TWO NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE CHINESE FRONTIER

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I. HU COLONIES IN NORTHWESTERN CHINA UNDER THE HAN

We are in August 155 A.D., the seventh month of the first year of the Yung-shou 永壽 era, according to the Chinese reckoning. The weakling Liu Chih 劉志 is the Son of Heaven occupying the throne, but the reins of government are in the hands of Liang Chi 梁冀, omnipotent dictator and head of the wealthy and arrogant Liang clan; it is to him and his sister, the Dowager Empress Liang, widow of Liu Pao 保, that the young Emperor owes his elevation to the throne.²

Following the death of the Dowager in 150, however, Liang Chi’s power had begun to wane. Another of his sisters is the Emperor’s consort, but she is childless, and a palace clique is already secretly plotting the dictator’s downfall.³ Drought, locusts, famine and epidemics are devastating the northern and central provinces of the empire. Banditry and general social unrest have been growing in intensity all through China,⁴ and the “Barbarians” are restless on the frontiers. In the north, after a decade of peace on the Ordos front of the Han Empire, the Southern Hsiung-nu are again sending raiding parties across the border. A repetition of the disaster of 140-143 A.D. threatens the population of the marches.

¹ Ph. Hsiao Huan Ti 孝桓帝 of the Eastern Han, 132-147-167 A.D., Hou Han Shu 7.
² Liang Chi, d. 159 A.D., Hou Han Shu 64. Liang Na 娾, ph. Shun Lieh 順烈 Liang huang-hou, 116-132-150 A.D., ibid. 10B. (Read 35 for 45 as her age at the time of death, or 23 for 13 as her age in 128 A.D. when she entered the Emperor’s harem; in the latter case she would be born in 106 A.D.). Hsiao Shun Ti (ph. of Liu Pao) 116-126-144 A.D., ibid. 6.
³ Liang Ying 梁, ph. T-hsien 潘, (†)147-Aug. 9, 159 A.D., ibid. 10B. Exactly a month later, on Sept. 9, Liang Chi and his clan were overthrown and exterminated by the eunuch party.
⁴ The seriousness of the situation is indicated by the fact that between 147 and 154 A.D. the Annals record at least six cases of usurpation of the imperial title by rebels in various parts of China.
It was in May 140 A.D. [Yung-ho 5] that a chieftain of the Left Horde of the Southern Hsiung-nu, Chü-lung Wu-ssü 句龍吾斯, broke the long period of amicable relations with the Chinese and, together with his clansman Chü-lung Chü-niu 車紐, rose in rebellion against the Han. Joined by the Right hsien-wang 賢王, they besieged Mei-chi 美祇 in Hsi ho chün 西河 and raided the entire northern frontier causing the removal of three administrative centers of border provinces into the hinterland.

In their raids the Hsiung-nu were assisted by the Wu-huan 呉桓 and the Ch'iang 光 and Hu 諸胡 of the Shensi uplands. Their combined forces, now numbering several myriads, threatened the metropolitan district of Ch'ang-an itself. Although Chü-niu, who had been made shan-yü by the rebels, was soon forced to surrender to the Chinese, Wu-ssü and his allies continued their depredations. In September 142 A.D. Wu-ssü was joined in his rebellion by the yü-chien 玉鞬 T'ai-ch'i 塔稽 and the chü-ch'ü 且渠 Po-tê 伯德. In the eleventh month of the next

5 Hou Han Shu 6, 119. In ch. 6 Wu-ssü is referred to as “chief of the Chü-lung [tribe?]” 大人; in ch. 119 as “prince of Chü-lung” 王. Wu-ssü 雲奴 is a common termination in Hsiung-nu names. Cf. 雲奴牙斯, 聚奴牙斯, 伊奴智慧師, 都奴吾西, 呼奴吾斯, Han Shu 94.

6 The seat of Hsi ho chün was removed to Li-shih 離石; that of Shang chün to Hsia-yang 夏陽; and that of Shuo-fang 朔方 to Wu-yuan 武原.

7 He was made shan-yü in place of Hsiu-li 休利 who reigned under the title of Ch'ü-tê-jo-shih-ju 丘特若尸逐 shan-yü 128-140 A.D. and was driven to commit suicide by the Chinese general Ch'ên Kuei 封壘 [biography in Hou Han Shu 81, d. about 158; ch. 119 incorrectly makes him die in prison in 141] who accused him of laxity towards his subjects during the crisis. Chü-niu was defeated on Dec. 1, 140 A.D. and submitted to the Chinese with many Hsiung-nu dignitaries. A year later, however, two more chün are apparently overrun by the invaders, as the seats of An-ting 安定 and Pei-ti 北地 are removed to Fu-fêng 扶風 and Pêng-i 順義 respectively.

8 Hou Han Shu 6 writes yü-chien; ch. 119 yü-tî jours. Yü-chien and chü-ch'ü are undoubtedly Hsiung-nu titles, but may have already been used as surnames. On July 24, 143 A.D. the Chinese government in its efforts to liquidate the rebellion appointed amid great pomp a Hsiung-nu prince named Tou-lou-ch'ü 允樓諸 as shan-yü [= Hu-lan-jo-shih-ju-chiu 呼蘭若尸逐 shan-yü, 143-147 A.D.]. The festivities took place at the capital [where the prince had been residing as hostage], outside Lo-yang's western Kuang-yang 廣陽 gate. Liu Pao [Shun Ti] is said to have witnessed the games which accompanied the ceremonial of investiture from the Hu t'ao 胡桃 [= ‘walnut,’ Juglans regia] palace. Many of the Han palaces both at Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, were named after plants [usually exotic ones] cultivated in their gardens. In his study of the introduction of the walnut into China [Sino-Iranica, pp. 254-275] Laufer expressed in conclusion (p. 263) the opinion that “... it is not probable that the walnut was
year, however, Wu-ssü was assassinated by bravi in the pay of the Chinese, and in the spring of 144 A. D., with the defeat of the remnants of his horde by the Chinese general Ma Shih 翟, peace was re-established on the border.9

It is T'ai-ch'i and Po-tê,10 the old associates of Wu-ssü, that we find on the war-path again eleven years later, and again Mei-chi is the first among Chinese communities to suffer from their raids. Again the easternmost of the Chi'iang tribes are up in arms ready to join hands with the nomads of the North. Should the two groups of "Barbarians" succeed in effecting a union all the work of the preceding years is lost.

Fortunately for the Han, the post of magister militum of the "dependent state" of An-ting 安定屬國都尉 is held by the energetic Chang Huan 張奂.11 Unmindful of the protests of his pusillanimous subalterns, Chang Huan, who has at his disposal but some two hundred men, moves quickly to the Great Wall, and assembles under his command all the available frontier guards. Having first detached a small force to delay the Chi'iang, he occupies with his contingent a place called Kuei-tzu 龜茲; thus preventing the Hsiung-nu from penetrating South and establishing contact with their allies. As able a diplomat and administrator as he is a soldier, Chang Huan soon wins the Chi'iang over to his side, turns in force against the Hsiung-nu, defeats them in battle, and obtains their submission.12

The quick and courageous action of the Chinese commander prevented thus the repetition of the disastrous war of the forties. In the interpretation of this episode in the history of the Han frontier by some western writers, Chang Huan's feat has, however, been magnified to colossal proportions. The strategic center of operations, Kuei-tzu was identified by them with Kucha [Chin. Ch'iu-tzü 龜茲], written with

generally known in China earlier than the fourth century A. D. under the Eastern Tsin dynasty (265-419)." He rejects completely the testimony of the spurious work Hsi ching ts'ai chi 西京雜記 which mentions walnuts as being grown in the parks of Ch'ang-an under the First Han dynasty. The above reference to a "Walnut" palace would indicate, however, that that foreign tree was cultivated at Lo-yang over a century prior to the earliest date conceded by Laufer.

9 Ibid. 119. Cf. Parker, Turko-Scythian Tribes, China Review 21, pp. 297-299.
10 Hou Han Shu 7, sub anno 155, reads 左壹且渠伯徳等.
11 Native of Tun-huang, 104-181 A. D. In his youth he had served under Liang Chi and probably owed him his position. At the time of the downfall of the latter, he was saved only through the intercession of an old friend, Huang-fu Kuei 廣府, 104-174 A. D. Biographies of both in Hou Han Shu 95.
12 Hou Han Shu 95.
identical characters], the famous oasis city of Central Turkestan. Thus, in his account of the event, Father Wiegert writes: "... T'ai-t'ie chef hun, tente de soulever la Dzungarie (12). Les K'iang du Tangou (h) se disposent à faire cause commune avec lui . . . . . [Chang Huan] fut d'une traite s'établir à Koutcha (m) empêchant ainsi toute possibilité d'une jonction entre les Huns (19) et les K'iang (h)." 13 L. Aurousseau 14 cites Chang Huan's exploit as evidence of the Chinese being in control of Kucha in the fifties of the second century. Both authors neglect to explain how Chinese troops could have been transported with such lightning rapidity from the marches of Shensi to the heart of the "Western regions" and how the occupation of Kucha in Turkestan would have prevented the union of Huns and Tibetans.

