi 條支 via Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 in other places, the quotation here does not contradict the western mission of Gan Ying 甘英.

4. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that “from Anxi 安息 by the land-route, one goes around north of the sea, comes out from the west of the sea, and arrives in Da Qin 大秦. The population [of Da Qin 大秦] is dense; each ten *li* 里 there is a *ting* 亭 (relay), and each thirty *li* 里 a *zhi* 置 (postal station). There is thus never any alarm caused by the attacks of robbers, but on the route there are many fierce tigers and lions which intercept and harm travelers. If the party does not include over 100 men furnished with arms, they are invariably devoured. It is also said that there is a flying bridge, several hundred *li* 里 long, over which one can pass to the various states north of the sea”. This passage may have nothing to do with the western mission of Gan Ying 甘英, as Gan Ying stopped when he heard the words of the sailors; he was not aware of the “land-route” to Da Qin 大秦 from Anxi 安息. A similar statement in the “Memoir on the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略 may be the basis for this passage in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88.

C

Following the statement that the various states in the Western Regions all offered hostages, made their submission, and offered tribute via multiple interpreters, and that Ban Chao 班超 sent Gan Ying 甘英 to the Western Regions, the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, says that “Thereupon the distant states Mengqi 蒙奇 and Doule 兜勒 both came to make their submission, sending envoys to present tribute”. We can infer that the fact that these two states “came to make their submission” would not have happened without the mission of Gan Ying 甘英, though it was also a result of the fact that the influence of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty expanded day by day.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 4, in the twelfth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period, “in the winter, in the eleventh month, Mengqi 蒙奇 and Doule 兜勒, the two states of the Western Regions sent their envoys to acknowledge allegiance [to Han 漢]. [The emperor] gave their kings the golden seals and purple ribbons”. According to the date given, it is possible that the envoys of both states came east in company with Gan Ying 甘英. Some similar examples can be found in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, and the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. Gan Ying 甘英 is not mentioned in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 4, probably because he did not reach Luoyang 洛陽 with the envoys of both states in company. The mission of Gan Ying 甘英 was not sent by the imperial court of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty. Gan Ying 甘英, who was merely a subordinate of Ban Chao 班超, was sent as an envoy to Da Qin 大秦 by him.

Where actually were Mengqi 蒙奇 and Doule 兜勒? Because the records are insufficient for research, it is difficult to give a clear and definite reply. Of the known various theories, I am relatively inclined to regard Mengqi 蒙奇 as Margiana <sup>[7]</sup> and Doule 兜勒, Tukhāra. <sup>[8]</sup> First, “Mengqi 蒙奇” and “Doule 兜勒” can be regarded as precise transcriptions of Margiana and Tukhāra respectively. Second, it is quite possible that Tukhāra, i.e., Daxia 大夏, which was subject to Guishuang 貴霜 at that time, sent its envoy to the Eastern Han 漢 and expressed its submission to Han 漢. This is the so-called “dual submission”. Margiana, a frontier province of Anxi 安息, was in an independent or semi-independent position because the royal might of the Parthians had been waning since the mid-first century A.D. So it is not unimaginable that it sent its envoy to the Eastern Han 漢 and was glad to swear fealty. Also, there is no contradiction to the fact that its state was called “Mengqi 蒙奇” and its metropolis was named “Mulu 木鹿” (Mōuru) in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88.

In other words, as compared with most of more than 50 states which “offered hostages and entered [the Han 漢 Empire] as subjects” after the sixth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period, Mengqi 蒙奇 and Doule 兜勒 can be considered to be distant states. We should not connect them with the description “the edge of the sea, more

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than 40,000 *li* 里 distant” just because they were “distant states”. The theory that Mengqi 蒙奇 is Macedonia <sup>[9]</sup> probably derives from such an idea. If it were indeed the case that the two states were located as far away as the edge of the Mediterranean, they would not send their envoys to “acknowledge allegiance [to Han 漢]”. And, as did the Western Han 漢, the Eastern Han 漢 really gave only seals and ribbons to the various states to “acknowledge allegiance”.

## D

On the basis of the above textual researches, the most probable route for Gan Ying’s 甘英 travel to and from the Western Regions can be roughly determined.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period, “[Han 漢] appointed [Ban] Chao [班]超 as Protector General. He had his residence at Qiuci 龜茲”. Therefore, Gan Ying 甘英 must have started out from Qiuci 龜茲. He perhaps crossed the Cong 葱 Mountains and arrived at the town of Hedun 和犢 of Anxi 安息 via Dayuan 大宛 and Da Yuezhi 大月氏, after going west to Shule 疏勒 from Qiuci 龜茲. Then he passed by Aman 阿蠻, Sibin 斯賓, and Yuluo 于羅 and reached Tianzhi 條支. As is said in chapter 88, “If one turns to the north and then east, and again goes on horseback for more than 60 days, one reaches Anxi 安息”, he returned east by way of Mulu 木鹿 and Tuhārestān.

Gan Ying’s 甘英 western mission to Da Qin 大秦 amply shows the grand scope of the Eastern Han’s 漢 management of the Western Regions under Ban Chao’s 班超 leadership. However, the fact that Gan Ying 甘英 could not achieve his mission in the end was quite consistent with the negative spirit in which the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty managed the Western Regions. <sup>[10]</sup>

<sup>[1]</sup> For the textual research of the geographical problems of the Western Regions related to Tiaozhi 條支, Da Qin 大秦, such as the location of Aman 阿蠻, Sibin 斯賓, Yuluo 于羅, Angu 安谷, etc., see Yu, T. (1992), pp. 182-209.

<sup>[2]</sup> Cf. Miyazaki.

<sup>[3]</sup> Cf. Nagasawa (1979-1).

<sup>[4]</sup> Cf. Miyazaki.

<sup>[5]</sup> Cf. Nagasawa (1979-1).

<sup>[6]</sup> See Yu, T. (1992), pp. 19-171, 187-188.

<sup>[7]</sup> *CH*, p. 1627.

<sup>[8]</sup> Wang (1959-1).

<sup>[9]</sup> Zhang X., p. 24.

<sup>[10]</sup> Cf. Yu, T. (1995), pp. 69-103.

Chapter 3  
**THE ROUTES TO THE WESTERN REGIONS  
AND CHANGES IN THEM FROM HAN TO WEI  
TIMES**

A

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is clearly recorded that “Starting from the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers there are two routes which lead into the Western Regions. The one which goes by way of Shanshan 鄯善, skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountains and proceeding along the course of the river west of Suoju 莎車 is the Southern Route. To the west, the Southern Route crosses the Cong 葱 Mountains and then leads to Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and Anxi 安息. The one which starts from the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師, running alongside the Northern Mountains and following the course of the river west to Shule 疏勒, is the Northern Route. To the west, the Northern Route crosses the Cong 葱 Mountains and leads to Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Kangju 康居 and Yancai 奄蔡”. These are accepted as the main routes to the Western Regions during Western Han 漢.

Some suggest that “the Northern Route” noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, was in fact *not* the route to go to the Western Regions in Western Han 漢 times, but was used instead during the Eastern Han 漢 period and afterwards. This must have been the “New Route” described in the “Memoir on the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略, which was not opened until the end of the Western Han 漢 dynasty. If there was also a “Northern Route” in Western Han 漢 times, it must have been the “Northern Route” of “the southern and northern routes” taken by Li Guangli 李廣利 when he marched upon Dayuan 大宛, as recorded in the *Shiji* 史記, ch.123, and which was the same as the “Middle Route” noted in the “Memoir on the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略.<sup>[1]</sup> In my opinion, the theory is inadequate.

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that “When the Ershi 貳師 General had marched west and passed the Salt Water, the small states that were situated on the route all were alarmed; they strengthened their walls in self-defense, and were not willing to provide supplies”. The so-called “Salt Water” must have been the present Kongque 孔雀 River, which derived its name from the fact that it poured into the Salt Marsh.<sup>[2]</sup> From this, it can be seen that the Northern Route taken by Li Guangli 李廣利 when he marched upon Dayuan 大宛 started from the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 barriers and went west along the Kongque 孔雀 River after reaching the now ruined town of Loulan

樓蘭 and the surrounding area northwest of the Salt Marsh (the present Lob Nor) *via* the White Dragon Mounds. In the chapter it is also said that “The state of [Da]yuan [大]宛 had a rich supply of Han 漢 goods, and [the leaders] took counsel together as follows: ‘Han 漢 is a long distance away from us, and fatal accidents have occurred frequently in the Salt Water. If travellers evade it to the north, they will be subject to raids by the Hu 胡 brigands; 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’”. From this it can be seen that this route was the main one to the Western Regions, especially to the various states on the Northern Route that existed during the reign of Emperor Wu 武 of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty, not only that taken by Li Guangli 李廣利 when he marched upon Dayuan 大宛.

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that after Li Guangli 李廣利 attacked Dayuan and won, “Government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westward from there to the Salt Water, and a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at Luntou 侖頭. [A colonel for the assistance of imperial] envoys was established to guard the cultivated land and to store the crops of grain for the Han 漢 envoys who were proceeding to the outer states”. And in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is said that “After the Ershi 貳師 General’s attack on Dayuan 大宛, ... government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westwards from Dunhuang 敦煌 to the Salt Marsh, and a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at both Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂. A Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys was established to protect them and to provide supplies for the Han 漢 envoys who were proceeding to the outer states”. From this, it can be seen that the Western Han 漢 had established an officer to set up agricultural colonies in order to keep this route unobstructed. At the end of the reign of Emperor Wu 武, Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 also suggested that the scope of the original agricultural colonies be extended to include the lands of Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂. This proposal was not accepted for some reason.<sup>[3]</sup> After Emperor Zhao 昭 ascended the throne, the emperor adopted the earlier proposal of Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 and ordered the former crown prince of the state of Wumi 扞彌, Laidan 賴丹, to become colonel for the Assistance of the Imperial Envoy and to set up agricultural colonies east of Luntai 輪臺. Because Laidan 賴丹 was killed, however, the plan to extend the agricultural colonies was not carried out. But the importance of this route at that time is beyond doubt.

It should be pointed out that the above-mentioned route was established first in the reigns of Emperor Wu 武 and Emperor Zhao 昭 and the early reign of Emperor Xuan 宣. After the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣, the hub of the Northern Route was no longer Quli 渠犂 or Luntai 輪臺, but Jiaohe 交河, the royal court of the



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state of Nearer Jushi 車師, and in the end the Northern Route which started “from the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師” was formed, as described in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A.

Jushi 車師 was important because it was the site of major passes leading to the north and south of the Tian 天 Mountains. It had been an important fortified point since B.C. 177/176, when the Chanyu 單于 Modu 冒頓 had driven the Yuezhi 月氏 away. After Emperor Wu 武 opened management of the Western Regions, the Western Han 漢 repeatedly tried their strength against the Xiongnu 匈奴 at Jushi 車師 and the surrounding area. During the Dijie 地節 and Yuankang 元康 reign-periods, the Han 漢 also set up agricultural colonies at the town of Jiaohe 交河, and moved a part of the agricultural colonies at Quli 渠犂 to the Northern Xujian 胥鞬 north of Bogdo Ola after occupying Jushi 車師 in the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period. The Han 漢 also divided the state of Jushi 車師 into the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 and the state of Further Jushi 車師 in order to control it.<sup>[4]</sup> These actions all show that the Western Han 漢 gave priority to the area of Jushi 車師. The states of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師 step by step became important fortified points of the Western Han 漢 in the Western Regions. In the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 the Western Han 漢 established the Wuji 戊己 Colonel and set up agricultural colonies at the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師. From then on the agricultural colonies at Quli 渠犂 never occurred in the history books, and it is possible that it was abolished. This very clearly shows how important the town of Jiaohe 交河 was on the routes of the Western Han 漢 communication with the Western Regions! All agricultural colonies in the Western Regions were located in the hubs of these routes without exception in Western Han 漢 times.

Of course, Western Han 漢 travel to the various states on the Northern Route must have passed the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 and the surrounding area northwest of the Lob Nor after crossing the White Dragon Mounds, as before, for a quite long period. However, after Jushi 車師 had submitted to the authority of Han 漢, apart from going west along the Kongque 孔雀 River, one could also go north to the town of Jiaohe 交河 via the state of Shan 山 from the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 and the surrounding area, then go to the various states north of the mountains or the other states on the Northern Route after getting supplies at the town. The evidence for this theory can be found in the records of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. In this chapter it is recorded that “It is 1,365 *li* 里 to the state of Shan 山 (in the Kuruk tagh), and to the northwest it is 1,890 *li* 里 to Jushi 車師”. This is to say that from the town of Wuni 扞泥, the capital of the state of Shanshan 鄯善, one could reach the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師 via the state of Shan 山. This is because, according to the same chapter, it is

“160 *li* 里” to Yanqi 焉耆 from the state of Shan 山 and it is “835 *li* 里” to the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 from Yanqi 焉耆. If one went on to the town of Jiaohe 交河 after reaching the state of Shan 山 via Yanqi 焉耆 from the town of Wuni 扞泥, the mileage would increase 470 *li* 里 over going to the town of Jiaohe 交河 from the town of Wuni, 扞泥 as recorded in the same chapter.<sup>[5]</sup>

In sum, since the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣, the Western Han’s 漢 communications with the various states on the Northern Route and at the northern foot or eastern end of the Tian 天 Mountains more frequently took the route to the town of Jiaohe 交河 via the state of Shan 山 after reaching the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭, even though the route west along the Kongque 孔雀 River from the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 and surrounding area was also maintained and used. That the Wuji 戊己 Colonel was established to set up agricultural colonies at the town of Jiaohe 交河 proves this. So it is not an error that, when it records the Northern Route, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, regards the town of Jiaohe 交河 as its starting point.

## B

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that “During the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period [1-5 B.C.] there was a new route in the royal kingdom of Further Jushi 車師. This led to the Yumen 玉門 Barrier from north of Wuchuan 五船, and the journey was comparatively shorter. Xu Pu 徐普, the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, wanted to open up this route for use, so as to reduce the distance by half and to avoid the obstacle of the White Dragon Mounds. Gugou 姑句, king of the state of Further Jushi 車師, realized that because of [the passage of] the road he would be obliged to make provisions available [for Han 漢 travellers] and in his heart thought that this would not be expedient. In addition, his lands were rather close to those of the southern general of the Xiongnu 匈奴. [Xu] Pu [徐]普 wished to demarcate the territories clearly and report the matter only after the event. He summoned Gugou 姑句 to have him certify the action, but he was unwilling to do so and [Xu Pu 徐普] had him apprehended. On several occasions Gugou 姑句 bribed the officials with cattle or sheep in an endeavour to get out, but he was unsuccessful. Fires broke out on the tips of the spears in Gugou’s 姑句 home, and his wife Guzizou 股紫陬 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 from a resort to arms. Earlier the king of Nearer Jushi 車師 was killed by the Major of the 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 Xiongnu 匈奴’. He immediately broke

out on horseback from the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 and made his way to the Xiongnu 匈奴”. Among recent scholars there are numerous discussions of this record. Many suggest that there are some errors in the passage. The main suggestion is that “Further” as seen in the sentence “there was a new route in the royal kingdom of Further Jushi 車師” should be corrected to “Nearer”. This is because the statement related to Gugou 姑句, the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師. At that time the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 had been killed, and the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 also governed the state of Nearer Jushi 車師. Therefore, Xu Pu 徐普 summoned Gugou 姑句 to have him certify the action when he wanted to open up the new route in the state of Nearer Jushi 車師.<sup>[6]</sup>

In my opinion, if “the royal kingdom of Further Jushi 車師” is really a textual error for “the royal kingdom of Nearer Jushi 車師”, “Gugou 姑句, king of the state of Further Jushi 車師” must have been a textual error for “Gugou 姑句, king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師”. It was practically unheard of in the past that the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 concurrently governed the state of Nearer Jushi 車師. This is contrary to the original intention of the Western Han 漢 division of the Jushi 車師 into the Nearer and Further states. If the new route was located in the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, why would the king of Further Jushi 車師 take a singular risk by standing in the way of opening it up? And the statement “Fires broke out on the tips of the spears in Gugou’s 姑句 home” and so on also shows that Gugou’s 姑句 home was located in the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, and he must have been the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師.<sup>[7]</sup>

Most scholars suggest that the new route that Xu Pu 徐普 wanted to open up must have been the “New Route” recorded in the “Memoir of the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略. This route led to the town of Jiaohe 交河 northeast of the White Dragon Mounds from Yumen 玉門 Barrier.<sup>[8]</sup> However, all the scholars who hold to the theory that “the Northern Route” as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, in fact was the route to the Western Regions, since the Eastern Han 漢 emphasized that the “new route” was not opened up until the end of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty, because of Gugou’s 姑句 obstruction.<sup>[9]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

First, that Gugou 姑句 was unwilling to certify the action would not have stopped Xu Pu 徐普 from opening up the “new route”. In fact, the text does not say that the “new route” was not opened up because of Gugou’s 姑句 making trouble.

Second, in a wooden document from Han 漢 times, which was unearthed from Maquan Wan 馬圈灣 in Dunhuang 敦煌, it is recorded that “...distant. In the eleventh month, in the last day, we have received your report about the sorrow. Do you need help? On the New Route, we followed for 1,000 *li* 里 in haste...” and so on (T5: 91). Combining this with other wooden documents in Han 漢 times, one can see that in the

fourth year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period of Wang Mang 王莽, Guo Qin 郭欽, the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, advanced southwest and attacked Yanqi 焉耆 after reaching Jushi 車師 along the “new route”.<sup>[10]</sup> It is quite reasonable to consider that this “new route” was one opened up by Xu Pu 徐普, the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, during the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period of Emperor Ping 平.

Since it is possible that the “new route” had been opened up during the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period, it is even more clear that there is no reason to say that the “Northern Route” was the only route to the Western Regions in Eastern Han 漢 times.

Alternatively, another scholar suggests that there is no textual error in the statement about the “new route” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B. The “new route” did not pass through the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, but instead the state of Further Jushi 車師. Because of this, the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 thought that the plan would not be expedient. The so-called “new route” was in fact the route to go to the royal court of the state of Further Jushi 車師 after reaching the present Hami and the surrounding area from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier.<sup>[11]</sup> The so-called “Wuchuan 五船” must have been Yiwu 伊吾 as seen in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, and the “new route” must have been the Yiwu 伊吾 Route as seen in this chapter.<sup>[12]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.<sup>[13]</sup>

First, there is no evidence to prove that “Wuchuan 五船” was the same as Yiwu 伊吾. The above suggestion says only that Yiwu 伊吾 and its surrounding area had been a place for which the Han 漢 struggled with the Xiongnu 匈奴 as early as the Western Han 漢 Dynasty, and therefore it is inexplicable that its name does not appear in the historical record. Thus “Wuchuan 五船” must be regarded as the same as Yiwu 伊吾 in Eastern Han 漢 times, and the former was the Xiongnu 匈奴 word. However, it is only a guess that Yiwu 伊吾 had another name in Western Han 漢 times.

Second, if “new route” refers to the route which led to the royal court of the Further Jushi 車師 via Yiwu 伊吾 starting from the Yumen 玉門 or Yang 陽 Barriers, this is only to say that “the journey was comparatively shorter”, but it would not be able “to reduce the distance by half”, contrasting with the original route (to the royal courts of the Nearer and Further Jushi 車師 via the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭, starting from the Yumen 玉門 or Yang 陽 Barriers). And, if “new route” refers to the route which went straight to the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師 starting from the Yumen 玉門 or Yang 陽 Barriers, there would be no harm in considering that it was able “to reduce the distance by half”, because it is like the hypotenuse of a triangle, by contrast with the route which led to the royal court of the Nearer Jushi 車師 via the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭.<sup>[14]</sup>

There is the statement “his lands were rather close to those of the Southern General of the Xiongnu 匈奴” in the above-cited chapter 96B, which is also taken as proof of the

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identity of “the new route” with the Yiwu 伊吾 Route. In my opinion, there is no clear record of the location of the Southern General of the Xiongnu 匈奴. It is possible that the land of the king of the Further Jushi 車師 adjoined his territory, but in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that Chen Liang 陳良 and Zhong Dai 終帶 killed the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, Diao Hu 刁護, at “the colonel’s headquarters”, and then “they sent men to inform the Southern General of the Xiongnu 匈奴, who had 2,000 cavalry meet [Chen] Liang [陳]良 and his companions”. Therefore, there is no reason to consider that the land of the king of the Nearer Jushi 車師 did not join that of the Southern General of the Xiongnu 匈奴.<sup>[15]</sup>

It is axiomatic that the town of Jiaohe 交河 had become an important hub on the Northern Route before Xu Pu 徐普 opened up “the new route”, since the statement “to reduce the distance by half” refers to reducing the route to the royal court of the Nearer Jushi 車師 from Dunhuang 敦煌.

C

Some suggest that, going to the various states on both the Northern and Southern Routes in Western Han 漢 times, one had to start out from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier. Therefore, the point at which the routes diverged was the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭.<sup>[16]</sup> The evidence can be found in the wooden strip documents unearthed from Yumen 玉門:

The expenses of one *dou* 斗 and two *sheng* 升 of millet to provide the envoy to Suoju 莎車, Xu Xiangru 續相如 and two sons of a distinguished family, who wanted to send a written message to the emperor describing, on the day *kuimao* 癸卯 in the eighth month....

出粟一斗二升以食使莎車續相如上書良家子二人八月癸卯□

The expenses of two *dou* 斗 and two *sheng* 升 of millet to the eighty-seven soldiers under the ... Master Serving as the Envoy to Jushi 車師....<sup>[17]</sup>

出粟五石二斗二升以食使車師□君卒八十七人<sup>[17]</sup>

In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

First, the above-cited documents from Han 漢 times show that, to go to the various states on the Northern Route (including the state of Jushi 車師) one could start out not only from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, but also from the Yang 陽 Barrier. The evidence

that one could go to the various states on the Northern Route starting out from the Yang 陽 Barrier is as follows:

1 In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded that “The Protector General had his seat in the town of Wulei 烏壘, which was 2,738 *li* 里 distant from the Yang 陽 Barrier”. Wulei 烏壘 was located on the Northern Route, and there is a record of the mileage to the Yang 陽 Barrier, which shows that one could go to Wulei 烏壘 after setting out from the Yang 陽 Barrier. 里程

2 Kangju 康居 was a state located on the Northern Route. But the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, indicates the distance of each from the Yang 陽 Barrier when it records the locations of the five lesser kings, which were subject to Kangju 康居. This seems to show that one could go to Kangju 康居 starting out from the Yang 陽 Barrier.<sup>[18]</sup>

Examples of traveling to the various states on the Southern Route starting out from Yumen 玉門 Barrier, except for those seen in the above-quoted wood documents, are found in a record in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, which says that Li Guangli 李廣利 triumphantly returned along the Southern Route. However, “at this time Ren Wen 任文, an Army Controller, was in command of a force; he was garrisoning the Yumen 玉門 Barrier and acting as a rear-guard for the Ershi 貳師 [General]”. This seems to show that one could go to the various states on the Southern Route after starting out from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier. An example of traveling to the various states on the Southern Route after starting out from the Yang 陽 Barrier follows:

1 In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is clearly recorded that “Setting out from the Yang 陽 Barrier the state nearest to Han 漢 is that of the Ruo Qiang 婼羌. ...Distant by 1,800 *li* 里 from the Yang 陽 Barrier.... The original name of the state of Shanshan 鄯善 was Luolan 樓蘭. The seat of the king’s government is the town of Wuni 扞泥, and it is distant 1,600 *li* 里 from the Yang 陽 Barrier”.

2 Wucha 烏秣 was a state which was located on the Southern Route. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, the state was “distant 5,888 *li* 里 from the Yang 陽 Barrier”.

Therefore, the statement that “proceeding by the Southern Route from the Yumen 玉門 and the Yang 陽 Barriers, and traveling south through Shanshan 鄯善, one reaches Wuyishanli 烏弋山離, which is the extreme point of the Southern Route” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, shows that if one went to the various states on the Southern Route, he could start out not only from the Yang 陽 Barrier but also from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier.

We can thus see that a correct understanding of the statement “Starting from the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers there are two routes which lead into the Western Regions” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, apparently must be that one could start out from both the Yumen 玉門 Barrier and the Yang 陽 Barrier, whatever states on the Northern

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or Southern Routes he wanted to visit.

Second, going to the various states on the Southern Route, one not only could proceed southwards *via* the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 after starting out west from the Yumen 玉門 or Yang 陽 Barrier, but also could travel by “skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountains and proceeding west along the course of the river”. The evidence that the latter route was there at that time is as follows:

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, during the Yuanfeng 元鳳 reign-period of Emperor Zhao 昭, Loulan 樓蘭 changed its national name to “Shanshan 鄯善”. Han 漢 established a major to set up an agricultural colony there and accumulate a store of field-crops. “At a later time the office of commandant was established instead”. The commandant at Yixun 伊循 set up an agricultural colony there and accumulated a store of field-crops. This shows that its function also was to supply the Han’s 漢 envoys as well as pacify Shanshan 鄯善. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 79, (Memoir on Feng Fengshi 馮奉世) it is recorded that, at the beginning of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period “Feng Fengshi 馮奉世 was sent on a mission to escort visitors back from Dayuan 大宛 and another place and reached the town of Yixun 伊循”. The fact that Feng Fengshi 馮奉世 reached Yixun 伊循 shows that he skirted the northern edge of the Southern Mountain and proceeded west after starting out from the Yang 陽 Barrer. <sup>[19]</sup>

One suggests that, according to *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, the town of Wuni 扞泥 was 1,600 *li* 里 distant from the Yang 陽 Barrier (Wuni 扞泥→the former town of Loulan 樓蘭→the Yang 陽 Barrer) and 1,785 *li* 里 distant from Wulei 烏壘 (Wuni 扞泥→the former town of Loulan 樓蘭→Wulei 烏壘). The sum of the distance of both routes is 3,385 *li* 里. Also, according to the same chapter, Wulei 烏壘 was 2,738 *li* 里 distant from the Yang 陽 Barrier (Wulei 烏壘→the former town of Loulan 樓蘭→the Yang 陽 barrier). One can calculate the distances of travel from Wuni 扞泥 to the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 and the surrounding area by deducting 2,738 *li* 里 from 3,385 *li* 里. From this, it can be seen that the town of Wuni 扞泥 was 323.5 *li* distant 里 from the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭. Based on this, one can work out that the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 were 1,276.5 *li* 里 distant from the Yang 陽 Barrier, and 1,461.5 *li* 里 from Wulei 烏壘. The sum of the latter two is 2,738 *li* 里, exactly equal to the number recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. This amply proves that the above calculation is not wrong and that at the fork in the route to Wulei 烏壘 on the Northern Route and Shanshan 鄯善 on the Southern Route was the former town of Loulan 樓蘭. <sup>[20]</sup>

In my opinion, this theory is also inadequate. This is because the reasoning is already included in its presupposition. The fact that the town of Wuni 扞泥 was 1,600 *li* 里 distant from the Yang 陽 Barrer via the former town of Loulan has itself still to be

proved. How can it be proved that the 1,600 *li* 里 was not the distance from the Yang 陽 Barrer to the town of Wuni 扞泥, skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountain?

## D

On the routes to the Western Regions during the Eastern Han 漢, there is the following record in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88:

Starting from Dunhuang 敦煌 west through the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers across [the desert] to Shanshan 鄯善, and [from Dunhuang 敦煌] north over 1,000 *li* 里 to Yiwu 伊吾, from Yiwu 伊吾 north to the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 in the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 1,200 *li* 里 distant, from the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 north 500 *li* 里 to the town of Jinman 金滿 in the tribe of Further Jushi 車師. This was his strategic area for controlling the Western Regions, [the one which] the former Wuji 戊己 Colonels, one after another, garrisoned with agricultural colonies. The territory of Yiwu 伊吾 is suitable for the five grains, mulberry, hemp, and grapes. North of it as far as Liuzhong 柳中 [the land] is all fertile, and therefore the Han 漢 fought with the Xiongnu 匈奴 over Jushi 車師 and Yiwu 伊吾 so as to control the Western Regions.

Starting from Shanshan 鄯善 there are two routes which cross the Cong 葱 Mountains and then lead to the various states of the Western Regions. The one which skirts the northern edge of the Southern Mountain and proceeds along the course of the river west of Suoju 莎車 is the Southern Route. To the west, the Southern Route crosses the Cong 葱 Mountains and then leads to Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and Anxi 安息. The route that starts from the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師, runs alongside the Northern Mountains, and follows the course of the river west to Shule 疏勒, is the Northern Route. To the west, the Northern Route crosses the Cong 葱 Mountains and leads to Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Kangju 康居, and Yancai 奄蔡.

In my opinion, there are some errors, redundancies and omissions, in this passage, which must be corrected.

First, the above-cited two passages are copies of the statement concerning the Northern and Southern Routes found in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A. Not only are the statements from “skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountain” on downward in both chapters completely the same, but also there is a redundant character *qi* 耆 at the end of both.<sup>[21]</sup> Since the first sentence “Starting from Shanshan 鄯善 there are two



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routes that cross the Cong 葱 Mountains and then lead to the various states of the Western Regions” is illogical and unreadable, it is reasonable to correct this to “Starting from the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers there are two routes that lead into the Western Regions. The one which goes by way of Shanshan 鄯善...”.<sup>[22]</sup>

Second, the first sentence “自敦煌西出玉門陽關涉鄯善北通伊吾千餘里 (Starting from Dunhuang 敦煌, he went west through the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers across [the desert] to Shanshan 鄯善, and [from Dunhuang 敦煌] north over a thousand *li* 里 to Yiwu 伊吾)” in the above-cited first passage is also open to question. If one wanted to go north to Yiwu 伊吾 from Dunhuang 敦煌 it was impossible to start out from the Yang 陽 Barrier or cross [the desert] to Shanshan 鄯善. The eastern border of Shanshan 鄯善 did not border on the Yumen 玉門 Barrier. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider that the five characters 陽關涉鄯善 are redundant.<sup>[23]</sup> The correct statement is “自敦煌西出玉門北通伊吾千餘里 (Starting from Dunhuang 敦煌 west through the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers and north over a thousand *li* 里 to Yiwu 伊吾)”.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, is recorded one route to the Western Regions that does not occur in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96; this is the route to Yiwu 伊吾. It is generally considered that this route had been opened up in Eastern Han 漢 times.<sup>[24]</sup> The evidence can be found in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88:

In the 16th year (A.D. 73) [of the reign-period Yongping 永平], Emperor Ming 明 commanded the generals and the supreme commanders to go north on an expedition against the Xiongnu 匈奴, occupy the land of Yiwulu 伊吾廬, and establish the post of Commandant of Yihe 宜禾 (Suitable Grain) to set up agricultural colonies. The Western Regions were thus opened up.

Here Yiwulu 伊吾廬, i.e., Yiwu 伊吾 is first recorded. The function of the Commandant of Yihe 宜禾 was analogous to that of the colonel [for the assistance of imperial] envoys at Luntai 輪臺 or Quli 渠黎, which was established in the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武, and to the commandant of Yixun 伊循 at Shanshan 鄯善, which was established in the Yuanfeng 元鳳 reign-period of Emperor Zhao 昭, and to the colonel of the agricultural colonies at Quli 渠黎 or Jushi 車師, which was established in the Dijie 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣. All were established in order to protect agricultural conscripts and to accumulate the store of field-crops, and to provide supplies for the Han 漢 envoys who were proceeding to the outer states.

Emperor Ming 明 first opened up the management of the Western Regions in the sixteenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period. This in fact indicates the need for a

campaign against the Xiongnu 匈奴. Setting up agricultural colonies at Yiwu 伊吾 was a byproduct. The Tian 天 Mountains Campaign, directed by Dou Gu 竇固 and Geng Zhong 耿忠 in this year, offers an analogy with the Qilian 祁連 Mountains Campaign, which was directed by Huo Qubing 霍去病 in the second year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period. The Qilian 祁連 Mountains attacked by Huo Qubing 霍去病 are just the Tian 天 Mountains Dou Gu 竇固 and others reached. <sup>[25]</sup> According to “Memoir of Dou Gu 竇固” in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, their subordinates, “Geng Bing 耿秉 and Qin Peng 秦彭, took a force of 10,000 cavalry, that included the mercenary recruits from Wuwei 武威, Longxi 隴西, Tianshui 天水, and the Qiang Hu 羌胡, and started out from the Juyan 居延 Defense” when Dou Gu 竇固 and Geng Zhong 耿忠 and others dispatched troops. The route which Geng 耿 and Qin 秦 followed was the same as Huo Qubing 霍去病. However, in the seventeenth year of the reign-period Yongping 永平 of Emperor Ming 明, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 2, “In the winter, in the eleventh month, the emperor sent “the Commandant-in-chief of Chariots, Dou Gu 竇固, the Commandant-escort, Geng Bing 耿秉, and the Commandant of Cavalry, Liu Zhang 劉張, to start out from the Kunlun 昆侖 Defence in Dunhuang 敦煌 and attack the savages of the White Mountains at Pulei 蒲類 Lake, and thereupon come into Jushi 車師. The Protector General of the Western Regions and the Wuji 戊己 Colonel thus were first established”. From this it can be seen that this advance course is the so-called Route of Yiwu 伊吾. The Kunlun 昆侖 Defence where Dou Gu 竇固, Geng Bing 耿秉, Liu Zhang 劉張, and others started out from must have been on the communication lines from Dunhuang 敦煌 to Yiwu 伊吾. There is no harm in considering that the Route of Yiwu 伊吾 being opened up had something to do with setting up the agricultural colonies at Yiwu 伊吾.

The relationship of Eastern Han 漢 with the Western Regions was described as being “cut off three times and opened up three times” by the historical accounts. The first objective, whenever the management of the Western Regions was newly opened up, was to take Yiwu 伊吾. Every emperor, including He 和, An 安, and Shun 順, did this. The main reason is that using the Route of Yiwu 伊吾 to reach Gaochang 高昌 was easier than using the “new route” which had been opened up by Xu Pu 徐普. During the whole Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty, the main base that the Xiongnu 匈奴 force had developed in the Western Regions was located in the area of the Pulei 蒲類 Lake. Setting up agricultural colonies at Yiwu 伊吾 helped to cut off connections between the Xiongnu 匈奴 and the Western Regions.

The Eastern Han’s 漢 paying attention to the Yiwu 伊吾 Route, of course, did not mean that it gave up the original routes. From the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 48 (Memoir on Yang Zhong 楊終), we see that, during the Yongping 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明, the Eastern Han 漢 had set up an agricultural colony at Loulan 樓蘭

(northwest of the present Lob nor). According to the relevant records in the *Shuijing Zhu* 水經注, vol. 2 (Heshui 河水 2), Suo Man 索勸, who came from Dunhuang 敦煌, was ordered to “lead a force of 1,000 men from Jiuquan 酒泉 and Dunhuang 敦煌, go to Loulan 樓蘭 and set up an agricultural colony”.<sup>[26]</sup> At the end of the Yuanchu 元初 reign-period of Emperor An 安, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇), Ban Yong 班勇 sent up a petition saying: “It is appropriate that we send a Chief Official of the Western Regions leading 500 men to set up a military camp at Loulan 樓蘭; it would face the most direct route to Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲 in the west; strengthen the will and courage of Shanshan 鄯善 and Yutian 于寔 in the south; resist the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the north; and be close to Dunhuang 敦煌 to the east. In this way things will indeed be to our advantage”. Though Ban Yong’s 班勇 suggestion was not accepted, the ruins of Loulan 樓蘭 and the surrounding area had been a crossroads up until the late period of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty. It has been suggested that the present ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 and surrounding area had already gradually been declining in Eastern Han 漢 times because of damage from dust storms.<sup>[27]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

## E

The routes to the Western Regions during the reign of the Cao Wei 曹魏 Dynasty, as they were generally considered to be, were recorded in the “Memoir of the Western Rong” of the *Weilüe* 魏略:

As for the routes which, leaving the Yumen 玉門 Barrier in Dunhuang 敦煌, go out to the Western Regions; there used to be two, but now there are three. The Southern Route is the one which, leaving the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, goes out to the west, crosses the Ruo Qiang 婼羌, turns to the west, crosses over the Cong 葱 Mountains and traverses the Suspended Crossing, and comes out at the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. The Middle Route is the one which, leaving the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, goes out by the west, leaves the Protector General’s Well, winds around the northern tip of the desert of Sanlong 三隴, passes by the granary of Julu 居盧, then, from the Sand-West Well, turns to the northwest, passes by Dragon Mounds, arrives at old Loulan 樓蘭, and, turning to the west, arrives first at Qiuci 龜茲 and then the Cong 葱 Mountains. The New Route is the one which, leaving the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, goes out to the northwest, crosses Hengkeng 橫坑, avoiding the desert of Sanlong 三隴 and Dragon Mounds, comes out from north of Wuchuan 五船, and reaches

Gaochang 高昌 on the frontier of Jushi 車師, where the Wuji 戊己 Colonel had his government's seat, then turns west and joins up with the Middle Route at Qiuci 龜茲.

