

On the Territory of the Hsiung-nu Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang and His Metal Statues for Heaven-worship.

By

Kurakichi SHIRATORI

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I. INTRODUCTION

From the records of later periods we are able to infer that the Chinese people and the nomadic races have kept up struggles against each other from time immemorial around the southern end of the Mongolian desert. There are unquestionably many factors that contributed to the establishment by the forefathers of the Chou dynasty of the brilliant régime, with the north-western regions along the Huang-ho River as their foothold, but the old legends of the country show that they were greatly helped in this undertaking by the pressure of the barbarians upon themselves. Judging from the fact that Princes Huan of Chi 齊桓公 and Wên of Chin 晉文公 could make use of the attack of the barbarians to unify the princes of China for their common cause and then could assume the commanding position among the princes, it is indisputable that the threat of the barbarians to attack the country proved the chief factor in unifying the Chinese races. History tells us that while during the reign of the founder of the Yin dynasty there were as many as some three thousand princes, in the beginning of the Chou regime the number was reduced to eighteen hundred, and in the reign of P'ing Wang 平王 of the middle period of the same dynasty, it came down to several hundred. Later on in the Period of Ch'un-ch'iu the country was found divided into some twenty states, but in

the Period of the Contending States, the twenty states became seven. It is an indication of the gradual development of the social order and the national unity that the number of the states was thus gradually reduced as time went on. It was of course due on one hand to the unification or annexation of the states undertaken by the successful princes, but on the other it was also probably due to the threat of invasion by the daring barbarians from the rear of the Chinese. The inference is proved by the fact that the three states of Yen 燕, Chao 趙, and Ch'in 秦, whose territories were all adjacent to that of the northern barbarians, built great walls around the northern frontier of their countries as a bulwark against the attack of the latter, and also as soon as Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in 秦始皇帝 subjugated the Six Kingdoms and brought the whole country under his rule, he spent a vast amount of labour and wealth and built the Great Walls for the same purpose, thinking it the most urgent thing to be done for the safety of the empire to defend the northern frontiers against the invasion of the barbarians. Thus it can be seen how great were the influences exercised by the barbarians upon the Chinese in ancient times.

The trouble with the study of the earliest history of the barbarians is that they had no letters at all to record their history; very different from the Chinese people, who had invented their letters in their very early period and had handed down the account of their society and state. To give a thumbnail sketch of the conditions of the barbarians at the time when Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in succeeded in unifying the whole China under his sway, they were divided into three important groups all located to the north of the Great Walls. One was the Tung-hu 東胡 or the Eastern Barbarians who were found to the east of the Hsing-an Mountains: a second group was the Yüeh-shih 月氏, who occupied the western part of Kan-su Province called the Ho-hsi 河西 region lying to the west of the Huang-ho River: and the third was the Hsiung-nu 匈奴, who were found to the east and west of the Yin-shan Mountains occupying a position between the first two tribes. Each of these groups was found in a topographically separate, distinct, and, so to speak, independent locality, and was composed of the same race,

though this apparently had not always been the case. The fragmentary records found in Chinese literature tend to show that in an earlier period these tribes had not been so unified but had been divided into numerous groups. We are inclined to believe that with the growth of the power and influence of the princes in China proper, the barbarian tribes themselves felt the need of unifying their power so as to be able to compete with the Chinese, and, being confronted with a unified China under Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in, the numerous barbarian tribes drew together to form the three great groups. The building of the Great Walls by Shih-huang-ti, however, proved a source of consternation to the three barbarian states which owed their national existence to their invading and plundering of China proper, because from this date they met with setbacks (because of the Walls) in their attempts to invade the coveted region. The barbarians thought that if they persisted in struggles among themselves instead of uniting their strength, it would lead to their self-destruction, and that in order to continue their national existence they would have to be unified to present against China a united front strong enough to overwhelm her growing power. Taking advantage of the situation and the demand of the tribal peoples for unification, Mao-tun Shan-yü 冒頓單于 of the Hsiung-nu came upon the scene.

As long as Emperor Shih-huang-ti of the Ch'in Dynasty was alive and such a great general as Mêng T'ien 蒙恬 was in command of the troops of the frontier defence, the barbarians were held back in the desert plain to the north of the Great Walls, and prevented from setting foot in the regions around the Huang-ho River. With the death of Shih-huang-ti, however, the Ch'in Dynasty rapidly declined in power, and China was thrown into complete turmoil, the princes of Han 漢 and Ch'u 楚 struggling against each other for supremacy. Mao-tun Shan-yü of the Hsiung-nu took advantage of the opportunity and subjugated the Tung-hu or the Eastern Barbarians, defeated the Yüeh-shih and Wu-sun 烏孫 in the West, and brought under his sway the whole country of the Mongolian plateau, extending as far as the Liao-tung region in the east and the T'ien-shan and Pamir Mountains in the

west. When Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of the Han Dynasty defeated the Ch'u Prince and attained the unification of the country, it was just at the time when Mao-tun Shan-yü was ready to march all his force of western and northern barbarians southward to invade China. Emperor Kao-tsu, who had been elated by success over his powerful opponent, marched his force northward to meet the Hsiung-nu army and tried to crush it at a single blow but the contrary happened and he was surrounded by the enemy at P'ing-chêng 平城, northern Shan-hsi, and suffered a signal defeat. Then in asking for peace at the hand of the victorious Hsiung-nu, the Chinese Emperor had to give his princess to the Hsiung-nu Emperor in marriage, to pay the annual tributes of provisions and silk fabrics to the Hsiung-nu Household, and to become sworn brother of the barbarian Emperor. The humiliation of the Han Emperor apparently added greatly to the self-conceit of the Hsiung-nu Emperor, thenceforward calling himself 'the Great Hsiung-nu Emperor installed by Heaven' in the letters addressed to Emperor Wên-ti 文帝 of Han. His son Lao-shang Shan-yü 老上單于 assumed an even more haughty attitude, and would call himself 'the Great Hsiung-nu Emperor installed by Heaven and Earth and born of the Sun and Moon' in the letters addressed to the same Han Emperor. The Hsiung-nu Emperors no longer took much account of the Han rulers and the Chinese; while the Chinese people, who used to call their country 'the Middle Empire' and regarded themselves as the only people of importance, were now obliged to recognise an equally important Hsiung-nu race. The Han Emperors who used to regard themselves as the supreme rulers on earth had now to take into account a Hsiung-nu Emperor comparable to themselves.

With the invasion and plundering of the Chinese provinces fixed upon as the invariable national policy of the Hsiung-nu, Mao-tun Shan-yü posted all his forces and people according to strategical plans based upon this policy. Alluding to this fact, the *Shih-chi*¹⁾ says: "He installed the Left and Right Hsien-wang 賢王, the Left and Right Ku-li-wang 谷蠡王, the Left and Right Ta-chiang 大將, the Left and Right Ta-

¹⁾ *Shih-chi*, Chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

tu-wei 大都尉, the Left and Right Ta-tang-hu 大當戶, and the Left and Right Ku-tu-hou 骨都侯. The crown prince was appointed the Left T'uch'i-wang 左屠耆王, *t'u-ch'i* in the Hsiung-nu language meaning *hsien* 賢 i.e. wise. All the left-hand princes and generals were posted on the eastern side, being given charge of the northern regions lying in the north-eastern direction from Shang-ku 上谷 of China, which were adjacent to the territories of the Wei-ho 穢貉 and Chao-hsien 朝鮮; while all the right-hand princes and generals were posted on the western side, being given charge of the regions lying in the north-western direction from Shang-chün 上郡 of China, which were adjacent to the territories of the Yüeh-shih 月氏, Ti 氏 and Ch'iang 羌; and the Shan-yü himself took charge of the region lying north of Tai 代 and Yün-chung 雲中." The passage well illustrates the Hsiung-nu institutions and the manner in which the troops and the populace were arranged. Shang-ku as it was located in the Han Period, corresponds to the region lying south of the present Huai-lai Hsien, Ho-pei Province 河北省懷來縣: Shang-chün was located fifty *li* south-west of Sui-tê Hsien, Shen-hsi Province 陝西省綏德縣: Tai was situated north-east of Wei Hsien, Ho-pei Province 河北省蔚縣, and Yün-chung, west of Kuei-hua-chêng 歸化城. So it may roughly be said that with the Shan-yü established at his headquarters in the middle section of his Empire, and the generals posted on his left and right sides, the force of the Hsiung-nu was arranged along the eastern and western ends of the Yin-shan Mountains, in the shape, so to speak, of an eagle spreading both its wings ready to strike at a quarry. The crown prince (the Left Hsien-wang) was installed on the left side (facing South), because any position on the left side was regarded by the Hsiung-nu as superior to that on the right; but, from the strategical standpoint, it must be said that the territory of the Right Hsien-wang occupied a more important position. For his territory was not only adjacent to the wide Western Region, but being called the Ho-hsi 河西 from ancient times, formed the only highway between China and the Western Region, with an importance so great as to involve even the destiny of the Hsiung-nu Empire. It was due to this strategical reason that Mao-tun Shan-yü attacked the Yüeh-shih and Wu-sun, and his

son Lao-shang Shan-yü defeated and routed the tribes further to the west. Having thus captured the Ho-hsi region on one hand and subjugated the Ch'ê-shih 車師 south of the T'ien-shan Mountains on the other, the Hsiung-nu could now for the first time in their history have the walled cities in the Târim basin completely under their rule. After the building of the Great Walls by the Chinese, the Hsiung-nu had been deprived of the chance of easily invading the Huang-ho region and plundering the Chinese people, but the coming of the wealthy settled tribes in and around the walled cities under their control certainly added much to the stability of the Empire.

Since those walled cities in the Western Region were a treasury of the Hsiung-nu, whose loss would immediately affect the destiny of the nation, there could be no better way for the Chinese to further the overthrow of the Hsiung-nu Empire than to cut off its right 'arm', that is, the settled tribes in and around the walled cities in the west. In the face of this situation the condition in Han was such that after the death of Emperor Kao-tsu some princes of the country became refractory and unruly, and it was impossible for a Han Emperor to organise an expedition against the barbarians until the reign of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 when the princes and lords of the country again became controllable. Emperor Wu-ti, himself a man of valour, taking advantage of the wealth amassed during the two preceeding regimes, and the yearning of his generals and soldiers for some military adventures, decided to set out on an expedition against the barbarians and to crush the long-standing foe all at once, thereby vindicating the honour of the family. It being impossible to surround and attack the barbarians on all sides because of geographical reasons, the strategy adopted was to attack the Hsiung-nu on three sides, that is, east, west, and south, and drive them northward to the barren cold country to starve. As to the execution of the plan, while it might not be a very difficult matter to subjugate the Wei-ho and the Chao-hsien, thereby cutting the 'left arm' off the Hsiung-nu Empire, it did not appear very easy to cut off the 'right arm,' because of the distance and the wide extension of the area. Emperor Wu-ti, therefore, wished to entice

the Yüeh-shih back to their homeland of the Ho-hsi, whence they had been driven westward by the Hsiung-nu, and by co-operating with them, to cut off the communications of the Hsiung-nu with the Western Region. However, the mission sent by the Han Emperor immediately upon his inauguration to the Yüeh-shih for this purpose was a failure, except that it brought back knowledge of the West beyond the Pamir. The Emperor, thereupon, planned to form a defence and attack alliance with the Wu-sun against the Hsiung-nu in a similar manner, enticing them back to their former home country of the Ho-hsi, from which they had been driven to the T'ien-shan Mountains region, and in case of its failure, the Emperor's second plan was to set up Prefectures (*Chün* 郡) and Districts (*Hsien* 縣) in the Ho-hsi, and, making them stepping stones to the West, attack the Hsiung-nu in concert with the Wu-sun in the west. Emperor Wu-ti was thus determined to recapture the Ho-hsi by all means from the hands of the Hsiung-nu. The Hsiung-nu lords who held the Ho-hsi region were Hsiu-t'u Wang 休屠王, who is noted for his Heaven-worship by making use of the metal statues, and Hun-ya Wang 渾邪王, who later murdered the former and surrendered to the Han army.

II. ON THE TERRITORY OF HSIU-T'U WANG.

To capture the Ho-hsi region, it was necessary for the Han Emperor first to strike at the headquarters of the Right Hsien-wang so as to cut off his reinforcement to the Hsiung-nu of the Ho-hsi, which was under his rule in the Hsiung-nu administrative system. We read in the *Han-shu*.¹⁾ "The following Year (127 B.C.) General Wei Ch'ing 衛青 started west from Yün-chung 雲中, and proceeding as far as Lung-hsi 隴西, defeated the Hsiung-nu princes Lou-fan 樓煩 and Pai-yang 白羊 in the Ho-nan, and captured several thousand Hsiung-nu and more than a million sheep. Thereupon Han finally took possession of the Ho-nan region and built fortresses in So-fang 朔方, and repaired the old ones built by General Mêng T'ien of Ch'in, depending on the

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 94a, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

Huang-ho River as the line of defence." This passage means that General Wei Ch'ing entered the Ho-nan 河南 region, that is, the present Ordos, from a point south of the present Kuei-hua Chêng 歸化城, defeating Princes Lou-fan and Pai-yang, and seizing their territories: repaired the old fortresses built by Ch'in along the River following the northern boundary of the district, and restored to its former more northerly position the Great Wall which had been withdrawn to the line of the southern boundary of the district during the Han regime: and thus the vanguard of Prince Right Hsien-wang was overthrown. Prince Right Hsien-wang, whose Ho-nan general was defeated, made attempts to recover the lost territory, as we read in the passage immediately following the one above quoted: "The following year the Hsiung-nu prince Right Hsien-wang often invaded and plundered the frontier district, and entering the Ho-nan region, plundered and slaughtered many both of the officials and populace." However, the Han troops finally succeeded in overthrowing the main force of Prince Right Hsien-wang, as we are told in the next passage in the *Han-shu*:¹⁾ "In the spring of the following year General Wei Ch'ing was dispatched on an expedition at the head of six generals and more than a hundred thousand soldiers, and started for the barbarian country from Kao-ch'ieh, So-fang 朔方高闕. The Hsiung-nu prince Right Hsien-wang, however, thinking that the Han troops could not advance so far, drank wine and became drunk. The Han troops, getting out of their fortress and marching six or seven hundred *li*, surrounded the Right Hsien-wang at night. Thrown into confusion, the Hsiung-nu prince fled for his life, followed by some daring horsemen. Fifteen thousand people, male and female, and more than ten minor princes, were made captive by the Han general."¹⁾ Having once frustrated the main force of Prince Right Hsien-wang, Han could now send an expedition into the Hhsi region, without any uneasiness about the safety of the rear. The next passage in the book reads: "The following year (the second year of *Yüan-shou* 元狩, 121 B.C.) the Han Emperor dispatched General Ho

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 94a, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

Ch'ü-ping 霍去病 on an expedition at the head of ten thousand horsemen against the Hsiung-nu. Starting for the Hsiung-nu country from Lung-hsi 隴西, the Han troops advanced westward over one thousand *li*, and passing the Yen-chih-shan Mountains 焉支山, defeated the Hsiung-nu and decapitated more than eight thousand men, and seized the metal statues used by Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang for his ceremony of Heaven-worship. Again in the summer of the year General Ho from Lung-hsi, in co-operation with the general Ho-chi-hou 合騎侯 and his scores of thousands of horsemen from Pei-ti 北地, started for the Hsiung-nu country, and marched two thousand *li*, passing the Chü-yen 居延 Swamps and the Ch'i-lien-shan 祁連山 Mountains, and decapitated thirty thousand Hsiung-nu and captured ten minor princes and others.....In the autumn the Hsiung-nu Shan-yü, indignant with Princes Hun-ya Wang and Hsiu-t'u Wang who had had their men captured or killed by tens of thousands in the western regions under their rule, wished to summon and execute them. The two princes were frightened and planned to surrender to Han, whereupon the Han Emperor ordered General Ho to receive them. Prince Hun-ya Wang murdered Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang and leading Hsiu-t'u Wang's men as well as his own, surrendered to the Han troops. The men numbered some forty thousand, although it was claimed that they were some hundred thousand. Having once secured Prince Hun-ya Wang thus, the people in Lung-hsi, Pei-ti and Ho-hsi would from that time be subject much less to Hsiung-nu invasions. The Han Emperor removed the poor people east of the (Han-ku) Kuan 函谷關 to the New Ch'in-chung of Ho-nan 河南新秦中 taken from the Hsiung-nu and tried to people the newly acquired area with them." The passage shows how almost completely the Han Emperor's plan to cut off the right arm of the Hsiung-nu Empire came to be carried out.

The story of Emperor Wu-ti's plan to seize the Ho-hsi from the Hsiung-nu's hands and entice the Wu-sun to settle there, is full of historical interest, but as it falls outside my main thesis, I shall have to omit it, confining my account on this occasion to the points regarding Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang. From the passages above quoted, it is clear

that Princes Hsiu-t'u Wang and Hun-ya Wang had their territories in the Ho-hsi region, but it still remains to be decided which section of the Ho-hsi Hsiu-t'u Wang's territory occupied. The question has an important bearing upon a determination of the origin of the metal statues which Hsiu-t'u Wang enshrined. Since, according to the *Han-shu*, General Ho Ch'ü-ping started on his expedition in the spring of the 2nd year of *Yüan-shou* and marching one thousand *li*, passed the Ch'i-lien-shan mountains, and then captured the metal statues, it is a fair inference that the object of his expedition was the conquest of the eastern part of the Ho-hsi region. Again, according to the same source, in the summer of the same year Ho Ch'ü-ping, in co-operation with Ho-chi-hou, started respectively from Lung-hsi and Pei-ti, and marching some two thousand *li*, crossed Chü-yen passed the Ch'i-lien-shan Mountains, and then defeated the Hsiung-nu, clearly showing that the object of the second expedition was the subjugation of the western part of the Ho-hsi region. Again it is inferable that since in the first expedition Ho Ch'ü-ping captured the metal statues, the eastern part of the Ho-hsi must be Hsiu-t'u Wang's territory. The *Han-shu*¹⁾ cites the name of Hsiu-t'u as a district of Wu-wei 武威 Prefecture. If Hsiu-t'u Hsien was installed within Wu-wei Prefecture, which corresponds to the present Liang-chou 涼州, it is certain that Hsiu-t'u Wang's territory occupied the eastern part of the Ho-hsi, and embraced at least Wu-wei Prefecture. In the light of its situation, we may admit the correctness of the statement of the *Han-shu*, when it says commenting on Wu-wei Prefecture: "Being formerly the territory of the Hsiung-nu prince Hsiu-t'u Wang; installed in the 4th year of *T'ai-ch'u* 太初 of Wu-ti." Again in its general introduction to the Ch'in (Shen-hsi) territory, the *Han-shu*²⁾ has the following passage: "The district west of Wu-wei was formerly the territory of the Hsiung-nu princes Hun-ya Wang and Hsiu-t'u Wang, and was seized from them during the reign of Wu-ti. Wu-ti first installed four *chün* 郡 (prefectures) in the region, and establishing communication between China and the Western Region, cut off communication between the Hsiung-nu and the Nan-Chiang 南羌."