Neither suspected the existence of a second Kucha. The unfortunate mistake was caused by overlooking an important note by the Chinese commentator Li Hsiien 李賢 immediately following the mention of Kuei ts'ou in ch. 95 of the Hou Han Shu. In this note we are informed that the name of Ch'iu-ts'ou [so reads the phonetic gloss for the two characters 龜兹, 邊丘慈] designated a hsien in Shang chün 上 [in modern NE Shensi]. Li Hsiien adds that, according to the Yin-i 春義 of the Han Shu, the place derived its name from the fact that it was inhabited by people from the state of Kucha [龜兹國 in Turkestan] who had surrendered to the Chinese and settled there.

The Yin-i referred to by Li Hsiien is that of Yen Shih-ku, the well known annotator of the Han history, found in Han Shu 28 B, where Ch'iu-ts'ou is enumerated among the hsien sub-divisions of Shang chün and is described as follows: "Seat of the magister militum of the dependent state'; has an office of the salt [administration]. According to Ying Shao 艾廬 [Yen] Shih-ku says: 'It is said that ... [follows the above explanation of the origin of the city's name in a slightly different wording from that of Li Hsiien:

13 Textes Historiques, 1922 ed., pp. 750-751. The numbers and letters in parentheses refer to map X of Wiegert's atlas. In an effort to link the situation with Kucha in Turkestan he makes out the rebels to be Northern Hsiung-nu in Western T'ien shan, hence "la Dzungarie."
14 A propos de l'article de Sylvain Lévi Le 'tokharien B,' langue de Koutcha, TP 1914, pp. 391-404. On p. 398: "Koutcha est occupée à l'automne de année 155... par ... Tehang Houan..." Aurousseau refers the reader to Hou Han Shu 95 and Tsū-chih t'ung-chien pu-chêng 53.
16 Hou Han Shu 78. Flourished in the last third of the second century A.D.
TWO NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE CHINESE FRONTIER 887

Five shu-kuo were established by Wu Ti in the autumn of 121 B.C., at the time of the surrender of the Hun-yeh 昆邪 prince of the Hsiung-nu, Han Shu 6. They are usually believed to be the ‘dependent states’ of An-ting, Shang ch'ün (with the administrative seat at Ch'iu-tzu), Tien-shui 天水, Wu-yuan, and Chang-yeh 張掖. An-ting and Tien-shui were not established as provinces until 114 B.C. and Chang-yeh as late as 111 B.C. It is thought by some, therefore, that the five provinces were the old frontier commanderies of Lung-hsi, Pei-ti, Shang ch'ün, Shuo-fang, and Yün-chung. Cf. Notes of Ch'ien-lung editors to ch. 6. The offices of Chinese military commanders for these ‘states’ were abolished under Ai ti, 6 B.C.–1 B.C.

If the Shê-yen river is to be identified with the present Wu-t'ing 無定河 in Shensi, Ch'iu tzu may have been situated in the vicinity (probably to the NW) of Mi-chih hsien 米脂. Most Chinese historico-geographical works agree that the ‘dependent state’ was located within the limits of Yen-an 延安府. Wang Hsien-ch'ien is, however, inclined to place it much further north, to the N. of Yü-lin hsien 榆林.

Cf. Yen Shih-ku's definition of a 'dependent state'; 不改其本國之俗而 屬於漢故號屬國.
hundreds of other communities it must have been engulfed in the cata-
clysm of the fall of the Han and the subsequent Great Barbarian In-
vansion. The Shui ching chu passage would suggest that it was still alive under the Wei, but had lost most of its importance as we hear no more of it under the succeeding dynasties.21

The Kucha of Shensi was not an isolated case of a “Western” colony flourishing on the very frontier of China. Another colony from an oasis kingdom of the “Western Regions” existed in Shensi in close proximity to the Han capital. The evidence is again supplied by Yen Shih-k’u in a note to Han Shu 96 B, 4a, where he observes that the Wên-hsiu 温宿 mountain range which rose to the north of Li-ch‘üan hsién 漕泉 in Yung chou 鄣 was named after people from the kingdom of Wên-hsiu in Chinese Turkestan who had settled or had pasture lands allocated to them on that range in the time of the Han dynasty.22

The earliest mention of Li-ch‘üan is in the Sui Shu

21 One should not overlook the possibility that the Shensi Kucha might have existed even prior to Wu Ti’s time. The existence of a Kuchean colony in Shang ch’un throws interesting light on the suggestion advanced already by Hsiao-ying (VII c. A.D.) that the famous Ch‘ü-ch‘an 西產 (KD 493, 1167: k‘iü-ch‘an) in Shansi, where famous horses were bred in Ch‘un-ch‘iu times, [cf. Tso ch‘uan, Hsi 2] is another transcription for Kucha (Kùs‘än). Cf. PELLLOT, Tokharian et kouchén, JA 1934, p. 72, note. Chü-ch‘an was believed to be situated near Shih-lou 石樓 mountain in Shansi, not very far across the Huang ho from where the Shensi Kucha lay. The whole problem of horse-breeding regions in Western Shensi and on the Shensi-Kansu border demands special treatment. The Chinese northwest was famous for its horses since the time of Fei tâu 非子, the ancestor of the house of Ch‘in. To mention but a few passages indicating that the breed of horses raised in that region was associated with the West, I would call attention to Shui ching chu 3. 20b which mentions a “Dragon Source” 龍泉 where were bred horses as good as the “heavenly horses of the T‘ien lake” 漁池天馬 (Issyk kul!). T’ai-p‘ing huan yü chi 150 describes in Kansu a “Dragon Horse Source” 龍馬泉 where mares produced (after drinking of the water of this source) hairless colts which grew up within the year to resemble the horses of Ta yüan 大宛 (Fergana). The same work, 151, 3b, quotes a dogerel verse current in Wei chou 涇 which extols the virtues of its pasture lands. The “dragon horses” of Kucha are well known [cf. PELLLOT, op. cit.], and it is not impossible that long before Wu Ti’s conquest Western horse-breeders were plying their trade in the northwestern marches of China. En passant, I should like to note that the word lü 龍 ‘dragon’ as an epithet applied to a horse may mean nothing more mysterious than ‘dapple’ [it is then read m‘eng ↗ blang ← blung?].

22 Cf. T‘ung Tien 192. 8b and Ts‘ê-fu yüan-kuei 958. 5a. In the latter read 令 for 今 and 此 for 北. For Yen Shih-k‘u’s ... has ... 本前漢時 ... which is perhaps to be preferred because of the repetition of a few characters later. Wên-hsiu was situated in the region of modern Aqsu.
29). A Wên-hsien 温秀 range (also called 三陽山) is referred to in that chapter in a note on Li-chüan hsien. The instability of the graph for the second part of the binom Wên-hsien [温秀〜温宿〜温修] would be a supporting indication that we have here to deal with the transcription of a foreign name.

Besides the two “Aryan” colonies in Shensi there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese border a third colony from the “Far West,” this time located in modern Kansu. In the list of hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-yeh we have in Han Shu 28B a Li-chien hsien 霸軒, which re-appears again in Hou Han Shu 33, but is listed among the subdivisions of Wu-wei chün 武威 in Chin Shu 14.24 It is undoubtedly the same name that underlies the transcription Li-kan 力乾 mentioned in Sui Shu 29 as one of the five hsien which were incorporated sometime during the last decade of the sixth century into Fan-bo hsien 番和 in Wu-wei chün. It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription of Li-chien 霸軒 [Hou Han Shu 118, Chin Shu 97] Li-kan 烏軒 [Wei Lüeh, in San kuo chih 30, Han Shu 96A], or Li-hsien 黎軒 [Pei Shih 97 > Wei Shu 102], which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient (Ta Ch’în 大秦) was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty.

In Han Shu 96 [biography of Chang Ch’ien] Li-kan 霸軒 appears in the list of western countries to which were sent Han envoys after the opening up of the Great Silk Route. In his note to the text Fu Chien 服虔 of the Second Han dynasty25 identifies it with our hsien in Chang-yeh, Yen Shih-ku [whose note follows], equates it positively with Ta Ch’în, but, while condemning Fu Chien’s statement, believes it nevertheless possible that the Li-kăn of Kansu derived its name from the great country of the West: ... 霸軒縣蓋取此國為名耳霸軒者相近。...

The restoration of the original western name that underlies these transcriptions presents manifold and peculiar difficulties,26 as does the identi-

23 Cf. Li-chüan hsien chih 2, 3b, Ch’ang-an chih 10, 11b.
24 Cf. Shuo-wên chieh-tzû 3A where Li-kăn 霸軒 is also defined as a hsien in Wu-wei.
25 Flourished at the end of the second century A.D. Hou Han Shu 109B.
26 All the N used in the transcriptions are derived from archaic phonemes with initial consonantal complexes the exact nature of which it is difficult to ascertain; various indications point to a *KL or *BL and, in the case of 蘇 to *SL-. The problem deserves detailed consideration. The phonetic glosses in the above sources are confusing.
cation of the place with any district of the Roman East. At present, opinion among scholars on this question remains divided: some following de Groot and Herrmann 37 believe that the Chinese characters represent a transcription of Hyrcania, 28 others lean towards the suggestion made by Pelliot 29 that Li-kan should be equated with Alexandria. It would transcend the scope of this note to attempt even to review the complex evidence adduced in support of either hypothesis. Hyrcania or Alexandria, 35 or a tertium quid, the name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire.