When we compare this with the preceding historical records, we find the following to be notable:

1 According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, and the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, the Southern Route began from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier or the Yang 陽 Barrier, went west to the town of Wuni 扞泥, the capital of Shanshan 鄯善, skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountains, then went west to Qiemo 且末 and the various states to the west of Qiemo 且末 from the town of Wuni 扞泥. However, according to the “Memoir of the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略, after starting out from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, this route “goes out to the west and crosses the Ruo Qiang 婼羌”. And based on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, the state of Ruo Qiang 婼羌 was “distant by 1,800 *li* 里 from the Yang 陽 Barrier and 6,300 *li* 里 from Chang'an 長安”, and the state of Shanshan 鄯善 was “distant 1,600 *li* 里 from the Yang 陽 Barrier and 6,100 *li* 里 from Chang'an 長安”. This shows that, at that time, travelers going to Shanshan 鄯善 did not pass the state of Ruo Qiang 婼羌. In the same chapter it is clearly recorded that the state of Ruo Qiang 婼羌 was “not situated on the main route”. Therefore, the record of the “Memoir of the Western Rong 戎 of the *Weilüe* 魏略” shows that the orientation of the Southern Route in Cao Wei 曹魏 times was different from Western and Eastern Han 漢 times. Otherwise, it would have to be that the situation of the state of Ruo Qiang 婼羌 had changed. The state of Ruo Qiang 婼羌, which was not situated on the main route as indicated in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, was only a branch of the Ruo Qiang 婼羌 in the Western Regions; its king was “entitled Quhulai 去胡來 (abandoner of the nomads who made over to the King)”.<sup>[28]</sup> In fact, this branch of the Ruo Qiang 婼羌 had already died out by the end of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty. The region inhabited by the remainder was located exactly on the route to Shanshan 鄯善 from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier in Cao Wei 曹魏 times.<sup>[29]</sup>

2 The so-called “Middle Route” noted in “Memoir of the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略, as mentioned above, had already been opened as early as the reign of Emperor Wu 武 in Western Han 漢 times. However, it is not recorded as a route to the Western Regions in either the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, or the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88. The fact that “Memoir of the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略 emphasized the passage from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier to “the former Loulan 樓蘭” seems to show that the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 and the surrounding area were more important in Cao Wei 曹魏 times than previously. This is evidently because the place had become the seat of government of the Chief Official of the Western Regions.<sup>[30]</sup>

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3 It has been suggested generally that the “New Route” in “the Memoir of the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略 is exactly the same as the “Northern Route” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, and *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88. This is, of course, correct. However, it should be noted that the “Northern Route” recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, and the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, is not quite equal to the “New Route”. The former includes, in fact, the Middle Route and the New Route as described in “the Memoir of the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略. The “New Route” there was just the passage connecting the Yumen 玉門 Barrier with the “Northern Route” that was “new”. To the editor of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, the route which had been newly opened by Xu Pu 徐普 did not touch upon the main line of the Northern Route. This is the reason it is recorded that “there are two routes which lead into the Western Regions” in the preface of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. “The Memoir of the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略 says that “there used to be two, but now there are three [routes]” because its editor did not understand the true picture.

4 In “Memoir on the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilüe* 魏略 a “Northern New Route” is also mentioned. It is said that “to the west, traveling along the New Northern Route, one reaches the states of Eastern Qiemi 且彌, Western Qiemi 且彌, Danhuan 單桓, Bilu 畢陸, Pulu 蒲陸, and Wutan 烏貪, which were all annexed and belonged to the king of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師”. In my opinion, this route must have been a stretch of the “New Route” since it was called “Northern New Route”. Specifically, taking the “New Route”, one could arrive at the royal court of the state of Further Jushi 車師 from the town of Jiaohe 交河 after reaching the towns of Gaochang 高昌 and Jiaohe 交河, and going farther west from the royal court of the state of Further Jushi 車師, one could go to the various states north of the Tian 天 Mountains.

[1] Huang, W. (1989-3).

[2] Chen (1980), pp. 213-214.

[3] Cf. Yu, T. (1995), ch. 1.

[4] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 217-219.

[5] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 231-235.

[6] For example: Feng (1976-1).

[7] Cf. Yu, T. (1995), ch. 1.

[8] For example: Feng (1976-1).

[9] Huang, W. (1989-3).

[10] Wu, pp. 339-345.

[11] Huang, W. (1989-3).

- [12] Matsuda, pp. 118-121.
- [13] Cf. Meng (1985), pp. 32-34.
- [14] Cf. Shimazaki.
- [15] Cf. Meng (1985), pp. 32-34.
- [16] The chapter of “Lingei Lei 廩給類” of Wang & Luo.
- [17] The wooden documents are quoted from M. & Li, p. 56.
- [18] On the theory that the five lesser kings which were subject to the Kangju 康居 were located in Sogdiana, see Yu, T. (1992), pp. 96-117.
- [19] On the locations of the towns of Wuni 扞泥 and Yixun 伊循, see Yu, T. (1992), pp. 228-241.
- [20] Han.
- [21] Cf. the collation notes on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, and the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, of the punctuated editions of Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局.
- [22] Based on the sentence “Starting from Shanshan 鄯善 there are two routes which cross the Cong 葱 Mountains and then lead to the various states of the Western Regions”, Kuwabara suggests that Shanshan was at the bifurcation of the Northern and Southern Routes. In my opinion, Kuwabara’s theory is inadequate.
- [23] Feng (1976-1) suggests that the nine characters 西出玉門陽關涉鄯善 (Starting [from Dunhuang 敦煌] west through the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers across [the desert] to Shanshan 鄯善) are an error in the order of bamboo slips.
- [24] Cf. Huang, W. (1989-3), Feng (1976-1), and Huang, L.
- [25] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 53-56 , 282-283.
- [26] Cf. Meng (1990), pp. 85-88.
- [27] Huang, W. (1989-3).
- [28] Cf. Zhou, L.
- [29] Huang, W. (1989-3) considers that the route did not change, and that the statement “crosses the Ruo Qiang 婞羌, turns to the west” just means that the route passed by the northern part of the state of Ruo Qiang 婞羌.
- [30] Cf. Huang, W. (1989-3) and Meng (1990), pp. 115-125.

Chapter 4  
**ON THE PROTECTOR GENERALS  
OF THE WESTERN REGIONS  
IN WESTERN AND EASTERN HAN TIMES**

A

The predecessor of the Protector General of the Western Regions was the “Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys”, a post which was established after Li Guangli 李廣利 had attacked Dayuan 大宛.<sup>[1]</sup> In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded:

After the conquest of [Da]yuan [大]宛 by Han 漢, when Meicai 昧蔡 was established in his place as king of [Da]yuan [大]宛..., a Commandant of Jiuquan 酒泉 was established at Dunhuang 敦煌. Government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westward from there to the Salt Water, and a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at Luntou 倫頭. [A Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys was established to guard the cultivated land and to store the crops of grain for the Han 漢 envoys who were proceeding to the outer states.

The “envoy” here is noted as “Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys”, as recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96:

After the Ershi 貳師 General’s attack on Dayuan 大宛, the Western Regions were shocked and frightened. Most of the states sent envoys to [the Han 漢] to present tributary gifts, and those persons who were sent by the Han 漢 on missions to the Western Regions felt more satisfied [with the reception that they now received]. Government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westwards from Dunhuang 敦煌 to the Salt Marsh, and a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at both Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂. A Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys was established to protect them and to provide supplies for the Han 漢 envoys who were proceeding to the outer states.

In the item on Quli 渠犂 in the same chapter, the position is described as “Colonel”:

From the time when Emperor Wu 武 first opened up communications with the Western Regions, a Colonelcy was established to found military colonies at Quli 渠犂.

This is the same as the record in “Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉” in the *Hanshu* 漢書:

From the time that Zhang Qian 張騫 opened up communications with the Western Regions, and after Li Guangli’s 李廣利 expedition, a colonel first was appointed to found military colonies at Quli 渠犂.

From this, it can be seen that “Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys” is a full title and both “Envoy” or “Colonel” are short forms.<sup>[2]</sup>

“Luntou 侖頭” in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, must be the same as “Luntai 輪臺” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. In the latter it is recorded that the Colonel [for the assistance of imperial] envoys was established at “both Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂” which is different from the former, which merely states “at Luntou 侖頭”. As quoted above, the latter sometimes refers only to Quli 渠犂 but not to Luntai 輪臺. In the “Memoir on the Zheng Ji 鄭吉” of the *Hanshu* 漢書 it is furthermore recorded clearly that “a Colonel first was established to found military colonies at Quli 渠犂”. The basic reason these differences formed was quite possibly that the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys was first established at Luntou 侖頭 (i.e., Luntai 輪臺), then was removed to Quli 渠犂.

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, when Li Guangli 李廣利 again attacked Dayuan 大宛, Luntou 侖頭 was not willing to “bring out supplies for the army”, and Li Guangli 李廣利 directed the Han 漢 army to attack them. “After several days’ attack, he butchered [its inhabitants]”. Since the “Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys” was established after Dayuan 大宛 had been attacked, Luntou 侖頭, which was located at the centre of communications, thereupon became the first place chosen for settlement, because its territory was deserted after its inhabitants were butchered.<sup>[3]</sup> On the basis of this chapter, the fact that “[A Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys was established to guard the cultivated land and to store the crops of grain” occurred “over a year” after the conquest of Dayuan 大宛 by the Han 漢. The date should be the fourth year of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 101) or the first year of the Tianhan 天漢 reign-period (B.C. 100).

As to founding military colonies at Quli 渠犂, this might have occurred after the second year of the Tianhan 天漢 reign-period. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, it is recorded that in the second year of the Tianhan 天漢 reign-period, the state of Quli 渠犂 “sent



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envoys to present tribute”. It is possible that, with the presenting of tribute as the critical juncture, the Han 漢 court moved the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys to Quli 渠犂 from Luntai 輪臺. There was no time for Sima Qian 司馬遷 to record this event because it occurred after the second year of the Tianhan 天漢 reign-period. It should be noted that the military colonies at Luntai 輪臺 were not closed after the military colonies at Quli 渠犂 were founded. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded that “a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at both Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂”. As for the fact that only Quli 渠犂 is mentioned in the item on Quli 渠犂 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, and the “Memoir on Zhengji 鄭吉” of the same book (ch. 70) the reason is that the two sections speak of matters of Quli 渠犂 only, and there is no need to refer to Luntai 輪臺.<sup>[4]</sup>

It has been suggested that all the above-mentioned records about the military colonies already founded at Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂 in the reign of Emperor Wu 武 in both the *Shiji* 史記 and the *Hanshu* 漢書 are dubious. This is because Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 did not refer to founding the military colonies at Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂 after the conquest of Dayuan 大宛, when he discussed the military colonies of the Western Regions in the Zhenghe 征和 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武. Since Emperor Wu 武 did not accept Sang Hongyang’s 桑弘羊 recommendation, it is evident that the military colonies at Luntai 輪臺 were not founded until the reign of Emperor Zhao 昭.<sup>[5]</sup>

In my opinion, according to Sang Hongyang’s 桑弘羊 written recommendation recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, “To the east of old Luntai 輪臺 there are Jiezhi 捷枝 and Juli 渠犂, which are both ancient states. The land is extensive and rich in water and pasture, and there are over 5,000 *qing* 頃 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 to sow the five field crops, which will ripen at the same time as they do in the Middle Kingdom.... We humbly suggest that conscripts detailed for work in agricultural colonies should be sent to old Luntai 輪臺 and the area east, and that a complement of three colonels should be established with divided responsibilities for the supervision of the area. Each one should survey the topography and build and exploit water-courses, with their efforts bent on increasing the yield of the five field crops according to season. Zhangye 張掖 and Jiuquan 酒泉 [Prefectures] should despatch temporary majors of cavalry to form patrols and to be placed under the orders of the colonels; and when the situation permits, mounted couriers 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 漢] population who have family responsibilities 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 Wusun 烏孫”. There is indeed no mention of the founding of military colonies at Luntai 輪臺 or Quli 渠犂 after Li Guangli’s 李廣利 attack upon Dayuan 大宛. However, Sang Hongyang’s 桑弘羊 written recommendation, recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, is not necessarily a complete text. The content concerning the military colonies in the Western Regions possibly was removed, because this had already been mentioned several times in the preceding text. We can consider that Sang Hongyang’s 桑弘羊 understanding the situations of Luntai 輪臺, Quli 渠犂, and the surrounding area was precisely because the Han 漢 had set up agricultural colony there during the Taichu 太初 and Tianhan 天漢 reign-periods. In Sang Hongyang’s 桑弘羊 written recommendation, he recommends “to dig more ditches and canals” and that “more and more land should be reclaimed and irrigated”. There is also no harm in considering that the ditches and canals were dug, and the land had been reclaimed and irrigated in Luntai 輪臺 and the surrounding area, because of the establishment of the agricultural colonies during the Taichu 太初 and Tianhan 天漢 reign-periods, and Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 only asked for more. In other words, the agricultural colonies at Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂 still were under way when Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 presented the memorial to the emperor in which he suggested that “a complement of three colonels should be established with divided responsibilities for the supervision of the area”. This reflected the need to expand the scale of the former military colonies. There is a statement in the penitential edict of Emperor Wu, in the same chapter, that says, “Now we are asked to set up farming establishments at a great distance, at Luntai 輪臺; 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”. This rejects only the plan for the complement of three colonels to be established “with divided responsibilities for the supervision of the area”, and did not necessarily withdraw the original agricultural conscripts at Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂.

According to the scholars who hold the above-mentioned theory, in the “Diguang 地廣” chapter of the *Yantie Lun* 鹽鐵論, it is recorded that “therefore, some attendant officials proposed to found military colonies at Luntai 輪臺, but the wise master did not allow them, and considered that we should first administer immediate affairs and primary occupations in a timely fashion”. There is also no word mentioned that Han 漢 founded military colonies at Luntai 輪臺 after attacking Dayuan 大宛. This shows that the records of the *Shiji* 史記 and the *Hanshu* 漢書 concerning this are very questionable.

In my opinion, this theory is also inadequate. The fact that the literary scholars

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emphasized that “the wise master did not allow them” to found military colonies at Luntai 輪臺 was merely in order to assail the imperial counsellors’ plan to bring security to the border areas. Since the setting up of agricultural colonies during the Taichu 太初 and Tianhan 天漢 reign-periods had nothing to do with the imperial counsellors, its scale differed from that suggested by Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊, and both the advantages and disadvantages could not be discussed in the same breath, there was of course no necessity to mention it.

The Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys who first left his name in history is Laida 賴丹, the former crown prince of the state of Wumi 扞彌. Laidan’s 賴丹 story is recorded in the “Memoir on Fu Jiezi 傅介子” and the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Hanshu* 漢書. Dailan 賴丹 is called “envoy” in the former, and “general of colonels” in the latter. This shows that the official title of Laidan 賴丹 in fact was “the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] envoys”. Laidan 賴丹 was called “general” probably because he was appointed general after he had submitted to Han 漢. Since, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that Emperor Zhao 昭 “adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊”, it can be seen that Laidan’s 賴丹 mission included more than maintaining the former military colonies at Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 Zhang Ji 鄭吉, the Gentleman in Attendance was sent “to work the land at Quli 渠犂 and gather the harvest, with the intention of attacking Jushi 車師”. At his disposal, there were 1,500 agriculturalists “to work the land at Quli 渠犂”. This scale of effort (“all [forces] under the three colonels set to work in the military colonies”) is roughly equal to that suggested by Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊.

Since Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was the first Protector General of the Western Regions in Western Han 漢 times, it can be seen that the establishment of the Protector General and the Colonel [for the assistance of imperial] envoys descended in one continuous line.

## B

Scholars have always disagreed about the date Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was appointed Protector General of the Western Regions.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, 96A, it is recorded that “In the time of Emperor Xuan 宣 a Major in the Guards was sent with a commission to protect Shanshan 鄯善 and the several states to the west. ... After this the King of Rizhu 日逐 rebelled against the *Chanyu* 單于 and led his people to submit to [Han 漢]. Zheng Ji 鄭吉, Envoy of

Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West, received him, and on his arrival the Han 漢 [government] invested the King of Rizhu 日逐 with the title of Marquis of Allegiance to Imperial Authority, and Zheng Ji 鄭吉 with that of Marquis of Pacification of Distant Areas. These events took place in the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period (59 B.C.), and [the government] took the occasion to commission Zheng Ji 鄭吉 to act as protector of both the Northern Route [and the Southern Route]. He was therefore entitled Protector General, [an office] which originated with this appointment”. Based on this, it seems that the Protector General of the Western Regions was established in the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 59).

However, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8, in the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period, “in the autumn, the King of Rizhu 日逐 of the Xiongnu 匈奴, Xianxianchan 先賢揮, leading a multitude of more than 10,000 people, came to surrender [to Han 漢].<sup>[6]</sup> [The Emperor] sent the Protector General of the Western Regions, the Commandant of Cavalry, Zheng Ji 鄭吉, to receive the King of Rizhu 日逐. Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had routed Jushi 車師; he and Xianxianchan 先賢揮 were enfeoffed as full marquises”. This seems to show that the Protector General of the Western Regions had already been established no later than the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period.

Also, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, “the Protector General of the Western Regions is an additional office. It was first established in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣, when Zheng Ji 鄭吉, Commandant of Cavalry and Grand Master of Remonstrance, was sent to act as protector of thirty-six states in the Western Regions”. From this it can be seen that the office of Protector General of the Western Region was first established in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period.

In the eulogy of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70, it is also said that “up to the Dijie 地節 reign-period, Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was entitled Protector General”.

In the *Tongjian Kaoyi* 通鑑考異 it is believed that “Dijie 地節” of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8, was a textual error for “Shenjue 神爵”. In other words, for the date on which the Protector General of the Western Region was first established, we should believe the records of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8. However, the records of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8, show only that “the Protector General of the Western Region” had been so entitled as late as the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period, and it does not confirm that the Protector General of the Western Regions was first established in the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period.<sup>[7]</sup>

Moreover, both chapters 19A and 70 of the *Hanshu* 漢書 say that the Protector General of the Western Region was first established in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period. It is unlikely that the same errors would have occurred in the two chapters

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simultaneously. Furthermore, “Protector General” had been established as early as the second year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64). The evidence can be found in the Han 漢 bamboo slips unearthed from Juyan 居延.

In the fourth year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period, in the second month, whose first day is *Jiwei* 己未, the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West, [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉, Major of the Guards Fu Chang 富昌, the Assistant Qing 慶, and the Commandant Yi Jiandu 宜建... in the second year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period, in the fifth month, on the day *guiwei* 癸未, sent the Assistant for Commandant She 赦, with a call-to-arms of [the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting the Western Regions, to lead fifty men who were exempted from punishment [on condition that they served in the army] to drive carriages... started out from....<sup>[8]</sup>

The statement “the official call [to arms] of Protector General” and so on shows that there must have been the official position of Protector General at that time, and it may be right that the Protector General was established in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period, as recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8.<sup>[9]</sup> Therefore, a reasonable explanation should be that the Protector General of the Western Regions was established in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period, and he started building his office and governing from the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period. In other words, there was no Protector General of the Western Regions in the true sense of the name until the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period. What occurred then, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, is the circumstance that the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrendered to Han 漢, and Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was invested with the title of noble. It is possible “to commission Zheng Ji 鄭吉 to act as protector of both the Northern Route [and the Southern Route]” after this year, but it is not necessarily impossible that the Protector General was so entitled before this year.

It has been suggested that “the Protector General” was established in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period, and that he started building his office and governing from the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period.<sup>[10]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉), Emperor Xuan 宣 cited [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 for his achievements, and “so issued an edict, which said: the Protector General of the Western Regions, the Commandant of Cavalry, Zheng Ji 鄭吉, placated the alien barbarians, clearly proclaimed the national prestige, marshaled the men of the King of Rizhu 日逐, a cousin of the Xiongnu 匈奴 *Chanyu* 單于, and attacked

and took the town of Douzi 兜訾 in Jushi 車師.<sup>[11]</sup> His achievements are abundant and apparent. Let [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 be granted the title Noble of Anyuan 安遠 with the income of an estate of 1,000 households. [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 thus established his general headquarters at the center of the Western Regions, having his seat in the town of Wulei 烏壘. The Protector General pacified the various states and punished or brought them into line. And then Han's 漢 orders were effectuated throughout the Western Regions". From this, it can be seen that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 "established his general headquarters" after he had been granted his noble title. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 17, the date that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was granted the title of noble was "in the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period, in the fourth month, on the day *renxu* 壬戌". From this, even though there is no harm in believing that his duty "to act as protector of both the Northern Route [and the Southern Route]" in fact started from the winter of the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period, the period during which he built the office and began governing must have been after the fourth month of the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period.

It should be pointed out that the above explanation raises many questions, which await further consideration.

First, why was Zheng Ji 鄭吉 called "Envoy of Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West" in the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, since, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, it is said that the Protector General was first established in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period? Why was Zheng Ji 鄭吉 called both "Protector General" and "Colonel of Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West" concurrently in the Han 漢 bamboo slips during the Yuankang 元康 reign-period?

In my opinion, to explain this problem clearly it is necessary to see that the full title of "Protector General" was "the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting the Western Regions" when Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was so entitled in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period.

1 According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, the secondary position under the Protector General was entitled "Deputy Colonel", and it was called "Deputy Colonel for the Western Regions" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯). From this, we see that its chief must have been entitled "colonel".

2 Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was entitled "envoy" in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, and "colonel" in the Han 漢 bamboo slips which were unearthed from Juyan 居延. This shows that both were shorter titles. The full title should be "[the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoy for Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West".<sup>[12]</sup>

3 The so-called "Western Regions", to the Western Han 漢 Dynasty, refer only to "Shanshan 鄯善 and the several states to the west" before the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrendered to [Han 漢]. In other words, the intentions of the two concepts, "Protecting

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the Western Regions” and “Shanshan 鄯善 and the West”, were the same for a period, and there is no harm in treating them as interchangeable.<sup>[13]</sup>

Since this is so, we consider that the records of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A and ch. 96, and the Han 漢 bamboo slips which were unearthed from Juyan 居延 are not contradictory.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉), Zheng Ji 鄭吉 “was promoted to be Major of the Guards and was sent with a commission to protect Shanshan 鄯善 and [the several states on] the Southern Route to the west” after he “had called out the troops of the several states to attack, and breached Jushi 車師”. However, from the *Hanshu* 漢書, 96 (Memoir on the Western Regions), we know that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 breached Jushi 車師 at the end of the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period.<sup>[14]</sup> But this does not show that “the Protector General of the Western Regions” possibly was established in the third year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period. If it is true that the title of “the Protector General” was held by Zheng Ji 鄭吉, it would be completely possible that the date was during the time that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was the Gentleman in Attendance and would be not necessarily after he was promoted to be Major of the Guards. This is because the official position was named “Protector General” simply in order to attract the various states in the Western Regions and cause them to support the Han 漢 Dynasty and oppose the Xiongnu 匈奴. The above-mentioned formulation as seen in the “Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉” shows only that, in fact, it was not possible to protect Shanshan 鄯善 and the various states to the west until Jushi 車師 was taken.

Second, why does the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Hanshu* 漢書 say that “[the government] took the occasion to commission Zheng Ji 鄭吉 to act as protector of both the Northern Route [and the Southern Route]” after the King of Rizhu 日逐 had submitted to Han 漢, since Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had already been entitled “Protector General” in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period? And in the “Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉”, the statement appears: “Since [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 destroyed Jushi 車師, made the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrender, and shocked the Western Regions, thereupon protecting the Northern Route to the west of Jushi 車師, he therefore was called the Protector General”. This also seems to show that the title of “Protector General” did not appear until the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrendered to the Han 漢 Dynasty, and “Protector General”, in fact, was the protector of both the Northern and Southern Routes.

In my opinion, from the above quotations, it can be seen that the reference the “Han 漢 only protected the Southern Route” seen in the “Memoir on the Western Regions” can only be taken to mean “to protect Shanshan 鄯善 and the several states to the west”.

For the same reason, the reference “thereupon protecting the Northern Route to the west of Jushi 車師” seen in the “Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉” must be taken as “to act as protector of Jushi 車師 and [the various states on] the Northern Route to the west”. In the “Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉” it is recorded that the office of Protector General was established in order to pacify the various states and to punish or bring them into line. This also proves that the duty of the so-called “Protector General” was to protect the states but not the routes. In a written message to the emperor by Yang Xiong 揚雄 in the fourth year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period of Emperor Ai 哀 (B.C. 3), it is mentioned that “in earlier times, the court had schemed to control the Western Regions, conquered Jushi 車師, and established the Protector General for the thirty-six states of the walled towns”. This also explains the same problem. <sup>[15]</sup>

Since the duty of the Protector General was to protect the states, considering circumstances and using common sense, it is impossible that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 declared that he would protect only the states on the Southern Route when he was first given the title “Protector General” in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period. The meaning of “Protector General” must have been that he would protect the various states in the Western Regions or those on the Northern and Southern Routes. Zheng Ji 鄭吉 also was called “[the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoy of Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West” before the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period. This stated nothing but the fact. By an oversight, Ban Gu 班固, the editor of the *Hanshu* 漢書, made the sentence “concurrently, he therefore was called the Protector General” follow the sentence “thereupon protected the Northern Route to the west of Jushi 車師”. This is equal to saying that the title “Protector General” was not established until Zheng Ji 鄭吉 protected the various states on the Northern and Southern Routes concurrently, and is a mistake.

Third, according to the *Han Guanyi* 漢官儀, which is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 251, the office of Protector General of the Western Regions “has the rank of 2,000 piculs”. According to the commentary of Lixian 李賢 on the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 2, “it has a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs”. <sup>[16]</sup> In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, it is clearly stated that “Zheng Ji 鄭吉, Commandant of the Cavalry and Grand Master of Remonstrance, was sent to act as protector of thirty-six states in the Western Regions”. In the same chapter, it is recorded that the Commandant of the Cavalry and the Grand Master of Remonstrance had a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs and 800 piculs respectively. However, Zheng Ji 鄭吉 held only the post of Gentleman in Attendance when he was given the title “Protector General” in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period, and he held only the post of Major of the Guards when he protected “Shanshan 鄯善 and [the several states on] the Southern Route to the west”. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, the Gentleman in Attendance, which was subordinate to



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the Chief Minister of the Palace, had a rank equivalent to 400 piculs; and the Major of the Guards, i.e., the Major of the Encampment Guards, which was subordinate to the Chamberlain for the Palace Garrison, had the rank of equivalent to 1,000 piculs.<sup>[17]</sup> How could Zheng Ji 鄭吉 be given the title “Protector General” in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period since the rank of Gentleman in Attendance or Major of the Guards did not match that of “Protector General of the Western Regions”?

In my opinion, there was not necessarily a rule that the Protector General had the rank of 2,000 piculs or equivalent to 2,000 piculs and that the office of the Protector General had to be concurrently held by an official who was Commandant of Cavalry and Grand Master of Remonstrance in the early days when “the Protector General” was established. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, “the Protector General of the Western Regions is an additional office”, and the office to which it was subordinate was that of the Commandant of Cavalry and Grand Master of Remonstrance. The reason the Commandant of Cavalry was mentioned is obviously that the final principal office of Zheng Ji 鄭吉, the first Protector General of the Western Regions, was Commandant of Cavalry, and that, following Zheng Ji 鄭吉, all the successive Protector Generals of the Western Regions were officials who were afterwards Commandant of Cavalry.

As for Grand Master of Remonstrance, this is probably explained by the situation of Gan Yanshou 甘延壽. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Gan Yanshou 甘延壽), the principal office of Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 was Department Director, Grand Master of Remonstrance, and Commandant of Cavalry. It seems that there was no Protector General whose principal office was Master of Remonstrance, besides him.

According to the “Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉” and “Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗” (in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70), besides the Commandant of Cavalry, another principal office of both Zheng 鄭 and Duan 段 was Counsellor of the Palace, an office held when they were Protector General of the Western Regions. And according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, both the Counsellor of the Palace and the Grand Master of Remonstrance were subordinate to the Chamberlain for Attendants. The former “has a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs”, the same as the Commandant of Cavalry; the latter “has a rank equivalent to 800 piculs” and was much lower than the Commandant of Cavalry. For this reason, “Grand Master of Remonstrance” may be an error for “Counsellor of the Palace”.

It is suggested that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was a Gentleman in Attendance during the early period when he founded military colonies at Juli 渠犂, and that afterwards he was promoted to be Major of the Guards, but his official position was too low to receive the respected rank of Protector General. Therefore, the title of Protector General had been issued, but he still was called “Colonel”. The reference “以使都護檄書 (a call-to-arms

of the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting the Western Regions)” and so on in the Han 漢 bamboo slips shows that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 performed the office of Protector General in his capacity as a Colonel. This is because his official position was too low to bear the name of Protector General. Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was raised to “Protector General” from “Colonel” in the year that the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrendered to the Han 漢.<sup>[18]</sup>

In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. Why was there “使都護檄書 (a call-to-arms of the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting the Western Regions)” if the position was too low to have that title? How could the Protector General be given a title if since the position of Gentleman in Attendance or Major of the Guards was too low to receive the respected rank of Protector General? In fact, “Protector General” and “Colonel” were both one, and there was no contradiction.

Furthermore, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 17, it is recorded that Zhang Ji 鄭吉, “as Colonel and Counsellor of the Palace, led the soldiers to receive the King of Rizhu 日逐 who submitted to [Han 漢], then routed Jushi 車師. Therefore he was invested with the title of ‘Noble’”. The so-called “Colonel” here must refer to “[the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West” or “the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting the Western Regions”.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, it says only that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was “[the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West” at the time he received the King of Rizhu 日逐. However, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8 and 17, the principal office of Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had been promoted to Commandant of the Cavalry and Counsellor of the Palace as late as the year that the King of Rizhu 日逐 submitted to Han 漢.

In sum, Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was first entitled “[the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial Envoys for] Protecting the Western Regions” in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period, when he was the Gentleman in Attendance. However, he also was called “[the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West” because he did not have charge of the various states on the Northern Route until he routed Jushi 車師 and was promoted to Major of the Guards in the winter of that year. Zheng Ji 鄭吉, as “[the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West”, received the King of Rizhu 日逐 in the autumn of the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period, when his principal official position was Commandant of Cavalry and Counsellor of the Palace. In the next year, he was granted the title Noble of Anyuan 安遠, and he then established his general headquarters, having his seat in the town of Wulei 烏壘, and acted as protector of both the Northern and the Southern Route.

C

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉), it is recorded that [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 “thus established his general headquarters at the center of the Western Regions, having his seat in the town of Wulei 烏壘”. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, it is recorded that “the seat of the government of [the state of Wulei 烏壘] is the same as that of the Protector General”. This shows that the seat of government of the Protector General was located at the town of Wulei 烏壘, the seat of government of the King of Wulei 烏壘.<sup>[19]</sup> The reason the town of Wulei 烏壘 was decided on, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, is that Wulei 烏壘 was “close to the agricultural office of Quli 渠犂. The land was fertile and the location was at the centre of the Western Regions”.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, from the town of Wulei 烏壘 “to the south one reaches Quli 渠犂 at a distance of 330 *li* 里”, and therefore it is recorded that Wulei 烏壘 was “close” to Quli 渠犂. In my opinion, the statement that “the location was at the center of the Western Regions” is only a general wording, and we should not understand the text mechanically.<sup>[20]</sup>

It is suggested that the king’s seat at Wulei 烏壘 must have been limited because it was a small state. If the Han 漢 founded the office of the Protector General at this place, it seems that it would have been necessary to open up a new place to establish the seat of government. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師, Xuzhili 須置離, “wished to escape to the Xiongnu 匈奴. When Diao Hu 刀護, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, heard of this, he summoned [Xu]zhili [須]置離 and interrogated him to obtain proof. In his statement he made a confession, and he was then bound and delivered to the town of Lielou 埒婁 where Dan Qin 但欽, the Protector General happened to be” in the second year of the Shijianguo 始建國 reign-period of Wang Mang 王莽. This is said to show that the seat of the government of the Protector General should be at the town of Lielou 埒婁.<sup>[21]</sup> In my opinion, the theory is inadequate.

First, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is clearly recorded that the seat of the government of Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was at “the town of Wulei 烏壘”, and it is also recorded that “the seat of the government [of the king of Wulei 烏壘] is the same as that of the protector general”. This shows that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 did not establish another seat of the government in the state of Wulei 烏壘. In other word, the only possibility is that the seat of the government of the Protector General was at the town of Wulei 烏壘, and it is impossible that it was at the town of Lielou 埒婁.

Second, during the Western Han 漢 the seat of the government of the Protector

General was located at the town of Wulei 烏壘. It is not necessarily impossible that the seat of the government of the Protector General was removed to other places from the town of Wulei 烏壘 or the state of Wulei 烏壘, because Wang Mang 王莽 often changed the old institutions. In other words, one cannot deduce the position of the seat of the government of the Protector General in Western Han 漢 times from the seat of the government of Dan Qin 但欽.

Third, that Dan Qin 但欽 had been in the town of Lielou 埒婁 does not show that the seat of government of the Protector General was only at the town of Lielou 埒婁. In other words, it is possible that the town of Lielou 埒婁 was a place at which the Protector General, Dan Qin 但欽, was stationed only occasionally.

The first Protector General of the Eastern Han 漢 was Chen Mu 陳睦, and there are no clear records regarding his seat of Government. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, and 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超) and others, Chen Mu 陳睦 was killed in the rebellion of the various states in the Western Regions in the eighteenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明, and the states which had a hand in the matter were mainly Qiuci 龜茲 and Yanqi 焉耆. From this, there is no harm in inferring that the seat of the government of the Protector General was still located at the town of Wulei 烏壘 or in the state of Wulei 烏壘 at that time.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), it is recorded that in the sixth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和, Ban Chao 班超 arrested the kings of Yanqi 焉耆 and Weili 尉犁 “to behead them at the town where Chen Mu 陳睦 formerly had dwelt”. This suggests that “the town where Chen Mu 陳睦 formerly had dwelt” must have been the town of Lielou 埒婁 where Dan Qin 但欽 had dwelt.<sup>[22]</sup> In my opinion, the theory is inadequate because there is no foundation to it.<sup>[23]</sup>

The Protector Generals after Chen Mu 陳睦 were successively Ban Chao 班超, Ren Shang 任尚, and Duan Xi 段禧. According to the “Memoir on Ban Chao 班超” and the “Memoir on Liang Jin 梁懂” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, all the seats of government of the three Protector Generals were located at the town of Taqian 它乾 in the state of Qiuci 龜茲. This is because the state of Qiuci 龜茲 had been attached to the Xiongnu 匈奴 from the beginning of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty, and it constituted the greatest obstacle to the control of the Western Regions by the Eastern Han 漢. In his memorial to the emperor in the third year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period of Emperor Zhang 章, Ban Chao 班超 even said, “If we subdued Qiuci 龜茲, only one percent of the Western Regions would be unsubdued” (see the “Memoir on Ban Chao 班超”). In the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和, Ban Chao 班超 conquered Qiuci 龜茲 and established the seat of the government of the Protector General at the town of Taqian 它乾 in the state of Qiuci 龜茲, in order to pacify the

greatest state on the Northern and Southern Routes. Therefore, the fact that Qiuci 龜茲 was close to the Han 漢 had a direct bearing on the fact that the seat of the government of the Protector General would be located at Wulei 烏壘.<sup>[24]</sup>

## D

The most important deputy of the Protector General of the Western Regions was the Deputy Colonel, who was appointed directly by the imperial court. Based on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8, we know that the Deputy Colonel had “rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs”.

As mentioned above, the reason the office was called “Deputy Colonel” is that the full title of the Protector General was “the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting the Western Regions”. The fact that the title “Deputy Colonel” was crowned with “the Western Regions” and “Protecting the Western Regions” respectively, in the “Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯” of the *Hanshu* 漢書 and the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, seems to show that the full title of “Deputy Colonel” should be “the Deputy Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial Envoys] for Protecting the Western Regions”. It has been suggested that the first deputy of the Protector General was not completely entitled “Deputy Colonel” at first.<sup>[25]</sup> I do not know what the evidence for this is. If this refers to the “Deputy Major of the Guard” seen in the Han 漢 bamboo slips, this theory would be inadequate. “Deputy Major of the Guard” was related to the Major of the Guard, the principal office of Zheng Ji 鄭吉, thus we cannot consider that the first deputy of “the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting the Western Regions” or “[the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West” would be entitled “Deputy Major of the Guard”, even if “Deputy Colonel” had not yet been established at that time. Being “Deputy Major of the Guard”, Fu Chang 富昌 was simply the first deputy of Zheng Ji 鄭吉.

There is no record about the first deputy of Chen Mu 陳睦, the first Protector General in Eastern Han 漢 times. Emperor He 和 did not appoint the Deputy Colonel but appointed Xu Gan 徐幹 the Chief Official when Ban Chao was appointed Protector General. The duty of the Chief Official was almost the same as that of the Deputy Colonel.

In Western Han 漢 times, the Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions was generally a permanent office. During the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty, the Deputy Colonel was established only in the first year of the Yanping 延平 reign-period of Emperor Shang 殤 (A.D. 106) and the sixth year of the Yuanchu 元初 reign-period of Emperor

An 安. The former was abolished together with the office of Protector General in the next year, i.e., the first year of the Yongchu 永初 reign-period of Emperor An 安, and the records concerning it are in the “Memoir on Liang Jin 梁懂” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書. This occurred under the circumstance that the Eastern Han 漢 abandoned the Western Regions. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, the Protector General was not established at that time, and the Deputy Colonel who was appointed “resided at Dunhuang” and “a garrison of 300 men also was restored”. The office of Deputy Colonel was abolished soon after, probably because the Xiongnu 匈奴 invaded frequently. According to the same chapter, in the second year of the Yanguang 延光 reign-period, Chen Zhong 陳忠 once again put forward the suggestion that “a colonel should be appointed to Dunhuang 敦煌”.

On the subordinates of the Protector General of the Western Regions, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, “there are one Assistant and two men each of Major, Scout and Head of a Thousand Men”.

The Assistant was in charge of documents. According to regulations, if “under an officer who has a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs there is an Assistant, who has the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs”, as recorded in the “Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, the Assistant to the Protector General (who had a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs) should have a rank equivalent to 600 piculs.<sup>[26]</sup> In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯), “the Scout of the Army and the Acting Assistant, Du Xun 杜勳” is recorded. Du Xun 杜勳, was essentially the Scout of the Army, who was called the Acting Assistant because of holding the concurrent post of Assistant.

