

Ku-shih 姑師 and the Anterior and Posterior Kingdoms of Kū-shih 車師^{*)}

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Foreword

It is a well-known fact that Ku-shih 姑師 and Kū-shih^{*)} 車師 are different translations for the same name, but it is not very clear yet how the original word was pronounced. Mr. Ts'ên Chung-mien 岑仲勉 thought this was for quši, and that it was possible for quši to turn to qushū, so that it would be equivalent for Qošu or Qušu of the Turkish inscription of Kül-tegin (闕特勤碑). Induced by Pelliot who regarded Qošu as Ko-shu 哥舒, Mr. Ts'ên thought that Ku-shih or Kū-shih was connected with Ko-shu, one of the five clan names of Nu-shih-pi 弩失畢, one half of *On oq* (西突厥十姓)⁽¹⁾. However, it seems that this is just an idea of his, and not to be depended upon. O. Maenchen-Helfen considered this was Kuši, identical with Yüeh-shih 月氏 and also Kuei-shuang 貴霜, but since this concerns the very great issue in the ancient history of Central Asia, it is difficult to come to the conclusion now. It should be studied further in the future.⁽²⁾

Generally speaking, concerning the problem of Ku-shih and Kū-shih, the former appears in the *Shih-chi* 史記, and the latter appears in the *Han-shu* 漢書 and the succeeding histories. It goes without saying that since the Former Han days, Anterior Kingdom of Kū-shih (車師前王國) existed in the Turfan Basin, and with T'ien-shan 天山 as demarcation line, to its north, there was Posterior Kingdom of Kū-shih (車師後王國), and they are regarded to have been connected with Ku-shih. However, there has been no concrete findings yet on what sort of relation there was, nor has the affinity of the peoples of these two countries been studied. There are many points which are still not very clear. This article is intended to present the results of my investigations.

*) Although the reading of 車師 is Chū-shih according to Wade's system, in this article the somewhat older reading Kū-shih is adopted for the sake of its identity with Ku-shih 姑師. And the translations of the passages quoted from the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-Shu* depend upon those of B. Watson and of A. Wylie respectively with some modifications. [Editor's notes]

(1) 「麴氏高昌補說」(西突厥史料補闕及考證, p. 177)

(2) *Zur Üe-ts'i-Frage, Anthropos*, 33 (1938), SS. 958-959: *The Yüeh-chi Problem reexamined, JAOS*, 65 (1945), pp. 71-81.

and Posterior Kingdom of Kü-shih and Six Countries in the North of the Mountains (山北六國), mean that Ku-shih, besides Anterior Kü-shih of Turfan basin and Posterior Kü-shih to its north, spread also to the six countries to the north of the mountains. It is necessary to take note of the following passage concerning Posterior King of Kü-shih in the Account of Western Frontier Regions (西域傳), Bk. 88, of the *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書:

“Anterior and Posterior Lands 前後部 as well as East Ch'ieh-mi 且彌, Pei-lu 卑陸, P'u-lei 蒲類, I-chih 移支, these are Six Countries of Kü-shih. Their northern border is next to the Hsiung-nu.”⁽⁷⁾

That is to say, there still was a concept of Six Countries of Kü-shih, and it included, besides the Anterior and Posterior Lands of Kü-shih (Anterior and Posterior Kingdoms of Kü-shih of Former Han), the four countries of East Ch'ieh-mi 東且彌, Pei-lu, P'u-lei, and I-chih. The appellation “Six Countries of Kü-shih” appears, besides the succeeding passages of the same *Hou-han-shu*, Bk. 47, in the Biography of Pan Yung 班勇傳: “At this time then the Six Countries of Kü-shih were all conquered (於是車師六國悉平)”. This was not a traditional idea coming from the *Han-shu*'s “dividing into Anterior and Posterior Kingdoms of Kü-shih and Six Countries to the North of the Mountains”, but was a fixed idea at the time of the Later Han.

The Six Countries of Kü-shih in the *Hou-han-shu* can be clearly identified, but “the Six Countries to the North of the Mountains” in the *Han-shu* are not clear which countries are meant. The country of I-chih in the *Hou-han-shu* does not appear in the *Han-shu*, and the situation in this area in the period of the Former Han was different from that of the Later Han period. However, it does not seem likely that Ku-shih which came to be divided into Anterior and Posterior Kingdoms of Kü-shih and the Six Countries to the North of the Mountains at the time of Emperor Hsüan-ti in the Former Han period and Kü-shih of the Later Han were unrelated. Even after Ku-shih was divided, the concept of the former Ku-shih would have remained, and continued to remain in the Later Han period, as the Six Kü-shih Countries. Then, why did this concept continue to exist? As will be described later, it was because even after the division of Ku-shih, the countries which used to belong to Ku-shih had characteristics different from other countries. They must have been the ethnic characteristics. Therefore, in the eastern area of T'ien-shan 天山 there was a tribe called Ku-shih, which tended to split up, as years went by, and finally came to be divided up into Anterior and Posterior Ku-shih and Six Countries to the North of the Mountains, in

(7) 前後部及東且彌・卑陸・蒲類・移支, 是爲車師六國。北與匈奴接。

the reign of Emperor Hsüan-ti 宣帝 of the Former Han. Description will be made in the next chapter as to the circumstances, but in any case, Ku-shih was split, and since that time, it became eight countries. After that they still retained the characteristics of the Ku-shih tribe, but among the Six Countries to the North of the Mountains, there were vicissitudes, and it is considered that in the period of the Later Han, besides Anterior and Posterior Kingdoms of Kü-shih, four other countries came to be called Six Countries of Kü-shih.

In the *Supplementary Notes*, Part I to the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, Hsü Sung 徐松 considers the division of Ku-shih, and regards that "Anterior and Posterior Kü-shih, East and West Ch'ieh-mi 且彌東西國, Anterior and Posterior Pei-lu 卑陸前後國, Anterior and Posterior P'u-lei 蒲類前後國, a total of eight countries," came to exist, as a result. He continues on to say "In the *Hou-han-shu*, Anterior and Posterior Lands of Kü-shih, East Ch'ieh-mi, Pei-lu, P'u-lei and I-chih are called Six Countries of Kü-shih, West Ch'ieh-mi 西且彌 and Pei-lu Posterior 卑陸後國 are not included. Possibly they were already annexed by other countries." Based upon the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Hou-han-shu*, as quoted above in which Six Kü-shih Countries appear in the Account of Posterior Kingdom of Kü-shih 後王國, he figured out the Six Countries to the North of the Mountains from the countries listed in the *Han-shu*. It seems quite a reasonable idea. In the last half of the Account of Western Frontier Regions, *Han-shu*, the names of the country of P'u-lei, the Posterior P'u-lei, East and West Ch'ieh-mi, Pei-lu and Posterior Pei-lu are listed, while in the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書, besides P'u-lei and East Ch'ieh-mi, I-chih is mentioned: "The country is located within the country of P'u-lei (居蒲類地)", but there is no explanation as to Pei-lu. As with both Anterior and Posterior Kü-shih, East Ch'ieh-mi, P'u-lei and I-chih, Pei-lu is included in the Six Countries of Kü-shih, if we are to seek the Six Countries to the North of the Mountains from the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, we come to the same conclusion as Hsü Sung.

If the Six Countries to the North of the Mountains are P'u-lei, Posterior P'u-lei, East Ch'ieh-mi, Pei-lu and Posterior Pei-lu, Ku-shih must have included these six countries and Anterior and Posterior Kingdoms of Kü-shih, and by determining the locations of these countries, the territory of Ku-shih before the division can be clarified. However, it is not easy to figure out the locations of these countries from the simple and unprecise description of the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*. There are fortunately the outstanding studies as to the history and geography of these countries by Dr. Matsuda⁽⁸⁾, and he develops a creditable theory

(8) Hisao Matsuda 松田壽男, *Zenkanjo no Tenzan Shokoku o ronzu* 前漢書の天山諸國を論

concerning the locations of these countries to which we should listen. I should like to continue my observation in the following, guided by him.

According to the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, the governing seat of the country of P'u-lei was said to be "west of T'ien-shan, in the valley of Su-yü 疏榆". It goes without saying that the name of this country comes from the Marsh of P'u-lei 蒲類澤 or the Sea of P'u-lei 蒲類海, i.e., Barköl-nor, situated in the north of the eastern tip of T'ien-shan. It is clear that this country did exist near this lake, and T'ien-shan as in "west of T'ien-shan, in the valley of Su-yü", where the king of the country governed, is considered to mean Barköl-dawān (庫舍圖嶺), and the valley of Su-yü is thought to be one of the valleys of T'ien-shan, to its west.

Of the countries listed in the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, the seats of government for the five countries are explained, whether they were east or west of T'ien-shan, but it is only P'u-lei which is said to be west of T'ien-shan.

The seat of government of the king of Posterior P'u-lei is not described in the Account of Western Frontier Regions, perhaps because of omission in the recopying. However it is written that while the country of P'u-lei, is 8,260 *li* from Ch'ang-an 長安, the country of Posterior Pu'-lei is 8,630 *li* away, and the difference is 270 *li*. According to Dr. Matsuda, these two countries belonged to the countries at the northern foot of T'ien-shan (蒲類國, 蒲類後國, 車師後國, 烏貪訶離國), west of Barköl, indicated in the record which might be called "Old T'ien-shan (Barköl-dawān) Range Mileage List (古天山 (庫舍圖嶺) 系里程表)". Posterior P'u-lei 蒲類後國 was west of P'u-lei 蒲類國, and is thought to have been situated around the present Ta-shih-t'ou 大石頭 oasis.⁽⁹⁾ It is not certain whether Posterior P'u-lei was in the oasis or not, but apart from it Dr. Matsuda's view must be correct.

Posterior Kingdom of Kü-shih was west of these two countries, and to its south, there was Anterior Kingdom of Kü-shih. The governing seat of Posterior Kü-shih is said to be Wu-t'u-ku 務塗谷. Generally this is considered to be Pa-no-p'a valley, south of Jimsa⁽¹⁰⁾, and there is no need to repeat that Anterior Kü-shih was in the Turfan basin, and the fortress of Chiao-ho 交河城, the governing seat, was at Yār-Khoto.

The Account of the Western Frontier Regions mentions that the

ず (On the T'ien-shan Countries in Former Han-shu) in the *Kodai Tenzan no Rekishi-Chiri-gakuteki Kenkyū* 古代天山の歴史地理學研究 (Geo-Historical Studies on the Ancient T'ien-shan Region), Part I.

(9) H. Matsuda, *ibid.* pp. 107-110, 117.

(10) This was Pa-no-p'a Valley (Innermost Asia, II, pp. 560 seqq.) which Stein passed, as he went down south from Jimsa to the Turfan basin, in 1914. (Matsuda, *ibid.* pp. 316-318). As will be described later, there seems to be some problems, however, concerning the relationship between Wu-t'u Valley 務塗谷 and Huan-ch'ieh Valley 桓且谷. Cf. Note 59.

governing seat of Pei-lu 卑陸國 was Ch'ien-tang-kuo 乾當國, east of T'ien-shan. In view of other examples, this 乾當國 must have been the mistake for 乾當谷. According to Dr. Matsuda, the T'ien-shan, as in "east of T'ien-shan" indicates Mt. Qara-usen, or around Döss-Mengen-ola.⁽¹¹⁾ Besides this country there are East and West Ch'ieh-mi 東西且彌國 and Chieh 劫國, whose governing seats are indicated as "east of T'ien-shan." They are considered to have originated from "Wu-lei Mileage List (烏壘里程表)", while P'u-lei, which is indicated as "west of T'ien-shan", is based upon "the Old T'ien-shan Range Mileage List 古天山系里程表"⁽¹²⁾ the country of Chieh is not one of the Ku-shih group, but its governing seat was in Tan-ch'ü-ku 丹渠谷 and is thought to have been south-west of Urumchi.⁽¹³⁾ As to the location of the country Pei-lu 卑陸國, Dr. Matsuda noticed P'ing-lo-shou-cho 憑洛守捉, upon "Suei-yeh (Suyab) Road 碎葉路", west of Fortress Hsi-yen 西延城, of Province T'ing 庭州 under the T'ang, and considered that P'ing-lo 憑洛 was what remained of Pei-lu of the Han period, and determined that its location was Tzū-ni-ch'üan 紫泥泉 (Po-yang-i 白楊驛).⁽¹⁴⁾

The governing seat of the king of Posterior Pei-lu was in Fan-ch'ü-lei-ku 番渠類谷, and according to the entry describing its east, west, south and north directions, the country of Yü-li-shih 郁立師國 was to its east. However, according to the consideration of the four directions of Yü-li-shih, Pei-lu was to its west, and the distinction of Anterior or Posterior in Pei-lu does not seem to have been such a rigid one, and it must have been, as Dr. Matsuda says, that Posterior should be considered to have been west of Pei-lu.⁽¹⁵⁾ This Posterior Pei-lu is considered to have been at Fu-k'ang 阜康.⁽¹⁶⁾

Next, as to the countries of East and West Ch'ieh-mi 且彌國, their governing seats are reported to have been at Tui-hsü-ku 兌虛谷, east of T'ien-shan and Yü-ta-ku 于大谷, east of T'ien-shan, respectively. Dr. Matsuda noted the Ch'ieh-mi Mountain where sulphur (石流黃) was produced, as mentioned in the *Po-wu-chi* 博物志 written by Chang Hua 張華 of the Chin 晉 Dynasty, and found out that this Mt. Ch'ieh-mi 且彌 was at the southern border of Yulduz Valley, north of Kuei-tzū 龜茲 (Kucha.) He assumes that the Ch'ieh-mi people 且彌人 occupied Yulduz Valley when the people of Wu-sun 烏孫 was declining in influence, but the West Ch'ieh-mi 西且彌 was at Small Yulduz Valley, forming the main part of the Ch'ieh-mi nation, while the East Ch'ieh-mi must have been in Algoi Valley, to its east. He also supposes that it is possible the Ch'ieh-mi people occupied both Big and Small Yulduz

(11) H. Matsuda, *ibid.* pp. 45-49.

(12) H. Matsuda, *ibid.* p. 109.

(13) H. Matsuda, *ibid.* p. 114.

(14) H. Matsuda, *ibid.* p. 116.

(15) H. Matsuda, *ibid.* p. 113.

(16) H. Matsuda, *ibid.* pp. 116-117.

originally, but because of advance made by Wu-sun, could manage to keep Small Yulduz and Algoi.⁽¹⁷⁾

Thus guided by Dr. Matsuda's outstanding research, the locations of the countries which are regarded to have been included in Ku-shih have now been more or less clarified. Only, Dr. Matsuda wrote about Posterior P'u-lei 蒲類後國, Pei-lu 卑陸國 and Posterior Pei-lu 卑陸後國, that were situated at Ta-shih-t'ou 大石頭, Tzū-ni-ch'üan 紫泥泉, and Fu-k'ang 阜康 respectively, but since the governing seats of these countries were all in the "valley" (谷), these countries should be presumed to have been situated in T'ien-shan valley near these three places.

Thus viewed, the territory of Ku-shih before it split into the Six Countries to the North of the Mountains, Anterior Kü-shih and Posterior Kü-shih lay from Barköl at its eastern edge to its west, T'ien-shan mountain range's northern foot, and there was one country, Yü-li-shih 郁立師國 (Dr. Matsuda thinks this was at San-t'ai 三臺, west of Jimsa)⁽¹⁸⁾ which did not belong to the tribe. Its northern boundary was upto Urumchi, and its southern boundary was from Barköl, coming down to south-west from there, and after the southern edge of the Turfan basin, it reached Yen-ch'i 焉耆 (Karashahr). This southern border extended further to north-west. The northern boundary went from the southeast of Chieh 劫國, which did not belong to the Ku-shih tribe south-west of Urumchi, reached Small Yulduz Valley, coming next to it. Therefore, the territory occupied by the Ku-shih tribe was quite considerable.

II

Divison of Ku-shih 姑師 by the Han, and Anterior and Posterior Kingdoms of Kü-shih 車師

Now it is clear that Ku-shih occupied quite an extensive area in the region of the eastern T'ien-shan originally. I would like to consider now the division of Ku-shih which the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu* states as "At the time of Emperor Hsüan-ti, Wei Ssü-ma 衛司馬 was dispatched to protect several countries west of Shan-shan 鄯善. Although Ku-shih was defeated, she was not completely destroyed. The country was divided into Anterior and Posterior Kingdoms of Kü-shih and Six Countries of the North of the Mountains."⁽¹⁹⁾ I will examine in more concrete details how the Han exerted its influence upon Ku-shih so that the country was divided.

(17) H. Matsuda, *ibid.* pp. 91-95.

(18) H. Matsuda, *ibid.* p. 116. The seat of rule of the country should be described to have been at Fan-ch'ü Valley 番渠谷 in the mountain valley near San-t'ai 三臺,

(19) 至宣帝時, 遣衛司馬, 使護鄯善以西數國。及破姑師未盡殄, 分以爲車師前後王及山北六國。

According to the Account of Ta-yüan 大宛 (Ferghana), *Shih-chi*, Bk. 123, in the report of Chang Ch'ien 張騫, he referred to Ku-shih as follows:

“The Lou-lan (Kroraina) and Ku-shih peoples live in fortified cities along Yen-tsê 鹽澤 (the Salt Swamp, Lob-nor).”⁽²⁰⁾

After the expedition of Chang Ch'ien 張騫, those who went to the western countries as the Han's envoys deteriorated in quality, and only sought their own interest, and as a result, there were incidents with foreign countries. About this, the report says, “And the states of Lou-lan 樓蘭 and Ku-shih, though very small, lay right across the path that the envoys traveled, and they attacked and plundered the parties of Wang Hui 王恢 and other envoys with extreme ferocity. In addition, raiding parties of the Hsiung-nu from time to time appeared in the region to swoop down the envoys and block their advance to the western states. The envoys hastened to the emperor with complaints of all the hardships which they suffered and suggested that, although the inhabitants of the western frontier regions lived in fortified cities, they were poor in combat and could easily be attacked. Thereupon, His Majesty sent intentionally Chao P'o-nu 趙破奴, Lord of Ts'ung P'iao 從驃侯 to lead the cavalry of the subordinate countries and tens of thousands of the provincial soldiers. They came to the River Hsiung-ho 匈奴水 and wanted to attack the barbarians 胡. The barbarians all went away. The next year, the Han attacked Ku-shih. General P'o-nu 破奴 led 700 odd light cavalry, went ahead of others, seized King of Lou-lan 樓蘭 and then defeated Ku-shih.”⁽²¹⁾

In the previous entry, it is said that Ku-shih was along Lob-nor, together with Lou-lan and here again, in this entry, too, it says that it was along the highway, which made A. Herrmann think that Ku-shih was a country near Lou-lan.⁽²²⁾ However, it is considered that Ku-shih and Lou-lan were connected by a short-cut, without going through Yen-ch'i and the Hsiung-nu always utilized this route, in advancing into Lou-lan. Since Lou-lan and Ku-shih were connected because of the influence the Hsiung-nu exerted upon them, Chang Ch'ien and others must have thought that Ku-shih and Lou-lan were under the same power. After the Han came to be influential in the Western Frontier Regions, she came to compete with the Hsiung-nu for the possession of Lou-lan (Kroraina), which was an important place in the traffic route. The entry here

(20) 樓蘭姑師邑有城郭，臨鹽澤。

(21) 而樓蘭·姑師小國耳。當空道。攻劫漢使王恢等尤甚。而匈奴奇兵時時遮擊使西國者。使者爭徧言外國災害，皆有城邑，兵弱易擊。於是天子以故遣從驃侯破奴，將屬國騎及郡兵數萬，至匈奴水，欲以擊胡。胡皆去。其明年，擊姑師，破奴與輕騎七百餘先至，虜樓蘭王，遂破姑師。

(22) In “*Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*”, S. 62. and *ibid.*, S. 64, note 5, it is mentioned that Ku-shih 姑師 and Kū-shih 車師 which had its capital in Turfan should not be mixed. This is a wrong view.

describes the incident involving Loulan. Lou-lan had been friendly to the Hsiung-nu and Ku-shih which had been allied with when they defeated Wang Hui and others sent by the Han. However, the Han forces led by Chao P'o-nu, Lord of Ts'ung-P'iao, captured the king of Lou-lan and Ku-shih was beaten in the third year of Yüan-fêng 元封 (108 B.C.) At that time, it seems that the Han forces went out to Turfan and defeated Ku-shih where the Hsiung-nu forces were stationed.