The above jottings on "Kucha," 31 "Wên-hsiu," and "Li-kan" in


28 Old Persian vrākāna, cf. E. Heizfeld, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran 4, 1, Oct. 1931, pp. 20, 31. For the Kansu Li-kan one might even think of Ptolemy’s Ἀσπαγάρα.

25 In TP 1915, pp. 690-691.

22 We are not, of course, thinking so much of the Egyptian Alexandria, as one of the numerous Alexandrias, founded by the great conqueror in the East (near Khōjend, Kābul, Merv, Kandahār, etc.).

21 In connection with Kucha, I should like to discuss briefly a peculiar problem arising in the matter of Chinese transcription of foreign words, a problem that has received hitherto only passing mention. In JA 1934, pp. 74-103 Professor Pelliot has devoted considerable space to the elucidation of the question of what original central-asianic term is represented by the Chinese transcriptions čhūčhi 靭離, čhūčči 靭離 [KD 1126, 1285, 533: tσjǎk-lijç שק-א var. 떡 tσjåk-lij] and čjēčhēç 拓跋 [*tσjåk-kjuat, cf. KD 883, 503]. All these binoms represented the name of a famous temple in Kucha as well as that of a synonymous mountain-pass near that city.

The unknown Kucheane word undoubtedly meant, as established by Pelliot, 'spire,' 'point,' and is compared by him with tš. čhūč [which must have designated [as it appears clear from a Turfan fragment] the spire of a stupa. Pelliot dismisses for some reason the possibility of this word having an Indian origin and supposes that the term čhūč [and its 'tokharian' original] must have meant 'watch-tower' 'stupa' and thus could have been applied to designate both a temple and a pass, protected by watch-towers. Even if the mysterious word were 'tokharian,' I still would think that it is related to Sanskrit cikha - 'point,' 'summit,' 'crest,' cikhara - 'pointed,' 'summit of a mountain,' 'steeple,' 'spire,' 'tower of a palace or temple.' The semantic evolution of the Sanskrit word leaves nothing to be desired for an explanation of its application as the name of the above localities; while the initial may present some difficulty, the earliest Chinese rendering tσjåk-*lja, possibly tσjåk-*ljl, would be a reasonable transcription of cikhara - cekhara or of its unknown 'tokharian' relative.
China throw an interesting light on the puzzling twins of Ptolemy’s itinerary, Issedon Scythica and Issedon Serica. How many such X Scythicae, transplanted eastward by trade or war, became X Sericae only a further study of the sources will reveal. Our purpose has been to draw attention to the wealth of material hidden beneath the still virgin soil of Chinese historiography and to suggest that in the melting pot that was Northwestern China an “Aryan,” linguistic if not ethnic, element may have played a not inconsiderable part. 32

II. THE BULGARS OF MONGOLIA

September, 251 A.D. A century has passed and with it has vanished the glory that was Han. Bled by the incessant wars and revolutions of the past three generations, her population decimated, her wealth half gone, China is hopelessly split into three rival political entities. The house of Ts’ao Wei rules over the greater part of the Empire in the North,

One of the common compounds of ścihbā — ‘crest’ in Sanskrit is ścihbādha — ścihbādhar — ‘crest-bearing’ which is often used as an epithet for crested birds, particularly the peacock. In transcribing a foreign word, the early Chinese scholars often selected out of several possibilities characters which, while rendering as faithfully as possible the foreign sounds, would at the same time suggest the semantic value of the original. Indeed, all three characters 倍, 雅, and 離 used in the ancient transcriptions of the Kuehean word are names of birds, the second term entering as an element into the Chinese designation of the peacock, k’ung-ch’iao 孔雀, while both chüeh and ch’iao are occasionally used in reference to tufted birds.

32 It would be desirable to investigate carefully the genealogy of several historically prominent Chinese originating from the Western provinces of the Empire with a view to ascertaining whether under their ‘sinitic’ surnames are not concealed names that would indicate that they were descendants of western colonists who settled in China. It is well known that most of the K’ang 康 of Chinese history trace their origin to Sogdian (K’ung-ch’ü 廉) emigrants, and that the clan An 安 derives its name from An-hsi 恆 — Parthia. If we believe Wei Shu 30, An Shih-kao, the great Parthian Buddhist missionary, must have left descendents in China, as that source claims that An Tung 同, an officer of the early T’o-pa, traced his genealogy back to An Shih-kao. The Kan 甘 clan, representatives of which played such a prominent role in Chinese exploration of the west 古父 Kan Fu, Chang Ch’ien’s guide, Kan Yen-shou 甘延壽, khan Chih-chih’s conqueror, and Kan Ying 英, Pan Ch’ao’s envoy to the West] and whose name is, I believe, reflected in the name of China’s westernmost province, was probably of foreign origin. So possibly is the surname So そ, borne by a distinguished Tung-huang family under the Chin dynasty. In several cases, when it is question of natives of the west, Chang 張 appears to be a sinicized form of Chih 支 Yüeh-chih 月支 — “Indo-Cythereian.” Chang Huan, who was a native of Tung-huang, could thus have had foreign blood in him.
but again, as ninety-six years ago, at the helm of government, overshadowing the Son of Heaven, stands the powerful figure of a majordomo. Ssū-ma I 司馬懿, the last of the great warriors of the period, has just breathed his last and left the management of the Empire’s affairs and the tutelage over the Emperor to his son Ssū-ma Shih 師.  

Among his father’s officers to whom the new dictator willingly lends his ear when considering matters of foreign policy, is one Tēng Ai 唐艾 who is busy outlining to his master a plan for strengthening China’s defenses in the North. The perennial problem of Hsiung-nu and Ch’iāng is under discussion. A new process of unification has been taking place among the Hsiung-nu and the age-old prescription of political dichotomy is indicated for them, lest the empire’s northwestern communications be endangered again.

In 215-216 A.D. Ts’ai Tš‘ao, the founder of the fortunes of the Wei house, had divided the remnants of the Southern Hsiung-nu who had settled in the depopulated marches of the North into five hordes. Grazing lands were allocated to each of the hordes and each native chief was forced to share the control over his tribesmen with a Chinese resident. The shan-yü 車輪 remained a prisoner at Ts’ai’s court, while his uncle Ch’iu-pei 去卑, a loyal vassal of the Wei, acted as regent.

But Ch’iu-pei is now dead, the strict surveillance exercised over the chieftains has apparently been somewhat relaxed, and Liu Pao 劉豹, Right hsien wang and nephew of the last shan-yü, has been extending his authority over all the five hordes, not without opposition, however, from rival leaders. Tēng Ai now proposes to Ssū-ma Shih to split the

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22 Emperor Ts’ai Fang 功 [as he was deposed by Ssū-ma Shih, he has no pht.] 232-244-254-274 A.D., San Kuo chikh 4. Ssū-ma I, 179-231 A.D., Chin Shu 1. Ssū-ma Shih 208-255 A.D., ibid., 2. He passed on his post to his brother Chao 昭, 211-265 A.D., whose son Yen 焱, 238-265-289 A.D., became the first emperor of the Chin, ibid. 3.


25 The Northern Horde, numbering some 4,000 tents, was settled in Hsin-hsing 新興; the Central Horde, 6,000 tents, in Tai-ling 太陵 hsien; the Left Horde, 10,000 tents, in Ts’ai-shih 車氏 hsien [many texts have incorrectly 汶 for 車] near Tai yān; the Right Horde, 6,000 tents, in Ch’i hsien 齊; and the Southern Horde, 3,000 tents, in Fu-tzū 蘆子 hsien. Chin Shu 97, cf. also G. Goebel 内田吟風, On the Five Tribes of Hsiung-nu in the Third Century A.D. (in Japanese), Shirin 19. 2, April 1934, pp. 271-295.

26 San kuo chikh 24 [biography of Wang Li 王禮] mentions an important Hsiung-nu chief Liu Ching 刘超, who, about 248 A.D., was steadily growing in power. I am not able to identify him, however, with any of the known chieftains.
Hsiung-nu anew by “making manifest Ch’ü-pei’s meritorious services to
the dynasty” through an appointment of his son to high office among the
Hsiung-nu. Measures are also to be taken to stop the infiltration of the
Ch’iang and Hu among the Chinese population of the marches. Fiat! 38

It must have been in that year that Meng 猛, the son of Ch’ü-pei,
received the chieftainship of the Northern Horde. 39 In the same year
to the aged Liu Pao was born a son destined to revive the old glory of
the Hsiung-nu and found a Hsiung-nu kingdom on the ruins of Ssū-ma’s
empire.