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 28b, Ti-li-chih. 2) *Ibid.*

The four *chün* referred to are Wu-wei 武威, Chang-yeh 張掖, Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 and Tun-huang 燉煌 and it is needless to add that Wu-wei corresponds to the present Liang-chou, Chang-yeh to Kan-chou 甘州, Chiu-ch'üan to Su-chou 肅州, and Tun-huang to Sha-chou 沙州. With Wu-wei Prefecture established as the territory belonging to Hsiu-t'u Wang, it still remains to be seen how far westward his territory extended. The *Han-shu*¹⁾ says: " (Chang-yeh Prefecture) being formerly the territory of Prince Hun-ya Wang." If this statement is correct, we have to infer that as the present Kan-chou was the territory of Prince Hun-ya Wang, Hsiu-t'u Wang's territory was restricted to the adjacent region in the east, that is, Wu-wei Prefecture which corresponds to the present Liang-chou. This interpretation, however, does not appear to agree with the above quotation from the *Han-shu* to the effect that in the Spring expedition, General Ho Ch'ü-ping, starting from Lung-hsi and marching about one thousand *li* past the Yen-chih-shan Mountains, captured the metal statues used by Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang for his Heaven-worship ceremony. For the Yen-chih-shan Mountains were situated, according to the *Kua-ti-chih* 括地志²⁾, "50 *li* south-east of Shan-tan Hsien 刪丹縣, Kan-chou, and were also called by the name of the Shan-tan Mountains": Kan-chou corresponds, as was noted above, to Chang-yeh Prefecture of the Han Period. Therefore, if General Ho Ch'ü-ping seized the metal statues about the time when he passed by the mountains, it is inferable that Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang's territory extended as far as Kan-chou, apparently contradicting the statement in the *Han-shu* which treats the district as formerly belonging to Prince Hun-ya Wang. As the statement in the *Han-shu* is rather too simple and not quite definite, we will also take up the *Shih-chi*³⁾, which says on the subject: "In the spring of the 2nd year of *Yüan-shou* the Emperor appointed Kuan-chün-hou Ho Ch'ü-ping 冠軍侯霍去病 to be the Piao-chi-chiang-chün 驃騎將軍 and ordered him on an expedition at the head of ten thousand troops against the barbarians. When he

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 28b, Ti-li-chih.

2) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan, Note.

3) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 111, Wei-chiang-chün-chuan.

started from Lung-hsi and distinguished himself in the war, the Emperor eulogised him and said, 'At the head of the expeditionary forces, General Piao-chi wanted to capture a son of the Hsiung-nu Shan-yü and conducted a campaign there for six days. Passing the Yen-chih-shan Mountains and marching one thousand *li*, he succeeded, in co-operation with the infantry, in killing Princes Chê-lan Wang 折蘭王 and Lu-hu Wang 盧胡王 and slaughtered all the enemy troops. He also captured a son of Prince Hun-ya Wang, Hsiang-kuo 相國 and Tu-wei 都尉, beheaded more than eight thousand men and seized the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u that had been used for the ceremony of Heaven-worship. In recognition of the meritorious services, General Ho was enfeoffed with two thousand houses.'” Seeing that General Ho Ch'ü-ping captured a son of Prince Hun-ya Wang as well as his ministers and generals during the campaign, it may be inferred that Prince Hun-ya Wang himself participated in the encounter. If this view is correct, the explanation of the *Han-shu* treating Chang-yeh Prefecture as containing the former territory of Prince Hun-ya Wang may not be altogether wrong. How then are we to interpret the statements in the *Shih-chi* and *Han-shu* to the effect that General Ho seized the metal statues around the Yen-chih-shan Mountains? In the case of small objects, there would be no wonder if they had been carried around in the battle-field, but if, as will be proved in the next chapter, the statues turned out to be large, as large as those cast by Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in, it can not be imagined that they used to be carried around on the battle-field by the soldiers. Furthermore, as it was customary for the northern barbarians to have a definite place for worship, usually some noted mountain or swamp, there is reason to believe that Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang might probably have had some such place of worship. Judging from these circumstances, the probability is that it was within the territory of Hsiu-t'u Wang or Liang-chou that General Ho seized the metal statues, but its description in the *Shih-chi* happens to be lacking in detail so as to leave us room to regard the event as having taken place near the Yen-chih-shan Mountains.

While the object of Ho Ch'ü-ping's expedition in the spring of the

2nd year of *Yüan-shou* which extended as far as Chang-yeh within the territory of Prince Hun-ya Wang, consisted mainly in the acquisition of the territory of Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang, in his summer expedition he attempted to strike at the headquarters of Prince Hun-ya Wang. To quote from the *Shih-chi*¹⁾ a more detailed account of the summer expedition than is given in the *Han-shu*:

“In the summer General Piao-chi, along with Ho-chi-hou, left Pei-ti for the front, the two generals taking different routes. After leaving Pei-ti, General Piao-chi penetrated deep into the enemy region, and lost touch with the troops of Ho-chi-hou. General Piao-chi passed Chü-yen and reaching the Ch'i-lien-shan Mountains, captured a great many of the barbarians. Eulogising him, the Emperor said of the general, ‘General Piao-chi passed Chü-yen, then the tribes of the Hsiao Yüeh-shih, and attacked the Ch'i-lien-shan. As a result Chiu-t'u Wang 酋涂王 was captured; twentyfive hundred Hsiung-nu surrendered in a body; thirty thousand and two hundred were beheaded; and there were also captured five mothers of Hsiung princes, a Hsiung-nu Empress (闕氏) and fiftynine boy princes, and sixtythree Hsiang-kuo, Chiang-chün, Tang-hu and Tu-wei. On the other hand, the Han army lost three tenths of its men in the battle. For his meritorious services, Ho Ch'ü-ping was enfeoffed with five thousand houses.’”

To locate the territory of Prince Hun-ya Wang and the region where the Han troops conducted their campaigns, it is necessary to infer the position of the Ch'i-lien-shan mountains where apparently the decisive battle was fought. We are told in the *Shih-chi Su-yin*²⁾ 史記索隱: “According to the *Hsi-ho-chiu-shih* 西河舊事, the mountains lie on the boundary line between Chang-yeh and Chiu-ch'üan Prefectures, extending 200 *li* from east to west and 100 *li* from north to south. There is plenty of water; and grasses and the ‘five trees’ grow on the mountains, which is warm in the winter and cool in the summer, and suitable for cattle-raising. The Hsiung-nu, who lost the two mountains, lamented and sang, ‘Woe unto us, who lost Ch'i-

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 111, Wei-chiang-chün-chuan.

2) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan, Note.

lien-shan! We shall no longer be able to raise the six kinds of cattle! Woe unto us, who lost Yen-chih-shan! Our wives will no longer be able to obtain the rouge for their faces!’ Such was the lamentation of the Hsiung-nu.” It can be imagined from the quotation that Prince Hun-ya Wang probably had his main force near the Ch’i-lien-shan mountains for the mountain-range was nourished by plenty of water and covered with a luxuriant growth of trees, and was suitable for cattle-raising. The Ch’i-lien-shan referred to in the *Hsi-ho-chiu-shih* is a branch of the Nan-shan Mountains lying in the southern part of the Ho-hsi region. Judging from the statement that the mountain-range extends 200 *li* east and west, and 100 *li* north and south, lying on the boundary line between Chiu-ch’üan and Chang-yeh, it corresponds to the branch of the Nan-shan Mountains, running north from the southern part of Chiu-ch’üan between the Etsina River and the Tola River, and forming the watershed of the two tributaries of the Kundulen River. The Etsina region lying east of the mountains corresponds, therefore, to Chang-yeh Prefecture of the Han Period, while the Tola region west of the mountains is Chiu-ch’üan Prefecture. It must have been on the western side, that is, the Chiu-ch’üan side of the mountains that General Ho Ch’ü-ping gave battle in the summer expedition. The *Shih-chi* has it that General Ho “passed Chü-yen and attacked Ch’i-lien-shan”¹⁾ and again in another passage, General Ho “passed Chü-yen, then the tribes of the Hsiao Yüeh-shih, and attacked Ch’i-lien-shan.”²⁾ As to the name of Chü-yen, we are told in the *Shih-chi Su-yin*;³⁾ “According to Han Chao 韓昭, it is in Chang-yeh Hsien” and again, “According to Chang Yen 張晏, it is the name of a lake.”⁴⁾ The name of Lake Chü-yen also appears in the Hsiung-nu-chuan. If we take into consideration, along with these statements, the fact that the Soho-nor, into which the Etsina River empties, has since been called Lake Chü-yen, we are inclined to believe that the Chü-yen which General Ho crossed, was the part of the Etsina that flows now in Kan-chou. With Chü-yen

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

2) *Ibid*, Chap. 111, Wei-chiang-chün-chuan.

3) *Ibid*, Note.

4) *Ibid*.

established as the Etsina, the Ch'i-lien-shan mountains, which Ho Ch'ü-ping finally reached after having passed Chü-yen and the Hsiao Yüeh-shih tribes, must be regarded as the mountainous region facing Su-chou.

The documentary evidence above, showing that in the Era of Emperor Wu-ti of Han the Ho-hsi region had been divided into two administrative districts, the eastern section comprising Wu-wei Prefecture being placed under charge of Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang, and Prince Hungya Wang occupying the western section comprising Chang-yeh and Chiu-ch'üan, can also be corroborated by the topographical situation of the country. The southern topographical boundary of the Ho-hsi is formed by the eastern section of the Nan-shan Mountains, which branch eastward from the Pamir and with their high peaks capped with snow all the year round, are in sharp contrast to the vast expanse of the Mongolian desert north of the mountains. The Ho-hsi is an arid region with very little rain throughout the year, and the only source of water supply for the region is found in streams from the Nan-shan Mountains. As its soil is made up of loess, the region is fertile wherever it is moistened with water, but otherwise it is an entirely barren country that resembles in its conditions the Târim basin. It will be seen, therefore, that the four prefectures of Wu-wei, Chang-yeh, Chiu-ch'üan and Tun-huang were formed in the Ho-hsi region during the Han Period, in a manner similar to the founding in the Târim basin north of the Nan-shan mountains of Khotan 于闐, Cherchen 鄯善 and other kingdoms. It was because innumerable pasture-lands, and along with them many towns and villages, came into existence under the favourable influence of the snow-melted streams running down from the Nan-shan Mountains, that the basin at the northern foot of the mountains was used as the great highway of communications between the eastern district and the Western Region. The section between Cherchen and Sha-chou is an arid sand region called 'Liu-sha' (flowing sand) without any grass-lands, and this presents a very difficult passage for travellers, but the eastern district beyond 'Liu-sha' as far as the Huang-ho is dotted with grass-covered lands and forms topographically a single district, which was called the Ho-hsi (the region west of

the Huang-ho River) in the Han Period. A desert, however, penetrates from the north between Su-chou, anciently called Chiu-ch'üan, and Sha-chou, and forms an area such that when they undertook the extension of the Great Wall in the Han Period, it was discontinued at a point a little west of Su-chou, leaving Sha-chou outside the Wall. The region east of Su-chou forms topographically rather a single district, but it used to show the influences of central Asiatic peoples, and to be divided into different territories around different water courses, as, for example, the regions around the River Kuo 郭河 and the River Kundulen were usually inhabited by different hostile groups. It was probably due to the same circumstances that Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang was enfeoffed with the region east of the river and Prince Hun-ya Wang with the region to the west. Again, it was probably under the influences of the same situation that in the Period of the Contending States the two districts were occupied respectively by the Ch'ü-sou 渠搜 and the Kun-lun 崑崙, according to the Shang-shu¹⁾ 尚書; by the Yü-shih 禹氏 and the Kun-lun, according to the Kuan-tzū 管子²⁾; and from the Ch'in to the Middle of the Han Period, by the Yüeh-shih and the Wu-sun, who both organised states in their respective regions. In view of no definite agreement having been reached yet among the orientalist with regard to the location of the territories of the Yüeh-shih and the Wu-sun, I believe it will not be entirely out of place to state my view on the subject here because it has something to do with the question of locating the territories of Princes Hsiu-t'u and Hun-ya Wang.

To come to the point directly, I do not see yet any reason for revising my position as stated in my previous paper entitled 'A Study on the Wu-sun',³⁾ in which I allotted the eastern part of the Ho-hsi to the Yüeh-shih and the western section to the Wu-sun. J. KUWABARA since criticising my view in his paper entitled 'The Expeditions of Chang Chien 張騫',⁴⁾ has announced a new theory regarding the original territories of the races. He gave in the paper the follow-

1) *Shu-ching*, Chapter of Yü-kung.

2) *Kuan-tzū*, Ch'ing-ch'ung-pien a, 80 輕重甲第八十.

3) *Shigaku-Zasshi*, XII, pp. 55-63

4) *Zoku-Shiteki-Kenkyū* 續史的研究, pp. 44-48.

ing table of comparisons, basing them all on the single fact that the region referred to as the 'former territory of Prince Hun-ya Wang' in the *Shih-chi* is alluded to in the *Han-shu* as the 'former territory of King Kun-mo 昆莫.'

Shih-chi

The former territory of Prince Hun-ya was all deserted, and not a single human being was found.

—*Ta-yüan-chuan.*

Presenting and bribing them with a lot of valuable gifts, they invited the Wu-sun to move eastward and to settle in the former territory of Prince Hun-ya. —*Ibid.*

The Wu-sun could move eastward and settle in the former territory of Prince Hun-ya. —*Ibid.*

Han-shu

The former territory of King Kun-mo was all deserted.

Chang-Chien-chuan.

Bribing them with a lot of valuable gifts, they invited the Wu-sun to move eastward and settle in their former territory.

—*Chan-Chien-chuan* and
Hsi-yü-chuan.

The Wu-sun could move eastward and settle in their former territory.

—*Hsi-yü-chuan.*

From this comparison, it is natural to conclude that the former territory of King Kun-mo of the Wu-sun must have been identical in site with the 'former territory of Prince Hun-ya', and furthermore, since the territory of Prince Hun-ya corresponds to the present Kan-chou, which the *Han-shu*¹⁾ definitely declares to be the case with the words, 'Chang-yeh Prefecture is the former territory of the Hsiung-nu prince Hun-ya,' Kan-chou must have been the territory of the Wu-sun. If I am not mistaken, such is the gist of the contention of KUWABARA on the subject. If furnished with these quotations only, we might be persuaded to accept his standpoint. However, a careful perusal of the context where those passages appear, coupled with a consideration of the historical situation of the day, will, I believe, show that KUWABARA'S position on the subject is not very tenable. Let me take up first the chapter of *Ta-yüan-chuan* of the *Shih-chi*,²⁾ which

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 28b, *Ti-li-chih*.

2) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 123, *Ta-yüan-chuan*.

reads: "Lately the Hsiung-nu Emperor was harassed by the Han army, and the former territory of Prince Hun-ya was entirely deserted, and not a single human being was found. Seeing that the barbarians had always coveted the Chinese goods, the Han Emperor took advantage of the occasion, and tentatively bribing the Wu-sun politely with a lot of valuable gifts, invited them to move eastward and allowed them to settle in the former territory of Prince Hun-ya. The Wu-sun prince was also made sworn brother to the Han Emperor. It will be natural then that the Wu-sun should consent to move eastward, as was suggested by the Han Emperor, thereby cutting off the 'right arm' of the Hsiung-nu Empire." Now compare this with a passage from the chapter of Chang-Chien-chuan of the *Han-shu*¹⁾, which says: "Lately the Hsiung-nu Emperor was harrassed by the Han troops, and the former territory of King Kun-mo was entirely deserted. The Han Emperor, seeing that the barbarians had a yearning for their former territory which they had lost, and also had always coveted the Chinese goods, took advantage of the situation, and tentatively bribed the Wu-sun with a lot of valuable gifts, inviting them to move eastward to settle in their former territory. The Han Emperor also gave a princess in marriage to the Wu-sun prince, and became sworn brother to him. It will be natural then that the Wu-sun should consent to move eastward, as was suggested by the Han Emperor, thereby cutting off the 'right arm' of the Hsiung-nu Empire." The comparison of the two passages will show, I believe, that the writer of the *Han-shu* borrowed the passage, on the whole, from the *Shih-chi*, except that the phrase 'the former territory of Prince Hun-ya', as was found in the *Shih-chi*, was revised in the *Han-shu* to read 'the former territory of King Kun-mo. The question, however, is, Is this revision in the *Han-shu* a justifiable one? The *Shih-chi*²⁾ has the following passage: "[In the 2nd year of *Yüan-shou*] Prince Hun-ya Wang, together with his men, surrendered to the Han army. Then there was not a single trace of a Hsiung-nu

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 61, Chang-Chien-chuan.

2) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 123, Ta-yüan-chuan.

left in the whole region along the Nan-shan Mountains from the western part of Chin-ch'êng 金城 and the Ho-hsi to Yen-tsê 鹽澤." It is also added that in the 4th year of *Yüan-shou* the Han troops defeated the Hsiung-nu emperor and routed him to the north of the Great Desert. Regarding the above passage from the *Shih-chi*, therefore, the first half—"Lately the Hsiung-nu Emperor was harassed by the Han troops"—refers to the fact that in the 4th year of *Yüan-shou* the Hsiung-nu were dealt a signal defeat by the Han army, the Hsiung-nu Emperor fleeing to the north of the Desert; while the second half—"the former territory of Prince Hun-ya was entirely deserted, not a single man found"—refers to the situation that in the 2nd year of *Yüan-shou* Prince Hun-ya Wang, together with his people, surrendered to the Han Emperor, but without any prefectures and districts being installed yet in the territory, the whole region along the northern foot of the Nan-shan Mountains between Chin-ch'êng (the present Hsi-ning 西寧) and Yen-tsê (the present Lop-nor) was left entirely deserted, not a single trace of man being found. In the light of the situation, there is more reason to believe that "the former territory of Prince Hun-ya", as is described in the *Shih-chi*, might be interpreted as an allusion to the whole Ho-hsi region on the ground of the assumption that the whole Ho-hsi district could be regarded as the territory of Prince Hun-ya Wang, because he, after having killed Hsiu-t'u Wang, surrendered with his men as well as the people of Hsiu-t'u Wang to Han, rather than that the *Shih-chi*'s statement refers only to the western part of the Ho-hsi, that is, the original portion of Hun-ya Wang's territory when he and Hsiu-t'u Wang had been ruling respectively the western and the eastern part of the Ho-hsi region. Therefore, if the text of the *Shih-chi* were to be revised to read "the former territory of King Kun-mo", it would not only seem an abrupt departure from the general tone of the context, but by assuming the whole Ho-hsi region to be the former territory of the Wu-sun, the original meaning of the *Shih-chi* text would be lost. For if the *Shih-chi* text: "The barbarians had always coveted the Chinese goods. Taking advantage of the occasion, the Han Emperor tentatively bribed the Wu-sun politely

with a lot of valuable gifts, and invited them to move eastward and to settle in the former territory of Prince Hun-ya," is to be revised and made to read, as in the *Han-shu*, "Seeing that the barbarians had a yearning for their former territory which they had lost, and also had always coveted the Chinese goods, the Han Emperor took advantage of the situation, and, tentatively bribing them with a lot of valuable gifts, invited them to move eastward and to settle in their former territory," the original intention of the text in the *Shih-chi* in referring to the whole Ho-hsi region as the district where the Wu-sun were invited to settle, would be lost by assuming only the former territory of the Wu-sun as the district in question. Further there is reason to believe that the sentence in the *Han-shu*: "The barbarians had a yearning for their former territory," which is not found in the *Shih-chi*, is a later addition due to a misunderstanding on the part of the writer of the *Han-shu* that consists in regarding, for some reason I cannot see, the territory of Hun-ya Wang as identical in its scope with the former habitat of the Wu-sun. The statement in the *Han-shu* is not, it seems to me, enough to prove that the former habitat of the Wu-sun was Sha-chou. The 'former territory of Prince Hun-ya' as described in the *Shih-chi*, clearly refers to the whole Ho-hsi region, but even if it is granted that it refers only to the former territory of the Wu-sun, that is, Kan-chou, there is no necessity or reason for concluding that the former habitat of the Wu-sun was in Sha-chou. In its Ti-li-chih, Wu-wei Prefecture, does not the *Han-shu* clearly state in the form of a note that Wu-wei Prefecture was 'the former territory of the Hsiung-nu prince Hsiu-t'u Wang? There is much reason to believe that the tribes, the Yüeh-shih and the Wu-sun, were holding respectively the eastern and the western section of the Ho-hsi in a way most probably similar to the circumstances in which the two Hsiung-nu princes, Hsiu-t'u Wang and Hun-ya Wang, were enfeoffed respectively with the eastern and the western part of the Ho-hsi. If so, even if it is granted that the Wu-sun were occupying Chang-yeh, that is, the present Kan-chou, how about Wu-wei (the present Liang-chou), the adjacent fertile country lying to the east of Kan-chou? I cannot see any reason why we may not

locate the former habitat of the Yüeh-shih here nor why we should have to restrict it to Kan-chou.