Except the quotation about Ku-shih from the *Shih-chi*,⁽²³⁾ the *Han-shu* always writes K'ü-shih 車師, not Ku-shih 姑師, save the one case when it describes the division of Ku-shih at the time of Emperor Hsüan-ti, as quoted already. Now I should like to consider the relationship between the Han and K'ü-shih according to the *Han-shu*. The passage concerning Ulterior K'ü-shih Presidency (車師後城長國) in the Account of Western Frontier Regions, Part II says:

"In the second year of T'ien-han 天漢 (99 B.C.), the Hsiung-nu prince of Chieh-ho, who, having surrendered to China, had been made Marquis of K'ai-ling 開陵, took command of the Lou-lan troops and attacked K'ü-shih for the first time; but the Hsiung-nu sent the Wise King of the Right to their relief, at the head of several tens of thousands of cavalry. The Chinese troops, being unequal to the contest, withdrew.

In 89 B.C., Ma T'ung, Marquis of Chung-ho, was sent in command of forty thousand cavalry to attack the Hsiung-nu; and having to pass north of the K'ü-shih on his way, Marquis of K'ai-ling was again sent in command of a body of troops from Lou-lan, Wei-li, Wei-hsü, and three other kingdoms, who created a diversion by making a separate attack on K'ü-shih, and covered the advance of Marquis of Chung-ho. The troops of the several Kingdoms combined to surround K'ü-shih, when the K'ü-shih king surrendered, and became a vassal of the empire.⁽²⁴⁾

While Marquis of K'ai-ling of the Hsiung-nu, who surrendered to the Han, led the soldiers of Lou-lan to attack K'ü-shih,⁽²⁵⁾ the Hsiung-nu had the Wise King of the Right save K'ü-shih and the Han forces withdrew at

(23) In the Biography of Chang Ch'ien 張騫, *Han-shu*, Bk. 61, the account of Chao P'o-nu's attack on Ku-shih and Lou-lan, in the Account of Ta-yüan 大宛 in the *Shih-chi*, as quoted previously, is cited almost verbatim and Ku-shih is not replaced by K'ü-shih. The same incident is described in the passage on Shan-shan 鄯善 in the Account of Western Frontier Regions, and the characters of Ku-shih are used.

(24) 武帝天漢二年,以匈奴降者介和王爲開陵侯,將樓蘭國兵始擊車師,匈奴遣右賢王將數萬騎救之,漢兵不利引去。征和四年,遣重合侯馬通將四萬騎擊匈奴,道過車師北,復遣開陵侯將樓蘭・尉黎・危須凡六國兵,別擊車師。勿合得遮重合侯。諸國兵共圍車師,車師王降服,臣屬漢。

greater odds. According to the Account of the Hsiung-nu of the *Shih-chi*, "The year after (the second year of T'ien-han 天漢), the Han sent the Sutrishna General Li Kuang-li 貳師將軍李廣利 with thirty thousand cavalry north from Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 to attack the Wise King of the Right 右賢王 in T'ien-shan. He killed or captured over ten thousand of the enemy before returning. The Hsiung-nu, however, surrounded him in great force and he was barely able to escape, six or seven out of every ten of his men were killed."

The attack of Marquis K'ai-ling on Kū-shih coincided with the operation of General Li who attacked the Wise King of the Right at T'ien-shan.⁽²⁵⁾

The next entry, concerning the incident in the 4th year of Chêng-ho 征和 should be revised as that of the 3rd year of Chêng-ho (90 B.C.), according to the Annals of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝紀 and Biography of Li Kuang-li 李廣利傳, but according to the Account of Hsiung-nu and the Annals of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝紀, in the 2nd year of the Chêng-ho, the Hsiung-nu made an incursion into Shang-ku 上谷 and Wu-yüan 五原, killed both the governmental officials and private citizens, and furthermore, in the same year, attacked Wu-yüan and Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 again, killed both the commandants of these frontier territories. Thereupon, the Han sent 70,000 led by General Li from Wu-yüan, 30,000 led by Shang Ch'iu-ch'êng 商丘成 from Hsi-ho 西河 and 40,000 cavalry led by Ma(Mang)T'ung 馬(莽)通, Lord of Chung-ho 重合侯 from Chiu-ch'üan to beat the Hsiung-nu.⁽²⁷⁾ Ma's forces, constituting one wing of this great operation, reached T'ien-shan. At that time, more than 20,000 cavalry sent by the Hsiung-nu saw how great the Han forces were and withdrew.⁽²⁸⁾ According to the passage, it looks like Ma's forces marched up to the north of Kū-shih⁽²⁹⁾, but lest Kū-shih under

(25) Although it is said here "Attacked Kū-shih for the first time (始擊車師)", since Chao P'o-nu 趙破奴 had defeated Ku-shih already in the third year of Yüan-fêng 元封, Hsü Sung 徐松 says that around the third year of Yüan-fêng the western frontier regions had no intercourse with the Han, and the Han had no intention of fighting with the Hsiung-nu over Kū-shih and to maintain it. (*Supplementary Notes to the Account of Western Frontier Regions, Han-shu*). This seems to be a reasonable view.

(26) At this time, Li Ling 李陵 went out to attack from Chü-yen 居延 (Etsin-gol), but was surrounded by the Hsiung-nu and surrendered to the Hsiung-nu. (the Account of the Hsiung-nu, *Shih-chi*).

(27) See the Account of the Hsiung-nu, Part I, and the Annals of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝, of the *Han-shu*. The latter says the troops of Shang Ch'iu-ch'êng 商丘成 were 20,000, but I depend upon the figure quoted by the Account of the Hsiung-nu, *Han-shu* for the time being. Also in the Annals of Emperor Wu-ti it says 殺兩都尉 "killed both the commandants", but is correct to say 殺兩部都尉 (killed the commandants of two sections) as in the Account of the Hsiung-nu, and the passage means that they killed the commandants of the section (部) in the frontier territories (邊郡).

(28) Cf. the Account of the Hsiung-nu, Part I, *Han-shu*.

(29) Hsü Sung 徐松 interpreted this to mean that Ma T'ung 馬通's troops passed the north of Kū-shih and arrived at T'ien-shan, assuming that this T'ien-shan was west of Kū-

the Hsiung-nu, should obstruct Ma's forces, another forces led by K'ai-ling was ordered to attack Kü-shih. It was thus the King of Kü-shih came to surrender and be subjugated to the Han. At these two great operations against the Hsiung-nu, in attacking Hsiung-nu forces in T'ien-shan area, the Han did not neglect to suppress Kü-shih by dispatching a separate force. This must mean that Kü-shih, under the Hsiung-nu, constituted a serious obstacle in the Han's operation against the Hsiung-nu in T'ien-shan area, and the fact that Kü-shih surrendered was a great victory for the Han.

However, the Han's control over Kü-shih was not so easily established. In the reign of the next emperor Chao-ti 昭帝, Kü-shih again belonged to the Hsiung-nu. In the same book, 車師後城長國傳, it says:

"The Hsiung-nu again sent four thousand cavalry as a colonial troop to Kü-shih."⁽³⁰⁾

The usage of t'ien 田 in this book means an encampment of colonial troop (屯田). This will be discussed again in the next chapter.

In the passage of Wu-sun 烏孫, the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, it says:

"In the time of Emperor Chao-ti (86-74 B.C.), the Princess forwarded a despatch to the Court, saying, the Hsiung-nu has sent a cavalry as a colonial troop in the Kü-shih country. The two nations are banded together to invade our country. I beseech Your Majesty to help us. While the Chinese were training troops and horses, and were debating to make an attack on the Hsiung-nu, the arrangements were arrested by the death of Emperor Chao-ti."⁽³¹⁾

"The Hsiung-nu had sent cavalry as a colonial troop in Kü-shih (匈奴發騎田車師)" here means the military colony of the Hsiung-nu mentioned in the Account of Ulterior Kü-shih Presidency (後城長國傳). According to this passage, the princess from the Han [Chieh-yu 解憂, grand-daughter of King Wu 戊, Ch'u 楚, at that time wife of Wêng-kuei-mi 翁歸靡, King Fei 肥 of Wu-sun] appealed to Emperor Chao-ti that the Hsiung-nu stationed a colonial troop in Kü-shih and together with Kü-shih attacked Wu-sun, and asked him to save the country. The Han, in response to her appeal, was

shih (Cf. Note 34); Dr. Matsuda considered that this T'ien-shan was Shih-lo-man Mountain 時羅漫山 and Ma T'ung 馬通's troops did not come out to the north of Kü-shih. (Matsuda, *op. cit.* pp. 96-96). However, we could still think, against Hsü Sung, that the troops went to T'ien-shan of Mt. Shih-lo-man and with the impetus sortied out to Barköl and north of Kü-shih.

(30) 匈奴復使四千騎田車師。

(31) 昭帝時，公主上書言，「匈奴發騎田車師，車師與匈奴爲一，共侵烏孫。唯天子幸救之。」漢養士馬，議欲擊匈奴，會昭帝崩。

about to attack the Hsiung-nu, but in vain, since Emperor Chao-ti died. This shows that the Hsiung-nu controlled Kü-shih and drove Wu-sun, which wanted to rely upon the Han, in a predicament.

When Hsüan-ti 宣帝, the next Emperor, ascended the throne, the fight over Kü-shih by the Han and the Hsiung-nu became intenser than ever. According to the passage on Wu-sun in the Account of Western Frontier Regions, Part 2, *Han-shu*, it says:

“On the accession of Hsüan-ti (73 B.C.), the Princess and K'un-mi 昆彌 sent an envoy with a despatch to the following effect: ‘The Hsiung-nu have sent a continuous incursion of troops for the invasion of Wu-sun, and have taken the country of Kü-yen-ê-shih 車延惡師, where they have carried off the inhabitants. They have also sent an envoy, desiring Wu-sun without delay to deliver up the Chinese princess, and cut off all intercourse with the Han. Now K'un-mi is ready to send the half of his subjects, being the choicest troops in the country, and will himself furnish 50,000 horsemen, straining every nerve in an attack on the Hsiung-nu. Will the Emperor send an army to save the Princess and the K'un-mi?’ Upon this China raised a great levy of 150,000 cavalry, under five generals, who started simultaneously on an expedition by five different roads.”⁽³²⁾

The Hsiung-nu's invasion into Wu-sun during the reign of Emperor Chao-ti was more and more intense, and finally the Hsiung-nu came to demand Wu-sun to deliver up the Princess and severing its relationship with the Han. Wu-sun's predicament reached the extreme, and appealed to the Han for help. The Han court dispatched 5 generals, and went ahead with the great operation to attack the Hsiung-nu. The Annals of Emperor Hsüan-ti refers to these 5 generals, and the Account of the Hsiung-nu (匈奴傳) writes about them in details: “The 3rd year of Pên-shih 本始 (71 B.C.), Ch'i-lien General 祁連將軍 (T'ien Kuang-ming 田廣明, 御史大夫), T'iao General 度遼將軍 (Fan Ming-yu 范明友, General of the Van 前將軍 (Han Tsêng 韓增), P'u-lei General 蒲類將軍 (General of the Rear Chao Ch'ung-kuo 趙充國), and Hu-ya General 虎牙將軍 (T'ien Shun 田順, Governor of Province Yün-chung 雲中) each led thirty thousand or forty thousand cavalry and went to attack from Hsi-ho 西河, Chang-i 張掖, Yün-chung 雲中, Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 and Wu-yüan 五原 respectively. (They are the five generals mentioned.) Hearing that the Han sent a great army, the Hsiung-nu had fled to remote area, so that they did not achieve much. At that time Ch'ang Hui 常惠, Deputy Protector (校尉) was dispatched to

(32) 宣帝初即位, 公主及昆彌皆遣使上書言, 「匈奴復連發大兵, 侵擊烏孫, 取車延惡師地, 收人民去, 使使謂烏孫, 趣持公主來, 欲隔絕漢。昆彌願發國半精兵, 自給人馬五萬騎, 盡力擊匈奴。唯天子出兵, 以救公主・昆彌。」漢兵大發十五萬騎, 五將軍分道並出。

Wu-sun, and protected more than 50,000 cavalry led by K'un-mi 昆彌 and entering the court of the Right Ku-li King 右谷蠡王 of the Hsiung-nu, accomplished a great victory.⁽³³⁾ While P'u-lei General's army left Chiu-ch'üan and joining forces with Wu-sun's forces at the Marsh of P'u-lei, tried to attack the Hsiung-nu, but did not meet because of an error in timing. However, among the decapitated heads that P'u-lei General got, there was that of P'u-yin King 蒲陰王, who was sent by Shan-yü 單于. 'P'u-yin' 蒲陰 meant the south of P'u-lei-tsê 蒲類澤 and this king seems to have been a tribal headman of the Hsiung-nu who controlled Barköl.⁽³⁴⁾

According to the Account of Ulterior Kü-shih Presidency it says:

"On the accession of the Emperor Hsüan-ti (73 B.C.), when five generals were sent in command of an army to attack the Hsiung-nu, those who had encamped in Kü-shih fled in alarm. The Kü-shih then renewed intercourse with the Han; at which the Hsiung-nu became irritated, and called upon them to send Chün-su 軍宿, the heir apparent, as a hostage. Chün-su, however, who was a grandson of the king of Yen-ch'i 焉耆 (Karashahr), was unwilling to go as a hostage to the Hsiung-nu, and fled to Yen-ch'i. The Kü-shih king then appointed his son Wu-kuei 烏貴 heir apparent.

When Wu-kuei ascended the throne he contracted a marriage with

(33) See the Biography of 常惠, the Account of the Wu-sun and the Account of the Hsiung-nu, Part I, *Han-shu*.

(34) Hsü Sung 徐松 touches, in his *Supplementary Notes to the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the Han-shu*, Part One, on the king of P'u-yin 蒲陰 in referring to the entry, at the end of the Foreword of the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, that Tzū-li-chih 茲力支 King of Eastern P'u-lei 東蒲類王 of the Hsiung-nu led the people to surrender to Protector General, who placed the king in Wu-t'an-tzū-li 烏貪營離, west of Posterior Kü-shih kingdom, and says that P'u-yin 蒲陰 of the king of P'u-yin 蒲陰王 means the south (陰) of 蒲類澤 (Barköl-nor). This seems to be a reasonable view. He also thinks that the king of P'u-yin 蒲陰王 was the king of Eastern P'u-lei 東蒲類王 and further, identifies him with the king of P'u-lei 蒲類王; the kingdom was originally east of Posterior Kü-shih kingdom, but was removed to west now. Hsü Sung takes the wrong view that T'ien-shan as in 「天山西疏榆谷」, the seat of rule of P'u-lei was the same T'ien-shan, as that in the expression “天山東某々谷” and it was Mt. Po-lo 博羅山, north of Yen-ch'i (Cf. Note 29), thinking the country of P'u-lei 蒲類國 was in the north of Yen-ch'i. (Matsuda, *op. cit.* pp. 99-100), and identifying the king of Eastern P'u-lei 東蒲類王 and of P'u-yin 蒲陰王 with the king of P'u-lei 蒲類國王. In other words, he thought that the king of Eastern P'u-lei or of P'u-yin was the king of P'u-lei before he moved from east to west. However, apart from the wrong view on T'ien-shan, although the country of P'u-lei was controlled by the Hsiung-nu, it was a Ku-shih country in Barköl area, and the king of P'u-lei was not the king of Eastern P'u-lei or of P'u-yin of the Hsiung-nu. The latter were dispatched by the Hsiung-nu, who regarded Barköl as an important place to the right of the Hsiung-nu, and the country of P'u-lei 蒲類國 is seen to have been under the Hsiung-nu's control.

the Hsiung-nu family; and instructed them to cut off the passage of the Han to Wu-sun."⁽³⁵⁾

Because of the attack by five generals, those Hsiung-nu troops who were encamped in Kü-shih were surprised and fled from there. However, it was the force led by P'u-lei General 蒲類將軍 and the Wu-sun troop protected by Ch'ang Hui 常惠 who drove away the Hsiung-nu troops stationed in Kü-shih. Thus Kü-shih became friendly with the Han again, but incurred the anger of the Hsiung-nu, who demanded Prince Chün-su as a hostage. However, Chün-su, who was a grandson of the king of Yen-ch'i, did not want to, and fled to Yen-ch'i. The Kü-shih king then made Wu-kuei heir apparent, who became the next Kü-shih king, Wu-kuei was married to a Hsiung-nu lady, and sided with the Hsiung-nu, so that the Hsiung-nu cut off the communication between the Han and the Wu-sun, through Kü-shih. Thus it was not easy for the Han to establish its superiority in the western frontier regions.

Next to this incident, the Account of Ulterior Kü-shih Presidency (車師後城長國傳) of the *Han-shu* goes on to describe:

"In the second year of Ti-chieh 地節 (68 B.C.), the Under Secretary (侍郎) Chêng Chi 鄭吉 and the Deputy Protector (校尉) Ssü-ma Hsi 司馬烹 led a company of pardoned criminals to form an encampment in Ch'ü-li 渠犂, and collected a store of grain, in anticipation of an attack on Kü-shih. In autumn, when the grain was gathered, Chêng Chi and Ssü-ma Hsi raised upwards of ten thousand troops from the subject states; with which they united fifteen hundreds of the troops in their own encampment, for a combined attack on Kü-shih. With this force they took the city of Chiao-ho 交河 by assault; but the king, being in a stone fortress on the north, was not captured. The provisions running short, Chêng Chi and his party suspended operations and returned to the camp at Ch'ü-li.

Another harvest having been gathered in, the army was again called out to attack the king in the stone fortress; but when the latter heard that the Han army was advancing northward, he fled for assistance to the Hsiung-nu. The Hsiung-nu, however, refused to send troops on his account. When the king returned, he took counsel with one of his nobles, named Su Yu 蘇猶, on the desirability of surrendering to the Han; but he feared they would not trust him. Following Su Yu's instruction, the king attacked the Hsiung-nu's border kingdom of Little P'u-lei 小蒲類, decapitated the chief, took captive the people, and with

(35) 宣帝即位，遣五將，將兵擊匈奴，車師田者驚去，車師復通於漢。匈奴怒，召其太子軍宿，欲以爲質。軍宿焉耆外孫，不欲質匈奴，亡走焉耆，車師王更立子烏貴爲太子。及烏貴立爲王，與匈奴結婚姻，教匈奴遮漢道通焉耆者。

these as an offering, tendered his submission to [Chêng] Chi. The inhabitants of the little border kingdom of Chin-fu 金附, who followed in the wake of the Chinese army, having committed acts of brigandages in Kū-shih, the king of Kū-shih, asking permission from the Chinese general, himself chastised the delinquent state. When the Hsiung-nu heard that Kū-shih had surrendered to the Han, they sent an army to attack Kū-shih; while (Chêng) Chi and (Ssū-ma) Hsi led their forces north to meet them. Under these circumstances the Hsiung-nu considered it prudent not to advance; and the two Chinese generals left a watch and a picket of twenty men for the king's safety. When (Chêng) Chi and his comrades led the troops back to Ch'ü-li, the Kū-shih king, fearing the Hsiung-nu troops might return and put him to death, mounted a light horse and fled to Wu-sun. (Chêng) Chi went to receive the king's consort and family, and placed them on the east of Ch'ü-li; at the same time memorialising the throne regarding the affair. On reaching Chiu-ch'üan on his way home, he received an imperial rescript ordering him back to form encampments in Ch'ü-li and Kū-shih, to increase the stores of grain preparatory to a pacification of the western kingdoms, and the invasion of the Hsiung-nu. On (Chêng) Chi's return to Ch'ü-li, he forwarded the family of the Kū-shih king to Ch'ang-an. There they were presented with most costly gifts; and at every court audience given to the barbarians they were put prominently forward to show the imperial magnanimity.