Thirteen years later we find this boy as a hostage at the Chinese court
where he is winning the friendship, admiration, and support of many
prominent officials. 40 Ssū-ma Chao has just taken another step in the
policy of weakening the Hsiung-nu through a new division of hordes, and
their number is increased to three. 41 About 266 A.D., the imperial Chin
government creates a new subdivision, apparently at the expense of chief
Liu Meng. The latter raises the standard of rebellion in 271 A.D. and
seeks support among the nomads of Mongolia. As in the case of Chü-
lung Wu-ssū, however, his career is cut short by the sword of one of his
followers bribed by the Chinese, 42 and his brother Kao-shēng-yūn 諸升
 supplements him as chief of the Northern Horde. Some years later Liu
Pao, having died, is succeeded by his son, Liu Yuan 灏. 43

The reconstruction of the genealogy of the Hsiung-nu royal house from
the end of the second century on is rather difficult, and several problems
present themselves in ascertaining the family relationship of the Hsiung-
u leader during the period under consideration.

If we are to believe T’ang Shu 75B, Ch’ü-pei had little Hsiung-nu

38 Cf. Son kuo chih 28 for Teng Ai’s report.
39 In Chin Shu 57 [biography of Hu Fen 胡奮] Liu Meng is, however, referred
to as chief of the Central Horde. Wei Shu 95 specifically says, however, that he
resided in Hsin-hsing, where, as we have seen, was situated the ordo of the
Northern chieftain.
40 Among them Wang Mi 王彌 Chin Shu 100, and Wang Han 王漢 ibid. 42.
41 Chin Shu 56 [biography of Chiang T’ung 江統], d. 316 A.D.; his lengthy
report on frontier conditions was presented to the throne probably in the year
309].
42 Liu Meng’s revolt lasted from the first month of 271 to the first month of
272 A.D., Chin Shu 3.
43 Chin Shu 101, Wei Shu 95. Liu Pao must have died a very old man, as he
could not have been born later than 195 A.D. It is curious that he had no son
until about 250 A.D., and the sources would indicate that he died about 280 A.D.
In the last year of Ssū-ma Yen’s reign Liu Yuan was made, according to Šib-liu kuo ch’ün-ch’iu 1, chief of the Northern horde [supplanting Kao-shēng-yūn].
blood in his veins. The genealogy of the Tu-ku 獨孤 family contained in that source makes Ch'iü-pei to be the descendant of the Chinese prince Liu Chin-po 劉進伯 who had been captured by the Hsiung-nu and [having married a Hsiung-nu woman?] had begotten in captivity near Mount Ku [孤山下] a son named Shih-li ㄑ利. 44 Shih-li was made ku-li 谷蠡 prince by the shan-yü 萨蠻 and given the surname Tu-ku. 45 Ch'iü-pei was his son or grandson. Supplementing this evidence with information supplied from Hou Han Shu 72, we obtain the following genealogy:


Fu 藥, prince of P'i 沛, ?—39—84 A.D. [cf. ch. 3]

Ting 定, ?—84—95 A.D. [cf. ch. 4]

Chêng 正, ?—95—108 A.D. [T'ang Shu 75: Kai 王]

Kuang 廬, ?—108—142 A.D. I 銝

Jung 楊, ?—142—161 A.D. Mu 頌

Tsung 孺

Yao 嘉

Hsieh 禧, c. 220 A.D. Ch'iü-pei 去卑

Now the T'ang Shu text reads: . . . ㄑ利生㈲利二字去卑猛猛生 etc. . . . In the language of the T'ang genealogists this can only mean

44 There is no doubt from this story that the Chinese etymologized Tu-ku ㄑd'uk-kuo as derived from tk. tyu — 'to be born.' The existence of this tk. root in Hsiung-nu would suggest that the mysterious ku-tu 孤遠 ㄑd'uo-kuo, forming the second part of the title of the Hsiung-nu sovereign equivalent to the Chinese 天子 'Son of Heaven,' may be explained as resulting from an inadvertent transposition of the two characters ㄑtu-ku ㄑd'uo-kuo. The original Hsiung title corresponding to the Chinese transcription ㄑch'ang-li tu-ku would then be ㄑtängri tyu — 'born of Heaven.' The latest attempt to explain the puzzling ku-tu [K. SHIRATORI, Sur l'origine des Hong-nou, JA 1923, pp. 71—81] is not conclusive.

45 Tu-ku is probably identical with Tu-ku-hun 深, registered as a surname in Wei Shu 113 and is possibly related to Tu-ku 居 ㄑd'uo-kan which was, according to Chin Shu 97, the name of the shan-yü's clan. As ㄑk'u, the phonetic of kuo, as well as ㄑ possessed an archaic *KL- in Anlaut, Tu-ku may possibly go back to ㄑd'uo-*klo *tyu. Cf. Đoyo, the clan name of the Danube Bulgars [cf. MIKOLA, Die Chronologie der türkischen Donaubulgaren].
“Shih-li begat Wu-li, (Wu-li had) two sons, Ch'ü-pei and Meng; Meng begat, etc. . . .” with an unexplainable omission of the repetition of the two characters. From Wei Shu 95 we know that Meng was Ch'ü-pei's son, and not his brother. We are thus forced to emend the text by inserting 生 ‘begat’ after 去卑 and translate: “Shih-li begat Wu-li. His [Chin-po's, Shih-li's, or Wu-li's] second son Ch'ü-pei begat Meng. Meng begat . . .” Liu Chin-po, as we are also informed by the same text, was Tu Liao general at the time of his capture by the Hsiung-nu. The succession of Tu-Liao generals is uncertain only in the period from 141 A.D. to 156 A.D. If we suppose that Chin-po was made prisoner in 155 A.D. at the time of Chang Huan's famous campaign [see supra], this would well correspond to his elder cousin's dates and would explain why Chang Huan had to take upon himself the task of stopping the Hsiung-nu movement south, the prevention of which was one of the duties of the Tu-Liao general.

Pei Shih 53 refers, however, to Ch'ü-pei as the uncle of Hu-ch'ü-ch'üan 呼厨泉 [shan-yü 195-216 A.D.] who was the son of Ch'iang-chü 父渠 [shan-yü 179-188] and younger brother of Yu-fu-lo 於扶類 [shan-yü 188-195]. This complicates matters considerably: 1. Yu-fu-lo, who died in 198, left a son [Pao], and hence could hardly have been born later than 179 A.D. 2. His father Ch'iang-chü who left two sons at the time of his death in 188, must have been born not later than 164 A.D. 3. Hence Ch'iang-chü's father could not have been Shih-li, if Shih-li was born about 136 A.D. The only way of reconciling the conflicting evidence of the sources is to suppose that Shih-li = Ch'iang-chü and Wu-li = Yu-fu-lo, and read the above passage of the T'ang Shu as follows: . . . “Shih-li begat Wu-li. [Chin-po's] second son Ch'ü-pei begat Meng. . . .”

44 Wei Shu 95 calls Kao-sheng-yüan's son, Liu Hu, a nephew 從子 of Liu Meng, and a grandson of Ch'ü-pei.

47 We can re-establish with almost complete certainty the name and date of tenure of every Tu-Liao general from the time of the re-establishing of the office under Ming Ti in 65 A.D. until the war of 141. After the break, from 153 A.D. on, we have half a dozen names of Tu-Liao generals, but their order of succession is not at all clear from the sources.

48 There is a faint possibility that Liu Chin-po's defeat and capture took place in 140-141 A.D. Hou Han Shu 110 speaks of Ma Hsü 马續, then Tu-Liao general, as “resigning again” in the summer of 141 A.D. without mentioning, however, a former resignation. If Ma Hsü had, indeed, abandoned his post for a short time previously, due to some indecision on the part of the government during the crisis, Liu Chin-po could have undertaken his duties, been defeated in a rashly conducted expedition, and Ma Hsü resumed his post immediately after.

49 In Wu-li we may have, however, not a name, but a descriptive title <tk. mo.
Whether Ch’ü-pei was the son or the grandson of Chin-po, there seems to be no reason to doubt his Chinese origin. If Ch’iang-chü was his elder brother [and is identical with Shih-li], he may indeed have been the ku-li prince whom Chang Huan wished to place on the throne following the Hsiung-nu raid of 166 A.D., a plan that would thus appear to have been put in effect by the government only thirteen years later. The Chinese origin of Ch’iang-chü may then explain the revolt of his subjects and his murder in 188 A.D., as well as the elevation to the throne by the rebels of a Hsiung-nu prince of another clan.\textsuperscript{50}

We must not lose sight, however, of the possibility that the Pei Shih statement of relationship between Hu-ch’u-ch’üan and Ch’ü-pei is erroneous, and that Ch’iang-chü’s branch and that of Ch’ü-pei are only remotely connected, the former being a continuation of the old line of Hsiung-nu sovereigns.\textsuperscript{51} In that case, the Hsiung-nu policy of the Chinese government during the third century can be explained as shrewd playing of the male line of descent against the female line, with support being given now to the one, now to the other.\textsuperscript{52} The genealogy of the Hsiung-nu in the IIrd and IVth centuries is presented, however, on p. 298 with greater emphasis on the first supposition outlined above.