The Ho-hsi region, which may be regarded, as was pointed out above, as forming topographically a single district along the northern foot of the Nan-shan mountains, may again be sub-divided into the eastern section centering around Liang-chou, the western section centering around Sha-chou and the middle section centering around Kan-chou and Su-chou. Of these three regions, Liang-chou is the most fertile, and the most suitable for cattle-raising, as we are told in the *Han-shu*¹⁾, describing the topography of the Ho-hsi: "It has a wide area, but is sparsely populated. The grass-covered land is suitable for cattle-raising and the cattle of the region form one of the important resources of the country. A frontier governor was installed and was to take charge of the military affairs." Thus it will be seen that Liang-chou was in the Han Period a fertile country, abounding in cattle, and suitable for the cantonment and training of soldiers. According to the *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要²⁾, "Liang-chou is characterized by difficult passes and unapproachable mountains, but abounds in fertile soil. Since Han began to colonise the Ho-hsi region, Ku-tsang 姑臧 was at one time made its capital. In the periods of Wei and Chin, civil and military governors were installed in the region; and after the days of Chang Kuei 張軌, some of the war lords, holding this piece of land on the frontier as their foothold, used to contend for supremacy with the powerful princes of the country. When Emperor T'ai-wu of the Wei Dynasty 魏太武 overthrew the Northern Liang, he gave a description of the region to his crown prince, saying: 'Outside the Eastern and Western Gates of the Ku-tsang Castle, there are springs both of which, running northward, meet each other to the north of the castle and form a stream almost as big as a river. All the other streams and ditches flow into the desert plain and disappear. Encroaching upon these watercourses is no arid area in the region.' According to the *Wu-tai-shih*, at the height of the power of the Tang Dynasty, of the thirty

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 28 b, Ti-li-chih.

2) *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao*, chap. 63, Liang-chou-wei.

three prefectures in Ho-hsi and Lung-yu 隴右, the biggest was Liang-chou, where the soil was fertile, the products abundant and the people were prosperous and happy. Since the region was suitable for raising horses, the T'ang government installed the eight Stud Bureaus and had 300,000 horses raised. This is what Pan Ku 班固 of the Han period meant when he said that the cattle of Liang-chou form one of the important resources of the country. When Hsi-hsia 西夏 captured Liang-chou, she, by the help of the immense resources of the region, could invade and disturb Kuan-chung (or Shen-hsi), harassing the people of Sung a great deal. Therefore Liang-chou forms not only the most important part of the Ho-hsi in particular, but the important frontier of Ch'in (Shen-hsi) and Lung (Kan-su).¹⁾ Thus Liang-chou always occupied an important position on the north-western frontier of China. Inferring from the circumstances of the later periods when in the Five Hu 五胡 Age, Chang Kuei 張軌, establishing himself here, founded the Former Liang 前涼, while Lü Kuang 呂光 founded the Later Liang, and Chü-c'hü 沮渠蒙遜 also removed his capital here, it may be imagined that the territory of the Yüeh-shih, who established themselves here in the Period of Ch'in and were so powerful as to demand a hostage from the Hsiung-nu, most probably covered the eastern part of the Ho-hsi centering around Liang-chou. The statement in the *Hsi-ho-chiu-shih*¹⁾ that the Ku-tsang-ch'êng was in the Ch'in Period the main stronghold of the barbarian tribe of the Yüeh-shih, and the Hsiung-nu called the castle by the name of Kai-tsang Ch'êng 蓋藏城, which became corrupted later to Ku-tsang 姑臧, may be regarded as the true description of the situation of the day. We have seen above in the quotation from the *Shih-chi* that in the 2nd year of *Yüan-shou* General Ho Ch'ü-ping crossed Chü-yen, passed by the Hsiao Yüeh-shih tribes and in the neighbourhood of the Ch'i-lien-shan Mountains defeated the Hsiung-nu. The Chü-yen is the name of a river, and is identical with the present Etsina river. The natural conclusion is that the Hsiao Yüeh-shih must then have had their habitat

1) *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao*, Chap. 63, Ku-tsang chêng, Note.

in Su-chou west of the river. Again, if at the height of their power the Yüeh-shih had the western section of Kan-su under their control, naturally the territory of the Wu-sun has to be restricted to Sha-chou and its surrounding country. The *Shih-chi-chêng-i*¹⁾ says: the two countries (Wu-sun and Hu-chieh 呼揭) were situated to the north-west of Kua-chou 瓜州 and in the Period of the Contending States, the Wu-sun held Kua-chou." If this statement of the *Shih-chi* is a correct description of the ancient situation of the district, it goes as evidence to show that the Wu-sun occupied the Sha-chou region, because Kua-chou of the Period of the Contending States is identical with Sha-chou of later periods.

What is remarkable about the history and topography of the Hsi region is that those who occupied the eastern section were apparently always superior, in their military strength and financial power, to those who held the western section. A reading of the *Shih-chi*, particularly the chapters of the Hsiung-nu and the Biography of General Wei, impresses upon us that Prince Hsiu-t'u Wang, who had occupied the eastern section, was treated by the editor of the history as if he held an inferior or subordinate position to Prince Hun-ya Wang, who held the western section. Where are we to seek the explanation? Regarding the surrender of the two Hsiung-nu princes to Han, we are told in the *Shih-chi*: "in the autumn (of the 2nd year of *Yüan-shou*) the Shan-yü, enraged (by the failure of Hun-ya Wang to check the advance of the Han army), wished to summon and punish him by death. Learning the intention of the Shan-yü, Hun-ya Wang planned with Hsiu-t'u Wang and others to surrender themselves to Han, and having sent his men to the Han frontier to capture some Han people, dispatched the Han captives as his messengers to the Han Emperor and asked him to send an expedition to the frontier to receive their surrender. *Ta-hang* Li Hsi 大行李息, who was about to start building a castle on the Huang-ho, happened to receive the messengers of Prince Hun-ya Wang, and reported it to the Emperors by an express messenger.

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan, Note.

Upon receipt of the information, the Han Emperor was rather sceptical about the true intentions of the Hsiung-nu princes; and fearing that under the pretext of surrendering they might be preparing for an invasion of the frontier, dispatched *Piao-chi-chiang-chün* (Ho Ch'ü-ping) in command of an army to receive the surrender of the Hsiung-nu. When the Han general had crossed the Huang-ho and came in sight of Hun-ya Wang's troops and populace, many of Hun-ya Wang's lieutenants who had been indisposed to surrender, at the sight of the Han troops, deserted their leader and fled from the spot. The Han general thereupon advanced up to the Hsiung-nu quarters, had an interview with Hun-ya Wang, ordered the execution of some eight thousand Hsiung-nu who were trying to desert the Hsiung-nu camp, and mounting him on a post horse, sent him alone to the temporary palace of the Han Emperor. The Han general then commanded the Hsiung-nu captives to cross the river; they numbered some scores of thousands, although it was claimed that they were a hundred thousands." The situation to be imagined from this statement is that the general trend of opinion in the Hsiung-nu camps was in favour of surrendering, but that there were some dissenters, and Hun-ya Wang himself was the leader of the surrendering group. To turn to Hsiung-nu-chuan in the *Shih-chi*, it briefly describes the position, saying, "Prince Hun-ya Wang, afraid of the wrath of the Hsiung-nu Emperor, planned with Hsiu-t'u Wang to surrender to Han. The Han Emperor dispatched *Piao-chi-chiang-chün* to receive them. Hun-ya Wang, murdering Hsiu-t'u Wang and leading the men of Hsiu-t'u Wang as well as his own, submitted himself to the Han general." Why was Hsiu-t'u Wang murdered? There are not sufficient records to explain the reason, but in view of the situation that the Hsiung-nu camp was divided into two groups, those in favour of surrender and those opposed to the step, and that Hun-ya Wang was the leader of the first group, it might be conjectured that Hsiu-t'u Wang himself was rather opposed to the step, and became the victim of the opposing party when Hun-ya Wang invoked the general opinion of the Hsiung-nu camps and the power of the Han troops when they came in sight. If this hypothesis be ad-

mitted, there is no wonder that Han should have been grateful to Hun-ya Wang, and the official historian of Han might have used some discretion in describing the two Hsiung-nu princes, when treating Hun-ya Wang as if he were in a superior rank or position to Hsiu-t'u Wang.

III. THE METAL STATUES OF HSIU-T'U WANG USED FOR HIS CEREMONY OF HEAVEN-WORSHIP.

The first question confronting us here is: how and under what circumstances could Hsiu-t'u Wang observe the ceremony of Heaven-worship, even making use of the metal statues (a presumptuous proceeding for a prince as far as the Hsiung-nu customs were concerned), considering that Hsiu-t'u Wang was only a prince enfeoffed by the Hsiung-nu Shan-yü in a corner of the Ho-hsi? For the study of the subject, it will be necessary first to consider what kinds of rites were observed among the Hsiung-nu; who were qualified to observe such grand ceremony as Heaven-worship; and what significance the rites had for the Hsiung-nu? In referring to the Hsiung-nu customs and institutions, the *Shih-chi*¹⁾ says: "In the first month of the year the tribal chieftains meet and have a small gathering in the court of the Hsiung-nu Emperor; and in the fifth month gather in Lung-ch'êng 龍城 and hold a grand meeting to observe the ceremony of worshipping their ancestors, Heaven and Earth, spirits and demons; and in autumn when the horses grow fat, they hold a grand meeting in Tai-lin 蹄林, and also count persons and cattle and levy poll taxes on them." According to the *Hou-han-shu*,²⁾ the Hsiung-nu had three Dragon Festivals, which they observed always on the day of *wu* 戊 in the first, fifth and ninth months of the year, for worshipping Heaven. "Since they had been subjugated by Han," the *Hou-han-shu* adds, "the Southern Hsiung-nu began to observe the ceremony of the worship of

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

2) *Hou-han-shu*, Chap. 119, Nan-hsiung-nu-chuan.

the Imperial ancestors of Han as well as that of their traditional Heaven-worship. The occasion was also taken advantage of to gather the tribal chieftains, and to discuss matters of state. They amused themselves on the same occasion by racing horses and camels." Though differing in wording, the two texts no doubt refer to one and the same custom of the Hsiung-nu, the festival of the first month as described in the *Shih-chi* corresponding to the festival of the first month at the court of the Hsiung-nu Emperor as described in the *Hou-han-shu*, the festival of the fifth month to the grand meeting at Lung-ch'êng in the fifth month, and the festival of the ninth month to the autumn festival at Tai-lin. The three festivals also correspond to the Imperial New Year Festival, the Festival of the Vernal Equinox, and the Thanksgiving Festival in Japan. According to the *Hou-han-shu* the festivals were observed on the day of *wu* of those months, which was apparently the custom of the Hsiung-nu inherited from the days of the Former Han Period, as is seen in the *Shih-chi*,¹⁾ "they hold the days of *wu* 戊 and *chi* 己 for luck."

The *Hou-han-shu* calls the three festivals of the Hsiung-nu equally by the name of the dragon festivals, but according to the *Shih-chi*, the grand festival of the fifth month at Lung-ch'êng which was observed for the worship of the ancestors, Heaven and Earth, and spirits and demons, was apparently the most important, genuine dragon festival, when all the important lords and princes of the country were assembled for worship, as well as for the discussion of important affairs of state. Besides the passage from the *Hou-han-shu*, above, more allusions to the same fact can be found in the *Han-shu* and *Hou-han-shu*. For instance, according to the *Han-shu*²⁾, after the crowning of Hu-yen-ti Shan-yü 壺衍鞮單于 as the Emperor, the Tso-hsien-wang 左賢王 and Yu-ku-li-wang 右谷蠡王 who bore a grudge against the Shan-yü because they themselves could not succeed to the throne, planned to surrender, with their men, to Han. Afraid to carry out the plan by themselves, they tried to force Lu-t'u Wang 盧屠王 to join them in

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

2) *Han-shu*, Chap. 94a, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

their conspiracy to surrender to the Wu-sun first and then attack the Hsiung-nu Emperor. Lu-t'u Wang informed the Shan-yü of the intrigue, who then dispatched a messenger to the princes and tried to obtain their confession, but in vain. "The two princes, after that, kept themselves within their territories all the time, and never consented to attend the Lung-chêng meeting." According to YEN SHIH-KU¹⁾ the princes were said to have kept themselves within their headquarters all the time, and never again attended the Lung-chêng festival. From the text it is clear that it was a rule for the important Hsiung-nu princes such as Tso-hsien-wang and Yu-ku-li-wang to attend the grand festival at Lung-chêng in the fifth month of the year, but the two princes, bearing a grudge against their Emperor because of their failure to succeed to the throne themselves, plotted a rebellion and never attended the Lung-chêng meeting. A second passage is in the *Hou-han-shu*²⁾, which says: "in the 22nd year (of *Chien-wu* 建武, 46 A.D.) the Hsiung-nu Shan-yü by name of Yü 輿 died and was succeeded on the throne by his son Tso-hsien-wang Wu-ta-ti-hou 烏達鞬侯. He also died and was succeeded by his brother Tso-hsien-wang P'u-nu 蒲奴. (Jih-chu-wang 日逐王) Pi 比 who had been unable to ascend the throne, bore a grudge against the Shan-yü. Pi secretly dispatched a Chinese named Kuo Hêng 郭衡 to the Han Emperor and presented him with a map of the Hsiung-nu Empire. In the 23rd year, the messenger came to the Chinese governor of Hsi-ho 西河 and informed him of Pi's wish to surrender to Han. The two Ku-tu-hou 骨都侯, getting an inkling of the plot, revealed it to the Hsiung-nu Shan-yü on the occasion when they were assembled for the dragon festival of the fifth month, saying, 'Ao-chien Jih-chu 莫鞬日逐 (Pi) has lately been contemplating some evil. If you do not kill him, he is going to disturb the country.' Pi's brother Chan-chiang Wang 斬將王, who was then in the Shan-yü's tent, heard of it, and hastened to report it to his brother. Pi was frightened, and in command of an army of some forty or fifty thousand belonging to the eight southern tribes under his rule, awaited the re-

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 95, Hsiung-nu-chuan, Note.

2) *Hou-han-shu*, Chap. 119, Nan Hsiung-nu chuan.

turn to their territories of the two Ku-tu-hou to kill them. The Ku-tu-hou learning the plan just before they met the forces of Pi, fled and reported it to the Shan-yü." A third passage is again found in the *Hou-han-shu*¹. "An-kuo 安國 became the Shan-yü in the 5th year of *Yung-yüan* 永元 (93 A.D.). Prior to this time, he had been the Tso-hsien-wang, but without any good reputation to his credit. On the other hand, the Tso-ku-li-wang Shih-tzū 師子, brave and wise by nature, was loved by the former Shan-yü and others. Often, in command of an army, he marched outside the Great Walls, and attacked the headquarters of the Northern Hsiung-nu, being rewarded on his return. The Han Emperor also bestowed special favour upon him. Accordingly he was respected by the countrymen throughout the Empire. The people, on the other hand, refused to become attached to An-kuo, who then became envious and wished to get rid of Shih-tzū An-kuo was crowned Shan-yü and Shih-tzū was promoted to be Tso-hsien-wang. Shih-tzū, learning of the plot to kill him on the part of the Shan-yü in co-operation with the newly-subjugated Hsiung-nu, remained within the Chinese border of Wu-yüan 五原, and under pretence of illness never went to Lung-chêng, where the Shan-yü summoned a meeting for the discussion of affairs of state." Such a high-ranked prince as Shih-tzū was of course bound to attend the Lung-chêng festival, but fearing the intrigue of the Shan-yü to kill him, he avoided the meeting. Not only the Hsiung-nu princes and high officials who were related to the Hsiung-nu Shan-yü by blood, were thus required to attend the Grand Festival at Lung-chêng, but also other kings, who were of a different race, appear to have attended the festivals so long as they remained under the rule of the Hsiung-nu Emperor, as can be seen in a passage from the *Han-shu*², which reads: "The Wu-sun who had once submitted to the rule of the Hsiung-nu, later ceased to consent to the summons of the Shan-yü, when they became powerful enough, even though they were still subject to the Hsiung-nu Shan-yü." The Wu-sun, who were of Turkish stock, be-

1) *Hou-han-shu*, Chap. 119, Nan-Hsiung-nu-chuan.

2) *Han-shu*, Chap. 66 b, Si-yü-chuan.

haved themselves as subject to the Hsiung-nu emperor as long as they were not sufficiently strong, and doubtless attended the Lung-ch'êng festivals, but once they got powerful and became an independent nation, they stopped obeying the Imperial summons.

As has been seen from the quotations above, the Hsiung-nu princes and high officials were under an obligation to assemble at the court of the Shan-yü for the three festivals of the New Year, Spring and Autumn, particularly the Autumn festival at Lung-ch'êng, and those who disobeyed the summons, were regarded as disloyal subjects or insurgents. The attendance of a Hsiung-nu subject at the festivals, therefore, implied not only his piety toward the gods, but his political allegiance to the Shan-yü. For the Hsiung-nu, who based their polity upon the unity of their religion and state, no institutions were more necessary than these three festivals for the unification of the nation. The name of the *shan-yü* 單于 in the Hsiung-nu language represents, as will be explained later, the infinite immensity of heaven, corresponding to the Chinese title of the *huang-ti* 皇帝. Again the Hsiung-nu appellation of the *ch'êng-li-ku-t'u* 撐犁孤塗 (*Tängri-kotu*) referring to the Hsiung-nu emperor, means the son of Heaven, and corresponds to the Chinese name *t'ien-tzū* 天子. In view of the fact that Mao-tun Shan-yü referred to himself, in his letters to Wên-ti of Han, as "the Great Hsiung-nu Emperor installed by Heaven," and that Lao-shang Shan-yü used to call himself "the Great Hsiung-nu Emperor installed by Heaven and Earth and born of the Sun and Moon," the eligibility of a Hsiung-nu for the throne was thought to consist in the special call from Heaven to the office, just as in the case of a Chinese emperor. The Shan-yü's festival of Heaven-worship at Lung-ch'êng was, therefore, a state ceremony of a nature similar to those ceremonies of the *chiao-ssü* 郊祀 and *fêng-ch'an* 封禪 which the Chinese emperors observed for worship of Heaven and Earth. There is reason to believe that the ceremony of Heaven-worship in Hsiung-nu was a privilege granted only to the Shan-yü, just as the rite of the same nature in China was a privilege enjoyed only by the *t'ien-tzū* or the emperor, and never granted to a subject. If Hsiu-t'u Wang, who was a mere prince enfeoffed in a corner of the Ho-hsi, did

observe the ceremony, as was definitely described in the *Shih-chi* and *Han-shu*, it must be regarded as presumptuous and extraordinary conduct on the part of the prince, and needs some explanation. Three explanations have been offered. The first is: the Hsiung-nu emperor probably gave the privilege solely to Hsiu-t'u Wang. According to a second explanation, Hsiu-t'u Wang, imitating the Shan-yü, himself assumed the privilege from self-confidence in his power. The third theory is that the Hsiung-nu polity was a feudal system, and just as there were princes under the Shan-yü, so there were vassals under each prince. It was probably in a manner similar to that by which the Shan-yü ruled the princes through the state festival at Lung-ch'êng, that Hsiu-t'u Wang tried to rule the people of his territory, through some festival of a similar nature but on a smaller scale. The last explanation seems best to fit in the circumstances, but none the less it must still be regarded as a presumptuous act on his part that Hsiu-t'u Wang made use of the metal statues on the occasion of the ceremony, as this practice was not found even at the state ceremony at Lung-ch'êng. It shows of course on the other hand that Hsiu-t'u-wang had great influence and vast wealth.