The Major was also called “Major of the Protector General” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. In “the Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, it is recorded that “the camp of the Supreme General comprised five divisions. In each division one colonel, who has a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs, and one Cavalry Commander of the Army, who has a rank equivalent to 1,000 piculs, are established”. According to this record, it appears that the “Major of the Protector General” had a rank equivalent to 1,000 piculs.<sup>[27]</sup>

In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. The Cavalry Commander of the Army was the subordinate of the Supreme General, but was not that of the Colonel of the Division. The position of the Protector General of the Western Regions was lower than that of the Supreme General, therefore the rank of the Major of the Protector General should be lower than a rank equivalent to 1,000 piculs. It has been suggested that the Major of the Protector General had a rank equivalent to 600 piculs.<sup>[28]</sup> This may be correct.

The Scout: according to the “Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, “there are regiments within each division, and there is a Scout of the Army for each Regiment, and the Scout of the Army has a rank equivalent to 600 piculs”. The Scout of

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the Army, called the Scout, was the subordinate of the Colonel of the Division. Since the Colonel of the Division had a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs, and its Scout had a rank equivalent to 600 piculs, the Scout who was a subordinate of the Protector General should also have a rank equivalent to 600 piculs. <sup>[29]</sup>

There is no record about the rank of the Head of a Thousand Men. It has been suggested that the Head of a Thousand Men might also have had a rank equivalent to 600 piculs, because, according to the *Hanguan Jiuyi* 漢官舊儀, the Head of a Thousand Men was the subordinate of the Commandant of Divisions, the same as the position of Scout. <sup>[30]</sup> Another scholar suggests that the Head of a Thousand Men might have a rank of 200 piculs, which was the same as that of the Head of Encampments, as noted in the “Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書. <sup>[31]</sup> In my opinion, the former theory is close to correct.

In addition, among the subordinates of the Protector General, there was also the Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded that “From that time onwards the [post of] Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕 (Slaves) was abolished. The Xiongnu 匈奴 became increasingly weaker and were unable to approach the Western Regions. Agricultural colonists were thereupon removed to work the land in Northern Xujian 胥鞬, and the lands of Suoju 莎車 were allocated [for this purpose]. The colonel of the agricultural colonies was first subordinated to the Protector General” after the King of Rizhu 日逐 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 had surrendered to the Han 漢. On the basis of this, the time at which the Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison was subordinated to the Protector General must have been after Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had built his office and begun governing. However, according to the same chapter, during the Dijie 地節 reign-period, the Han 漢 had already sent the Gentleman in Attendance, Zheng Ji 鄭吉, and the Colonel, Sima Xi 司馬熹, to set up agricultural colonies at Quli 渠犂 and Jushi 車師, and also three colonels had been sent to work at the military colonies at that time. As mentioned above, Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had already been given the title of Protector General in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period, but the Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison was not subordinated to the Protector General until the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period. In that case, it is possible that the Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison was commanded by Sima Xi 司馬熹 before it had been subordinated to the Protector General. The Colonel who was taken in charge by Sima Xi 司馬熹 can be considered to be the predecessor of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, during the reign of Emperor Zhao 昭, the Han 漢 Dynasty had sent a major and forty men, officers and soldiers, to set up an agricultural colony and accumulate a store of field-crops at the town of Yixun 伊循 in the state of Shanshan 鄯善. “At a later time the office of Commandant was established

instead”. This Commandant at Yixun 伊循 also might have been subordinated to Zheng Ji 鄭吉 after Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had become “the Colonel for Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West”.

## E

On the duty of the Protector General of the Western Regions, there is a compendious explanation in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A: “This officer kept under observation the activities of the various outer states such as Wusun 烏孫 and Kangju 康居, and when 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”. Of this, the so-called “outer states” means in general the various states in the Western Regions, which can be proved by the examples used in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B.

The Son of Heaven attended in person at the Pingle 平樂 Lodge. He called a meeting of the Xiongnu 匈奴 envoys and the leading chiefs of the outer states, and after a display of wrestling and a musical entertainment, sent the party on their way. (Example 1)

[Li] Guangli [李]廣利 had upbraided Qiuci 龜茲, saying: “The outer states are subject to Han 漢; by what authority has Qiuci 龜茲 accepted hostages from Wumi 罽彌”? (Example 2)

[The king of Qiuci 龜茲, Jiangbin 絳賓], delighted in the Han 漢 style of dress and institutions; on returning 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 was like that of the house of Han 漢. The outer states and the Hu 胡 people all said: “An ass that is no ass; a horse that is no horse; it’s like the king of Qiuci 龜茲, what we call a mule”. (Example 3)

From these examples, it can be seen that we should not assume that the objects of concern to the Protector General did not include the various oasean states in the Tarim Basin, because Wusun 烏孫 and Kangju 康居 were mentioned in one reference, or that they did not include the Han’s 漢 dependencies in the Western Regions, because Kangju 康居 was not subject to the Protector General, and Wusun 烏孫 was not subject to the Protector General at the beginning, when the Protector General was established.



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That “this officer kept under observation the activities of the various outer states such as Wusun 烏孫 and Kangju 康居” and so on obviously was in order to emphasize that the states which were kept under the observation of the Protector General were not only the various states in the Tarim Basin which were subject to Han 漢, but also included the various states to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and to the north of the Tian 天 Mountains. The fact that Kangju 康居 was given as an example of the states west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and Wusun 烏孫, north of the Tian 天 Mountains, is to hint the above-mentioned formulation concerning the duty of the Protector General formed at the beginning when the Protector General was established.

In sum, there is no harm in considering that the states of the Western Regions west of the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers all were kept under the observation of the Protector General. The reference that the “[Protector General] pacified the various states and punished or brought them into line” should be understood similarly.<sup>[32]</sup>

Of course, in fact, those which could be “settled peacefully” or “attacked” by the Protector General mainly were the various states east of the Cong 葱 Mountains.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, there were forty-eight states which were subject to the Protector General during the reign of Emperor Yuan 元. They were Shanshan 鄯善, Qiemo 且末, Jingjue 精絕, Wumi 扞彌, Yutian 于闐, Pishan 皮山, Suoju 莎車 (the foregoing are the states which were located at the near side of the Kunlun 昆侖 Mountains), Ruoqiang 婼羌, Xiao Yuan 小宛, Ronglu 戎盧, Qule 渠勒, Xiye 西夜, Zihe 子合, Puli 蒲犁, Yinai 依耐, Wulei 無雷, Wucha 烏耄 (these are the states which were located in the valley of the Kunlun 昆侖 Mountains), Shule 疏勒, Wensu 溫宿, Gumo 姑墨, Qiuci 龜茲, Wulei 烏壘, Quli 渠犂, Weixu 危須, Yanqi 焉耆 (these states were located at the near side of the Tian 天 Mountains), Pulei 蒲類, Further Pulei 蒲類, Nearer Jushi 車師, Further Jushi 車師, the state of the Commandant of Jushi 車師, the state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi 車師, Yulishi 郁立師, Huhu 狐胡, Shan 山, Beilu 卑陸, Further Beilu 卑陸, Jie 劫, Danhuan 單桓, Eastern Qiemi 且彌, Western Qiemi 且彌, Wutanzili 烏貪訾離, Wusun 烏孫, Weitou 尉頭 (the foregoing are the states which were located in the valley of the Tian 天 Mountains), Juandu 捐毒, Xiuxun 休循, Taohuai 桃槐 (located in the valley of the Congling 葱嶺 Mountains) and Dayuan 大宛 (located to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains).<sup>[33]</sup>

The words of Yang Xiong 揚雄 quoted above are easily misread. According to this, it seems that there really were thirty-six dependencies at the beginning, when the Protector General was established.<sup>[34]</sup> In fact, the existence of the so-called “thirty-six states”, whose meaning was the same as “the various states of the Western Regions”, cannot be ascertained.<sup>[35]</sup> There is no evidence to show that the states of the Western

Regions which were subject to the Protector General were actually thirty-six in number at that time.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is also recorded that “Communications with the Western Regions started only in the time of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武. Originally there had been thirty-six states, but afterwards these were gradually divided into more than fifty. These all lie to the west of the Xiongnu 匈奴 and south of Wusun 烏孫. To the north and south there are great mountains, and a river flows through the middle. The distance from east to west extends for more than 6,000 *li* 里 and from north to south for more than 1,000 *li* 里. On the east the area adjoins the Han 漢 [territory], being blocked by the Yumen 玉門 and the Yang 陽 Barriers. On the west it is confined by the Cong 葱 Mountains”. On the basis of this, it seems that the so-called “Western Regions” should refer only to the Tarim Basin during the reign of Emperor Wu 武, and that there really were thirty-six states in the Western Regions at that time, and that the thirty-six states divided into fifty-five states afterwards.

In my opinion, if that is indeed the case, there would be more than fifty states in the Tarim Basin as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. But, in fact, there were only slightly more than forty states around the Tarim Basin, and the number would be less than fifty even if the so-called “six other states north of the mountains” are added. Furthermore, the focal point for the management of the Western Regions during the reign of Emperor Wu 武 was to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and to the north of the Tian 天 Mountains, so it is of course impossible to call the Tarim Basin “the Western Regions”. Therefore “Western Regions” as described in the above reference must be taken as “Western Regions” in a narrow sense. This concept can only have appeared afterwards. The editor of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, did not know either that the “thirty-six states” could not be ascertained or that the Tarim Basin could not be called the “Western Regions” during the reign of Emperor Wu 武. He linked the two improperly, leading naturally to the various contradictions.

On the basis of the passage at the head of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, beginning with Xun Yue 荀悅, the editor of the *Hanji* 漢紀, several scholars in succession tried to ascertain the identity of the “thirty-six states” in the Tarim Basin during the reign of Emperor Wu 武.<sup>[36]</sup> It was evidently impossible to do so successfully.

Stepping back a bit, even if we acknowledge that there were really thirty-six states in the Tarim Basin during the reign of Emperor Wu 武 or at the time the office of the Protector General was established by Emperor Xuan 宣, whereupon the thirty-six states divided into fifty-five, it would be very difficult to separate out the original thirty-six states from the fifty-five states. This is because, except for a few states, such as Yutian 于闐, Wumi 于彌, Loulan 樓蘭, and Jushi 車師, the existence of which is well-grounded, we can only guess and have no secure means to know the identity of the other

states.

## F

In the eulogy of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70, it is said that “From the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period, when Zhang Qian 張騫 first opened up communications with the Western Regions and Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was named Protector General in the Dijie 地節 reign-period, to the reign of Wang Mang 王莽, there were eighteen Protector Generals in all, each selected because of his courage and resourcefulness”. Of the eighteen Protector Generals, there were ten whose names were known. There was a special memoir on three men, Zheng Ji 鄭吉, Gan Yanshou 甘延壽, and Duan Huizong 段會宗, in the *Hanshu* 漢書. The other seven men are Han Xuan 韓宣, Lian Bao 廉褒, Han Li 韓立, Guo Shun 郭舜, Sun Jian 孫建, Dan Qin 但欽, and Li Chong 李崇. The deeds of the ten Protector Generals are recorded in various chapters of the *Hanshu* 漢書, which have been collected and ordered, thus any further remarks on the matter would be superfluous.<sup>[37]</sup> Only on the matter of the terms of the ten Protector Generals, have there been various views among scholars.<sup>[38]</sup> Below is a brief consideration of the matter.

1. Zheng Ji 鄭吉: as discussed above, he was granted the title of Protector General in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣, and started building its office and governing from the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, Wujiutu 烏就屠, son of Wengguimi 翁歸靡 the Fat King and his nomad wife, “in a surprise attack he later killed the Mad King and set himself up as *Kunmi* 昆彌”. The Han 漢 [court] sent Xin Wuxian 辛武賢, General of the Poqiang 破羌 (conquest of the Qiang 羌), to lead a force of 15,000 men to Dunhuang 敦煌, and “Zheng Ji 鄭吉, the Protector General, sent Lady Feng 馮 to urge Wujiutu 烏就屠... Wujiutu 烏就屠 was afraid and said that he would like to have the use of a lesser title”. From the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8 and 69, it can be seen that Xin Wuxian 辛武賢 attacked Wusun 烏孫 in the first year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period.<sup>[39]</sup> This shows that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 held the office of Protector General of the Western Regions as late as B.C. 53. This year must be the upper limit of the date by which Zheng Ji 鄭吉 no longer held this post.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉), Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was invested with the title of Noble of Anyuan 安遠 in “the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period, in the fourth month, on the day *renxu* 壬戌”, and was “dead eleven years later”. Then Zheng Ji 鄭吉 died in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (B.C. 48). This year must be the lower limit of the date at

which Zheng Ji 鄭吉 no longer held this post.

2. Han Xuan 韓宣: In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that after the Greater Kunmi 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫, Xingmi 星彌, had been established, “Han Xuan 韓宣, the Protector General, submitted a statement suggesting that the Supreme Official, the *Dalu* 大祿, and the Supreme Inspector should all be presented with golden seals and purple ribbons, so as to provide honor and support for the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, and the emperor gave permission for this. Later the Protector General, Han Xuan 韓宣, submitted a further statement to the effect that Xingmi 星靡 was cowardly and weak, and that he should be dismissed; he should be replaced as *Kunmi* 昆彌 by his uncle *Dalu* 大祿, the Supreme Leader of the Left, but Han 漢 did not give permission for this”. Since the period during which Xingmi 星彌 was established as the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌 was from the third year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 to the first year of the Jingning 竟寧 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (or the first year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成),<sup>[40]</sup> Han Xuan’s 韓宣 term as the Protector General was probably between B.C. 51 and B.C. 33/32.

3. Gan Yanshou 甘延壽: In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯), there is a statement that “In the third year of the Jianzhao 建昭 reign-period, [Chen] Tang [陳]湯 and [Gan] Yanshou [甘]延壽 were sent to the Western Regions”. This shows that Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 was appointed Protector General in the third year of the *Jianzhao* 建昭 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元. From this, it also can be seen that the lower limit of the date on which Han Xuan 韓宣 was appointed Protector General must be moved up to B.C. 36.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 17, Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 was invested with the title of Noble of Yicheng 義成 “in the first year of the *Jingning* 竟寧 reign-period, in the fourth month, on the day *wuchen* 戊辰” because of his exploit in killing Zhizhi 郅支. And on the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯), it can be seen that Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 and Chen Tang 陳湯 had “arranged their cohorts at a distance of 10,000 *li* 里” before the former was invested with the title of noble, therefore, the lower limit of the date at which Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 was relieved of his post was B.C. 33.

4. Duan Huizong 段會宗: In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), “During the *Jingning* 竟寧 reign-period, he was promoted to Protector General, Commandant of Cavalry, and Counsellor of the Palace in his capacity as a Director of Du 杜 Tomb by the five government offices. Three years later, at the end of his term, he returned and was appointed the governor of Pei 沛 Prefecture”. This shows that Duan Huizong 段會宗 was the Protector General from B.C. 33 to 30 (the third year of the *Jianshi* 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成).

In Ru Chun’s 如淳 commentary on the reference “Three years later, at the end of

his term, he returned”, it is said that “the officers on the borders were replaced once each three years”. This shows that the Protector General was replaced once each three years as late as the time when Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 was appointed. <sup>[41]</sup> Therefore, Gan Yanshou’s 甘延壽 term as Protector General must be from B.C. 36 to 33.

Also, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), “The various states of the Western Regions sent a written message to the emperor petitioning to appoint [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 as Protector General. Then Duan Huizong 段會宗 once again was the Protector General during the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period”. From this it can be seen that Duan Huizong’s 段會宗 second term as the Protector General started during the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period.

5. Lian Bao 廉褒: According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, when Fuli 附離, the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫, was killed by his younger brother Rier 日貳, “an envoy sent by the Han 漢 established Fuli’s 附離 son Anri 安日 as Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌”. Then “Anri 安日 sent Gumoni 姑莫匿 and two other noblemen, who were to make a pretence of deserting to Rier in order to stab him to death; and Lian Bao 廉褒, the Protector General, presented Gumoni 姑莫匿 and the others each with twenty *jin* 斤 of gold and 300 rolls of silk”. Since in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), it is recorded that “the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 was established by Duan Huizong 段會”, the “envoy” who established Anri 安日 as Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 was Duan Huizong 段會宗. Since Duan Huizong’s 段會宗 first term as the Protector General ended in the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成, the establishment of Anri 安日 must have been after the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period. <sup>[42]</sup> This shows that the man who followed Duan Huizong 段會宗 as the Protector General must have been Lian Bao 廉褒. If the term of the Protector General was three years, Lian Bao’s 廉褒 term as the Protector General would have been from the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period to the second year of the Heping 河平 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 30 – 27). <sup>[43]</sup>

6. Han Li 韓立: Under the term of the third year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19B, it is recorded that “[Han] Yuan [韓]淵, the son of Han Li 韓立, the Commandant of Cavalry for Protecting the Western Regions, was appointed Chamberlain for the Imperial Insignia”. This seems to show that the Protector General of the Western Regions was Han Li 韓立 in the third year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period. If this is true, Duan Huizong’s 段會宗 second term as the Protector General was from the fourth year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period to the third year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉 reign-period, and the term of Han Li 韓立 was from the first to the fourth year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period. There was a Protector General between Han Li 韓立 and Lian Bao 廉褒 whose name is not known. <sup>[44]</sup>

7. Guo Shun 郭舜: According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, “At the time of Emperor Cheng 成, [the king of] Kangju 康居 sent a son to attend at the Han 漢 [court] with a present of gifts. However, Kangju 康居 felt that because it was separated [from Han 漢] by a long distance, it alone in its arrogance was unwilling to be considered on the same terms as the various other states. Guo Shun 郭舜, the Protector General, submitted a number of reports” and so on. From this, it can be seen that Guo Shun 郭舜 was appointed the Protector General in the reign of Emperor Cheng 成. Since the term of the Protector General was three years, there were four terms of the Protector General after Duan Huizong 段會宗 was again the Protector General, from the third year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉 reign-period to the end of the reign of Emperor Cheng 成. In other words, there are four possibilities for the Guo Shun’s 郭舜 term of Protector General: 1. from the third year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉 reign-period to the second year of the Yongshi 永始 reign-period, 2. from the second year of the Yongshi 永始 reign-period to the first year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period, 3. from the first year to the fourth year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period, 4. from the fourth year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period to the first year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period of Emperor Ai 哀.

8. Sun Jian 孫建: in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), it is recorded that “During the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period... the Lesser *Kunmi*’s 昆彌 uncle, Beiyuanzhi 卑爰臯, possessing the favor of the masses, wanted to kill the *Kunmi* 昆彌, and the Han 漢 again sent [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 to settle the matter peacefully, working in coordination with Sun Jian 孫建, the Protector General”. This shows that Sun Jian 孫建 was the Protector General “during the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period”. Since the term of the Protector General was three years, his term must have been from the first to the fourth year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period. From this, it can be seen that the third possibility for Guo Shun’s 郭舜 term as Protector General can be ruled out.<sup>[45]</sup>

Also, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that “In the middle of the Yuanshi 元始 [reign-period] [A.D. 1-5], Beiyuanzhi 卑爰臯 killed Wuriling 烏日領 as a means of self-assertion, and the Han 漢 invested him with the title of Marquis of Allegiance to Righteousness. The two *Kunmi* 昆彌 were both weak, and Beiyuanzhi 烏日領 harrassed them; Sun Jian 孫建, the Protector General, killed him in a surprise attack”. On this basis we know that this Sun Jian 孫建 was the Protector General during the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period of Emperor Ping 平. However, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19B, in the second year of the Yuanshou 元壽 reign-period of Emperor Ai 哀, Sun Jian 孫建, the Chief Commandant of the Protecting Army, was appointed the Chamberlain for the Imperial Insignia, and three months later was promoted to be the General of the Right; two years later (namely the second year of the Yuanshi 元始

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reign-period of Emperor Ping 平) he was the General of the Left. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, it is also recorded that Sun Jian 孫建, “as General of Strong Crossbowmen, and with the might to repulse [by diplomacy] the attacks of [the enemy]”, was appointed the Marquis of Accomplished Martiality in the intercalary sixth month of fifth year of the Yuanshi’s 元始 reign-period. Since there was no one who, as a general, was appointed Protector General in Western Han 漢 times, it is possible that Sun Jian 孫建 was not the Protector General once again after this.<sup>[46]</sup> In other words, it may be that Sun Jian 孫建 killed Beiyuanzhi 卑爰寔 in a surprise attack, but he was not the Protector General at the time. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, he was referred to by his former official position.

In the eulogy of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70, it is said that “Lian Bao 廉褒 was celebrated for his kindness and confidence, Guo Shun 郭舜 was famous for his honesty and justice, and Sun Jian 孫建 was known for his dignity and seriousness”. The fact that Guo Shun 郭舜 was listed before Sun Jian 孫建 shows that Guo Shun 孫建 was Protector General before Sun Jian 孫建. Since Sun Jian 孫建 had only once been Protector General, the above-mentioned fourth possibility also can be ruled out.

9. Dan Qin 但欽: In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that “During the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period [B.C. 1-5]...Tangdou 唐兜, the Quhulai 去胡來 king (‘abandoner of the nomads who comes over’), resided close to the Red Water Qiang 羌 of the Gereat Tribes and was several times subjected to raiding. Finding the situation intolerable, he reported a state of emergency to the Protector Gneral, but Dan Qin 但欽, the Protector General, did not bring him relief or help at the right time. Tangdou 唐兜 was in a grave and urgent situation; angry with [Dan] Qin [但]欽, he went east to seek [the means of] defense from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier”. This shows that Dan Qin 但欽 was the Protector General during the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period of Emperor Ping 平. Also, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 99, in the fifth year of the Shijianguo 始建國 reign-period (A.D. 13), “the various states of the Western Regions considered that [Wang] Mang [王]莽 had repeatedly broken [the ties of] grace and faithfulness [binding them to Han 漢]. [The state of] Yanqi 焉耆 revolted first, murdering the Protector General, Dan Qin 但欽”. From this we know that Dan Qin 但欽 did not repeat a single term of three years. This shows that, as Protector General, Dan Qin’s 但欽 term was more than three years. Since there were eighteen men who were Protector General between Han Xuan 韓宣 and Dan Qin 但欽, their terms were all three years, and of them, only Duan Huizong 段會宗 resumed his post, then Dan Qin 但欽 was the Protector General from the first year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period.

10. Li Chong 李崇: in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that “in the third year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period [A.D. 16], Wang Mang 王莽 dispatched Wang

Jun 王駿, the Wuwei 五威 General, and Li Chong 李崇, Protector General of the Western Regions”. This shows that Li Chong 李崇 was the Protector General from A.D. 16. In the same chapter it is also recorded that “After some years [Wang] Mang [王]莽 died and [Li] Chong [李]崇 disappeared”. This shows that Li Chong 李崇 was the Protector General until the fourth year of the Dihuang 地皇 reign-period or later.

On the basis of the analyses above, I conclude that there were nineteen terms of the Protector General from Emperor Xuan 宣 to Wang Mang 王莽, and their dates can be determined as follows: <sup>[47]</sup>

The first Protector General, Zheng Ji 鄭吉, took up that office in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 68), started building the office and governing from the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 59), and left the office in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period (B.C. 48). <sup>[48]</sup>

The term of the second Protector General, Han Xuan 韓宣, was from the first to fourth year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (B.C. 48-45). <sup>[49]</sup>

The term of the third Protector General, whose name has been lost, was from the fourth year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period to the second year of the Yongguang 永光 reign-period (B.C. 45-42).

The term of the fourth Protector General, whose name was lost, was from the second year to the fifth year of the *Yongguang* 永光 reign-period (B.C. 42-39).

The term of the fifth Protector General, whose name has been lost, was the fifth of the Yongguang 永光 reign-period to the third year of the *Jianzhao* 建昭 reign-period (B.C. 39-36). <sup>[50]</sup>

The term of the sixth Protector General, Gan Yanshou 甘延壽, was from the third year of the Jianzhao 建昭 reign-period to the first year of the Jingning 竟寧 reign-period (B.C. 36-33). <sup>[51]</sup>

The term of the seventh Protector General, Duan Huizong 段會宗, was from the first year of the Jingning 竟寧 reign-period to the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period (B.C. 33-30). <sup>[52]</sup>

The term of the eighth Protector General, Lian Bao 廉褒, was from the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period to the second year of the Heping 河平 reign-period (B.C. 30-27). <sup>[53]</sup>

The term of the ninth Protector General, whose name has been lost, was from the second year of the Heping 河平 reign-period to the first year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period (B.C. 27-24). <sup>[54]</sup>

The term of the tenth Protector General, Han Li 韓立, was from the first to the fourth year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period (B.C. 24-21). <sup>[55]</sup>

The term of the eleventh Protector General, Duan Huizong 段會宗, was from the fourth year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period to the third year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉



reign-period (B.C. 21-18).<sup>[56]</sup>

The term of the twelfth Protector General, whose name has been lost, was from the third year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉 reign-period to the second year of the Yongshi 永始 reign-period (B.C. 18-15).

The term of the thirteenth Protector General, Guo Shun 郭舜, was from the second year of the Yongshi 永始 reign-period to the first year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period (B.C. 15-12).<sup>[57]</sup>

The term of the fourteenth Protector General, Sun Jian 孫建, was from the first to the fourth year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period (B.C. 12-9).<sup>[58]</sup>

The term of the fifteenth Protector General, whose name was lost, was from the fourth year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period to the first year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period of Emperor Ai 哀 (B.C. 9-6).

The term of the sixteenth Protector General, whose name has been lost, was from the first year to the fourth year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period (B.C. 6-3).

The term of the seventeenth Protector General, whose name has been lost, was from the fourth year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period to the first year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period of Emperor Ping 平 (B.C. 3-A.D. 1).<sup>[59]</sup>

The term of the eighteenth Protector General, Dan Qin 但欽, was from the first year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period to the fifth year of the Shijianguo 始建國 reign-period of Wang Mang 王莽 (A.D. 1-13).<sup>[60]</sup>

The term of the nineteenth Protector General, Li Chong 李崇, was from the third year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period to the fourth year of the Dihuang 地皇 reign-period (A.D. 16- 23).<sup>[61]</sup>

In fact, constrained by the sources, it cannot be known what were the exact terms of the successive Protector Generals from Emperor Xuan 宣 to Wang Mang 王莽. What is listed above is only a hypothesis that satisfies the known conditions.

## G

There were four Protectors General in the Eastern Han 漢 periods. They were Chen Mu 陳睦, Ban Chao 班超, Ren Shang 任尚, and Duan Xi 段禧. Their terms can be known roughly by textual research.

1. Chen Mu 陳睦: He was the first Protector General of the Western Regions in Eastern Han 漢 times. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that “in the sixteenth year [of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period] (A.D. 73), Emperor Ming 明 commanded the generals and the supreme commanders to go north on an expedition

against the Xiongnu 匈奴, occupy the land of Yiwulu 伊吾廬, and establish the post of Commandant of Yihe 宜禾 (Suitable Grain) to set up agricultural colonies. The Western Regions were thus opened up. ... In the next year, the office of the Protector General and the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel were first established. When Emperor Ming 明 died (A.D. 75), Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲 attacked and killed the Protector General, Chen Mu 陳睦, and all his troops”. From this, it can be seen that the term of Chen Mu 陳睦 as Protector General was from the seventeenth year to the eighteenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 2, Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲 attacked and killed the Protector General in the sixth month of the eighteenth year, and Emperor Ming 明 died in the eighth month. Therefore, both the statement “when Emperor Ming 明 died” and so on, and the reference “the emperor died. Yanqi 焉耆 thereupon attacked and killed the Protector General, Chen Mu 陳睦, because there was a great funeral in the Middle Kingdom” in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), are inexact.

2. Ban Chao 班超: In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超) it is recorded that “In the next year, Qiuci 龜茲, Gumo, 姑墨 and Wensu 溫宿 all surrendered. Han 漢 thereupon made [Ban] Chao [班]超 the Protector General, and Xu Gan 徐幹, the Chief Official”. “The next year” refers to the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (A.D. 91); according to the third chapter of the same book, the establishment of the Protector General was in the twelfth month of this year. Also on the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), we know that in the twelfth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period, Ban Chao 班超 offered a memorial in which he desired to have leave to return home, and “arrived in Luoyang 洛陽 in the eighth month of the fourteenth year of [the Yongyuan 永元] reign-period”. From this, it can be seen that the term of Ban Chao 班超 as Protector General was from the third year to the fourteenth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (A.D. 91-102).

3. Ren Shang 任尚: According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), “when [Ban] Chao [班]超 was invited to return to court, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel Ren Shang 任尚 was appointed as Protector General to replace him”. This shows that Ren Shang 任尚 began to be the Protector General in the fourteenth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (A.D. 102).

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Liang Jin 梁懂), it is recorded that “in the first year of the Yanping 延平 reign-period (A.D. 106), [Liang Jin 梁懂] was made the Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions. When [Liang] Jin [梁]懂 arrived in the Hexi 河西 region, the various states in the Western Regions revolted and attacked Ren Shang 任尚 in Shule 疏勒. [Ren] Shang [任]尚 sent a written message to the emperor to ask for help. An imperial edict ordered [Liang] Jin [梁]懂 to lead the Qiang 羌 and Hu 胡 from the four prefectures in the Hexi 河西 region, altogether 5,000

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cavalry, to go to him speedily. [Ren] Shang [任]尚 had extricated himself [from his predicament] before [Liang] Jin [梁]懂 arrived. At the same time that [Ren] Shang [任]尚 was invited to return to court, the Commandant of Cavalry, Duan Xi 段禧, was appointed as Protector General, the Chief Official of the Western Regions, and Zhao Bo 趙博, was appointed as Commandant of Cavalry”. This shows that the term of Ren Shang 任尚 as Protector General ended in the first year of the *Yanping* 延平 reign-period of Emperor Shang 殤 (A.D. 106). According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 5, in the first year of the *Yanping* 延平 reign-period, in the ninth year, on the day *yihai* 乙亥, “the various states in the Western Regions revolted and attacked Ren Shang 任尚. The Deputy Colonel [of the Western Regions] Liang Jin 梁懂 was sent to rescue [Ren] Shang [任]尚, and [Liang Jin 梁懂] routed [the rebels]”. This shows that Ren Shang 任尚 returned to court in the ninth month.

4. Duan Xi 段禧: As mentioned above, Duan Xi 段禧 was appointed as Protector General following Ren Shang 任尚, after the ninth month of the first year of the *Yanping* 延平 reign-period. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, “when the Emperor Xiaohu 孝和 died, the Western Regions rebelled. In the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period of Emperor An 安 (A.D. 107), they ceaselessly attacked and besieged Ren Shang 任尚, the Protector General, and Duan Xi 段禧 and others. The Imperial Court concluded that the Western Regions were too dangerous and distant, difficult to reinforce, so an imperial edict abolished the post of Protector General, and the Western Regions were subsequently abandoned”. It appears that Ren Shang 任尚 and Duan Xi 段禧 handed over control in the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period. This possibility certainly cannot be ruled out. However, it is quite possible also that only Duan Xi 段禧 was besieged and attacked in the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period (since Ren Shang 任尚 was mentioned merely in passing). In addition, the fifth chapter of the same book records that in the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period, in the sixth month, on the day *rexu* 壬戌, Emperor An 安 “abolished the post of Protector General of the Western Regions”.

## H

Lastly, we will briefly discuss the Chief Official of the Western Regions.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), in the eighth year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period (A.D. 83), “[the Emperor] appointed [Ban] Chao [班]超 as Chief Official of Leading the Troops, [with the right] to use an orchestra and banners”. This in fact began the practice by which the Chief Official managed affairs of the Western Regions because the Protector General no longer existed at this time. According to the same memoir, in the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (A.D. 91), Emperor He 和 appointed Ban Chao 班超 as Protector General and Xu Gan 徐幹 as Chief Official. The Chief Official was roughly equal to the secondary position in support of the Protector General, since the Deputy Colonel no longer existed at that time.

When Ren Shan 任尚, following Ban Chao 班超, was appointed Protector General of the Western Regions, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Liang Jin 梁懂), the Chief Official was Zhao Bo 趙博, who, with the Commandant of Cavalry Duan Xi 段禧, assisted Ren Shang 任尚. When, following Ren Shang 任尚, Duan Xi 段禧 became the Protector General, Liang Jin 梁懂 was appointed Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions, and the former Chief Official of the Western Regions, Zhao Bo 趙博, became the Commandant of Cavalry.

After Emperor An 安 abandoned the post of Protector General in the first year of the Yongchu 永初 reign-period, the Eastern Han 漢 no longer maintained the posts of Protector General and Deputy Colonel, and the duty of the Protector General was assumed by the Chief Official in the course of his management of the Western Regions. The Chief Official was appointed continuously until the reign of Emperor Ling 靈. Those whose names are recorded in the historical books are Suo Ban 索班 and Ban Yong 班勇, during the reign of Emperor An 安, Zhao Ping 趙評 and Wang Jing 王敬, during the reign of Emperor Huan 桓, and Zhang Yan 張晏, during the reign of Emperor Ling 靈.

The seat of the government of the Chief Official was not located in the same place as formerly. The seats of government of Ban Chao 班超 and Xu Gan 徐幹 were located in Shule 疏勒, of Suo Ban 索班 in Yiwu 伊吾, of Ban Yong 班勇 in Liuzhong 柳中, and of Zhao Ping 趙評 and Wang Jing 王敬 in Yutian 于闐, and other seats are unknown.

There is no record concerning the rank of the Chief Official of the Western Regions. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, “there is the Chief Official, who takes charge of troops and horses, and who has the rank of 600 piculs in the border prefectures”. The “Treatise on Officials No. 5” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 records that “there are one Administrator, who has the rank of 2,000 piculs, and one Assistant in each prefecture.

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The Assistant is named the Chief Official if a prefecture is on the border”. Since the “Treatise on Officials No. 4” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 records that the “Assistant to the Chief Official who has the rank of 2,000 piculs, has the rank of 600 piculs”. Therefore, it is possible the Chief Official of the Western Regions had the rank of 600 piculs.

Since the position of Chief Official of the Western Regions corresponded to that of the Assistant for the prefecture, it had to receive orders from the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, and accordingly the various states in the Western Regions in the possession of the Chief Official became to a certain extent an area under the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 jurisdiction.

The circumstance that in Eastern Han 漢 times the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 attended to the affairs of the Western Regions may date back to the reign of Emperor Guangwu 光武.<sup>[62]</sup> However, it had a hand directly in the affairs of the Western Regions probably only after Emperor An 安 had abandoned the post of Protector General. Obviously, this had something to do with the fact that the director of the Western Regions was demoted to Chief Official.

As early as the sixth year of the Yuanchu 元初 reign-period, the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Cao Zong 曹宗, sent a written message to the emperor, who then dispatched Suo Ban 索班, then concurrently performing the duty of the Chief Official, to the station at Yiwu 伊吾, and pacify the various states in the Western Regions. In the second year of the Yanguang 元光 reign-period, the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Zhang Dang 張璠, also sent a written message to the emperor, offering three plans with regard to the situation of the Western Regions, and helping to bring about Ban Yong’s 班勇 establishment of an agricultural colony at Liuzhong 柳中

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇), “in the second year [of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period (A.D. 127)], [Ban] Yong [班勇] asked permission to attack Yuanmeng 元孟. Thereupon [the Han 漢] sent the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Zhang Lang 張朗, to lead the troops of the four prefectures in the Hexi 河西 region, altogether 3,000 persons, to cooperate with [Ban] Yong [班勇]. Thus they called out the troops of the various states, altogether more than 40,000 persons, dividing the cavalry and advancing by two routes, to attack it. [Ban] Yong [班勇] went by the Southern Route and [Zhang] Lang [張]朗, the Northern Route. They, fixing a date, intended to reach Yanqi 焉耆 at the same time. [Zhang] Lang [張]朗, who had committed crimes before this time, wanted to ransom himself by making contributions, and thus he reached the barrier of Jueli 爵離 in advance [of Ban Yong 班勇]. He sent a Major to lead the troops to fight, and they cut off heads and took prisoners, altogether more than 2,000 persons. Yuanmeng 元孟 feared being beheaded and sent an envoy to

beg to be allowed to surrender. Zhang Lang 張朗 simply entered Yanqi 焉耆, accepted his surrender, and returned. ...[Ban] Yong [班]勇 [reached the barrier] after the fixed time. For this reason, he was summoned, imprisoned, and deposed”. The person who “asked permission to attack Yuanmeng 元孟” was Ban Yong 班勇, not Zhang Lang 張朗, who so much wanted to make a contribution in order to ransom himself that he even resorted to duplicity. This shows that the Chief Official of the Western Regions was not equal to the Assistant of the Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture at the time. However, after Ban Yong 班勇, examples appear over and over showing that the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 settled the affairs of the Western Regions on his own authority, and that the Chief Official of the Western Regions was essentially a subordinate of the Administrator.

1. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, “in the fourth year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 (A.D. 129), the King of Yutian 于窋, Fangqian 放前, killed the King of Jumi 拘彌, Xing 興, established his own son as King of Jumi 拘彌, and sent an envoy to present tribute to Han 漢. The Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Xu You 徐由, sent a written message to the emperor asking permission to punish him”.

2. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, “in the fourth year, in the spring, the king of Huyan 呼延 of the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 led troops to invade the tribe of Further [Jushi 車師]. Thinking that the six states of Jushi 車師 were near to the northern savages who thus provided a defense for the Western Regions, the emperor ordered the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 to call out the troops of the various states, under the captains of the Yumen 玉門 Barrier and the majors from Yiwu 伊吾, altogether 6,300 persons, to rescue it. The Han 漢 forces made a sneak attack on the northern savages at Mount Le 勒”.

