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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1939), pp. 230-283

Published by: [Harvard-Yenching Institute](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2717776>

Accessed: 21/12/2012 04:27

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# MARGINALIA TO THE HISTORIES OF THE NORTHERN DYNASTIES

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## 3. THE ALTAIC WORD FOR "HORN" IN THE POLITICAL NOMENCLATURE OF THE STEPPE

According to the Northern Chinese historians,<sup>1</sup> the rulers of the powerful federation of the Juan-juan 蠕蠕 who dominated Mongolia during the fifth and the first half of the sixth centuries and who are generally identified with the "real" Avars of the Byzantine sources<sup>2</sup> bore the clan name Yu-chiu-lü 郁久閼 (anc. \**iuk-kizü-lü<sup>wo</sup>*). This appellation is believed to be a variant of Mu-ku-lü 木骨閼 (anc. *muk-kuæt-lü<sup>wo</sup>*), the nickname of the eponymous ancestor of the clan whose story is briefly recounted by the chroniclers in the opening lines of their history of the Juan-juan.

At the end of the reign of the T'o-pa "emperor" Li-wei 力微 (pht. Shên-yüan 神元, 174-220-277 A. D.),<sup>3</sup> runs the story, some raiding horsemen of the T'o-pa captured a young slave who could remember neither his clan nor his personal name and was nicknamed by his master<sup>4</sup> Mu-ku-lü. On reaching maturity, the youth freed himself from servitude and became a rider in the T'o-pa horde. In the time of I-lu 猗盧 (pht. Mu 穆, born between 267 and 277, ruled 308-316 A. D.),<sup>5</sup> Mu-ku-lü, threatened with execution for having been late for duty, escaped to Mongolia, where

<sup>1</sup> *Wei shu* 103, *Pei shih* 98; cf. *T'ung tien* 196, *T'ai-p'ing huan yü chi* 193; for the southern sources, cf. particularly *Nan Ch'i shu* 59, *Liang shu* 54.

<sup>2</sup> The identification is by no means certain, and the whole question deserves careful re-study.

<sup>3</sup> His dates we gave incorrectly in *HJAS* 1. 169. The above are based on *Wei shu* 1, *Pei shih* 1. Father HYACINTH mistakenly identifies the Shên-yüan of *Wei shu* 103 with Khan Chieh-fên 詰汾. (Соорание свѣдѣній . . . 206).

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to say whether the T'o-pa master of the slave is meant, or a former one; more probably, the captor.

<sup>5</sup> Father HYACINTH again erroneously takes the Mu of the text as referring to Ssü-ma Tan 聃 (343-345-361 A. D.), emperor of the Chin dynasty, whose posthumous title was also Mu (*Chin shu* 8).

he assembled a band of fugitives like himself and thus founded the nucleus of the Juan-juan confederation.<sup>6</sup>

The reason for the nickname bestowed upon the young slave was, says the text, that “his hair was originally on a level with his eyebrows” 髮始齊眉, which may mean that the hair on his head grew as short as that of the eyebrows, or, possibly, that his hair, when loose, did not extend beyond the eyebrow-line, that is it was not more than two or three inches long.<sup>7</sup> He was accordingly named Mu-ku-lü which meant “bald of head” 首秃.<sup>8</sup>

The Chinese transcription does not evoke any of the known Altaic terms for “bald,”<sup>9</sup> but immediately suggests, as pointed out already in 1903 by K. SHIRATORI (*Izvestiia Akademii Nauk* 1903, 018; discussed at greater length in *SZ* 22, 1383-1387),<sup>10</sup> Mongol *moḡor* ~ \**moḡor*—“blunt,” “without horns” > *moḡotur*—“hornless cattle” ~ Manchu *muḡūri*—“blunt,” “rounded,” *moḡolo*—“hornless.”<sup>11</sup> Now both *moḡor* and *moḡotur* are usually used to designate deficiency of a normal body excrescence and besides horns are also applied to indicate absence or poor growth of hair in animals, especially as to the tail (cf. *moḡotur* or *moḡor segül*—“tailless,” “short-tailed”).<sup>12</sup> As *moḡor* and its derivatives are

<sup>6</sup> The original name of the confederation was Jou-jan 柔然, chosen as a designation for the horde by Mu-ku-lü's son Ch'è-lu-hui 車鹿會. Possibly from Tk. *javčan*—“artemisiasia” > “artemisiasia-colored” > “purple.”

<sup>7</sup> The first interpretation is more likely. Cf. the expression “to cut off hair to the level of eyebrows” 剪髮齊眉, *Wei shu* 102 (referring to customs of the Yüeh-pan). There is no reason to see in what was probably nothing more than an individual style of dressing hair (or a vitamin deficiency) a “gorilla-like morphological trait” as GRUM-GRZHIMALO does in *Западная Монголия* 2, 174.

<sup>8</sup> The *T'ang lei han* 120, 4a, writes: 字之曰大百階木骨閭者首秃也. I do not know what to make out of the first three characters of the name. They appear to transcribe some such word as \**tabaqai* ~ \**dabaqai*. Could it be a cognate of Mo. *dabaγan*—“mountain” with the semantic extension “top” > “head”? Or is it a mistake for 大洛階 which would give Mo. *taraqai*—“bald”?

<sup>9</sup> One of these terms, Mo. *qalɣayai*, is possibly transcribed by Chinese *k'o-lo-kai* 可洛岐, the name of a mountain in Kansu (*Sui shu* 53, *Pei shih* 73). Chin. 岐 means “bare hill.”

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also the Chinese translation of SHIRATORI's study by FANG Chuang-yao, *Tung Hu min-tsu k'ao* 東胡民族考, Shanghai 1934, 145-154.

<sup>11</sup> The modern Mongol dialects have: *muhār* (Buriat), *muḡur* (Ordos), *Moḡor* (Monguor).

<sup>12</sup> Chinese 秃 “bald” is used in the same sense in 秃尾 “hairless tail,” but also “short-tailed,” “tailless.”

also registered in the sense of "dull" (mentally, spiritually), it would seem that the term was quite appropriately conferred as a name upon a queue-less youth stupid enough to forget his origin and appellation.

Whether Mu-ku-lü renders an old Mongol or an old Manchu form is difficult to decide.<sup>13</sup> The final vowel of the Chinese transcription would, at the present stage of our knowledge, favor *Ma. moχolo*. A more interesting problem is, however, raised by the Anlaut of our word. The *Wei shu* text implies that Mu-ku-lü and Yu-chiu-lü<sup>14</sup> were variant pronunciations of the same word. We must have here, then, an Altaic vocable exhibiting the highly significant fluctuation in initial sound: labial~aspiration~vocalic ingress, of which the so-called "Schmidt-Ramstedt Law" is the best known illustration.<sup>15</sup>

It is generally believed by those favoring the hypothesis of a proto-Altaic language, common ancestor of the Turkish, Mongol, and Tungus groups, that Altaic initial \*p- had undergone the following evolution: <sup>16</sup>

$$\text{Altaic } *p- \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Turkish: } >' - > \circ - \\ \text{Mongol: } > \phi - > h - > \circ - \\ \text{Tungus: } > f - \\ & p - \end{array} \right.$$

The list of correspondences, at least so far as the two Far Eastern branches of the family are concerned, is imposing, and

<sup>13</sup> We are not sure what language the Juan-juan spoke. Professor PELLIOU believes that they spoke Mongol. Naturally, the scanty evidence that we get from Chinese transcriptions of names and titles cannot be taken as conclusive in forming an opinion as to the language of the masses comprising the federation and can serve only as a clue to the speech of the ruling clan.