It is not conceivable that, although they had the ability to organize a state, the Hsiung-nu could manufacture such big metal statues as those in question, because they were (originally) a nomadic people still in an uncivilised state wandering about the Mongolian steppe. Most scholars are agreed that the metal statues were probably of foreign make, and further, if they were imported from abroad, the deities represented by the statues must be of foreign origin. Another thing to notice is that Hsiu-t'u Wang was the only Hsiung-nu prince to make use of the metal statues for the ceremony of Heaven-worship, in spite of there being many other princes throughout the empire. The reason was probably, I am inclined to believe, that the geographical position of his territory allowed the development of the special situation. According to the *Shu-ching*¹⁾, the Ho-hsi region belonged to Yung-chou 雍州,

1) *Shu-ching*, Chapter of Yü-kung.

and the Ch'ü-sou 渠搜 and the Kun-lun 崑崙 who occupied the district, once made tribute of the precious stones known as *chiu-lin* 璆琳 and *lang-kan* 琅玕 to the Chinese emperor. Again, according to the *Kuan-tzū*¹⁾, there are indications that the Yü-shih 禺氏 and the Kun-lun who inhabited the region, imported to China proper respectively white *pi* 白璧, and *chiu-lin* and *lang-kan*. From these facts it can be imagined that the barbarian tribes of the Ho-hsi had from ancient times a close connection with China proper and communicated with each other. Once Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in built the Great Wall, the Ho-hsi region lying west of Lan-chou was removed from immediate Chinese influences. However, cultural intercourse could not be checked politically, and the Ho-hsi remained as ever the important corridor of the east-west communications. The *Wei-shu*²⁾ gives an account of many Sogdian merchants, who were made captives by Emperor T'ai-wu of the Wei Dynasty when he defeated the Chü-ch'ü 沮渠氏 and captured the Ku-tsang 姑臧 castle. Thus if the Ho-hsi, especially Liang-chou, was a district, where many Chinese and people of the Western Region flocked together and exchanged commercial goods, as well mingling their cultures, there is no wonder that Hsiu-t'u Wang who held the region under his rule should have used some metal statues of foreign make for the ceremony of Heaven-worship.

What the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang were is an old question, about which there have been divergent opinions, nor can agreement be reached yet among scholars. MENG K'ANG 孟康 of the Three Kingdoms Period, commenting on the passage in the *Han-shu*, Hsiung-nu-chuan, where the metal statue in question is mentioned, says, "The Hsiung-nu's place of Heaven-worship was originally situated at the foot of Mt. Kan-ch'üan-shan in Yün-yang 雲陽甘泉山; but was removed to the former territory of Hsiu-t'u Wang after the Hsiung-nu were defeated by Ch'in and deprived of the original site of worship. That is why Hsiu-t'u Wang had obtained the metal statues for Heaven-worship."³⁾ The author of

1) *Kuan-tzū*, 輕重甲第八十

2) *Wei-shu*, Chap. 102, Si-yü-chuan

3) *Han-shu*, Chap. 94, Hsiung-nu-chuan; Note.

the *Shih-chi-chi-chieh* 史記集解¹⁾ makes reference to the *Han-shu-yin-i* 漢書音義, but only repeats what MĒNG K'ANG said on the subject, except for the additional remark that the metal statues are 'chu' 主 for Heaven-worship. The *Shih-chi-su-yin*²⁾ says, according to WEI CHAO 韋昭, that the Hsiung-nu manufactured the metal statues and made them the 'chu' for their Heaven-worship." The *Shih-chi* mentions, in a note, as the opinion of JU CHUN 如淳, that the Hsiung-nu manufactured the statues as the 'chu' for their Heaven-worship. Again the *Han-shu*, Biographies of Wei Ch'ing and Ho Ch'ü-ping, quotes, in a note, JU CHUN as saying, "For their Heaven-worship the Hsiung-nu made the metal statues the 'chu'." The 'chu' referred to in these passages means something modelled after the Heavenly God, something symbolising the Heavenly God. So it happened that such scholars of the Three Kingdoms Age as MĒNG K'ANG, WEI CHAO and JU CHUN interpreted the metal statues as images of the Heavenly God, regarding this latter as the native god of the Hsiung-nu. However, there were some scholars who regarded the metal statues as the images of Buddha, as can be seen in the *Shih-chi-su-yin*,³⁾ "According to CHANG YEN 張晏, the Buddhists worshipped the metal statues." This remark of CHANG YEN is rather vague and may be lacking in precise meaning, but T'SUI HAO 崔浩 of the Wei Period definitely believed that the metal statues were images of Buddha. "In the Hsiung-nu festival," says he, "they made the metal statues the 'chu,' which are the images of Buddha of today." This view apparently won favour among the scholars of the Northern and Southern Dynastic Period, as the *Wei-shu*, Shih-lao-chuan 釋老傳, says: "During the *Yüan-shou* Era of Wu-ti of the Han Dynasty, General Ho Ch'ü-ping was dispatched on an expedition against the Hsiung-nu. Ho Ch'ü-ping reached Kao-lan 皋蘭 and passed Chü-yen and killed many Hsiung-nu. Then Hun-ya Wang, murdering Hsiu-t'u Wang and leading 50,000 troops of the murdered prince in addition to his own, came to surrender to the Han general, who cap-

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan, Note.

2) *Ibid.*

3) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 111, Wei-chiang-chün-chuan, Note.

tured also the metal statues from the Hsiung-nu. Taking the metal statues which stood more than 1 *chang* high to be the images of some major deities, the Han Emperor placed them in the Kan-ch'üan Palace and burned incense before and paid homage to them, but did not observe the usual Chinese style of worship. Such was the manner in which Buddhism first began to spread." This passage in the *Wei-shu* was derived, as T. FUJITA pointed out, from the *Han-wu-ku-shih* 漢武故事, and was originally worded 'they did not use any cattle and sheep' in stead of 'they did not observe the usual style of worship,' and was also without the last passage referring to the spread of Buddhism. The whole passage was generally based upon the *Shih-chi*, Hsiung-nu-chuan, and Wei-chiang-chün-chuan, both of which, however, fix the date when the Han troops seized the metal statues as the spring of the 2nd year of *Yüan-shou*, and the date when Hun-ya Wang surrendered to Han as the autumn of the year, instead of treating the two happenings as simultaneous as in the *Wei-shu*, which is of course wrong. Again, there is found no allusion in the *Shih-chi* nor in the *Han-shu* to the Kan-ch'üan Palace, where, according to the *Wei-shu*, the metal statues were placed by the Han emperor, but the description was most probably derived from the *Han-shu*, Ti-li-chih¹⁾, where reference is made to the shrine of the metal statues on Mt. Kan-ch'üan shan. The passage referring to the height of the statues as more than 1 *chang* high, before which the Emperor burned incense and paid homage, is a pure fabrication, no passage corresponding to which can be found in the *Shih-chi* or in the *Han-shu*. Thus through the Periods of the Three Kingdoms and the Northern and Southern Dynasties down to the period of the T'ang Dynasty, the metal statues were regarded as Buddhistic images, and in the period of the T'ang Dynasty, even such a great savant as YEN SHIH-KU was under the influence of the traditional interpretation when he said, "They, manufacturing metal statues, made them the '*chü*' of the Heavenly God and worshipped them."²⁾ It is rather natural that from the T'ang Period

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 28, Ti-li-chih, Yün-yang-hsien.

2) *Han-shu*, Chap. 95, Hsiung-nu-chuan, Note.

down to the present time, both Chinese and Japanese scholars regarded the metal statues as Buddhistic images and never doubted it, although it is rather surprising that such a great orientalist of today as P. PELLIOU in Europe once adopted the theory.¹⁾ He once regarded the Hsiung-nu as of the Turkish race, but now that he is rather inclined to regard them Mongolians, no doubt he has revised his old view. In Japan some scholars have recently come to take up the critical position, renouncing the traditional theory of the metal statues, which is still upheld by some, for instance, T. HAYASHIYA.²⁾

The appearance of the new interpretation of the metal statues by some Japanese scholars is the result of the growth and development of oriental and Buddhistic studies here. In an article entitled '*On the Metal Statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang*,³⁾ R. HADANI declared that the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang were not Buddhistic images. To sum up his views on the subject, the Buddhistic images do not appear either among the bas-reliefs on the stone walls of the Ta-chiao-ssü Temple 大覺寺 at Buddhagaya built by King Asoka, or among the sculptures on the stone walls or stone gates at Bhrahū and Sanchi built in the first or second century before Christ, where they might rather be expected to appear. Later on, for the first time, in the Gandhara art that arose at Peshawar and neighbourhood, some Buddhistic images did appear. It was about the first or the second century that the Gandhara art reached its maturity, so that the origin of this style of art can not be fixed earlier than the first century before Christ. It is inconceivable therefore that the metal statues which the Han army seized from the Hsiung-nu, could be any Buddhistic images. The argument is self-evident, and, I believe, completely shatters the traditional theory. The next question then is, whence were the statues brought to the Hsiung-nu, and what deity did they represent? HADANI's answer is: that even though these statues were clearly not Buddhistic images, they re-

1) BEFEO, 1906, p. 392.

2) HAYASHIYA, *The Eastward Spread of Buddhism* 佛教東漸年代の研究 (Gendai Bukkyo 現代佛教, 1929-30).

3) HADANI, *On the Metal Statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang* 休屠王の金人について, (Shirin, 1918).

presented most probably some deity worshipped in India, whence the statues were brought to Bactria, thence to the Hsiung-nu through the hands of the Ta-yüeh-shih 大月氏. However, I cannot agree with this view, which in my opinion has many defects. The Indians had many deities, which roughly may be divided into the Brahmanic gods and the Buddhistic gods. As to Buddhism, it developed into a world religion of the Mahayana form, as the result of its contact with the alien peoples and cultures around the north-western frontier of India. Having thus secured a universal nature, Buddhism could spread to other sections of Asia, while Brahmanism, in an effort to counteract the growing influences of Buddhism, assimilated the various gods of the native religions of India, and tended accordingly to become the more national in its character. Therefore while Buddhism was spreading out to various lands from the country of its birth, irrespective of nationalities, Brahmanism could never advance beyond its homeland by even one inch. During the course of more than ten long centuries, when Buddhism had been continually making its way eastward through Central Asia, the other Indian religion never made an appearance outside its own country. It is absolutely inconceivable therefore that so early as the second century before Christ, when Buddhism with all its cosmopolitan elements had not yet reached the land of the Hsiung-nu, the extremely national religion of Brahmanism could ever have made its appearance there. Although the date cannot be ascertained when the Ta-yüeh-shih destroyed the Ta-hsia 大夏 or the Bactrians, yet judging from the texts in the *Shih-chi* and *Han-shu*, it is probable that about the year 121 B.C. the Ta-yüeh-shih had just moved up to the region from the T'ien-shan Mountains, and apparently was still leading a nomadic life. Therefore, whatever religion might have been found on the spot, it is still doubtful if they could be in any position to adopt it. Again, in view of the fact that the Ta-yüeh-shih cherished feelings of enmity against the Hsiung-nu because not long ago they had been deprived of their territory by the latter, it is simply impossible that the Ta-yüeh-shih might have communicated their religion and given their sacred statues to the Hsiung-nu. I agree with HADANI

in his denunciation of the view of SHÊN CH'IN-HAN 沈欽韓, author of the *Han-shu-su-chêng* 漢書疏證 regarding the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang as the images of the Indian deity Mahashura or Ta-tzū-tsai-t'ien 大自在天, but as to the remainder of his view, I cannot subscribe to it.

As one of those who were opposed to the traditional theory of the metal statues regarding them as the images of Buddha, I had long been working on the hypothesis that the deity represented by the metal statues might be some deity worshipped in the Western Region, when I came across the following passage in the *Sui-shu*,¹⁾ Hsi-yü-chuan, Ts'ao-kuo 曹國 (Ura-tüpä): "There is a god named *Té-hsi* 德悉, whom all nations east of the Western Sea worship. The god is represented by a metal image. The *chin-p'o-lo* 金破羅 measures fifteen feet in width and the height is proportional to the width. They worship him by offering daily five camels, ten horses, and a hundred sheep—such an amount of meat that even one thousand people could not consume it." Judging by reason that it could not be any Buddhistic deity because it was worshipped by the offering of animals, I concluded then that the deity must be the *Testar* worshipped by the Irans, natives of the Western Region, and also inferring from the fact that the merchants of the Western Region used to live in Ho-hsi, I further concluded that the Iran metal statues must be of the same nature in origin as those of Hsiu-t'u Wang's, having no connection whatever with the metal statues cast by Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in. This opinion of mine was published in the *Tôyô-gakuhô*, Volume 14, No. 4, pp. 492-502. A re-examination of the subject, however, made me begin to feel doubtful of the justifiability of connecting the metal statues of the Han Period with those of the Sui Period, with all the gap of more than seven hundred years between. Again this doubt was deepened when I came across a passage in the *Shih-chi*²⁾ to the effect that the Ta-yüan 大宛 (Ferghana) did not know the art of minting coin or making metal vessels by casting, until some Chinese messengers or refugees taught them the art of making weapons by casting. "Then the Ta-yüan

1) *Sui-shu*, Chap. 83, Hsi-yü-chuan.

2) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 123, Ta-yüan-chuan.

obtained gold and silver from China and began to make vessels of them, although they never made use of them for minting coin." Thus if the art of metallurgy had not yet been sufficiently developed among the Ta-yüan people, who were of the same Iran stock as the Ta-hsia 大夏 (Bactrians) and the Su-tê 粟特 (Sogdians), and were then living in the regions adjacent to the two other tribes, it becomes difficult to believe that the metal statues were imported to the Hsiung-nu from these regions. I was forced therefore to suspect that if the metal statues of Hsiu-t'ü Wang were not any Buddhistic images nor any Persian deities, they must have been imported to the Hsiung-nu from China proper, which is the only plausible interpretation left, and that they might have some connection with the metal statues cast by Shih-huang-ti of the Ch'in Dynasty. Then I found the secret for solving the problem in the following prose-poem entitled "*Kan-ch'üan-fu*" 甘泉賦 by YANG HSIUNG 揚雄, poet of the Former Han Dynasty, to which I had never paid much attention before.

金人佐々，其承鐘虛兮，嵌巖々其龍鱗，揚光曜之燎燭兮，垂景光之忻々，配帝宮之懸圃兮，象太一之威神。

The translation, not exactly word for word, will read something like this:

"The metal statues look brave and vigorous, holding up bell-and-hangers high in their hands. On their bodies are dragon-like scales, shining and glowing all around. The Imperial palace is likened to the celestial court of the *Hsüan-pu*, and the metal statues represent the power of the *T'ai-i*."

The motive for the composition of the prose-poem is described by YANG HSIUNG himself in the preface to the poem. He says: "During the reign of Emperor Hsiao Ch'êng 孝成 a certain man, praising my style, compared it to that of Ssü-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如. On hearing of it, when the Emperor was about to celebrate the suburban festival of Heaven on the Kan-ch'üan-shan Hill, and the festival of the Earth of Fên-yin 汾陰 in the hope of having an heir to the throne, he summoned me to the Chêng-ming 承明 Palace and ordered me to accompany His Majesty in the forthcoming tour. In the first month of the year, I accompanied the

Emperor to Mt. Kan-ch'üan-shan, and after returning home I submitted to the throne the Eulogy of the Kan-ch'üan Palace describing the scene of the festival." The first month mentioned in the preface is the first month of the 4th year of *Yung-shih* 永始 (13 B.C.), as is seen from the text of the *Han-shu*, Chêng-ti-chi¹⁾: "In the first month of the year, the Emperor went to the Kan-ch'üan Palace, and celebrated the suburban festival." The particular motive of the festival consisted, as is stated in YANG'S preface, in the hope of obtaining an heir to the throne. The note to the above passage also states: "As the Emperor could not have an heir by Empress Chang Fei-yen 張飛燕, he went to the Kan-ch'üan Palace to celebrate a festival in the hope of having an heir."

Since it is mentioned in the *Kan-ch'üan-fu* by YANG HSIUNG, the presence of the metal statues in the Kan-ch'üan palace on the occasion must be a positive fact, because the author meant, in the prose-poem, to describe the actual scene of the festival in the palace as personally witnessed by him. The only question is, whether the metal statues were especially cast for enshrinement in the Kan-ch'üan palace by Emperor Ch'êng-ti or some other emperor; whether they were transferred to the palace from some other place where they had been placed hitherto; or whether they were imported from abroad. There is no allusion to these metal statues in any books published during the Han Period, but a note attached later to the *Han-shu*²⁾ says, "There are (in Yün-yang Hsien) the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang and three shrines dedicated to the god of *Ching-lu* 徑路神." From this it may at once be reasoned that in view of the fact that the metal statues are mentioned in the note side by side with the name of Hsiu-t'u Wang, and also are referred to alongside of the name of the deities which are believed to be the deities worshipped by the Hsiung-nu, the metal statues mentioned in the note are probably identical with the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang in question. However, a doubt presents itself on the other hand that since Emperor Kao-tsu of Han is known to have kept intact the twelve metal statues cast by Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in when the Han

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 10, Ch'êng-ti-chi 成帝紀.

2) *Han-shu*, Chap. 28, Ti-li-chih.

Emperor overthrew the Ch'in Empire, the statues of the Kan-ch'üan palace might not have been among the group of the twelve statues. However, before we can establish the identity of the metal statues of the Kan-ch'üan palace with those of Hsiu-t'u Wang we are considering, it will be necessary to locate and trace the metal statues cast by Shih-huang-ti from the place where they were first located by the old writers to the final place of finding where they were last located. The *Han-shu*¹⁾ says, "In the first month (of the first year of *Kan-lu*, 甘露, i. e. 53 B. C.) the Emperor visited the Kan-ch'üan palace and celebrated the suburban festival at the T'ai-chih 泰時. In the summer of the year a yellow dragon appeared in Hsin-fêng 新豐: and also the copper statues with bell-and-hangers in the palaces of Chien-chang 建章, Wei-yang 未央 and Ch'ang-lo 長樂, grew hair on their bodies about one inch long. This was regarded as a good omen." It can be learned from this that in the reign of Emperor Hsüan-ti the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti were found enshrined in the three palaces of Chien-chang, Wei-yang, and Ch'ang-lo. In another section²⁾, we are told: "(In the 2nd year of *Ti-huang* 地皇) Wang Mang 王莽 dreamt about five of the metal statues in the Ch'ang-lo palace standing up. He disliked the dream, and, recalling the inscription on the statues that contained the words, 'We (Emperor Shih-huang-ti himself) could achieve the unification of the country for the first time in history', made his artisans chisel the sentence out of the surface of the copper statue about which he dreamt." It is clear then that there were at least as many as five copper statues in the Ch'ang-lo palace. We read also in the *Shih-chi-chêng-i*: "The *San-pu-chiu-shih* 三輔舊事³⁾ says, Shih-huang-ti collected all the arms in the country, and had twelve copper statues cast out of them. Each of the statues weighed 240,000 *chin*. During the Han Period they were found in front of the gate of the Ch'ang-lo palace." Again the *Yü-hai* 玉海 citing the the same book, states that the Han emperor removed all the *chin-ti* 金狄 (metal statues) cast by Shih-huang-ti and placed them in front of the Ta-hsia-tien Hall 大夏殿

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 10, Chiao-ssü-chih 郊祀志.