About this time (Chêng) Chi sent an officer with 300 men to form a separate encampment in Kū-shih.' (36)

However, in the Account of the Hsiung-nu, Part 1, *Han-shu*, it says:

"The next year, the forces of the fortified cities of the western frontier regions, attacked the Hsiung-nu, and took Kū-shih, and captured the king and people and took them away. Shan-yü again made Tou-mo 兜莫, brother of K'un-mi 昆彌, king of Kū-shih, and making him collect the rest of his people, go over to east, and did not let him reside in the old place. The Han sent more and more troops to colonize Kū-shih, and cultivated the land.' (37)

(36) 地節二年, 漢遣侍郎鄭吉・校尉司馬熹將免刑罪人, 田渠犂積穀, 欲以攻車師。至秋收穀, 吉・熹發城郭諸國兵萬餘人, 自與所將田士千五百人共擊車師, 攻交河城破之。王尚在其北石城中未得, 會軍食盡, 吉等且罷兵, 歸渠犂田。收秋畢, 復發兵攻車師王於石城。王聞漢兵且至, 北走匈奴求救, 匈奴未為發兵。王來還與貴人蘇猶議, 欲降漢, 恐不見信, 蘇猶教王擊匈奴邊國小蒲類, 斬首略其人民以降吉。車師旁小金附國隨漢軍後, 盜車師, 車師王復自請擊破金附。匈奴聞車師降漢, 發兵攻車師, 吉・熹引兵北逢之, 匈奴不敢前。吉・熹即留一與候卒二十人留守王, 吉等引兵歸渠犂。車師王恐匈奴兵復至而見殺也, 廼輕騎奔烏孫。吉即迎其妻子置渠犂東, 奏事至酒泉, 有詔還田渠犂及車師, 益積穀, 以安西國侵匈奴。吉還傳送車師王妻子詣長安。賞賜甚厚。每朝會四夷, 常尊顯以示之。於是吉始使吏卒三百人別田車師。

(37) 其明年, 西域城郭共擊匈奴, 取車師國, 得其王及人衆而去。單于復以車師王昆弟兜莫為車師王, 收其餘民東徙, 不敢居故地, 而漢益遣屯士分田車師地, 以實之。

“The next year” would fall in the 3rd year of Ti-chieh 地節 (67 B.C.), and the fact that “the Han sent more and more troops to colonize Kū-shih, and cultivated the land” tells us the same fact as “About this time (Chêng) Chi sent an officer with 300 men to form a separate encampment in Kū-shih”. However, there is a discrepancy between the years the two histories mention. The Account of Ulterior Kū-shih Presidency says that the Han let Chêng Chi encamp at Ch’ü-li in the 2nd year of Ti-chieh and after harvesting in autumn together with the troops of various countries in the citadels, attacked Kū-shih and Chiao-ho-ch’êng 交河城. If the autumn is to be understood the autumn of the same year, at that time, they exhausted the food without being able to capture Wu-kuei 烏貴, king of Kū-shih who was in the stone fortress in the north, and had to go back to Ch’ü-li and stayed there and after the autumn harvest, he again attacked the king of Kū-shih at the stone fortress. Therefore, there must have a year elapsed in between. That means the second advance made by Chêng Chi into Kū-shih was after the autumn of the third year of Ti-chieh. At that time the king fled to the Hsiung-nu for assistance, but the Hsiung-nu refused, and the king had to return to Kū-shih and after conferring with Su Yu, a noble man, he decided to surrender to the Han, and after attacking Little P’u-lei,⁽³⁸⁾ the subject of the Hsiung-nu, he made it a proof of his surrender and tendered his submission to Chêng Chi. Furthermore, when Little Chin-fu near Kū-shih, which followed the Han troops plundered Kū-shih, asked the Han’s permission to defeat it. On the other hand, hearing that Kū-shih was tendering his submission to the Han, the Hsiung-nu attacked Kū-shih. Therefore, Chêng Chi and Ssü-ma Hsi went to assist Kū-shih and after leaving a watch and 20 soldiers at Kū-shih returned to Ch’ü-li. However, fearing that the Hsiung-nu forces might attack Kū-shih again and kill him, Wu-kuei, the king of Kū-shih fled to Wu-sun. Therefore, Chêng Chi placed the wife and children of the king on the east of Ch’ü-li,⁽³⁹⁾ went to Chiu-ch’üan to report the matter to of the Emperor, and received the order to

(38) Hsü Sung connected the sentence “匈奴西邊諸侯” in the Account of the Hsiung-nu, Part 2, with the sentence “匈奴邊國小蒲類”, and further, he says in his notes as regards Posterior P’u-lei: “傳有小蒲類國或即後國歟 (What the Account says “小蒲類國”, is perhaps 後國)”.

Hsü seems to regard Posterior P’u-lei as Little P’u-lei which was one of the countries under the Hsiung-nu, but Posterior P’u-lei was one of the western frontier countries, of the Ku-shih origin, and not a Hsiung-nu country. However, Little P’u-lei might have been Posterior P’u-lei. Posterior P’u-lei had 100 households, and its population was 1,070, and compared with those of P’u-lei 蒲類國’s (325, 2,032) respectively, it is befitting to call it a little country.

(39) In the latter half of the Account of the Hsiung-nu, it says that the Han’s encampment at Ch’ü-li 渠犂 was supervised by three subordinate commanders (校尉), and also in the account of Ch’ü-li 渠犂 it says, “Since Wu-ti’s 武帝 reign, there was communication with western frontier regions for the first time, and the subordinate commander was stationed, and the troops were encamped at Ch’ü-li. Therefore, Hsü sung thinks that the wife and children of the king of Kū-shih were placed at T’un-hsiao-ch’êng 屯校(屯田校尉)城. (Cf. Hsü’s *Supplementary Notes*).

encamp at Ch'ü-li and Kü-shih, returned to Ch'ü-li and sent the wife and children of the king of Kü-shih to Ch'ang-an. It was then that he encamped at Kü-shih with 300 men for the first time. Of the above events, the incident of sending the wife and children of the king of Kü-shih to Ch'ang-an might have happened in later years, but are we to understand that all other incidents occurred also in one year, after the autumn of the third year of Ti-chieh?

Although we do not know the location of Ch'ü-li clearly, it must have been 330 *li* south or southeast of Wu-lei-ch'êng (烏壘城, Chadir)⁽⁴⁰⁾ and from there to Kü-shih it was written as "1,000 and odd *li*" in the report of Chêng Chi which appears in the Account of Ulterior Kü-shih Presidency (後城長國傳) as described later, and I hesitate to think that Chêng Chi advanced his troops to Kü-shih from Ch'ü-li twice, and received the wife and children of the king at the east of Ch'ü-li in one year after the autumn of the third year of Ti-chieh 地節. Besides, he had to go to Chiu-ch'üan to make the report to the Emperor, and after receiving the decree he went back to Ch'ü-li and encamped at Kü-shih for the first time. It seems more reasonable to think that the encampment at Kü-shih took place in the next year, the 4th year of Ti-chieh.⁽⁴¹⁾

Also, the Account of the Hsiung-nu says that up to the third year of Ti-chieh, "the forces of fortified cities of the western frontier regions, attacked the Hsiung-nu, and took Kü-shih, and captured the king and people, and took them away." This seems to summarize the Kü-shih operations which took place from the second year to the third year of Ti-chieh in the Account of

(40) In the Account of Ch'ü-li 渠犂, the four directions of Ch'ü-li is described as follows: "東北與尉犂東南與且末, 南與精絕接。西有河, 至龜茲五百八十里", and at the end, "東通尉犂六百五十里". Quoting Li Kuang-li 李廣利, as quoted in the same account, told: "輪臺與渠犂地皆相連也". If we are to think 尉犂 was Kalgaman, 烏壘 Chadir, and 輪臺 Bögür, perhaps we can believe the indication appearing in the Account of Wu-lei 烏壘 which says "Ch'ü-li 渠犂 was 330 *li* south of Wu-lei (其南三百三十里至渠犂)". In the Account of Ch'ü-li the distance between Wei-li 尉犂 and Ch'ü-li 渠犂 was 650 *li*. If we are to interpret this to mean the distance between Ch'ü-li→Wu-lei→Wei-li, then between Wei-li 尉犂 and Wu-lei 烏壘 was 300 *li* (Account of Wei-li), and we arrive at 630 *li*, although there is a little gap of 30 *li*, but "五" as in "六百五十里" might have been "三". In the Account of Ch'ü-li the distance between Ch'ü-li 渠犂 and Kuei-tzū 龜茲 (Kucha) is said to be 580 *li*. If this was the distance between Ch'ü-li→Wu-lei→Kuei-tzū, then that between Kuei-tzū and Wu-lei was 350 *li* (Account of Kuei-tzū), and we get 580 *li*, and the difference is 100 *li*. If 580 *li* was a mistake for 680, there is no inconsistency. As regards the expression "其南三百三十里至渠犂" in the account of Wu-lei, Hsü Sung inferred from the description of Ch'ü-li in the *Shui-ching-chu* 水經注: "西北去烏壘三百三十里", that in the *Han-shu*, on which Li Tao-yüan 麗道元 based his description, the text must have been "其東南三百三十里至渠犂". (Cf. Hsü's Notes) When we take all these into consideration, the location of Ch'ü-li was 330 *li* south or south-east of Wu-lei.

(41) Hsü Sung considers that the Han's encampment in Kü-shih occurred in the second year of Ti-chieh 地節 (Supplementary Notes). But this is very unlikely.

Uterior Kū-shih Presidency and the expression "captured the king and people, and took them away" can be considered the mistake the account made in reporting the fact that the king of Kū-shih fled to Wu-sun and Chêng Chi received his wife and children. The encampment at Kū-shih sounds to have taken place in the third year of Ti-chieh according to the Account of the Hsiung-nu, but this was also described, summarizing the events, as if it continued after the Kū-shih operations, and may be seen to have actually taken place in the next year.

According to the Account of the Hsiung-nu because Wu-kuei, the king of Kū-shih was captured by the Han (the fact was that Wu-kuei fled to Wu-sun 烏孫 and the Han took his wife and children), Shan-yü 單于 made the king's brother Tou-mo 兜莫 the king of Kū-shih and made him collect the rest of the people, and go east.

The Account of Uterior Kū-shih Presidency, *Han-shu*, goes on to say:

"When he was told by some of those that surrendered that the Shan-yü and his great ministers all said:—"The Kū-shih land is rich and fertile, and near to the Hsiung-nu territory. Should the Han take possession of it with their encampments, and collect stores of grain, it will certainly be detrimental to the interests of the neighbouring kingdoms. We must certainly contest the occupation". They accordingly sent cavalry to attack the camp. (Chêng) Chi then, in concert with the Deputy Protector, took all the 1,500 men from Ch'ü-li to the new camp. When the Hsiung-nu again sent a large body of cavalry, the Chinese being too few to defend the camp, took up their position in the Kū-shih city. The Hsiung-nu general then advancing to the city wall, thus addressed (Chêng) Chi:—"The Shan-yü is determined to contest the occupation of this land. You cannot maintain a camp here". After surrounding the city for several days, they raised the siege; after which several thousand horsemen were kept always on the patrol to preserve Kū-shih. (Chêng) Chi then addressed a despatch to the Emperor, saying: "Kū-shih is distant from Ch'ü-li more than a thousand *li*, and they are separated by rivers and mountains. Being contiguous to the Hsiung-nu on the north, the Chinese troops in Ch'ü-li are altogether inadequate to save Kū-shih. An additional number of men is wanted for the the the camp". The ministers in council, in view of the road, and the trouble and expense, considered it expedient to give up the Kū-shih camp. By imperial decree the Marquis of Ch'ang-lo 長羅侯 took command of the Chang-yi 張掖 and Chiu-ch'üan cavalry, with which he advanced more than 1,000 *li* beyond Kū-shih northward, making a great military display, on which the barbarian cavalry in the neighbourhood of Kū-shih made off; and (Chêng) Chi was then able to return with his troops to Ch'ü-li. Three Deputy Protectors

had formed colonies in Kū-shih when the king absconded to Wu-sun. The sovereign of Wu-sun detained him, refusing to send him back; but sent an envoy to China, with a despatch, desiring that the king of Kū-shih might be detained for the safety of the nation, and proposing that an expedition should be speedily sent by the western road to attack the Hsiung-nu. The Emperor fell in with the suggestion, and summoned the former heir-apparent of Kū-shih Chün-su, then residing in Yen-chi, and set him on the throne. The people of Kū-shih were then all removed, and settled in Ch'ü-li; while the old Kū-shih country was abandoned to the Hsiung-nu. The new Kū-shih king being now in close alliance with the officers of the Chinese colony, he broke off all communications with the Hsiung-nu, and rejoiced to be on terms of intimacy with the Han.

After these events the Han sent the Under Secretary Yin Kuang-tê 殷廣德 to reprimand Wu-sun, and to ask the release of Wu-kuei, the king of Kū-shih, and to make him proceed to the imperial metropolis, where a dwelling was to be appropriated for himself, his wife and family. This was in the fourth year of Yüan-k'ang 元康 (62 B.C.)''.⁽⁴²⁾

However, in the Account of the Hsiung-nu, it says, right after the entry quoted in the above:

“The next year, the Hsiung-nu, angry that the countries had attacked Kū-shih together, despatched the Left and Light generals, who having each lead more than 10,000 cavalry encamped at Yu-ti 右地, in order to make an incursion into Wu-sun and Western Frontier Regions. Later, two years afterwards, the Hsiung-nu sent Left and Right Yu-chien 輿犍, each leading 6,000 cavalry, and had them attack, together with the Left General, those Han troops who were encamping at Kū-shih, but could not beat them. The next year. . . The next year. . . This year was the 2nd year of Shên-chüeh 神爵''.⁽⁴³⁾

(42) 得降者言,「單于大臣皆曰,『車師地肥美,近匈奴,使漢得之,多田積穀,必害人國,不可不爭也。』」果遣騎來擊田者,吉廼與校尉盡將渠犂田士千五百人往田。匈奴復益遣騎來,漢田卒少,不能當,保車師城中。匈奴將,即其城下謂吉曰,「單于必爭此地,不可田也。」圍城數日,廼解。後常數千騎往來守車師。吉上書言,「車師去渠犂千餘里,間以河山,北近匈奴,漢兵在渠犂者勢不能相救,願益田卒。」公卿議以爲道遠煩費,可且罷車師田者。詔遣長羅侯將張掖、酒泉騎,出車師北千餘里,揚威武車師旁。胡騎引去,吉廼得出歸渠犂,凡三校尉屯田。車師王之走烏孫也,烏孫留不遣,遣使上書,願留車師王備國有急,可從西道以擊匈奴。漢許之。於是漢召故車師太子軍宿在焉耆者,立以爲王,盡徙車師國民,令居渠犂,遂以車師故地與匈奴。車師王得近漢田官,與匈奴絕,亦安樂親漢。後漢使侍郎殷廣德責烏孫,求車師王烏(孫)貴,將詣闕,賜第與其妻子居。是歲元康四年也。

(43) 其明年,匈奴怨諸國共擊車師,遣左右大將各萬餘騎,屯田右地,欲以侵迫烏孫·西域。後二歲匈奴遣左右輿犍各六千騎,與左大將再擊漢之田車師城者,不能下。其明年……其明年……是歲神爵二年也。

If we compare these two accounts, in the Account of Ulterior Kü-shih Presidency, it says that against the Hsiung-nu's aggression into Kü-shih, Chêng Chi and others encamped at Kü-shih, together with 1,500 men of Ch'ü-li, but the Hsiung-nu sent its men more and more, and the Han's troops in Kü-shih guarded the citadel of Kü-shih (perhaps Chiao-ho-ch'êng 交河城). This would be the same event, described in the Account of the Hsiung-nu, saying that Left and Right generals were despatched, each leading more than 10,000 cavalry, and encamped at Yu-ti 右地 and made incursions into western frontier regions, such as Wu-sun. "Yu-ti" here is supposed to denote Kü-shih.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Also in the Account of the Hsiung-nu, "two years afterwards" 6,000 cavalry led by Left and Right Yu-chien dispatched by the Hsiung-nu, who, together with Left General's forces, could not defeat Kü-shih, would mean the event described in the Account of Ulterior Kü-shih Presidency that "after which several thousand horsemen were kept always on the patrol to preserve Kü-shih", which tells one phase of the Hsiung-nu's continued incursions into Kü-shih. Then although the first "the next year" in the Account of the Hsiung-nu would be the third year of Ti-chieh 地節 in its calendar, actually, it would have been the fourth year of Ti-chieh. And the "two years afterward" would be the 4th year of Yüan-k'ang 元康 (62 B.C.), if we take the event of the 2nd year of Shên chüeh (60 B.C.) into consideration. However, according to the Account of Wu-sun, in the second year of Yüan-k'ang Wêng-kuei-mi 翁歸靡, King (K'un-mi) of Wu-sun appealed to the Han that he wanted to have Yüan-kuei-mi 元貴靡 who was the grandson (son of Princess Chieh-yu 解憂) an heir apparent, and to marry a princess of the Imperial Family of the Han; that he also wanted to sever its relationship with the Hsiung-nu. The Han at last fell in with that wish, and sent Hsiang-fu 相夫, daughter of the brother of Wu-sun Princess Chieh-yu, as the Han princess to Wu-sun. The Han court let Ch'ang Hui 常惠, Marquis of Ch'ang-lo 長羅侯 accompany the princess and they reached Tun-huang 敦煌. However, the king (K'un-mi) of Wu-sun died, and Ni-mi 泥靡 (son of a barbarian woman) became the Mad King 狂王, who broke the promise Wu-sun had made to the Han. At last, it is said, the princess did not go to Wu-sun, but went back to China. It must have been the third year of Yüan-k'ang, the next year of the year when Wu-sun had appealed to the Han, that Ch'ang Hui accompanied the princess as far as Tun-huang. The incident described in the Account of Ulterior Kü-shih Presidency that Marquis of Ch'ang-lo led the cavalry of Chang-i 張掖 and Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 1,000 *li* to the north of Kü-shih to drive away the barbarian cavalry, release Chêng Chi and let him return to Ch'ü-li to encamp, must have occurred at this time. After this event, the suc-

(44) In the Biography of Wei Hsiang 魏相, *Han-shu*, as will be quoted later, "Yu-ti 右地" of the Hsiung-nu is mentioned. "Yu-ti 右地" will be taken up later again.

ceeding entry describes that K'ü-shih was abandoned and given up to the Hsiung-nu. Therefore, we must come to the conclusion that "two years afterwards" mentioned in the Account of the Hsiung-nu was not actually the fourth year of Yüan-k'ang. There is confusion in the chronology about this time in the Account of the Hsiung-nu, and the event described in the passage beginning with "two years afterwards" must have been prior to the third year of Yüan-k'ang. In the Biography of Wei Hsiang 魏相 of the *Han-shu* Bk. 74, there is an entry, "During the year of Yüan-k'ang the Hsiung-nu sent troops to attack those Han troops encamped at K'ü-shih, but could not conquer them. The Emperor conferred with General of the Rear Chao Ch'ung-kuo 後將軍趙充國 and others to send forces, as the Hsiung-nu weakened, to attack their Yu-ti 右地 so that the Hsiung-nu would not dare disturb the western frontier regions again." However, Wei Hsiang advised not to send troops against the Hsiung-nu, so this idea was dropped. The entry that the Hsiung-nu sent troops to attack K'ü-shih, during the years of Yüan-k'ang 元康 they could not conquer the Han's men encamped there, must be the same incident described in the passage of "two years afterwards" in the Account of the Hsiung-nu, and must have happened in the years between the first and the third year of Yüan-k'ang 元康.