<sup>14</sup> The latter undoubtedly represents \**h'uqul/ru* or \**hükül/rü*.

<sup>15</sup> G. RAMSTEDT, Ein anlautender stimmloser Labial in der mongolisch-türkischen Ursprache, *JSFO* 32-2; P. SCHMIDT, The language of the Negidals, *Acta Univ. Latviensis*, 5. The discussion of the alternation was, I believe, inaugurated by SCHMIDT as early as 1898 in *Der Lautwandel im Mandschu und Mongolischen (J. of the Peking Or. So., 4)*.

<sup>16</sup> Elaborated to include Finno-Ugrian languages by A. SAUVAGEOT, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des langues ouralo-altaïques*, Paris 1930. This work has been bitterly attacked by SHIROKOGOROFF in Ethnological and linguistical aspects of the ural-altaic hypothesis (*CHHP* 6), perhaps a little unjustly, though SHIROKOGOROFF's strictures on the validity of the "law" carry weight.

the restoration of an initial \**h*- for a series of ancient Mongol words where the \**h*- is invariably matched by a Tungus *f*- (or Goldi *p*-) is an important achievement in the field of Altaic linguistics.<sup>17</sup> In a few cases, however, the simplified theory of \**p*- > \**φ*- > \**h*- > °- is complicated by the sporadic appearance (in a given series) of words with initial \**b*- or even \**m*-. Thus, the hypothetical Altaic \**palqa* which produced regularly Ma. *folxo*—“hammer,” Goldi *palua*—‘*id.*,’ Mo. *aluqa*—‘*id.*,’ is registered in Turkish as *balqa*—‘*id.*,’ where we should expect \**alqa* or some similar form without consonantal Anlaut.<sup>18</sup> Mongol *ünüyär* (< anc. Mo. \**hüni*, corresponding regularly to Shirongol *funi*)—“fog,” “vapor” appears in a Sino-Mongol dictionary of the 14th century as *moniyar*.<sup>18a</sup> The theory of phonetic evolution does not account for such cases and it would seem at the present state of the investigation preferable to note carefully every instance of such phonetic alternation without committing oneself to upholding a strict phonetic law of evolution.<sup>19</sup>

The supposition that our word \**mu-qul/ru*~\**huqul/ru* exhibits such an alternation is supported by a study of its hypothetical original. Indeed, if we take the Manchu form of the term *moχolo*—“hornless” (corresponding to Mo. *moχor*), it appears to be a close relative of *foχolon*—“short,” “deficient”~Jučen \**fuχolo*~Mo. *oqor* < \**hoqor* (IBN AL-MUHANNĀ, *هوچار* \**huqar*, so also the Leyden MS, *Izv. Ak. Nauk.* 1928, 76), Buriat *oχör*.<sup>20</sup> Remembering, on the other hand, our connotations “blunt”~“rounded,” we must connect *moχolo* with Ma. *muχeliyen*—“round,” *muχaliyan*—“ball,” *muχeren*—“ring” (cf. Bur. *möχörön*—“round,” Mo. *möχoliq*—“*id.*”). In Mongol the same root “round” is registered also in the palatalized form *müger*, *mügür*—“circumference,” *mügürek*, *mügülik*—“little ball,” “circle.”

<sup>17</sup> Cf. particularly PELLIOU, Mots à *h* initiale dans le mongol, *JA* 1925, 193-263.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. PELLIOU, *op. cit.* 262-3, and 210-11, 224.

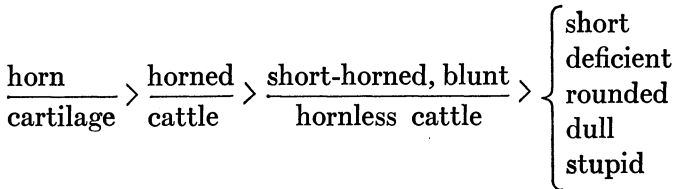
<sup>18a</sup> *Op. cit.* 238.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. additionally Ma. *falga*—“village” vs. Mo. *balya-sun*—“city”; Mo. *burgi*—“to rise” (as smoke, dust) vs. Ma. *furgibu*—“to rise” (of dust); Mo. *horim*, *orom* (*op. cit.* 220) vs. *mör*—“trace,” “path.”

<sup>20</sup> PELLIOU, *op. cit.* 245; Г. Санжеевъ, Манчжуромонгольскія языковыя параллели, ИАН 1930, 702.

“Horn” and “blunt” lead us further to Mo. *mögere-sün~bögere-sün*—“cartilage” > modern dial. *mögörs, möxörs, mügörs*—Turkish *\*böñüz*—“horn”; Ĵag. *müñüz*, Kirg. *müyüz*, Osm. *boynuz*—‘id.’<sup>21</sup> Finally to Altaic *\*püker*—“ox,” “horned cattle” > Mo. *üker*—‘id.’ (< anc. Mo. *\*hüker* ھوكر), Khalkha *uxxür*,<sup>22</sup> Chuvash *vêGâr, mêGâr, moGor*; Turkish: Osm., Ĵag., Cum. *öküz*, Yak. *oyus*;<sup>23</sup> and Mo. *eber*—“horn,” probably derived from *\*eger* > *\*eβer* (cf. Khalkha *ewer*).<sup>24</sup>

Underlying all these words is the root *\*BUGUR~\*hUGUR~\*UGUR* which apparently underwent the following semantic evolution:



The most interesting connotation of the Altaic word for “horn” is found, however, in its use as a term relating to nomadic organization. According to *Hou Han shu* 119, the four greatest chiefs of the Hsiung-nu (the two *hsien* 賢 princes and the two *lu-li* 谷蠡 princes) were called the “Four Horns” 四角. Next to them came the “Six Horns” 六角 (two *jih-chu* 日逐 princes, two *wên-yü-t’i* 溫禺鞮 princes, and the two *chan-chiang* 斬將 princes).<sup>25</sup> All of

<sup>21</sup> Cf. POPPE, ДАИ 1925, 19-22; also *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 9. 110; RAMSTEDT, Az d hang a mongolban . . . , *Nyelvtudományi közlemények* 1913, 233; POPPE, Skizze der Phonetik des Bargurjätischen, AM 7, 339. Cf. Chuvash *mêyraGa* < *\*mêgraGa*—“horn,” POPPE, ИАН 1925, 41.

<sup>22</sup> Monguor *fuGuor*, SMEDT & MOSTAERT, 104.

<sup>23</sup> On that series see Z. GOMBOCZ, Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache, MSFO 30, 111; PELLIOU, *op. cit.* 240; POPPE in ДАИ 1925, 11.

<sup>24</sup> We believe that in some cases *üker* in Mongol has survived in the older meaning “hornless” > “bald,” as in names of plants where it appears to designate beardless, awn-less varieties of grain: *üker arbai*—“beardless oats.” Cf. also *mekir*—“n. of a plant,” LAUFER, TP 31, 267-269, and PELLIOU’s observations p. 269 n. *T’ung tien* 29, 14b translates our Mu-ku-lü as 青首秃. Whence the character 青? Could there have been some confusion in the mind of the author of the source which the *T’ung tien* used between the different meanings of the original T’O-PA word: 首秃—“bald” and 青稞 (*mekir?*)—“*Hordeum nudum*”?