2) *Han-shu*, Chap. 99b, Wang Mang-chuan.

3) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 6, Ch'in-Shih-huang-ti-pên-chi.

of the Ch'ang-lo palace." From these statements it is conceivable that all the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti were assembled in the Ch'ang-lo palace after the era of Hsüan-ti in the Han Period. The *Hsi-tu-fu* or the Eulogy of the Western Metropolis by PAN KU, however, has a slightly different account of the metal statues, stating that the bell-and-hangers (of the metal statues) were set in the inner court, while the metal statues themselves were placed in front of the palace gate. According to this prose-poem, the metal statues themselves and their bell-and-hangers were apparently separated, and placed in different places, but this interpretation does not, as will be shown later, accord with the actual circumstances. The prose-poem does not mention in which palace the metal statues were placed, but it is clear it was somewhere in Ch'ang-an. As to the later history of the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti there are several versions. First according to the *Wei-chih*¹⁾, Tung Cho 董卓 destroyed all the metal statues and five *chu* coins 五銖錢 and turned them into a small kind of coin. The *Shih-chi-chêng-i* citing the same *Wei-chih* states on the other hand that the metal statues were destroyed, and small coin was minted out of them as well as copper ores. Then we are told in the *Kuan-chung-chi* 關中記 that Tung Cho destroyed ten of the twelve metal statues, leaving two intact, and removed the two to the inside of the Ch'ing mên 清門 gate. When Emperor Ming-ti of the Wei dynasty was about to go to Lo-yang, he wished to bring the two with him and had them transported as far as Pa-ch'êng 霸城, where, however, he was obliged to leave them because of their excessive weight. Later on Shih Chi-lung 石季龍 removed them to Yeh 鄴; and Fu Chien 苻堅 again brought them to Ch'ang-an and melted them. According to these statements, the number of the metal statues destroyed by Tung Cho was ten, and the remaining two were left intact; these Shih Chi-lung or Shih Hu 石虎 removed to Yeh and Fu Chien brought them back to Ch'ang-an to melt. LI TAO-YÜAN 酈道元²⁾, however, describing the history of the metal statues cast by Shih-huang-ti, gives a slightly different account of the story. He says:

1) *San-kuo-chih*, Chap. 6, Tung-Cho-chuan.

2) *Shui-ching-chu*, Chap. 4.

“Later Tung Cho destroyed nine of the metal statues and turned them into coin, leaving three of them untouched. Ming-ti of the Wei dynasty wished to remove the three statues to Lo-yang and had them transported as far as a point west of the Pa River, where he was obliged to leave them because of the heavy weight. According to the *Han-shu-ch'ün-ch'iu* 漢書春秋, one version has it that they stopped the transportation of the metal statues because they were found to be weeping. Later, Shih Hu took and removed them to his palace at Yeh and again Fu Chien removed to Ch'ang-an and destroyed them by turning them into coin, leaving one of the three statues intact. When there was an uprising against Fu Chien, the farmers took and threw this single statue into the River Shan-pei 陝北河. Thus disappeared all the metal statues.”

According to this account, the number of the metal statues destroyed by Tung Cho was nine, and not ten, but the account is seemingly less pure on account of some fabrication of a later period. The former versions seem to me preferable to the last.

With no record found of any metal statues having been cast during the Han period from Emperor Kao-tsu to Ch'êng-ti, and so long as it cannot be established that any metal statues cast by Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in were transferred to the Kan-ch'üan palace, it may be inferred that the metal statues which YANG HSIUNG witnessed at the Kan-ch'üan palace were identical with the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang, which were removed to the palace in some way, sometime after having passed out of the hands of Hsiu-t'u Wang. The question then is, where was it manufactured, and what did it represent? The answer is, I believe, found in the following line from the Eulogy of the Kan-ch'üan palace by YANG HSIUNG above quoted: “金人伡々其承鍾虛兮.” A certain edition of the *Wên-hsüan* 文選 has ‘伡’ instead of ‘伡々’. The note of the *Wên-hsüan* on the passage remarks, “According to LÜ YEN-CHI 呂延濟, 伡 is an adjective representing vigour and bravery. Therefore, the passage is a description of the vigorous and brave-looking metal statue, which is embellished with dragon scales and is represented in the form of carrying bell-and-hanger on its back.” “LI SHAN 李善 says,” the *Wên-hsüan* states again, “‘according to the *Shang-shu-chuan* 尚書傳 by

K'UNG AN-KUO 孔安國, 伋^々 is an adjective representing vigour and bravery.'” It seems to me that the view taken in the notes above, treating the metal statue as carrying the bell-and-hanger on its back, is not an adequate one if judged from the standpoint of the meaning of the verb ‘承’ (to support), and the technical standpoint of the design. Was not the expression meant to represent the metal statue in such manner and pose as to support the bell-and-hangers high in its hand; as is often represented in paintings and sculptures? So interpreted, the brave and vigorous aspect of the statue could be well realized. Was it not the method adopted by the artisans of the Ch'in Period in the manufacture of metal statues, to treat the figure and the bell-and-hanger together as a unity? Regarding this point, says the *Shih-chi*¹⁾: “(In the 26th year) Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in brought all the arms of the country to Han-yang 咸陽, and melting them, had twelve bell-and-hangers and metal statues cast, and placed them in the palace.” Referring to the same subject, CHIA I 賈誼 says in the *Kuo-ch'in-lun* 過秦論²⁾: “Bringing all the arms of the country to Han-yang, Shih-huang-ti melted the halberds and had bell-and-hangers cast, and thus was able to get twelve metal statues made.” There is something unintelligible in both of these statements. Regarding the *Shih-chi* text, what is definitely meant by the passage, ‘Shih-huang-ti . . . had twelve bell-and-hangers and metal statues made’? Had he twelve bell-and-hangers and also twelve metal statues made; twelve sets of bell-and-hangers and metal statues, treating the bell-and-hangers and the metal statues as composite groups; or twelve articles, counting the bell-and-hangers and the metal statues as separate and independent articles? If as in the *Kuo-ch'in-lun* text, the bell-and-hangers were manufactured by melting the halberds, that which could be enumerated was the bell-and-hangers, and not the metal statues, whereas the text enumerates the metal statues. The one way to construe the text in a consistent manner is to regard the bell-and-hanger and the metal statue as one composition, but is this interpretation permissible from the text? It is needless to add that the metal statues were

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 6, Shih-huang-ti-pên-chi.

2) *Kuo-ch'in-lun*, A.

of copper; but of what is the bell-and-hanger made? Regarding the meaning of the 'chung and chü 鐘鑿' or the bell-and-hanger, T. FUJITA came across the following interpretations by different writers:¹⁾

1) The *Shih-ching*, Mao's Commentary, Note on *hsü* 虞: "The perpendicular part is called *hsü* 虞 and the horizontal part *hsün* 枸." CHÊNG HSÜAN 鄭玄 adds to this comment the following words: "The *hsü* and *hsün* are the hangers, upon which the bells or drums are placed. Upon the hanger is placed a big piece of board decorated with engraved pictures."

2) The *Erh-ya*, Shih-chi 爾雅釋器: "The wooden piece is called *hsü*." Annotating this remark K'uo P'ò 郭璞 says: "The wooden hanger upon which the bell or *chi* 磬 is placed, is called *hsü*, in the case when it is a perpendicular piece."

3) The *Chou-li*, Kao-kung-chi: "The *sun* 筍 and *hsü* is made by a carpenter." On this passage CHÊNG HSÜAN says: Of that upon which the musical instruments are hung, the horizontal part is called *sun* 筍, and the perpendicular *hsü* 虞.

4) The Commentary by YEN SHIH-KU on the *Han-chu*, Chiao-ssü-chih: "The *hsü* is the name of a sacred animal. The wooden piece, upon which the bell is hung, is decorated with the engraved picture of the animal, and hence the hanger itself is called by the name of *hsü*."

From these explanatory notes it is apparent that the *hsü* and *hsün* are the name of two different parts of a hanger, upon which the bell or drum is placed; and the perpendicular part is called *hsü* and the horizontal part *hsün*. It was originally made of wood, and the perpendicular part used to be decorated with the engraved picture of the sacred animal called *hsü*, and hence came to be called by the name of *hsü*. Therefore the *chung* 鐘 or the bell and the *chü* 鑿 upon which the bell was hung, were originally two different articles, but since they were cast together as one piece in the days of Emperor Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in, they probably came to be called 'chung-and-chü' or bell-and-hanger. Thus the bell and its hanger may be regarded as one article,

1) FUJITA, *On the Metal Statues and the Bell and Hanger*, 鍾鑿金人に就いて, Kano-kyoju-Kanrekikinen-Shinagaku-Ronsó 狩野教授遷曆記念支那學論叢, p. 243 ff.

but the *chung-and-chü* and the metal statue are two different articles, so that it is not quite exact to enumerate metal statues together with the *chung* and *chü*. Thereupon, to avoid the difficulty FUJITA tries to conclude that the metal statue is identical with the bell-and-hanger, that is, the metal statue itself was used as the bell hanger, and suspects that this difference in the method of manufacturing in the Ch'in period from that of the Chou period was probably due to the influence of Western cultures,—a view I cannot quite subscribe to. We saw above that the *Hsi-tu-fu* by PAN KU describes the metal images and the bell-and-hangers being placed separately in different places, and also the *Wei-chih*, Tung-Cho-chuan, quoted by the *Shih-chi-chêng-i*, speaks of the metal statues and the bell-and-hangers being destroyed. It is evident from these texts that the metal images and the bell-and-hangers were two different articles, and the metal images themselves were never used as bell hangers. Why is it then that the *Shih-chi* and the *Kuo-ch'in-lun* enumerate the two articles as though they were one article? I believe that the method of manufacture adopted by Emperor Shih-huang-ti in the casting of the metal statues must have been identical with that adopted in the casting of the metal statues witnessed by YANG HSIUNG at the Kan-ch'üan palace, and described by him as 'supporting the bell-and-hanger.' Hence the two different articles would be enumerated as one article. If this interpretation is correct, and the metal statues cast by Shih-huang-ti are of the same make as those of the Kan-ch'üan palace, we have to infer that the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang were manufactured by the Chinese during the Han period.

Granted that the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang were manufactured by the Chinese, in imitation of the statues cast by Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in, what were they meant to represent? The scholars of the Three Kingdoms Age regarded them, as has been noticed above, as the '*chü* 主' of the Heavenly God, that is, the image modelled after the god. If this god represented the supreme heavenly deity, it must be the representation of some monotheistic god. We have seen above that the Eulogy of the Kan-ch'üan palace contains the following line: "配帝室之懸圃兮."

Hsüan-pu 懸圃 is the name of a terrace on Mt. Kun-lun, as celebrated as Tsêng-ch'êng 會城 or Lang-fêng 闔風: and in the line YANG, comparing Mt. Kan-ch'üan-shan to Mt. Kun-lun-shan, treats Kan-ch'üan-shan as the earthly abode of the heavenly emperor, just as Kun-lun-shan is his celestial abode. The lines following the above read: "A grand edifice towers high alone, pointing skyward to the polar star. The constellations of the sky are arranged around the roof, and the sun and moon traverse its central ridge... The palace may be likened, in height and quietude, to the constellation of the Tzū Kung in the heavens." Since the Tzū-kung 紫宮 means the Tzū-wei-kung 紫微宮 (constellation), it will be seen that YANG compared there Mt. Kan-ch'üan to the heavenly abode of the Heavenly God. It was not an idea peculiar to YANG, however, to regard it as a sacred place, but rather an expression of the attitude of the people at large of the day towards the mountain. We quote below a passage from the *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao*¹, which gives a topographical and historical sketch of the mountain.

"Mt. Kan-ch'üan-shan is situated 120 *li* northwest from Ching-yang Hsien 涇陽縣, and is 60 *li* in circumference. It is sometimes called by the name of Shih-ku-yüan 石鼓原, Mo-shih-yüan 磨石原, Mo-p'an-ling 磨盤嶺 or Ch'ê-p'an-ling 車盤嶺. There is a spring of sweet water 甘泉 on the mountain. An old book of geography says: 'The mountain is situated 80 *li* north-west from Yün-yang Hsien. All those who wish to make an ascent of it, take the route from the Ch'ê-hsiang-pan 車箱阪 slope. The slope is 38 *li* north-west from Yün-yang Hsien, and runs in a sinuous fashion with turns and twists, and is so narrow as barely to allow one cart to pass. Having climbed the slope a terrace is reached, where edifices stand in a row.' Again Fan Sui 范曄, in speaking of the mountain to the King of Ch'in, emphasises that along its northern end there is a point of strategic importance at the mouth of a valley called Kan-ch'üan-ku 甘泉谷... In the 7th year of Kao-tsu of Han, the Emperor went to Kan-ch'üan to provide against the invasion of the Hsiung-nu. In the 3rd year of Wên-ti, the Hsiung-nu made an

1) *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao*, Chap. 53.

onslaught against Pei-ti 北地 and with Ho-nan as a foothold, undertook further invasions, when Emperor Wên-ti proceeded to Kan-ch'üan for the first time. In the 14th year, the Hsiung-nu invaded the Hsiao-kuan 蕭關 Pass and proceeded to Ku-yang 鼓陽, whence their scouting horsemen went further to Kan-ch'üan. In the 6th year of the latter half of the reign of Emperor Wên-ti, when the Hsiung-nu invaded Shang-chün 上郡 and Yün-chung 雲中, a signal fire of warning was lighted upon the mountain, which being relayed on the way, finally reached Kan-ch'üan and Ch'ang-an. According to the *Yü-ti-chih* 輿地志, the palace on Mt. Kan-ch'üan originates from the Lin-kuang palace 林光宮, which was built by Shih-huang-ti and was more than 10 *li* in circumference. In the 2nd year of *Yüan-fêng* 元封, Emperor Wu-ti of Han built, side by side with the Ling-kuang palace, a new palace called the Kan-ch'üan and since frequented the place. The palace is 19 *li* in circumference and the edifices and towers are comparable to the Chien-chang 建章 palace. All the high officials have their summer residences here, which they occupy to avoid the heat from May to the beginning of August. It is the highest point of the district, and with all the distance of three hundred *li* from Ch'ang-an, the parapets of the Ch'ang-an castle are visible from the mountain. They have within the palace the 'T'ung-t'ien-t'ai 通天臺' or the Heaven-communicating Tower, which stands more than 100 *chang* from the ground, all rain and clouds passing by below. In the 5th year of *Yüan-so* 元朔, they again constructed here a temple for worshipping the Heavenly God. The palace was sometimes called by the name of the Yün-yang palace and was built, according to the *Han-chi*, in the 1st year of *T'ai-chü* 太初 by the Emperor for the lords and princes to stay at, so that the Emperor might summon and give audience to them, listening to their reports. The princes were thus often summoned to the palace by the Emperor since. It was often visited by Emperor Hsüan-ti, who in the 3rd year of *Kan-lu* 甘露 visited the Kan-ch'üan palace and received the greetings and tributes of Hu-han-ya Shan-yü 呼韓邪單于 of Hsiung-nu, etc."

Mt. Kan-ch'üan-shan was thus, as can be seen from the passage, the guardian mountain of the country, especially for the people of the

Wei River region, just as was Mt. T'ai-shan for the people of the lower Huang-ho region, and Mt. Hi-ei 比叡 for the people of the Japanese capital Kyoto. It is no accident, therefore, that a suburban chapel for the worship of the Heavenly God and a tower were constructed there during the Han Period. Emperor Wu-ti, who believed in the immortal wizards, built the *T'ung-t'ien-t'ai* or the Heaven-communicating tower, following the advice of Kung-sun Ching 公孫卿, who told the Emperor that the half human, half divine wizards liked to live in a high tower. "The immortal wizards could be made visible," Kung-sun said, "but they are not, simply because your majesty always pays your visit to the mountain so abruptly (without making the necessary preparations). If the Emperor would build a tower, and make all necessary arrangements, the half human deities could certainly be invited to come down to earth." Whereupon the Emperor built the *Fei-lien-kuei-kuan* 飛廉桂觀 in Chang-an and the *I-yen-shou-kuan* 益延壽觀 in Kan-ch'üan; and made Kung-sun prepare all the necessary implements of worship and wait, with propriety, for the appearance of the half human deities. The Emperor built also the *T'ung-t'ien-ching-t'ai* or the Heaven-communicating Tower, and placing the implements of worship at the base of the tower, made all the preparations to invite the wizards. A new front hall was added to the Kan-ch'üan palace and the old halls also were for the first time enlarged.¹⁾ Thus was the *T'ung-t'ien-t'ai* built with a view to making it convenient for the semi-deities to come down to earth. It is but too natural that since his religious belief and desires were so strong, he should have enshrined in the Kan-ch'üan palace, when he got possession of them, the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang's. Further if we take into account the factor that the mountain was an important strategical position against the Hsiung-nu, the enshrinement of the metal statues in the Kan-ch'üan palace by the Emperor would be found to be fraught with a deeper significance.

Thus interpreted, YANG HSIUNG'S prose-poem well expresses the spirit of the age, when he compared Mt. Kan-ch'üan-shan to Mt. Kun-lun-

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 28, Fêng-chan-shu.

shan and the Kan-ch'üan palace to the Tzū-wei palace, but is it a justifiable interpretation to regard the metal statues as representing the heavenly emperor of the Tzū-wei-palace, as YANG HSIUNG did? Commenting on the expression of 'T'ai-i' 太一 as appears in the *Wên-hsüan*, CHANG HSIEN 張銑 says, "Hsüan-pu is situated on Mt. Kun-lun, and is the heavenly habitat of the emperor. The palace (Kan-ch'üan) is also likened to Hsüan-pu. The T'ai-i is the Heavenly God, and is considered to live in the Tzū-wei-palace because he is believed to assume bodily form." The T'ai-i referred to by YANG is therefore the chief god of the Tzū-wei-palace, and is the supreme god of the whole universe. Now the question is, does the metal statue supporting the bell-and-hanger high in its hands really represent the Heavenly God? By no means can I regard it as representing the supreme god in heaven, but it seems to be some subordinate god that plays music for the supreme one. The adequacy of the view can, I believe, be decided upon by studying the metal statues cast by Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in, which had become the model of the metal statues in question.