3. According to the “Tablet of Pei Cen 裴岑”, “in the second year of the Yonghe 永和 reign-period of Han 漢 (A.D. 137), in the eighth month, the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 [Prefecture], Pei Cen 裴岑, who came from Yunzhong 雲中, led 3,000 troops of the prefecture and assassinated the King of Huyan 呼衍 and others, killed these foes and cut off their ears, overcame the whole army of the enemy, eliminated the disaster of the Western Regions, and removed the calamity of the four prefectures”.<sup>[63]</sup>

4. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the first year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 151), the King of Huyan 呼衍 attacked the town of Yiwu 伊吾, which the troops of the agricultural garrison defended. “[the Han 漢] sent the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Sima Da 司馬達, to lead over 4,000 officers and soldiers from the dependencies of Dunhuang 敦煌, Jiuquan 酒泉, and Zhangye 張掖 to rescue it”.

5. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, “In the first year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period [of Emperor Huan 桓] (A.D. 151), the Chief Official, Zhao Ping 趙評,

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died at Yutian 于闐 because he was ill with a carbuncle. The son of [Zhao] Ping [趙]評 came to join in the mourning, passing by Jumi 拘彌”. He was told that Zhao Ping 趙評 had been killed with poison by Jian 建, the King of Yutian 于闐. He “told this to the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Ma Da 馬達, when he returned and crossed the barrier”. In the second year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 152), “Han 漢 appointed Wang Jing 王敬 as Chief Official to replace Zhao Ping 趙評. [Ma] Da [馬]達 ordered him to verify the allegation covertly”. Wang Jing 王敬 arrived at Yutian 于闐 and killed Jian 建. Shubo 輸夔, a general and noble of Yutian 于闐, and others killed Wang Jing 王敬. “After he had heard this, Ma Da 馬達 wanted to muster the forces from the various prefectures and come out from the barrier to attack Yutian 于闐. Emperor Huan 桓 did not agree with him and summoned [Ma] Da [馬]達 to return to court, and made Song Liang 宋亮 Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 in his place. After arriving at Yutian 于闐, Song Liang 宋亮 publicly recruited [the people of] Yutian 于闐 and ordered them to behead Shubo 輸夔 on their own. As it happened, Shubo 輸夔 had already died a month earlier. Yutian 于闐 cut off the head of the corpse and sent it to Dunhuang 敦煌, not giving the facts. [Song] Liang [宋]亮 afterwards learned about the ruse but was unable to dispatch troops”.

6. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the first year of the Yongxing 永興 reign-period, “Song Liang 宋亮 sent a written message to the emperor asking permission to establish Beijun 卑君, the son of the former King of the Tribe of Further Jushi 車師, Junjiu 軍就, who had been a hostage, as King of the Tribe of Further [Jushi 車師]”.

All these show that the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, in fact, became the supreme chief executive for the Western Regions.<sup>[64]</sup> In the last years of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty, the power of the Provincial Governor increased day by day, so that the post of Administrator was in effect a subordinate of the Provincial Governor. The affairs of the Western Regions were taken charge of by the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, but not the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌. For example, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that in the third year of the Jianning 建寧 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (A.D. 170), “the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Meng Tuo 孟佗, sent the Attendant Official, Ren She 任涉, to lead a force of 500 men from Dunhuang 敦煌 and the troops of Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜茲, the Nearer and Further tribes of Jushi 車師, altogether more than 30,000 men, with the *Wu* 戊 Major, Cao Kuan 曹寬, and the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Zhang Yan 張晏, to chastise Shule 疏勒”. The fact that the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, but not the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, moved troops to chastise Shule 疏勒 shows that control of the Western Regions came directly under the Liang 涼 Province at the time.<sup>[65]</sup>

- [<sup>1</sup>] The earliest record to point this out probably is the preface to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions): “In the reign of Emperor Wu 武, the Western Regions entered [the Han 漢 Empire] as a subject, in which there were thirty-six states. Han 漢 established a Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys to command and protect them. Emperor Xuan 宣 changed the office to that of the Protector General”.
- [<sup>2</sup>] Cf. Zhang, W. “使者校尉” is noted as “使者、校尉” (Envoy and Colonel) in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, and the “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 in the punctuated edition by Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局. This appears to be inadequate.
- [<sup>3</sup>] Cf. Zhang, W.
- [<sup>4</sup>] See Zhang, W. Zhang’s theory is based on *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*.
- [<sup>5</sup>] See Zhang, W.
- [<sup>6</sup>] Since the surrender of the King of Rizhu 日逐 is recorded under the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period, in the autumn, the date that it took place must be not later than the end of the ninth month of that year. The reason that the month was not noted and was indicated only as “autumn” generally may be that the surrender of the King of Rizhu 日逐 was a lengthy process. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉), “The King of Rizhu 日逐, Xianxianchan 先賢掣, wanted to surrender to Han 漢, and sent a messenger to tell [Zheng] Ji [鄭吉]. [Zheng] Ji [鄭吉] called up the troops from the states of Quli 渠犂, Qiuci 龜茲 and others, 5,000 men in all, to meet the King of Rizhu 日逐. [The King of Rizhu 日逐] led the 12,000 individuals and twelve lesser kings and generals, and, following [Zheng] Ji [鄭吉], reached the bend of the Yellow River. Zheng Ji 鄭吉 pursued and killed a considerable number of people, who wanted to run away, and thus led the others to arrive in the capital”. In other words, the entire process, from the time that the King of Rizhu 日逐 “told [Zheng] Ji [鄭吉]” until he “arrived in the capital”, took place before the end of the ninth month. The surrender of the King of Rizhu 日逐 is noted before “The *Chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent their famous king to present tribute, and wanted to celebrate the New Year at court in the first month, thereupon a peace treaty [with the Xiongnu 匈奴] was concluded” under the ninth month in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8, which can be taken as circumstantial evidence that the end of the event of Rizhu 日逐, surrender cannot be later than the tenth month. In addition, on the matter that the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent “their famous king to present tribute”, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94 (Memoir on the Xiongnu 匈奴), says that “In the next year, the *Chanyu* 單于 led over 100,000 cavalry hunting near the frontiers and wanted to cross the boundary. Before he could do so, Tichuqtang 題除渠堂, a henchman, went over to the Han 漢 and revealed what was happening. The Han 漢 gave him the title Noble of Yanbing Luxilu 言兵鹿奚盧. [Emperor Xuan 宣] sent the Rear General, Zhao Chongguo 趙充國, leading over 40,000 cavalry who were stationed in the nine prefectures along the boundary to guard against the savages. Over a month later, the *Chanyu* 單于 still had not dared to enter because he was ill, spitting blood; he returned, withdrawing his troops. He then sent the King of Ti 題, Dulihuci 都犁胡次, who with others came to the Han



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漢 and begged to conclude a peace treaty [with Han 漢]. [The King of Ti 題] did not return and reported that the *Chanyu* 單于 had died. This was in the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period”. From this, we can see that the “famous king” was the King of Ti 題, Dulihuci 都犁胡次. Since the date that the King of Ti 題 arrived in Chang’an 長安 was the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period, in the ninth month, the *Chanyu* 單于 of Xuluquanbqu 虛閭權渠 died in the eighth or ninth month. The King of Rizhu 日逐 arrived in the capital after the *Chanyu* 單于 died and before the King of Ti 題 came to pay court, so the date must not be later than the tenth month.

[7] *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* suggests that the Protector General of the Western Regions first was established in the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period. Huang, W. (1989-4), pp. 375-384, based on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8, suggests that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was appointed as Protector General in the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period, and believes that “三年” (the third year) is a textual error for “二年” (the second year) in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B (Memoir on the Western Regions). In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. The record in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8, shows only that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had already been the Protector General in the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period, but does not show that he was first appointed as Protector General in this year.

[8] Xie, p. 192.

[9] Cf. Zhang, W.

[10] See Zhang, W.

[11] It is possible that the event in which “[Zheng Ji 鄭吉] attacked and took the town of Douzi 兜訾 at Jushi 車師” took place both before Zheng Ji 鄭吉 called up the troops from Quli 渠犂, Qiuci 龜茲 and others to meet the King of Rizhu 日逐 and reached the bend of the Yellow River, and after Zheng Ji 鄭吉 returned to the Western Regions from the capital. In sum, Jushi 車師 lost its backer at once because the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrendered to Han 漢. It certainly did surrender to the Han 漢. The reference “attacked and took” and so on seems to show that Jushi 車師 did not surrender without a fight.

[12] Wang (1959-2) suggests that “The Former Han 漢 originally established the Commandant of Cavalry to protect the Western Regions, which, later, was briefly given the title “Protector General of the Western Regions”. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had already been given the title Protector General before he was promoted to Commandant of Cavalry. Also, Zhang, W., suggests that “都護西域騎都尉” or “西域都護騎都尉” (the Protector General of the Western Regions and the Commandant of Cavalry) became a regular title after Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had been the Protector General and was concurrently held by other officers. Examples are as follows: Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 assumed office as Protector General of the Western Regions while retaining his position as Department Director and Grand Master of Remonstrance, and Duan Huizong 段會宗 did so while maintaining his capacity as Counsellor

of the Palace. This is comparable to “the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys” or “Colonel of Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West”, regular titles held concurrently with other official positions before Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was the Protector General. In my opinion, this theory also is inadequate. If the full title of Protector General is “the Protector General of the Western Regions and the Commandant of Cavalry” after Zheng Ji 鄭吉, the secondary position for Protector General should not be titled “Deputy Colonel”. Therefore, it would be best to consider “the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys of Protecting the Western Regions” still was a regular title, and the post was held by the Commandant of Cavalry or Counsellor of the Palace and others concurrently, after Zheng Ji 鄭吉.

[13] It seems that there should be a character “都” before the title “護鄯善以西使者校尉 (the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys of Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West)” since there was more than one state, and the people did not belong only to one race, though it is true there were only a few states to the west of Shanshan 鄯善. Cf. Zhang, W.

[14] Cf. Yu, T. (1995), pp. 3-68.

[15] Cf. Zhang, W.

[16] Zhang, W. suggests that since the title of Protector General was held by the Commandant of Cavalry concurrently, and the Commandant of Cavalry had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs, the Protector General should have had the same rank.

[17] *Hanshu Buzhu*, vol. 19, suggests that “屯司馬 (Major of the Encampment) was analogous to 南宮司馬 (Major of the Southern Palace) or 南屯司馬 (Major of the Southern Encampment) in Later Han 漢 times. The post of Major of the Encampment Guards 屯衛司馬 could be abbreviated to “Major of the Encampment 屯司馬” or “Major of the Guards 衛司馬”. The aim of encampment was to guard. According to the foregoing paragraphs, the duty of “Chamberlain for the Palace Garrison 衛尉” was to be in charge of the soldiers, who were stationed to guard the imperial palace. This can be taken as evidence”. According to “the Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, Major of the Encampment had the rank equivalent to 1,000 piculs.

[18] See Zhang, W.

[19] Zhang, W., suggests that there is no record about the seat of the king's government of the state of Wulei 烏壘 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. However, based on the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, vol. 2, we know that it was “the town of Wulei 烏壘”. In my opinion, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉) says that the seat of Zhang Ji's 鄭吉 government was at the town of Wulei 烏壘, and the 96th chapter of the same book also says the seat of the government [of the state of Wulei 烏壘] is the same as that of the Protector General. So it can be shown that the seat of the king's government of the state of Wulei 烏壘, was the town of Wulei 烏壘 without basing this fact on the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注.

[20] Cf. Zhang, W.

[21] See Zhang, W. Zhang's theory is based on *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*.

[22] See *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* and Zhang, W.

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- [23] Cf. Cen, p. 404.
- [24] Cf. Yu, T. (1995), pp. 3-68.
- [25] See Zhang, W.
- [26] Cf. Zhang, W.
- [27] See Zhang, W.
- [28] Huang, W. (1989-4), pp. 375-384.
- [29] Cf. Zhang, W. and Huang, W., (1989-4), pp. 375-384.
- [30] Wu, p. 335.
- [31] See Zhang, W.
- [32] For examples showing that the Protector General carried out its duty, see Zhang, W.
- [33] Cf. Huang, W. (1989-1).
- [34] Yang Xiong's 揚雄 words 置城郭都護三十六國 (...established Protector General for the thirty-six states of the walled towns) should mean "...established the Protector General and directed it to protect the thirty-six states of the walled towns". The similar formulation appears in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 100B: "Emperors Zhao 昭 and Xuan 宣 carried on the position, and the Protector General was established, which was in full charge of the walled towns, the thirty-six states in all"; and in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A: "...was sent to act as protector of thirty-six states in the Western Regions".
- [35] That there were "thirty-six states", a phrase used in a general sense, cannot be ascertained. For full particulars, see Ise, pp.21-35.
- [36] Cf. *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*, Zhang, W., and Zhou, Zh., pp. 178-180.
- [37] See Zhang, W.
- [38] Cf. *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*, Huang, W. (1989-4), pp. 375-384, and Zhang, W.
- [39] See *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* and Zhang, W.
- [40] On the theory of the first year of the Jingning 竟寧 reign-period, see Zhou Shouchang's 周壽昌 *Hanshuzhu Buzheng* 漢書注補正 (cited by *Hanshu Buzhu* 漢書補注). On the theory of the first year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period, see *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*.
- [41] Zhang, W., suggests it is not credible that Duan Huizong 段會宗, was first appointed Protector General "three years later, at the end of his term, he returned". This is because, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memor on Chen Tang 陳湯), Duan Huizong 段會宗 still is spoken of as the General Protector in the fourth year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. In the statement, "the General Protector of the Western Regions, Duan Huizong 段會宗, once found himself besieged by the Wusun 烏孫 soldiers" (in the Memor on Chen Tang 陳湯), Duan Huizong 段會宗 in the fourth year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period was given the title "Protector General" only because he previously had been the Protector General. This example is not unique. In other words, we should not doubt the record that Duan Huizong's 段會宗 term ended after three years. Cf. Yu, T. (1995), pp. 3-68.

- [42] Zhang, W., suggests that Duan Huizong 段會宗 was still the Protector General when he established Anri 安日 as Little *Kunmi* 昆彌. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. This is because Duan Huizong 段會宗 was still given the title “envoy” in the reference, but after the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣, the brief title of Protector General was no longer “envoy”.
- [43] Strictly speaking, the possibility that the term of Lian Bao 廉褒 as Protector General was from the second year of the Heping 河平 reign-period to the first year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period cannot be ruled out. This is because we cannot know exactly the date that Rier 日貳 was killed.
- [44] Wang, M., and Wang, B., pp. 101-103, suggest that the Protector General between Lian Bao 廉褒 and Han Li 韓立 was Duan Huizong 段會宗. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. There is a special memoir devoted to Duan Huizong 段會宗 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, in which it must have been recorded if Duan Huizong 段會宗 really had been appointed three times as Protector General. In addition, if we do not suppose that Duan Huizong 段會宗 was appointed Protector General three times, there would not be any unexplainable problems. Cf. Yu, T. (1995), pp. 3-68.
- [45] In the “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, the statement that Guo Shun 郭舜 submitted a number of reports to the emperor is recorded under the second year of the *Yuanyan* 元延 reign-period. In my opinion, this is incorrect. The Protector General of the Western Regions in the second year of the *Yuanyan* 元延 reign-period was Sun Jian 孫建.
- [46] Cf. Zhang, W.
- [47] The following gives the views of Huang, W. (1989-4), pp. 375-384 and Zhang, W., which are given for reference.
- [48] Regarding the date that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was relieved of his post, Huang 黃 considers it to be the first year of the *Huanglong* 黃龍 reign-period (B.C. 49). Zhang 張 considers it to be the fourth year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 50) or the first year of the *Huanglong* 黃龍 reign-period (B.C. 49).
- [49] According to Huang’s 黃 theory, it was from the first year to the third year of the *Chuyuan* 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (B.C. 48-46). According to Zhang’s 張 theory, it was from the first year of the *Huanglong* 黃龍 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 to the second or third year of the *Chuyuan* 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (B.C. 49-47/46).
- [50] According to Huang’s 黃 theory, there should be three Protector Generals, whose names were unknown, between the fourth year of the *Chuyuan* 初元 reign-period and the second year of the *Jianzhao* 建昭 reign-period (B.C. 45-37). Zhang’s 張 theory is roughly the same.
- [51] According to Huang’s 黃 theory, this was from the third year to the fifth year of the *Jianzhao* 建昭 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (B.C. 37-34). According to Zhang’s 張 theory, this was from the third year of the *Jianzhao* 建昭 reign-period to the fifth year of the *Jianzhao* 建昭 reign-period or the first year of the *Jingning* 竟寧 reign-period (B.C. 36-34/33).
- [52] According to Huang’s 黃 theory, this was from the first year of the *Jingning* 竟寧 reign-period

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- to the second year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 33-31). According to Zhang's 張 theory, it was from the first year of the Jingning 竟寧 reign-period to the fourth year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 33-29).
- [53] According to Huang's 黃 theory, this was from the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period to the first year of the Heping 河平 reign-period (B.C. 30-28). According to Zhang's 張 theory, this was from the first year to the third or fourth year of the Heping 河平 reign-period (B.C. 28-26/25).
- [54] According to Huang's 黃 theory, there should be a Protector General, whose name is unknown, between the second and fourth year of the Heping 河平 reign-period (B.C. 27-25). According to Zhang's 張 theory, the ninth Protector General was Han Li 韓立, whose term was from the fourth year of the Heping 河平 reign-period or the first year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period to the third year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period (B.C. 25/24-22).
- [55] According to Huang's 黃 theory, this was the first year to the third year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period (B.C. 24-22). In addition, according to Huang's 黃 theory, there were nine Protector Generals between the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (B.C. 48) to the third year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 22); according to Zhang's 張 theory, there were eight Protector Generals between the first year of the *Huanglong* 黃龍 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 49) to the third year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 22).
- [56] On the second term of Duan Huizong 段會宗 as Protector General, according to Huang's 黃 theory, it was from the fourth year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period to the first or second year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉 reign-period (B.C. 21-19). According to Zhang's 張 theory, it was from the third or fourth year of the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period to the first or second year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉 reign-period (B.C. 22/21-20/19).
- [57] According to Huang's 黃 theory, there were two Protector Generals, whose names are unknown, between the third year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉 reign-period (B.C. 22) and the fourth year of the Yongshi 永始 reign-period (B.C. 13). According to Zhang's 張 theory, there were two Protector Generals between the third year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉 reign-period (B.C. 18) and the middle of the Yongshi 永始 reign-period (B.C. 15/14). Of them one was Guo Shun 郭舜, whose term was during the Yongshi 永始 reign-period (B.C. 16-13).
- [58] According to Huang's 黃 theory, the fourteenth Protector General was Guo Shun 郭舜, whose term was from the first year to the third year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period (B.C. 12-10). According to Zhang's 張 theory, the term of Sun Jian 孫建 was from the second year to the fourth year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period (B.C. 11-9). Following Zhang's 張 theory, it seems there was a Protector General, whose name is unknown, between the end of the Yongshi 永始 reign-period (B.C. 14/13) to the beginning of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period (B.C. 12/11). So it is possible that Sun Jian 孫建 was the fourteenth Protector General.

- [59] According to Huang's 黃 theory, there were three Protector Generals, whose names have been lost, between the fourth year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 9) to the second year of the Yuanshou 元壽 reign-period of Emperor Ai 哀 (B.C. 1). According to Zhang's 張 theory, there were three Protector Generals, whose names have been lost, between the first year of the Suihe 綏和 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 8) to the first year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period of Emperor Ping 平 (A.D. 1).
- [60] According to Huang's 黃 theory, the Protector General between the first and third year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period of Emperor Ping 平 (A.D. 1-3) was Sun Jian 孫建, that between the fourth year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period and the fifth year of the Shijianguo 始建國 reign-period of Wang Mang 王莽 (A.D. 4-13) was Dan Qin 但欽. According to Zhang's 張 theory, the Protector General between the second year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period and the fifth year of the Shijianguo 始建國 reign-period of Wang Mang 王莽 (A.D. 2-13) was Dan Qin 但欽. In my opinion, the theories of both Huang 黃 and Zhang 張 are inadequate. According to Huang's 黃 theory, there would be twenty Protector Generals in all from the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣 to the reign of Wang Mang 王莽. Since no one was appointed more than once, except Duan Huizong 段會宗, there would be nineteen Protector Generals in all, which is not identical with the record concerned. In addition, there is no evidence to confirm that Sun Jian 孫建 was the Protector General during the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period. Zhang 張 considers that Dan Qin 但欽 was appointed as Protector General in the second year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period (A.D. 2), only because the event concerning Tangdou 唐兜 is noted under the item of the second year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period (A.D. 2) in the "Hanji 漢紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑. However, even if the record of the *Tongjian* 通鑑 was formed on the basis of fact, it shows only that Dan Qin 但欽 had already been the Protector General in the second year of the Yuanshi 元始 (A.D. 2) reign-period at the most, but it does not show that Dan Qin 但欽 was appointed Protector General in that year.
- [61] Huang and Zhang hold identical views by and large. 【黃、張說略同。】
- [62] According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the seventeenth year of the Jianwu 建武 reign-period, Emperor Guangwu 光武 gave Xian 賢, the king of Suoju 莎車, "the seal and ribbons for the Protector General of the Western Regions and sent carriages, flags, real gold, silk". The Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Pei Zun 裴遵, submitted a report to the emperor, saying that it was inappropriate to make such a decision.
- [63] Cf. Ma (1990-1).
- [64] Cf. Ma (1990-2).
- [65] Cf. Ma (1990-3).

Chapter 5  
**ON THE WUJI COLONEL  
IN WESTERN AND EASTERN HAN TIMES**

A

Following the statement that Emperor Xuan 宣 established the Protector General, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, goes on to say that “In the time of Emperor Yuan 元 the additional post of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established, to set up agricultural colonies at the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師”. From this, it can be seen that the main aim of the establishment of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was to set up agricultural colonies at the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師, i.e., the town of Jiaohe 交河.

The Western and Eastern Han 漢 Dynasties set up agricultural colonies at Jushi 車師 starting from the fourth year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 66). At the time Jushi 車師 was not yet divided into the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 and state of Further Jushi 車師. However, if we examine the situation, we can determine that the location of the agricultural colonies must have been at the town of Jiaohe 交河, in which afterwards the royal court of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 was established.<sup>[1]</sup> In the second year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64),<sup>[2]</sup> Han 漢 abandoned the agricultural colonies at Jushi 車師 and moved the people of Jushi 車師 to Quli 渠犂, because the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent their cavalry to fight for Jushi 車師, and thereupon the town of Jiaohe 交河 and the surrounding area were occupied by the Xiongnu 匈奴.<sup>[3]</sup> In the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 60), the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrendered to the Han 漢, and the Protector General of the Western Regions, Zheng Ji 鄭吉, attacked and conquered Jushi 車師 and moved a part of the agricultural colonies at Quli 渠犂 to Northern Xujian 胥鞬, north of the Bogdo ola range. However, we are not told that the agricultural colonies were set up at the town of Jiaohe 交河 at the time. This shows that the agricultural colonies at the town of Jiaohe 交河 were recovered when the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established. This is the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (B.C. 48), as noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A.

The Han 漢 moved the agricultural colonies at Quli 渠犂 to Northern Xujian 胥鞬 in the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period. After this statement, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, goes on to say that “The colonel of the agricultural colonies was subordinated to the Protector General”. If the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel that was established to set up agricultural colonies at Jushi 車師 was subordinated to the Protector General,

there is no clear record of it in the historical works, but the possibility cannot be ruled out. It has been suggested that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was directly affiliated with the central authorities and was not subordinated to the Protector General. The reason for this theory is that two Protector Generals of the Western Regions, Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 and Duan Huizong 段會宗, were demoted because they called out the forces of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel on the pretext of accepting the imperial edict. From this, we know that the forces of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel could not be called out without an imperial edict.<sup>[4]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

The fact that the Protector General could not call out the troops under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel without authorization does not show that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was directly affiliated to the central authorities. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, the duty of the Protector General was to keep under observation the activities of the various states in the Western Regions, and “when 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”. Peaceful settlement or launching an attack, the imperial court had the final say. Both Gan 甘 and Duan 段 were demoted because each called up the forces on the pretext of accepting the imperial edict. The forces of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel from the beginning could not be called up without authorization. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯), “[Chen] Tang [陳] 湯 called out the forces from the states of the walled towns and officers and soldiers under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel at Jushi 車師 on the pretext of accepting the imperial edict”. From this, we know that he had committed an offense not only because he called up the forces under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, but also because he mobilized the forces of the walled towns without an imperial edict, despite the fact that the latter were subordinated to the Protector General.

On the other hand, on the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, we know that the *uji* 戊己 Colonel, Diao Hu 刀護, heard that the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師, Xuzhili 須置離 “wished to escape to the Xiongnu 匈奴”, thus “he summoned [Xu]zhili [須]置離 and interrogated him to obtain proof. In his statement he made a confession, and he was then bound and delivered to the city of Lielou 埒婁, where Dan Qin 但欽, the Protector General, happened to be”. The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel might have to follow the Protector General of the Western Regions.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, the Eastern Han 漢 first established the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel in the seventeenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (A.D. 74). On the relationship between the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and the Protector General of the Western Regions, there is no clear record.

After Ban Yong 班勇, in fact especially during the reign of Emperor Ling 靈, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, like the Chief Official of the Western Regions, had to follow the



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Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌. With the increase in power of the Provincial Governor, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel or Chief Official of the Western Regions became subordinate to Governor of Liang 涼 Province.<sup>[5]</sup> In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 14, it is recorded that “The province of Liang 涼 was divided from [Yong 雍 Province] in Wei 魏 times, the Provincial Governor holding concurrently the title of *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel to protect the Western Regions, as had happened earlier, in the Han 漢 Dynasty. This situation remained unchanged until the Jin 晉 Dynasty”. The “Han 漢 Dynasty” here refers to the later period of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty.

## B

The station of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, which was established in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period, was the town of Jiaohe 交河, the royal court of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師.<sup>[6]</sup> It appears that the site of the station did not change throughout the reign of Emperor Yuan 元. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯), cited above, the colonel was mentioned as “*Wuji* 戊己 Colonel at Jushi 車師”, which can be taken as evidence.

During the reign of Emperor Cheng 成, an event in which the “Han 漢 moved the *Ji* 己 Colonel” took place. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, says:

At the death of Wujiutu 烏就屠, the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, his son Fuli 拊離 took his place. He was killed by his younger brother Rier 日貳, and envoys sent by the Han 漢 established Fuli’s 拊離 son Anri 安日 as Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌. Rier fled and entrusted himself to Kangju 康居. The Han 漢 moved the *Ji* 己 Colonel to garrison Gumo 姑墨, so as to look for a favorable opportunity for attack. Anri sent Gumoni 姑莫匿 and two other noblemen, who were to make a pretence of deserting to Rier 日貳 in order to stab him to death; and Lian Bao 廉褒, the Protector General, presented Gumoni 姑莫匿 and the others each with twenty catties of gold and three hundred rolls of silk.

Since the event took place during the term of Lian Bao 廉褒 as Protector General, the date at which the *Ji* 己 Colonel was moved must be between the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period (B.C. 30) and the second year of the Heping 河平 reign-period (B.C. 27) of Emperor Cheng 成.<sup>[7]</sup> In a Han 漢 wooden document that was unearthed from Maquanwan 馬圈灣, Dunhuang 敦煌, it is recorded:

Chong’s 崇 home was at Anding 安定. Chong’s 崇 father, in his capacity as

a Gentleman in Attendance, according to an imperial edict, was appointed the general to set up agricultural colonies at Gu[mo] 姑[墨], during the first year of the *Heping* 河平 reign-period.<sup>[8]</sup>

崇家在安定崇父以河平元年中爲侍郎以詔除爲將田姑 [ 墨 ] ( T75 : 156 )  
[8]

Based on this, it has been suggested that the exact date that the *Ji* 己 Colonel was moved must be the first year of the *Heping* 河平 reign-period.<sup>[9]</sup> In addition, according to a Han 漢 wooden document that was unearthed from the Lob Nor,

In the fourth year of the *Heping* 河平 reign-period, in the eleventh month, whose first day was *gengxu* 庚戌, on the day *xinyou* 辛酉, ...guarded the storehouse of Juluzi 居盧訾. The *Wu* 戊 Colonel at Jushi 車師.... (No. 15)

河平四年十一月庚戌朔辛酉 守居盧訾倉車師戊校 ( 簡一五 )

Based on the place name “the fortress of Jiaohe 交河” noted in a Han 漢 wooden document that was unearthed from the same site (No. 14), we know that in the fourth year of the *Heping* 河平 reign-period (B.C.), the *Wu* 戊 Colonel was stationed at the town of Jiaohe 交河,<sup>[10]</sup> from which the *Ji* 己 Colonel had been moved.

It has been suggested that the *Ji* 己 Colonel was moved from Qiuci 龜茲. This is because there is a record in the “Heshui 河水 2” chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注:

The river [the Eastern Qiuci 龜茲 River] flows further southeastward and joins with a branch of the Western [Qiuci 龜茲] River on the right. This branch has two sources, which both come from the Western [Qiuci 龜茲] River. They flow eastward, pass south of the town of Qiuci 龜茲, and then join to form the branch. There was a ruined town between the streams, in which the colonel set up the guards for the agricultural colonies.

From this, it can be seen that the *Ji* 己 Colonel was stationed at “the ruined town”. If this is true, the *Ji* 己 Colonel was moved to Gumo 姑墨 from “the ruined town” in the first year of the *Heping* 河平 reign-period.<sup>[11]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. There is no record that the *Ji* 己 Colonel was stationed at Qiuci 龜茲 in any of the historical literature, and “the ruined town” noted in the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注 did not necessarily have anything to do with the *Ji* 己 Colonel.

That both the “*Ji* 己 Colonel” and the “*Wu* 戊 Colonel” are noted in the historical literature and the excavated wooden documents shows that the *Wu* 戊 Colonel and the *Ji*

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己 Colonel were established under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel as late as the date that Emperor Cheng 成 ascended the throne. It was the *Ji* 己 Colonel who was moved to Gumo 姑墨 for a time, but the site of the government of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was still at the town of Jiaohe 交河.

As late as the period at which Emperor Ping 平 ascended the throne, the site of government of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was moved to the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 from the fortress of Jiaohe 交河. This is because the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, records that “During the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period (B.C. 1-5)”, Xu Pu 徐普, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, wanted to open up the new route, in order “to avoid the obstacle of the White Dragon Mounds”. He summoned Gugou 姑句, the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師, “to have him certify the action, but he was unwilling to do so and [Xu Pu 徐普] had him apprehended”. Gugou 姑句 was afraid that he would be “under detention for a long time and would surely die”. He “immediately broke out on horseback from the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 and made his way to the Xiongnu 匈奴”. This shows that the site of the government of Xu Pu 徐普 was already at the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 at that time.  
[12]

When the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty first established the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 19 (Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭), “[Geng] Gong [耿]恭 was appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and stationed at the town of Jinpu 金蒲 in the tribe of the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師. The Internuncio, Guan Chong 關寵, was appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and stationed at the town of Liuzhong 柳中 in the tribe of the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師”. The positions established at that time were in fact the *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己 Colonel (of which more later). The *Wu* 戊 Colonel was stationed at the town of Jinpu 金蒲 and the *Ji* 己 Colonel at the town of Liuzhong 柳中.

In the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 91), according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, “The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was again appointed, and the latter led 500 soldiers to be stationed at the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 in the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師. The Captain of the *Wu* 戊 Division also was established, stationed at the town of the Captain in the tribe of Further Jushi 車師. There was a distance of 500 *li* 里 between the two places”. This seems to show that the *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己 Colonel were no longer established, and the old system of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty had been recovered. The site of government of the colonel was located at the fortress of Gaochang 高昌, just as in the later period of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty. “The Captaincy of the *Wu* 戊 Division” must have been a position representing the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. A Captaincy would have gone ahead of the soldiers of a colonel to set up agricultural colonies at the Town of the Captain in the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, a

situation quite similar to that in which Emperor Cheng 成 “moved the *Ji* 己 Colonel to garrison Gumo 姑墨” during the early years of the Heping 河平 reign-period.

When Emperor An 安 abolished the post of Protector General, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel must also have been abandoned. We cannot know exactly when it was reinstated, but it must be after the second year of the Yanguang 延光 reign-period (A.D. 123). In this year, the Eastern Han 漢 appointed Ban Yong 班勇 as Chief Official of the Western Regions, sending him to set up an agricultural colony at Liuzhong 柳中 and reopen the management of the Western Regions. It is possible that, after this, the site of the government of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was still at the fortress of Gaochang 高昌. Han Yin’s 闕駟 *Shisanzhouzhi* 十三州志 says that “the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 was subordinated to Dunhuang 敦煌 in earlier times”. The “earlier times” must refer to the later period of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty. It may be that the reason the site of the government of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was considered to be “subordinated to Dunhuang 敦煌” was that it took orders from the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 during the reigns of Emperor Huan 桓 and Ling 靈.

## C

Opinions vary on the meaning of “*Wuji* 戊己”. The earlier theories follow:

1 Ying Shao’s 應劭 *Han Guanyi* 漢官儀 says that “The position of *Wuji* 戊己 is at the center and thus it can control and cover the four directions. In addition, [the colonel] dug canals and grew crops by sowing seeds, in order to control [the Xiongnu 匈奴]. For these reasons, it was given the name “*Wuji* 戊己” (cited in Li’s 李 commentary on the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88).

2 Yan’s 顏 commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, says that “*Jiayi* 甲乙, *bingding* 丙丁, *gengxin* 庚辛 and *rengui* 壬癸 all have their regular positions, but only *wuji* 戊己 is entrusted. Since the colonel did not have a regular site of government, he was given the name *Wuji* 戊己.... Some suggest that *wuji* 戊己 represents ‘center’, and controls and covers four directions. The Colonel thus established also was located at the center of the Western Regions to support the various states”.<sup>[13]</sup>

Recent scholars developed the two theories above and also formed these three additional theories: “[the site of the government of the Colonel] was at the center”, “it is in order to control [the Xiongnu 匈奴] by the five elements produce or subdue one another”, “[the seat of government of the colonel] to be entrusted”, and still others.

The theory that “[the site of the government of the Colonel] was at the center” can further be divided into three: “it was at the center of the Western Regions”,<sup>[14]</sup> “it was at the center of the agricultural colonies”,<sup>[15]</sup> and “the colonel was directly affiliated to the

central authorities”.<sup>[16]</sup>

The theory that the name comes from the idea that “[the site of the government of the Colonel] was at the center” does not offer an acceptable explanation.<sup>[17]</sup> If the colonel was given the name “*Wuji* 戊己” because *wuji* 戊己 can be considered to denote the center, then there should be official positions which were given names such as “*Jiayi* 甲乙”. This is because *jiayi* 甲乙 and others can be considered to match the four directions. But only the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established, which shows that the meaning of “*Wuji* 戊己” had nothing to do with “center”.

In fact, since the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, says that “The Protector General had his seat in the town of Wulei 烏壘... The land was fertile and the location was at the center of the Western Regions; for these reasons the Protector General had his seat there”, we cannot believe the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel also was at the center of the Western Regions. The reason “it was at the center of the agricultural colonies” also is stretching the truth a bit. Why must the site of the Colonel’s government have been at the agricultural colonies? As for the theory that “the colonel was directly affiliated to central authorities”, as mentioned above, there is no supporting evidence.

This theory -- “[the seat of government of the colonel] to be entrusted” -- is also inadequate.<sup>[18]</sup> The Han 漢 officials that were established in the Western Regions were not limited to the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. Why was only the colonel, who set up the agricultural colonies at Jushi 車師, given the name “*Wuji* 戊己”? Since the successive colonels each had a fixed site of government, it cannot be that the office “did not have a regular site of government”.<sup>[19]</sup>

In fact, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established for the agricultural colonies, and its precursor was the Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison, so it must have had something to do with agricultural colonies. “*Wuji* 戊己 represented earth, and agricultural colonies put cultivated land first”.<sup>[20]</sup> The reason the “Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison” was renamed “*Wuji* 戊己 Colonel” was obviously in order to signify control of [the Xiongnu 匈奴], referring to the idea that the five elements produce or subdue one another: “*Wuji* 戊己 represented earth, and earth produces metal but subdues water. The Western Regions, which were located in the West, represented metal, the Xiongnu 匈奴, who lived in the North, represented water”.<sup>[21]</sup> The Colonel resisted the Xiongnu 匈奴 and pacified the Western Regions by setting up agricultural colonies. For these reasons it was given the name “*Wuji* 戊己”.<sup>[22]</sup>

## D

One source suggests that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel had the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs,<sup>[23]</sup> and the other, that it had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs.<sup>[24]</sup> Both are based on a record in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A; it is merely that their explanations are not identical.

The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period. The Colonel under whom [there were the following officials:] one Assistant, one Major, and five Captains, had the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs.

This is the interpretation of the scholars who hold the theory that the “*Wuji* 戊己 Colonel had the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs”.

The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established in the first year of the *Chuyuan* 初元 reign-period. [There are the following officials:] one Assistant, one Major, and five Captains, who all had the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs.

This must be the interpretation of the scholars who hold the theory the “*Wuji* 戊己 Colonel had a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs”. This is because, according to “the Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, “Under an officer who had a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs there is one Assistant, who had a rank equivalent to 600 piculs”. Since there was one Assistant, who had a rank equivalent to 600 piculs, the Colonel himself must have had a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs.

The two theories are at a draw, because these scholars do not offer further proof. Therefore I will try to discuss this problem from another point of view.

The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonels whose activities can be traced in Western and Eastern Han 漢 times can be named as follows: Xu Pu 徐普 served in the reign of Emperor Ping 平 in Western Han 漢, Diao Hu 刀護 and Guo Qin 郭欽 in the reign of Wang Mang 王莽, Geng Gong 耿恭 and Guan Chong 關寵 in the reign of Emperor Ming 明, Suo Yun 索頽 and Ren Shang 任尚 in the reign of Emperor Huan 桓, and Dong Zhuo 董卓 in the reign of Emperor Ling 靈 in Eastern Han 漢 times.<sup>[25]</sup> Of these, there were only four men, Geng Gong 耿恭, Guan Chong 關寵, Ren Shang 任尚 and Dong Zhuo 董卓, whose official positions before they had been appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel are recorded.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 19 (Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭), Geng Gong 耿恭 had been the Major under the Commandant of Cavalry, Liu Zhang 劉張. According to “the Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, the Commandant of Cavalry had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs, thus its Major might have the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs.<sup>[26]</sup> Guan Chong 關寵 had been the

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Internuncio before he was the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. According to “the Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, Internuncio of Attendant-in-Ordinary had the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs.