<sup>25</sup> None of these titles have yet been satisfactorily explained.

them were sons and brothers of the shan-yü; the other Hsiung-nu ranks and offices mentioned by the Chinese sources were held by chieftains belonging to clans other than that of the supreme ruler.<sup>26</sup> There were thus no more than "Ten Horns" in the Hsiung-nu organization. This is confirmed by the post-face of the same chapter of the *Hou Han shu* where Chinese victories over the Hsiung-nu are described as having resulted in 破龍祠焚鬪幕阮十角栝闕氏 the destruction of the Dragon Altar (the Hsiung-nu central place of worship), the burning of their felt tents, the entrapping of the Ten Horns, and the fettering of the *o-shih*<sup>27</sup> (the *shan-yü*'s consort).

This important text leads us to the solution of one of the most puzzling questions in the history of Central Asia, the significance of the term \**uγur*, \**γur*, \**γuz*~\**oγuz* which appears with disconcerting frequency in so many supposedly ethnic designations among the nomads. As our passage shows, the chiefs of the Hsiung-nu, the oldest nomadic organization of the steppe known to us, were collectively called by the Chinese the "Ten Horns,"<sup>28</sup> undoubtedly a term translated from the Hsiung-nu language. The confederation of the Western T'u-chüeh, as we learn from both Chinese and Orkhon Turkish sources, was similarly termed the "Ten Arrows," Tk. *On oq*, Chin. 十姓 or 十箭—the "Ten Clans" (V. THOMSEN, *Turcica* 4-26; CHAVANNES, *Documents*, 27-28; HIRTH, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonyukuk*, 67-69). According to the Chinese, the designation originated in the custom of each of the ten chieftains being presented by the khan with an arrow.<sup>29</sup> While THOMSEN'S argument is conclusive on the point

<sup>26</sup> Cf. DE GROOT, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, 56, but "Ecke" is hardly the correct translation for 角.

<sup>27</sup> The Hsiung-nu word underlying this transcription is still doubtful. The title was probably derived from an epithet, "the beautiful (lady)" < "the rouged one," as an almost identical transcription renders the name of a plant from which rouge was obtained by the Hsiung-nu.

<sup>28</sup> Whatever may be the real etymology of the name of the Hsiung-nu, our study would suggest that \**χiæn-ïuk* ~ \**χi<sup>ω</sup>ong-nuo* may have been interpreted folk-etymologically as containing Altaic \**hon*—"ten" + \**oq* or \**uγur*.

<sup>29</sup> The use of arrows as credentials, sending messages, etc., was wide-spread among the nomads of the period. On an interesting case of such use, cf. *Wei shu* 28, biog. of Mo T'i 莫題.

that *On oq* usually stood for “ten arrows,” RADLOFF’s opinion that the expression was sometimes understood as *on uq* “ten families” (rather than RADLOFF’s “ten tribes,” in view of Chin. 十姓) should not be dismissed, as *uq* is a term that would precisely cover the khan’s family (~families) of which the chiefs of the ten divisions were undoubtedly members (cf. “Ten *šad*,” Chin. 十設, a synonym of 十姓; the title of *šad* was borne by immediate relatives of the khan only).<sup>30</sup>

The close parallel between the two organizations, the ten divisions with both peoples being split into two groups, a “left” group of five, and a “right” one of five,<sup>31</sup> would strengthen the supposition that the old Hsiung-nu term “horn”~“chieftain”<sup>32</sup> survived in the political nomenclature of nomadic peoples long after the disappearance of the Hsiung-nu power. “Horn” came to mean simply “unit of organization,” “division,” “horde.” In many cases its etymology was forgotten, but whenever large confederations of nomads were formed they called themselves by the traditional appellation \*(B) UGUR—“horns”~“hordes,” now in the compound form “so many horn-s,” now in the combination of “horn” with a color term (white, yellow, black).<sup>33</sup> In every case the name reflected their constitutional organization, and never their ethnic consciousness.

It is interesting to note that the traditional term when used as the designation of such a confederation reflected the pronunciation

<sup>30</sup> The link between *On oq*—“Ten Arrows” and our hypothetical \**On oγur*—“Ten Horns” might be sought in a variant of the latter, \**On oγuz* < \**On oγud*, that was interpreted as a Mongolian plural of *On oq*.

<sup>31</sup> Or, Eastern and Western, respectively. We suspect that whenever we have an organization of five hordes it represented originally one half of a larger confederation of ten units. Such appears to be the case of the five hordes of the Bulgars.

<sup>32</sup> We do not want to discuss here the other common connotations of “horn,” strength, vitality, power, its religious symbolism, or the polarity of the meanings. The polarity of associations (strong : weak) can be interpreted by sociological factors, without going into “paleolinguistics.”

<sup>33</sup> The use of the color term can be explained variously: (1) as indicating geographical location (black for north, red for south, yellow—center, white—west, and green (bluish)—east); (2) from the color of the horses; (3) as referring to class distinctions (white—noble, black—low-born).



of the word in different Turkish-speaking localities. We have it thus in the form \*UGUR: <sup>34</sup>

1. In the name of Unugurs, Οὐννουγούροι of THEOPHYLACTUS,<sup>35</sup> Οὐννιγούροι of MENANDER, Ὀνόγουροι of PRISCUS, < \*On uγur—“Ten Horns,” a nomadic confederation which appeared in Europe in the middle of the fifth century and whose constitutional organization was probably inspired by that of the Hsiung-nu.<sup>36</sup>

2. As the last element of the names Κουτρύγουροι and Οὐτιγούροι of AGATHIAS, the Cuturguri and Uturguri of PROCOPIUS.

3. In the Σαρδύγουροι of PRISCUS.<sup>37</sup>

4. The Ὀγῶρ of THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA, generally believed to be the Ugurs.<sup>38</sup>

5. The УГРЫ of the Russian sources.

6. In the name of the “Eastern Magyars” the *Başyirt* باشغیرت *Başyird* بشغیرد, *Mağyar* مجار of the Arabic geographers.<sup>39</sup> The fluctuation of the middle radical between -\*G- and -\*NG- (as in \*bögere~bönerē—“cartilage”) explains the form

7. UNGAR *vs.* Ugri~Ugor (УГРЫ), the alternation making it unnecessary to derive the name of the Hungarian from \*Onuγur, unless, of course, it could be demonstrated that the Hungarians possessed an organization of ten divisions.<sup>40</sup> The labial initial of some forms of our etymon “horn” appears in the original name of the same people

<sup>34</sup> We limit ourselves to the most significant illustrations, without noting all the variants which can be easily ascertained by reference to the texts and to special studies.

<sup>35</sup> Whether Simocatta’s Οὐννουγούροι (Bonn, 284) is a mistake for Οὐννιγούροι, or a final -n variation of our root (cf. PELLIOU, *op. cit.* 240) is difficult to decide.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. particularly J. MORAVCSIK, Zur Geschichte der Onoguren, *Ung. Jahrb.* 10. 53-90. Also J. SCHNETZ, Onogoria, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 40. 157-160.

<sup>37</sup> Long recognized as being a transcription of \*Sari-ugur—“the Yellow Ugur.”

<sup>38</sup> And Οὐγούροι of MENANDER (Bonn, 301).

<sup>39</sup> The first element might well be, as supposed by J. NÉMETH, the numeral \*bäs—“five.” For the latest review of the vexing question of the *Mağyar*, cf. MINORSKY, *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*, London, 1937.

<sup>40</sup> On the ancient history of the Hungarians, cf. MACARTNEY’S excellent work *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, Cambridge 1930. Also H. SCHÖNEBAUM, *Die Kenntnis der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber von der ältesten Geschichte der Ungarn vor der Landnahme*, Berlin 1922; DARKO, Die auf die Ungarn bezüglichen Volksnamen bei den Byzantinern, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 1912, 472-487.