It was based on his policy of concentrating all the military power in the hands of the emperor that the arms of the country were collected and melted by Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in to make the metal statues, but I believe the manufacture of the metal statues was done apparently not for the decoration of the Imperial palace, but with some other spiritual significance. For what purpose were they manufactured? To answer the question, it is necessary to know about the ideas Shih-huang-ti held regarding the Imperial palace where he enshrined the metal statues. We are told in the *Shih-chi*¹⁾: "(the 26th year) Shih-huang-ti had as many as 120,000 rich families removed to Han-yang from all over the country, to settle. All the Imperial palaces, towers and Shang-lin parks are situated on the south side of the Wei River. Whenever the Emperor subjugated some new prince, he would build a palace imitating that of the prince he conquered, at the head of the Northern Hill Slope of Han-yang facing the river on the south. A road runs eastward from

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 6, Shih-huang-ti-pên-chi.

its Yung-mên 雍門 gate, and reaches the Wei and the Ching Rivers. The place was traversed with corridor ways and crowded with edifices and towers, which again were filled with the beauties, bells, and drums Shih-huang-ti seized from his conquered princes." Again in the 27th year, "the Emperor built the Hsin-kung 信宮 palace on the south side of the Wei River, and after a while renamed it the Chi-miao 極廟 or Polar Temple likening it to the T'ien-chi 天極 or the celestial poles. A road runs from the Chi-miao to Li-shan Hill. He also built the frontal palace of the Kan-ch'üan palace and an Imperial road connecting the palace with Han-yang."¹⁾ However, the Emperor thought that Han-yang was peopled too densely, and that the Imperial palaces inherited from the preceding rulers were too small. Recalling that it was the custom of the rulers to construct their capital somewhere between Fêng 豐 and Kao 鎬, as Wên-wang of Chou at Fêng and Wu-wang at Kao, "Shih-huang-ti decided to build his palace in the Shang-lin-yüan Park, on the south side of the Wei River. He first built at A-fang 阿房 the frontal palace, which extended 500 *pu* wide from east to west, and 50 *chang* from north to south, and could accomodate ten thousand people in the hall, while the floor was so high that a five-*chang* tall flag could be unfurled below the floor. A corridor way was built around the palace, and from immediately below the palace, led to Mt. Nan-shan, where the top area was levelled and a gate and a corridor way built. Again another corridor way was built, leading from A-fang, across the Wei River, and thence to Han-yang, after the manner in which the celestial Ko-tao 閣道 crosses the Milky Way and connects with the Ying-shih 營室 constellation. The A-fang palace had not yet been completed, and was expected to be given a distinguished name, but as it was situated in A-fang, the people called it by the name of the A-fang Palace."²⁾ Thus in view of the fact that in the 27th year of his reign Shih-huang-ti renamed the Hsin-kung which he built on the south side of the Wei River, by the name of the Chi-miao; and in the 35th year, built the A-fang Palace in the Shang-lin Park and compared the Wei River to

1) Ibid.

2) Ibid.

the Milky Way and again likened the corridor way connecting the palace and Han-yang to the celestial Ko-tao constellation, it is clear that Shih-huang-ti likened his palace to the Tzū-wei-kung in the sky.

If Shih-huang-ti's palace was likened by him to the celestial Tzū-wei Palace, it can be easily imagined that the metal statues enshrined in the palace were probably meant to represent some deities connected with the celestial Tzū-wei Palace. The *Shih-chi*¹⁾ reads: "In the midst of the sky lie the T'ien-chi stars (Ursa Major). The brightest one of them is the perpetual abode of the T'ai-i. The three stars around are three princes or, as some say, the family of the T'ai-i. As to the four stars in the rear, the largest one at the end is the empress, and the other three are the princesses in the seraglio. Around these lie the twelve guardian stars or vassals. All these stars form the Tzū-kung. Along an edge of a measure-shaped constellation lie three stars; of the group, one at the northern end, sometimes visible and sometimes invisible, is called the Yin-tê 陰德 or Hidden Virtue. Three stars lying to the left of the Tzū-kung form the T'ien-chiang 天槍 or Celestial Spear Constellation. The five stars on the right belong to the T'ien-p'ei 天棓 or Celestial Reed Constellation. The six in the rear that cross the Milky Way and reach the Ying-shih constellation are called the Ko-tao Constellation." It is apparent from this that the astronomical writers of the Ch'in and Han Periods called the twelve stars lying around the Tzū-wei-kung constellation with the T'ai-i in the centre by the name of the Fan-chên 藩臣 or vassals. Now it is natural to conclude that the metal statues in the Tzū-wei palace of Shih-huang-ti represented the twelve guardian stars. If the twelve metal statues correspond to the twelve guardian stars, then the Emperor, master of the palace himself, must have been likened to the T'ai-i in heaven. This inference is corroborated by the following passage from the *Shih-chi*.¹⁾ "I, of humble rank, took up arms and, depending upon the spirits of the ancestors, suppressed all the uprisings. The six rulers pleaded guilty, the country has been restored to peace and order, such that if the present title of the ruler

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 27, T'ien-kuan-shu.

2) *Shih-chi*, chap. 6, Ch'in-shih-huang-ti-pên-chi.

is not revised, it will be impossible to communicate this success of ours to posterity in a fitting manner. I bid you to discuss and recommend to me some suitable title.' Thereupon all the high officials of state discussed about a new title and reported to the Emperor, saying, 'In the ancient times of the Five Rulers, their territory was only one thousand *li* in extension, and was surrounded by the regions of *hou-fu* 侯服 and *i-fu* 夷服, which were outside of the influences of the emperor, and only a part of the princes paid tribute to the emperor. Having taken up arms for the cause of justice, Your Majesty has brought the country to peace and order, and divided the country into *chün* 郡 and *hsien* 縣 for administration, and all the authorities and powers of the country have now been concentrated in the hands of Your Majesty, an achievement that could not be excelled even by the Five Rulers. We, having consulted with the scholars of the country, and finding that in ancient times there were T'ien-huang 天皇, T'i-huang 地皇, and T'ai-huang 泰皇, and the highest in rank of them was T'ai-huang, we, your subjects, hereby respectfully recommend your Majesty to assume the title of the T'ai-huang; call your *ming* 命 *chih* 制 and your *ling* 令 *chao* 詔; and when your Majesty speaks of yourself, use the word *Chên* 朕. Whereupon, the Emperor told the officials to remove 't'ai' but retain 'huang,' and adopting the *ti* 帝 title of the ancient times, call himself by the title of *huang-ti* 皇帝. In other matters he adopted the recommendations of his officials." It was due to his belief in his superiority in virtue to the Three Emperors and the Five Rulers that, rejecting the title recommended by his subjects, Shih-huang-ti assumed the title of Huang-ti. If it is recalled in this connection that there was supposed to be no divine or human being superior to the Three Emperors and the Five Rulers, except the heavenly T'ai-i, then it can be imagined that Shih-huang-ti compared himself implicitly in his mind to the T'ai-i. Although it was in the 27th year of his reign that Shih-huang-ti renamed the Hsin-kung palace the Chi-miao palace, likening it to the Tzū-wei-kung, there is reason enough to conclude that the metal statues cast by the Emperor in the 26th year were made to symbolise the twelve guardian stars in the Tzū-kung constellation, considering that in the

26th year the Emperor had assumed the title of Huang-ti, as has been noted above, comparing himself to the T'ai-i. If the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti symbolised the twelve stars of the Tzū-wei-kung, then the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang which were modelled after those of Shih-huang-ti, might be regarded as of the same nature. Therefore, YANG HSIUNG may be justified if in the Eulogy of the Kan-ch'üan Palace he intended '太一之威神' to mean 'some such god as represents the power and dignity of the T'ai-i:' but if the line is to be interpreted to mean 'the God T'ai-i represented in a brave manner or pose,' there was, we have to declare, some misunderstanding regarding the nature of the metal statues on the part of the author of the prose-poem.

As the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in represented the twelve guardian stars of the Tzū-kung, it is conceivable that they were placed and enshrined around the Imperial palace, or around some altar, but we have no record as to the manner in which they were treated among the Hsiung-nu, although the Chinese religion did not in substance much differ from the Hsiung-nu's shamanism, in which heaven and earth, the sun and moon, mountains, rivers, seas, and demons and spirits, and ancestors were worshipped. The Hsiung-nu called the heaven *ch'eng-li* (tängri), and observed, as was already remarked, the festival of Heaven-worship three times a year. We do not have any detailed record about the ceremony of Heaven-worship, but I believe the Hsiung-nu's festival of the *Ching-lu* God may suggest something about their Heaven-worship. Regarding the *Ching-lu* God, the *Han-shu*¹⁾ gives the following accounts: "(In Yün-Yang Hsien) there are metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang and three shrines of the God of *Ching-lu*." The God of *Ching-lu* was enshrined, according to the same source, in the Kan-ch'üan palace, along with the two shrines of Hsiu-t'u Wang and of the metal statues.

"In Yün-yang there is the shrine of the God of *Ching-lu*, where Hsiu-t'u Wang is enshrined."³⁾

1) *Han-shu*, Chap. 28, Ti-li-chih, Yün-yang hsien.

2) *Han-shu*, Chap. 94B, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

3) *Han-shu*, Chap. 28, Ti-li-chih.

The note of the T'ang scholar YEN SHIH-KU on the passage reads: "Hsiu-t'u is the name of a Hsiung-nu prince, and the shrine of the God of *Ching-lu* was originally a Hsiung-nu one."

WANG HSIEN-CHIEN'S 王先謙 supplementary note¹⁾ to the above passage says: "The Hsiung-nu-chuan contains the account of the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang used for his ceremony of Heaven-worship, and also of the sword of *Ching-lu*. According to the chapter on Chiao-ssü, there is a shrine in Yün-yang Hsien, where Hsiu-t'u Wang is enshrined. *Ching-lu* is therefore the name of Hsiu-t'u Wang, who was enshrined and deited. Accordingly the *Ching-lu* is a Hsiung-nu shrine, and in their worship of it, the Chinese are simply imitating the Hsiung-nu. It is not a shrine where they worship a treasured sword."

As to the *Ching-lu* sword, the *Han-shu* refers to it, in its description of the scene when Han Ch'ang 韓昌 and Chang Mêng 張猛, dispatched by the Emperor Yüan-ti of Han to the Hsiung-nu Emperor Hu-han-ya Shan-yü 呼韓邪單于, went through the ceremony of pledging the covenant between the two emperors. We are told in the *Han-shu*²⁾: "Han Ch'ang and Chang Mêng, along with the Hsiung-nu Emperor and his ministers of state, made an ascent of the Mountain, east of the No River 諾水. Then they killed a white horse, and with the *Ching-lu* sword and gold *liu-li* 金留犁, stirred up wine. Then pouring the mixed wine into a cup, which was made of the skull of a Yüeh-shih king who had been killed by Lao-shang Shan-yü, and drinking of it, they pledged a covenant with each other." Commenting on the passage, YING CHAO 應劭 remarks that the *Ching-lu* is the name of the treasured sword of the Hsiung-nu. F. HIRTH,³⁾ showing that the Hsiung-nu word '*Ching-lu*' is related to '*kyngyrak*' meaning a knife in the Teleut language of the Turkish linguistic family, and also to '*qingrak*' in Eastern Turkistan, proved that YING CHAO's note quoted above is correct. He also tried to conclude from this linguistic relationship that the

1) *Han-shu-pu-chiu.*, Chap. 28a, Ti-li-chih, p. 30a.

2) *Han-shu*, Chap. 94b, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

3) ИРТИ, *Abmentafel Attilas*, p. 223.

Hsiung-nu belong to the Turkish race. Again I believe the Hsiung-nu word may also be related to the Mongolian word 'kingara', which according to KOWALEWSKI¹⁾ means a double-edged sword. In Waxan, one of the Iran Languages, the sword is called 'xingar'; in Chitral, 'xanger' or 'xongar'; and in Persian, 'xangar' or 'xingar'.²⁾ The probability is that *qingrak* in Turkish, and *kingara* in Mongolian, were derived from these Iran expressions. If this view is correct, the remark in the *Han-shu*, that the shrine of the God of *Ching-lu* is the one where Hsiu-t'u Wang is enshrined, and WANG HSIEN-CHIEN'S view that *Ching-lu* is the name of Hsiu-t'u Wang and that accordingly the shrine of the God of *Ching-lu* is not one for worshipping the treasured sword, are both wrong. The name of the *Ching-lu* God was probably derived from the fact that the *Ching-lu* or the treasured sword was actually enshrined in the Hsiung-nu's land.

Among the nomadic races that inhabited northern Asia, there were not a few that worshipped swords. The most famous is HERODOTUS' account of the custom of the Scythians. To quote from him, "In each district, in the place where the magistrates assemble, is erected a structure sacred to Mars, of the following kind. Bundles of faggots are heaped up to the length and breadth of three stades, but less in height; on the top of this a square platform is formed; and three of the sides are perpendicular, but on the fourth it is accessible. On this heap an old iron scimeter is placed by each tribe, and this is the image of Mars; and to this scimeter they bring yearly sacrifices of cattle and horses; and to these scimeters they offer more sacrifices than to the rest of the gods. Whatever enemies they take alive, of these they sacrifice one in a hundred... after they have poured a libation of wine on their heads, they cut the throats of the men over a bowl; then having carried the bowl on to the heap of faggots, they pour the blood over the scimeter."³⁾ According to Ammianus Marcellinus,⁴⁾ there was also a custom of worshipping a sword among the Quadens and the Alans of the Iran stock.

1) KOWALEWSKI, *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français*, p. 2523a.

2) TOMASCHEK, *Centralasiatische Studien*, II, p. 801.

3) HERODOTUS, Bk. 4, Chap. 62.

4) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, lib. XXXV. c. 2.

A legend has it also that Attila, the chieftain of the Huns, discovered a sword hidden in the grasses, and worshipped it as a gift from Heaven. Judging from these accounts, the probability is that the Hsiung-nu had a similar custom of worshipping a sword, and called the deity represented by it the 'Ching-lu God' or the god of a sword. The Hsiung-nu celebrated three festivals of Heaven-worship in a year, in the first month, and in spring and autumn. In the autumn festival they observed the ceremony in Tai-lin, which consisted, according to YEN SHIH-KU¹⁾, in walking round forest trees. The Hsien-pei had a similar rite from ancient times, in which, because of the lack of forest trees, they erected willow and aspen branches, and then all the horse riders ran around the branches three times and stopped. This is the custom that the Hsien-pei inherited from the Hsiung-nu. These rites of Heaven-worship of the Hsiung-nu and the Hsien-pei were, there is reason to believe, of the same nature as those of the Manchu who erected big trees in their ceremony of Heaven-worship of the people of Ma-han 馬韓 who erected *su-t'u* 蘇塗 pole in a similar way, and of the ancient Chinese who in their *Fêng-ch'an* 封禪 ceremony of Heaven-worship, built a *yüan-chiu* 園丘 mound and erected stone columns, and in their *Shé* 社 ceremony of Earth-worship built an altar and erected trees or stone columns on it. Therefore the real objects of the worship of the Hsiung-nu as well as of the other peoples who used trees or stone columns instead of the Hsiung-nu's sword, were not the articles thus erected, but something else represented by them. Seen in this light, the actual image of the god, which Hsiu-t'u Wang of the Hsiung-nu deified in their festival of Heaven-worship, was, I am inclined to believe, the *Ching-lu* or the sword on the altar, and the metal statues which they inherited from the Chinese were probably enshrined as secondary gods for the occasion.

When I stated that the metal statues witnessed and described by YANG HSIUNG in his *Kan-ch'üan-Fu* were manufactured after the model of the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti, I based my belief on the passage "金人佗々其承鍾虛兮" and here I want to add that my inference is

1) *Shih-chi*, chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan, Note on Tai-lin.

strengthened by the passage immediately following the above: “嵌巖 々 其龍鱗。” ‘嵌巖 々’ expresses, according to the commentary of the *Wên-hsüan*, the state of the dragon-scales being opened and erected, or “嵌” means the state of opening and expanding, and “龍鱗” means something like dragon-scale. Thus the passage represents the manner of the metal statues looking brave and vigorous with their dragon-like scales being opened and erected. It was a favourite idea and design among the ancient Chinese to represent a deity as having a dragon-like body, as can be seen in an account in the *Shih-chi*¹⁾ of a Hsü Fu 徐福 who was, according to Wu Pi 伍被, dispatched by Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in to Fêng-lai 蓬萊 to look for some divine medicine. The *Shih-chi* gives the following account as the remark of Wu Pi: “Hsü Fu was dispatched by the Emperor to look for some mysterious matter in the sea, and on returning home, made a fictitious report to the emperor, of his trip saying, ‘When I saw a great god in the sea, he asked me if I was a messenger from the Western Emperor. Yes, I replied. Then he asked me what I was looking for. I said, I respectfully entreat you to give me some elixir of life. The god said, Your Emperor is not pious enough toward the gods, so, although you could see the god, you would not be able to get the remedy. So saying, he led me northeast to Mt. Fêng-lai-shan. There I saw the gate of the Chih-ch'êng Palace 芝成宮闕 and a divine messenger, who was copper-coloured and dragon-shaped and was shining all around.’” Thus the deity that attended upon the great god of Fêng-lai was copper-coloured and dragon-shaped, and was probably very much like the Fu-hsi 伏羲 and Nü-kua 女媧, who were, according to the Chinese legend, snake-bodied and human-headed, and are represented, in the bas-reliefs of the two gods in the Wu family's stone chamber of the Later Han Period, as being human-shaped in the upper part of the body and having crowns on their heads, and a carpenter's square (Fu-hsi) and a compass (Nü-kua) respectively in their hands, and being dragon-shaped in the lower part of the body, with their tails intertwined. Hsü Fu's story is quite an invention, but his description

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 118, Biography of Hwai-nan-wang.

of the deity as dragon-shaped in the body, certainly reflects the ideas of the people at large of the day regarding the deities. The only question is, why did he represent the deity as copper-coloured? The probability is that he must have seen something like that before, as it is hardly possible for any image to occur to our mind unless it has once been experienced in part or whole before. The chances are that he saw the metal statues in the palace of Shih-huang-ti and came to associate his fictitious deity with the copper-coloured statues, or he was under the influence of the impressions he had received before from some statues of deities made usually of copper.

While the deities of Fêng-lai Island as described by Hsü Fu of Ch'in as well as Fu-hsi and Nü-kua were human-headed and dragon-bodied, the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti and of Hsiu-t'u Wang were apparently of a human figure with human heads and limbs. The only peculiarity was seemingly that the dragon scales grew over their whole body except the head. Showing the stages in the development of the ideas of the Chinese regarding the deities, a very interesting phenomenon is presented by the difference in representation between such deities as Fu-hsi and Nü-kua with the human-shaped upper half and the dragon-shaped lower half, and the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti and Hsiu-t'u Wang covered with dragon-like scales all over the body. In the primitive state of mind everywhere, the people had a belief that deities and spirits make their appearance in the form of certain animals. It is a relic of the primitive ideas that the Chinese of ancient times represented the gods of the four bearings of the East, West, North and South as blue dragon, white tiger, black tortoise, and red bird respectively. Some of the religious ceremonial implements of the Chou period are found manufactured in the form of some mysterious animals, or cast with some pictures of those animals on the surface. Those shapes of the ceremonial implements and the designs on their surface were made not only for decoration as some of us think, but also as a representation of the deities. With the development of the ideas of the deities, however, they gradually came to assume human bodies, casting off animal forms. The dragon-bodied, human-headed deities as described by Hsü Fu, the Shên-nung 神農 or the

agricultural deity with a human head and cow-like neck, and the human-headed, snake-bodied Fu-hsi and Nü-kua, represent the transitory stages in the ideas of the deities from animal form to personification. The metal statues of Shih-huang-ti and Hsiu-t'u Wang took the form of a man in all respects, except the dragon-scaled skin, which is a relic of the ideas of the deities of the preceeding age, reminiscent of the dragon body. In spite of some such changes in ideas being recognised in the Ch'in period, some arts stuck to the older form of expression, as, for example, in the bas-reliefs of the Fu-hsi and Nü-kua in the Wu's family stone chamber, which are the products of the Later Han period. However, since Fu-hsi came to be identified with the deity called Tung-wang-fu 東王父, and Nü-kua with Hsi-wang-mu 西王母, the representation of the deities in the animal form went out of use. Among K. TOMI-OKA's collection of Chinese mirrors of the Han period,¹⁾ there is one with a figure on the back representing a deity sitting on a round-shaped seat, and another seating herself on a square-shaped seat, the two deities facing each other. The former is Tung-wang-fu or the Fu-sang-mu-kung 扶桑木公 (Tree Prince of Fu-sang), and the latter Hsi-wang-mu or *Chin-mu* 金母 (Metal Mother). According to the Chinese principle of the *Yin* and *Yang* duality, the circle and square are supposed to represent Heaven and Earth or the *Yang* and *Yin*, and it is based upon this idea that Fu-hsi and Nü-kua are symbolised respectively by a compass and a carpenter's square. The bas-reliefs of the two deities on the wall of Wu's family stone chamber are therefore believed to represent the two deities exchanging the spirits of *Yin* and *Yang* with each other, and giving birth to all things in the universe. It is due to the Taoist idea about it that a mirror was regarded as a sort of spiritual article, endowed with the power of driving off evils, for, according to the Taoist conception, the two sides of the mirror represent the two great principles of *Yin-Yang*, the obverse side representing the 'Tao' that transcends existence and nothingness and reflects everything on its crystal-clear surface, while the reverse side represents,

1) *A Study on the Old Chinese Mirrors* 古鏡の研究, p. 81

in the picture of the Four Gods of Bearings, Tung-wang-fu and Hsi-wang-mu, or circle and square, a scene of the two principles in intercourse with each other and giving birth to all things in the universe.