We cannot know the exact date that Ren Shang 任尚 was the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel in the eighth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 was Suo Yun 索頽. And according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), replacing Ban Chao 班超, Ren Shang 任尚 was the Protector General in his capacity as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel in the fourteenth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 89, Ren Shang 任尚 was the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace in the fourth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period. According to “the Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace “had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs”.

Dong Zhuo 董卓, according to the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 6 (Memoir on Dong Zhuo 董卓), had been the Northern Divisional Commandant of the Shu 蜀 Prefecture before he was the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. According to the “Treatise on Prefectures and States E” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, “the dependency of Guanghan 廣漢, which was originally the Northern Divisional Commandant, was subordinated to the Prefecture of Guanghan 廣漢. The post of Dependency Commandant was established in the reign of Emperor An 安”. According to the “Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, “a Commandant, which was established in each Dependency, had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs”. In addition, after Dong Zhuo 董卓 had been appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, he was recalled to assume the position of Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace in the first year of the Zhongping 中平 reign-period (A.D. 184).

From this, it can be seen that, of those who assumed the title *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, there were both lower officers who had the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs and higher officers who had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs. It seems it is difficult to know the rank of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. However, if we consider that the positions of Geng Gong 耿恭 and Guan Chong 關寵 in fact were not that of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, but were the *Wu* 戊 Colonel and *Ji* 己 Colonel, it would be clear that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs and not the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs.<sup>[27]</sup>

Besides Assistant, Major, and Captain, there was “the aide for the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel”. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94B, are mentioned “The aides for the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, Chen Liang 陳良 and Zhong Dai 終帶, the Assistant for Major<sup>[28]</sup> Han Xuan 韓玄, the Army Captain of one of the Brigades of the Right, and others”. This can be taken as evidence. It has been suggested that “aide” must have been the secondary

position of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. It seems that because this is an extraordinary official position, only established when necessary, and there is the related record in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19.<sup>[29]</sup>

It has been suggested that, according to the Han 漢 system, there was a Chief Official with Special Powers under the Colonel of Protecting the Qiang 羌. However, there was no Chief Official under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. This is because both the Colonel of Protecting the Wuhuan 烏桓 and the Colonel of Protecting the Qiang 羌 had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs, under which there might be a subordinate who had the rank of 600 piculs. Of the officials of the Western Regions, only the Protector General and the Deputy Colonel had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs. Their subordinate, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, had the rank of 600 piculs, as did the Chief Official. Therefore, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was given the title Chief Official in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書.<sup>[30]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs, and not 600 piculs. Its “Side” should have had the rank of 600 piculs, like the Chief Official under the Colonel of Protecting the Wuhuan 烏桓 or Qiang 羌. “史 (Side)” may be an abbreviation for “長史 (Chief Official)”. In addition, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was never entitled “Chief Official” in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書. In the book, ch. 88, it is recorded that in the fourth year of the *Xiping* 熹平 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (A.D. 175), “The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and the Chief Official of the Western Regions sent out their forces to assist to establish the Jumi 拘彌 king’s son Dingxing 定興, who had been attending at court, as king”. This can be taken as evidence.

It has been suggested that, the subordinates under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel included the Clerk.<sup>[31]</sup> The foundation of this theory is the Han 漢 wooden documents unearthed from the ruins of the beacon towers at Lob Nor (No. 5, 6). However, it is difficult to judge if the records on these wooden documents had something to do with the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. We note it here for the time being.

## E

When the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, records that Emperor Yuan 元 established the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel at the royal court of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, it appears that there was only a colonel. There is no record showing that the colonel had two men in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19. However, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that “Emperor Yuan 元 also established the two Colonels of *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己 to set up agricultural colonies at the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師”. It is quite possible that, on the basis of this record, Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 commentaries on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch.



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19A, say that “There was the *Wu* 戊 Colonel, and there was the *Ji* 己 Colonel”. In my opinion, the concerned record of the *Hanshu* 漢書 is not enough overall; that of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 is incorrect; Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 commentary is also not careful enough. In normal cases, there should be three colonels: the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, the *Wu* 戊 Colonel and the *Ji* 己 Colonel. Both the *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己 Colonels were subordinates of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel.

1 According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, during the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣, Han 漢 sent the Gentleman in Attendance Zheng Ji 鄭吉 and the Colonel Sima Xi 司馬熹 to be stationed in the Western Regions to set up agricultural colonies first at Quli 渠犂, and then Jushi 車師, and “all [forces] under the three colonels were set to work at the military colonies”. It is quite possible that Colonel Sima Xi 司馬熹 was in charge of the military colonies at the time. Sima Xi 司馬熹 himself was one of the three colonels, and the other two colonels took orders from him. The colonel that Sima Xi 司馬熹 was then can be taken as precursor of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel established by Emperor Yuan 元. The other two colonels were the precursors of the *Wu* 戊 Colonel and *Ji* 己 Colonel.

The system in which the three colonels were in charge of the military colonies did not begin in the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣. According to *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, at the end of the reign of Emperor Wu 武, Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 had already suggested that “conscripts detailed for work in agricultural colonies should be sent to old Luntai 輪臺 and the area east and that a complement of three colonels should be established with divided responsibilities for the supervision of the area”. After that, Emperor Zhao 昭 “thereupon adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊, and appointed Laidan 賴丹, heir apparent of Wumi 扞彌, as a colonel to lead a force to work the land at Luntai 賴丹”. Since the emperor adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊, there must have been three colonels to work the land at Luntai 輪臺. The other two colonels took orders from Laidan 賴丹.

The numbers of the officials and soldiers who set up the agricultural colonies when Emperor Yuan 元 established the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period were identical with that when “all [forces] under the three colonels were set to work at the military colonies” in the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣.<sup>[32]</sup> Therefore, there must have been three Colonels established in the reign of Emperor Yuan 元. Besides the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, there were the *Wu* 戊 Colonel and the *Ji* 己 Colonel. The latter two took orders from the former.

It has been suggested that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel established by Emperor Yuan 元 was in fact the two Colonels of *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯), in the third year of the Jianzhao 建昭 reign-period

(B.C. 36), Chen Tang 陳湯 attacked Zhizhi 郅支, and “led their troops and divided them into six *xiao* 校 (divisions)”. Based on this text, we know that, the three *xiao* 校 were “Demonstrated Might”, “White Tiger” and “Combined Cavalry”, and the other three *xiao* 校 were obviously the Deputy Colonel, *Wu* 戊 Colonel and *Ji* 己 Colonel. From this it can be seen that Emperor Yuan 元 established the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel on the plan established by Emperor Xuan 宣.<sup>[33]</sup>

In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. It is quite possible that three of the six *xiao* 校 were formed from the officials and soldiers who set up the agricultural colonies under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. If the agricultural colonies of the Western Regions during the reign of Emperor Yuan 元 were arranged according to the plan of Emperor Xuan 宣, then it would be possible that the three of them were led by the *Wuji* 戊己, *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己 Colonels. The evidence that the Deputy Colonel, as a secondary position under the Protector General, led one of the three *xiao* 校 is lacking. Sima Xi 司馬熹, as Colonel, probably was in charge of the agricultural colonies. He was not the secondary position for Zheng Ji 鄭吉. Based on the Han 漢 wooden documents unearthed from Juyan 居延, we know that the secondary position for Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was the Deputy Major of the Guards Fu Chang 富昌.<sup>[34]</sup> Fu Chang 富昌 was entitled the Deputy Major of the Guards because the principal official of the Protector General Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was the Major of the Guards.<sup>[35]</sup>

It has been also suggested that “The Left Division” and “the Right Division” noted in the Han 漢 wooden documents unearthed from the Lob Nor (No. 2, 4, 5 and others) must have been the *Wu* 戊 Division and the *Ji* 己 Division (*Wu Xiao* 戊校 and *Ji Xiao* 己校). “Yongguang 永光” noted in a wooden document (No. 4) was a title of Emperor Yuan’s 元 reign in Western Han 漢 times. “The second month, whose first day is *gengshuo* 庚朔” is noted in this wooden document, using to the long almanac, we can calculate this was in the fourth year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period. This also shows that *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel established by Emperor Yuan 元 was in fact the *Wu* 戊 Colonel and *Ji* 己 Colonel.<sup>[36]</sup>

In my opinion, this theory is also inadequate. If those cases noted in the wooden documents have something to do with the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, their evidence awaits further consideration. Even if those who were divided into the Left and Right Division were the officials and soldiers for work in agricultural colonies, it is quite possible they were all subordinated to the *Wu* 戊 or *Ji* 己 Colonel, who were under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel.

2 The above-mentioned records noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, and the Han 漢 wooden documents unearthed from the Lob Nor show that the *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己 Divisions indeed were established during the Heping 河平 reign-period. Since there were the *Wu* 戊 Division and the *Ji* 己 Division, there should be the *Wu* 戊 Colonel

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and the *Ji* 己 Colonel. As mentioned above, the fact that the *Wu* 戊 Colonel and the *Ji* 己 Colonel were established did not mean that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was not established. It has been suggested that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel might have led the *Wu* 戊 Colonel to guard the royal court of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, and ordered its Major to lead the *Ji* 己 Division to guard at Gumo 姑墨. There was thus no Colonel in the *Ji* 己 Division. In other words, even though there were the *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己 Divisions, there were not necessarily the *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己 Colonels.<sup>[37]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate, because it is not consistent with the usual system employed in Western Han 漢 times.

3 The two *Wuji* 戊己 Colonels who were established in the seventeenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period in Eastern Han 漢 times (A.D. 74), were in fact the *Wu* 戊 Colonel and the *Ji* 己 Colonel. The statement “[Geng] Gong [耿]恭 was appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel” in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 19 (Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭), was noted as “Guan Chong 關寵 was appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel” in a copy of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 that Liu Ban 劉放 had seen. And the statement “Guan Chong 關寵 was appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel” in the same memoir is noted as “Guan Chong 關寵 was appointed as *Ji* 己 Colonel” in a copy of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書. Thinking of the official positions before Geng Gong 耿恭 and Guan Cong 關寵 had been appointed as the colonels, we know that only the *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己 colonels were established at the time.<sup>[38]</sup> The system by which the three colonels were in charge of the agricultural colonies since Emperor Wu 武 of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty had changed by that time.

4 The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, records that “the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was again appointed” in the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (A.D. 91). This means that the original system of the Western Han 漢 had been reestablished. Based on the following statement, “The Captain of *Wu* 戊 Division also was established, stationed at the town of Captain in the Tribe of Further Jushi 車師”, some suggest that the Eastern Han 漢 had established the *Wu* 戊 Colonel only since the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (A.D. 91). The character “*Ji* 己” in the statement “the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was again appointed” is thus a redundancy due to miscopying.<sup>[39]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

First, it is quite possible that “the Captain of the *Wu* 戊 Division” was the abbreviation for “the Captain of the *Wuji* 戊己 Division”.<sup>[40]</sup> “The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel” Guo Qin 郭欽 seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Wang Mang 王莽), was noted as “the Colonel of the *Wu* 戊 Division” in the Han 漢 wooden documents unearthed from Maquanwan 馬圈灣, Dunhuang 敦煌 (T5: 73, 82, 95, 164).<sup>[41]</sup> There is no evidence to show that Guo Qin 郭欽 merely was the *Wu* 戊 Colonel, and not the

*Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, at the time.

Second, even if the so-called “Captain of the *Wu* 戊 Division” was subordinated to the *Wu* 戊 Colonel, how do we know that only the *Wu* 戊 Colonel had been established in the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (A.D. 91), and that the *Ji* 己 and *Wuji* 戊己 Colonels had not been established during the same period that the *Wu* 戊 Colonel had been established?

Third, drawing a step back, even if only the *Wu* 戊 Colonel or only the *Wu* 戊 Colonel and *Ji* 己 Colonel were established in the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (A.D. 91), how do we know that after this it also would be so? The rank of Ren Shang 任尚 before he was appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel may explain the problem.

5 According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, there were “the Captain of *Wu* 戊 Division Yan Hao 嚴皓” and “the *Wu* 戊 Colonel Yan Xiang 閻詳” during the Yongxing 永興 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 153-154). The Captain of the *Ji* 己 Division or the *Ji* 己 Colonel are not mentioned, but it is quite reasonable to consider that the *Ji* 己 Colonel or *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established at the time.

6 It has generally been suggested that “the Major of the *Wu* 戊 Division” Cao Quan 曹全 during the Jinning 建寧 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (A.D. 168-172) seen in the Cao Quan’s 曹全 inscription is “the Major for *Wuji* 戊己 [Colonel]” Cao Kuan 曹寬 seen in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88. His official title should follow the inscription.<sup>[42]</sup> In my opinion, “the *Wu* 戊 Division” must have been an abbreviation for “the *Wuji* 戊己 Division”. The old theory is inadequate.

It has been suggested that Cao Quan 曹全 and Cao Kuan 曹寬 cannot be identical. The former was the *Wu* 戊 Major and the latter was the *Ji* 己 Major. There were some errors and omissions in the memoir, which should be corrected to “*Wu* 戊 [Major Cao Quan 曹全], *Ji* 己 Major Cao Kuan 曹寬”.<sup>[43]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. Comparing the records concerned in Cao Quan’s 曹全 inscription and the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is reasonable to identify Cao Quan 曹全 with Cao Kuan 曹寬. According to the inscription, Cao Quan 曹全 “styled himself Jingwan 景完”. The character “wan 完” has an appearance and pronunciation similar to those of the character “kuan 寬”. The “Cao Kuan 曹寬” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 thus may be an omitted, erroneous “Cao Jinwan 景完”.

7 The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, records that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and the Chief Official of the Western Regions called up their forces to assist to establish the king of Jumi 拘彌. Based on this, the scholar above also suggests that the character “*ji* 己” of “*Wuji* 戊己 Colonel” in the memoir is a redundancy due to miscopying.<sup>[44]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is incorrect. It is beyond all doubt that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established in Eastern Han 漢 times.

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- [1] Cf. Yu, T. (1995), pp. 3-68.
- [2] Zhang, W., considers that it was in the fourth year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 62). In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. The events that are noted under the fourth year of the *Yuankang* 元康 (B.C. 62) by the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, were concerned mainly with the bringing of Wugui 烏貴, the king of Jushi 車師, to the palace. The “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 notes this event under the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64), which is quite correct.
- [3] In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that “The population of the state of Jushi 車師 was removed completely and ordered to live in Quli 渠犂, and the former lands of Jushi 車師 were then made over to the Xiongnu 匈奴.... Afterwards the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established to found military colonies and to settle in the former lands of Jushi 車師”. From this, we know that the place which was made over to the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64) was probably the town of Jiaohe 交河.
- [4] Huang, W. (1989-4).
- [5] Ma (1990-2).
- [6] Matsuda, pp. 73-74, suggests that the “the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師” in the statement “[the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel] was established to set up agricultural colonies at the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師” in *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, may be a textual error for “the state of Nearer Jushi 車師”, and the colonel established in the first year of the *Chuyuan* 初元 reign-period should be located at the fortress of Gaochang 高昌. In my opinion, Matsuda’s theory is inadequate.
- [7] Cf. Yu, T. (1995), pp. 3-68.
- [8] See Wu, p. 18.
- [9] See Wu, pp. 344-345.
- [10] Huang, W. (1989-4).
- [11] Huang, W. (1989-4).
- [12] Cf. Tang (1989-2).
- [13] Yan’s 顏 commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 9, says: “The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, which did not have a regular seat of government, pacified the Western Regions. However, *wu* 戊 and *ji* 己 were in the ascendant during different months of the four seasons (the third month for the spring, the sixth month for the summer, the ninth month for the autumn, and the twelfth month for the winter), not like *jia* 甲 or *yi* 乙, and so on which had their own fixed positions, therefore the Colonel was given the name *Wuji* 戊己. ...It has been suggested that *wuji* 戊己 is located in the center. Now the Colonel resides at the center of the thirty-six states [of the Western Regions], so is given the name of *Wuji* 戊己”, this is roughly the same theory.
- [14] Lin.

- [15] See *Lianghan Kanwu Buyi*. The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 60A (Memoir on Ma Rong 馬融), states that “To inspect troops or divisions: there are the garrisons in the front and behind; the formations are given the names of *Ji* 甲 and *Yi* 乙 [and so on], and *Wuji* 戊己 is the nucleus”. Li’s 李 commentary: “*Wuji* 戊己 is in the center and thus is the nucleus”. Based on Li’s 李 commentary, Wu 吳 suggests that besides the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, there were no garrisons of “front and behind” or “*Ji* 甲 and *Yi* 乙”. Therefore it was given the name “*Wuji* 戊己” only because “it was at the center of the agricultural colonies so as to work the land better”. However, since there were no “front and behind” or “*Ji* 甲, *Yi* 乙”, why was there “*Wuji* 戊己”? Wu’s theory is self-contradictory.
- [16] Huang, W. (1989-4).
- [17] Hu Sanxing’s 胡三省 commentary on the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, Zhang, W., and Lao all have criticized the theory that “[the site of government of the Colonel] was at the center”. Huang, W. (1989-4) also disagrees with the theory “[the site of government of the Colonel] was at the center of the Western Regions”.
- [18] Hu Sanxing’s 胡三省 commentary on the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒: “The land of Jushi 車師 was not located at the center of the thirty-six states, so we should follow the former theory of [Yan] Shigu [顏師古]. From this, we know that Hu Sanxing 胡三省 holds the theory “[the seat of government of the Colonel] to be entrusted”. In addition, Lao also holds this theory “[the seat of government of the Colonel] to be entrusted”, and considers that “The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, as a Han 漢 official, was established within the boundary of Jushi 車師, a state in the Western Regions, so was considered to be entrusted”.
- [19] All the scholars have criticized Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 theory that “the Colonel did not have a regular site of government”. We do not list their theories individually here.
- [20] Wang Yanbin’s 王彥賓 theory, cited by *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*.
- [21] For Xu Song’s 徐松 theory, see *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*. In addition, see Zhou Shouchang’s 周壽昌 theory, cited by *Hanshu Buzhu*: In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A (Memoir on the Xiongnu 匈奴), it is recorded that “The days *wu* 戊 and *ji* 己 are regarded as most auspicious”. Emperor Yuan 元 established the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel in order to control the Xiongnu 匈奴 and to protect the Western Regions. The Colonel was especially given the name “*Wuji* 戊己” because it was the name which was regarded as most auspicious by the Xiongnu 匈奴 to rule them. This is another kind of theory “in order to repress [the Xiongnu 匈奴] by the five elements that subdue one another”. Hou (1990-3) follows the Zhou’s 周 theory.
- [22] Cf. Zhang, W.
- [23] See Zhang, W., who suggests that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel had the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs, his Assistant or Major had the rank of equivalent to 300 piculs, and his Captain had the rank of 100 piculs.
- [24] See Huang, W. (1989-4), and Lao. Huang suggests that the Protector General was a subordinate of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and had a rank similar to the Deputy Colonel during the reign of

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- Emperor Ping 平. In my opinion, this theory is incorrect.
- [25] Dong Zhuo 董卓 was appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel after the fourth year of the Xiping 熹平 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (A.D. 175); see Tang (1989-2).
- [26] According to the “Treatise on Officials” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, there was a Major who had the rank of 1,000 piculs under each of the Colonel of Garrison Cavalry, the Colonel of Picked Cavalry, the Infantry Colonel, the Colonel of the Chang 長 River, and the Colonel of the Bowmen Shoot by Sound, which had the rank of equivalent to 2,000 piculs. However, from Li’s 李 commentary, which says that “The Major of the five camps did not prostrate himself holding their tablet [before the chest] when they paid a call on the Colonel”, we know it is impossible to claim that the Major for the Commandant of Cavalry had the rank of 1,000 piculs by analogy. The rank of Major for Commandant of Cavalry roughly corresponds to that of the Assistant to the Commandant of the boundary prefectures. The Commandant, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, “had a rank equivalent to 600 piculs 秩比六百石” (which is noted as “秩皆六百石 [all had the rank of 600 piculs]” in the original text, and was put right following the Lao Gan’s 勞幹 theory; see Lao).
- [27] According to the above-cited Han 漢 wooden documents unearthed from Maquanwan 馬圈灣, Dunhuang 敦煌, Chong’s 崇 father, in his capacity as a Palace Attendant, was appointed as general to set up agricultural colonies at Gumo 姑墨. According to the *Hansu* 漢書, ch. 19A, the Palace Attendant “had the rank of equivalent to 600 piculs”. We do not know if the fact that Chong’s 崇 father was appointed as general means he was the *Ji* 己 Colonel, but this possibility cannot be ruled out. Therefore, the case of Chong’s 崇 father can be further considered along with that of Geng Gong 耿恭 and Guan Chong 關寵 in Eastern Han 漢 times.
- [28] *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* suggests that “司馬丞 (Assistant to the Major)” may mean that a person was Assistant and Major concurrently.
- [29] On this theory, see Zhang, W.
- [30] On this theory, see *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*.
- [31] On this theory, see Huang, W. (1989-4).
- [32] Zhang, W. points out that the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, mentions the event in which Chen Liang 陳良 and others rebelled and killed Diao Hu 刁護, saying, “They forced over 2,000 officers, men and women [who had been in the charge or care] of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel to make their way to the Xiongnu 匈奴”. The “2,000 officers” included all the various personnel. The soldiers who worked the land numbered 1,500 men, equal to the number of the soldiers who worked the land at Quli 渠犂.
- [33] Huang, W. (1989-4).
- [34] A Han 漢 wooden document unearthed from Juyan 居延, mentions “In the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64), ... the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys

for Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉, the Major of the Guards Fu Chang 富昌”, and so on; see Xie, p. 192.

[35] Zheng Ji 鄭吉 was given the title Protector General in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 68); see the fourth chapter of this book.

[36] Huang, W. (1989-4).

[37] Cf. Lao.

[38] Cf. *Houhanshu Jijie* and Lao.

[39] See *Donghanshu Kanwu*. Ma (1990-2) also holds this theory.

[40] Lao suggests that “戊部” means “戊校”, which is, generally speaking, correct. However, there is no harm in considering that sometimes “戊部” was used as an abbreviation for “戊己部”.

[41] See Wu, pp. 344-345.

[42] Both Lao and Ma (1990-2) suggest that this should follow the inscription. Based on this, Lao tries to show that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel in Eastern Han 漢 times divided into the two divisions of *Wu* 戊 and *Ji* 己.

[43] See *Gumozhai Jinshi Ba*.

[44] See *Donghanshu Kanwu*.



Chapter 6  
**ON LI BO'S DOCUMENTS**

Ever since “Li Bo’s 李柏 Documents” were discovered, researchers one after another have considered them. All the problems concerned have been touched upon, but the opinions regarding certain texts have not yet been reconciled.<sup>[1]</sup> Here I will offer my opinions about the nature, the date and the excavation site of the documents by examining the various suggestions.

A

“Li Bo’s 李柏 Documents” refers to the two letters of Li Bo 李柏, the Chief Official of the Western Regions in Earlier Liang 涼 times, which are basically complete from beginning to end, and thirty-nine fragments of memorials and other texts, whose content is related to the letters. The letters and fragments all were discovered by Tachibana Zuicho 橘瑞超 of the Otani 大谷 expedition to Lob Nor, Xinjiang 新疆, during March or April, 1909, and collected in the library of Ryukoku 龍谷 University. The serial numbers of the manuscripts of the two letters are 538A and 538B. The other fragments are No. 8001-8039.

The following is a translation of the characters in manuscript No. 538A:

In the fifth month, on the seventh day, the Chief Official of the Western Regions, the Marquis of Guannei 關內, [Li] Bo [李]柏, bows and bows. We have not met each other for a long time, and I have not given my regards, but I always bear you in mind. If we were not on intimate terms and miss each other, we would be forgotten. Now I have been sent by the Son of Heaven to bring greetings to the various states, and I have arrived at Haitou 海頭 on the second day of this month. Therefore, I have not known His Majesty’s circumstances. Now the weather is hot in all the settlements, but I believe everyone in your country has been well. Your envoys, both Zhao 招 and Gen 亘, have started out and have gone by the way of the territory of the northern savages with the Adjutant, Yan 嚴. I do not know if they have reached their destination. I have sent the envoy Futai 符太 to go to deliver the messages. I have to leave off now, though I still have much more to say. Li Bo 李柏 bows and bows.

五月七日西域長史關內侯

柏頓首々々闕久不知問常  
懷思想不知親相念  
便見忘也詔家見遣  
來慰勞諸國此月二日來到  
海頭未知王問邑々天熱  
想王國大小平安王使  
招亘俱共發從北虜中與  
嚴參事往不知到未今  
遣使符太往通消息  
書不盡意李柏頓  
首々々

The following translates the characters in 538B:  
538B 的文字如下：

In the fifth month, on the seventh day, (from Haitou 海頭) the Chief Official of the Western Regions, the Marquis [of Guannei 關內], (Li) Bo (李)柏, bows and bows. Since we parted... I always bear you in mind. Now I have come west as an envoy by decree of the Son of Heaven, and have arrived at Haitou 海頭 on the second day of this month. I do not know His Majesty's case, but I believe all has been well in your country. Your envoy, Huifuluo 迴復羅, has gone by the way "the territory of the northern savages" with the Adjutant, Yan 嚴, and I expect they have arrived. Now I send the [deputy] envoy Fuda 符大 to go to deliver the messages. I have to leave off now, though I still have much more to say. Li Bo 李柏 bows and bows.

五月七日(海頭)西域長史[關內]  
侯(李)柏頓首頓首別來  
恒不去心今奉臺使來西月  
二日到(此)海頭未知王消息想國中  
平安王使迴復羅從北虜  
中與嚴參事往想是到也  
今遣(相)使符大往相聞通  
知消息書不悉意李柏頓首頓  
首

The original manuscript has been damaged; from “頓首頓首 (bows and bows)” downward in the second line the characters that are written by scholars vary, so that here I have to choose which is best. <sup>[2]</sup>

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Of the fragments, the most important is No. 8036, from which the following is a translation of the characters:

To the Imperial Secretary, Your vassal, [Li] Bo [李]柏, [...presents this memorial, saying that the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Long 龍....

尚書

臣柏言焉耆王龍

From this, it can be seen that this is a fragment of a memorial that Li Bo 李柏 offered to Zhang Jun 張駿<sup>[3]</sup> in order to report something about the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Long 龍....<sup>[4]</sup> Most scholars thus consider that 538A and 538B are the manuscripts of a letter to the king of Yanqi 焉耆 by Li Bo 李柏.<sup>[5]</sup> However, further research shows that 538A and 538B possibly are not subordinated to the manuscripts of the same letter.<sup>[6]</sup>

First, the contents of 538A and 538B cannot be completely indentified. The envoy of the king is “Zhao 招 and Gen 亘” (or “Zhaogen 招亘”) in 538A, but “Huifuluo 迴復羅” in 538B. From this, we know that “king” refers to the different kings of the states of the Western Regions.

Second, the handwriting of 538A and 538B are different. They had obviously been written by two secretaries. It is difficult to imagine that a letter, whose contents were so simple, would need to be drawn up by two secretaries simultaneously, if there was only one recipient.

Third, 538A says that “I was sent by the Son of Heaven to bring greetings to the various states”. From this, we know that Li Bo 李柏 wrote the letter in order to bring greetings to the various states in the Western Regions, but not a particular state.

Fourth, fragments No. 8018 and 8019 obviously have come from the hand of one and the same man. Since there are the characters “五月七日西域長史關內侯李柏 (In the fifth month, on the seventh day, the Chief Official of the Western Regions, the Marquis of Guannei 關內, Li Bo 李柏)” in the fragment No. 8018, it is quite possible that the two were subordinated to the fragments of another letter, whose contents were similar to those of the manuscripts 538A and 538B.

Since there are more than two manuscripts, the only reasonable explanation is that more than two secretaries had drafted simultaneously more than two manuscripts of the letter for the various states in the Western Regions, according to Li Bo’s 李柏 suggestion. These manuscripts obviously include that to the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Long 龍.... However, we cannot assume that 538A, 538B, and even 8018 and 8019 all are Li Bo’s 李柏 manuscripts to the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Long 龍....

It should also be pointed out, that there is no irrefutable evidence to show that Li

Bo's 李柏 manuscripts include a letter to Long 龍..., the king of Yanqi 焉耆. This is because 538A, 538B, 8018 and 8019 do not mention the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Long 龍.... Not only that, but since the contents of the existing manuscripts are very much the same, mostly polite greetings, it is reasonable to wonder whether Li Bo's 李柏 letter to the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Long 龍... is also one (even if it was also a sympathy letter). In other words, 538A, 538B, and even 8018 and 8019 may not be addressed precisely to the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Long 龍.... This is because fragment No. 8036 hints that Li Bo 李柏, receiving his orders and going west, showed no trivial solicitude for Yanqi 焉耆, and perhaps his purpose was not only to bring greetings.

In sum, with regard to 538A and 538B, the background is roughly that the various states in the Western Regions sent their envoys to present tribute at Guzang 姑臧; thereupon Zhang Jun 張駿 sent the Adjutant Yan 嚴, to see the envoys of the various states and to return home by way of the territory of "the northern savages". In the meantime, Li Bo 李柏, receiving the order, returned to Haitou 海頭, the seat of the Government of the Chief Official of the Western Regions and wrote his letters to send greetings to the kings of the various states.

As for the man who was sent by Li Bo 李柏 to "deliver the messages", noted as "Futai 符太" in 538A, "Fuda 符大" in 538B, this must have been one and the same man. He was sent to the various states successively to deliver Li Bo's 李柏 letters.

## B

I will discuss the date of Li Bo's documents in this section.<sup>[7]</sup>

As mentioned above, the so-called Li Bo's Documents include two manuscripts and thirty-nine fragments. These were excavated from the same site at the same time. Since their contents mostly show internal connections, their date of composition must have been the same or nearly the same.

Li Bo 李柏 appears only in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), in which it is recorded:

The Chief Official of the Western Regions, Li Bo 李柏, requested permission to attack the rebel general, Zhao Zhen 趙貞, but he was defeated by [Zhao] Zhen [趙]貞. The advisers considered that [Li] Bo [李]柏 made the plan and caused this defeat; therefore they requested leave to put him to death. [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 said that "I have often thought that Emperor Shizong 世宗 of Han 漢 killing Wang Hui 王恢 was not as good as Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 pardoning Meng Ming 孟明". [Li Bo's 李柏] death-penalty was reduced in the end, and everyone was glad to

acquiesce.

On Zhao Zhen 趙貞, in the same memoir there is a record as follows:

Formerly, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, Zhao Zhen 趙貞, had not attached himself to [Zhang] Jun [張]駿. At this moment [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 attacked and captured him, and established the Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture in the land.

According to the same memoir, “at this moment” refers to the time that “[Zhang] Jun [張]駿 thus lost the lands in Henan 河南”, i.e., the tenth month of the second year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 327). From this, it can be seen that the event in which Zhang Jun 張駿 attacked and captured Zhao Zhen 趙貞 and established the Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture in the land took place about the tenth month of the second year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 327). It is self-evident that the event in which Li Bo 李柏 begged leave to attack Zhao Zhen 趙貞 and caused this defeat to take place was before the tenth month of the second year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 327).<sup>[8]</sup>

Since we can see “the rebel Zhao 趙” in the Li Bo 李柏 Document No. 8035, and there are the characters 趙 自爲逆 (Zhao 趙... rebelled by himself) in No. 8001, it is very easy to connect these documents with the event of attacking Zhao Zhen 趙貞. If this is true, though it is still difficult to infer the date of the documents, the possibilities would be no more than three, as follows:

The first possibility is that “Li Bo’s 李柏 Documents” were written before Li Bo 李柏 was defeated by Zhao Zhen 趙貞. In other words, these manuscripts of letters and memorials were a part of the activities leading to the attack on Zhao Zhen 趙貞. Yanqi 焉耆 was located near Gaochang 高昌, and they were bound together by common interests. For this reason, Li Bo took especial care of Yanqi 焉耆. It is possible that he offered the memorial to Zhang Jun 張駿 in order to report the attitude of the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Long 龍... and countermeasures that should be taken.<sup>[9]</sup>

The second possibility is that Li Bo’s 李柏 Documents were written after Li Bo 李柏 was defeated by Zhao Zhen 趙貞 and before Zhang Jun 張駿 attacked and captured Zhao Zhen 趙貞. In other words, these letters and memorials were the testimony that Li Bo 李柏 wanted to atone for his offence by rendering good service and went to the Western Regions to arrange once more to put down Gaochang 高昌. In this circumstance, whether the state of Yanqi was for or against was the factor that Li Bo thought about primarily. It is not impossible that Li Bo 李柏 was appointed as Chief

Official of the Western Regions again after his death-penalty was reduced, though this was not recorded in any historical records. The reason is that Zhang Jun 張駿 compared him to Mengming 孟明 when he absolved Li Bo 李柏 from capital punishment. It seems that he was determined to follow the example of Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦, with Li Bo 李柏 fulfilling his plan.

The third possibility is that “Li Bo’s 李柏 Documents” were written soon after Zhang Jun 張駿 attacked Zhao Zhen 趙貞. If this is true, Li Bo 李柏 offered the memorials and wrote the letters in order to take care of the remaining problems.

Of the three possibilities above, the first is the most likely, the third is second, and the second is the least likely.

First, in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), it is recorded that “the various states in the Western Regions presented blood-sweating horses, fire-washed cloth, humped cattle, peacocks, a large elephant, and diversified rare goods, two hundred and more in all” before the statement that Li Bo 李柏 planned to beg leave to attack Zhao Zhen 趙貞. There is no harm in considering that the envoys of the states that came to present tribute were precisely Huifuluo 迴復羅 and the others who were seen by the Adjutant, Yan 嚴. Since Zhang Jun’s 張駿 accession was in the fifth month of the second year of the Taining 太寧 reign-period, the time at which the various states sent their envoys to present tributes may be at the beginning of the following year. If this is so, “Li Bo’s 李柏 Documents” No. 538A and 538B were written in the third year of the Taining 太寧 reign-period, in the fifth month, on the seventh day.

It has been suggested that the matters concerning the Western Regions recorded in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), were copied from historical materials that had different sources and had not been sorted out. Thus the order of narration usually is not chronological. The statement that “the various states in the Western Regions presented blood-sweating horses” should follow the statement that Yang Xuan 楊宣 attacked Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善; “thereupon [the various states in] the Western Regions all surrendered”.<sup>[10]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. While it is indeed the case, as this scholar has pointed out, that the editor of the memoir did not study the dates adequately when he recorded matters concerning the Western Regions, which invariably resulted in a confusing sequence of events, this does not mean that he did not deal properly with all the historical data. Following the statement “[the various states in] the Western Regions all surrendered”, it is recorded “The king of the state of Shanshan 鄯善 presented his daughter, who was called Beauty. [Zhang Jun 張駿] founded Binxia 賓遐 Temple to get her. The record that the kings of the states of Yanqi 焉耆, the Nearer [Jushi 車師] and Yutian 于寘 all sent envoys to present their local products”, is in the memoir. In other words, the editor had already accounted for the situation that the various states in the Western Regions submitted to the Earlier Liang 涼

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after Yang Xuan's 楊宣 western expedition. In fact, it is quite possible that the various states of the Western Regions sent their envoys to present tributes before Yang Xuan's 楊宣 western expedition since Zhang Liang 張涼 Dynasty had managed the Western Regions for a considerable time.

On the other hand, if the various states in the Western Regions came to pay court on such a large scale at the time that Li Bo 李柏 made the plan and caused the defeat, and Gaochang 高昌 was not yet put down, this would quite be doubtful. For this reason, I consider that the above-mentioned second possibility is not too strong.

Second, it has been suggested that "the northern savages" mentioned in the manuscripts refers to Zhao Zhen 趙貞.<sup>[11]</sup> In my opinion, this theory seems to be inadequate. Since Zhao Zhen 趙貞 was called "rebel", he should not be called "northern savages" also. The regime of Zhang Liang 張涼 was founded by the Han 漢 people, who usually called "Hu 胡 (barbarians)" "savages". So "northern savages" seems to refer to the Xianbei 鮮卑 or other nomad tribes northwest of Dunhuang 敦煌. The Adjutant Yan 嚴 saw the envoys of the states of the Western Regions return home by way of "the territory of the northern savages". There is no harm in considering that this had something to do with making plans to attack Zhao Zhen 趙貞: Adjutant Yan's 嚴 seeing off the envoys of the various states was just a pretext for his making an agreement with the various states to attack Gaochang 高昌 from both sides by way of "the territory of the northern savages". It also was possible to come between Zhao Zhen 趙貞 and "the northern savages", and cut off the latter route of retreat.

Li Bo 李柏 especially pointed out that Huifuluo 迴復羅 and others went to the Western Regions by the way of "the territory of the northern savages", in his sympathy letters which were sent from the seat of the government of the Chief Official of the Western Regions. From this, we know that this way was not the regular route by which the envoys of the various states returned homeland. If Zhang Jun 張駿 had occupied Gaochang 高昌, there would have been no way to explain why the the Adjutant Yan 嚴 made the detour through the territory of the northern savages.

In addition, it has been suggested that Li Bo 李柏 styled himself "vassal" in the fragment (No. 8036). This shows that both the memorial and the manuscripts that have close relations with the former, were written after Zhang Jun 張駿 proclaimed himself king in the first year of the Yonghe 永和 reign-period (A.D. 345).<sup>[12]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

First, soon after Zhang Jun's 張駿 accession, "All people within the territory gave him the title of king" (see the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86), and "the government officials all declared themselves to be his vassals" (see the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑). This shows that the date at which Li Bo 李柏 presented the memorial is not

necessarily after the first year of the Yonghe 永和 reign-period (A.D. 345).<sup>[13]</sup>

Second, it is hard to understand why Li Bo 李柏 would still speak about “the rebel Zhao 趙”, when twenty years had already elapsed from the first year of the Yonghe 永和 to the time that Zhao Zhen 趙貞 was captured.