8. Magyar < \*Mog'er (cf. Hetu Mogyer—" \*Seven Horns," the seven chiefs of the Hungarian legend). We should expect, indeed, a labial initial in the Volga region, where the Magyars originated, on the basis of Chuvash *vâgâr, mâgâr*—"ox" < horn.<sup>41</sup>

9. The same labial sound reappears in Vengri~ Венгры, the slavonic rendering of the name of the Hungarians.<sup>42</sup>

10. The vanishing labial explains also the form Pugur, the name under which the Ugur are mentioned in the chronicle of Michael Syrus (MARQUART, *Streifzüge*, 485).<sup>43</sup> In Mongolia, where on the basis of Mo. *eber*—"horn" it is not unreasonable to expect dialectically a labial for the middle radical, we have

11. The Avars, the Ἀβαροι of the Byzantines, and the Обры < \*Obër, of the Russian chronicles.<sup>44</sup> Finally, the *z* variation of *uγur* (> \**uγuz*), valid for several dialects, clarifies

12. The name of the *Toquzoyuz*—"Nine Oγuz" < \*"Nine Horns." Also probably the name of Oγuz Khan, the great legendary hero of the Turks.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Cf. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De adm. imp.* 40, for Μεγέρη, one of the transcriptions of the name of the Magyars, which is registered by the emperor as the name of the third tribe of the Κάβαροι. On the difficult question of the relationship between the Magyars, the Κάβαροι, and the Κάγκαρ, cf. H. GRÉGOIRE, Le nom et l'origine des Hongrois, *ZDMG* 1937, 630-642. I am inclined to believe with Professor GRÉGOIRE in the identity of Kabar and Kangar. The Altaic alternation of *-ng-* with *-β- ~ -w-* (of the type that we find in Tk. Mo. *qunur* ~ Tat. *qowur* > russ. каурый — "isabella," "buff" (of horses); the relation of the Tk. Mo. word to Chinese *hua-liu* 騅騊 is problematical) makes it, however, unnecessary to presuppose a graphic metathesis in Κάβαροι. See note 46.

<sup>42</sup> For the various names of the Hungarians, cf. J. MELICH, Ueber den Ursprung des Namens Ungar, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 38, 244-250.

<sup>43</sup> It is quite probable that the name of the Mongols (mongol ~ mongor) also goes back to our etymon. Traditionally the name is usually explained as meaning "dull," "weak" (D'OHSSON, *Histoire* 1. 22).

<sup>44</sup> In the light of our hypothesis, RAMSTEDT's suggestion (Этимология имени Ойратъ, Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ. по отд. Этногр. 34, 547-548) that the name of the Oirat is derived from \**ogir-*, a root related to that found in the name of the Uigurs, receives considerable substantiation. Cf. for the development of the middle consonant of our *eber* ~ \**eger* in Monguor, SMEDT and MOSTAERT, Dictionnaire monguor-français 480: *uyer*—"corne."

<sup>45</sup> Cf. PELLIOU, Sur la légende d'Oγuz-Khan en écriture ouigoure, *TP* 27, 247-258; W. BANG and G. RACHMATI, Die Legende von Oγuz Qaγan, *SPAW* 1932, 683-724; W. RADLOFF, Къ вопросу объ Уйгурахъ, 21-53. Oγuz Khan's birth is obviously connected at the beginning of the legend with an ox.

If the above suggestions should find substantiation, we shall see ourselves obliged to revise several of our notions concerning the history of Central Asia. Instead of ethnic designations we shall have to deal with terms of political nomenclature reflecting essentially the form of the constitutional organization of nomadic groups. We believe that the dark mists obscuring the history of the steppe would be dispelled sooner if emphasis were laid on the study of the migration of political symbols rather than on that of hypothetical migrations of ethnic units, on the "alarums and excursions" of political groupings, rather than on the mythical meanderings of self-conscious ethnoses, each bent on propagating its particular linguistic or racial self.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> It is not improbable that the same etymon, \*horn ~ \*horde, was current in eastern Europe in a form with an initial sibilant (cf. Old Bulgarian *σλγορ* ~ ПЛЕГОР—"ox" < \*šyγur; J. MIKKOLA, Die Chronologie der türkischen Donaubulgaren, *JSFO* 30) and it is with that initial that it appears in *Bašγirt* and *Mašγar*, as well as in the name Σάβροι and the Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι (on the latest hypothesis concerning the second part of the last term cf. H. GRÉGOIRE, L'habitat "primitif" des Magyars, *Byzantion* 13. 267-278). The alternation *h* ~ *š*- (and *q*-, *k* ~ *š*-) is well known in Mongol dialects.

To sum up, we believe that it would repay investigation to study the various ethnic names of early medieval Asia and Europe in the light of the hypothesis that the different "Gog and Magog" confederations of the Steppe called themselves merely \*horns > \*hordes, the primitive etymon appearing in the following forms: 1. UGUR: -ογουρ-, -γουρ-, угр-. 2. UNGUR: Hungar-. 3. BUGUR: Mogerī, Μεγέρη, Mu-ku-lü. 4. BUNGUR: Венгр-. 5. BAGAR: Magyar > Μάγαρ-. 6. АВАР < AGAR: Avar-, Обр- (cf. also the habit of the Russian chronicles of referring to the Turks as Агаряне—"sons of Hagar," "Ishmaelites," the Biblical allusion being possibly suggested by the homonym AGAR). 7. XAGAR ~ XANGAR: Κάβαρ-, Κάγκαρ-, \*XAG'AR > χαζάρ- (cf. Мо. *qabar*—"nose," but also "horn ends of a bow"). 8. SABAR: Σαβαρ-, Sabir, also the Arabic name of cis- and trans-Uralian tribes: Ibir-Sibir. 9. UGUZ: -ογυζ, Ούζ.

Whether Theophylactus Simocatta's Μουκρί should be adduced here is doubtful. That name is apparently identical with Mukuri, the designation of Kao-li (Corea) which is found in a Sanscrit-Chinese dictionary. Cf. PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI, *Deux lexiques sanscrit-chinois* 77, 348. If, on the other hand the Avars are not identical with the Juan-juan, it may well be that Μουκρί refers to the latter, and is to be equated with our Mu-ku-lü.

In the case that \*Mukri ~ \*Mukuri really refers to Kao-li (very likely including Southern Manchuria) it would be interesting to ascertain whether the name is not related to that of the Mu-jung 慕容 (anc. \*muo-g-\*zī'wong) or Mu-yü 慕輿 (anc. \*muo-g-\*zī'wo) who dominated southwestern Manchuria for over a century and whose name must have been well known to the nomads of Mongolia. \*Mukzu ~ \*Mukzū may indeed have been a *z* variation of \*Mukuru. Cf. also the Mo-i 墨台 (anc. \*Mak-d'i),

## 4. THE CORONATION OF T'Ō-PA HSIU

On July 21, 531, KAO Huan, ally and sworn brother of ÊRH-CHU Chao 爾朱兆,<sup>47</sup> found the moment propitious to utilize the growing tide of popular resentment against the ÊRH-CHU for purposes of his own ambition, and, throwing off all pretense of allegiance to their cause, took up arms against the dictators at Hsin tu 信都.<sup>48</sup>

Although forewarned of his plans,<sup>49</sup> ÊRH-CHU Chao and his cousins, distrustful of one another, allowed KAO Huan to gain time which he skillfully utilized, and it was only on September 5 that the cousins started a concerted movement of armies against Hsin tu. Craftily making use of the dissension in the ranks of his enemies, KAO Huan spread the rumor that he was secretly in accord with Chao and plotting in common with him the downfall of ÊRH-CHU Chung-yüan 仲遠 and ÊRH-CHU Tu-lü 度律.<sup>50</sup> The suspicious cousins, believing the report, withdrew from the campaign, and ÊRH-CHU Chao was for the moment left alone to deal with his erstwhile friend.