On the other hand, according to the Account of Ulterior K'ü-shih Presidency, Wu-sun detained Wu-kuei, King of K'ü-shih who fled, and asked him to attack the Hsiung-nu from the western route, and the Han gave the permission, and called Chün-su 軍宿, grandson of the Yen-ch'i king who was the heir prince of K'ü-shih before, but did not want to become the Hsiung-nu's hostage and had fled to Yen-ch'i (Karashahr), made him king of K'ü-shih, removed the people of K'ü-shih to Ch'ü-li, and gave the old territory of K'ü-shih to the Hsiung-nu, and Chün-su, king of K'ü-shih, came to sever its relation from the Hsiung-nu. Later the Han court made Yin Kuang-tê 殷廣德, Under Secretary 侍郎, attack Wu-sun, seek Wu-kuei 烏貴,⁽⁴⁵⁾ king of K'ü-shih, and fetched him to the palace, and let him live with his wife and children who had been at Ch'ang-an already. This event must have taken place in the fourth year of Yüan-k'ang.

The above is the outline of the struggles between the Han and the Hsiung-nu on K'ü-shih, in the reign of Emperor Hsüan-ti. Since the description branched out into so many directions, I would like to sort them out and write the summary as follows:

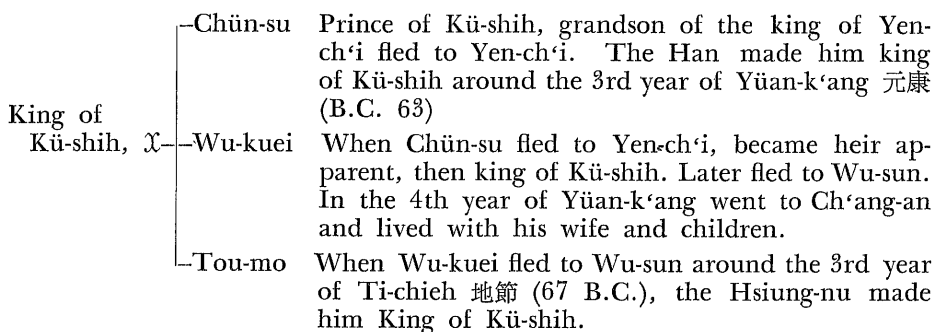
In the third year of Pên-shih 本始 (71 B.C.) the Han dispatched five generals to attack the Hsiung-nu, as the Hsiung-nu oppressed Wu-sun. At that time, P'u-lei General 蒲類將軍 advanced into T'ien-shan area, and the Wu-sun troops under Ch'ang Hui 常惠 advanced from west, and as a result,

(45) In the *Han-shu*, it is written as "求車師王烏孫貴將詣闕". However, "烏孫貴" was a mistake, coming from "烏孫" which preceded, and it should have been "烏貴" as pointed out by Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕 whom Hsü Sung quotes (Cf. Hsü's *Supplementary Notes*).

the Hsiung-nu forces encamping at Kü-shih, were driven out of Kü-shih, and Kü-shih surrendered to the Han. However, the Hsiung-nu accused Kü-shih of being subjugated under the Han, and tried to make the heir prince of Kü-shih hostage, to be sent to the Hsiung-nu, but Chün-su 軍宿, the heir prince of Kü-shih (grandson of the king of Yen-ch'i) did not want to, and fled to Yen-ch'i. Therefore, the king of Kü-shih made Wu-kuei 烏貴 heir apparent, and Wu-kuei became the king of Kü-shih. Since then the Han became positively interested in wresting away Kü-shih, which was at the gateway of the Hsiung-nu's advancing into south to the western frontier regions, and in the second year of Ti-chieh 地節 (68 B.C.) made Chêng Chi and others encamp at Ch'ü-li to attack Kü-shih repeatedly. Finally around the fourth year of Ti-chieh (66 B.C.) the Han succeeded in colonizing Kü-shih with the military troops. However, in the meanwhile Wu-kuei, king of Kü-shih, in between the two powers of the Han and the Hsiung-nu, did not know what to do, and fled to Wu-sun (perhaps in the third year of Ti-chieh) and Chêng Chi removed his wife and children to the east of Ch'ü-li, and then sent them on again to Ch'ang-an. In the meantime, the Hsiung-nu made Tou-mo 兜莫, brother of Wu-kuei, king of Kü-shih, and had him move to east, together with the people. Thus, although the Han succeeded in colonizing Kü-shih, the Hsiung-nu did not give up Kü-shih easily, and attacked it intensely. Chêng Chi poured the encamped men of Ch'ü-li 渠犂 into the battle, and opposed the Hsiung-nu, but the Hsiung-nu sent more and more men, and had them encamp at Yu-ti 右地. The Han's men who were encamped at the citadel of Kü-shih 車師城 (perhaps Chiao-ho-ch'êng 交河城) could not sustain the Hsiung-nu forces any more, and Chêng Chi wrote to the Emperor, asking to increase the forces. However, the Han decided to abandon the colonizing of Kü-shih at last, and at about the time when Ch'ang Hui 常惠, Marquis of Ch'ang-lo, accompanied the princess of Wu-sun to Tun-huang, deployed the operation with the men of Chang-i 張掖 and Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉, drove away the barbarians from Kü-shih, and saved Chêng Chi and others from Kü-shih to make them return to Ch'ü-li 渠犂 in order to encamp there. This was about the third year of Yüan-k'ang 元康 (63 B.C.).

Thus the Han made Chün-su 軍宿, the ex-prince of Kü-shih who was at Yen-ch'i, King of Kü-shih, and together with the people of Kü-shih who had been removed from the country to stay at Ch'ü-li. The Han then sought Wu-kuei 烏貴 who had been to Wu-sun, and sent him Ch'ang-an to live with his wife and children there. This was in the fourth year of Yüan-k'ang. Later, as has been said at the beginning of the previous chapter, King Jih-chu 日逐王 of the western border of the Hsiung-nu surrendered to the Han, so that the Han's management of the western frontier regions made rapid development.

What is noteworthy here is that it is now clear that in the midst of struggles between the two powers of the Han and the Hsiung-nu over Kū-shih, there were Tou-mo 兜莫, king of Kū-shih, who ascended the throne thanks to the Hsiung-nu, and Chün-su 軍宿, another king of Kū-shih, who was enthroned by the Han. Their relationship thus far can be put in the following diagram.



Except the description of the division of Ku-shih, there still does not appear so far the distinction of Anterior king and Posterior king of Kū-shih yet. However, in the foreword of the Account of Western Frontier Regions, it says, "At the time of Emperor Yüan-ti 元帝 the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander 戊己校尉 was again appointed and encamped in the royal court of Anterior King of Kū-shih". Therefore, it was in the reign of Emperor Yüan-ti who succeeded Emperor Hsüan-ti that the title of Anterior King of Kū-shih appears. The position of the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander was established in the first year of Ch'u-yüan 初元 (48 B.C.),⁽⁴⁶⁾ and he was stationed in Kao-ch'ang-pi 高昌壁 (Kara-Khōjo).⁽⁴⁷⁾ "The royal court of Anterior King of Kū-shih" mentioned here should have been the Anterior Kingdom of Kū-shih. However, in the Account of Ulterior Kū-shih Presidency of the *Han-shu*, there is an entry after the previously quoted one at the time of Emperor Hsüan-ti, "Afterwards the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander was appointed, and the troops were stationed at the old Kū-shih."

Furthermore, the Account of Ulterior Kū-shih Presidency refers to the names of Posterior Kū-shih Kingdom and Ku-kou 姑句, King of Posterior Kū-shih, in connection with the opening up of the new road by Hsü P'u 徐普, Wu-chi Subordinate Commander, from the 1st year to the 5th year of Yüan-shih 元始 (A. D. 1-5) during the reign of Yüan-ti, as will be described later. In the succeeding entry, the title of king of Anterior Kū-shih is mentioned. Also in the entry concerning Wang Mang 王莽 around the second year of Shih-chien-kuo 始建國 (A.D. 10), the name of Hsü-chih-li 須

(46) *The Table of Ministers and Government Officials*, Part 5, (百官公卿表上) of the *Han-shu*, Bk. 19.

(47) H. Matsuda, *op. cit.* p. 73.

置離, king of Posterior Kü-shih appears.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In the foreword of the Account of Western Frontier Regions, after the entry of the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander's encampment in Kü-shih, as quoted above, it describes, "At this time, Tzū-li-chih 茲力支, king of East P'u-lei 蒲類, belonging to the Hsiung-nu, led more than 1,700 men and surrendered to Protector General. The Protector General divided the west of the kingdom of Posterior Kü-shih and made it the land of Wu-t'an-tzū-li 烏貪訾離 and let him stay there."

This means, according to the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu* except the description of the division of Ku-shih seen in its foreword, only in the entry after Yüan-ti, the names of Anterior and Posterior Kings of Kü-shih appear for the first time. This was seen all through the *Han-shu* also.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Therefore, the very heart of the matter, "during the reign of Hsüan-ti, the Han attacked Ku-shih but could not destroy it completely, and divided the country into the Anterior and Posterior kingdoms of Kü-shih and six countries to the north of the mountain", quoted in the beginning of this chapter, comes to light at last.

First of all, we realize that the Anterior and Posterior kings of Kü-shih originated from Chün-su 軍宿, king of Kü-shih, who was enthroned at the time of Emperor Hsüan-ti, and Tou-mo 兜莫, king of Kü-shih, who ascended the throne thanks to the Hsiung-nu, a little previously. What happened to these two kings of Kü-shih thereafter is not very clear, but it seems that when the Han made Chün-su 軍宿 king of Kü-shih, it made all the people of Kü-shih stay at Ch'ü-li 渠犂 and gave the old Kü-shih to the Hsiung-nu. Therefore, Tou-mo, king of Kü-shih, who was enthroned by the Hsiung-nu, and was removed to east, must have recovered the old Kü-shih land. On the other hand, the Han had the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander 戊己校尉 stay in the country of Anterior king of Kü-shih during the reign of Yüan-ti. This was done, after the new development such as the surrender of King Jih-chu of the Hsiung-nu, and the appointment of Chêng Chi 鄭吉 as Protector General of Western Frontier Regions 西域都護 (60 B.C.), and achieving a great deal in managing the western frontier regions. The new development occurred a few years after the Han made Chün-su king of Kü-shih. Perhaps Chün-su, king of Kü-shih must have also gone back to the old Kü-shih at the same time, prior to the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander being placed in the country of Anterior king of Kü-shih. In short, Anterior and Posterior kings of Kü-shih, who became

(48) There is a passage concerning Ku-kou 姑句 and Hsü-chih-li 須置離, the two kings of Posterior Kü-shih, in the latter half of the Account of the Hsiung-nu, *Han-shu*, which corresponds to the entry in the Account of Western Frontier Regions, in which the names of these kings appear. However, in it, Ku-kou 姑句 is written in reverse, as Kou-ku 句姑.

(49) In the *Han-shu*, the titles of Anterior and Posterior Kü-shih kings are seen only in the Account of the Hsiung-nu, as in the previous note, except those in the Account of Western Frontier Regions.

kings, dividing Ku-shih in the reign of Hsüan-ti, must mean Chün-su and Tou-mo who respectively followed the Han and the Hsiung-nu in the midst of their intense competition. If there was a sudden change in the fate of these two kings, and another one was made a king, it makes no difference that Anterior and Posterior kings of Kü-shih originated from them.

Since the reign of Hsüan-ti, the Han competed with the Hsiung-nu intensely over Kü-shih (or Ku-shih), and sent forces there, and had them encamp there often. However, as seen from the above, there is no trace of the Han's influence settling in the north of T'ien-shan. During the reign of Hsüan-ti, King Jih-chu 日逐王 surrendered himself to the Han, and the Han's influence in the western frontier regions made a rapid progress, and the office of Protector-General was established, but in the foreword of the Account of Western Frontier Regions in the *Han-shu*, it describes that Chêng Chi 鄭吉 was made Protector General, and goes on to say:

“The title of T'ung-pu-tu-wei 僮僕都尉 was abolished since then. The Hsiung-nu got weaker than ever. Thereupon, troops were sent to encamp at Northern Hsü-chien 胥鞬 and divided Sha-ch'ê 莎車 (Yärkand). The Encamping Subordinate Commander 屯田校尉 came to belong to Protector-General for the first time.”⁽⁵⁰⁾

Although it says that since the influence of the Hsiung-nu became remote from western frontier regions, the encampment was removed to Northern Hsü-chien, and Sha-ch'ê 莎車 was divided. However, as Hsü Sung 徐松 said, 莎車 (Sha-ch'ê) is too far away, so that it must have been the mistake of 車師 (Kü-shih). Then Northern Hsü-chien 北胥鞬 was in Kü-shih area. In the entry on Posterior king of Kü-shih of the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Hou-han-shu* it refers to Chü-ku-ch'êng 且固城, which was in Posterior Kingdom of Kü-shih, and where the Han had its encampment, as will be quoted in the next chapter. 且固 AC. tsj'wo-kuo might be the same place as 胥鞬 AC. sj'wo-kiän.⁽⁵¹⁾ If so, after the second year of Shên-chüeh 神爵 when Protector-General was installed, there was the Han's encampment to the north of T'ien-shan, far north than Turfan basin. However, because of the circumstances, this does not seem to have lasted long.

In any case, Protector-General was installed, the management of western frontier regions made its progress, and in the reign of Yüan-ti, the next Emperor, the office of Wu-chi Subordinate Commander 戊己校尉 was established. However, Posterior Kingdom of Kü-shih, north of the mountain

(50) 僮僕都尉由此罷。匈奴益弱，不得近西域。於是徙屯田，田於北胥鞬，披莎車之地。屯田校尉始屬都護。

(51) The ancient pronunciation of Chinese characters is based on B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (on 且, 固, 胥, pp. 304, 145, 247); *do.*, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (on 鞬, p. 80).

seems to have been subjugated by the Hsiung-nu still. Since it says, in the Account of Ulterior Kū-shih Presidency, 車師後城長國傳 “During the period Yüan-shih (A.D. 1-5), a new road was opened up from Posterior Kū-shih, passing north of Wu-ch‘uan, as far as the Jade Gate Barrier, thus shortening the communication. This road had been made by Hsü P‘u, the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander, to shorten the distance by a half, and evade the dangers of the White Dragon Mound (元始中, 車師後王國有新道, 出五船北, 通玉門關, 往來差近. 戊己校尉徐普開以省道里半, 避白龍堆之阨.).” I have written about this in another article of mine.⁽⁵²⁾ This new road led from the Jade Gate Barrier to Turfan basin, the site of Anterior Kū-shih king, leading to Posterior Kū-shih kingdom beyond Kao-ch‘ang-pi 高昌壁 (Kara-khōjo) where the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander was stationed. In my personal view, this had special significance in the history of the Former Han’s control of western frontier regions.

Since Emperor Wu-ti 武帝, when the Han had the communication with western frontier regions for the first time, in order to go to the southern foot of T‘ien-shan from Tun-huang area one had to go out of Jade Gate Barrier and pass the White Dragon Mound, which was together with Hsien-tu 縣度, one of the two difficult spots in going to western frontier regions (the desert where many clay mounds are, north of Lob-nor).⁽⁵³⁾ In the Turfan basin, where Anterior Kū-shih kingdom was built, there seems to have been a short cut which went to north-east, in between Lou-lan (Kroraina) and Wei-li 尉犁.⁽⁵⁴⁾ However, it seems to have been customary to pass through Yen-ch‘i 焉耆. We can surmise this from the passage on Anterior Kū-shih kingdom, latter half of the Account of Western Frontier Regions, *Han-shu*. In describing the four directions, it only says, “It takes 1,870 *li* to reach the seat of the General Protectorate, and 835 *li* to reach Yen-ch‘i.” Kū-shih was always at the gateway to the Hsiung-nu’s invasion into the western frontier regions, and in order to eliminate the influence of the Hsiung-nu and develop the Han’s control of the western frontier regions, it was necessary to take this away from the Hsiung-nu. That is why the Han fought so intensely with the Hsiung-nu over this area. At last, King Jih-chu 日逐王 surrendered himself to the Han, and the office of Protector-General of Western Frontier Regions was established (60 B.C.), and the Han came to make a great step forward in the management of the western frontier regions and eventually the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander 戊己校尉 was placed in

(52) A. Shimazaki, *Saiiki Kōtsūshijō no Shindō to Igōro* 西域交通史上の新道と伊吾路 (*The New Route in the History of Traffic of Western Frontier Regions and the I-wu Route*) (*Tōhōgaku* 東方學, Vol. XII).

(53) A. Shimazaki, *Hakuryūtai kō* 白龍堆考 (*A Study on the White Dragon Mounds*), *Memoirs of the Faculty of Literature, Chū-ō University*, Section of History No. 1, (中央大學文學部紀要, 史學科一), pp. 75-78.

(54) The relationship between Ku-shih and Lou-lan referred to previously tells it.

Anterior Kü-shih (48 B. C.). This post of the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander was an important position, next to Protector-General of Western Frontier Regions⁽⁵⁵⁾, and the reason why this was stationed in the kingdom of Anterior Kü-shih to prevent the invasion of the Hsiung-nu into western frontier regions, and to carry on the management of western frontier regions smoothly. Hsü P'u 徐普, the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander, under these circumstances, came to open up a new road. Since the old road, which went from the Jade Gate Barrier to north-west, passing the White Dragon Mound to Yen-ch'i to Anterior Kü-shih Kingdom, was an extremely inconvenient one, so that the new road avoided the White Dragon Mound, and went straight to the Turfan basin from Jade Gate Barrier, going north-west, and besides the mileage was cut into half. It seems that the road was meant to lead to Posterior Kü-shih Kingdom also, to make it a bridgehead for the advance into the north of T'ien-shan, where the Han influence could not easily settle, in order to drive away the Hsiung-nu forces, and develop into Jungaria, so that a new phase would be opened up in the control of the western frontier regions. However, Ku-kou 姑句, king of Posterior Kü-shih did not welcome the Han's forces coming to his country, and surrendered at last to the Hsiung-nu. As Posterior Kü-shih kingdom was contiguous to the land of South General⁽⁵⁶⁾ of the Hsiung-nu, the king seems to have been under it.⁽⁵⁷⁾

Soon after this, Wang Mang usurped the throne of the Chinese empire, and because of his mismanagement, the western frontier regions were lost. The effort of Hsü P'u, the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander to open up a new phase in the region, was of no avail. However, the new road continued to exist after that, and was the important trunk-line in the transportation of the western frontier regions, until the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties.⁽⁵⁸⁾

(55) In the first half of the *Table of Ministers and Government Officials* 百官公卿表, *Han-shu*, it mentions the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander 戊己校尉 of 600 Chih (秩) under Protector General of Western Frontier Regions, who was paid 2,000 Chih (秩).