## C

There are various suggestions as to the excavation site of “Li Bo’s 李柏 Documents”. Now there are mainly two theories. One of them is LA, i.e., the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭,<sup>[14]</sup> and the other is LK, a ruin which is located on the western bank of Lob nor, to the northeast a distance of 48.3 km.<sup>[15]</sup> In my opinion, all evidence supporting the theory of LA is irrefutable. Of the reasons for this, the main two are as follows:

First, all the narration, about the way in which the documents were discovered, in the speeches and diary of Tachibana Zuicho 橘瑞超 himself, the discoverer of Li Bo’s 李柏 Documents, shows that the site at which they were found is the ruins of LA. This is especially proved in a speech to the Tokyo Geography Association, on June, 17, 1912, when Tachibana Zuicho 橘瑞超 declared that the documents were unearthed from the ruins of Loulan 樓蘭, discovered by Sven Hedin.<sup>[16]</sup> As is well known, this is the ruins of LA, so called by A. Stein.<sup>[17]</sup>

Second, the nature of “Li Bo’s 李柏 Documents” is identical with most of the Chinese documents in Wei 魏, Jin 晉 and Earlier Liang 涼 times, unearthed from the ruins of LA. Both are subordinated to the documents of the government of the Chief Official of the Western Regions. Of the documents in Earlier Liang 涼 times, the latest chronological documents date from the eighteenth year of the Jianxing 建興 reign-period (A.D. 330). This shows that the seat of the government of the Chief Official of the Western Regions was still in the ruins of LA down to this year. And, as mentioned above, the date of Li Bo’s 李柏 documents should be earlier than this year. Since the relative location of the ruins of LA to Lob nor might have been called “Haitou 海頭 (Head of Sea)” by the people at that time, Li Bo’s 李柏 Documents must have been excavated from the ruins of LA.<sup>[18]</sup>

As for the LK theory, it was caused by a photograph offered to Mori Shikazo 森鹿三 by Tachibana Zuicho 橘瑞超 in 1959; the photograph is said to show the site at which the documents were discovered. Based on the photograph, Mori decided that these documents were unearthed from the ruins of LK, which had been investigated by A. Stein during his third exploration.<sup>[19]</sup> In my opinion, although the photograph was offered by Tachibana Zuicho 橘瑞超 in person, it is quite reasonable to doubt it. After all, there



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was an interval of 50 solid years! There is some evidence to show that Tachibana Zuicho 橘瑞超 had arrived at the ruins of LK, so it is not to be wondered that he had a photograph of these ruins.<sup>[20]</sup> Since there is no evidence to show that the government of the Chief Official of the Western Regions had been removed to the ruins of LK for a time, and no written materials were unearthed from the ruins, we have to assume that the excavation site of Li Bo's 李柏 Documents is not the ruins of LK.

[1] The main papers to discuss “Li Bo's 李柏 Documents” are as follows: Hanada, Wang (1959-3), Matsuda, pp. 127-133, Mori, Nishikawa, Fujieda, Katayama, Meng (1990), pp. 233-273, and others.

[2] Li Bo's documents in this paper are transcribed on the basis of Fujieda Akira's 藤枝晃 copy; see *BKTS*, pp. 82-107.

[3] Cf. Wang (1959-3).

[4] “臣柏言焉耆王龍 ” should not be understood to mean “Your servant, [Li] Bo [李]柏 has said to the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Long 龍...”. Cf. Matsuda, pp. 127-133, and *BKTS*, pp. 82-107.

[5] For example, Wang (1959-3).

[6] Cf. Fujieda and *BKTS*, pp. 82-107.

[7] On the various theories about the date of “Li Bo's 李柏 documents”, there is a brief introduction in Meng (1990), pp. 241-243.

[8] Cf. Yu, T. (1995), pp. 121-141.

[9] Meng (1990), pp. 233-244, vigorously advocates that Li Bo's 李柏 documents had been written before he planned to attack Zhao Zhen 趙貞.

[10] Ma (1990-4).

[11] See Fujieda.

[12] See Wang (1959-3).

[13] Cf. Meng (1990), pp. 241-243.

[14] See Meng (1990), pp. 254-265.

[15] Hou (1990-4).

[16] For notes of this speech, see Tachibana.

[17] Katayama has researched the excavation site of “Li Bo's 李柏 documents” in detail by exhaustively using the earliest records and reports about the course of this find, especially the sources offered by Tachibana Zuicho 橘瑞超, himself; please consult this.

[18] Cf. Meng (1990), pp. 254-265.

[19] See Mori.

[20] See Katayama.

Chapter 7  
**ON THE REIGN TITLES OF  
“YUANHE” AND “JIANPING” NOTED  
IN THE UNEARTHED DOCUMENTS  
FROM TURFAN**

The titles of the reign-periods noted in the documents from the Sixteen States period, unearthed from Turfan, have caused many discussions among scholars; opinions, particularly on “緣禾” and “建平”, differ widely. <sup>[1]</sup> Because they pertain to the relationship between the Northern Liang 涼 Dynasty and Gaochang 高昌, I want here to give an explanation by discussing various suggestions and adding my own views. When considering rejected opinions, unless it is necessary, I will not individually analyse them, in order to conserve space.

**A**

In all, there are eight documents excavated from Turfan that used the title of the reign-period “Yuanhe 緣禾”. Of these, there is one document dated the third year of the Yuanhe 緣禾 reign-period, <sup>[2]</sup> three dated from the fifth year, two dated the sixth year, and two dated the tenth year. <sup>[3]</sup>

Though “Yuanhe 緣禾” does not appear in any historical records, based on the statement “in the third year of the Yuanhe 緣禾 reign-period of the late Grand Qiequ 且渠 of Liang 涼, Jupiter was at Jiaxu 甲戌, on the first ten-day period of the seventh month” in an incomplete inscription which is noted on a sutra tower of the Manjusri Mountain in Jiuquan 酒泉, we know that the first year of this reign-period is A.D. 432, i.e., the second year of the Yihe 義和 reign-period of Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜, and the first year of the Yanhe 延和 reign-period of Emperor Shizu 世祖 of the Northern Wei 魏. <sup>[4]</sup> The only explanation of this is that Mengxun 蒙遜 began to adopt the title of reign-period “Yuanhe 緣禾” to show that he had submitted to the Northern Wei 魏: “Yuanhe 緣禾” and “Yanhe 延和” were homophonous. <sup>[5]</sup> This is because Mengxun 蒙遜 changed his title of the reign-period into “Yihe 義和” in the fourth year of the Chengxuan 承玄 reign-period (A.D. 431), in the sixth month, and sent his son to attend at the Wei 魏 court in the eighth month, and the Northern Wei 魏 sent Li Shun 李順, the Chamberlain for Ceremonials, who retained the emblems of authority, to appoint Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 as Commissioner with a Warrant, Honorific Palace Attendant, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of Liang 涼 Province, the Western Regions

and the Qiang 羌 and Rong 戎, Concurrent General of Conquering the West, Grand Mentor, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and King of Liang 涼, controlling the seven prefectures of Wuwei 武威, Zhangye 張掖, Dunhuang 敦煌, Jiuquan 酒泉, Xihai 西海, Jincheng 金城 and Xiping 西平 in the Liang 涼 Province, in the ninth month of this year. From then on, Mengxun 蒙遜 become a titular feudatory of the Northern Wei 魏 Dynasty in name, and he thus began to employ the title of the reign-period “Yuanhe 緣和” when the Northern Wei 魏 changed the title of its reign-period into “Yanhe 延和” in the next year. <sup>[6]</sup>

As for the documents in which “the third year of the Yihe 義和 reign-period” appears, <sup>[7]</sup> it is probably because Gaochang 高昌 was located in the remote western border, and thus it knew that it should employ the title of the reign-period “Yuanhe 緣禾” too late. However, it is more likely that Mengxun’s 蒙遜 regime used the title of the reign-period “Yihe 義和” in a certain range as before.

In the “Songji 宋紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, it is recorded that in the fourth month of the tenth year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 433), Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 died of illness. “Mujian 牧犍 ascended the throne of the King of Hexi 河西, a general amnesty was proclaimed, the title of the reign-period was changed to Yonghe 永和”. “Yonghe 永和” must have been a textual error for “Chenghe 承和”. <sup>[8]</sup> The so-called “Chenghe 承和” means to go forward from “Yihe 義和”. This is similar to Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 taking “Chengxuan 承玄” as the title of the reign-period after “Xuanshi 玄始”. For this reason, there were two titles of the reign-period at the beginning of Mujian’s 牧犍 ascent to the throne. “Yuanhe 緣禾” was used externally, and “Chenghe 承和” was used internally. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜), it is recorded that Emperor Shizu 世祖 of the Wei 魏 Dynasty enumerated twelve charges of Mujian 牧犍 when he made an expedition against the Liang 涼 Province in person. The first charge was that he “followed the official calendar outside, but did not abandon overstepping proper authority inside”. The two series of titles of reign-period may be the reason for this charge. As mentioned above, it is possible that the overstepping of proper authority had started with Mengxun 蒙遜.

## B

There are six documents in all, unearthed from Turfan, that used the title of the reign-period “Jianping 建平”. Of these, there is one document each respectively from the seventh and ninth month of the fifth year of the *Jianping* 建平 reign-period, and one

each respectively from the seventh and ninth month of the sixth year. There are also two, whose particular year and month are unknown.<sup>[9]</sup> Of these, two of the seventh and ninth month of the fifth year and the two whose particular year and month are unknown, all were unearthed from Tomb No. 91, in Karahoja Cemetery. All the documents that used the title of reign-period “Jianping 建平” do not mark the particular year designated with Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches. However, of the documents which were excavated from this tomb, there is a document on the reverse of which it is noted “[The Director of] Sacrificial Section Ma Shou’s 馬受 entrust in the fifth year of the Jianping 建平” and on whose obverse it is noted “Ma Shou 馬受 presents each item for offering wine in the eleventh year of the Xuanshi 玄始 (A.D. 422)”. From this, we can know that the “Jianping 建平” reign-period must be later than “Xuanshi 玄始”, and close to the latter. In addition, the document, unearthed from the same grave, in which it is noted “On the matter that the Military Section issued the commander’s tally to the three counties of Gaochnag 高昌, Hengjie 橫截 and Tiandi 田地 for sending out cavalry to guard the Sea in the [fifth] year of the Jian[ping] 建[平] reign-period”. At the end it is signed with the official title “the Recorder Yue 悅”. Since “The Recorder Yue 悅” also appears in the document “On the Military Section directed in detail to make adobes and to establish banners in the third year of the Yihe 義和 reign-period of the Northern Liang 涼”, at whose end it is signed with the official title “the Director of Labor Section Yue 悅”, “Jianping 建平” must have been close to “Yihe 義和” [reign-period]. Considering their formula, style of calligraphy, content and other aspects, one has to consider the period in which the title of reign-period was used was in the first half of the fifth century A.D.<sup>[10]</sup> There is no harm in considering that the title of reign-period “*Jianping* 建平” was established by Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍, and its first year is A.D. 437, for the following reasons:<sup>[11]</sup>

1 As mentioned above, Mujian 牧犍 changed the third year of the Yihe 義和 reign-period into the first year of the Chenghe 承和 reign-period when he ascended the throne, but he employed the title of the reign-period “Yuanhe 緣禾” externally before to show that he submitted to the Northern Wei 魏. The Northern Wei 魏 changed the title of the reign-period into Taiyan 太延 in the fourth year of the Yanhe 延和 reign-period. Mujian 牧犍 also changed “Yuanhe 緣禾” into “Taiyuan 太緣” in the same year.<sup>[12]</sup> This would not prevent him from using the title of the reign-period “Chenghe 承和” inside and changing it into “Jianping 建平” in the fifth year of the Chenghe 承和 reign-period.

2 We know that Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 established the title of the reign-period “Chengping 承平”. The title “Chengping 承平” appears in “the inscription of the monument to Juqu Anzhou’s 沮渠安周 creation of the statue in the third year of the Chengping 承平 reign-period, the year of Yiyou 乙酉”, in “the tombstone for Qiequ

Fengdai 且渠封戴 in the thirteenth year of the Chengping 承平 reign-period, the year of yiwei 乙未”, and in “An annotation of a copied sutra in the fifteenth year of the reign-period Chengping 承平 reign-period, the year of dingyou 丁酉”. From this, it can be seen that the first year of the Chengping 承平 reign-period is A.D. 443, next to the year that Wuhui 無諱 occupied Gaochang 高昌. “Chengping 承平” may mean to go forward from “Jianping 建平”, like Mujian’s 牧犍 using the title of reign-period “Chenghe 承和” to go forward from “Yihe 義和” of Mengxun 蒙遜.<sup>[13]</sup>

3 The latest known year for the title of the “Jianping 建平” reign-period is the sixth. The first year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period would be A.D. 437, if Wuhui 無諱 changed the title of the reign-period into “Chengping 承平” in the seventh year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period. If the first year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period is A.D. 437, the sixth year would be A.D. 442, in which there was a intercalary fifth month. This is not inconsistent with the unearthed documents.

Though we do not know what was the particular reason or pivot upon which Mujian 牧犍 changed the title of the reign-period into “Jianping 建平” in the fifth year of the Chenghe 承和 reign-period, it was for no other reason than that an expression of his dissonance with the Northern Wei 魏. The fact that the Northern Wei 魏 married the Princess of Wuwei 武威 to Mujian 牧犍 in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437) shows that it had already sensed Mujian’s 牧犍 rebellious tendency to some extent.<sup>[14]</sup>

## C

The absolute date of the documents that used the title of reign-period “Yuanhe 緣禾” and “Jianping 建平”, unearthed from Turfan, is between 434 and 442 A.D. Therefore, in Gaochang 高昌 they must have been used by the regime of Han Shuang 鬬爽.<sup>[15]</sup>

1 In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101 (Memoir on Gaochang 高昌), it is recorded that “In the reign of Emperor Shizu 世祖 (A.D. 424-452), there was a man named Han Shuang 鬬爽 who established himself as administrator. During the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, the emperor sent the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and others on a mission to Gaochang 高昌, but they were captured by the Ruru 蠕蠕. During the [Taiping] Zhenjun [太平]真君 reign-period, [Han] Shuang 鬬爽 was unexpectedly attacked by [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱, who occupied Gaochang 高昌”. In my opinion, the earliest time at which Han Shuang 鬬爽 “established himself as administrator” of Gaochang 高昌 was probably after Mengxun 蒙遜 died in the fourth month of the

second year of the Yanhe 延和 reign-period (A.D. 433). The date that Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 drove out Han Shuang 鬪爽 and occupied Gaochang 高昌 was in the third year of the Taiping Zhenjun 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 442), in the ninth month. <sup>[16]</sup>

2 The date at which Gaochang 高昌 began to employ the title of the reign-period “Yuanhe 緣禾” is unknown, but the possibility cannot be ruled out that the titles for the reign-period “Yuanhe 緣禾” and “Yihe 義和” were used concurrently as early as the first year of the Yanhe 延和 reign-period. The fact that Han Shuang 鬪爽 “established himself as administrator” shows he was not appointed by the Juqu 沮渠 family. He used only the title of the reign-period “Yuanhe 緣禾”, but he did not use it with “Chenghe 承和” and “Jianping 建平” concurrently for some time, after he had established himself as administrator, at least from the ninth month of the third year of the Yanhe 延和 reign-period to the third month of the second year of the Taiping Zhenjun 太平真君 reign-period. He took the title that was employed by the Juqu 沮渠 family. That family employed the title of reign-period “Yuanhe 緣禾” in order to show that it was submitting to the Northern Wei 魏, probably because its politics were relatively ambiguous: to use it not only could show that he, like the Juqu 沮渠 family, was a subject of the Northern Wei 魏, but also could show that he did not intend to oppose the Juqu 沮渠 family, as it was “Yuanhe 緣禾” but not “Yanhe 延和” after all. As for the fact that Han Shuang 鬪爽 did not change it into “Taiyuan 太緣” afterwards, it was probably because the practical meaning of this kind of act was not great, with regard to the regime of Han Shuang 鬪爽.

3 Since Han Shuang 鬪爽 did not use “Chenghe 承和”, “Jianping 建平” of course would not be used. However, his title for the reign-period was changed into “Jianping 建平” in the tenth year of the Yuanhe 緣禾 reign-period at last. There was undoubtedly a significant reason. The tenth year of the Yuanhe 緣禾 reign-period must have been the second year of the Taiping Zhenjun 太平真君 reign-period of Emperor Shizu 世祖 of the Northern Wei 魏 (A.D. 441). In the first month of this year, the Northern Wei 魏 appointed Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 as Supreme General of Conquering the West, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and King of Jiuquan 酒泉. In the fourth month, the Northern Wei 魏 sent Xi Juan 奚眷 to attack Jiuquan 酒泉. In the fifth month, the Juqu Tangni 沮渠唐兒 rebelled against Wuhui 無諱, and Wuhui 無諱 left his younger brother, Tianzhou 天周, to defend Jiuquan 酒泉, Wuhui 無諱 himself going on to attack Dunhuang 敦煌 and kill Tangni 唐兒. In the seventh month, Xi Juan 奚眷 besieged Jiuquan 酒泉, and he captured it in the eleventh month; Tianzhou 天周 was taken captive. Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 at Dunhuang 敦煌 feared that he would be unable to stand alone, and thus sent his younger brother Tianzhou 天周 to cross the Flowing Sands and go to attack Shanshan 鄯善. <sup>[17]</sup> Since the date of the latest documents that used the title of reign-period “Yuanhe 緣禾” is the third month of the

tenth year, and the earliest date at which the documents used the title of the reign-period “Jianping 建平” is the seventh month of the fifth year, Han Shuang 鬪爽 first changed his title into “Jianping 建平” between the third and seventh months of the second year of the Taiping Zhenjun 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 441). During this period, Wuhui 無諱 rushed between Jiuquan 酒泉 and Dunhuang 敦煌, and was in a constant state of anxiety. By contrast, Han Shuang 鬪爽 changed the title of the reign-period into Juqu’s 沮渠 title in this period. This is probably because he had already predicted that Wuhui 無諱 would deprive him of any standing in the Hexi 河西 regions, and the target of his attack, as soon as he came out westwards from the Yang 陽 Barrier was first Gaochang 高昌. Thereupon he changed his title for the reign-period into “Jianping 建平” to show his submission, and had Wuhui 無諱 plan to attack Gaochang 高昌 without proper reason. The fact that Wuhui 無諱 ordered Anzhou 安周 to attack Shanshan 鄯善, but not Gaochang 高昌 afterwards, may have something to do with Han Shuang’s 鬪爽 submission.

There may be further background on the reason that Han Shuang 鬪爽 changed his title for the reign-period to “Jianping 建平”, but for now we can offer only the above-mentioned conjecture because of the constraint of available materials.<sup>[18]</sup> Even so, Han Shuang 鬪爽 tried to lead the troops of the Juqu 沮渠 family northward against the Tang 唐 family by utilizing his relationship with the Juqu 沮渠 family, founded when he suffered the attack from the Tang 唐 family and others, the remnants of the Western Liang 涼. The *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜), says that Han Shuang 鬪爽 “sent an envoy to pretend to surrender [to Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱]”, which is true, but it should be pointed out that Han Shuang 鬪爽 had in fact already begun “to pretend to surrender” as early as the second year of the Taiping Zhenjun 太平真君 reign-period.

## D

The statement “...after the Hu 胡 traitors had gone in the tenth month of the last year” in the document “A legal case of the people, Du Du 杜犢”, has attracted the attention of some scholars. One suggests that “the Hu 胡 traitors” refers to the Juqu 沮渠 family. This is because the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on the Di Hu 氐胡), called Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 a Hu 胡 people from the Lu 盧 River. Han Shuang 鬪爽, who were possibly a Han 漢 people in Gaochang 高昌, thus took the Juqu 沮渠 family to be “Hu 胡 traitors”.<sup>[19]</sup> In my opinion, based on available sources, there is no problem in regarding the Juqu 沮渠 family as the “Hu 胡 traitors”. However, it seems

we cannot further conclude that the power of the Juqu 沮渠 family withdrew from Gaochang 高昌 and then Han Shuang 鬬爽 established himself as administrator in the tenth month of the fourth year of the Yuanhe 緣禾 reign-period (A.D. 435), i.e., “the tenth month of the last year” noted in the document.

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101 (Memoir on Gaochang 高昌), in the fifth month of the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), the Northern Wei 魏 sent Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and Xu Gang 許綱 to go on their mission to the West, their destination being Gaochang 高昌. Considering the fact that Gaochang 高昌 had never sent envoys to pay the Wei 魏 court before this, it would be quite unlikely that Gaochang 高昌 would be chosen for envoys that the Northern Wei 魏 sent for the first time. If the records in the “Memoir on Gaochang 高昌” are true, it would be quite possible that the Northern Wei 魏 ordered Wang 王 and Xu 許 to go to Gaochang 高昌 on their way to ascertain the actual situation after their reply to Jushi 車師, because it knew the information that Han Shuang 鬬爽 had established himself as administrator from the Jushi 車師 envoys who were sent to present tribute in the second month of the same year. Gaochang 高昌 standing alone was certain to be under the aegis of the Rouran 柔然. It may be possible that Wang 王 and Xu 許 were arrested by the Rouran 柔然 precisely because their travel to Gaochang 高昌 enraged the latter. The fact that Han Shuang 鬬爽 did not use the title of the reign-period “Taiyuan 太緣” seems to have something to do with his establishing himself as administrator before the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435-440).

As for “the Hu 胡 traitors” who departed from Gaochang 高昌 in the fourth year of the Yuanhe 緣禾 reign-period as described in the document, if it is true that this refers to the Juqu 沮渠 family, then the factual case was probably that the Northern Liang 涼 sent the troops to attack Gaochang 高昌 to decry his crimes after Han Shuang 鬬爽 had established himself as administrator, but did not score success and then withdrew the forces in the tenth month.

The document “A legal case of Han Lianxing 鬬連興” says that “Formerly, the listed horses that were distributed to feed on the basis of wealth were requisitioned and given to the envoys of the savages. The envoys arrived at Chijian 赤尖, and the horses remained there and did not return”. It has been suggested that “the envoys of the savages” refers to the envoys of the Rouran 柔然.<sup>[20]</sup> In my opinion, this is quite possible. The Han 漢 people often scornfully called ethnic minorities “savage” in that time. The Rouran 柔然 would not be excepted. The *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 87 (Memoir on Li Xuansheng 李玄盛), states that Li Xuansheng’s 李玄盛 “descendants wandered from place to place and relied upon the disgraceful savages for protection”. “The disgraceful savages” also refers to the Rouran 柔然. That Han Shuang 鬬爽 could establish himself as administrator was nothing but to rely upon the disgraceful savages for protection. The



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fact that he went directly to the Rouran 柔然 for shelter when he was driven out of Gaocheng 高昌 afterwards also can explain this. In spite of this, it is true that the people of Gaochang 高昌 scornfully called the envoys of the Rouran 柔然 “the envoys of the savages”.

In addition, on the statement “to guard the Sea” seen in the document “On the matter that the Military Section issued the commander’s tally to the three counties of Gaochang 高昌, Hengjie 横截 and Tiandi 田地 for sending out cavalry to guard the Sea in the [fifth] year of the Jian[ping] 建[平] reign-period” in the fifth year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period, in the ninth month, has generally been suggested that this was “to guard the Route of the Great Sea”. However, some suggest it was in order to guard Tang’s 唐 brothers, some suggest the Rouran 柔然, and others suggest the Juqu 沮渠 family, and the opinions are quite divided.<sup>[21]</sup> In my opinion, “to guard the Sea” might be the routine of any regime at Gaochang 高昌, and we need not pursue the matter any further.

[1] For related discussions, see the following publications: Tang (1989-3), Hu, Hou (1981), Hou (1990-1), Tang (1982), Wu Zh., Zhu (1983), Liu, Zhu (1985), Hou (1990-2), Hou (1989), Hou (1990), Hou (1991), Machida, Sekio (1986-1), Sekio (1986-2), Shirasu (1986), Sekio (1990), and Sekio (1991).

[2] See Меньшиков, pp. 200, 221, 661; and Shirasu (1981).

[3] There are three documents dated the fifth year of the Yuanhe 缘禾 reign-period: 1 “A legal case of the people, Du Du 杜犢”; 2 “A draft of the contract of Di Afu 翟阿富”; 3 “A List of burial clothing and articles”. There are two documents dated the sixth year of the Yuanhe 缘禾 reign-period: 1 “A list of burial clothing and articles of Di Wan 翟万”; 2 “A legal case of Han Lianxing 鬬連興”. There are two documents dated the tenth year of the Yuanhe 缘禾 reign-period: 1 “A document on the matter that the Labor Section transferred the directors of the channel”; 2 “A fragment of a document”. Of these, the first document is dated the fifth year, the second is dated the sixth year; and the two documents are dated the tenth year see Xin. For the rest see *TLFCTWS*, pp. 127, 98, 176-177, 21-22, respectively.

[4] Cf. Wu Zh.

[5] See *TLFCTWS*, pp. 127-128.

[6] Cf. Liu.

[7] See *TLFCTWS*, pp. 122-125.

[8] See Chen Y., p. 25.

[9] There are three documents dated the fifth year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period: 1 “[The Director of] Sacrificial Section Ma Shou’s 馬受 commission”; 2 “On the matter that the Military Section

issued the commander's tally to the three counties of Gaochang 高昌, Hengjie 横截 and Tiandi 田地 for sending out cavalry to guard the Sea". There are three documents dated the sixth year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period: 1 "A Document on the County of Tiandi's 田地 urging troops to come to the government"; 2 "A list of burial clothing and articles of Zhang Shirong 張世容". Of these, the first document is dated the sixth year; see Tang (1982); for the rest see *TLFCTWS*, pp. 129-130, 131-133, 184, respectively. In addition, the document "An account of distribution of food on the basis of wealth", dated a certain year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period, see *TLFCTWS*, pp. 156-157. On the copied sutra that used the title of the reign-period see *Xinjiang Fanggulu*, vol. 1, p. 9.

[10] Cf. Tang (1982), Zhu (1985), Sekio (1986-1), and Sekio (1991).

[11] Cf. Wu Zh. and Zhu (1985).

[12] Cf. Hung, W. (1954), p. 26, pl. 9; Wang Y., and Liu.

[13] Cf. Wu Zh. and Zhu (1985).

[14] Cf. Sekio (1986-1) and Sekio (1991).

[15] Cf. Tang (1982).

[16] Cf. Yu, T. (1995), pp. 142-150.

[17] Cf. Yu, T. (1995), pp. 142-150.

[18] Sekio (1991) suggests that Han Shuang 鬬爽 changed his reign-period to "Jianping 建平" in order to connect with the Juqu 沮渠 family to resist the menace from Tang's 唐 brothers.

[19] Cf. Liu, Machida, and Shirasu (1986).

[20] See Zhu (1983) and Shirasu (1986).

[21] See Wu Zh., Hou (1981), Hou (1989), Hou (1990), Hou (1990-1), Hou (1990-2), Hou (1991), Shirasu (1986), Sekio (1986-1), Sekio (1986-2), Sekio (1990), Sekio (1991), and others.

Chapter 8  
**ON DONG WAN AND GAO MING'S  
MISSION TO THE WESTERN REGIONS**

Dong Wan 董琬 and Gao Ming's 高明 mission to the Western Regions during the Taiyan 太延 reign-period of Emperor Taizu 太祖 of the Northern Wei 魏 (A.D. 435-440) Dynasty is a great event in the history of the communications between East and West in Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, Northern and Southern times. It was early on taken seriously and researched in internal and external, especially Japanese, historical circles. But scholars have not reached a consensus on some key problems. For this reason, I will briefly state my opinions and ask comments from the scholars.

A

The whole course of Dong Wan 董琬 and Gao Ming's 高明 travel is recorded in the preface to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions):

During the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435-440), the virtue of Wei 魏 became better known far and wide day after day. The kings of the various states in the Western Regions, such as Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Yueban 悅般, Kepantuo 渴槃陁, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, and Sute 粟特 began sending envoys to present tribute. Emperor Shizu 世祖 considered that the Han 漢 Dynasty had had contact with the Western Regions, but now, if there was something which the states required, they would come with their humble language; if there was nothing that they desired, their behaviour was arrogant to the royal order. This was because they knew themselves to be cut off from [Han 漢] by a long distance beyond the range of [Han's 漢] huge army. If envoys were sent back and forth in reply, they would ultimately not gain any benefit. Therefore, Emperor Shizu 世祖 did not want to send envoys. The officials sent a memorial to [the throne] that the nine states, braving hardship and danger, had submitted their local products from distant places. It was therefore proper to support them in their effort to move forward. How could we curb their successors in advance? Shizu 世祖 agreed to their request. Thereupon, he finally sent envoys, Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱, and others to go on a mission to the Western [Regions]. When they came out of the

flowing sands, Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and the others were unexpectedly captured by the Ruru 蠕蠕, and thus were unable to arrive [in the Western Regions]. Emperor Shizu 世祖 also sent the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant Dong Wan 董琬, Gao Ming 高明, and others. Taking many brocaded silks, they came out from Shanshan 鄯善 to summon and appease the nine states and offer them large rewards. Initially, [Dong] Wan [董]琬 and others accepted the imperial edict, which said that they should go to the states on the passable roads. [Dong] Wan 董琬 passed the nine states, and went north and reached the state of Wusun 烏孫. The king, offered the reward of the imperial court, did obeisance, accepted it, and was quite pleased. Then he said to [Dong] Wan [董]琬, “I hear that both Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 longed for the virtue of Wei 魏, and wanted to swear fealty and pay tribute, but were worried there was no way to reach Wei 魏. Now that you have arrived here, it is proper to go to these two states to encourage their sincere admiration”. Thereupon, [Dong] Wan [董]琬 went in person to Poluona 破洛那, and sent [Gao] Ming 高明 to Zheshe 者舌. The king of Wusun 烏孫 provided them with guides and interpreters for the two states. [Dong] Wan [董]琬 and others read out the imperial edict, meant to pacify and reward them. Later, when [Dong] Wan 董琬 and [Gao] Ming 高明 returned eastwards, some of the Wusun 烏孫, Poluona 破洛那, and the like, sent envoys with [Dong] Wan 董琬, to come to pay tribute, sixteen states in all. From then on, the envoys of the various states came in succession, without any annual breaks. The national missions, which can be numbered in the tens, were also dispatched.

This passage can be read quite smoothly, and there is no difficulty in understanding it. However, comparing it with the records in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, and others, we discover some obvious contradictions.

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), in the third month, on the day *guiji* 癸巳, “the states of Qiuci 龜茲, Yueban 悅般, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, Sute 粟特, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Kepantuo 渴槃陀 and Shanshan 鄯善 respectively sent envoys to present tribute”. The nine states listed were the same as the nine states that sent envoys to present tribute “during the Taiyan 太延 reign-period” noted in the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions”. From this, we know that “during the Taiyan 太延 reign-period” must refer to “in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), in the third month, on the day *guiji* 癸巳”. But, the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, also states that in the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), in the second month, on the day *gengzi* 庚子, “the states of ...Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師 respectively sent envoys to present tribute”; on the day *bingwu* 丙午 of the sixth month of the same year, the state of Shanshan 鄯善

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“sent envoys to present tribute”; on the day *bingxu* 丙戌 of the eighth month of the same year, the state of Sute 粟特 “sent envoys to present tribute”. From this, we know that, of the above nine states, the four states of Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, Shanshan 鄯善, Sute 粟特 had already sent envoys to present tribute in the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period. Therefore, with regard to the four states at least, presentation of tribute “in the middle of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period” cannot be taken as meaning the states that “first sent envoys to present tribute”. This is the first contradiction.

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), “The state of Jushi 車師: ... At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shizu 世祖, [the state of Jushi 車師] first came to pay court. An imperial edict [ordered] the Messengers, Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱 and others to go on the mission. [Wang] Ensheng [王]恩生 and the others first crossed the Flowing Sands and were captured by the Ruru 蠕蠕. [Wang] Ensheng [王]恩生 met Wuti 吳提, the Khan of the Ruru 蠕蠕, but retained the Wei 魏 emblems of authority and did not surrender to him. Afterwards Emperor Shizu 世祖 severely reproached Wuti 吳提. Wuti 吳提 was afraid and thus sent [Wang] Ensheng [王]恩生 and the others to return. Xu Gang 許綱 died of illness when he arrived at Dunhuang 敦煌. The Imperial Court admired his integrity and granted him the posthumous title, Zhen 貞 (faithful)”. Based on this, we know that the purpose for which Wang 王 and Xu 許, as envoys, went to the Western Regions was to return the visit of Jushi 車師, which had sent envoys to present tribute. The date should be after the state of Jushi 車師 “first came to pay court” (according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, in the second month of the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period).

In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, it is recorded that in the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, in the fifth month, on the day *gengshen* 庚申, “[the Emperor] sent twenty missions to go to the Western Regions”. This shows that the Northern Wei 魏 Dynasty first sent envoys to the Western Regions, as seen in historical records. Wang 王 and Xu 許, who “first crossed the Flowing Sands” must have been one of the twenty missions. However, why does the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions” state Wang 王 and Xu’s 許 mission to the West after the statement that the nine states’ envoys came to pay court in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period and before Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 mission to the West, as if the purpose of Wang 王 and Xu’s 許 mission also was “to summon and appease the nine states”? According to the “Memoir on the Western Regions”, Xu Gang 許綱 could not reach Jushi 車師 and died at Dunhuang 敦煌 on his way home. Thus the idea that Wang 王 and Xu 許 were sent to go on the mission to the Western Regions once again is impossible. This is the second contradiction.

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, the Northern Wei 魏 Dynasty not only “sent twenty missions to go to the Western Regions” in the fifth month of the first year of

the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, but it also “sent six missions to go to the Western Regions” in the eighth month of the second year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period. Why would Emperor Shizu 世祖 consider that “if envoys were sent to reply, often visiting each other, they would ultimately not gain any benefit”, and so he does “not want to send envoys”, just after the nine states’ envoys had come to present tribute in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period? This is the third contradiction.

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, in the eleventh month, on the day *jiashen* 甲申, “the states of Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 respectively sent envoys to present tribute and give blood-sweating horses”. This is the occasion on which the two states first sent envoys to present tribute. Based on the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions”, we know that the two states’ sending envoys to come to present tribute was one of the achievements brought about by Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 mission to the West. Their envoys reached Wei’s 魏 capital with Dong 董 and Gao 高. Based on this preface, we also know that the time Dong 董 and Gao 高 returned home was in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, in the eleventh month. However, as mentioned above, it is certain that Dong 董 and Gao 高 set out after the nine states’ envoys came to present tribute in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period. If this was true, it would have taken less than eight months to get to the Western Regions and back. This amount is a bit too short under the circumstances at the time. This is especially so, since Dong 董 and Gao 高 compiled detailed information about the Western Regions, which shows this mission to the West was not a cursory observation. This is the fourth contradiction.

In order to resolve these contradictions and to deduce the date of Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 western mission, scholars have performed quite meticulous research.

It has been suggested to that, according the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, the date on which the nine states came to present tribute must be the third month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437). Therefore, the statement “[they] first sent envoys to present tribute” in the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions” is inexact. Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 mission to the West was in order to reply to the visit of the nine states. They must have set out after the nine states had sent envoys to present tribute, so the date they returned home should be in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), in the eleventh month. The time they took was so short because they did not really visit all the nine states. Wang 王 and Xu’s 許 mission to the West was in order to reply to Jushi 車師, and this had nothing to do with the nine states’ having sent envoys to present tribute. The reason that the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions” states this event before the statement of Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 mission to the West is in order to set off the achievement of Dong 董 and Gao 高 with the failure of Wang 王 and Xu 許.<sup>[1]</sup>

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One scholar suggests that there are some textual errors in the existing preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Weishu* 魏書(ch. 102). These errors were caused when Li Yanshou 李延壽 transcribed the memoir into the *Beishi* 北史. The related part can be recovered as follows:

During the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435-440), the virtue of Wei 魏 became better known far and wide day after day. [In the first year of the Taiyan 太延, in the second month, the states of Yanqi 焉耆 and Jushi 車師 respectively sent envoys to present tribute.] Emperor Shizu 世祖 considered that the Han 漢 Dynasty had had contact with the Western Regions, but now if there was something which the states required, they would come with their humble language; if there was nothing that they desired, their behavior was arrogant to the royal order. This was because they knew themselves to be cut off from [Han 漢] by a long distance beyond the range of [Han’s 漢] huge army. If envoys were sent back and forth in reply, they would ultimately not gain any benefit. Therefore, Emperor Shizu 世祖 did not want to send envoys. The officials sent a memorial to [the throne] that the nine states (“nine states” must have been a textual error for “two states”), braving hardship and danger, had submitted their local products from distant places. It was therefore proper to support them in their effort to move forward. How could we curb their successors in advance? Shizu 世祖 agreed to their request. Thereupon, he finally sent envoys, Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱, and others to go on a mission to the Western [Regions]. When they came out of the flowing sands, Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and the others were unexpectedly captured by the Ruru 蠕蠕, and thus were unable to arrive [in the Western Regions]. Emperor Shizu 世祖 also sent the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant Dong Wan 董琬, Gao Ming 高明, and others. Taking many brocaded silks, they came out from Shanshan 鄯善 to summon and appease the nine states [of Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Yueban 悅般, Kepantuo 渴槃陁, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, and Sute 粟特] and offer them large rewards. [Thereupon] the kings of the various states in the Western Regions, such as Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Yueban 悅般, Kepantuo 渴槃陁, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, and Sute 粟特 began sending envoys to present tribute.