On October 31, to give an air of legitimacy to his undertaking, KAO Huan set up at Hsin-tu prince T'Ō-PA Lang 朗 as emperor,<sup>51</sup> and on November 9, he inflicted a serious defeat upon ÊRH-CHU Chao at Kuang-o 廣阿,<sup>52</sup> thus opening up the road for a march

the supposed surname of Po-i and Shu-ch'i, whose kingdom was traditionally located in Jehol; cf. also *Chou shu* 17, biog. of I Fêng 怡峯, who was a man of Liao-hsi and whose original surname was also Mo-i.

For \*Mukuru, cf. additionally the "barbarian" surnames Mo-hu-lu 莫胡盧, Mo-hou-lu 莫侯盧, and Mo-lu 莫盧 (*T'ung chih* 29-30).

<sup>47</sup> *Wei shu* 75, *Pei shih* 48.

<sup>48</sup> Near modern Chi 冀 hsien in Hopei. He had come into possession of that city in the second month of the year. For the past several months KAO Huan had been manoeuvring for the best position from which to strike at the ÊRH-CHU. On his relations with other rebels, cf. S. HAMAGUCHI, 高齊出自考 Eine Forschung zur Herkunft von Kōsei, *SZ* 1938, 821-855, 1004-1040. We hope to be able to add some pertinent material to HAMAGUCHI's interesting study.

<sup>49</sup> By his lieutenant MU-JUNG Shao-tsung 慕容紹宗 (501-549), *Pei Ch'i shu* 20, *Pei shih* 53.

<sup>50</sup> *Wei shu* 75, *Pei shih* 48.

<sup>51</sup> On the advice of SUN T'êng 孫騰 (481-548), *Pei Ch'i shu* 18, *Pei shih* 54.

<sup>52</sup> Near modern Lung-p'ing 隆平 hsien, Ho-peï. ÊRH-CHU Chao's forces outnumbered those of KAO Huan, who was at the time very apprehensive as to the outcome of his

on Yeh 鄴. That important city was taken after several weeks siege on February 8, 532, and on April 3, KAO Huan installed there the new sovereign. The movement was growing; already eastern provincial commanders were rallying to KAO Huan's cause.<sup>53</sup>

Realizing only too late the grave threat to their very existence that KAO Huan now presented, the ÊRH-CHU rushed all available forces towards Yeh. On April 28 an army of some 200,000 men under the command of ÊRH-CHU Chao, ÊRH-CHU Chung-yüan, ÊRH-CHU Tu-lü, and ÊRH-CHU T'ien-kuang 天光<sup>54</sup> arrived under the walls of the city. Entrusting the defense of the citadel to FÊNG Lung-chih 封隆之,<sup>54a</sup> one of his most reliable lieutenants, KAO Huan with a field corps of about 2,000 horse and 30,000 foot soldiers entrenched himself at Han-ling 韓陵.<sup>55</sup> A night attack upon the city having failed (May 16), the ÊRH-CHU turned against KAO Huan's camp two days later. The battle ended disastrously for them; panic and treachery<sup>56</sup> shattered the ÊRH-CHU army; the defeat became a rout; and the four leaders sought safety in flight.<sup>57</sup>

Within a fortnight KAO Huan was master of the situation and in possession of Lo-yang, the capital. On June 6, both T'Ō-PA Kung 恭, the emperor set up by the ÊRH-CHU, and his own puppet ruler T'Ō-PA Lang, whom he had brought to the capital, were deposed, and KAO Huan made preparations to install a new emperor. His choice fell at first on T'Ō-PA Yüeh 悅, prince of Ju-nan 汝南, then living in Liang, whither he had fled in 528 at the time

undertaking. *Pei Ch'i shu* 16 and *Pei shih* 54 give the credit for persuading him to strike boldly to Huan's wife's nephew TUAN Shao 段韶.

<sup>53</sup> *Pei Ch'i shu* 1, *Pei shih* 6.

<sup>54</sup> *Wei shu* 75, *Pei shih* 48: 496-532.

<sup>54a</sup> *Pei Ch'i shu* 21, 485-545 A. D. He had a private score to settle with the ÊRH-CHU, as his father had been killed by ÊRH-CHU Jung.

<sup>55</sup> A hill NE of An-yang.

<sup>56</sup> HU-ssü Ch'un 斛椿斯 (*Wei shu* 80, *Pei shih* 49: 495-537) and CHIA Hsien-chih 賈顯智 (also known as CHIA Chih; *ibid.*: 490-534), generals of the ÊRH-CHU, passed over to KAO Huan's side and, in order to save their own skins, prevented the organization of further resistance.

<sup>57</sup> Chung-yüan fled south to the Liang. T'ien-kuang and Tu-lü were beheaded at Lo-yang. ÊRH-CHU Chao managed to evade pursuit until early in 533, when, tracked down, he committed suicide.

of ÊRH-CHU Jung's 榮<sup>58</sup> capture of Lo-yang and the merciless slaughter of members of the imperial court. When Yüeh arrived from the border where he was residing in wait for a possible chance to re-enter the realm, KAO Huan changed his mind. Informed that T'Ō-PA Hsiu 脩, prince of P'ing-yang 平陽,<sup>59</sup> was discovered hiding in the vicinity, he had him brought to his camp, and on June 13, Hsiu was proclaimed emperor in the eastern suburbs of Lo-yang.

In its account of these events, *Pei shih* 5 has preserved an interesting detail of the coronation ceremony which is not found elsewhere. It appears that an ancient rite which the T'Ō-PA had practiced at Tai<sup>60</sup> was revived on the occasion. Seven men, presumably high officials, for KAO Huan is said to have been one of them, held up (lit. "were covered by") a black felt rug on which the new emperor, facing west, made obeisance to Heaven. Following the ceremony, the emperor proceeded into the city, where he received at the palace, in the customary Chinese fashion, the congratulations of the court: . . . ○ ○ ○ 卽位于東郊之外用代都舊制以黑氈蒙七人歡居其一帝於氈上西向拜天訖自東陽雲龍門入。

This custom is well known in the coronation ritual of the nomads of Central Asia, and is especially well attested by western sources for the Mongol period of the 13-14th centuries. The Armenian HETHUM<sup>61</sup> describes it as a part of the ceremonial of Jenghis Khan's inauguration, mentioning the detail of the black rug and the seven chiefs supporting it. HETHUM's insistence on the sanctity of the "primer usage" is significant enough to cite the passage in full:<sup>62</sup>

"Dont il avint que les VII chevetaines dessus només<sup>63</sup> as-

<sup>58</sup> *Wei shu* 74, *Pei shih* 48: 493-530 A. D. Murdered by T'Ō-PA Tzū-hsiu on November 1, 530 (*Wei shu* 10, *Pei shih* 5).

<sup>59</sup> See genealogical table of the T'Ō-pa which indicates the relationships of all these princes (at end of this article).

<sup>60</sup> That is in the fourth and fifth centuries, prior to the removal of the capital to Lo-yang by T'Ō-PA Hung in 494.

<sup>61</sup> Nephew of Hethum I, king of Armenia, author of *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient*, dictated in French to Nicolas FALCON about 1307.