Since the beginning of the century, Ch’ü-pei’s line of Hsiung-nu had been brought into contact with the T’o-pa Hsien-pi in the North. His younger brother and his five sons had been made prisoners after a battle that marked the first appearance of the T’o-pa on the Chinese frontier;\textsuperscript{63} Meng’s son Fu-lun found a refuge among them after his father’s defeat; his son and grandson married T’o-pa princesses; so presumably did Kao-sheng-yüan. Thus whatever Hsiung-nu blood there flowed in their veins

\textsuperscript{50} The new shan-yü belonged to the Hsü-pu 須卜 clan, one of the three great clans from which the former shan-yü choose their wives. We do not know whether this new founded line endured for any length of time. \textit{Hou Han Shu} 119.

\textsuperscript{51} The change of the clan name of the Hsiung-nu sovereigns from Luan-t’i 樂台 (\textit{Han Shu} 94A) or Hsü-lien-t’i 處連題 (\textit{Hou Han Shu} 119) to Tu-ku [cf. note 45] would indicate, however, that the male line of Hsiung-nu khan had become extinct.

\textsuperscript{52} Until 216 A.D. the Chinese government supports Hu-ch’u-ch’üan; then Ch’ü-pei, apparently to the time of his death; then shifts its weight to the side of Liu Pao until 251 A.D.; leans again towards Ch’ü-pei’s line; and then about 265-270 decides to support Liu Pao again.

\textsuperscript{63} Cf. \textit{HJAS} 1. 167, note.
became still more diluted with that of the Hsien-pi; the story of Ch'ü-pei's branch is now closely bound with the history of the rise of the T'o-pa. Mông line is assimilated by them, while the house of the Ho-lien Hsia 赫連夏, founded by a descendant of Kao-shêng-yüan disappears, in 432 A.D. following a long struggle with the T'o-pa Wei, a century after the Han-Chao dynasty established by Liu Yüan had come to an end at the hands of another Hsiung-nu conqueror. The mixed nature of our Hsiung-nu is reflected, as we shall see, in their onomasticon.

Some ninety years after the fall of the Ho-lien Hsia we hear again of the Shansi Hsiung-nu. They re-appear as a distinct political organization at the time of the break-up of the T'o-pa Wei empire under the name Chi Hu 稃胡, when their chief Liu Li-shêng 刘蠡升 assumes in 525-526 A.D. the title of khan. Later we see them taking active part in the wars between the Northern Chou and the Northern Chi.

Chou Shu 49 contains a brief description of the mode of life of these Hsiung-nu from which we learn that they had become intermixed with the Chinese settlers, were partly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and had acquired some of the ways of their neighbors. Thus they raised hemp, and even silk, as the male part of the population had begun to adopt Chinese dress and funerary customs. They had, however, preserved their language and some of the old mores ["loose morals" and typical nomadic marriage customs are especially noted by the Chinese historian].

Our source informs us also that the name under which they are known in Chinese history was but an abbreviation of their polysyllabic "barbarian" appellation which was Pu-lo-chi 步落稽, KD 759, 566, 1215: b'uo-lêk-kiei [or k't'iei]. The considerable emphasis placed by the Chinese on the meticized character of these Hsiung-nu would indicate that it is in their mode of life and mixed origin that we must seek an explanation of this curious name unheard of in the previous centuries.

64 For the history of the Han-Chao, cf. Chin Shu 101-103 and Shih-hiu kuo . . . 1:10; for that of the Hsia Chin Shu 130, Shih-hiu-kuo . . . 66-69; also Wei Shu 95.
65 Wei Shu 9. They are also referred to as Shan Hu 山胡, "Mountain" Hu and Hu of Fên 涵 chou.
66 T'ai-p'ing huang-yü chi 34: Pu-lo-chi 部 (KD 759; b'uo). Quoting the Su t'u ching ts'e chi 隋圖經雜記, this source describes them in the quaint phrase 胡頭漢舌 "Hu-headed and Chinese-tongued," which would indicate that during the last part of the sixth century Chinese had largely supplanted their native tongue. Of the several words of the Chi Hu language preserved in Chinese geographical works we can identify with surety only two: K'ü-li 庫利 "k'üo-li" <tk. qul-"slave" [Chin. 奴] and K'ö-yeh 可野 "k'o-yeh <mo. qašya — 'fort,' 'enclosures' [Chin. 堡].
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ch'iang-chiü</th>
<th>Ch'ü-pei</th>
<th>P'an-liu-hsi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>光渠 7-179-188</td>
<td>去卑</td>
<td>潘六奚</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yü-fu-lo 2</td>
<td>Mêng</td>
<td>N N N N N</td>
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<tr>
<td>於扶羅 7-188-195</td>
<td>Kao-sheng-yüan 4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>鹿 thyroid</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yuan</td>
<td>Fu-lun 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>婁 c. 352-304-310</td>
<td>Hu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>虎 d. 341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Lu-ku 6</td>
<td>Wu-huan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>O-lou-t'ou</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>路孤 務桓 7-341-356 關陋頭 7-356-358-7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>K'u-jên 庫仁 c. 319-383</td>
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<td>Chüan 𒍷 d. 385 冱勿祁 7-358-359 衛辰 7-359-391 7</td>
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<td>Chien Ch'ü-ch'in Lo-ch'ên N N N P'o-p'o</td>
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<td>顒 N K'ang-ni 9 九州 d. 396 疇 d. 386 𨧂 d. 386 置辰 10 耷煟 381-407-425</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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TWO NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE CHINESE FRONTIER

1 This genealogical table is based on the following sources: Wei Shu 1, 23, 95, 83A; Chin Shu 57, 97, 101, 130; Pei Shih 1, 53, 93; Tang Shu 105B; Hou Han Shu 119; Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'i 1, 66.

2 Chin Shu 57 writes Yü-mi-fu-lo 禽.

3 Pei Shih 53, incorrectly. Hu-ch'u-nan 費.

4 For his name, cf. Kao-sheng-yüan 費, n. of an affluent of the Yellow River in Shansi, Shui ch'ing chu 3, 14a. It is possible that Kao-sheng-yüan is identical with Liu Hsüan 盧. Right hsien-wang and chief of the Northern Horde, who played an important rôle in establishing Liu Yüan as great shan-yü in 304. He was still alive in 308 and as we hear of the activities of Liu Hu only beginning with 310, it must be at this time that he died and that Hu succeeded to the chieftainship. Kao-sheng-yüan's place in the genealogy would also correspond to Yüan's designation as an avuncular grandfather 從祖 of Liu Yüan. Cf. Chin Shu 101, Wei Shu 95, Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'i 1, 8.

5 It is possible that Fu-lun is identical with Fu-liu-t'un 夾留屯 who is mentioned in Chou Shu 16 as one of the 36 tribal chieftains under the first To-pa and as the ancestor of Tu-ku Hsin 賤.

6 Wei Shu 1, sub anno 318, supports indirectly the Tang Shu genealogy by calling Lu-ku a cousin 從弟 of Liu Hu.

7 Wei-ch'ên's name (KD 1308, 119: *gwoi-šen; Sung Shu 95 writes Wei-ch'ên 臣) represents undoubtedly mo. gěi-ši — gěi-ši — 'guest,' 'stranger.' A related mo. form jičin — 'guest,' so. mo. jāči — 'id.,' name of Genghis Khan's son, appears in the To-pa onomasticon under the Chinese transcription Ch'u-chên 處真 <t'ě-wu-šên [name of a To-pa prince] and Ch'u-chên 初真 <t'si̍-wu-šên [Wei Shu, ch. 30, name of the father of Lai Ta-kan 來大干, and Chou Shu, ch. 20, that of the father of Ho-lan Hsiang 賀蘭祥. For various forms of this word in tk. mo., cf. Vlădimirskij, Сравнительная грамматика, p. 247.

8 In Hsien's 'barbarian' name Ch'ou-fa 酔伐 <t'si̍-wu-b'ent we see tk. mo. čuber — 'dapple-gray.' The parallel form ch'ī-fa 叱伐 [name of a tribal chief in Wei Shu 103] appears also in Hei Po-wu-chih 4. 3a [cf. Pien Ya 7] as the color-designation of horses presented to the Chinese court by Ta-yüan c. 742-755 A. D. and undoubtedly reflects the tk. mo. variant čuber — 'id.' the tk. mo. term exhibiting the same fluctuation of the vowel of the first syllable as mo. činaa — čōowa — 'wolf' for which cf. HJAS 1. 177.

9 Possibly č. kängōi — 'cart.'

10 For Ch'u-chên, cf. HJAS, loc. cit. Lo-chên 賤-is identical with Nuchên 奴真 <nao-tšen — njo-tšen of Wei Shu 23. The name of the Hsiung-nu chieftain was registered by the Chinese in the two variant pronunciations of the tk. mo. word for 'falcon,' lačin — način. His sister became the consort of To-pa Kuei. On her ritual murder, cf. J. R. Wood, An ordeal among the To-pa Wei, TP 1936, 207. It is to be noted that the custom of putting the heir-apparent's mother to death is probably a survival of the old nomadic tradition of killing the parents as soon as their son reached maturity and that the rule applied as much to the father as to mother. It is significant that most of the early To-pa rulers ended their lives at the hands of, or at least with the connivance of, their youthful sons. We have assembled a considerable number of texts, both western and Chinese, on the subject of the 'dying kings' of the steppes and hope to return to this interesting problem in the future.
B‘uo-lák-kiei yields us, indeed, a tk. mo. form *bulaqī which is undoubtedly derived from the root √*bul-, bula- < bulb-a ~ bulaq — ‘to mix, ‘to become mixed.’ This root is registered in Orkhon Turkish in the form bulaqq — ‘Mischung’ [= Chin. 混] and appears in almost all Turkish dialects in derivatives with the meaning ‘mixed,’ ‘muddy, ‘troubled,’ ‘rebellious.’ It is also found widely distributed in Turkish in the alliterative binoms aiaq-bulaq ~ alan-bulan — ‘mixed,’ ‘variegated.’ In Mongol besides the common bulanggir — √‘muddy,’ we find bulaq used as a term designating a horse spotted with white.