(56) In the latter half of the Account of the Hsiung-nu, *Han-shu*, it says, "匈奴南犁汗王南將軍" and Nan (南) General sounds as if he was under King Nan-li-yü (南犁汗王) of the Hsiung-nu. This has been pointed out by Chou Shou-ch'ang 周壽昌. (*Supplementary Critical Notes to the Han-shu* 漢書注校補).

(57) As to the description concerning the new road see my "The New Route in the History of Traffic of Western Frontier Regions and the I-wu Route" pp. 40-43.

(58) *ibid* pp. 43-50. In the Foreword of the Account of Western Frontier Regions, *Han-shu*, there is the well-known description about the southern and northern routes, as "From Yü-mên 玉門 (Jade Gate) and Yang-kuan 陽關 we go out into the western frontier regions. There are two roads. The road which starts to the north from the mountain to the south of Shan-shan, goes westward along the river Po-ho 波河, reaches Sha-ch'ê (Yarkand), is the southern road. . . . The road which starts from the court of the king of Anterior Kü-shih, goes along the northern mountain, goes westward along the river Po-ho, reaches Su-lê (Kashgar), is the northern road. . . . (自玉門・陽關出西域, 有兩道. 從鄯善傍南山北波河, 西行至莎車, 爲南道. . . . 自車師前山庭隨北山波河西行, 至疏勒, 爲北道)".

Possibly Ulterior Kū-shih Presidency must have been somewhere near Posterior Kū-shih kingdom, the present Ku-ch'êng 古城 and was the base for the Han's advance into the Hsiung-nu.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In view of the circumstances, its establishment seems to have been related with the opening of the new road, and perhaps it existed from the end of the Han to the beginning of the Hsin Dynasty, for only a short while. However, in reading through the Account of Western Frontier Regions, *Han-shu*, one comes to realize that the accounts related with the occupation of the western frontier regions

While the southern road here started from Shan-shan 鄯善 and went to Sha-ch'ê 莎車, while the northern road started from the court of Anterior Kū-shih king to Su-lê 疏勒. This is a passage with the premise that from Jade Gate and Yang-kuan 陽關 to the court of Anterior Kū-shih king was reached by the new road. If the court of Anterior Kū-shih king was to be reached, via Lou-lan (Kroraina) and Yen-ch'i (Kara-shahr), before the new road was opened, this is an expression which is hard to understand. Although it is only natural, the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, was written as of the end of Former Han.

- (59) According to the Account of Posterior Kū-shih Presidency, in the second year of Shih-chien-kuo 始建國 of Wang Mang when he made Chên Fêng, Marquis of Kuang-hsin 廣新公甄豐, Count of the Right 右伯 and tried to make him advance into the western frontier regions, Hsü-chih-li, King of Posterior Kū-shih, about to escape to the land of the Hsiung-nu, was arrested by Tiao Hu 刁護, the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander 戊己校尉 and was beheaded by Protector-General Tan Ch'in 但欽. As a result, his elder brother, Hu-lan-chih 狐蘭支, surrendered himself to the Hsiung-nu, with all his people, and attacked Kū-shih together with the Hsiung-nu, killed the Ulterior President 後城長 and injured Protector-General Ssü-ma. After this entry, it says, "When Hu-lan-chih's troops again came under the rule of the Hsiung-nu, Tiao Hu, the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander, was ill and sent his secretary Ch'ên Liang to encamp at the Huan-ch'ieh Valley in order to prevent the raid of the Hsiung-nu (及狐蘭支) 兵復還入匈奴. 時戊己校尉刁護病, 遣陳良屯桓且谷, 備匈奴寇". According to this, at that time, the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander must have let Ch'ên Liang 陳良 go up north from Turfan basin, to prepare for the invasion of the Hsiung-nu and Hu-lau-chih 狐蘭支's forces who were coming down south. The Huan-ch'ieh Valley 桓且谷 must be a valley in T'ien-shan. As to Huan-ch'ieh Valley, we must take note of the "Chin-ch'ieh Valley 金且谷" which appears in the Biography of Pan Yung 班勇, *Hou-han-shu*, as the Northern Shan-yü himself led more than 10,000 cavalry, entered Posterior Kingdom 後部, arrived at Chin-ch'ieh Valley 金且谷. Pan Yung let an unauthorized Ssü-ma Ts'ao Chün 曹後 speed to aid. The Shan-yü withdrew, Ts'ao Chün ran after him and killed his nobleman Ku-tou-hou 骨都侯 (北單于自將萬餘騎, 入後部至金且谷, 勇使假司馬曹俊馳救之, 單于引去, 後追斬其貴人骨都侯)". 桓且 AC. *ɣuân-ts'ja/ts'wo* [Karlgren; *Dictionary*, pp. 249, 304] corresponds to 金且 AC. *kjəm-ts'ja* [Karlgren; *ibid.*, pp. 135, 250]. Pan Yung 班勇, Chief Secretary of Western Frontier Regions 西域長史, who was stationed at Liu-chung 柳中 (Lukchun) in Turfan Basin. (Cf. my article, *Kōshōkoku no Jōyū ni tsuite* 高昌國の城邑について (*On the Walled Towns of Kao-Ch'ang-Kuo*), *Memoirs of Faculty of Literature, Chū-ō University*, Section of History, No. 5, p. 73) against the Northern Shan-yü's attack on Posterior Kū-shih, dispatched Ts'ao Chün. The situation was the same as the one in which Tiao Hu 刁護 dispatched Ch'ên Liang, and there is no doubt that Huan-ch'ieh Valley is identical with Chin-ch'ieh Valley.

It is considered, as Stein says, that Chin-ch'ieh 金且 corresponds to 金沙 AC. *kjəm-ʂa* of 金沙嶺 [Karlgren, op. cit. p. 250], which Wang Yen-tê 王延德 of the Sung Dynasty

are especially detailed in the Account of Ulterior Kū-shih Presidency and the Account of Ch'ü-li 渠犂. Ch'ü-li was the country where the Han encamped and harvested and was the actual base for the occupation of the western frontier regions, so that in writing the history of Ch'ü-li 渠犂 there were many entries concerned with the occupation. On the other hand, in the Account of Ulterior Kū-shih Presidency there are detailed articles concerning the occupation of Kū-shih. It was perhaps due to the fact that it was the base of the Han, being established as a result of occupying Kū-shih, that there are so many articles about the occupation of Kū-shih.

Observed as above, the Han's occupation of the western frontier regions was developed always with the occupation of Kū-shih as its nucleus. Since the Han's occupation of the western frontier regions could not be done without eliminating the influence of the Hsiung-nu, it was only natural that the occupation of Kū-shih, which was the gateway for the Hsiung-nu's

passed when he went from Chiao-ho-chou 交河州 (Yār-khoto) to Pei-t'ing 北庭 (the Northern Court), and Chin-ch'ieh Valley 金且谷 may be one of the valleys of 金沙嶺 (Yoghan-terek-dawān). Besides, Chin-sha 金沙 is related to the present Jimsa (吉木薩) at the northern foot of T'ien-shan, as pointed out by the late Dr. Abe (*"A Study of the History of Western Uighur"* p. 336). Thus, Huan-ch'ieh Valley 桓且谷 or Chin-ch'ieh Valley 金且谷 may be regarded as the valleys which passed Yoghan-terek-dawān to come down to Jimsa. (As to the route which connects Chiao-ho-ch'êng 交河城 (Yār-khoto) to Pei-t'ing 北庭 in Jimsa area, see my article, *Kōshōkoku no Ryūkoku ni tsuite 高昌國の柳谷について* (*On Liu-ku of the country Kao-ch'ang*), *Memoirs of Faculty of Literature, Chū-ō University*, Section of History, No. 6, pp. 74-75).

Thus, Ulterior Kū-shih Presidency must have been contiguous to Posterior Kū-shih kingdom north of T'ien-shan, but as I stated in another article, in view of the situation, this country was the advance base for the Former Han to attack the Hsiung-nu (Hsü Sung suggests in his *"Supplementary Notes"* that the presidency was established by the Han, on the ground of the above-quoted entry of the attack on Kū-shih by the allied forces of the Hsiung-nu and Hu-lan-chih 狐蘭支) and must have been situated in what is now called Ku-ch'êng (Cf. my article, *Kakanfutojō kō 可汗浮圖城考* (下) (*On K'o-han-fu-t'u-ch'êng*, Part 2), *Tōyō-Gakuhō* Vol. 46, No. 3, p. 49). However, Hsü Sung locates the presidency to the west of Posterior Kingdom 後王國, based upon the description of Yü-li-shih 郁立師 that "To the east, it is contiguous to Ulterior Kū-shih Presidency 車師後城長, to the west, to Pei-lu 卑陸 and to the north, to the Hsiung-nu" (*Supplementary Notes*).

He arrived at this view, since Posterior Kingdom is considered to have been in Jimsa area, and Yü-li-shih to the west of Jimsa, the Presidency must have been west of Posterior Kingdom. However, the Account of Western Frontier Regions must only have cited the Presidency 後城長國 established by the Han, as east of Yü-li-shih, as the representative country of Kū-shih.

From the above observations, although Wu-t'u Valley 務塗谷, the seat of rule of Posterior Kingdom is generally supposed to be at Pa-no-p'a Valley, as Stein says, Pa-no-p'a Valley, is also a valley reached after going over Yoghan-terek-dawān, and a question arises then how it was situated toward Huan-ch'ieh Valley 桓且谷 or Chin-ch'ieh Valley 金且谷. It may be that Wu-t'u Valley 務塗谷 and Huan-ch'ieh Valley or Chin-ch'ieh Valley were the names of parts of Pa-no-p'a Valley, but the theory that Wu-t'u Valley was Pa-no-p'a Valley may have to be re-examined.

invasion into the western frontier regions, was the central problem of the Han's occupation of western frontier regions. In the course of the Han's occupation of Kü-shih, Anterior and Posterior Kü-shih kingdoms came to be established. While the Han's influence gradually spread to Turfan basin, Anterior Kü-shih kingdom, with Chün-su 軍宿 who was enthroned by the Han came to be established there, while Posterior Kü-shih, north of T'ien-shan, with Tou-mo 兜莫, king of Kü-shih, enthroned by the Hsiung-nu, was on the side of the Hsiung-nu always, and only for a very short period at the end of the Former Han, the Han's influence extended to Posterior Kü-shih Kingdom, north of T'ien-shan.

Next I would like to consider how the Han exerted its influence upon P'u-lei 蒲類國, Posterior P'u-lei 蒲類後國, Eastern Ch'ieh-mi 東且彌國, Western Ch'ieh-mi 西且彌國, Pei-lu 卑陸國, Posterior Pei-lu 卑陸後國, which are considered to be the Six Countries to the North of the Mountain.

Even after the Han developed its occupation of the western frontier regions, Barköl-nor (蒲類澤) and Hami, which is reached by going down south of T'ien-shan, were always occupied by the Hsiung-nu, and the Han attacked the Hsiung-nu forces in the east of T'ien-shan often. As described before, in the reign of Emperor Wu-ti, in the second year of T'ien-han 天漢 (99 B.C.), Li Kuang-li 李廣利 went out of Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 and attacked the Right Wise King at T'ien-shan. This may be considered to refer to the fact that Barköl, east of T'ien-shan, was attacked. In the third year of Chêng-ho 征和 (90 B.C.), Ma T'ung 馬通, Marquis of Chung-ho 重合侯, also went out of Chiu-ch'üan and fought on in Barköl in the East T'ien-shan area. Again, as one of the five generals, Chao Ch'ung-kuo 趙充國, General of the Rear 後將軍 become P'u-lei General 蒲類將軍 and went out of Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 to attack Barköl-nor (蒲類澤), in the reign of Hsüan-ti, in the third year of Pên-shih 本始 (71 B.C.). However, although the Former Han period, the Han could not maintain the permanent control over this area. Among the decapitated heads the forces of Chao Ch'ung-kuo, P'u-lei General, obtained, it is said there was that of King of Pu-yin 蒲陰. He is considered to have been the tribal head, belonging to the Hsiung-nu, who was in Barköl area. In the foreword of the Account of the Western Frontier Regions, *Han-shu*, it says that during the reign of Yüan-ti, Tzū-li-chih 茲力支, King of Eastern P'u-lei of the Hsiung-nu led more than 17,000 of his men to surrender to Protector-General, and the Han divided the western area of Kü-shih, and made him stay there, as the land of Wu-t'an-tzū-li 烏貪營離 as described before. Tzū-li-chih, king of Eastern P'u-lei seems to have been another tribal head in Barköl area, and P'u-lei and Posterior P'u-lei of Ku-shih seems to have been oppressed by these tribal forces.⁽⁶⁰⁾

(60) Cf. Note 34.

Thus, until Emperor Hsüan-ti divided Ku-shih into eight countries, the Han forces only developed its operations in Barköl area, and there was not a trace of the Han's move to establish P'u-lei and Posterior P'u-lei.

There is no evidence that the Han exerted its influence on the Eastern and the Western Ch'ieh-mi, Pei-lu and Posterior Pei-lu.

Although it is said that during the reign of Hsüan-ti Ku-shih was divided, the battles fought over Kü-shih by the Han and the Hsiung-nu were never decisive, and when other than the fact that Turfan was at last occupied by the Han and Anterior Kü-shih kingdom was established, there was no attempt made by the Han to divide the area which used to belong to Ku-shih, nor did it make any attempt to let the divided countries established.

In short, the division of Ku-shih in the reign of Hsüan-ti was an extremely embellished description of the fact that of Ku-shih Turfan basin alone was made to come under the Han's influence, and Anterior Kü-shih kingdom was established.

It is interpreted, that the tribes of Ku-shih which occupied the T'ien-shan area, from Yulduz to Barköl, tended to split up, as years went by, into several groups, and its nucleus occupied Turfan basin and the northern foot of T'ien-shan, to its north, and after the advance made by the Han into the western frontier area, came to be called Ku-shih 姑師 and Kü-shih 車師. They then became Anterior and Posterior Kü-shih Kingdoms, but the description that Ku-shih was divided into Anterior and Posterior Kü-shih, as well as Six Countries North of the Mountain actually means that the countries in the north of the mountain, which were already split up, although having nothing to do with the Han forces, was expressed as if the Han's forces deliberately set out to divide them up.

On the other hand, there was the concept that the whole of Ku-shih tribe was Ku-shih (or Kü-shih), continued to be held up to the Later Han period. The Kü-shih which was divided into eight countries in the reign of Hsüan-ti is none other than this Kü-shih in broader sense. Except this, however, as far as I know, there is no reference made concerning Ku-shih or Kü-shih in the broader sense in the *Shih-chi* (it was the same with Ku-shih in the *Han-shu*, which repeated the account on Ku-shih in the *Shih-chi*, just as it was)⁽⁶¹⁾ and Kü-shih in the *Han-shu*. There were vicissitudes later among the Six Countries in the North of the Mountain, and in the Later Han period, it came to be called the four countries of Eastern Ch'ieh-mi, Pei-lu, I-chih, P'u-lei and including Anterior and Posterior Kü-shih Kingdoms, called Six Countries of Kü-shih. The Kü-shih, used in the Six Countries of Kü-shih, is Kü-shih in the broader sense. However, the Kü-shih

(61) Cf. Note 23.

which appears in the entry concerning Posterior King 後王, in the Account Western Frontier Regions, in the *Hou-han-shu*, as "In the 16th year of Yung-p'ing 永平, during the reign of Emperor Ming-ti 明帝, the Han took I-wu-lü 伊吾廬, and became friendly with the western frontier regions, and Kü-shih came to belong to the Han for the first time. The Hsiung-nu set troops to attack Kü-shih, so that it surrendered to the Hsiung-nu again. In the second year of Yung-yüan 永元 during the reign of Emperor Ho-ti 和帝, Tou Hsien 竇憲, Great General 大將軍 defeated the northern Hsiung-nu, and Kü-shih was terrified. Both Anterior and Posterior kings sent their sons, and offered presents," means Anterior and Posterior Kü-shih kingdoms, and Kü-shih in the narrower sense. However, there is no occasion has been found, in which the word Kü-shih was used alone, meaning the Six Countries of Kü-shih, *i.e.*, Kü-shih in the broader sense.

III

Ethnic Origins of Ku-shih 姑師 Tribes

About the countries of P'u-lei 蒲類國, Posterior P'u-lei 蒲類後國, Pei-lu 卑陸國, Posterior Pei-lu 卑陸後國, Eastern Ch'ieh-mi 東且彌國, Western Ch'ieh-mi 西且彌國 (Six Countries North of the Mountain '山北六國') which are considered to be included in Ku-shih in the broader sense, the *Han-shu* never tells us anything about their economic life, customs and mores. However, in the *Hou-han-shu*, there are some passages of this nature, although not many, concerning P'u-lei, I-chih 移支國, Pei-lu, Eastern Ch'ieh-mi, Western Ch'ieh-mi, Anterior Kü-shih 車師前部國, Posterior Kü-shih 車師後部國 which belonged to the Six Countries of Kü-shih.

For instance, in the Account of Western Frontier Regions, in the *Hou-han-shu*, there is an entry as follows about P'u-lei, I-chih and Eastern Ch'ieh-mi:

"The country of P'u-lei is west of T'ien-shan, and in the valley of Su-yü 疏榆谷. . . . The people live in tents, and go after where there are water and grass. They know cultivation. They keep cattle, horses, camels and sheep. They can make bows and arrows well. The country produces good horses.

The country of I-chih 移支國 is in the area of P'u-lei. . . . The people there are courageous and fight bravely. They make plundering their occupation. The people have long hair, and following cattle, they go after water and grass. They do not know how to cultivate the land. The products are the same as in P'u-lei.

The country of Eastern Ch'ieh-mi 東且彌國 is 800 *li* away east of the residence of Ch'ang-shih 長史. . . . They live in tents, go after where water and grass are. They cultivate the land much. They produce the

same things as in P'u-lei. They do not stay at the same place".⁽⁶²⁾

According to these passages, "the people live in the tents and go after where water and grass are" in the country of P'u-lei. Hence, the people of P'u-lei were nomads who lived in tents, *i.e.*, movable houses.⁽⁶³⁾ But, since they "know how to cultivate the land well", they

(62) 蒲類國，居天山西榆疏谷。……廬帳而居，逐水草，頗知田作。有牛・馬・駱駝・羊畜，能作弓矢，國出好馬。

移支國，居蒲類地。……其人勇猛敢戰，以寇鈔爲事。皆被髮，隨畜逐水草，不知田作。所出皆與蒲類同。

東且彌國，東去長史所居八百里。……廬帳居，逐水草，頗田作。其所出有亦與蒲類同。所居無常。

(63) Namio Egami classifies the movable dwellings of the nomads into the following, based on the types of structure:

Type a. Upper part for living and the lower carriage part are fixed together.

Type b. The upper living part and the lower carriage part are separated, and when the people stay in one place, the living part can be installed on the ground.

Type c. The upper living part is a folding type tent, and when it is to be carried to move to another place, it can be folded up and put on the lower carriage.