<sup>62</sup> *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens* 2, 148-149; cf. BERGERON (*La Haye*, 1735 ed.), *Histoire orientale de Haiton*, 27-28; L. DE BACKER, *L'Extrême-Orient au moyen-âge*, 163-164.

<sup>63</sup> The seven chiefs of the seven "nations" enumerated in the preceding paragraph:

semblerent le peuple des Tartars, et firent faire obediẽce e reverẽce à Canguis, e eaus firent ce meismes, comme à leur naturel seignor.”<sup>64</sup>

“Après ce, les Tartars establirent un siege à miluec de eaus e estendirent un feutre noir sur terre, e firent seer desur Canguis. E les chevetaines des VII nacions le leverent aveu le feutre, e le mistrent sur le siege<sup>65</sup> e le nomerent Can; [et en] egenoillant soi, li fesoient tout honor e reverẽce, come à leur seygnor. De cele sollempneté que les Tartares firent à leur seignor en celui temps, nul ne se devoit merveiller, car, par aventure, il ne savoient miaus, ou il n’avoient plus bel drap sur quoi il feissent seoir leur seignor. Mès de ce que il ne ont volu changier leur primer usaige, se porroit l’om bien merveiller, qui ont conquis tantes terres e roiaumes, e encores tienent leur primer usaige. Quant volent eslire leur seignor, e j’ai esté II foiz à la eleccion de l’empereor des Tartars,<sup>66</sup> e ai veü coment tous les Tartars s’assembloient en un grant champ,<sup>67</sup> e celui qui devoit estre leur seignor faisoient seoir sur un feltre noir, e metoient un riche siege au mi d’eaus. E venoient les hauz homes et ceaus du lignaige de Changuis Can, e le levoient en haut, e le metoient aseoir sur le siege, e puis lui faisoient toute reverẽce e honor, come à leur cher seignor e naturel. Ne por seignorie ne por richesce qu’il aient conquises, n’ont volu changier leur primer usaige.”

So far as we know, Oriental sources do not mention such a rite at Jenghis Khan’s elevation to leadership over the Mongol hordes.

Tartars, Tangot, Eurach (read Eurath), Jalair (some MSS Jasan), Sonit, Mengli, Tebet.

<sup>64</sup> End of ch. 1 of Book 3. Some MSS. have as the title of ch. 2: Comment les Tartars firent et esleurent premièrement leur seigneur, et le nommerent Cam.

<sup>65</sup> . . . cum maximo tripudio et clamore . . . adds the Latin version (*Recueil*, 284).

<sup>66</sup> The BERGERON version (*op. cit.*, 28) omits the repetition of the description of the ceremony, apparently believing it redundant. The omission is unwarranted, as the significance of the repetition lies in the emphatic testimony of the Armenian eyewitness to the fact that the ritual as practised in the second half of the 13th century was exactly the same as that performed at the enthronement of the founder of the Mongol empire.

<sup>67</sup> One French MS, supported by the Latin version, mentions a richly decorated tent erected on the ground where the ceremony took place. In the *Pei shih* account the emperor is said to have awaited KAO Huan’s pleasure in a felt tent.

There is, however, no reason to doubt HETHUM's testimony, as much of his work is based on information he obtained directly from the Mongols. Practised by nomadic rulers already some eight or nine hundred years before Jenghis Khan, the rite must have been part of the traditional ceremony of the inauguration of a khan, and the solemnity with which it was performed by the great conqueror's descendants would indicate that it was well sanctified by tradition.

According to SIMON OF ST. QUENTIN (in PLANO CARPINI IX, 10)<sup>68</sup> the ritual was followed at the coronation of Güyük in August 1246. The color of the felt is not given nor the number of the nobles who lifted the rug but Güyük's consort is said to have sat on the rug together with the khan during the elevation. As SIMON himself was not present at the coronation his testimony is but of secondary importance. The *Waṣṣāf*, on the other hand, testifies that the ritual was performed at the coronation of Hai-shan 海山 (pht. Wu-tsung 武宗, 1281-1308-1311). The details of the ceremony, as given by D'OHSSON (*Histoire des Mongols* 2. 528-529 n.), differ slightly from those noted by the Armenian historian for preceding enthronements: the color of the rug is said to be white, and while seven princes of the blood participate in the ritual, only four of them lift the khan up, while two others support him by the arms, and the last of the seven presents him with a cup of wine.

IBN 'ARAB-SHĀH (*Fākihat al-Khulafā*, Bonn 1832 and 1852, 234-235; Mosul ed. 1869, 234) describing the coronation of Mongol khans also mentions but four high officials كل امير كبير اربعة انفس who lift up the rug by the corners, but specifies the color of the felt as black.<sup>69</sup> Our last contemporary witness, SCHILTBERGER (*Travels*, Hakluyt Soc. 58, p. 48), states that the kings of Great Tartaria were raised at enthronement on a white felt three times, then carried around the tent and seated on the throne. The survival of the custom (invariably with a white felt and in most cases

<sup>68</sup> That section of Carpini's work is attributed to Simon by Vincent de Beauvais.

<sup>69</sup> I am indebted to Professor W. W. POPPER for the correct understanding of the passage describing the coronation.



with four men lifting the rug) has been observed among Turkish and Mongol tribes down to the present time.<sup>70</sup>

Prior to the Mongol period, we find some elements of the ceremony among the T'u-chüeh. According to *Chou shu* 50, at the inauguration of a new khan the highest nobles of his entourage raised him up on a felt rug making nine turns in the direction of the sun's movement, and at each turn the new khan's subjects made obeisance to him. The color of the felt and the number of men lifting the rug are not specified. It is probable, however, that the T'u-chüeh custom, if not borrowed from the T'o-pa, originated in the same milieu, and that the number of chieftains was also seven. Although nine and ten are arithmologically more important in the known customs of the T'u-chüeh, it is likely that the number seven was associated among them with an older constitutional tradition. In the famous letter of the T'u-chüeh khan to Emperor Maurice,<sup>71</sup> the khan calls himself in the preamble *ὁ μέγας δεσπότης ἑπτὰ γενεῶν καὶ κύριος κλιμάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἑπτα*. We are inclined to see in the "seven races" and the "seven climates" genuine Turkish expressions rather than *calques* of western origin. The division of the T'u-chüeh into eight *μοίραι* mentioned by MENANDER<sup>72</sup> can also be interpreted as meaning seven traditional tribal groups plus that of the *παλαιότερος μονάρχος Ἀρσίλας*.

Returning to the T'o-pa ritual, one must observe that the number of men supporting the rug is based undoubtedly on the tradition that prior to their migration southward the T'o-pa under Khan Lin 隣 (pht. Hsien 獻, c. 160 A. D.)<sup>73</sup> were divided into seven hordes under seven chiefs, all elder and younger brothers of Lin. Together with Lin's own clan or horde, there were eight divisions; including two other divisions (of more distant relatives), the T'o-pa came to comprise altogether ten clans

<sup>70</sup> See Н. И. Веселовский, Пережитки некоторых татарских обычаев у русскихъ, *Живая Старина* 1912, 27-38. VESELOVSKY thinks that the Russian custom of "rocking" (качать) a person at the celebration of his promotion might be a survival of the Tartar rite of "elevation" on a rug (pp. 36-38).

<sup>71</sup> Theophylactus Simocatta 7. 7-9.

<sup>72</sup> Menander, Bonn 399.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. *HJAS* 1. 180.

族.<sup>74</sup> This division should not be confused with that into four hordes, of administrative and geographical origin.