If I am not mistaken in this interpretation of the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti and Hsiu-t'u Wang, they are to be regarded as representing the twelve stars of the Tzū-wei-kung constellation of the north pole and the deities of high rank in the religious ideas of the day. Contrary to this view, however, the *Han-shu*, Wu-hsing-chih 五行志, treats the metal statues as representing the barbarians who made their appearance as evil omens,—a view which hitherto often proved a hindrance to the acceptance of such an interpretation as mine. Let me quote the passage here and criticise it. “(According to the *Ch'un-ch'iu*) in the 11th year of Prince Wên of Lu, the Emperor defeated the Northern Barbarians at Chien 鹹, when, according to both Commentaries on the *Ch'un-ch'iu* by KU-LIANG 穀梁 and KUNG-YANG 公羊, three brother giants appeared, and one of them proceeded to Lu 魯, a second to Chi 齊, and the third to Chin 晉. But they were all killed, and their corpses covered as much space as nine *mou* 畷. What was the intention of these writers in giving an account of such monstrous giants? LIU HSIANG 劉向 of Han thought that the three kingdoms were to blame for the decline of the Chou Dynasty. He felt a warning from Heaven as if these words had been spoken: ‘They do not observe propriety, nor do they follow the ways of their ancestors, and are behaving just like the barbarians. The three kingdoms are now in danger of downfall.’ After that there occurred extraordinarily odious incidents such as usurpation, and murder of superiors by men of inferior rank or position, almost approaching in enormity the murder of the emperor by a subject. LIU YIN 劉歆 thought that extraordinarily odious happenings in human society were evil omens of some greater disaster. . . . The principles of the universe regard man as the noblest of all that exists. If there are any extraordinarily odious happenings in human society, they all take place according to the rules of Heaven. This is the so-called ‘disease of the murder of a superior by a man of inferior rank or position’. The *I-chuan* 易傳 of CHING FANG 京房 says, ‘If a ruler is tyrannous and hates the wise, some

ominous giant barbarian will make his appearance in his country. Again, if a ruler decorates his palace only and leaves his people destitute, some giant barbarian will appear and the ruler will be made a captive.' It is written in the *Shih-chi* that in the 26th year of Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in's reign, there appeared in Lin-t'ao 臨洮 giants, twelve in all, in barbarian clothes, standing five *chang* high, and leaving six *ch'ih* long footprints on the ground when they walked. It was a warning from Heaven as if to say, 'You must abstain from the ways of the barbarians. Otherwise, woe be unto you!' Shih-huang-ti who in that year had for the first time annexed the six countries to his empire, took the evil omen for an auspicious sign, and being even delighted with the appearance of the sign, assembled all the arms of the country, and melted them to manufacture twelve metal statues, which he made to represent the giants. The emperor, finally, comparing himself to the ancient sages, ordered all the poetical and other writings in existence to be burned, and the scholars to be buried alive in pits. He became dissipated and tyrannous; and wished and endeavoured to enlarge his territory, and in the south made the Five Mountain Ranges the defence line of the empire in that direction, and in the north building the Great Wall, prepared against the invasions of the Northern and Southern barbarians. The Great Wall which was built by cutting mountains or filling up valleys, originates at Lin-t'ao (the present Min Hsien, Kan-su 甘肅岷縣) in the West, and extends as far as Liao-tung 遼東 (the present Liao-yang 遼陽 in Manchuria) in the East, covering a distance of several thousand *li*. As the result, the Ch'in Empire went to ruin fourteen years after the giants had made their appearance."

According to the passage just quoted, Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in took the appearance of the giant barbarians at Lin-t'ao on the extreme western frontier of the Empire, for a good omen and cast twelve metal statues. But how could it possibly be? It is positively inconceivable that Shih-huang-ti who built the Great Wall and made it his work for the remainder of his life to repulse the invasions of the barbarians for the safety of the empire, took the appearance of the giant barbarians for an auspicious omen of the times. I am inclined to believe that the

author of the Wu-hsing-chih, displeased with Shih-huang-t'i's regime, tried to criticise the Emperor in his writings with a view to leaving moral lessons to posterity. According to Confucianism, those acts of the emperor that are against the ways of the good rulers of ancient times, are called the 'ways of the barbarians,' while Taoism treats omens as warnings against the times. The author of the Wu-hsing-chih may probably have conceived, by making use of the two ideas of Confucianism and Taoism, the idea of the giant barbarians having, in the form of an omen, proved a warning to the emperor. Probably he may have tried to associate the metal statues and the west, where the barbarians made their appearance, because the west is, according to the Wu-hsing theory or the Five Elements Theory, the bearing of metal; also, he may have purposely staged their appearance at Lin-t'ao, because it is the point where the Great Wall originates, and by its construction the people were most distressed; and he may have fabricated twelve giants as tall as five *chang* to be associated with the twelve metal statues of Shih-huang-ti. It is a fact acknowledged by Chinese scholars that the Wu-hsing-chih is fraught with many inconsistencies and fabrications; and this story regarding the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti has long been the cause of deluding readers.

Now that it has been established that the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang were an importation from China to the Hsiung-nu land, and that the method of manufacturing followed that of the statues of Shih-huang-ti, the Buddhistic image theory of the metal statues has been, I believe, dealt a fatal blow. However, the metal statues cast by the Chinese of the Han period are found related, in a sense, to the bronze Buddhistic statues, so I believe it will not be entirely out of place to clarify the situation in these pages. When were the first bronze statues of Buddha in China cast? The question has not, in spite of its importance in the history of Buddhistic art, received as much attention as it deserves, and I find hardly a single exhaustive treatment of the subject has ever been published, with the exception of an article entitled '*On the Origin of the Buddhistic Temple or Tower in China*' by

S. OTANI¹⁾. Basing his judgements upon the text in the *Hou-han-shu* and the *San-kuo-chih*, OTANI concluded that the first man ever to build a Buddhistic temple or tower in China was Tsê Yu 笮融, and the first Buddhistic temple or tower in China dates from somewhere around the 2nd year of *Chu-p'ing* 初平 or 191 A.D. Although he declared that the architectural style of the temple tower and the casting of the Buddhistic images there enshrined, which are referred to in those volumes, were very interesting subjects for study, he left the questions untouched, which form in my opinion very important material for the study of the history of Buddhistic art. Let me quote from the two books mentioned above and comment on the passages.

“First Tsê Yu of the same province (or Tan-yang 丹陽 *viz.* modern Nan-king) assembling several hundred people, went with them to Governor Tao Chien 陶謙 and appealed to him for help, who thereupon appointed him superintendent of the provisions for the three provinces of Kuang-ling 廣陵, Hsia-chiu 下邳 and P'êng-ch'êng 彭城. Tsê Yu however, took advantage of the appointment, and cut off the supplies of provisions from the three provinces, and built a Buddhistic temple with enthusiasm. He constructed a several-storied edifice and placed several layers of metal vessels upon the top. The hall and its surrounding floor space at the base could accommodate about three thousand people. He also made a gilded metal statue of Buddha, and clothed it with embroidered brocade, and whenever he observed the ceremony of pouring water upon it, he prepared seats, together with much food and drink, on the roads for the spectators of the tower and ceremony. Those who came to see the tower and ceremony and had their meals thus on the roads, numbered more than ten thousand.”²⁾

“Tsê Yu of Tan-yang province first assembled several hundred people and went with them to Governor Tao Chien of Hsü-chou 徐州 and appealed for help, who thereupon put him in charge of the food supplies of Kuang-ling and P'êng-ch'êng. Tsê Yu then became unruly, killed officials as he pleased, and cutting off the food supplies of the

1) 支那に於ける佛寺造立の起源に就いて, Toyo Gakuho, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 69-101.

2) *Hou-han-shu*, Chap. 103, Biography of Tao Chien.

three provinces, took possession of the provisions himself. Then he built a Buddhist temple with enthusiasm and making a human statue of copper, gilded it and clothed it with embroidered brocade. He also built a several-storied edifice, and placed nine layers of copper vessels upon its top. The hall at the base of the tower could accommodate more than three thousand people. He made those assembled read the Buddhist sutras, and if there was anybody in his province and neighbourhood who was favourably inclined toward Buddha, he let him come and listen to the talk on Buddha, and sometimes even sent for them exempting them from corvée. Thus were assembled more than five thousand people from far and near. Whenever he observed the ceremony of pouring water upon the statue of Buddha, he prepared, for the spectators of the ceremony, seats with much food and drink on the roads extending for scores of *li*. The spectators who thus came and had their meals served, numbered almost ten thousand, and the expenses thus incurred amounted to hundreds of millions.”¹⁾

Both of the passages make allusion to the statue of Buddha, and agree in the statement, though with some minor differences, that the bronze statue was clothed with embroidered brocade. In view of the fact that all the Buddha statues discovered in Gandhara, the home of the Buddhist art, were of stone, and not a single metal statue was excavated there, it must be regarded as a very important incident in the history of Buddhist art, that this Buddha statue of bronze was made by the Chinese in the Later Han Period some time about the year 191 A. D., although bronze statues of Buddha were common in later times in China, Japan, and Korea. The earliest and most famous account of the making of a statue of Buddha is found in the *Anguttara Nikāya* 增一阿含經²⁾. To give an outline of the story, when Buddha was in Jētavana vihara 祇園精舍 he wished to preach the Buddhist gospel to his mother Princess Māya 摩耶夫人 in the Thirtythird Heaven, and, making an ascent thither, he suddenly disappeared from this world. People were

1) *San-kuo-chih*, Wu-chih, Chap. 4, Biography of Liu Yao 劉繇.

2) Chap. 28, Ting-fa-pin 聽法品。

all alarmed and sorrowful. Especially King Udayāna 優填王 lamented the disappearance so as almost to die, and summoning celebrated artists of the country, had a Buddha image made of sandal-wood. On hearing of this, King Prasenajit 波斯匿王 also had an image, of pure gold, of Buddha cast. Thus was started, according to the story, the custom of making Buddha images. Commenting on the account, B. MATSUMOTO¹⁾ declared that the legend must be an afterthought to give the colour of sanctity to the origin of the images of Buddha, after some images had already come into existence: and that this part of the sutra is most probably a fabrication of a later period, seeing that the Pali text of the same sutra is without the story. Among the many passages in the *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka Sūtra* 法華經 containing allusions to the merit of making images of Buddha or building Buddhistic towers, the following gives special importance to making statues of Buddha. "If for the sake of Buddha a man makes and sets up various types of Buddhistic images, he has already grasped the truth of Buddhism. He will sometimes make the statue of the Seven Precious Things, such as brass, copper, nickel, pewter, lead and tin, and decorate it in a splendid way with *chiao-ch'ipu* 膠漆布. Such a man has already grasped the truth of Buddhism."²⁾ The passage leaves no doubt that at the time when the *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka Sūtra* 法華經 was edited, the Indians had already executed some images of Buddha, making use of metal as well as wood and clay. It can not be ascertained when the original edition was completed, but the man who translated the Sutra into Chinese was a Western priest named Chu Fa-hu 竺法護, who came to Lo-yang in 266 A. D. and was engaged in the work of translation until 317 A. D.³⁾ The Chinese translation must have been completed, therefore, during the period 266 to 317 A. D., that is, more than a hundred years later than the time when Tsé Yu of the Later Han Period cast a metal statue of Buddha. If such is the case, and considering the comparative promptness with which the Indian editions of the sutras usually were brought to China after their comple-

1) Tetzugaku-kenkyū, Vol. I, No. 1.

2) *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka Sūtra*, Vol. 1.

3) NANJO'S *Catalogue of the Tripitaka*, p. 391.

tion, the date when the Indian edition of the *Saddharmapundarika Sūtra* 法華經 was completed in India might not be very distant from the time when its Chinese translation was completed, so that we are justified in assuming that by the Later Han Period the Indian edition had not yet been brought out.

If it has been established that the images of Buddha, and the sutras that contain allusions to them, made their first appearance not earlier than the Later Han Period, and that the Buddha images that were discovered around Gandhara, were all of stone, and whatever metal statues of Buddha were discovered in India belonged to the period not earlier than the fifth century, then it may be inferred that the metal statue of Buddha manufactured in the *Chu-p'ing* Era (190-193, A. D.) of the Later Han Period is proved to be the first of its kind ever made. The question then is, was the Chinese metallurgy of the day sufficiently advanced to allow the casting of a metal statue? Some evidence can be offered here to show that the art was quite advanced in China from ancient times. For example, they had such ceremonial articles as the tripod kettle in the very early days of their history, and the art of casting a metal statue was known to them from ancient times. In an article entitled, 'On the Metal Statues and the Bell and Hanger,' T. FUJITA¹⁾ cites two important facts regarding the manufacture of bronze statues in China. One is the case of King Kou-chien of Yüeh 越王勾踐, who, according to the *Yüeh-yü*²⁾, in recognition of his meritorious services, besides enfeoffing Fan Li 范蠡 with 300 *li* of land in Hui-chi 會稽, had a statue of Fan Li made of copper, and enshrined it. The other is an account in the *Hsin-shu*³⁾, according to which King Huai-wang of Ch'u 楚懷王 had the statues of Kings and Princes of the Middle Kingdom made and had them accompany him whenever he went forth. Considering that it was in 473 B. C. that Fan Li left King Kou-chien, after having helped him to overthrow the Kingdom of Wu 吳, and that Huai-wang of Ch'u was on the throne from 328 to 296 B. C., it must

1) 鍾鐻金人について.

2) *Kuo-yü*, chap. 21, Yüeh-yü 國語卷二十一越語.

3) CHIA I, *Hsin-shu*, chap. 6.

be admitted that the Chinese metallurgy in the Period of the Contending States was advanced enough to allow of their casting a metal statue, even if we grant that the account of Fan Li's statue being cast by King Kou-chien might have been a fabrication of some later period. Hence Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in was able to get a big metal statue cast, that weighed as much as twelve *chin*. The art apparently continued to make progress through the Former and Later Han Periods, Wu-ti of Han is said to have cast big ceremonial instruments and images of gods or spirits, and the copper columns for supporting the '*Chéng-lu-p'an*' 承露盤 or Dew-receiving Vessel, that stood thirty *chang* high and measured seven stretches of a man's arms in circumference. We are again told in the *Hou-han-shu*: "(in the 3rd year of *Chung-p'ing* 中平 or 186 A.D.) the Emperor again had the Yü-tang-tien 玉堂殿 Palace repaired and had cast four each of copper human statues, yellow bells, and *t'ien-lu* 天祿 animals and toads;"¹⁾ and again, "the Emperor had the Kou-tun-ling 拘盾令 Sung Tien 宋典 repair the Yü-tang Palace of the Nan-kung; and had the Yeh-ting-ling 掖庭令 Pi Lan 畢嵐 cast and place four copper human statues at the Ts'ang-lung 蒼龍 or the Eastern Gate and the Hsüan-wu 玄武 or the Northern Gate; and also had four bells measuring two thousand *hu* 斛 cast and placed in front of the Yü-tang and Yün-t'ai-tien 雲臺殿 Palaces."²⁾ The *Wei-liao* 魏略³⁾ also says: "In this year (237 A. D.) the Emperor tried to remove to the capital the bells and hangers, metal camels, metal human statues, and the *Chéng-lu-p'an* or Dew-receiving Vessel from Chang-an. But the metal statues proved too heavy to transport, and after being carried as far as Pa-ch'êng 霸城, had to be left there. Thereupon the Emperor, requisitioning copper from the people, and casting two metal statues, named them *Wéng-chung* 翁仲 and placed them outside the Ssü-ma-mên 司馬門 Gate." Taking into consideration that in the 3rd year of *Chung-p'ing* (186 A. D.) Emperor Ling-ti 靈帝 of the Later Han Period cast a metal statue, and in the first year of *Ching-chu* 景初 (237 A. D.) Emperor Ming-ti 明帝

1) *Hou-han-shu*, Chap. 8, Ling-ti-chi 靈帝紀

2) *Ibid*, Chap. 108, Biography of Chang Jang. 張讓

3) *Wei-chih*, Chap. 3, Note.

of Wei also cast a metal statue, it is only natural that the metallurgical method then prevailing in China should have exercised some influence upon the method of the manufacture of the metal statue of Buddha cast by Tsê Yu in the 2nd year of *Chu-p'ing* (191 A. D.). That is, there resulted the metal statue of Buddha when the stone statue of Buddha of the Indian style was imported to China and the Chinese method then prevailing in the manufacture of metal statues was applied to the manufacture of the Buddhistic statue.

Just as something new of their own was added by the Chinese to the older Indian idea regarding the manufacture of the image of Buddha when it was first imported to China from India, so, when the Indian idea of the tower was imported to China, they incorporated some ideas of their own in the style and method of the construction of the Buddhistic temple tower or stupa where the images of Buddha were to be enshrined. If we return to the passages above quoted,

“上累金盤，下爲重樓，又堂閣周回，可容三千許人。” (*Hou-han-shu*)

“垂銅槃九重，下爲重樓，閣道可容三千餘人。” (*Wu-chih*),

we find that ‘上累金盤’ in the *Hou-han-shu* corresponds to ‘垂銅槃九重’ in the *Wu-chih*, both passages referring to the annulets at the top of the temple tower. According to the *Wu-chih* there were nine such rings in the temple tower in question. ‘下爲重樓’ alludes to a several-storied edifice with four-sided roofs on each storey. The last sentences in both passages demonstrate that the ground floor of the edifice was high and wide. The *ko* 閣 as a Chinese letter has several different meanings, depending upon the period and place and when and where it was used. Regarding its meanings, the *Kang-hsi-tzŭ-tien* 康熙字典 says: “According to the *Yü-pien* 玉篇, it means ‘lou 樓’ or a storeyed edifice, as ‘Yang Hsiung collated books at the T'ien-lu Ko 天祿閣; and the *Chêng-tzŭ-t'ung* 正字通, referring to the Palaces of Han, says, ‘The Chi-lin-ko 麒麟閣 and the T'ien-lu-ko were built by Hsiao Ho 蕭何, and the Emperor used to keep his treasured books and sometimes invite the scholars there.’” *Ko* 閣 in this sense means an adytum, where the images of Buddha are to be enshrined. It also means a storeyed edifice as we have seen above, and here in the sentence it refers

to a very high ground floor as high as an ordinary two-storeyed building. There are not any details about the column of the annulets given in either of the passages, but judging from the description that nine layers of copper vessels or annulets were hung around the column, it can be imagined that the column was of considerable height. The height of the column can also be inferred from a passage of the *Wei-chih*, in the Chapter on the Ma Han 馬韓, where the customs of the people are described. It says: "There is in every province a special district called 'su-t'u 蘇塗' where they erect some high posts, and hanging some drums and bells upon them, worship their spirits there. In case any refugee fled into the district, he was never to be given over to anybody, so that the place became a kind of hot-bed of criminals. The manner in which the su-t'u is set up in the district resembles the way a stupa stands high in a temple, but what is done in the one is different from what takes place in the other, from the standpoint of good and evil, virtue and vice."¹⁾ The su-t'u here referred to corresponds to 'sot-tai' in Korean, and means a post standing high. Therefore the comparison of the su-t'u with the fu-t'u 浮屠 (temple tower) in the passage is meant to show how high the annulets on the top of the temple edifice towered. No mention is made in the two books above quoted of the kind of materials of which Tsé Yu built his temple tower, but considering the space of time (between two years or two years and a half, from 190 to 193 A. D.), during which he is supposed to have completed the tower, as OTANI'S study shows, we may be justified in supposing that the material was wood, and not stone which would have needed a longer time and more labour.