He thinks that most of nomads in the pampas of the Eurasian continent used the Type c dwelling, and the Type c was transformed from the Type b. In his opinion, the tent Ch'ung-lu 穹廬 of the Hsiung-nu was of Type a and the peoples of P'u-lei and of Eastern Ch'ieh-mi in the Account of Western Frontier Regions, *Hou-han-shu*, were half-nomad and half-agricultural and their dwelling, lu-chang 廬帳 was of Type b. (Egami, *Kyōdo no jūkyō* 匈奴の住居 "Dwellings of the Hsiung-nu", in the *Yūrashia Kodai Hoppōbunka* ユラシア古代北方文化 "Northern Culture of Eurasian Antiquity", pp. 41-48, 57-62). However, Gimpū Uchida thinks that Hsiung-nu's Ch'ung-lu was not necessarily the dwelling, the upper part of which was fixed to the lower carriage part, and he cites several examples which lead us to think that they must have been of Type c according to Egami's classification, and agrees with Jiro Murata, when Murata thinks Ch'ung-lu was similar to the present Mongolian *pao* 包 in his *Tōyō Kenchiku Keitōshiron* 東洋建築系統史論 "A Historical Study on the Origins of Oriental Architecture". (See Egami's *Kyōdoshi zakkō* 匈奴史雜考 "Miscellaneous Observations on History of the Hsiung-nu" in the *Kyōdoshi kenkyū* 匈奴史研究 "the History of the Hsiung-nu", pp. 249-251). In the Account of the T'u-chüeh 突厥, *Chou-shu* 周書 Bk. 50, it says, "the custom is that people wear shaggy hair and left hand side of clothes up and live in tents (其俗被髮左衽，穹廬氍帳)", or in the Account of the T'u-chüeh, *Sui-shu* 隋書 Bk. 84, from the poem which was made by Emperor Yang-ti 煬帝 who paid a visit to the court of Ch'i-min K'o-han 啓民可汗, the following verse are quoted: "The tent of wool is raised when the wind blows. The dwelling of ch'ung-lu is opened toward the sun (氍帷望風舉，穹廬向日開)". (in the Account of the T'u-chüeh, *Pei-shih* 北史, Bk. 99, 氍帷 is written as 氍帳) and Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 put a note to 穹廬, which appears in the first half of the Account of the Hsiung-nu, *Han-shu*, as "Ch'ung-lu is a woolen tent (穹廬旃帳也)", while Egami, in the period when the T'u-chüeh were active, both ch'ung-lu and chan-chang 氍帳 (or lu-chang 廬帳) 'woolen tent' came to be used together, but in the T'ang period, lu-chang 廬帳 was more generally in use, so that Yen identified Ch'ung-lu with chan-chang (Egami, *op. cit.* pp. 60-62). However, frankly, the word 氍帳 does not seem to have been used as opposed to 穹廬, as something whose structure was different from it; rather, 氍帳 seems to have been a general term for movable dwellings. In other words, "穹廬氍帳" in the *Chou-shu* 周書, and "氍帷(帳)・穹廬" in the *Sui-shu* 隋書

seem to have been engaged in agriculture also.⁽⁶⁴⁾ However, the people of I-chih were courageous and made plundering their occupation, and were completely nomads. The name of this country is not mentioned in the *Han-shu*, and there are some who regard the people moved to Barköl in more recent years,⁽⁶⁵⁾ but since this country was one of the Six Countries of Kū-shih, they must have belonged to a group of the people of Ku-shih originally, and were the nomads who were in Barköl area. Posterior P'u-lei which appears in the *Han-shu* is not mentioned in the *Hou-han-shu*, but among the Ku-shih tribes in this area, there must have been considerable changes from the Former Han to the Later Han periods, and the names of their countries must have changed also.

Next, in Eastern Ch'ieh-mi 東且彌國 "the people did not stay at the same place (所居無常)", leading the life of nomads, and yet were engaged in agriculture also. Dr. Matsuda suggested that the fact the *Hou-han-shu* describes only about Eastern Ch'ieh-mi, and does not include the account of Western Ch'ieh-mi is because the Chief Secretary of Western Frontier Regions 西域長史 (was stationed at Liu-chung 柳中 (Lukchun), in Turfan basin)⁽⁶⁶⁾ who had no such influence as the Protector General of by-gone days, was in contact only with the people of Ch'ieh-mi 且彌 in Algoi Valley, which was near his seat, and his influence did not extend to the west. He considered the passage "did not stay at the same place" as implying the pastoral life, in the pampas of the wide Yulduz Valley, of Western Ch'ieh-mi.⁽⁶⁷⁾ However, in the *Han-shu*, it says the population of Western Ch'ieh-mi was 1,926, the number of households 332, which the population of Eastern Ch'ieh-mi amounted to 1,948 and 191 households. In the *Hou-han-shu*, it says that the population and the number of households of Eastern Ch'ieh-mi were more than 5,000, and more than 3,000 respectively (compared with the number of households, the number of population seems to be too few), so

(or in the *Pei-shih* 北史) was simply a term for 氈帳 as well as 穹廬, to denote the movable dwellings, and Yen used the word 旃帳 in order to explain the characteristic of 穹廬. Therefore, 廬帳 was a general term for movable dwellings, as well as 氈(旃)帳, 氈帷, etc. and there does not seem to be any necessity to distinguish it from 穹廬. 廬帳 of the peoples of P'u-lei 蒲類國 or of Eastern Ch'ieh-mi was perhaps 穹廬 (which appears in the passage of Wu-sun, in the Account of Western Frontier Regions) of the Hsiung-nu or Wu-sun, and was of the same type as the present *pao* in Mongol.

(64) In the Account of the country of P'u-lei 蒲類國, *Hou-han-shu*, the Shan-yü of the Hsiung-nu removed the people of P'u-lei to Ê-ê 阿惡, in the Right 右部 of the Hsiung-nu, which was at a distance of 90 odd days by horse ride, north of Posterior Kū-shi 車師後部 and called it Ê-ê 阿惡國. This is not taken up in this article since it has no bearing with the theme of this article. However, I am in general agreement with the view taken by Matsuda. (Matsuda, *op. cit.* p. 100)

(65) Matsuda, *op. cit.* p. 117. The same opinion is held by Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 (後漢書集解).

(66) Cf. my article, "On the Walled Cities of Kao-ch'ang" p. 73.

(67) Matsuda, *op. cit.* pp. 93-95.

that the number of households and population mentioned in the *Hou-han-shu* are greater than those of mentioned in the *Han-shu*, Eastern and Western Ch'ieh-mi 且彌國. This does not seem as if it tells only about the Ch'ieh-mi people who were near the seat of Chief Secretary 長史. Perhaps it did tell about the number of households and population in the Former Han period, actually, and it supposed the existence of the Ch'ieh-mi people to their west, where the influence of Chief Secretary did not extend, and made it Eastern Ch'ieh-mi.⁽⁶⁸⁾ "They did not stay at the same place" (所居無常) does not mean such a complicated situation as Dr. Matsuda considered, but it means that they were engaged in agriculture at times, but it was the sort of very primitive agriculture that they did not settle down in one place, so that the Account described it using that expression.

The *Hou-han-shou*, as mentioned before, had no separate account for the country of Pei-lu 卑陸國, and we do not know how the people lived. However, in the Account of Western Frontier Regions, at the end of the passage of Posterior Kū-shih Kingdom (passage concerning Posterior King 後王), which had Wu-t'u Valley 務塗谷 (Pa-no-p'a Valley) as its seat of rule, has the following noteworthy statement:

"In the first year of Yung-hsing 永興, King Ê-lo-to 阿羅多 of Posterior Kū-shih could not get along with Yen Hao 嚴皓, the Marquis of Wu-pu 戊部侯. At last he rebelled and attacked and surrounded Chieh-ku-ch'êng 且固城 where the Han forces were encamped, killed officers and men. T'an-Chê 炭遮, Marquis of Hou-pu 後部侯, led the rest of men, rebelled against Ê-lo-to and going to the Han officials, surrendered themselves. Being thus confronted, Ê-lo-to, together with his mother, wife and children, and 100 and odd cavalry, fled to the northern Hsiung-nu territory. Sung Liang 宋亮, Governor of Tun-huang 敦煌, enthroned Pei-chün 卑君 who was the hostage son of Chün-chiu 軍就, the ex-king of Posterior Kū-shih 後部王, and made him king of Posterior Kū-shih. Afterwards, Ê-lo-to went back from the Hsiung-nu, and fought over the country with Pei-chün, and subjugated many of its people under him, Yen Hsiang 閻詳, the Wu Subordinate Commandar 戊校尉, who was afraid that Ê-lo-to might invite the northern barbarians 北虜 and disturb the western frontier regions, communicated with him, made proclamation, and permitted him to become the king again. Ê-lo-to

(68) Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 says that the reason why the *Hou-han-shu* tells only of Eastern Ch'ieh-mi 東且彌國 is because it annexed Western Ch'ieh-mi 西且彌國 and became one country (後漢書集解). In the Account of Western Barbarians 西戎傳, *Wei-liao* 魏略, it says also, "In the north, taking the new road, going west, we come to Ch'ieh-mi, Western Ch'ieh-mi, Tan-huan (單桓), Pi-lu (畢陸), P'u-lei (蒲類) and Wu-t'an (烏貪) in the east", and there is a distinction between (東)且彌 and 西且彌, so that the view taken by Wang cannot be followed.

came to Yen Hsiang and surrendered. He took the seal and sash which had been given to Pei-chün, and made Ê-lo-to king. Then, he let Pei-chün go back to Tun-huang and ordered 300 'tents' (帳) of Posterior Kū-shih people to serve him, so that he came to live on their tax. The 'tents' are equivalent to the number of households in China".⁽⁶⁹⁾

This incident happened in the first year of Yung-hsing 永興 (A.D. 153) when Ê-lo-to, king of Kū-shih, had a feud with Yen Hao 嚴皓, the Marquis of Wu-pu 戊部侯, who was stationed in the city of the Hou-pu Hou 後部侯城 (Chin-man-ch'êng 金滿城)⁽⁷⁰⁾ of the Later Han period, and attacked Ch'ieh-kuch'êng 且固城 where the Later Han troops were encamped. T'an Chê 炭遮, Marquis of Hou-pu 後部侯, of Kū-shih, betrayed Ê-lo-to (阿羅多) and surrendered himself to the Later Han, so that Ê-lo-to fled to the Northern Hsiung-nu at last. Thereupon, Sung Liang 宋亮, Governor of Tun-huang made Pei-chün 卑君 who was the son of Chün-chiu, king of Posterior Kū-shih, and was in Tun-huang as hostage of the Later Han. However, Ê-lo-to came back and fought over the country with Pei-chün so that Yen Hsiang 閼諱, Wu Subordinate Commander 戊校尉, afraid that Ê-lo-to might invite the Hsiung-nu and make a great disturbance, made Ê-lo-to king again, and the matter was settled. Thus Pei-chün went back to Tun-huang. At that time, 300 'tents' of Posterior Kū-shih people were made to belong to him, and Pei-chün came to tax them. The last entry says that "the tents (帳) are equivalent to the number of households in China (帳者猶中國之戶數也)". It goes without saying that "帳" were movable tents, and the nomads of Posterior Kū-shih 車師後部 were removed to Tun-huang. From this entry, we can safely say that the people of Posterior Kū-shih, in the latter half of the Later Han period, lived like nomads. If their major occupation was agriculture, it would have been natural to let the farmers move to Tun-huang where agriculture was already advanced, and let Pei-chün tax them, and there was no need to transfer the nomad people. Therefore, it will not be far wrong to say that although the people of Posterior Kū-shih were engaged in agriculture, still they lived mainly driving animals. Wang Hsien-Ch'ien 王先謙 explains, in his "*Commentary to the Hou-han-shu* 後漢書集解" "chang (帳) 'tent' means something like the number of households in China (帳者, 猶中國之戶數也)" as "the people of the Six Countries of Kū-shih generally lived in tents as well as in houses. Therefore, both

(69) 永興元年, 車師後部王阿羅多與戊部侯嚴皓不相得, 遂忿戾反畔, 攻圍漢屯田且固城, 殺傷吏士。後部侯炭遮領餘人, 畔阿羅多, 詣漢吏降。阿羅多迫急, 將其母妻子, 從百餘騎, 亡走北匈奴中。敦煌太守宋亮, 上立後部故王軍就質子卑君, 爲後部王。後阿羅多復從匈奴中還, 與卑君爭國, 頗收其國人。戊校尉閼諱慮其招引北虜, 將亂西域。乃開信告示, 許復爲王, 阿羅多乃詣諱降。於是收奪所賜卑君印綬, 更立阿羅多爲王。仍將卑君還敦煌, 以後部人三百帳別屬役之, 食其稅。帳者猶中國之戶數也。

(70) Matsuda, *op. cit.* p. 319.

households and 'tents' were calculated. Pei-chün was removed to lived in Tun-huang. Therefore, those who followed him were calculated by tents. The word 'counting of tents', as vulgarly said for computation, began at this time (車師六國大氏俗兼盧帳, 故有戶有帳. 卑君徙居敦煌, 故從者以帳計, 俗稱算帳始此).'' Thus, in Six Countries of Kū-shih there were households in the Chinese style as well as the tents of the nomad people. This is the view we should follow.

The countries seen in the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, start with the description of the seat of rule. Sometimes it is skipped, but it must be due to the mistake in making copies. The methods of describing the seats of rule are divided into 'ruled such and such a valley (治某々谷)' and 'ruled at such and such a city (治某々城)'. Sometimes the country's way of living, customs, and mores are touched upon, and sometimes, not. However, the country whose seat of rule is in 'such and such a valley' is a nomad country, or a country mainly engaged in the nomad way of living. The following is the list, according

Name of Country	Seat of Rule	Entries concerning Living, Customs
西夜國 Hsi-yeh	呼犍谷 Hu-Chien Valley	(P'u-li 蒲犂 and I-nai 依耐, Wu-lei 無雷國 are all similar to Hsi-yeh 西夜). Hsi-yeh 西夜 is different from the Hu 胡 tribes. They are of the same kind as Ch'iang 羌, Ti 氐, and do not settle down, follow their cattle, and come and go seeking water and grass. (蒲犂及依耐・無雷國, 皆西夜類也) 西夜與胡異, 其種類羌・氐行國, 隨畜逐水草往來.
休循國 Hsiu-hsün	烏飛谷 Wu-fei Valley	People's customs and clothes are similar to Wu-sun. Depend upon domestic animals and follow wherever water and grass are found. [the Saka 塞 tribe]. 民俗・衣服類烏孫. 因畜隨水草. (塞種)
捐毒國 Chüan-tu	行敦谷 Yen-tun Valley	People's clothes are similar to Wu-sun, follow wherever water and grass are found. [the Saka 塞 tribe]. 衣服類烏孫, 隨水草. (塞種)
尉頭國 Wei-t'ou	尉頭谷 Wei-t'ou Valley	Keep domestic animals, follow wherever water and grass are found. People's clothes are similar to Wu-sun, 田畜隨水草, 衣服類烏孫.
蒲犂國 P'u-li	蒲犂谷 P'u-li Valley	Depend upon Sha-ch'ê 莎車 (Yärkand) to cultivate land. They are of the same kind as Tzū-ho 子合 and customs are also similar. 寄田莎車. 種俗與子合同.
依耐國 I-nai		Contiguous to Tzū-ho 子合 in the south, Customs are the same. Have very little grain. Depend upon Su-lê 疏勒 (Kashgar) and Sha-ch'ê 莎車 (Yärkand) for cultivation. 南與子合接, 畝相與同. 少穀, 寄田疏勒・莎車.
無雷國 Wu-lei	盧城 Lu City	People's clothes are similar to Wu-sun. Their customs are the same as Tzū-ho 子合. 衣服類烏孫, 俗與子合同.

to the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*.

The four countries of Hsi-yeh, Hsiu-hsün, Chüan-tu, Wei-t'ou in the above list have "valley (谷)" as the seat of King's rule, respectively, and the passage "田畜隨水草" written about the country of Wei-t'ou must be the mistake for "因畜隨水草", as is written in the statement about Hsiu-hsün, so that "田" was actually "因". They are all nomad countries. As to Hsi-yeh, it says, "The king is called King of Tzū-ho 子合王". "And from the land of Tzū-ho 子合 jewels and jades are produced". This seems to describe the two countries of Hsi-yeh and Tzū-ho en bloc, but the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Hou-han-shu* describes, "There is a mistake in the *Han-shu*. In it Hsi-yeh and Tzū-ho are considered as one country. Now they have their own kings respectively (漢書中誤言, 西夜·子合是一國. 今各自有王.)", and have Hu-chien Valley 呼犍谷 as the seat of rule of Tzū-ho.⁽⁷¹⁾

As to the three countries of P'u-li, I-nai, Wu-lei, which are said to be similar to Hsi-yeh, P'u-li has P'u-li Valley as its seat of rule, and rents field (寄田) from Sha-ch'ê 莎車. As to 寄田, Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 says, "renting the fields of other countries, the people cultivate or buy the grain of neighboring countries (寄於它國種田, 又羅旁國之穀)".⁽⁷²⁾ If we are to interpret this in the latter sense, its people and their customs were similar to Tzū-ho, i.e., Hsi-yeh and it was a nomad country.

There is no entry as to the seat of rule for I-nai, but its custom was like Tzū-ho (Hsi-yeh), there was little grain, and "rented the field from Su-lê and Sha-ch'ê (寄田疏勒·莎車)". Therefore, in whichever the meaning of 寄田 is interpreted, we must conclude that its people mainly lived like nomads but also were engaged in agriculture. Wu-lei at the end of the list seems to have been a nomad country or which chiefly depended upon nomad life, because it says, "Its custom is similar to Tzū-ho". However, its seat of rule was at Lu-ch'êng 盧城 and it was only this country which did not have its seat of rule in a valley. Perhaps Hsi-yeh 西夜, Tzū-ho 子合, P'u-li 蒲犁, I-nai 依耐, Wu-lei 無雷 were the nomad countries, ethnically of the Tibetan stock, like Ch'iang 羌 and Ti 氐, which were closer to Pamir mountains, from the southern route of the western frontier regions 西域南道.⁽⁷³⁾ Although it says "Hsi-yeh is different from the Hu 胡", the Hu here

(71) Dr. Shiratori thinks Hsi-yeh 西夜 was Kargalik and Tzū-ho 子合 Asgansal, to its west. (See *Daigesshi kō* 大月氏考 (*On Ta-yüeh-shih*), *Saikiishijō no shinkenkyū* (2) 西域史上の新研究・第二 (*New Historical Studies of the Western Frontier Regions*, Chapter 2), *Saikiishi kenkyū* (I) 西域史研究・上 (*Studies in the History of the Western Frontier Regions*, Part I), pp. 171-172.

(72) The note in the passage on Shan-shan 鄯善, the Account of Western Frontier Regions, the *Han-shu* for "Whenever they encamped, they depended on neighboring countries for their grain (寄田仰穀旁國)".

(73) According to Dr. Shiratori, the three countries, I-nai 依耐, P'u-li 蒲犁, Wu-lei 無雷 were those along the Southern route of the Pamirs 葱嶺南道, passing from Yār-kand

does not mean the Hsiung-nu, who were nomads, but instead, it means the countries of fortified cities in the western frontier regions, and Hsi-yeh was different from these countries. Therefore, it was customary for these countries not to have the king's castle, as in the case of settled countries, and it could be interpreted that that was meant by having "a valley (谷)" as the seat of rule. However, there was a country like Wu-lei which had a "castle (城)" as its seat of government. There were many cases of having citadels or forts, among the nomad peoples, such as the Hsiung-nu, etc. In the foreword of the Account of the Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, it says about Wu-sun 烏孫國 "in the countries of the western frontier regions people generally settled possessing castles, domestic animals and fields. And their customs are different from those of the Hsiung-nu and the Wu-sun (西域諸國大率土著, 有城郭田畜, 與匈奴與烏孫異俗)", and Wu-sun is made to represent the nomad countries in the western frontier regions. Hsiu-hsün 休循 and Chüan-tu 捐毒⁽⁷⁴⁾ of the Saka tribe 塞種, which are considered to belong to the Scythians, as well as Wu-lei 無雷, it says, "their clothes are similar to Wu-sun" and their nomad customs are compared to those of Wu-sun. In the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, there is a reference to Wu-sun: "they do not cultivate field or plant trees, but follow their domestic animals and go after water and grass. Their custom is the same as the Hsiung-nu (不田作種樹, 隨畜逐水草, 與匈奴同俗)". However, the seat of rule of Ta-k'un-mi 大昆彌, King of Wu-sun was at Ch'ih-ku-ch'êng 赤谷城. However, this Ch'ih-ku-ch'êng was something like a fort, far from the traditional concept of a fortified town,⁽⁷⁵⁾ and Lu-ch'êng of Wu-lei was like a fort also. Of countries mentioned in the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, although Shan-shan 鄯善國 had Yü (or Han)-ni-ch'êng 扞(杆)泥城 as its seat of rule, it is referred to as "the soil is sandy and salty and there is very little field. They rent the field from other countries, and depend upon neighboring countries for the grain. . . . The people follow their domestic animals and go after where there is water and grass (地沙鹵, 少田, 寄田仰穀旁國. . . .民隨畜牧逐水草)". Therefore, the people, although they carried on cultivation, still primarily depended upon nomad life. The Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu* describes the country of Êrh-ch'iang 婼羌, saying at first, "the grains were

to Tashkurgan and leading to either Ta-yüeh-shih or Chi-pin 鬲賓 (Shiratori, *op. cit.* pp. 162-174). See Note 71, for Hsi-yeh 西夜 and Tzū-ho 子合.