As to the color of the felt, the testimony of *Nan Ch'i shu* 57 and *Sung shu* 95 is explicit that black was the official and most honored color among the T'o-pa.<sup>75</sup> That the emperor faced west during the ceremony is curious. Orientation to the east seems to have been the most prevalent among the nomads,<sup>76</sup> until supplanted by a southern orientation, probably under the influence of the Chinese. Northern orientation is not unknown, but a western one is not attested. A possible explanation in our case might lie in the fact that as the coronation took place in the eastern suburb of Lo-yang, the emperor faced west towards the capital where he was about to hold sway.

Our passage in the *Pei shih* raises incidentally another very interesting question. If we compare our text with that of *Wei shu* 11, we note that the description of the ceremony is inserted between 卽位于東郊之外 and 自東陽雲龍門入 (*Wei shu* has 入自東陽雲龍門) of the *Wei shu*, and comprises twenty-four characters. The number is highly suggestive in view of the fact that many ancient Chinese texts were characterized by a pronounced stichometry, the usual length of a line being twenty-two or twenty-four characters. The question requires a detailed study. We shall limit ourselves for the present to pointing out a few salient facts and significant illustrations.

It is well known that prior to the Han certain important texts such as the *Shu ching* were written on bamboo (or wooden) tablets 22 or 24 Chinese inches long. According to *Han shu* 30, LIU Hsiang believed that the tablets 22 inches long contained 22 characters, while those 24 inches in length comprised 25 characters (cf. CHAVANNES, *Les livres chinois avant l'invention du papier*, JA

<sup>74</sup> *Wei shu* 113.

<sup>75</sup> Prior to the removal of their capital to Lo-yang the T'o-pa ruled (according to the Chinese cosmological scheme) by virtue of the water element, whose color is black.

<sup>76</sup> The T'u-chüeh, Wu-huan, and Hsiung-nu, as is well known, oriented themselves towards the rising sun. So did the Juan-juan, according to a text which has, I believe, been overlooked heretofore: *Pei shih* 13, biog. of the Juan-juan princess, daughter of A-na-huai, who became the consort of T'o-pa Pao-chü. She died at childbirth in 540, aged 16 Ch.

1905, 1-75, esp. pp. 30-38), and used effectively his theory in his critical analysis of the *Shu ching*. If, however, tablets of 22 inches contained 22 characters, it is more probable that those of 24 inches long contained 24, rather than 25 characters.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, should we examine certain suspicious passages in the *Shu ching*, we would find that many of them number exactly 24 characters. Thus, in the *Yao Tien*, Yao's famous speech to Hsi Ho on the length of the year, a paragraph markedly differing from the rest of the chapter in its rhythm and style, is 24 characters long: (1) 帝曰咨汝羲暨和朞三百有六旬有六日以閏月定四時成歲.<sup>78</sup> The long speech of Kuei 夔 in *I chi* 益稷 (preceding another by the same person which is but a repetition of a passage in the *Shun tien*: 夔曰於予擊石拊石百獸率舞) contains from (2) 夔曰戛擊 ○ ○ ○ 到 鳳凰來儀, 48 characters, *i. e.* 24 x 2.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, the paragraph preceding the aforementioned passage of the *Shun tien* (3) 帝曰夔命汝典 ○ ○ ○ 神人以和 = 48 characters. The one following the twelve characters, beginning 'Kuei said' . . . , which may be considered an interpolation, (4) 帝曰龍朕聖 ○ ○ ○ 朕命惟允 is 26 characters long; omitting 帝曰, which is not necessary if the passage is a continuation of paragraph 3, we have 24 characters.<sup>80</sup>

Again, the first part of chapter 20 of the *Lun yü*,<sup>81</sup> which has always been recognized as containing a jumble of passages taken

<sup>77</sup> LIU Hsiang's estimate is, however, not necessarily incorrect; there are, indeed, a few scattered paragraphs in the *Shu* that are 25 characters long.

<sup>78</sup> The corresponding passage in *Shih chi* 1 is only 13 characters long. SSÜ-MA Ch'ien omits the preamble (7 chars.) and ○ ○ ○ 有 ○ ○ ○ 有 ○ ○ ○ 成歲. On the supposition that the preamble is not necessarily a part of the text, we have 17 chars. forming the fundamental part of that paragraph. With the following eight chars. which close the first section of the *Yao Tien*, the paragraph would number 25 chars. in the *Shu*, 21 in the *Shih chi*. In the second part of the *Yao Tien*, we note the following stichometrical paragraphs: 1. 帝曰疇咨若時 ○ ○ ○ 訟可乎—23 chars. 2. 帝曰咨四岳朕在位 ○ ○ ○ 忝帝位—25 chars. 3. 曰明明 ○ ○ ○ 如何—24 chars. The section closes with two paragraphs, the first of 26, the second, 23 chars.

<sup>79</sup> Note that the passage coming just before the one in question numbers 22 characters: 帝曰迪朕 ○ ○ ○ 象刑惟明.

<sup>80</sup> In addition we have in the *Shun tien*: 帝曰兪咨禹 ○ ○ ○ 皇陶—24 chars. (so also in *Shih chi* 1); 帝曰契百姓 ○ ○ ○ 在寬—21 chars. (22 in the *Shih chi*).

<sup>81</sup> The *Lun yü* is generally supposed to have been recorded on tablets 8 inches long (CHAVANNES, *op. cit.* 33). Cf. FORKE, *Lun Hêng*, 456.

out of texts similar to the *Shu ching* in style and content, inserted in the original text of chapter 19 (子張), can be paraphrased in the following manner: (5) 堯曰咨爾舜。○。○。天祿永終: 24 characters.

Then follows an obvious interpolation or gloss of five characters 舜亦以命禹; next comes (6) 曰予小子履。○。○。有罪不敢赦: 22 characters. This, together with the following paragraph, seems to be taken from a version of the present *T'ang kao* 湯誥 chapter of the *Shu*,<sup>82</sup> one or possibly two characters are missing before 曰. (7) 帝臣不蔽。○。○。罪在朕躬; 24 characters.<sup>83</sup> (8) 周有大賚。○。○。在予一人: 24 characters.<sup>84</sup> Two paragraphs, the first of 31 characters, the other of 22 characters,<sup>85</sup> close the text.

These examples of stichometry in the *Shu* could easily be multiplied. But there is a far cry from Chou texts written on clumsy wooden tablets to chronicles put down on paper a thousand years later. How could the stichometry of the *Shu ching* and similar texts affect the material organization of the jottings of an historian of the sixth or seventh century A. D.? An examination of a printed page of the pre-revolutionary period would give us the answer. Until recent times the outward appearance of such a page still preserved all the essential features of ancient texts written on tablets. Evenly written columns of a Chinese text each containing the same number of characters and separated from each other by thin vertical lines are but a reproduction of a row of tablets placed side by side for uninterrupted perusal.<sup>86</sup> The respectful elevation

<sup>82</sup> Cf. also *Mo Tzu*, ch. 兼愛, where the quotation of the second paragraph of T'ang's speech is closer to the *Lun yü* text.

<sup>83</sup> The corresponding section of the *T'ang kao* (爾有善。○。○。以爾萬方) numbers 22 + 20 words.

<sup>84</sup> The last 16 words of the paragraph come from the *T'ai shih* chapter of the *Shu*, where 12 characters intervene between the first and the second sentences composing the 16.

<sup>85</sup> Totalling altogether 53 characters. Note, however, that the five characters 信則民任焉 are omitted in the oldest versions, such as that of the stone Classics. Without these five characters the paragraphs would comprise 48 (24 x 2) words.