According to this scholar’s theory, Wang 王 and Xu’s 許 mission to the West must have been in the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, in the fifth month; it was one of the twenty missions that were sent that year. And Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 mission to the West must have been in the second year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period,

in the eighth month, and it was one of the six missions that were sent that year. That the nine states sent envoys to present tribute was a result of the fact that Dong 董 and Gao 高 had summoned and appeased them and offered them large rewards when they went on the mission to West. <sup>[2]</sup>

In my opinion, this scholar's formulation is a bit too mechanical. In fact, there is no contradiction between chapters 4 and 102 of the *Weishu* 魏書.

This is because the fact that the various states in the Western Regions began to send envoys to present tribute to the Northern Wei 魏 during the Taiyan 太延 reign-period ("first sent envoys to present tribute"), had already been recorded in chapter 4 of the *Weishu* 魏書 in detail, and therefore, was only briefly noted in the preface to the "Memoir on the Western Regions". The former is a general account, and the latter is a brief account. By contrast, the fact that the Northern Wei 魏 Dynasty sent envoys to go on the mission to the various states in the Western Regions was briefly recorded in the chapter 4A (only "twenty missions" and "six missions"), so they were recorded in the preface to the "Memoir on the Western Regions" in detail, such as Wang 王 and Xu 許, Dong 董 and Gao 高. This is a method of historians, mutually explanatory and supplementary with the detailed mention of the same events in one place and brief in another place. The statement "During the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435-440), the virtue of Wei 魏 became better known far and wide day after day" appears at the beginning of the preface to the "Memoir on the Western Regions", to sum up the whole passage, because all the related events took place between the first and the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period. Following this, the editor first summarized the events that the various states in the Western Regions sent envoys to present tribute, and, after that, mentioned the events concerning the Northern Wei's 魏 sending envoys. The reason to give prominence to Dong 董 and Gao 高 was that this mission was a great achievement, and it had something to do with the sources of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions).

The phrase "nine states" was used in the passage three times. In fact it was only a vague formulation, and did not refer in particular to the nine states that sent envoys to present tribute in the third month of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437). This was because the names of the nine states were listed all at one time in the heading, where the phrase "nine states" was used to refer to the various states in the Western Regions in general.

For example, the event in which Emperor Shizu 世祖 "did not want to send envoys" must have taken place after Yanqi 焉耆 and Jushi 車師 sent envoys to present tribute in the second month of the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period and before the twenty missions were sent to go to the Western Regions in the fifth month of the same year. Therefore it is obviously impossible that "the nine states" mentioned by the



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officials refer to the nine states that sent envoys to present tribute in the third month of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437).

Second, Wusun 烏孫 was one of the nine states that sent envoys to present tribute in the third month of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437). However, the preface says “[Dong] Wan 董琬 passed the nine states, and went north and reached the state of Wusun 烏孫”. From this, we know that the “nine states” here was only a synonym for the “various states in the Western Regions”.

Third, the nine states sent envoys to present tribute in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, and one scholar suggests that it was the reason that the Northern Wei 魏 sent Dong 董 and Gao 高 to go on the mission to the West, and if so, one can infer the date on which Dong 董 and Gao 高 set out in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period.<sup>[3]</sup> Another scholar suggests that it was the result of the travel of Dong 董 and Gao 高 to the West, and then deduces the date on which Dong 董 and Gao 高 set out to be the eighth month of the second year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period.<sup>[4]</sup> In my opinion, the former theory is undoubtedly incorrect, and the latter is not exactly right.

If the purpose for which Dong 董 and Gao 高 were sent on the mission to the Western Regions was to return the visit in which the nine states had sent envoys to present tribute in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, then Dong 董 and Gao 高 must have visited all the nine states. However, in fact, they started home when they arrived at Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌, and did not go to Sute 粟特 at least. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), Sute 粟特 and Yancai 奄蔡 were lumped together, which is enough to explain this point.<sup>[5]</sup> In addition, there is no record of Dong 董 and Gao 高 being sent to the West in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period in *Weishu* 魏書 ch. 4 (the Emperor Shizu’s 世祖 Basic Annals).<sup>[6]</sup> Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 being sent to go to the West was very important in Wei Shou’s 魏收 mind, thus was written repeatedly and elaborately in the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions”. It seems impossible that there is no record of the date on which they set out. In other words, if the date had not been recorded in the “Emperor Shizu’s 世祖 Basic Annals” (ch. 4A), it would have been supplied in the “Memoir on the Western Regions”.

It is more important that, in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, it is recorded that “the state of Wusun 烏孫: ... Their state was several times invaded by the Ruru 蠕蠕, so they migrated west into the Cong 葱 Mountains, without walled cities. In company with their flocks and herds the inhabitants go in search of water and pasture. In the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period [Wei 魏] sent the envoys Dong Wan 董琬 and others to visit their state. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute”. It is clear that Dong 董

and Gao's 高 mission to Wusun 烏孫 was before Wusun's 烏孫 presenting tribute. The statement “太延三年遣使者董琬等使其國 (in the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period, [the Northern Wei 魏 Dynasty] sent the envoys Dong Wan 董琬 and others to visit their state)” and so on does not say that the envoys were sent in the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period, but that the envoys arrived in the state in this year. In other words, we should not consider that the purpose of Dong 董 and Gao's 高 mission to Wusun 烏孫 was to reply to the Wusun 烏孫, which sent envoys to present tribute in the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period, in the third month. This also shows that the purpose of Dong 董 and Gao's 高 mission to the West was not to reply to the nine states.

Precisely because of this, we infer that the date that Dong 董 and Gao 高 set out was the eighth month of the second year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period. From the statement “began sending envoys” and “also sent” and so on in the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions”, we know that Dong 董 and Gao's 高 mission should closely follow the Wang 王 and Xu 許 mission. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, twenty missions, including that of Wang 王 and Xu 許, were sent, in the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period, in the fifth month, on the same day. Therefore, the only possibility is that Dong 董 and Gao's 高 mission was one of the six missions which were sent in the eighth month of the next year. Since the date that Dong 董 and Gao 高 set out was recorded in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, it was omitted from the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions”.

However, it must be stressed that one should not understand the fact that the nine states sent envoys to present tribute as a result of Dong 董 and Gao's 高 mission to the West, because Dong 董 and Gao 高 set out in the eighth month of the second year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period. First, Dong 董 and Gao's 高 mission to the West was before the nine states sent envoys to present tribute, and it is impossible that they deliberately took these particular nine states as their goal. In other words, the nine states cannot be excluded from “the states on their way” noted in the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions”. Second, Dong 董 and Gao 高 in fact did not visit all the nine states. Therefore, objectively, there is no connection between the fact that the nine states sent envoys to present tribute and Dong 董 and Gao's 高 mission to the West. However, some of the nine states (for example, Wusun 烏孫) that sent envoys to present tribute did so as a direct result of Dong 董 and Gao's 高 mission to the West. To summarize, the fact that the nine states sent envoys to present tribute at one time in the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period must be a result of the fact that the power of Wei 魏 became increasingly better known far and wide.

From this, it can be seen that the statement “to summon and appease the nine states” seen in the “Memoir on the Western Regions” has to be read as “to summon and appease

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the various states in the Western Regions”.

In sum, the above-cited preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions” only says that during the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, the various states in the Western Regions first sent envoys to present tribute, but Emperor Shizu 世祖 did not want communication with them. Later, the Emperor agreed to the officials’ request. Wang 王 and Xu 許 were sent first, but failed. Dong 董 and Gao 高 were sent then and achieved their goal. This passage is well-organized, and no error can be pointed out in it. Some have felt puzzled at this. The cause is that the phrase “nine states”, used three times in the preface is taken to be identical to the nine states in the Western Regions that sent envoys to present tribute in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, and that are directly connected with Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 mission to the West.

In addition, it should be pointed out that the editor of the “Songji 宋紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒 made a mistake in this respect. Under the item of the fifth month of the twelfth year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period of Emperor Wen 文 (the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period of Emperor Shizu 世祖), it is recorded:

The nine states of Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Yueban 悅般, Kepantuo 渴槃陁, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, and Sute 粟特 sent envoys to pay tribute to the Wei 魏 court. The Wei 魏 lord considered that the Han 漢 Dynasty had had contact with the Western Regions, but now if there was something which the states required, they would come with their humble language; if there was nothing that they desired, their behavior to the royal order was arrogant. This was because they knew themselves to be cut off from the Central Kingdom by a long distance beyond the range of [the Han’s 漢] huge army. If envoys were sent back and forth in reply, they, making a futile effort, would ultimately not gain any benefit. Therefore, [the Wei 魏 master] did not want to send envoys. The officials firmly entreated [the throne] and said that “the nine states, braving hardship and danger, had submitted their local products from distant places. It was therefore proper to support them in their effort to move forward. It was unsuitable to refuse them and to discourage their successors. Thereupon, he sent twenty missions, including Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and others, to the Western Regions. When they came out of the Flowing Sands, Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and the others were unexpectedly captured by the Rouran 柔然. [Wang] Ensheng [王]恩生 met Celian 敕連, the Khan of the Rouran 柔然, but retained the Wei 魏 emblems of authority and did not surrender to him. The Wei 魏 master heard of it and severely reproached Celian 敕連. Celian 敕連 thus sent [Wang] Ensheng [王]恩生 and the others to return. Unexpectedly, however, they were unable to reach the Western

Regions.

And under the item of the fourteenth year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period (the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period), it is recorded:

The master of Wei also sent the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant Dong Wan 董琬, Gao Ming 高明, and others. Taking many brocaded silks, they came out from Shanshan 鄯善 to summon and appease the nine states. [Dong] Wan 董琬 and others reached Wusun 烏孫. The king was quite pleased, and said, “Both Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 wanted to swear fealty and present tribute to the Wei 魏, but there was no way to reach them. Now, it is suitable that you go to the two states to appease them”. Thereupon, [the king of Wusun 烏孫] provided them with guides and interpreters to go along with [Dong] Wan [董]琬, to Poluona 破洛那, and [Gao] Ming [高]明, to Zheshe 者舌. Hearing of this, the neighboring states tried to be the first to send envoys to present tribute, sixteen in all. From then on, these states continuously sent envoys to present tribute year after year.

Thereupon, the date on which the nine states sent envoys to present tribute was moved up to the first year from the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, and it became really the date of the “first sent envoys”. Apparently, not only making allowances for chapter 4A, but also thinking of the “Memoir on the Western Regions”, in fact this came completely from the incorrect understanding of the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions”. From this, it can be seen that the records of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 cannot be followed here.

Someone has said that “this preface is so skillful at whitewashing things as to be laughable. According to the Basic Annals of Emperor Shizu 世祖 (ch. 4A), the date on which Shanshan 鄯善 sent envoys to present tribute was in the sixth month of the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, and Sute 粟特 sent tribute in the eighth month, both after envoys had been dispatched. How could Emperor Shizu 世祖 have seen them come and not wanted to reply to them? How could the officials have seen them come and not suggested that the Emperor encourage the loyalty of their successors? When one sees that it distorts the facts to hide the truth in this fawning way, one may say that the *Weishu* 魏書 is really a compromised historical record”.<sup>[7]</sup> This is to try to analyze and resolve the contradictions in the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions” from another point of view. In my opinion, whether the *Weishu* 魏書 is a compromised historical record or not, we will here leave it aside for the moment. However, it can be affirmed that Wei Shou 魏收 had no need to fawn by distorting facts to hide the truth at this point.

## B

Dong 董 and Gao's 高 mission to the West was important, first, because they brought back information about the Western Regions. There is a compendious statement of this in the preface to the "Memoir on the Western Regions" of the *Weishu* 魏書 (ch. 102):

Taking many brocaded silks. To go to the Western Regions there were originally two routes. Later they changed into four. From the Yumen 玉門 Barrier crossing the Flowing Sands going west 2,000 *li* 里 to Shanshan 鄯善 is the first route. From the Yumen 玉門 Barrier crossing the Flowing Sands and going north 2,200 *li* 里 to Jushi 車師 is the second route. From Suoju 莎車 going west 100 *li* 里 to the Cong 葱 Mountains, then west 1,300 *li* 里 to Jiabei 伽倍 is the third route. From Suoju 莎車 southwest 500 *li* 里 to the Cong 葱 Mountains, then southwest 1,300 *li* 里 to Bolu 波路 is the fourth route.

On this record, recent scholars have done a lot of textual research and analysis. The divergence of views focuses on the geographical location of "the four regions" and confirmation of "the sixteen states". We will examine "the four regions" first, then discuss "the sixteen states" subsequently, for convenience.

The first region was east of the Cong 葱 Mountains and west of the Flowing Sands. On the geographical location of this region, the views of the scholars are roughly the same. "The Cong 葱 Mountains" is considered to refer to the Pamirs, and "the Flowing Sands", the deserts between the Yumen 玉門 Barrier and Shanshan 鄯善, i.e., "the desert of Sanlong 三隴" or "Dragon Mounds" noted in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilue* 魏略. In addition, as this scholar has mentioned, the area north of the Tian 天 Mountains must be included in this region. <sup>[8]</sup>

The second region was west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and east of the sea bend. Here "Cong 葱 Mountains" must refer to the Hindu Kush Mountains. "Cong 葱 Mountains" was not the special name for the Pamirs during the Northern and Southern Dynasties, and it often was used as a general term for the mountains whose center was the Pamirs, including the Hindu Kush Mountains. <sup>[9]</sup> Since the valley of the Amu Darya west of the Pamirs had been cut into the third regions (more of that later), "Cong 葱 Mountains", as the eastern limit of the second region, in fact referred to the Hindu Kush Mountains.

“The sea bend” also appears in the records on the state of Da Qin 大秦 in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions):

The state of Da Qin 大秦: it is also called Lixuan 黎軒. Its capital is located at the city of Andu 安都. From Tiaozhi 條支 one goes west across the sea, winding around 10,000 *li* 里 [and reaches the city of Andu 安都]. It is distant by 39,400 *li* 里 from Dai 代. The sea comes out on one side like the bay of Bo 勃 Sea. The sea and the Bo Sea 勃 face each other in the east and west. This is a natural configuration. Its area extends for 6,000 *li* 里 and is situated between two seas. Its land is flat and regular, with the civilian residential housing scattered all over like stars in the sky... From the western border of Anxi 安息, following the sea bend, one also reaches Da Qin 大秦, going about 10,000 *li* 里.

Combining this with the records in the Memoir on the Western Rong of the *Weilue* 魏略:

The state of Da Qin 大秦: it is also named Lijian 犁靛. It lies to the west of the great sea which is west of Anxi 安息 and Tiaozhi 條支. From the town of Angu 安谷 on the frontier of Anxi 安息, one travels by boat directly across to the west of the sea. If one meets with favourable winds it takes two months, but with delaying winds, it takes perhaps one year, and with no wind at all, perhaps three years. As this state lies west of the sea, it is popularly called “West of Sea”....

Now, from the town of Angu 安谷, going due north by land one gets to the north of the sea. Continuing on due west one gets to the west of the sea. Continuing on due south one gets to the town of Wuchisan 烏遲散. Crossing a river, only after one day’s journey by boat does one get across. Going all the way round the sea, one must still always cross over a great sea, and only after six days does one arrive at this state.

We know that “crossing the sea bend” means that from Antioch in Syria one traveled by sea, crossing over the Mediterranean, and reached the mainland of Da Qin 大秦, i.e., the Italian Peninsula. “Following the sea bend” means that from Antioch, going north by land, one reaches the north of the Mediterranean, i.e., Asia Minor, the Balkans, and other lands. From there going further west, one also arrived at the mainland of Da Qin 大秦. Therefore, the “sea bend” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions) must have referred to the sea area or the seacoast of the Mediterranean from Syria and Palestine, to Asia Minor and the Balkans. And the western limit of the second region, opposite the Hindu Kush Mountains, refers to the eastern coast of the

Mediterranean.<sup>[10]</sup> It has been suggested that Da Qin 大秦 must have been the eastern dependent territory of the Roman Empire, whose center was located in Egypt, and this implies that the “sea bend” must have been the Red Sea and Persian Gulf.<sup>[11]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is incorrect.

The third region was south of Zheshe 者舌 and north of Yuezhi 月氏. Zheshe 者舌 was located in the present Tashkent area, and “Yuezhi 月氏” here refers to the Kidara Kushan, which occupied Tuhārestān and the north of Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅 (Gandhāra) during the time that Dong 董 and Gao 高 went on the mission to the West. The records in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), can be taken as evidence:<sup>[12]</sup>

The state of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏: its capital is located at the town of Lujiānshì 盧監氏 to the west of Fudisha 弗敵沙, and it is distant by 14,500 *li* 里 from Dai 代.... Its king Jiduoluo 寄多羅, who was brave and warlike, thereupon raised an army, crossed the great mountains and, going southwards, invaded Northern Tianzhu 天竺. The five states north of Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅 (Gandhāra) all became subject to him.

Therefore, this region must have included Sogdiana, Tuhārestān, and a part of the northwest of the subcontinent.

It has been suggested that Sogdiana should be included in the second region. The main reason is that the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), records that “The state of Sute 粟特 is located to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains”, and, as the eastern limit of the second region, this should be taken as “Cong 葱 Mountains” in a general sense, including the Pamirs.<sup>[13]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

First, if, as this scholar has said, “Cong 葱 Mountains”, as the eastern limit of the second region, should be taken as the Cong 葱 Mountains in a general sense, then not only Sogdiana, but also Tuhārestān would be included in this region. That would mean that the largest part of the third region would be included in the second region. This is of course incorrect.

Second, the statement “The state of Sute 粟特 is located to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains”, seen in the extant “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Weishu* 魏書 (ch. 102) in fact does not belong to the original text, but was taken from the *Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 50 (Memoir on Foreign Countries) by Li Yanshou 李延壽 when he edited the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Regions). Mountains and rivers often were used as datum when *Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 50 (Memoir on Foreign Countries) marks the positions of states in the Western Regions, which was obviously not the method used by

the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions).<sup>[14]</sup>

This scholar stresses that Sogdiana should be included in the second region, the primary reason being that, in his opinion, the states recorded in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), are arranged in order of the “four regions”. Of these, the state of Sute 粟特 is the head of the second region, and the evidence for this is the statement “The state of Sute 粟特: It is located to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains”. In my opinion, this is also untenable.

In sum, the eastern limit of the second region must be the Hindu Kush Mountains (the southern part of the Cong 葱 Mountains in a general sense), and the western limit of the third region must be the Pamirs (the northern part of the Cong 葱 Mountains in a general sense).

The fourth region was located between the two seas and south of the marsh. “Two seas” also appears in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions): “the state of Da Qin 大秦... is situated between two seas”. Combining the statement “As this state lies west of the sea, it is popularly called “West of Sea”. There is a river which comes out from this state. To the west, there is also a great sea” in the “Memoir on Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilue* 魏略, so we know that “two seas” must have been the Adriatic Sea to the east of the Italian Peninsula, and the Tyrrhenian Sea to the west of the peninsula.<sup>[15]</sup>

“Marsh” must be the “Great Marsh” noted in the “Memoir on the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilue* 魏略, and it refers to the Black Sea:

There is in addition the state of Yancai 奄蔡, which is also named Alan 阿蘭. These states all have the same way of life as that of Kangju 康居. [These states] to the west adjoin Da Qin 大秦, to the southeast, Kangju 康居.... It borders the Great Marsh. Formerly, the state was subject to Kangju 康居, but now is not subject to it.

Yancai 奄蔡 first appears in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan 大宛): “Yancai 奄蔡 is at a distance of about 2,000 *li* 里 northwest of Kangju 康居. It is a land of nomads.... It is situated on the Great Marsh, which [seems] to have no [further] shore and is presumably the Northern Sea”. There is roughly the same record in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A (Memoir on the Western Regions). Since the state was located to the northwest of Kangju 康居, the Great Marsh it is situated on must have been the Caspian Sea.<sup>[16]</sup> Alan 阿蘭, it is generally suggested, must have been the Alans who appear in the western historical records. Their nomadic extent was from the Danube River in the west to the east of the Don River in the east. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the Alans conquered many tribes close by, and made them change their



names to Alan. <sup>[17]</sup> The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions) records that “The state of Yancai 奄蔡: It has changed its name to the state of Alan 阿蘭”, and we know that the Yancai 奄蔡 had already been conquered by the Alans in the time described by the memoir. <sup>[18]</sup> Since the *Weilue* 魏略 says that “the state of Yancai 奄蔡, which is also named Alan 阿蘭”, the Yancai 奄蔡 it recorded must have been different from the Yancai 奄蔡 of the *Shiji* 史記, and the former were those who were conquered by the Alans. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan 大宛), it is clearly recorded that Yancai 奄蔡 lay to the northwest of Kangju 康居, perhaps at a distance of 2000 *li* 里. However, in the “Memoir on the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilue* 魏略, it is only recorded in general terms that Yancai 奄蔡 adjoined Kangju 康居 to the southeast, and it is recorded that “Formerly, the state was subject to Kangju 康居, but now is not subject to it”. In the meanwhile, it mentions that Kangju’s 康居 “territories are as they originally were and have neither been added to nor subtracted from”. This shows that the Yancai 奄蔡 conquered by the Alans had moved west and were no longer controlled by the Kangju 康居. The statement “It adjoins Da Qin 大秦 on the west” shows that their center of activity was no longer north of the Caspian Sea. Combining the records on the Alans’ position by Ammianus Marcellinus, we know that the “Great Marsh” they were situated on must have been the Black Sea.

From this, it can be seen that the fourth region refers to the area whose center was the Italian Peninsula, south of the Black Sea.

It has been suggested that “marsh”, should be “Great Marsh” where the Yancai 奄蔡 lived as noted in the memoir of Sute 粟特 of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions). It included the Aral Sea, the Caspian Sea, and the Black Sea. This is because the Chinese from Han 漢 to Northern Wei 魏 times did not distinguish the three seas, and considered that the Aral Sea extended infinitely northwest and north, joining with the Arctic Ocean. <sup>[19]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

The information on the Yancai 奄蔡 and the “Great Marsh” the Yancai 奄蔡 were located on had been learned from Central Asia by Zhang Qian 張騫 at the earliest. Since the people in Central Asia did not necessarily know about the separateness of the three seas, it does not seem that Zhang Qian 張騫 would consider the Aral Sea or both Aral and Caspian Sea to extend infinitely west. In addition, the statement that Yancai 奄蔡 was situated “on the Great Marsh” means obviously that its southern part faced the Great Marsh, thus it does not seem that Zhang Qian 張騫 would consider the “Great Marsh” extended infinitely north. The memoir says it “has no [further] shore” in order to describe its vastness. Drawing back one step, even if there were the above-mentioned mistakes in the time of Zhang Qian 張騫 on one occasion, they would have been put right as

knowledge about the Western Regions gradually were understood. There are correct descriptions about Central Asia, Western Asia and the territories along the shores of the Mediterranean in both the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions), and the “Memoir on the Western Rong of the *Weilue* 魏略”,<sup>[20]</sup> and it is unimaginable that people in Central Asia or the Chinese could not distinguish the Aral Sea, Caspian Sea and the Black Sea down to the mid-fifth century A.D. as before. From a record showing that the state of Yan 嚴 was “located to the north of Yancai 奄蔡” in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions), we know that the Han 漢 people had somewhat understood the area north of Yancai 奄蔡 in the time of Ban Chao 班超 and his son, Ban Yong 班勇, at the latest.

To verify his own view, the above-mentioned scholar also quoted a passage of the preface to the “Memoir of the Western Regions” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (ch. 88):

In the second year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 123) the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Zhang Dang 張璠, sent a written message to the emperor, offering three plans: Now the King of Huyan 呼延 of the northern savages frequently passes through many places between Pulei 蒲類 and the Qin 秦 Sea. He controls the Western Regions, and, together with Jushi 車師, invades and robs....

And it has been pointed out that “Qin 秦 Sea” here obviously refers to the Aral Sea. This is because the sea extended west to the state of Da Qin 大秦, in the eyes of people at that time. In my opinion, this also is untenable. Even if the people at that time considered mistakenly that the Aral Sea extended west and joined with the Caspian Sea and even the Black Sea, it would not be called “Qin 秦 Sea”, but the “Great Marsh”. “Qin 秦 Sea”, is just as Li’s 李 commentaries said: “The state of Da Qin 大秦 is located west of the Western Sea, which thus is called, “Qin 秦 Sea”. There have been various opinions on the geographical location of Da Qin 大秦 and no unanimous conclusion can be drawn. Fortunately, my viewpoint on this problem is the same as the scholar who offers the above-mentioned suggestion. I also consider that Da Qin must have been the Italian Peninsula. If this is so, the “Qin 秦 Sea” undoubtedly refers to the Mediterranean. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions), “The state of Da Qin 大秦: ... Since it is situated to the west of the sea, it is also called ‘state of West of the Sea’”. If this scholar’s suggestion is correct, then there would be the term of “state of West of the Sea”.

As for the words of Zhang Dang 張璠, in my view, these cannot be made certain. In other words, in fact, it is impossible that the King of Huyan 呼延 frequently passed through many places between Pulei 蒲類 (Barkul Nor) and the Qin 秦 Sea

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(Mediterranean). Zhang Dang 張璠 said so just in order to draw the outline of the Western Regions known by people at that time (this outline is basically consistent with the description of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88,) and to show that harm done by the Xiongnu 匈奴 was acute.

As for the records in the memoir of Sute 粟特 of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), I believe that all the parts directly related to Yancai 奄蔡 in it (“It is located on the Great Marsh to the northwest of Kangju 康居, and it is distant by 16,000 *li* 里 from Dai 代”), following the *Hanshu* 漢書 ch. 96 (Memoir on the Western Regions), did not reflect the physical truth in the time of Dong 董 and Gao 高. In other words, it cannot be used to prove both that the Yancai 奄蔡, as a nomadic tribe, roved about some 2000 *li* 里 to the northwest from Kangju 康居 at that time, and the “Great Marsh” it was situated on was the Aral Sea or Caspian Sea; or that people at that time did not yet distinguish the Aral Sea, the Caspian Sea, and the Black Sea.

In addition, the fact that the editor of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions) confused Yancai 奄蔡 with Sute 粟特 shows that Dong 董 and Gao 高 did not arrive at Sute 粟特 in person, so there was no further need to say any more about the Yancai 奄蔡. The cause of the confusion, as I have pointed out, is that Dong 董 and Gao 高 heard that the Alans were conquered by the Huns at the same time they heard that the “Xiongnu 匈奴”, i.e., Yeda 嚙噠 (Hephthalites) had conquered Sogdiana.<sup>[21]</sup> This also shows that the Yancai 奄蔡, of which Dong 董 and Gao 高 heard, i.e., the Alans, in fact followed nomadic routes north of the Black Sea. From the records of Ammianus Marcellinus, we know that the Huns had conquered the Alans there, and the date was quite close to that at which the Yeda 嚙噠 (Hephthalites) occupied Sogdiana.

In fact, the geographical location of Yancai 奄蔡 in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan 大宛), was not the same as that in the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Weilue* 魏略, but both say that Yancai 奄蔡 was located “on the Great Marsh”. It is quite clear that the above-mentioned suggestion has been offered mainly in order to resolve this contradiction. However, this scholar seems to neglect the fact that Chinese historians in ancient times often were fond of following the preceding historical records, and sometimes poured new wine into an old bottle.

## C

The problems concerning the “four regions” have not yet been completely clarified by discussion. This is because the “Introduction to the Western Rong 戎” of the chapter “Bianfang Dian 邊防典” (Classic on Frontier Defense) of the *Tongdian* 通典 says:

[Dong Wan 董琬] returned, and he reported that the land [of the Western Regions] consisted of three regions: East of the Cong 葱 Mountains and west of the Flowing Sands was one region, south of Gumo 姑墨 and north of Yuezhi 月氏 was another, and between the two seas and south of the marsh was the third. In the three regions there were perhaps 100 petty chiefs.

It has been suggested that the original text of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions) must have been the same as that recorded in the *Tongdian* 通典. The extant *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, which reads “four regions” for “three regions”, is thus incorrect.

One scholar believes that the region “west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and east of the sea bend” was added because the area east of Da Qin 大秦 was understood in detail. As a result, the sphere of the second and third regions overlap.<sup>[22]</sup>

In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. This is because the knowledge concerning the areas east of Da Qin 大秦 the Chinese in Han 漢 times had learned was not shallow. The information on Anxi 安息 and Tiaozhi 條支 recorded in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, and the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, can be taken as evidence. In addition, as mentioned above, the spheres of the second and third region recorded in the extant “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Weishu* 魏書 (ch. 102) do not overlap.

Another scholar believes that the “four regions” must have been the content of the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Regions), but not the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高 or the content of the original manuscript of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions). The first region refers to the states that were located in the Tarim Basin to the east of the Cong 葱 Mountains (the Pamirs). The second region refers to the states that were located in Tadzhikistan and Kirghizstan, between Gumo 姑墨 (Aksu) and Yuezhi 月氏 (Balkh). The third region refers to the states that were located in the areas on the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea. This is probably because Li Yanshou 李延壽 considered that the geographical location of the region “south of Gumo 姑墨 and north of Yuezhi 月氏” was incorrect, thus he changed “Gumo 姑墨” to “Zheshe 者舌” when he compiled the “Memoir of the Western Regions” of the *Beishi* 北史 (ch. 97). He also added the region “west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and east of the sea bend” because the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Regions), included the states south of the Hindu Kush Mountains, such as the state of Cao 漕.<sup>[23]</sup>

In my opinion, this theory is also inadequate. Even if the region “west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and east of the sea bend” referred to the states that were located south of the Hindu Kush Mountains, there would be no reason to consider this region was not

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recorded in the original manuscript of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions).

First, the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高 had already mentioned the areas south of the Hindu Kush Mountains. For example, the territory of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 included the lands south of the Hindu Kush, such as Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅 and others; also, the Route of Bolu 波路, one of the routes to the Western Regions in that time, led exactly to the states south of the Hindu Kush. In other words, it is possible that the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高 already included the region “west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and east of the sea bend”.

Second, of the states recorded in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏, Jibin 罽賓, Southern Tianzhu 天竺, Diefuluo 疊伏羅, Badou 拔豆, and others, the states south of the Hindu Kush, at least, were not mentioned in the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高, but have been confirmed to be included in the original manuscript of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions) by the scholar who holds the above-mentioned opinion. In other words, even if there was no mention of the region “west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and east of the sea bend” in the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高, according to this scholar’s logic, this region would have been added by the editor of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions).

Third, the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Beishi* 北史 compiled by Li Yanshou 李延壽 is nothing but a mechanical reiteration of the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Weishu* 魏書, the “Memoir on the Foreign Countries” of the *Zhoushu* 周書, and the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Suishu* 隋書, and there is no substantial increase or decrease of material in it. In other words, even if there was no record on the states south of the Hindu Kush in the original manuscript of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is unimaginable that an editor who did not know the Western Regions would have added the corresponding regions to the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions” because the records of the state of Cao 漕 and others were included.

Furthermore, it is unacceptable to consider that the region “west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and east of the sea bend” refers to the states south of the Hindu Kush Mountains. This scholar considers that “sea bend” must have referred to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, but this is incorrect. Incidentally, it should be pointed out that this scholar’s conclusion from researching “the three regions” noted in the *Tongdian* 通典 also is incorrect: large parts of the first and second regions are superimposed; if “two seas” referred to the Caspian Sea and the Mediterranean, where would “the marsh” be? Is it possible that it was the Arctic Ocean?

In sum, the “four regions” recorded in the extant “Memoir on the Western Regions”

of the *Weishu* 魏書(ch. 102), outlines a quite exact political map of the Western Regions for us. Of these, the first region was the sphere of influence of the nomadic tribes in Northern Asia. The second region was the sphere of influence of Persia. The third region was a buffer zone between the above-mentioned two influences, thus this region was controlled by the Persians or the nomadic tribes who moved south before Islamization. The fourth region was the Roman Empire and its sphere of influence. However, the “three regions” described in the *Tongdian* 通典, cannot give us a clear and integrated understanding of the Western Regions in that time, no matter how we apportion the geographical location of each region. Such being the case, we have to consider that the “four regions” are contained in the original manuscript of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), and came from the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高; the “three regions” in the *Tongdian* 通典 was fabricated by Du You 杜佑.

The crucial point is to explain the foundation and reasons that Du You 杜佑 changed “four regions” into “three regions”. All those scholars who believe in the “four regions” <sup>[24]</sup> have not offered the appropriate explanation, which means that the “three regions” has not been denied at the root. On this problem, my opinion is as follows: In the preface to the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 of Xuanzang 玄奘, it is said:

At the time when there is no paramount wheel-monarch, then the land of Jambudvīpa has four rulers. On the south “the lord of elephants”; the land here is warm and humid, suitable for elephants. On the west “the lord of treasures”; the land borders on the sea, and abounds in gems. On the north “the lord of horses”; the country is cold and hard, suitable for horses. On the east “the lord of men”; the climate is soft and agreeable (exhilarating), and therefore there are many men. In the country of “the lord of elephants” the people are quick and enthusiastic, and entirely given to learning. They cultivate especially magical arts. They wear a robe thrown across them, with their right shoulder bare; their hair is done up in a ball on the top, and left undressed on the four sides. Their various tribes occupy different towns; their houses are built stage over stage. In the country of “the lord of treasures” the people have no politeness or justice. They accumulate wealth. Their dress is short, with a left skirt. They cut their hair and cultivate their moustaches. They dwell in walled towns and are eager in profiting by trade. The people of the country of “the lord of horses” are naturally wild and fierce. They are cruel in disposition; they slaughter (animals) and live under large felt tents; they divide like birds (going here and there) attending their flocks. The land of “the lord of men” is distinguished for the wisdom and virtue and justice of the people. They wear a head-covering and a girdle; the end of their dress (girdle) hangs to the right. They have carriages and robes according to rank; they cling to the soil and hardly ever change their abode;

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they are very earnest in work, and divided into classes. With respect to the people belonging to these three rulers, the eastern region is considered the best; the doors of their dwellings open towards the east, and when the sun rises in the morning they turn towards it and salute it. In this country the south side is considered the most honorable. Such are the leading characteristics in respect of manners and customs relating to these regions. <sup>[25]</sup>

It is quite possible that this is the foundation upon which Du You 杜佑 changed the “four regions” offered by Dong 董 and Gao 高 into “three regions”. In the eyes of Du You 杜佑, since the world was divided into four parts, and one of them is the Middle Kingdom (dynasties in the Middle Plain), the Western Regions could be divided only into three parts. Thereupon, he canceled the second region, and changed “Zheshe 者舌”, that was used to mark the third region, into “Gumo 姑墨”, and tried hard to make his “three regions” correspond to the countries of “the lord of horses”, “the lord of elephants”, and “the lord of treasures”, in turn.

Of course, it does not mean that Du You 杜佑 made this modification after he had read the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, though he could have read the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 from the date of the compilation of the *Tongdian* 通典. This is because similar versions had been handed down for a long time, and there is a comparatively complete version only in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記.

To the best of my knowledge, this theory appears at the earliest in Kang Tai’s 康泰 *Waiguozhuan* 外國傳 (Memoir on Foreign Countries), quoted by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 123:

A foreign country says that there are three numerous things in the world. The Middle Kingdom has numerous people. Da Qin 大秦 has numerous treasures. Yuezhi 月氏 has numerous horses.

It also appears in the *Foshuo Shieryoujing* 佛說十二遊經 (Dvādaśa-varṣa-viharaṇa-sūtra), translated by Kālodake (A.D. 392), under the Eastern Jin 晉 Dynasty, vol. 1.

There is the Son of Heaven of Jin 晉 in the east, and the people are flourishing. There is the Son of Heaven of the state of Tianzhu 天竺, and there are many famous elephants in the land. There is the Son of Heaven of the state of Da Qin 大秦, and there is much gold, silver, and jade in the land. There is the Son of Heaven of the Yuezhi 月支, and there are many fine horses in the land. <sup>[26]</sup>

In addition, it appears in the chapter “Zhongbian 中邊” of the *Shijia Fangzhi* 釋迦方誌 (A Record of Śakyamuni’s country), compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (A.D. 650-667), under the Tang 唐 Dynasty (Vol. A):

The land of Jambudvīpa is ruled by four lords. From the south of the Snow Mountains to the Southern Sea, it is called “the lord of elephants”. The land is hot and damp, and is suitable for elephants to live in. The king thus maintains stability in the country with elephant-riding troops. The people’s customs are quick and enthusiastic and entirely given to learning magical arts. This is the state of Yindu 印度 (India). ...From the west of the Snow Mountains to the Western Sea, it is called “the lord of treasures”. The land adjoins the Western Sea; there is an abundance of rarities. The people despise politeness and accumulate wealth. This is the state of Hu 胡. From the north of the Snow Mountains to the Northern Sea, it is called “the lord of horses”. The climate is cold, suitable for horses. The people are cruel in disposition; they slaughter (animals) and wear felt clothes. This is the state of Tujue 突厥 (Thrk). From the east of the Snow Mountains to the Eastern Sea, it is called “the lord of men”. The climate is soft and agreeable (exhilarating); the people carry out virtue and justice, and cling to the soil and hardly ever change their abode. This is the state of Zhina 至那, i.e., the state of Zhendan 振旦 in ancient time.<sup>[27]</sup>

And in the *Xu Gaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳 (A Continuation of the Memoirs of Eminent Priests), compiled by Dao Xuan 道宣, vol. 4, it is recorded:

The land of Jambudvīpa is ruled by four kings. There is the king of Zhina 脂那 in the east, who is the lord of men. There is the king of Bosi 波斯 in the west, who is the lord of treasures. There is the king of Yindu 印度 in the south, who is the lord of elephants. There is the king of Xianyun 獫狁 in the north, who is the lord of horses.<sup>[28]</sup>

Of these, Kang Tai’s 康泰 *Waiguo Zhuan* 外國傳 (Memoir on Foreign Countries) divided the world into three parts, but this was a version from the standpoint of a certain foreign country. That is the reason for the statement “a foreign country says...”. The foreign country that had “numerous elephants” was certainly India. Therefore, the version that Kang Tai 康泰 heard also in fact was a division of the world into four parts. This shows also that the version took its source from India, and can be called the Indian version of the way to divide the world into four.<sup>[29]</sup>

In addition, comparing the relevant parts of the *Tongdian* 通典 and the extant



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“Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Weishu* 魏書 (ch. 102), we discover another important modification made by Du You 杜佑. This is the statement “Since Emperor Wu 武 of Han 漢 there have been over fifty states in the Western Regions. Afterwards they gradually annexed each other. Down to the middle of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period there were sixteen states in all. Their lands can be divided into four regions” was removed. The foundation of this modification can be found only in the Indian version of the way to divide the world into four parts. So there is another passage in the above-quoted *Foshuo Shieryoujing* 佛說十二遊經 (Dvādaśa-varṣa-viharāṇa-sūtra), vol. 1, before the sentence “there is the Son of Heaven of Jin 晉 in the east”, as follows:

There are sixteen large states, 84,000 towns, eight kings, and four Sons of Heaven in the land of Jambudvīpa. <sup>[30]</sup>

It is possible that in the eyes of Du You 杜佑, the “sixteen states” should be distributed through the whole world, not only in the Western Regions. It is also possible that in his eyes the so-called “sixteen states” was purely an Indian legend, which did not agree with fact. Thereupon all these sentences were deleted after “four regions” had been changed into “three regions”, and he never dreamt that these sentences did not come from the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高, but were the trace that Wei Shou 魏收 left when he imitated and copied the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Hanshu* 漢書, (ch. 96) (more of the that later).