(74) Dr. Shiratori thought that Chüan-tu 捐毒 was Irkeštam, and Hsiu-hsün 休循 was its neighbor, Alai Heights. (Shiratori, *op. cit.* pp. 152-158).

(75) Dr. Matsuda does not think that that "ch'êng 城" in the nomad countries like Wu-sun necessarily meant a city clustered by settled houses, but more often, a market, spontaneously established in the king's court or an important spot in the country. (Matsuda *op. cit.*, p. 196). Uchida thinks, Ch'ih-ku-ch'êng 赤谷城 was a citadel, having a wall, but just as in the case of the "ch'êng 城" of the Hsiung-nu, it was a fort, and was not like Chinese cities or castle towns. (Uchida, *op. cit.*, p. 256)

dependent upon Shan-shan and Ch'ieh-mo (仰鄯善・且末穀)', about which, although they did eat grain, the country was a nomad country, and the people "followed their domestic animals and went after water and grass, and did not cultivate field (隨畜逐水草, 不田作)". Next it goes on to describe Shan-shan and Ch'ieh-mo. At the end of the passage on Shan-shan, "In Ch'ieh-mo and the subsequent countries they all grow five grains (自且末以往, 皆種五穀)", and Shan-shan seems to be differentiated from the countries which were settled down, having fortified towns, west of Ch'ieh-mo. On the other hand Shan-sham is said to have had I-hsün-ch'êng 伊循城⁽⁷⁶⁾ besides Yü-ni-ch'êng 扞泥城 which was the seat of rule, it was where the southern route of the western frontier regions started, and was closest to the Han, and was seen to have been under its influence considerably, therefore, it was not a fort of the nomad people, but it must have had a fortified town.

In the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, 漢書西域傳 even when the countries have a Ch'êng 城 "castle" as the seat of their kings' rule, there are those like Wu-sun and Shan-shan which were nomad countries, or depended primarily upon nomad life. On the contrary, when the countries have their seats of rule in a Ku 谷 "valley", as in the case of the countries mentioned in the above list, they were nomad countries or primarily depended upon nomad life, and had "valleys" as their seats of rule. Although there are some countries whose mode of living, customs and mores are not touched upon in the list at all, there is not a single case in which a settled agricultural country, or a country which primarily was engaged in agriculture is concerned. In the cases of P'u-lei 蒲類國, Western Ch'ieh-mi 西且彌國, Eastern Ch'ieh-mi 東且彌國, Posterior Kū-shih 車師後王國, Pei-lu 卑陸國, Posterior Pei-lu 卑陸後國, which are considered to have been split from Ku-shih, they had their seats of rule at Su-yü Valley to the west of T'ien-shan 天山西疏榆谷, Yü-ta Valley to the east of T'ien-shan 天山東于大谷, Tui-hsü Valley to the east of T'ien-shan 天山東兌虛谷, Wu-t'u Valley 務塗谷, Chien-tang Valley to the east of T'ien-shan 天山東乾當國(谷), Fan-ch'ü-lei Valley 番渠類谷 respectively, and there is no mention of the seat of rule as to Posterior P'u-lei 蒲類後國,

(76) It used to be thought that Yü-ni-ch'êng 扞泥城 was Mirān and I-hsün-ch'êng 伊循城 was Charklik, but recently Dr. Enoki has advanced a new theory, regarding Yü-ni-ch'êng 扞泥城, as Lou-lan-ch'êng (Kroraina; site for Lou-lan) and I-hsün-ch'êng as Mirān. (The outline of the 59th open lecture of Historical Society, is found in the *Sigakuzasshi*, pp. 69-121. Cf. K. Enoki, "Yü-ni-ch'êng and the site of Lou-lan," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, Bd., XXXIII, Helt 1-2, August, 1961. *Rōlan no ichi o shimesu futatsu no Kharoṣṭhī monjo ni tsuite* 伊循城樓蘭の位置を示す二つのカロシュティー文書について ("On the two Kharoṣṭhī Documents which indicate the Site of Lou-lan"), in the *Ishida-hakushi Shōju Kinen Tōyōshi Ronsō* (石田博士頌壽記念東洋史論叢), commemorating Dr. Ishida's 70th birthday and *Zenzen no tojyō no ichi to sono idōnitsuite* 鄯善の都城の位置とその移動について ("On the Site of the Walled City of Shan-shan 鄯善 and its Removal"), (1), (2), *Orient*, Vol. 8. Nos. 1-2).

but the Account of Western Frontier Regions, of the *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書 indicates that P'u-lei (the seat of its government was in Su-yü Valley west of T'ien-shan), I-chih 移支國 (which is said to have been in the P'u-lei area) and Eastern Ch'ieh-mi were either nomad countries or the countries which primarily depended upon cattle-husbandry, and had agriculture as the side-line occupation. Posterior Kü-shih 車師後王國 which is said to have had its seat of rule at Wu-t'u Valley in the *Han-shu*, seems to have been very much a nomad country, as described before, in accordance with the *Hou-han-shu*. In the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, it says that after the usurpation of Wang Mang 王莽, Hu-lan-chih 狐蘭支, elder brother of Hsü-chih-li 須置離, king of Posterior Kü-shih who was arrested and beheaded by Tiao Hu 刁護, the Wu-chi Subordinate Commander 戊己校尉, fled to the Hsiung-nu and surrendered to it, describing, "After this, Hsü-chih-li's brother Hu-lan-chih, the National Assistant Marquis, took command of over 2,000 of Hsü-chih-li's people, drove off the domestic animals, and the whole nation absconded and submitted to the Hsiung-nu (置離兄輔國侯狐蘭支將置離衆二千餘人, 驅畜產, 舉國亡降匈奴)." (77) It could safely be said that "drove the domestic animals" here meant that Posterior Kü-shih was nomad-like. However, in the Account of the Western Barbarians of the *Wei-lüeh* 魏略 西戎傳 it says, "If we go west, up north on the new highway, in the east, there are the countries of Ch'ieh-mi, Western Ch'ieh-mi, Tan-huan, Pi-lu P'u-lei, Wu-t'an. All belong to Posterior Kü-shih king. The king had Yü-lai-ch'êng as his seat 北新道西行, 東至且彌國·西且彌國·單桓國·畢陸國·蒲類國·烏貪國, 皆并屬車師後部王, 王治于(於)賴城)". According to the entry, such countries as Eastern and Western Ch'ieh-mi, Pi(Pei)-lu, Tan-huan, Wu-t'an (Wu-t'an-tzŭ-li), (78) which used to belong to Ku-shih, at the northern foot of T'ien-shan, belong to Posterior Kü-shih Kingdom, and the king's seat was not the former Wu-t'u Valley 務塗谷, but at Yü-lai-ch'êng. As the writer wrote his observation in another article, Yü-lai 于賴 are the characters denoting the same pronunciation as P'u-lei, and I thought P'u-lei-hsien 蒲類縣 of T'ing-chou 庭州 of the T'ang Dynasty was the reproduction of Yü-lai, and that Yü-lai-ch'êng and P'u-lei-hsien was at the present Ku-ch'êng 古城. Posterior Kü-shih Kingdom now left the valley in the T'ien-shan mountain range, and moved to the plain at the foot of the mountains. (79) This is related to the fact that the country took to agriculture more and more, and perhaps that was the reason why this country was strong and flourished in the period of Three States 三國時代,

Therefore, I believe that when the *Han-shu* says that the seat of the

(77) Cf. Note 59. There is a similar entry in the latter half of the Account of the Hsiung-nu.

(78) These countries are not recorded in an orderly fashion from east to west (Matsuda, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42).

(79) See My article, *Kakanfutojyō kō* 可汗浮圖城考(上・下) (*On K'o-han-fu-t'u-ch'êng*), Parts 1 and 2, *Tōyō-gakuhō* 東洋學報, Vol. 46, Nos. 2-3. Especially p. 50 of Part 2.

king's rule was in such and such a valley, it was not a rhetorical expression, but concisely expressed the mode of living of the countries which were nomadic, or primarily depended upon nomad life.⁽⁸⁰⁾

Thus, the countries like P'u-lei, Western Ch'ieh-mi, Eastern Ch'ieh-mi, Posterior Kü-shih, Pei-lu, Posterior Pei-lu in the Former Han period, and possibly Posterior P'u-lei, too, led the life of nomad, or depended primarily upon nomad life just as the present Kazakh tribe and Turghud tribe do and went deep into T'ien-shan, seeking grassland, in summer and came down to warmer place at the foot of the mountain in winter.

Next, we come to Anterior Kü-shih, in the Turfan basin. The seat of the king's rule is said to have been at Chiao-ho-ch'êng 交河城 (Yär-khoto), in both the *Han-shu* and the *Hou-han-shu*. Seen from the way the seat of king's rule is described, this country was different from the rest of Kü-shih tribal 車師族 countries, which were nomad, or nomad-like.

As described in the previous chapter, in the reign of Emperor Chao-ti, in the Former Han period, the Hsiung-nu sent 4,000 cavalry, to encamp at Kü-shih 車師 and the *Han-shu* describes the incident as "the Hsiung-nu again sent 4,000 cavalry to encamp at Kü-shih (匈奴復使四千騎田車師)". Since it says "again", the Hsiung-nu must have had its troops encamped at Kü-shih before. On the other hand, the Han, in the reign of the next Emperor, Emperor Hsüan-ti, had Chêng Chi 鄭吉 and others encamp at Ch'ü-li 渠犂 and attack Kü-shih, and around the fourth year of Ti-chieh 地節 (66 B. C.) finally occupied Kü-shih, and encamped there with 300 men. However, the Hsiung-nu, not easily giving up Kü-shih, attacked. Although the Han troops together with the encamped men at Ch'ü-li fought with the Hsiung-nu, the Hsiung-nu kept sending great troops on, and had them encamp at Yu-ti 右地. The Han troops could not oppose the Hsiung-nu forces any more, and gave up the encampment at Kü-shih around the third year of Yüan-k'ang 元康 (63 B. C.).

The above incident happened in the days when Anterior and Posterior Kü-shih kingdoms did not emerge yet. As considered in the previous chapter, as a result of King Jih-chu 日逐王's surrender, Protector General for the Western Frontier Regions came to be installed in the second year of Shên-chüeh 神爵 (60 B.C.). Prior to that, the Han could not keep its control permanently in the north of T'ien-shan. The encampment of the Han in Kü-shih must have been in Turfan region. This can be confirmed by the fact that Chêng Chi and others attacked Kü-shih at first and defeated Chiao-ho-ch'êng 交河城 (Yär-khoto), and after succeeding in the encampment, they could retain Kü-shih-ch'êng 車師城 against the attack of the Hsiung-nu. This Kü-shih-ch'êng here is regarded also to have been Chiao-ho-ch'êng.

It is quite clear that agriculture was maintained in Turfan basin, prior

(80) The outline of this view was already described in my article, *ibid.*, Part 2. p. 50.

to the emergence of Anterior Kü-shih Kingdom, since the Han's troops were encamped there.

However, there is a problem as to whether or not the Hsiung-nu encamped in Kü-shih before the Han's encampment, since they were the typical nomad people, as described in the Account of the Hsiung-nu of the *Shih-chi*, "they move about in search of water and pasture, and have no walled cities or fixed dwellings, nor do they engage in any kind of agriculture (逐水草遷徙, 毋城郭·常處·耕田之業)." Can we interpret this to mean the same sort of encampment the Han forces carried out? As Dr. Namio Egami observed, the Hsiung-nu, whose staple food was meats and dairy products, got into the dietary habit of eating grain, and according to the history, since the early period of the Former Han they were supplied rice and grain by the Han, but eventually, agriculture was conducted in the Hsiung-nu. According to Dr. Egami, as the Hsiung-nu were not accustomed to cultivation, the Hsiung-nu seems to have employed the Han people, who entered the Hsiung-nu, to cultivate the land in the Hsiung-nu, but Hsiung-nu people themselves must have conducted cultivation of grain.⁽⁸¹⁾

However, it does not seem likely that the nomad could turn to agriculture so easily, and there is still some doubt held about the Hsiung-nu, of the Former Han period, whether they were actually engaged in agriculture themselves. In the Account of the Hsiung-nu in the *Shih-chi*, it says, "Any prisoners that are taken are made slaves (得人以為奴婢)". According to the Account of the Hsiung-nu in both the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu*, there are numerous cases of the Hsiung-nu's attacking the northern border of the Han, and making away with the people. They must have captured a great number of the Han people, and many of them would have been made to work as slaves to cultivate the field, and cultivation of the field in the Hsiung-nu must have been assigned to the captured Han people.

Thus, although it is said that during the reign of Emperor Chao-ti, 4,000 cavalry of the Hsiung-nu were encamped at Kü-shih, it is doubtful whether they were engaged in agriculture. Perhaps they were used to loot grain, occupying Kü-shih, and cultivation of the field may have been done by other people.

I am reminded of the position of T'ung-p'u-tu-wei 僮僕都尉 of the Hsiung-nu. As quoted already in the First Chapter in the Foreword of the Account of Western Frontier Regions of the *Han-shu*, it says, King Jih-chu 日逐王, who was in the west of the Hsiung-nu, installed T'ung-p'u-tu-wei, to have him tax the countries and occupy the western frontier regions. He always stayed somewhere between Yen-ch'i 焉耆, Wei-hsü 危須, Wei-li 尉黎. He taxed countries and was rich." King Jih-chu, who was in the position of

(81) Passages on "Grain Food" of "Foods and drinks of the Hsiung-nu", *Institute of Ancient History of Eurasia*, pp. 101-121).

Governor-General 總督 for the western frontier regions, let T'ung-p'u-tu-wei control the western frontier regions, and had him stationed in Yen-ch'i area and taxed the western frontier countries. T'ung-p'u-tu-wei existed until King Jih-chu surrendered himself to the Han. Dr. Matsuda considered that T'ung-p'u 僮僕 meant servants and slaves, and T'ung-p'u-tu-wei 僮僕都尉 was the translation of a Hsiung-nu official whose main job was to commandeer men and products.⁽⁸²⁾ This is an outstanding opinion we should listen to. It seems that it was around the time of Mo-tu Shan-yü 冒頓單于, 177 B.C., after defeating Yüeh-shih that the Hsiung-nu came to control the western frontier regions.⁽⁸³⁾ Just as they did in China, the Hsiung-nu plundered men as slaves as well as goods from the western frontier regions, and the slaves from these western frontier countries must have been forced to work also as slaves for agriculture, although they must have been used for producing arms, etc. also.

As has already been described, Kü-shih was the gateway for advancing into the western frontier regions for the Hsiung-nu. It must have been T'ung-p'u-tu-wei who is said to have been stationed in Yen-ch'i (Karashahr) area, backed by the Hsiung-nu who had secured Kü-shih. It must have been customary for the Hsiung-nu in controlling the western frontier regions, to secure Kü-shih first, and to place T'ung-p'u-tu-wei in Yen-ch'i. Until the surrender of King Jih-chu the real reason why the Han fought over Kü-shih with the Hsiung-nu so intensely was because the Han wanted to break down the Hsiung-nu's control over the western frontier regions like this. However, in the Account of Ulterior Kü-shih Presidency, it says, when the Han succeeded in encamping in Kü-shih for the first time, those who had surrendered said, "The Shan-yü" and his great ministers all said:—"The Kü-shih land is rich and fertile, and near to the Hsiung-nu territory. Should the Chinese take possession of it with their encampments, and collect stores of grain, it will certainly be detrimental to the interests of the neighbouring kingdoms. We must certainly contest the occupation (單于大臣皆曰,「車師地肥美, 近匈奴, 使漢得之, 多田積穀, 又, 害人國, 不可不爭」)." Also it is described, when Chêng Chi was guarding Kü-shih against the great forces of the Hsiung-nu who were attacking Kü-shih, the Hsiung-nu general then advancing to the city wall, thus addressed Chêng Chi: "The Shan-yü is determined to contest the occupation of this land.

(82) *Kyōdo no Dōbokutoi to Saiiki-Sanjūrokoku* 匈奴の僮僕都尉西域三十六國 (T'ung-p'u-tu-wei of the Hsiung-nu and the 36 Countries of Western Frontier Regions, Part 2, *Rekishī-kyōiku* 歴史教育, Vol. 9, No. 5, p. 37.

(83) This is because in the Account of of the Hsiung-nu, *Shih-chi*, the letter that the Shan-yü Mo-tu sent to the Han court in 176 B.C. is referred to, saying that he destroyed Yüeh-shih and "he has conquered the Lou-lan, Wu-sun, and Hu-chieh tribes, as well as the twenty-six states nearby, so that all of them have become a part of the Hsiung-nu nation." (樓蘭・烏孫・呼揭及其旁二十六國, 皆以爲匈奴).

You cannot maintain a camp here (匈奴將, 即其城下謂吉曰, 「單于必爭此地, 不可田也」).'' According to this, the Hsiung-nu wanted to prevent the Han's encamping in Kū-shih, because it was fertile and rich. Actually, in view of the fact that the Hsiung-nu forces did make the Han troops withdraw, and they themselves encamped there, the Hsiung-nu must have placed importance on this land's grain production. Kū-shih, rich and fertile, must mean the Turfan basin, which is reputed to be rich and fertile, and there is no doubt that the Hsiung-nu regarded Turfan important, not only from strategic point of view, but also from the point that the land offered possibility of exploiting grain. The Hsiung-nu's agriculture in Turfan area might have started by the people of the western frontier cities, who were commandeered by T'ung-p'u-tu-wei.