As shown by J. Nemeth, bulaq underlies the name of the Bulgars, an ethnic designation which we find applied since the early Middle Ages to three distinct groups of peoples, one on the Upper Volga, one in the Euxino-Caspian steppes, and one on the Lower Danube, all of which, as is well known, were mixed peoples. In the case of the Volga and the Danube Bulgars, the mixture consisted essentially of Turkish and Slavic elements. Each of these three great regions of Eastern Europe was

57 Cf. particularly P. Pelliot, “Les Mongols et la Papauté,” pp. 322-323, J. Marquart, Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften, p. 103. For an interesting example of use of bulaq as a proper name, see Ibn Taghri Birdi’s Annals, ed. W. Popper, 6. 273. The relation of our *bula to tk. bulan — ‘elk’ < mottled animal’ is problematical, cf. Pelliot, JA 1925, I, p. 224. While there is no doubt that the medieval Mongol compound il bulaq meant, as established by Pelliot [Les Mongols . . ., loc. cit.] ‘les peuples soumis et [les peuples] revoltés’ the original significance of it may have been ‘the il (nuclear, original tribe responsible for the creation of a confederacy) and the bulaq (the heterogeneous elements comprising the larger unit of the nomadic federation, the later ‘admixtures’ to the nucleus).’

58 On these alliterative compounds, cf. N. K. Дмитриев, О парных словосочетаниях в башкирском, Изв. Ак. Наук, 1930, 501-522.

59 Cf. kül bulaq, bulag kül — ‘a white-legged horse.’ In the form bula the term appears in the Mongolian vocabulary of Ibn Al-Muhammād. On pp. 114 and 116 of Melloranskij’s edition [Записки Вост. Отд. Имп. Арх. Общ., vol. XV, 1904, pp. 76-171] are found two Mongol idioms کیل البلاهلا and نالا قار للهو البلاهلا ‘horse with white forelegs’ and ‘horse with white hind legs.’ There is no doubt that for the unexplainable ‘yalā نالا we must read نالا ‘bulā and transliterate both expressions ‘yar bulā, ‘kül bulā — ‘with white hands [i.e. forelegs]’ ‘with white legs [i.e. hind legs],’ mo. yar and kül corresponding exactly to ar. يار and يل.

60 In Symbolae Grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Roskwodowskii, 2. 217-226, La provenance du nom bulgar. The derivation was first suggested by Tomasech in Pauly-Wissowa.

61 The belief in a purely Turkish origin of the Volga Bulgars has, I believe, been based on an undue emphasis on some passages in Arabic geographical works in which these Bulgars are referred to loosely as Turks. Shams al-Din al-
situated on the nexus of important highways, near trading centers where nomad met, bartered, hobnobbed, intermixed with settler.

The marches of Shansi on the banks of the Yellow and Fén rivers constituted exactly such a region. There converged the great Mongolian caravan routes connecting Central Asia with the Chinese internal system of highways and leading the traveler to the two capitals of China. There nomad met Chinese and Tibetan, and as we have seen, even "Aryan"; and there it was that the Hsiung-nu, with the loss of their political cohesion and the severance of formal ties that bound them to the life of the steppes, became definitely committed to the rôle of a 'marginal' people. The Hun was now a 'Mischling,' a Bulaq, a Bulgar.

The term *bulya* — *bulaq* as a designation of a hybrid people may be of high antiquity, but space limits forbid detailed consideration of its origin at present. I should like only to draw attention here to several cases of its use in the nomadic onomastic. Among Chinese transcription of 'barbarian' names scattered through the Northern histories we possess the following which are apparently based on derivatives of *bul*, *bulya* — *bulaq*:

1. Pu-lo-chi 步落籍 b'uo-lâk-k'iei *Bulaqi, Pei Ch'i Shu 10; nickname of the Chi Emperor Kao Chan 高湛."

Dimashqi [b. 1256 A.D.] reports, however, the answer of some Bulgars who passed through Baghdad on their way to Mecca, and who, when questioned on the meaning of "Bulgar," responded: *قوم مسيلون بين الترك والصقلي* [lit.: "a mixed people between the Turks and the Slavs," with *between* introducing the components of the mixture, rather than indicating the location of the people, cf. MEHREN’s translation, *Manuel de la cosmographic*, p. 381. The name of the river Volga, from which "Bulgar" is often derived, originated itself from *bulya*; cf. its other name Ròs which it owes to its being the scene of another 'commingling,' that of the Rus>Russians.

"In the Ch'un-ch'iu there appears [under the years 636 and 606 B.C.] a Jung tribe called Lu-hun 陸渾 *lu-k'yo*n which was settled in the first of the above years in the watershed between the 1 and Lo rivers in Honan. Kung-yang's commentary writes, however, Pèn-hun 閼 *p'eu-n* as recently established by Kariyzen [Word families in Chinese, p. 33] 閼 was pronounced in archaic Chinese pjar, b'jwar; we have some grounds to believe, on the other hand, that 閼 *lyuk* is derived from an archaic *BLuk. Both compounds thus may go back to *bulyan* or *bulyr*. Cf. Shih Chi 110, De GROOT, *Die Hanne der vorchristlichen Zeit*, 13, and Tscherev, *Histoire du royaume de Tsin*, 57-58. The syllabic phoneme *BLK* is so common in archaic Chinese, forming the root of at least 10 phonetic series in which the segments *mottled*, *variegated* is well attested, that the question naturally arises whether we do not have in *vbul*, *bulya* a root common to Chinese and 'Altaic.'

Pht. Shih Tsu Wu-ch'eng 世祖武成, 537-561-565-568 A.D., *Pei Ch'i Shu 7,*
2. Pu-lo-chien 步落堅 [KD 369: kien] ＜*bulaqin, Wei Shu 74; name of a barbarian chieftain, no doubt from among the Chi-Hu.

3. Mo-kên 沒根 [KD 637, 312: must-ken] ＜*bulqin, the nickname of Liu [Tu-ku] K’u-jên, who was the son of Hsiung-nu and a To-pa princess.64

4. Mo-ko 没歌 [KD 413: kâ] ＜*bulqa, possibly *bulya, the name of a tribe which To-pa Shih-i-chieh defeated in 364 A.D., Wei Shu 1. Here we may have *bulya in the sense of ‘revolt’ ‘rebellious.’ On the other hand, it may be identical with


8. Fu-lo-han 扶羅罕 [KD 41, 569, 299: b’yu-lâ-yân] ＜*bulayan, name of a Hsien-pi chief, San kuo chih 30. This transcription may represent mo. bulayan —‘sable.’ The latter word, however, may in itself be derived from bulya —‘mottled’ [animal] ‘sable’ — bulayan.65

9. Finally, several transcriptions of the name of two To-pa clans registered in Wei Shu 113 and T’ung Chih 29:


b. Pu-lu-kên 步鹿根 [b’uô-luk-kên] and Pu-lu-chin 步鹿斤 [KD 385: b’uô-luk-kêon] ＜*bulqin.66

Pei Shih 8; cf. A. Pfeizaker, Nachrichten aus der Geschichte der nördlichen Thai, p. 3, in Denkschriften of the Vienna Academy, 1884. He was the ninth son of Kao Huan and the fourth sovereign of the Northern Ch’i dynasty. The fact that at the age of eight he was betrothed by his father with a Juan-juan princess may explain his nickname.

64 K’u-jên had a third name, Lo-ch’ui 洛垂 ＜lak-êi ＜*alaei? K’u-jên represents undoubtedly tk. *quaín ~ quain — ‘sheep’ [HJAS 1.171]. The history of the latter word in tk. mo. is of peculiar interest cf. latter tk. quai vs. mo. qua, qurâqan ＜qudrâqan ~ qurâqan? Compare with the last the Chinese transcriptions of a To-pa surname: 庫若干 ＜得官 ＜*quâqan. Might, then, 賀若 which we equated with *aïr in HJAS 1.178 represent tk. *aïry ~ ‘pure,’ ‘honest’?