It may be asked, why could we not consider that the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高 or the manuscript of Wei Shou 魏收 should be “three regions”, as seen in the *Tongdian* 通典, since the Indian version of the way to divide the world into four continents had been handed down for a long time and could, after all, have been heard by Dong 董, Gao 高 and Wei Shou 魏收. My answer is as follows:

From the above-cited records of Kang Tai 康泰 and even Dao Xuan 道宣, we know that the Indians divided the world into four continents; they used a standard based on mainly natural environment and cultural patterns decided by natural environment, which had nothing to do with the political situation. Therefore, “the lord of horses” could be matched to “Yuezhi 月氏” in the records of Kang Tai 康泰 and Kālodake, to “Tujue 突厥” or “Xianyun 獫狁” in the records of Daoxuan 道宣; “the lord of treasures” could be matched to “Da Qin” in Kang Tai 康泰 and Kālodake, to “Bosi 波斯” in Dao Xuan 道宣. “Yuezhi 月氏” and others here were obviously not political entities, but represented various cultural patterns. When Dong 董 and Gao 高 were sent on the mission to the Western Regions, the matters of interest to them, being ministers of the Northern Wei, was first both the past and the present of the politics of the Western

Regions, and nature and culture were secondary. Therefore, they could not take the Indian standard. In addition, the area that Dong 董 and Gao 高 wanted to investigate and divide was the Western Regions, but not the world or land of Jambudvīpa, as the Indians said. Naturally, they had no need to stick fast to the Indian version of the way to divide the world into four continents, and they divided the Western Regions into three. In addition, what would the sense be in Dong 董 and Gao 高 bringing this back to report, since the Indian version of the way to divide the world into four parts had been handed down for a long time? As for some similarities between the “four regions” Dong 董 and Gao 高 offered and the Indian version of the way to divide the world into four parts (for example, the sphere of the second region was roughly the same as the land of “the lord of treasures” recorded by Daoxuan 道宣), the reason was not so much that Dong 董 and Gao 高 were under the influence of the Indian version of the way to divide the world into four, as that the formation of a political map has something to do with natural environment and cultural pattern after all.

In sum, since the rationality to analyze the situation of the Western Regions according to “the four regions” cannot be denied, and the foundation and intention that Li Yanshou 李延壽 changed “four regions” into “three regions”, one has to acknowledge that what Dong 董 and Gao 高 heard was “four regions”, but Du You 杜佑, acting irresponsibly for an understanding and sensible person, lumped the two methods of dividing the world according to different standards and categories together. He cannot avoid being ridiculed for making a square peg fit a round hole.<sup>[31]</sup>

## D

The following examines the discussion of the so-called “sixteen states”:

“Sixteen states” was a phrase mentioned twice in the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Weishu* 魏書 (ch. 102). In one place, it says that “Later, when [Dong] Wan 董琬 and [Gao] Ming 高明 returned eastwards, some of the Wusun 烏孫, Poluona 破洛那, and the like, sent envoys with [Dong] Wan 董琬, to come to pay tribute, sixteen states in all”. In another place, it also says that “Since Emperor Wu 武 of the Han 漢, there have been over fifty states in the Western Regions. Afterwards they gradually annexed each other. By the middle of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, there were sixteen states in all. Their lands can be divided into four regions”. If we believe the preface, then there were sixteen states in all in the Western Regions during the Tanyan 太延 reign-period. They were located in the four regions respectively, and their envoys, with Dong 董 and Gao 高, came to present tribute. However, in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, it is clearly recorded that those states that sent envoys to present tribute, when Dong

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董 and Gao 高 returned in the eleventh month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), were only the two states of Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌, and it can be affirmed there were not only sixteen states in the whole Western Regions. Therefore, these two sentences should not be understood according to their literal meaning. It is understandable that some may cast doubt on this conclusion, but no one has discovered the essential cause of the problem.<sup>[32]</sup> Actually, the former only results from the circumstance that Wei Shou 魏收 imitated the statement “the deputy envoys whom he had sent to make contact with states such as Daxia 大夏 all came to court, in many cases with people from those places” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Zhang Qian 張騫). The latter results from the statement “Communications with the Western Regions started only in the time of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武. Originally there had been thirty-six states, but afterwards these were gradually divided into more than fifty” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A (Memoir on the Western Regions). In brief, what these sentences tell us is only or at most that the states in the Western Regions Dong 董 and Gao 高 “had seen with their own eyes or those they had heard about” were sixteen states in all, and the sixteen states were distributed through the “four regions”.

Because we cannot infer the specific route of Dong 董 and Gao 高, we also cannot know the exact region they heard about. If we want to decide the names of the “sixteen states”, then we would have to draw back one step and adopt a similar standard: the so-called “sixteen states” refer to those states known precisely by the Northern Wei 魏 down to the date when Dong 董 and Gao 高 returned home. According to this standard, the nine states of Qiuci 龜茲, Yueban 悅般, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, Sute 粟特, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Kepantuo 渴盤陀, and Shanshan 鄯善, which sent envoys to present tribute in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), and the two states of Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌, which sent envoys to present tribute in the eleventh month of the same year can probably be included. In addition, the four states of Yuezhi 月氏, Suoju 莎車, Jiabei 伽倍, and Bolu 波路, that Dong 董 and Gao 高 mentioned when they reported the “four regions” and the “four routes” to the Western Regions can be included. The remnant state most possibly was Da Qin 大秦. As mentioned above, of the “four regions” reported by Dong 董 and Gao 高, the sphere of the fourth region was roughly identical with that of Da Qin 大秦. However, if we consider that the above-listed “sixteen states” were distributed in the first, third, and fourth regions, and there should be those states Dong 董 and Gao 高 heard about in the second region, the “sixteen states” should include Bosi 波斯. Since the fact that the nine states sent envoys to present tribute in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437) had nothing to do with Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 mission to the West, it would difficult to infer that all the nine states were those they had seen with

their own eyes or those they heard about, in other words, it may be not correct that these states were included in the “sixteen states”. We must acknowledge that it has been impossible to accurately judge what were the “sixteen states” until now.

The “sixteen states” listed by the scholars all include the nine states that sent envoys to present tribute at the Wei 魏 court in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, and the two states that sent envoys to present tribute at the Wei 魏 court in the eleventh month of the same year, but the views about the rest to be included are not quite consistent.

One scholar mistakes the nine states’ sending envoys to present tribute as a result of Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 mission to the West, and thus adds the five states of Xijuban 悉居半, Zheyi 遮逸, Edun 頰盾, Jibin 罽賓, and Mimi 迷密, which sent envoys to present tribute after the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period.<sup>[33]</sup> In my opinion, it is impossible to prove there was a direct relationship between the fact that the five states sent envoys to present tribute and Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 mission to the West. It is quite possible that the five were “those states that sent envoys to present tribute after [Dong] Wan [董]琬, who did not report them”.

Another scholar adds the state of Qiemi 且彌, except the four states of Yuezhi 月氏, Suoju 莎車, Jipei 伽倍, and Bolu 波路, because he mistakes the cause of Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 being sent to the West believing that it was because the envoys of the nine states came to present tribute (and thus tries to research the route of Dong 董 and Gao 高). The reason is that Qiemi 且彌 was an old state in Han 漢 times, which had disappeared in the official history records for a long time. It was newly mentioned in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), which shows that this state was on the way of Dong 董 and Gao 高.<sup>[34]</sup> In my opinion, this is only a guess on the basis of the above-mentioned incorrect understanding.

Another scholar includes Yuezhi 月氏, Da Qin 大秦, and Bosi 波斯, but not Suoju 莎車, Jiabei 伽倍 and Bolu 波路, except the eleven states that sent envoys to present tribute.<sup>[35]</sup> In my opinion, this is self-contradictory. The latter three states included undoubtedly are among those states heard about by Dong 董 and Gao 高. The remaining two states are considered to be Xijuban 悉居半 and Zheyi 遮逸, but, as mentioned above, this is also incorrect.

This scholar, incidentally, identified “Zeyi 遮逸”, noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, with “Qiemi 且彌”, seen in the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Weishu* 魏書. In my opinion, this is incorrect. It is quite possible that the so-called “Zeyi 遮逸 [tjya-jiet]” was a different transcription of “Zheshe 者舌 [tjya-djyat]”. First, the pronunciations were identical. Second, the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, records that in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, in the eleventh month, on the day *Jiashen* 甲申, “the states of Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 respectively sent envoys to present tribute and

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give blood-sweating horses”, and also records that in the fifth year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period, in the fifth month, on the day *guiwei* 癸未, “the state of Zheyi 遮逸 presented blood-sweating horses”. This shows that both were known as areas in which horses were bred. Third, the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), records of the state of Zheshe 者舌: “in the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period it sent an envoy to present tribute. From then on it unceasingly sent envoys”. However, as we look through the primary chronicle of the *Weishu* 魏書, apart from the single time in this year, its name does not appear again in the record of presenting tribute. This is quite possibly because “Zheyi 遮逸”, another transcription of the name, was used.

## E

As mentioned above, there is no way to infer how many of the states in the Western Regions were ones Dong 董 and Gao 高 “had seen with their own eyes or those they heard about”. Even if we believed those states numbered sixteen in all, based on the preface to the “Memoir on the Western Regions”, their names cannot be confirmed, and we must further decide how much of the memoirs of state were from the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高 or were composed on the basis of their report. It is clear that the four states of Shanshan 鄯善, Wusun 烏孫, Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 were visited by Dong 董 and Gao 高 in person, but there is no way to separate the material offered by Dong 董 and Gao 高 from the memoir of the four states one by one. In view of this, I do not plan to discuss the influence on the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), exercised by Dong 董 and Gao 高 from this angle.

Here I will discuss the organization of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), considering from another angle some prevalent theories intended to explain the relationship between the compilation of the memoir and Dong 董 and Gao’s 高 mission to the West.

It has been suggested that the order of the states (in front of Da Qin 大秦) listed in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), was arranged according to the order of the “four regions” reported by Dong 董 and Gao 高. Based on the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高, i.e., the memoirs of the sixteen states, those states that were not mentioned in the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高, i.e., that were known after Dong 董 and Gao 高, were inserted into it in what were considered the proper places respectively. Or to be more exact, the twenty-two states from Shanshan 鄯善 to Poluona 破洛那 distributed in the first region and the state of Kepantuo 渴槃陁 must have been interpolated after the sixth state, Quanyumo 權於摩. The twelve states from Sute 粟特

to Jiabudan 伽不單 were distributed in the second region. The seven states from Zheshe 者舌 to Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were distributed in the third region. The two states of Anxi 安息 and Da Qin 大秦 were distributed in the fourth region, in which the state of Tiaozhi 條支 should be interpolated on the basis of the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Regions). In my opinion, if this is so, this should be considered to be an important discovery, not only because the fact that the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions) was compiled on the basis of the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高 finally would have been confirmed, but also because there would be active potential for investigating the geographical locations of the states. Unfortunately, this is not tenable.  
[36]

First, as mentioned above, the geographical locations of the first and second regions as judged by this scholar are incorrect. Even if the judgment about the spheres of the two regions were correct, there would be many points in which it was far from exact. The most obvious example is that the states of Zhezhiba 者至拔, Mimi 迷密, Xiwanjin 悉萬斤, Niuni 忸密, and Poluona 破洛那, being assigned to the first region, were undoubtedly located to the “west of the Cong 葱 Mountains”, and the states of Anxi 安息 and Tiaozhi 條支, being assigned to the fourth region undoubtedly were located “east of the sea bend”. They all should be assigned to the second region suggested by this scholar. In addition, those states, such as Bozhi 薄知 and others, being assigned to the second region should be inserted into the third region suggested by this scholar. All these cannot be explained as inappropriate insertions.

Second, even if, according to the views of this scholar, we ignored the memoirs of the seven states (from Zhuju 朱居 to Qiantuoluo 乾陁羅, because they are possibly those that Li Yanshou 李延壽 took from the Huisheng’s 惠生 travels and assigned to the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Regions), and thus are not the manuscript of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), we still could not satisfactorily explain why Wei Shou 魏收 did not insert the memoirs of ten states (from Agou Qiang 阿鈎羌 to Yeda 嚧噠) into the memoirs of the states arranged according to the “four regions”. Especially, the state of Bolu 波路 was undoubtedly included in the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高. On the contrary, this scholar has tried to prove that Bolu 波路 was not included in the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高 on the basis of this, which it is quite difficult to accept. Unless he can prove that the memoirs of the ten states (Agou Qiang 阿鈎羌 and Bolu 波路 downward) did not include the manuscript of Wei Shou 魏收, he has to explain the distinction between the ten states and those states listed according to the “four regions” besides the “sixteen states”. Obviously, the states listed according to the “four regions” were not entirely those states reported by Dong 董 and Gao 高.

Another scholar suggests that the organization of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102

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(Memoir on the Western Regions), can be solved on the basis of the “three regions” seen in the *Tongdian* 通典. This is to say, the states listed in the memoir can be divided into seven groups according to their order and relative positions: 1 the group of Shanshan 鄯善, which includes the seven states from Shanshan 鄯善 to Qusuo 渠莎; 2 the group of Jushi 車師, which includes the three states from Jushi 車師 to Yanqi 焉耆; 3 the group of Qiuci 龜茲, which includes the seven states from Qiuci 龜茲 to Yueban 悅般; 4 the group of Shule 疏勒, which includes the five states from Zhezhiba 者至拔 to Poluona 破洛那; 5 the group of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤, which includes the ten states from Sezhihian 色知顯 to Zheshe 者舌; 6 the group of Qusuo 渠莎, which includes eleven states from Jiabei 伽倍 to Tuhuluo 吐呼羅; 7 the independent group, which includes the eleven states of Sute 粟特, Bosi 波斯, Anxi 安息, Da Qin 大秦, Southern Tianzhu 天竺, Diefuluo 疊伏羅, Badou 拔豆, Fuhuo 副貨, Fuluni 伏盧尼, Tiaozhi 條支, and Wuli 烏利. Of these, the states in groups numbered 1, 2, 3 are distributed in the first region (the Tarim Basin and its surrounding area); the states in group numbered 4, 5, 6 are distributed in the second region (the area from Sogdiana to the Northern India and surrounding); the states in group No. 7 distributed in the third region (the area from the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean or the area south of the Caspian Sea).<sup>[37]</sup>

In my opinion, as mentioned above, “three regions” was not the content of the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高. Even if the “three regions” theory is tenable, and their geographical sphere also was that suggested by this scholar, there would still be many points that were far from correct. For example, it is inexplicable that the states that should be distributed in the third region in fact were inserted individually among the states in the second region. In addition, the states from Yeda 嚙噠 downward were considered to be not included in the manuscript of Wei Shou 魏收 based on the fact that there was no statement “from Dai 代...”, which is also inadequate. Especially, there were frequent communications between the state of Yeda 嚙噠 and the Northern Wei 魏, and its sending envoys to present tribute was recorded many times in the primary chronicles of Wei’s 魏 Emperors of the *Weishu* 魏書. When the *Weishu* 魏書 was finished, the state of Yeda 嚙噠 was not yet destroyed, and there is certainly the special memoir of Yeda 嚙噠 in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions).

In sum, it is undoubtedly correct to analyse the organization of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), with an eye to the fact that the compilation of this memoir came under the deep influence of the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高. However, based on my research, Wei Shou 魏收, in fact, arranged the states according to the “four routes” to the Western Regions at that time, as reported by Dong 董 and Gao 高. This memoir (before Jibin 罽賓) can be divided into four great passages: the seven states

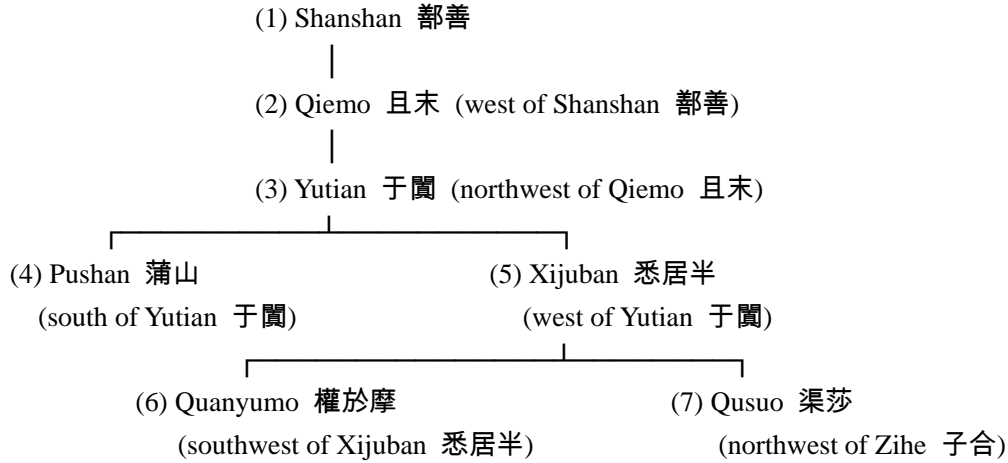
from Shanshan 鄯善 to Qusuo 渠莎 form the first passage, which can be named the “Route of Shanshan 鄯善”; the twenty-eight states from Jushi 車師 to Zheshe 者舌 form the second, which can be named the “Route of Jushi 車師”; the eight states from Jiabei 伽倍 to Da Qin 大秦 form the third, which can be named the “Route of Jiabei 伽倍”; the four states from Agou Qiang 阿鈎羌, Bolu 波路 to Jibin 罽賓, form the fourth, which can be named the “Route of Bolu 波路”. A table intended to clarify follows. Arabic numerals express the order of states in this memoir. Material in parentheses gives the relative positions as recorded in the memoir.



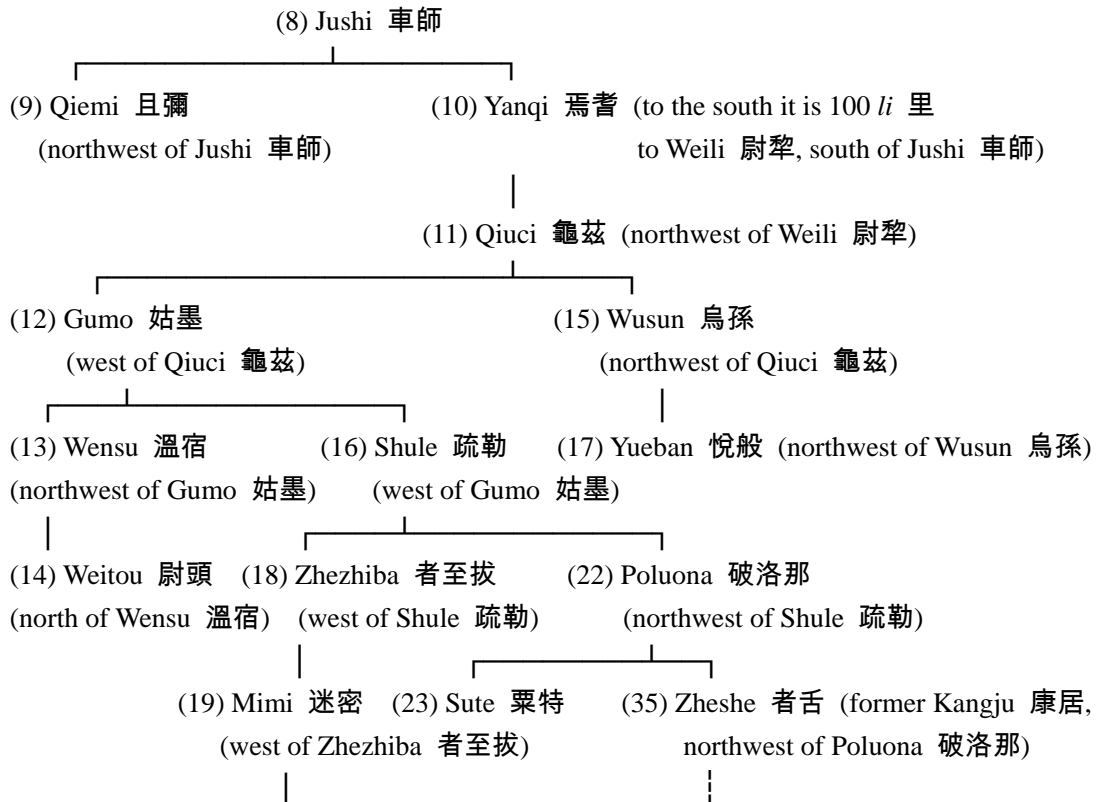
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A. The Route of Shanshan 鄯善:

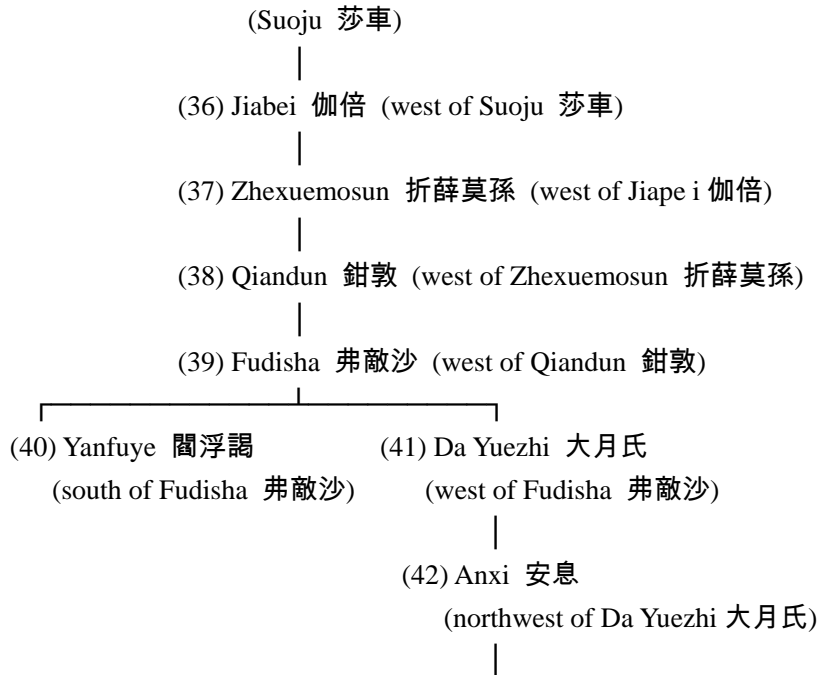


B. The Route of Jushi 車師:





C. The Route of Jiabei 伽倍:



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[Tiaozhi 條支]

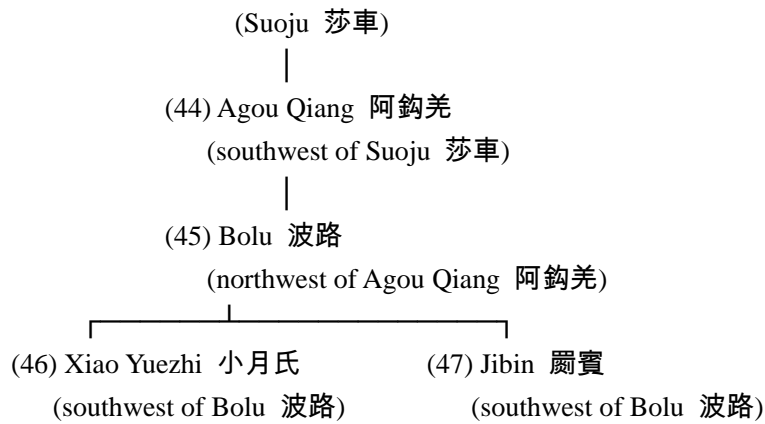
(west of Anxi 安息)

|

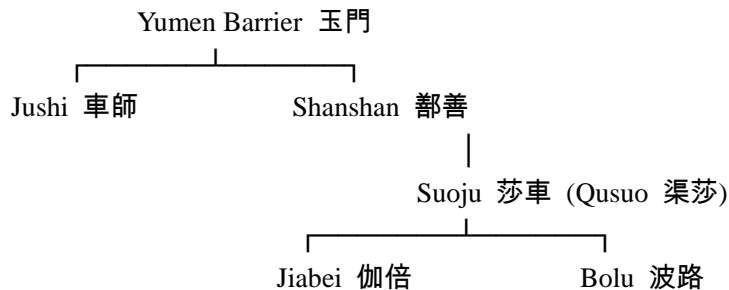
(43) Da Qin 大秦

(west of Tiaozhi 條支)

**D. Route of Bolu 波路:**



The four plans can be summed up into the following:



The following gives supplementary explanations:

First, both the “four routes” and “four regions” were reported by Dong 董 and Gao 高. The reason that Wei Shou 魏收 arranged the states according to the “four routes”, but not “four regions”, in my opinion, was to imitate the “Memoir on the Western Regions” of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (ch. 96).

Second, it is only an exception that the six states of Tuhuluo 吐呼羅, Fuhuo 副貨,

Southern Tianzhu 天竺, Diefuluo 疊伏羅, Badou 拔豆 and Yeda 嚙嗟 were not inserted in the “four routes”, but this does not affect the above analysis of the organization of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions). If I were allowed to guess, I would say that the six states could be divided into two kinds: Tuhuluo 吐呼羅 and Yeda 嚙嗟, with regard to geographical location, were identical with the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 in the preceding paragraph, thus they cannot be inserted into “the route of Jabei 伽倍”. The reason they were arranged in special memoirs in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), is that they were different political entities after all and thus could not be lumped together, though they were located in the same area in succession.<sup>[38]</sup> As for the other four states, it is possible that Wei Shou 魏收 could not decide their positions relative to the states that were classified into the “four routes” on the basis of their original data at that time, and therefore put them all at the end of the memoir.

Third, the memoirs on the seven states from Zhuju 朱居 to Qiantuo 乾陀 are not seven independent memoirs respectively devoted to each state, and they should be taken as an appendix to the memoir of Yeda 嚙嗟 or as a part of the memoir of Yeda 嚙嗟. In other words, from “the state of Yeda 嚙嗟” to “the state of Qiantuo 乾陀” originally belonged to one memoir in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions). This may be because Wei Shou 魏收 still was not contented when he wrote “after the Yongxi 永熙 reign-period their payment of tribute stopped”;<sup>[39]</sup> he then made it up with the materials offered by Song Yun 宋雲 and Huisheng 惠生. The following statements of the memoir tightly link with Yeda 嚙嗟 everywhere. For example, the state of Zhuju 朱居 “is subject to Yeda 嚙嗟”; the state of Kepantuo 渴槃陀 “is subject to Yeda 嚙嗟”; the state of Bohe 鉢和 “also is controlled by Yeda 嚙嗟”; the state of Shemi 賒彌 “also is subject to Yeda 嚙嗟”. The entire memoir of Qiantuo 乾陀 is nearly record about Yeda 嚙嗟. There is no definite explanation of the two memoirs of Bozhi 波知 and Wuchang 烏菴, but they were included obviously because the two states were located in the sphere of influence of Yeda 嚙嗟 at that time.<sup>[40]</sup>

If the records of the seven states from Zhuju 朱居 downward were seven independent memoirs, it would be inexplicable that most of them, as far as state descriptions, were repetitions of the preceding records. For example, Zhuju 朱居 must have been Xijuban 悉居半; Bohe 鉢和, Jiabei 伽倍; Shemi 賒彌, Zhexuemosun 折薛莫孫; and Qiantuo 乾陀, Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏.<sup>[41]</sup> If Wei Shou 魏收 quoted these sources about the seven states from the information offered by Song Yun 宋雲 and Huisheng 惠生 only in order to supplement the preceding related memoirs, then he would have completely inserted the quoted sources into the corresponding memoirs of the states concerned. If the editor had the intention of making the parts he quoted from the information offered by Song Yun 宋雲 and Huisheng 惠生 be independent, he

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would have arranged the seven states of Yeda 嚙嗟, Zhuju 朱居, and others in the proper order. Or to be more exact, Yeda 嚙嗟 should be arranged between Bohe 鉢和 and Bozhi 波知. This is because Yeda 嚙嗟 also was one of the states that “Huisheng 慧生 traversed”.<sup>[42]</sup> However, in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, it is recorded that Zhuju 朱居 “is located to the west of Yutian 于闐”, Kepantuo 渴槃陁 “is located to the west of Zhujubo 朱駒波”, Bohe 鉢和 “is located to the west of Kepantuo 渴槃陁”, Bozhi 波知 “is located to the southwest of Bohe 鉢和”, Shemi 賒彌 “is located to the south of Bozhi 波知”, Wuchang 烏萇 “is located to the south of Shemi 賒彌”, Qiantuo 乾陀 “is located to the west of Wuchang 烏萇”. Each is linked with its like, and there is no room to insert Yeda 嚙嗟. From this, it can be seen that the purpose of Wei Shou 魏收 was merely to write a memoir on Yeda 嚙嗟. Thus he picked up the sources about Yeda 嚙嗟 from the information referred by Song Yun 宋雲 and Huisheng 惠生, and combined it with other sources to compile the extant memoir on Yeda 嚙嗟. The states from Zhuju 朱居 downward were added at the end of the memoir of Yeda 嚙嗟, just because these states were the dependencies of Yeda 嚙嗟, and their sources could be used to supplement the memoir of Yeda 嚙嗟.

Fourth, the state of Sute 粟特, according to its relative location (to the northwest of Kangju 康居), should be arranged after Zheshe 者舌 (“It is formerly the state of the Kangju 康居”). However, it is interesting that the editor of the *Weishu* 魏書, according to the real route, still arranged it between Poluona 破洛那 and Bosi 波斯. This exception shows the self-contradictory mentality of Wei Shou 魏收, and that the “Sute 粟特” seen in the *Weishu* 魏書 must have been Sogdiana in Central Asia. The statement “[it is located] to the northwest of Kangju 康居” refers to the situation of Yancai 奄蔡 as recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96 (Memoir on the Western Regions).<sup>[43]</sup>

Five, following Anxi 安息, based on the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Regions), “Tiaozhi 條支” (which was located to the west of Anxi 安息) should be interpolated. It is obvious that the memoir of Tiaozhi 條支 in the manuscript of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), was canceled by the people in Song 宋 times when they moved the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Regions), into the *Weishu* 魏書, and discovered the state of Bosi 波斯 was called the “state of Tiaozhi 條支 of antiquity” in the memoir of Bosi 波斯. In fact, the statement was taken from the “Memoir on the Foreign Countries” of the *Zhoushu* 周書 (ch. 50B) by Li Yanshou 李延壽. Therefore, it is not an exception that Da Qin 大秦 directly follows Anxi 安息 in “the route of Jiabei 伽倍”.<sup>[44]</sup>

[1] See Matsuda, pp. 164-204.

[2] Uchida, Funaki (1951), and Funaki (1952).

- [3] On this theory, see Matsuda, pp. 164-204.
- [4] On this theory, see Uchida. There is a similar theory in Funaki (1951) and Funaki (1952). 【內田氏說，出處見注 2。船木氏注 2 所引文說略同。】
- [5] Lu, p. 869.
- [6] Tang (1981).
- [7] On the routes of Dong 董 and Gao 高, we know only that they set out from Shanshan 鄯善 and went north to the state of Wusun 烏孫 (it is possible that they arrived in the state of Yueban 悅般 before this), then went to Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 respectively, relying on guides and interpreters provided by Wusun 烏孫. The sites that they successively arrived at before they reached Wusun 烏孫 and on their return route cannot be known exactly. Matsuda, pp. 164-204, has made many studies of the route of Dong 董 and Gao's 高 mission to the West, but these studies are predicated on an incorrect supposition that Dong 董 and Gao 高 went to the Western Regions in order to reply to the nine states that sent envoys to present tribute in the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437). Thus there is no need to further discuss this theory.
- [8] See Enoki (1963).
- [9] Shiratori (1971).
- [10] Cf. See Enoki (1963), and Yu, T. (1992), pp. 182-209.
- [11] On this theory, see Shiratori (1971).
- [12] Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 66-75.
- [13] See Enoki (1963).
- [14] Cf. Kitamura (1973); Yu, T. (1996).
- [15] Cf. See Enoki (1963), and Yu, T. (1992), pp. 182-209.
- [16] Cf. Cen, pp. 265-279.
- [17] Rolfe, pp. 387-398.
- [18] Cf. Shiratori (1970).
- [19] See Enoki (1963).
- [20] Cf. Shiratori (1970).
- [21] Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 44-65.
- [22] On this theory, see Matsuda, pp. 164-204.
- [23] On this theory, see Uchida.
- [24] For example: Enoki (1963).
- [25] *Datang Xiyuji Jiaozhu*, pp. 42-43.
- [26] *Foshuo Shieryou Jing*, p. 147b.
- [27] *Luoyang Qielanji*, pp. 11-12.
- [28] *Xu Gaosengzhuan*, p. 454c.
- [29] Pelliot.
- [30] *Foshuo Shieryou Jing*, p. 147b.

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- [31] I have assumed that it is possible that Dong and Gao mistook the Indian version of the way to divide the world into four continents as the way to divide the Western Regions into four parts, and that they divided the Western Regions into four according to the actual political situation at that time. As for the “sixteen states”, in fact there were “sixteen large states” in the land of Jambudvīpa described in the Indian legend. They cannot be ascertained individually today because they were mistaken by Dong 董 and Gao 高 or Wei Shou 魏收 for sixteen states in the Western Regions. In other word, the records, such as of the “four regions” in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, were only the result of a series of misunderstandings. When they were correct in reflecting the situation of the Western Regions, it was only a lucky hit. My conclusion is that this possibility is very slight, but it cannot be ruled out once and for all at present. Of course, we cannot thus affirm the fabrication of Du You 杜佑.
- [32] On this theory, see Uchida.
- [33] On this theory, see Uchida.
- [34] This is Matsuda’s theory; see Matsuda, pp. 164-204.
- [35] See Enoki (1963).
- [36] See Enoki (1963).
- [37] Kitamura (1974). In my opinion, Kitamura’s theory on “the three regions” seen in the *Tongdian* 通典 is also inadequate.
- [38] On the relationship of Yeda 嚙嗟, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, and Tuhuluo 吐呼羅, cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 66-75, 129-142.
- [39] Following the statement “their paying tribute thus stopped”, there are two sentences: “It is distant by 1,700 *li* 里 from the state of Cao 漕 to the south, by 5,800 *li* 里 from Guazhou 瓜州 to the east” in “the Memoir on the Western Regions” of the present *Weishu* 魏書 (ch. 102), which was taken from the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. and not the manuscript of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102. Cf. Yu, T. (1996).
- [40] In the memoir, it is recorded that “To the southwest there is the Tante 檀特 Mountain, on which a temple is founded. Several donkeys are used to carry food [up the mountain]; they come and go by themselves without anyone to drive them at the foot of the mountain”. However, in the continuation of the *Youyang Zazu* 酉陽雜俎, Vol. 8, it is recorded that “There are the civilian households that serve the [Buddhist] temple in the state of Yanda 厭達 in the Western Regions. Several donkeys are used to carry food up the mountain. The donkeys are driven by nobody, can go to and fro by themselves; if they set out in the period *yin* 寅, then they arrive in the period *wu* 午, not deviating a moment”. Based on this, Funaki (1954) inferred that Wuchang 烏菴 also was located in the sphere of influence of Yeda 嚙嗟.
- [41] Cf. Kitamura (1974).
- [42] Funaki (1951), and Funaki (1952) suggest that there were three supplements after the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), had finished: the first was the four states from

Agou Qiang 阿鈎羌 to Jibin 罽賓; the second, the six states from Tuhuluo 吐呼羅 to Badou 拔豆; the third, the eight states from Yade 嚙噠 downward. The former two groups were supplemented by Wei Shou 魏收, the third, by other men after Wei Shou 魏收 had died. In my opinion, the purpose of this guesswork is to support the theory that the states in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, were arranged according to the “four regions”, which is inadequate. First, the states that were supplemented in the former two times should be inserted into the “four regions” successively, one by one. Second, the states that were supplemented in the third time should not be a duplicate of the preceding records. Third, the possibility that Wei Shou 魏收 had read the information referred by Song Yun 宋雲 and Huisheng 惠生 before his death cannot be ruled out.

<sup>[43]</sup> Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 44-65.

<sup>[44]</sup> Cf. Yu, T. (1996).



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