Before Kū-shih (or Ku-shih) was split up into Anterior and Posterior Kū-shih kingdoms, it was controlled under one king, and the Ku-shih 姑師 tribes in Turfan basin constituted a part of the nomad-like Ku-shih, who spread from Yulduz to Barköl, from the northern foot of T'ien-shan into T'ien-shan mountains. It is hardly possible that they alone were engaged in agriculture. In the Account of Western Frontier Regions, *Han-shu*, there is a description of a small country, which was named Hu-hu 狐胡國, having 55 households, and 264 population, and its king's seat was in Liu-ku 柳谷 of Kū-shih. Dr. Matsuda thought that Liu-ku of Kū-shih must have been on the road from Yār-khoto (交河城) to Urumchi, when the road was about to hit the mountain.⁽⁸⁴⁾ However, the tribe, who had the king's seat in the "valley" must have been a group of the nomad Ku-shih tribes, who were on the southern slope of T'ien-shan, north-west of Turfan basin. The people of Anterior Kū-shih kingdom, like the people of Hu-hu 狐胡國, were nomad Kū-shih tribe, originally connected with the north of the mountain, and they came down from the north of the mountain to Turfan basin. However, when Chêng Chi attacked Kū-shih in the autumn of the second year of Ti-chieh 地節 (68 B.C.), it is said that he defeated Chiao-ho-ch'êng and Wu-kuei 烏貴, king of Kū-shih retained the "stone fort (石城)" in the north. About this time, the king of Kū-shih seems to have had Chiao-ho-ch'êng as his seat of rule already. Therefore, although the fertile Turfan basin was developed, as the place for the Hsiung-nu to loot grain from, by the agricultural slaves who were commandeered from the city countries west of Yen-ch'i, the Kū-shih tribes in this area gradually learned the agricultural technology, and turned into agricultural people, and Chiao-ho-ch'êng was built up as the base for agricultural management. When the Han influence was extended to the western frontier regions during the reign of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 Turfan's agriculturalization could have developed considerably under the demand of the Hsiung-nu. The entry that the Hsiung-nu encamped

(84) Matsuda, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

in Kü-shih could mean the fact that the Hsiung-nu urged the slaves from the western frontier regions and the Kü-shih tribes of Turfan to engage in agriculture and obtained the grain cultivated by them.

The slave farmers commandeered by the Hsiung-nu could not have been placed in Turfan alone, and the reference made to P'u-lei in the *Hou-han-shu* that although it was nomad-like, "they knew how to cultivate field very well (頗知田作)" means, perhaps, in order to get grain, the Hsiung-nu made the farming slaves move to this area, suitable for cultivation, and that might have influenced the Kü-shih tribes in this area. The entry in the Account of the Hsiung-nu that the Hsiung-nu encamped at Yu-ti 右地 may mean, that the Hsiung-nu's encampment was not limited to Kü-shih, but spread to places like P'u-lei.

The above observations on the problem of farming slaves from the western frontier countries and the agriculturalization of Turfan basin are still only speculations. However, from what has been observed, it will be safe to say that the Kü-shih tribes were of different origin from the Aryans, south-west of Yen-ch'i. The concept of Ku-shih (Kü-shih) continued, even after its split, and even in the Later Han period, there was still the name of Six Countries of Kü-shih. It seems that was because there were Ku-shih (Kü-shih)-like characteristics retained in this area still. After all, it was because they had different language and customs from other countries, as touched on before, but there is no record which would prove the fact directly. However, it is worth to notice that the Account of Western Frontier Regions, *Hou-han-shu*, quoted before, referring to the people of I-chih 移支國 which was counted as one of the Six Countries of Kü-shih, in the Later Han period, states that they "had long hair (被髮)".

In the Account of the T'u-chüeh 突厥 in the *Chou-shu* 周書 Bk. 50, there is an entry "被髮左衽" and there are many evidences that the people of T'u-chüeh had pig-tail hair, and there is no doubt about that. However, 被髮 originally meant 'shaggy and untidy hair' was, just as Dr. Shiratori said, in the Ch'i-su-hsün 齊俗訓 of the *Huai-nan tzü* 淮南子 it says, "Prince Pi-kan 比干 was not unaware of the fact that Chi-tzū 箕子 wore shaggy hair (被髮) and pretended to be mad, so that he could go unpunished (王子比干, 非不知箕子被髮佯狂, 以免其身也)". In the Account of the Western Ch'iang 西羌傳, *Hou-han-shu*, Bk. 87, it tells about the origin of long hair of the Western Ch'iang people as, "There once lived a Ch'iang 羌 man whose name was Wu-i-yüan-chien 無弋爰劍. At the time of Prince Li 厲公 of Ch'in 秦 he was arrested by the Ch'in, and was made its slave. They did not know which tribe Yüan-chien came from. Afterward he could flee and go back to his country. However, the people of Ch'in chased him madly, and he hid in the cave and could escape the capture. The Ch'iang people said that when Yüan-chien first hid in the cave, the people of Ch'in tried

to smoke him out, and saw that there appeared something like a tiger in the cave, which tried to cover the fire, so that he could escape from death. When he came out of the cave, he met a woman who had her nose cut, with whom he became man and wife. The woman was ashamed of her look, and with her shaggy hair (被髮), hid her face. That is how the Ch'iang people came to wear their hair shaggy as their custom (羌無弋爰劍者, 秦厲公時, 爲秦所拘執, 以爲奴隸. 不知爰劍何戎之別也. 後得亡歸, 而秦人追之急, 藏於巖穴中得免. 羌人言, 爰劍初藏穴中, 秦人焚之, 有景象如虎, 爲其蔽火, 得以不死. 既出, 又與剽女遇於野, 遂成夫婦. 女恥其狀, 被髮覆面, 羌人因以爲俗)'. Although this is only a story, 被髮 does mean 'shaggy hair'.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Since the period of Southern and Northern Dynasties 南北朝, 被髮 includes the meaning of 'pig-tail hair' also.⁽⁸⁶⁾ However, since 被髮 of the people of Western Ch'iang 西羌 as referred to in the *Hou-han-shu* meant the 'shaggy hair', 被髮 of the people of I-chih 移支國 in the same book should be interpreted to mean in that sense also.

Dr. Shiratori thought, out of Six Kü-shih Countries, the word 被髮 is mentioned only about the people of this country, so that the peoples of the rest of five countries were not shaggy-haired, and the people of Anterior Kü-shih kingdom had short hair.⁽⁸⁷⁾ However, this is because Dr. Shiratori did not pay any attention to the historical development of Ku-shih (Kü-shih), and did not take note of the fact that Anterior Kü-shih kingdom was a group of Ku-shih, related with the northern area, and considered the people of Anterior Kü-shih kingdom was the people with the short hair, just like the Aryans west of Yen-ch'i. It seems, behind this way of thinking, that he was thinking perhaps that the people who lived in Tārim basin were Aryans,⁽⁸⁸⁾ and the people who lived in Turfan, to its north-east corner, were also the same.

However, in view of the development of Kü-shih tribes, this was the reverse, and the custom of shaggy hair referred to I-chih can apply to the five countries of Kü-shih origin. It is a well-known fact that the peoples who lived in cities, south-west of Yen-ch'i adopted short hair custom after Iranian fashion, but the earliest reference is made in the passage of Ssü-i 四夷. Hsi-jung 西戎, in the *Chin-shu* 晉書 Bk. 97, and in the passage on Yen-ch'i, it says "as their custom, men had short hair (其俗, 丈夫剪髮)", and in the passage concerning Kuei-tzū 龜茲 (Kucha) it said, "Both men and women had their hair short, coming down to the neck (男女皆剪髮垂項)". There is no description of the customs of the people of Yen-

(85) *Ajia Hokuzoku no Benpatsu ni tsuite* 亞細亞北族の辮髮に就いて (On Pig-tail of the People in the North of Asia), Part. 2, (*Shigaku-zasshi* 史學雜誌, Vol. 37, No. 3, p. 27).

(86) *Ibid.* p. 28.

(87) *Ibid.* Part 3 (*Shigaku-zasshi*, Vol. 37, No. 4) p. 12.

(88) Dr. Shiratori thought that the people of East Turkestan were the hybrid, Aryans mixed with Mongols. (*Ibid.* p. 9).

ch'í in the Han period. However, there is little room to doubt that the peoples who lived west of Yen-ch'í followed the habit of short hair, just as the people in the Han period did. Therefore, the Ku-shih tribes were different from Aryans. This boils down, therefore, to the fact that the Ku-shih tribes were a group of Altaic people, who were connected with the nomads in the north. It is clear that the Hsiung-nu of Altaic origin had pig-tail hair which came to light from the tombs of the Hsiung-nu, in Noin-ula, North Mongolia.⁽⁸⁹⁾ However, it is not very clear whether all of the tribes which were annexed by the Hsiung-nu and came to be called Hsiung-nu had pig-tail hair or not. Besides, pig-tail hair was the custom followed by the foreigners in south-west during the Han period⁽⁹⁰⁾ and could not be regarded as an exclusive characteristic of Altaic peoples. As is known about the people of I-chih, the Ku-shih tribes seem to have had shaggy hair, the same characteristic as the Western Ch'iang 西羌族 of the Later Han. However, this seems to back up the fact that the Ku-shih tribes were different from Aryans.

From Pamir to the southern route, south of Tārim basin, in the Former Han period, there were Wu-lei 無雷, I-nai 依耐, P'u-li 蒲犁, Tzū-ho 子合, and Hsi-yeh 西夜 peoples who were similar to the Ch'iang tribe distributed, and to its east, up to Ch'ing hai 青海 (Koko-nor), the Êrh-ch'iang 婼羌 people spread.⁽⁹¹⁾ These tribes were engaged in agriculture also. While from inside the mountains of T'ien-shan to the northern foot of T'ien-shan, north of Tārim basin, there were the Wu-sun tribe 烏孫族 who were nomad, in the west, and to its east, there was Wu-t'an-tzū-li 烏貪營離國 (41 households; 231 population)⁽⁹²⁾. The latter was founded by King of Eastern P'u-lei 東蒲類王, of the Hsiung-nu, who surrendered in the reign of Yüan-ti, and was removed there, and the seat of king's rule was in Yü-lou Valley 于婁谷. It can be regarded as a nomad country. To its east, there was a small country called Tan-huan 單桓國 (27 households; 194 population), and its seat of rule was reported to be at Tan-huan-ch'êng 單桓城. Since there

(89) Egami, "Study on the Culture of North of Eurasia (ユウラシア北方文化の研究)", Plate No. 21. Dr. Shiratori considered the problem of pig-tails from the point of literature. (*Ibid.* pp. 2-8). Further, there is a view of Dr. Toshisada Naha, concerning the Hsiung-nu's custom of wearing their hair pigtails. Cf. *Tōdai no Chōanjōnai no Chōyajin no seikatsu ni shinjunshitaru Tokketsu Fūzoku ni tsukitenō shōkō* 唐代の長安城内の朝野人の生活に侵潤したる突厥風俗に就きての小致 ("Short Study on the Custom of T'u-küeh 突厥 which penetrated the living of officials and laymen in Ch'ang-an during the T'ang period") (*Collected Papers of the Literary Society of Kō-nan University* 甲南大學文學會論集, No. 24 pp. 15-16).

(90) Shiratori, *op. cit.* pp. 8-9.

(91) According to Part I of the Account of Western Frontier Regions, *Han-shu*, Êrh-Ch'iang 婼羌, was southeast of Shan-shan 鄯善. It also says that the countries of Hsiao-yüan 小宛國, Jung-lu 戎盧國 and Ch'ü-lê 渠勒國, which are west of Shan-shan up to Yü-t'ien, are contiguous to Êrh-ch'iang, so that they must have spread considerably to the west.

(92) Dr. Matsuda considers Wu-t'an-tzū-li 烏貪營離 was Mannas (瑪納斯) (*op. cit.* p. 111).

was a king, in the Hsiung-nu, who had the same name, this country might have had some relationship with the Hsiung-nu.⁽⁹³⁾ Again further to its east, there was Ku-shih tribe area, and Pei-lu and Posterior Pei-lu as well as Posterior Kü-shih kingdom existed. Between Pei-lu and Posterior Kü-shih kingdom there was a country named Yü-li-shih 郁立師 (with 190 households; 1,445 population) which was not of Kü-shih origin, in-between. Its seat of rule was at Nei-to-ku 内咄谷, and this country seems to have been a nomad country also. To the south-west of Urumchi, there was the country of Chieh 劫國 which did not belong to Ku-shih, and its seat of rule was at Tan-ch'ü-ku 丹渠谷 and this country was also a nomad country. To its south, there were Eastern and Western Ch'ieh-mi. Thus, from the western part of T'ien-shan to the interior of the mountain and the northern foot of T'ien-shan in the east, there were nomad tribes mostly, and some were engaged in agriculture also.

Therefore, to the south of the Aryan tribes who lived in walled cities, in Tārim basin, there were nomad tribes spread, and among them, the Ch'iang 羌族 and the Kü-shih peoples had shaggy hair. While there inhabited the Tibetan tribes to the south of the basin, the nomad tribes in T'ien-shan area in the north could be regarded as Altaic and of northern origin. However, it is still not known whether Wu-sun 烏孫 was Altatic or Aryan, after all. Dr. Shiratori considered them to be Turkic⁽⁹⁴⁾. However, Soviet scholars, who have achieved remarkable results recently regard Wu-sun as Europeoid.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Of course, the race and the people are of entirely different concepts, and while the former is the group of human beings who have the same physical characteristics, the latter is the group of human beings who have the same culture such as language, religion, customs, etc. They have practically the same concept as the tribe of the same language. However, the race and the people are always closely related with each other, and the same people customarily belong to the same race. Still, this relationship between race and people is apt to be broken in the contact zone of different races. According to the Soviet scholars, the line which connects the upstream of the Yenisei, Semirech'e, Ferghana and the Pamirs, marked the border line dividing Europeoid and Mongoloid in ancient days, and the Wu-sun belonged to Europeoid, while the Yüeh-shih

(93) In the Biography of Huo Ch'ü-ping 霍去病, *Han-shu*, Bk. 55, it says, "He captured the Shan-yü, the kings of Tan-huan 單桓 and of Ch'iu-t'u 得單于單桓王, 倉涂王". Dr. Matsuda considers that the country of Tan-huan 單桓國 was Khutuby (呼圖壁) or Ch'ang-chi 昌吉 (*op. cit.* p. 112)

(94) Shiratori, "A Study of Wu-sun 烏孫に就いての考" (*Studies in the History of Western Frontier Regions* 西域史研究, Part I).

(95) Prof. Bernshtam is the representative one who takes this view. See also Prof. Fumie Tsunoda's *Kodai Hoppōbunka no Kenkyū* 古代北方文化の研究 (*Studies on the Culture in the Ancient North*, pp. 196-197 which he wrote after digesting the researches made by Soviet scholars.

belonged to Mongoloid.⁽⁹⁶⁾ According to this view, Wu-sun was at the area which divided the two races, and in the commentary by Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 for the passage on Wu-sun, the Account of Western Frontier Regions, *Han-shu*, there is an entry, "Their representatives at the present day have blue eyes and red beards; while in shape they resemble apes from which they are originally descended (今之胡人青眼・赤須(鬚), 狀類獼猴者, 本其(烏孫)種也)". This passage perhaps can be depended upon. There is still a question as to whether there was already formed the Turkic people in the Han period, and also there is a problem in Dr. Shiratori's view, considering Wu-sun was of Turkic origin on the basis that some vocabulary can be explained with the knowledge of the Turkish language, but possibly Wu-sun were Europeoid, and belonged to the Altaic people.

However, from these observations, the Ku-shih who occupied the eastern area of T'ien-shan are recognized to have racially belonged to Mongoloid and as a people to Altaic.

Incidentally, because the people who lived in walled cities of Tārim basin in ancient days are recognized generally to have been Aryans, many people think that the people of Anterior Kū-shih kingdom, during the Han period, were also Aryans, but this must be corrected.

Conclusion

Observations made in the above are somewhat digressive. Sorting them out, the following is the outline of my presentation.

(96) Mr. Reginskij holds this view among others. See Prof. Tsunoda, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199. As regards the Ta-yüeh-shih inhabiting along the River Amu (嫺水) the Account of Ferghana, *Shih-chi*, says "They are a notion of nomads, moving from place to place with their herds, and their customs are like those of the Hsiung-nu, (行國也。隨畜移徙, 與匈奴同俗)". It goes without saying perhaps that the Yüeh-shih who lived in the area between Tun-huang and Ch'i-lien "敦煌・祁連間", before they moved to west, were also a nomad country. According to the Account of the Hsiung-nu, *Shih-chi*, the Yüeh-shih, before they moved west, must have expanded their influence considerably. It was from the period of Shan-yü Mo-tu when the Hsiung-nu achieved such great influence, and in the period of his father Shan-yü T'ou-man 頭曼單子, they were oppressed by the Tung-hu 東胡 in the east and by the Yüeh-shih in the west, and fled to north, after being defeated by the Ch'in 秦. Taking advantage of the confusion at the end of the Ch'in Dynasty, they came down south, and recovering Ordos (河南) which was taken by Méng T'ien 蒙恬, they came to become contiguous to China. Mo-tu 冒頓 was made hostage in the Yüeh-shih but fled the country, went back to his own country, and killing his father, became the Shan-yü. After that he destroyed the Tung-hu 東胡 and made the Yüeh-shih flee, and developed the country drastically. Mo-tu's attack and victory over the Yüeh-shih was, according to Dr. Shiratori, between 205-202, B.C. ("A Study of Wu-sun", pp. 25-27) If so, Yüeh-shih until then must have been a great power west of the Hsiung-nu, and must have exerted its influence from the west of the River Huang-ho 河西 to the western part of Mongolia. The Ku-shih tribes, east of T'ien-shan, may have been under its influence.

In the remote past there were peoples who were called either Ku-shih or Kū-shih (generally speaking, the former appears in the *Shih-chi* and the latter, in the *Han-shu*), in the eastern area of T'ien-shan, from Yulduz valley to Barköl area. Gradually they tended to split up, and in the reign of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝, when the Han made an advance into the western frontier regions, it had already been split up into several groups, and its nucleus was in Turfan basin and at the foot of T'ien-shan, to its north. They were called Ku-shih or Kū-shih. However, the traditional concept of Ku-shih or Kū-shih also remained, so that there were two meanings to Ku-shih or Kū-shih, one in the narrower sense and the other, in the broader sense. This continued up to the period of the Later Han.

Especially, the country of Ku-shih or Kū-shih in the narrower sense was located at the gateway for the Hsiung-nu's invasion into the western frontier regions, and that was where the Hsiung-nu always stayed. Therefore, in order for the Han to push its management of the western frontier regions, it had to drive away the Hsiung-nu from that place by all means, and the Han and the Hsiung-nu came to fight over Ku-shih or Kū-shih intensely. Since the time of Emperor Wu-ti the two influences gained or lost strength from time to time. Eventually, in the reign of Emperor Hsüan-ti 宣帝, the Han succeeded in encamping at the southern half of Turfan basin, which was Ku-shih or Kū-shih in the narrower sense, and had it under the Han's influence. However, unable to sustain the Hsiung-nu's persistent attacks, the Han gave up the encampment at Kū-shih and moved the people of Kū-shih there to Ch'ü-li 渠犂. In the meanwhile, Wu-kuei 烏貴, the king of Kū-shih was at a loss and decided to Wu-sun 烏孫 at last. On the other hand, the Hsiung-nu still retained Kū-shih to the north of the mountains, made Tou-mo 兜莫 king of Kū-shih around 67 B. C. and had him and the people of Kū-shih to the north of the mountains move to the east. While the Han, too, made Chün-su 軍宿 king of Kū-shih around 63 B. C., so that there were two kings of Kū-shih, one enthroned by the Hsiung-nu, and the other, by the Han. This was the origin of Anterior Kū-shih and Posterior Kū-shih Kingdoms. Thus, in the reign of Emperor Hsüan-ti 宣帝, it is said, "Ku-shih was not completely destroyed, but was divided into Anterior and Posterior Kū-shih and Six Countries in the North of the Mountains (及姑師未盡殄, 分以爲車師前・後王及山北六國)" (the Foreword of the Account of Western Frontier Regions, *Han-shu*). This was an embellishment of the fact that the Han merely had Kū-shih under its control. The Han did not make any move to the Six Countries in the North of the Mountain, and the fact that the Ku-shih tribes in this area had already been divided into several groups was reported as if the Han deliberately set out to divide them up on its own. The Six Countries in the North of the Mountain are considered to be Eastern and Western Ch'ieh-