I believe it would not be wide of the mark if we described the tower built by Tsé Yu as something like a several-storeyed tower, with a high ground floor and at the top a column of nine layers of annulets. This style is similar to the one adopted in Japanese towers, and also to that of the Wei Period. Upon what was Tsé Yu's tower modelled? As to the Indian towers or stupas, there are some differences among

1) *Wei-chih*, Chap. 90, Tung-i-chuan.

them, depending upon their locality. For instance, the towers of Central India have square or round bases, semi-circular bodies and a relatively short column of annulets, while those of the North-western part of India, Afghanistan, and Central Asia have bases with stairs, long conic-shaped bodies and tall columns of annulets, so that no resemblance can be recognised between these towers and that of Tsé Yu. The Chiao-li-fu-t'u 雀離浮屠 Tower of Gandhara, however, which may be regarded as a modification or a development of the towers of Indian style, presents some resemblances to the tower of Tsé Yu. The style of the Chiao-li-fu-t'u, as described by the *Lo-yang-chia-lan-chi* 洛陽伽藍記 and the *Hsi-yu-chi* 西遊記, is, generally speaking, practically the same as that of the tower of Buddhagaya still existent, with the square-shaped base, conic-shaped body divided into several storeys, a remarkably tall column of annulets, and the storey at base forming a room in which the image of Buddha is enshrined,—a feature characteristic of the Chiao-li-fu-t'u and distinguishing it from the ordinary stupa. Therefore, the Chiao-li-fu-t'u has most features in common with the tower of Tsé Yu, and the only remarkable difference consists in that the body of the former is conic-shaped and divided into several storeys but without having a projecting roof attached to each storey, while the latter has a square-shaped body divided into several storeys with a four-sided projecting roof on each storey. The *lou*-like shape forms the chief feature of the latter. Whence did Tsé Yu take the idea of the *lou*-like body of the tower? I am inclined to believe that Tsé Yu probably derived the idea from the style of *lou-t'ai* 樓臺 then prevailing in China, a style which had been well developed in the Han Period after Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in and Wu-ti of Han began to build many towers of the *lou-t'ai* style with the purpose of inviting the spirits to come down to earth. When the Chinese who had been accustomed to build the *lou-ko* 樓閣 or several-storeyed edifice, applied its idea and method to the pagoda of the Indian style that had just been introduced into China, the pagoda of the *lou-t'ai* model was the result, even as the Indian idea of a stone statue of Buddha was assimilated by the Chinese and they cast a metal statue of their own creation.

As I have already pointed out in detail in the opening pages of the paper, the Ho-hsi region was a chief way of communication between the Western Region and the eastern district, through which commercial goods as well as all forms of culture must pass. It is not without some reason, therefore, that one should have been misled into believing that the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang were introduced from the Western Region. Again, it is to some extent natural that one should be apt to regard the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang as the images of Buddha, because, when the Indian image of Buddha was introduced into China, most of the Chinese statues of Buddha were manufactured in gilded bronze, and consequently the Chinese images of Buddha are instinctively associated with the gilded statues. On the other hand, however, it must be remembered that from ancient times the Hsiung-nu and the Chinese were competitors, and were in a situation to exercise an influence upon each other, as the two races gradually came to be unified, as I have pointed out in the earlier pages, to form an empire under mutual pressure. There is no doubt that the two races exchanged some of their culture. It is due to the influence of Han that Hsiu-t'u Wang made use of the metal statues for his ceremony of Heaven-worship, while the enshrinement of the *Ching-lu* god by Wu-ti was due to the influence of the Hsiung-nu culture. As to the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang, there is no doubt that they were modelled after those of Shih-huang-ti, but seeing that the Ho-hsi region, which was later to be the territory of Hsiu-t'u Wang, had been occupied by the Yüeh-shih during the reign of Shih-huang-ti, the question arises, when and how did Hsiu-t'u Wang come to possess the metal statues? Considering that in spite of the vastness of the Hsiung-nu Empire and the existence of a great number of princes within the domain, Hsiu-t'u Wang was probably the only prince among them that undertook the enshrinement of the metal statues for his Heaven-worship, and that the Ho-hsi region was the important passage of traffic between the East and the Western Region and proved a flourishing centre of commerce, and that the fertile soil of the region was suitable for agriculture as well as cattle-raising, it will be reasonable to suppose that no other prince than he who occupied

such a flourishing region as the Ho-hsi, could have manufactured such enormously expensive metal statues as Hsiu-t'u Wang possessed. In my opinion the metal statues were probably cast by Hsiu-t'u Wang when he was the ruler of the region, and hence belong to the Han period. It is further inferred that as there is no record of any such metal statues being manufactured in the Han Period, the metal statues of Hsiu-t'u Wang's were manufactured after the model of the metal statues of Shih-huang-ti, which had been still kept preserved in the Han palace. In other words, the metal statues in question were cast in the Han Period, but the design follows that of the Ch'in Period. I will conclude this paper by pointing out two more examples of Ch'in culture which the Hsiung-nu obtained from the Chinese in the Han Period, from among a great body of such culture that they secured from the Chinese in the same period.

The way in which Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in, having overthrown the Six Kingdoms, founded the Ch'in Empire suggests how Mao-tuh Shan-yü, having subjugated the tribes of the deserts, founded the Hsiung-nu Empire, and the two events are phenomena historically interrelated. As Shih-huang-ti assumed the new title of the '*huang-ti*' to represent the dignity of his position, so the Hsiung-nu ruler called himself '*shan-yü*' with the purpose of trying to show his superiority to any preceding rulers in merits and in deeds. The present writer some time ago expressed his opinion that the Hsiung-nu word '*shan-yü*' is really a Chinese word possessed of the same meaning as the title of *huang-ti*¹⁾. This was regarded at the time as an extravagant opinion, and even now there are not a few who are sceptical of the view. Here I want to cite some new facts and try to corroborate my former statement from another angle. We are told in the *Han-shu*²⁾: "The family name of the Shan-yü is Luan-ti 攣提, and he was called by his countrymen '*Ch'êng-li-ku-t'u*' 撐犁孤塗. In the Hsiung-nu language '*ch'êng-li*' means heaven and '*ku-t'u*' means son; and *shan-yü* represents the state of boundless immensity, and the title likens the position of the Emperor to the

1) *A Study on the Titles Kaghan and Katun*, MTB, I, p. 11.

2) *Han-shu*, Chap. 94, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

boundless immensity of heaven." 'Ch'êng-li' in Hsiung-nu corresponds, as is generally acknowledged by the scholars of the world, to 'tängri' in the sense of heaven in Turkish and Mongolian. However, no equivalents of 'ku-t'u' that could be regarded as related to the Hsiung-nu word could be found either in Turkish or in Mongolian, and once I tried to find some linguistic relationship of it to 'hutta' or 'gut'o' in Tungus.¹⁾ I do not yet see any reason for revising my former view about it, but if I try to relate it to any Mongolian word, this much, I believe, might be stated. In the written form of today the Mongolian word for a son is expressed by 'köberün,' but in the Yüan Period, the word used to be pronounced 'köyün,' and sounded to foreigners something like 'köün,' to whom the weak sound of 'y' was hardly audible, just as Marco Polo recorded 'qarıan' as 'qaan' in the sense of a ruler. According to the Mongolian grammar, which changes the end of a noun to 't' to make its plural form, the plural form of *koün* is *koüt*, and sounds *kout*. Hence the Chinese might have translated *kout* by 'ku-tu.' This view is also worth some attention, but at present I am not in a position to decide more definitely in favour of any one of the theories. As to *ku-t'u* and *ch'êng-li*, there is no doubt that they are Hsiung-nu words, as is expressly stated in the *Han-shu*, and as to *shan-yü*, although there is no particular reference to that, it is clearly assumed there that it is also a Hsiung-nu word, the omission of reference being probably due to some rhetorical reason. Then proceeding on the assumption that it is also a Hsiung-nu word, as is implied in the *Han-shu*, I made a search for a similar expression in the languages of the Northern races, but without any satisfactory results. A careful perusal of the *Han-shu* text, however, revealed that although it was used by the Hsiung-nu people, the expression was a Chinese phrase, for the *Han-shu* text, commenting on the title of *shan-yü*, tries to explain it by reference to the word '單于然,' meaning thereby the state of boundless immensity of heaven—a clear indication that the phrase '單于然' is a Chinese expression. This view is supported by the *Kang-*

1) Also cf. A. CASTRÉN, *Grundzüge einer tungusischen Sprachlehre*, p. 126: Kind = *futto*, *hutto*, *ûtgu*; p. 132: Sohn = *χutta*.

hsi-tzū-tien, when it states that according to the *Shuo-wên* 說文, '單' means great or immense, and according to the *Chi-yün* 集韻, '于' represents the state of immensity. As 單于 is composed of these two words, the *Han-shu's* comment on the term must be regarded as correct. Again I had some lingering uneasiness removed when I really met with the particular use of the word in the *Kan-ch'üan-fu* by YANG HSIUNG.

In the part of *luan-t'zū* 亂詞, the Eulogy reads:

“崇々圓丘隆隱天，登降崩施，單(蟬)塿(拳)垣兮。”

The translation, not exactly word for word, will read something like this: “The grand mound, towering high, finally disappears in the sky. An inclined pathway, for climbing and descending, runs between the heaven and the earth. A grand, dome-like mound!”

We are told in the notes to the above passage that according to CHANG HSIEN 張銑, '登降' means up and down, '崩施' means inclined passage or pathway, and '單塿垣' represents the state of being round and big, and according to LI SHAN 李善, 單 represents the state of bigness and 塿垣 describes the state of roundness. The letter 單 has two pronunciations, *tan* and *shan*, and when it is used in the sense of being great, it is pronounced *shan*. It shows that this 單 is pronounced in the same way as *shan* 善 when Wang Mang 王莽 of Han changed, though arbitrarily, the Hsiung-nu title from 單于 to 善于. No examples of 于 used in the sense indicated here have yet been met with by the author, but this particular use may be inferred from other sources. For instance, the *Chien-tzū-wên* 千字文 has the passage, '天地玄黃, 宇宙洪荒.' 宇宙 means all the things of the universe, and 洪荒 represents the state of being immense. Yet how can the meaning of all the things of the universe be derived from the word 宇宙? The *Kang-hsi-tzū-tien* says, “according to the *Yü-pien*, 宇 means bearings, that is, the four bearings and up and down; according to the *Shih-tzū* 尸子, heaven and earth and the four bearings are called 宇.” The *Huai-nan-tzū* also says that past, present, and future are called 宙 and the four quarters, and heaven and earth are called 宇¹⁾. Accordingly 宇 means heaven and earth and the

1) *Huai-nan-tzū*, Chi-su-pien 淮南子齊俗篇.

four quarters and their immensity. As far as 于 in the word 單于 represents the state of being immense, and 宇 of 宇宙 expresses the same state of things, then there is no difference in the meanings of the two letters, except the difference in form due to the absence and presence of the three strokes 宀.

With the meaning of *shun-yü* 單于 clarified, we proceed to the next question; what was the original meaning of *huang-ti* 皇帝? It is a well-known fact that Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in assumed the title of Huang-ti regarding himself as superior to the San Huang 三皇 (Three Emperors) and the Wu Ti 五帝 (Five Rulers), in the merits and in deeds, taking *huang* 皇 and *ti* 帝 from the two appellations, but no sufficient exposition of the original meaning of the title has yet been given. We are told in the *Kang-hsi-tzū-tien* that according to the *Shuo-wên* 皇 means greatness; according to the *Commentary on the Preface of the Shu-ching* 尚書序疏, 皇 is the name for beauty and grandeur, and he who calls himself 皇 assumes that he is greater than 帝; and again according to the *Fêng-su-t'ung* 風俗通, the virtues of the Three Emperors were as great and immense as Heaven, and were called *Huang*. *Huang* 皇 means centre, and *kuang* 光 (light) or *hung* 弘 (width)." According to these interpretations, it is clear that the letter 皇 has something to do with heaven, describing its vast immensity, but it remains to be decided if the greatness or immensity described by the word refers to the moral order or to the external relationship. The *Fêng-su-t'ung* above quoted treats it as belonging to the moral order, but if we take into consideration the fact of folk-psychology that in the primitive undeveloped state, the primitive mind just wonders at the infinite immensity of heaven, respecting or worshipping it, it is clearly the greatness or immensity of the external order, that is, the vast expanse of heaven, that becomes the object of thought at this stage in the development of intelligence. When human intelligence is advanced enough and heaven comes to be worshipped as God similar to man, he will come to look upon heaven as the expression of the moral greatness. The *Fêng-su-t'ung* above quoted looks upon 皇 from this angle, and not in its original external aspect of the meaning of 皇, regarding it in the external form of greatness.

In the sense above indicated, 皇 of the 皇帝 may correspond to either 單 or 于 of the 單于, but what is meant by 帝 of the 皇帝? The *K'ang-hsi-tzū-tien* tells us: "According to the *Shuo-wên*, 帝 means 諦 or to ascertain the facts, and is the title of the one who rules the country; according to the *Pai-hu-t'ung* 白虎通, he is called 帝, whose virtues agree with Heaven; according to the *Commentary of the Shu-ch'ing* 帝 is another name of Heaven. 帝 is 諦 or being well-versed or well-informed, the state of mind in which Heaven forgets itself in ecstasy in the identity of self and otherness: and the ways of the Five Emperors consisted in this, and they were also 審諦 or omniscient, hence they were called 帝. Again according to the *Shih-chi-ch'eng-i*, he whose virtues are modelled after Heaven and Earth is called 帝 and 上帝 is Heaven." According to these comments, 帝 was originally an eulogistic appellation of Heaven, which was so called because Heaven ascertains and judges everything in an impartial manner. According to the small *chuan* 篆 style of writing, *ti* is written thus 帝, and is believed to have represented a man with a loose gown and some ornamental head-dress or head-piece, so that about the time when this letter was created, it may be inferred the Chinese had already advanced so far as not to regard Heaven any longer simply as a vast expanse of sky in the natural form, but as God having his seat upon earth and personified in human form. This explanation of the idea of 帝 as God, however, is based upon the idea of the age when it was being pronounced *tí*, but does not apply to the original idea of the word 帝. As I have already pointed out above, it must be remembered that before they came to regard Heaven as God in personified form, the Chinese had worshipped Heaven in the natural form of the blue expanse of sky as God. Therefore, the original meaning of the word that was pronounced *tí* must be decided upon by having recourse to the ideas of the age when it was being so pronounced. Judging from the fact that in the Chinese language 大 is pronounced *tai*, *dai*, and 帝 is pronounced *tí*, *tai*, or *dai*, 帝 is believed originally to have represented, like 皇, in the eulogistic manner, the immensity and grandeur of heaven. There may be some who are sceptical of my view on the subject, because of some

differences in the pronunciations of the two words: as 帝 is pronounced 'ti' in the present Mandarin language, 'tai,' in the Cantonese dialect (which is believed still to keep the old pronunciation preserved), and *tiei* and *diei* in the T'ang Period; while 大 is pronounced *tai* at present, *tai* in the Cantonese, and *dai* in the T'ang Period. If we take into account, however, the fact that 軟, the pronunciation of which is indicated by 大, is pronounced *ti* at present, *tai* in the Cantonese dialect and *diei* in the T'ang Period,¹⁾ we may be justified in believing that the two letters 帝 and 大 might have been pronounced in the same way in ancient times.

If the above reasoning is correct, the appellation of *shan-yü* by which the Hsiung-nu called their emperor, is really a Chinese word, having entirely the same meaning as *huang-ti*. Before the time of Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in, the highest title by which a ruler could be called, was *wang* 王 and its use was limited to the Chou family, as long as the dynasty was powerful and could control the princes of the country under its sway. With the decline of the Chou dynasty, however, every one of the princes of the country assumed the title of *wang*, and became ruler of his independent state; hence the title of *wang* lost much of its value. Having overthrown the Six Kingdoms, and unified the country under his rule, Shih-huang-ti thought it necessary for the ruler to assume a new title, because the former title of *wang* was no longer worthy to represent the dignity and the position he had won. He thus decided upon the supreme title of *huang-ti*, deriving it as a compound from the appellations of Three *Huang* and Five *Ti*, these having been respected as sages or worshipped as gods. As to the Hsiung-nu title of *shan-yü*, which is believed to have been assumed by the Hsiung-nu rulers in imitation of the Chinese title of *huang-ti*, the first Hsiung-nu ruler that assumed the title must belong to the period later than 221 B.C. when Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in took the title of *Huang-ti*. The *Shih-chi*²⁾ gives the impression that T'ou-man 頭曼 was the first Hsiung-nu ruler to assume the title of *Shan-yü*, for it states that the ruler who was on the

1) KARLGREN, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, pp. 275, 284.

2) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan.

Hsiung-nu throne in the days of Shih-huang-ti was T'ou-man Shan-yü. During the reign of T'ou-man, however, Hsiung-nu was still only a small insignificant nation in the Northern desert, and especially having been defeated by the famous Ch'in general Mêng T'ien, was in a humiliated condition, so that it is almost inconceivable that the ruler should have assumed such an arrogant title as *Shan-yü*. In the reign of his son, Mao-tun Shan-yü, however, he subjugated the Tung-hu 東胡 in the east, defeated the Yüeh-shih 月氏 in the west, and in a remarkably short time brought the whole hostile tribes of the Mongolian desert under his rule and founded the Hsiung-nu Empire. This inference is borne out by a note in the *Shih-chi*¹⁾, which says: "According to HSÜ KANG 徐廣, Chi-yü Shan-yü 稽粥單于 is sometimes called the Second Shan-yü, and the succeeding rulers are called by the succeeding number of their generation." KUWABARA²⁾ is right when in commenting upon the note, he stated that in the Hsiung-nu dynasty Mao-tun Shan-yü is sometimes called the First Shan-yü and Lao-shang-Chi-yü Shan-yü 老上稽粥單于 Chi-yü the Second Shan-yü, Chün-chên Shan-yü 軍臣單于 Chün-chên the Third Shan-yü and so on. If Mao-tun was the first Hsiung-nu ruler to assume the title of *Shan-yü*, the statement in the *Shih-chi* treating his father as 'T'ou-man Shan-yü' must be viewed as a remark added by some later writer. If the assumption of the title of *Shan-yü* by Mao-tun was in imitation of Shih-huang-ti, who took up the title of *Huang-ti*, then there is reason enough to believe that the Hsiung-nu emperor called himself the First Shan-yü, and the succeeding rulers the Second, Third etc., just as the Chinese Emperor called himself the Shih-huang-ti or the First Emperor and the succeeding emperors were called the Second, Third, and so on. In as much as the Hsiung-nu adopted Chinese cultures so freely into their own, there is no wonder that in his ceremony of Heaven-worship, Hsiu-t'u Wang should have made use of the metal statues which he manufactured after the model of those of Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in. (End.)

1) *Shih-chi*, Chap. 110, Hsiung-nu-chuan, Note.

2) KUWABARA, *Chôken-no-Ensei* 張騫の遠征 or the *Expedition of Chang Chien*, pp. 101-2, Note 22.