65 On which see Pelliot, JA 1927, I. 283 and B806 6. 562.

66 The second member of all these trilitersal compounds (lük, luk, lak) may represent nothing but the 2- of the ‘altaic’ original as in the case of A-liu-tun
TWO NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE CHINESE FRONTIER 303

The above ending *ku* is apparently the same that appears in Tu-ku 獨孤 [cf. note 44] and in Wu-lu-ku 動路孤 [KD 577: ‘wo-luo-kuo’], the transcription of a name found frequently among the nomads. This name was borne by the Hsiung-nu chief T’ieh-fu Liu Hu,67 the son of a Kao-sheng-yuan and a Hsien-pi woman. In Wu-lu-ku [as well as Lu-ku, the name of K’u-jen’s father] we may have a T’o-pa nickname derived from the tk. mo. term *uruq* — ‘family,’ ‘relative by marriage,’ cognate of both *uq* — ‘family,’ ‘clan’ and *uri* — ‘offspring,’ ‘seed.’68

The exact relationship of these roots with another ‘altaic’ term designating the offspring of a mixed marriage, the celebrated appellation *argon* (}$/aryγun* argun?) of Marco Polo, can be established only by specialists. We have previously called attention to an early transcription of this term in Ho-lu-hun 賀鹿浑 <γa-luk-γiuon, the name of a prominent T’o-pa official of the fifth century.69 It reappears in the cognomen of Kao Huan 高歡 which was, according to Pei Chi’s Shu 1, Ho-lu-hun 賀六浑 [γa-luq-giuon]. Huan’s nickname is undoubtedly explained by the fact that, although a Chinese by descent, he was raised on the frontier among Hsien-pi, his family having for generations resided in marginal territory.

I am inclined, moreover, to see the same ‘altaic’ term in the following transcriptions:

1. 阿鹿桓 [KD 1, 841: ‘a-luk-γuān’], a T’o-pa surname, Wei Shu 113.

2. The name of the Wu-lo-hou 烏洛侯 [‘wo-lāk-γeu’] tribe, ibid. 100, also called Wu-lo-hun 汀.


阿六敦 <tk. *altun* — ‘gold’ which appears in Pei Chi’s Shu, ch. 17 as the ‘barbarian’ cognomen of Ho-īn Chin 解律金 [Chin. 金 = ‘gold’]. Cf. Pflüger, op. cit. pp. 48-53. Some of these transcriptions may also reflect mo. *būlu* — ‘family’ [maternal line], *būluk* — ‘weak,’ and *būlūk* — ‘company,’ ‘troop.’ The relation of the last to Chinese pu-lo 部落 deserves special investigation.

67 The interpretation of T’ieh-fu is still uncertain [cf. Hjas 1.170]. Shiratori’s suggestions, Iev. 6 and SZ 22: 12, 1381, are not satisfactory. As a mere possibility, cf. mo tataburi — ‘hybrid.’

68 Uruq appears probably in Hsiung-nu yu-lu 於陸 *'uolu-ju, Chin Shu 97. I am inclined to believe, with Ligeti, that from *uq* ~ *oq* is derived, as a plural form, the name Oγvr ~ Oγvr.

69 Hjas 1. 170-177. Pu-lu-ku Ho-liu-hun’s biography [Wei Shu 40] contains the amusing anecdote of his future father-in-law, who was otherwise quite pleased with the groom, complimenting that his prospective son-in-law had an impossibly polysyllabic name.

69 Pht. Shên-wu 神武 Ti, 496-547 A.D. Pei Chi’s Shu 1-2, Pei Shih 7.
103, and the Ho-hun 洪 淤 [‘atu ər-yuann] river, Shih-liu kuo ch’un-ch’iu 86.\(^{21}\)

4. Finally, in the name of another hybrid marginal people, the well known Wu-huan 魯 漢 [‘uο-υαν] or Wu-wan 魯 坊 [‘uο-υαν], Hou Han Shu 129, San Kuo chih 30, cf. also HJAS 1, 172.\(^{22}\) The Wu-huan, as all Chinese sources bear witness, reckoned their descent on the mother’s side only, or, in nomadic terminology, recognized essentially the uraq as the only social unit in their organization. The restoration of the original represented by “Wu-huan” is difficult. Normally going back to ‘uο-υαν, the biounom could also be read ər-υαν.\(^{23}\)

In connection with bulaq ə bulan, our attention is drawn to tk. alaq ə alan, the second form of which appears in the name of the Ho-lan 賀欄 [KD 512: yá-lán] Hsien-pi tribe.\(^{24}\) This tribe played a considerable

\(^{12}\) Cf. the name of the river Argun in present Mongolia. Possibly also Orkhon. The relation of Orkhon to *Warkhonitai, the real name of the Pseudo-Avars [suggested by Marquart] and the possible connection of both with *argun constitutes a problem in itself, to which we hope to return soon.

\(^{20}\) Of the language of the Wu-huan only one word can be identified with certainty. This is chü-chüeh 句決 ə *kiu-ki*et — “braided hair” [San kuo chih 30] ə mo. kükül — ‘id.’ On this word in mongol cf. Pelliot, JA 1930, pp. 258-259.

\(^{21}\) That KD 1288 魯 ‘uo possessed in the archaic language a final consonant is suggested by the following: a) ‘uo in the meaning ‘what,’ ‘how’ is undoubtedly the cognate of 安’an, 魯 γat, and 安 γat which, together with 胡 γa, probably go back to *γar; b) both ‘uo and its original form गृ त built phonetic derivatives, notably with classifiers 75, 86, 169, which are pronounced *gt *nt [cf. आ an with Nos. 85, 64, 30 and 94, all pronounced *dt]; c) 魯 itself was, according to an early scholast, quoted by Yen Shih-ku in Han Shu, ch. 96, pronounced *n in the transcription of the name of a Turkestan kingdom. Cf. TP 1896, pp. 270-280, where Professor Pelliot explains this gloss as based on an original reading of ला instead of 魯 in pursuance of his theory of the graphic confusion of these two characters. In the course of his able argument, Pelliot does not, however, take cognizance of the fact that 魯 ‘lan could itself go back to *यर, especially in the transcription of a foreign word [cf. आ in आसक अरसक], ‘यर, as is well known, is a synonym, and undoubtedly a cognate, of both 安 and यम, and is sometimes pronounced यम i–ie; i–n in Aushout indicates strongly an archaic य; we suspect that in the case of the Chinese transcription of the native name of mod. Qarashahr [Yen-ch’i 漠 देन-ग्लि] yen transcribes indeed a foreign phoneme with य and it is in a central-asian root *yär *yör that we should look for an etymology of the old name of the oasis city; its Sanskrit name agni — ‘fire’ is probably a translation of the local designation which was possibly ‘shiny’ — ‘fiery.’ One should also note that 魯, in the light of the above discussion, is probably a cognate of 燕 yen इन — ‘swallow,’ both being derivatives from *iεr ə iεn — ‘black,’ ‘dark.’

\(^{24}\) Cf. Ho-la 賀賴 ə yá-lät, the name of one of the nineteen tribes of Hsiung-nu that crossed the frontier into China in 287 A.D., Chin Shu 97. In *søt we un-
able rôle in the history of the early T'o-pa and was closely related to them
through a series of marriage alliances that continued all through the
fourth century. Its name is said to be derived from that of a mountain
chain [undoubtedly the modern Aia (< Alai) shan]. According to the
Chinese, the Ho-lan mountains were thus called because of the variegated
grass covering their slopes which from afar presented the appearance of
a coat of a mottled or dapple horse.

It was an established tradition among the Chinese historians to derive
the name of a nomadic people from the name of a mountain which marked
their place of habitat. There is scarcely any doubt that the derivation
occurred in the reverse order, the tribe giving its name to the locality.
We have abundant evidence, on the other hand, to indicate that all through
the steppe region tribes often derived their appellations from the color of
their horses.\footnote{17}

Alan as the name of a tribe would suggest that their horses were dapple.
It is significant that in the short T'Ju-chüeh vocabulary preserved in the
T'ung Tien 197 the Turkish term for 'horse' is transcribed ho lan 賀蘭
< *alan, while, from the linguistic material of the Orkhon inscriptions,
we should expect at. The dapple coat of a horse, whether piebald, skewbald,
or striped, is obviously the result of the crossing of various breeds. Like

doubtedly have a 'mongol' plural in -t, a regular formation from a singular in
-n. An interesting case of an irregular -t plural is found in the Chinese tran-
scription of the 'barbarian' name of a cave in Lung-chih 龍支 hsièn (Kansu).
According to T'ai-p'ing kuan-yü chi 151. 10a, it was inhabited by fairies and
avoided on that account by the local Chi'iang and Hu who called it T'ang-shu
唐述 < *D'ang-*šuet which in their language meant 见 'ghost,' 'supernatural
apparition.' *D'ang-*šuet represents undoubtedly *tangeut a 'mongol' plural of
th. mo. t'angsuq — 'wonder,' 'supernatural thing.' It is with the latter term that
K. Shiratori [SZ XXI, 1017-1018], followed by Fang Chuang-yao [Hsiien-pi yu-
yen k'ao 鮮卑語言考, YCHP 1930, pp. 1440-1441], has attempted to equate
the original of ' T'an-shih-huai' [on which, cf. Rjas 1. 168]. See also notes 77, 80.

\footnote{17} To-pa I-huai, Shih-chün, and Kuei married Ho-lan women, while daughters
of Yü-lü and Shih-i-chien became the wives of Ho-lan chiefs. The struggle
between the Ho-lan and the Mu-jung horses for domination over their T'o-pa
relatives explains many an upheaval in early Wei history.

\footnote{56} See T'ai-p'ing kuan-yü chi 36. 14a, Yüan-ho chüan-hsièn chü 4. 4a; CHAVANNES,
Documents . . . p. 50 note.

\footnote{77} Cf. the name of a Turkish tribe, the Po-ma 駙馬 [Chin. 'dapple horses']
which was also known as O-lo-chih 逺羅支 < *d'ēt-lē-tie < th. *allātu [CHAVANNES,
Documents sur les Tou-kieu . . . p. 29, n. 4], or Ho-la 易刺 < *γ'ēt-lēt < th. allat
[T'ung Tien 200, 108; T'ai-p'ing kuan-yü chi 200, 2a, where it is specifically said
that ho-la meant 'dapple' in Tu-chüeh]. Cf. also the alakčin tribe mentioned
by Abu'il-γāzi [J. Németh, Die petschenegischen Stammesnamen, in Ungarische
Jahrbücher 10. 32].
horse, like man; in the life of the steppes, a mixed breed of horses indicates strongly a mixed breed of men. The T'u-chüeh confederacy, controlling at the height of its power the entire stretch of highways that linked China with the West, must have intensified the interbreeding of horses of subject tribes, both consciously, for improvement of the stock, and incidentally, by promoting contact among various tribes, until 'dapple' supplanted in the common terminology the generic term 'horse.'

The convergence of so many terms into single concept 'mixed' should not astonish one. 'Commingling' is indeed the big moment in the historical life of the steppe. Names of nomadic organizations, as well as those of individuals, are built up according to limited number of principles. In the predominant majority of cases they go back to words designating:

1. Birds, beasts, implements, and other familiar objects of the nomad's milieu: in tk. mo lačin, qoyin, nočai — 'dog,' raqai — 'pig,' qangli etc., are especially common.78

2. Terms of relationship, such as uruy, qedu, agan, oyul.80

3. Official titles; in the case of a tribe, the position of its chief at the khan's court may give the tribe its name. Such are tilmač, qorčin.81

4. Geographical position or relationship of the individual tribe in respect to a larger unit.82

78 Like *bulaq, alan may not be a Turkish word originally. The alan horses of the Middle Ages may be the same as the 'dragon horses' of antiquity [see note 21] and we must look to Western Turkestan for their place of origin. It is tempting also to seek in alan the origin of the ethnic designation Alan.

79 Articles of apparel gave names to two of the greatest nomadic unions: Hsien-pi 鮮卑 *Šašbi [cf. Palliot, TP 1921, 331, Karlsgren, op. cit., pp. 29-30] is undoubtedly derived from the name of the animal style buckle or šibula so common among the nomads [cf. mo. sørbe — 'agraffe'] while Mu-jung 慕容 was originally, according to Chin Shu ch. 108, the designation of a special form of headgear. Cf. also Palliot's note in TP 1930, p. 49.

80 Oyul appears in a 'mongol' plural form *oyut in the name of the Hu-lū 解律 *γυγ-λού clan, found among the Kao-chü and also the T'ieh-lè, while the clan name of the Ho-hien is probably based on Oyulan [cf. also Juan-juan Wuchú-lan 烏句蘭].

81 Cf. J. Németh, Zur Kenntnis der Petschenegen, Körösi Osomn Archivium 1. 219-225; TP 1930, p. 30; one of the earliest cases on record is that of the Hsiungnu title chu-ch'ü [cf. supra note 8] which became the name of the royal clan of the Northern Liang [see Chin Shu 129].

82 E.g. the Quriquan tribe of the Orkhon inscriptions probably owes its name to its western position in respect to the center of the turkish confederacy: cf. quriyaru — 'backward,' 'westward'; the Su-ho 素和 tribe of Hsien-pi to its
5. The color of the tribe's horses.\textsuperscript{82}

6. The number of clans or tribes composing a federation, which is then simply called "the Eight," "the Forty" etc.\textsuperscript{93}

7. Finally, as we have seen, 'mixture,' 'association of heterogeneous elements,' 'hybrid.'\textsuperscript{85}

Whatever aristocratic ideals or tendencies may have existed among individual nomadic clans, 'hybridization' was never conceived by the nomad as an evil in itself. The constant formation and desintegration of enormous confederacies promoted inter-breeding in the steppe and especially on its fringe, on the frontiers of the great peripheral civilizations of China, Persia, and Rome. Intermarriage, in peace and war, repeatedly created mixed racial types and individuals who often were, in the words of the Venetian,\textit{ plus beaux hommes que les autres mescrêans et plus sages} and who as often obtained \textit{la seigneurie} over their pure-blooded relatives.

The 'mongers' of Central Asia have always been 'mongrels.' It would seem, therefore, that for a better understanding of the history of the steppe, emphasis should be laid not on ascertaining the location of the 'original home' of this or that group of nomads, but on investigating the emplacement of this or that politico-geographical crucible from which, mixed with other ingredients, it emerged on the historical scene; not on the study of "the path of migration" of, let us say the Bulgars, from "their ancestral home in Central Asia," but on the analysis of the interplay of forces which produced the \textit{buîya} — 'mixture,' without which there could have been no Bulgars.

position to the left of the center [cf. \textit{T'ang Shu} 217B, where Su-ho is translated by Chin. 上]. Distinction is often drawn between the nucleus of a nomadic union and the 'federati,' or occupants of the original pastures and the 'emigrants.' Thus the name of the Turk is probably derived from \textit{tst} on which see \textit{Thomsen, Turcica}, in \textit{Samlede Afhandlinger} 3. 102-105, while the terms \textit{Tölö} and \textit{Tartu}, of the Orkhon inscriptions are based on the second distinction.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{82} See note 77 and J. Németh, \textit{op. cit.} As shown by Marquart in \textit{Über das Volkstum der Koman}en [cf. Pelliot's review of this work in \textit{J.} 1920]. Polovtsof [the Russian name of Kumans; germ. Falben] is derived from \textit{paláy} — 'fallow,' possibly from the color of their horses. I am inclined to interpret their tk. name as 'Qum-man — 'sand-like,' 'sand-colored' and \textit{ku'man-aty} [Marquart, \textit{op. cit.} 58, 64] as 'with sand-colored horses.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{84} Cf. especially Lietzau, \textit{Die Herkunft des Volksnamens Kirgis}, \textit{Kürsi Csomac Arvhíum} 1. 369-383.

\textsuperscript{85} Another great semi-turkish political organization which derives its name from a term meaning mixed [again one of great antiquity on the Asiatic continent] is that of the Khazars. On the root 'Kas, cf. \textit{Marquart} [Markwart], Woher stammt der Name Kaukasus? in \textit{Caucasica} 6, esp. p. 29.
AN EARLY MONGOLIAN TOponym

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The well-known early Sung gazetteer *T‘ai-p‘ing huan-yü chi* [The Record of the Domed Precinct Space of the Era of Grand Complanation], a work compiled in the period 976-983 A.D., contains, in its description of the northern marches of the Chinese empire, numerous local non-Chinese toponyms, several of which can be identified as transcriptions of Turco-Mongolian words.

Among them, we have *K‘u-li* 庫利 (35.13a), the name of a river, also called in Chinese the "'Slave' River," thus permitting us to equate *k‘u-li* with Turkish *qul*, "slave"; and the city of *Mo-le* 蘆勒 (38.10a; Anc. Ch. *muâ-loke*) so named by the T‘u-chüeh (according to the text) because of the excellent fish in the river nearby. The transcription undoubtedly represents Turk. *baliq*, "fish," with Ch. *m*- serving to render, as it frequently does, Turk. *b*-.* Chiüan 36.4b mentions also a *Ku-hu* 骨胡 (Anc. Ch. *kudâ-yuo*) river, also called "'Dry' River." *Kudâ-yuo* could well stand for *quryu*, a dialectal form of standard Turkish *kuruy*, "dry."

Of greater interest is the name of a river in I-ch‘uan hsien 宜川縣 (modern Northern Shensi): *K‘u-t‘o* 庫磯 (Anc. Ch. *k‘uo-d‘a*). *K‘uo-d‘a* is a perfect transcription of Mongol *quda*, "affine," "relative by marriage," "go-between," "gossip," "trader," "monger," a term of great sociological import for the interpretation of early Mongolian tribal organization. According to the text (35.12a) which quotes an earlier atlas, this river derived its name from the fact that it formed a line of demarcation between the Chinese and the Barbarians and that the two peoples were in the habit of solemnizing contracts of marriage or alliance (with the burning of incense 香火) in the middle of the watercourse. The *t‘u-ching* 圖經 (atlas) from which the *T‘ai-p‘ing huan-yü chi*
derived its information cannot be identified with certainty, but is doubtlessly a T'ang or Sui work of the type mentioned in the bibliographies of the two dynasties. The I-ch'uan territory had never been under the control of the Sung, and their gazetteer must have utilized here sources a century or two older.

Qua is typical for the Mongolian branch of the Altaic family, since the root is practically unknown in Turkish environment. Mongolists will, I am sure, welcome this evidence of the important term attested possibly as early as the seventh century.