<sup>86</sup> It is quite possible that the custom of making a paper scroll for recording important documents by pasting together long and narrow strips of paper, which was current in the medieval Near East, is a survival of the Chinese conception of a page as a row of tablets glued together.

of some lines by one or two characters reflects the old uneven dimensions of the tablets, as 24 inch *vs.* 22 inch tablets. The title of the book on the margin is a survival of the practice of marking the title on the edges of tablets stacked up in a bundle,<sup>87</sup> while the black wedge mark placed on the margin one-fourth of the length of the page from the top edge (and sometimes also at a point marking the same distance from the bottom), the so-called "fish-tail" 魚尾, is undoubtedly the vestige of the notch on ancient tablets which held in place the string which kept the tablets together when tied.<sup>88</sup>

It is noteworthy that rolls of silk which supplanted tablets as writing material were in ancient China 24 inches wide.<sup>89</sup> It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that when paper was substituted for silk, the traditional dimensions were preserved, at least for the most important documents, and that the length (in terms of number of characters) of the ancient tablets was reflected in the length of a line.

It could well have been thus that the chronicles of Wei were recorded on paper with columns containing 22-24 characters following the time-honored *Shu ching* pattern. Our passage numbering 24 characters formed such a line in the original source used by both the *Wei shu* and the *Pei shih* and, while omitted in the former text, was restored in the latter.

A study of the paragraphing of *Pei shih* 5 will further confirm the supposition. In the annals of T'Ō-PA Lang we have: (1) 二年春二月甲子以勃海王高歡爲大丞相柱國大將軍太師: 24 characters,<sup>90</sup> followed by (2) 及歡敗爾朱氏於韓陵四月辛巳帝於河陽遜位

<sup>87</sup> As is still done today when titles are marked on the edge of the *pên*, so that a particular *pên* can be located without opening the *t'ao*.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Sir Aurel STEIN, Notes on Ancient Chinese Documents, *New China Review*, 3, 243-253.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Sir Aurel STEIN, Central-Asian Relics of China's Ancient Silk Trade, *TP* 20, 130-141 (with additional notes by Professor PELLIOU).

<sup>90</sup> The date corresponds to March 1, 531. *Pei shih* 6, *Pei Ch'i shu* 1 mention KAO Huan's elevation to the posts of chancellor and generalissimo immediately following the date of the capture of Yeh (February 8). Note that both passages from 正月壬午 ○ ○ ○ to ○ ○ ○ 太師 number also 24 words. In *Wei shu* 11, where the appointment is given in greater detail, all the events of the second month are registered in a passage 44 chars. long.

於別邸：22 characters,<sup>91</sup> then, (3) 五月孝武封帝爲安定郡王十一月殂於門下外省時年二十：24 characters. Cf. the different wording of the same paragraph in *Wei shu* 11 which also contains the same number of characters, 24 from 五月。○。○ to 二十。 (4) At the beginning of the annals of the same emperor the paragraph 廢帝諱朗。○。○明悟 numbers 24 characters in *Pei shih* 5. In the *Wei shu*, with slightly different wording, the same number.<sup>92</sup>

The annals of T'Ō-PA Hsiu begin with (5) 孝武皇帝。○。○李氏, a paragraph 24 characters long (*Wei shu* has 21), followed by (6) 帝性沈厚。○。○縣公, 22 characters (corresponding to *Wei shu*'s 23). Next come two paragraphs numbering 17 and 19 characters,<sup>93</sup> the latter parallel to an entry of 69 (23 x 3) characters in the *Wei shu*. The text continues with (7) 中興二年。○。○遜大位, 21 characters (or 24, if we suppose that 安定王 stood after 廢帝 in the source used by the *Pei shih*), matched by 24 characters in the *Wei shu* (same content but different wording). Then, following the words 歡乃與百僚議, we have (8) 以孝文。○。○而止：23 characters (24, if we suppose that 歡 had originally been the subject of the sentence) parallel to 21 in the *Wei shu*.

With a rather loosely used 又—"also," *Pei shih* takes up the story of Hsiu's hiding, and we count in (9) 又諸王。○。○五旬而 44 characters. The 而 supposedly linking this paragraph with the next, is not in good style, and it is reasonable to suspect some omission.

Continuing with the account of Hsiu's discovery by KAO Huan. *Pei shih* has a long section consisting of 26 + 26 + 26 + 26 + 9 characters<sup>94</sup> extracted undoubtedly from some *Ch'i chü chu* (Court

<sup>91</sup> Here the *Pei shih* is obviously summarizing a long account in its sources.

<sup>92</sup> The next sentence, omitted in the *Pei shih*, numbers 23 characters. The rather lengthy account of the first year of his reign (in the *Wei shu*) is summarized in the *Pei shih* in three paragraphs of 23, 26, and 23 words.

<sup>93</sup> That last number is rather significant, for in the *Wei shu* the enumeration of all the appointments T'Ō-PA Hsiu received after his enfeoffment (from 通直。○。○ to 左僕射 inclusive) takes 76 (19 x 4) characters. These have been reduced to 19 in the *Pei shih*, making it appear as if, at one stage of the process of editing, four lines of a text written in columns of 19 characters had been condensed into one single column.

<sup>94</sup> Note that at the beginning of the fourth paragraph we have 使斛斯椿。○。○

Journal) rather than from chronicles. Then follow in succession four paragraphs dealing with the enthronement: (10) 於是假。郭之外: 21 characters. (11) 用代都。拜天訖: 24 characters, or 23 if the last character be considered part of the next paragraph. (12) 自東陽。極前殿 23 (or 24) characters. (13) 羣臣朝。昌元年 22 characters.

In order to understand the re-arrangement of the different sources, one must compare the above section with the corresponding passage of the *Wei shu*<sup>95</sup> which consists of 戊子 (a) 卽帝位於東郭之外 (b) 入自東陽雲龍門 (c) 御太極前殿 (d): 22 characters. 羣臣朝賀禮畢昇闈闔門 (then omitting the long edict) 大赦天下改中興二年爲太昌元年: 24 characters.

This text the *Pei shih* supplemented with passages from an unknown source and re-arranged as follows: (1) The second line was reduced to 22 characters by the omission of 天下. (2) Date (a) in expanded form 永熙元年夏四月戊子皇帝<sup>96</sup> was inserted between sentences (b-c) and (c-d), thus producing our example 12. (3) The description of the elevation ceremony (24 characters) was inserted at point (b). (4) (a-b) was joined to the 14 characters 於是假廢帝安定王詔策而禪位焉<sup>97</sup> which probably formed the concluding sentence of the section from the *Ch'i chü chu* mentioned above. Altogether, the original 46 characters of the *Wei shu* were expanded into 90 (49 characters added and 5 omitted) or, in other words, to two original lines two more were added, and the text was re-arranged to form a continuous study.<sup>98</sup>

"(he) sent Ho-ssü Ch'un . . ." the name unnecessarily written in full, where on the basis of the preceding we should expect Ho-ssü Ch'un's *ming* alone to be used.

<sup>95</sup> On the supposition that the *Wei shu* forms the basic text. The argument and the reconstruction would not be fundamentally affected, however, if the *Wei shu* paragraphs prove to be, as suggested above, an abridgment of an ulterior source.

<sup>96</sup> It is likely that the *Pei shih* is correct in omitting the date for the "elevation" ceremony and giving it only for the sitting on the throne in the capital itself, as the possibility is not to be dismissed that the "elevation" took place some time before the emperor's enthronement in the Chinese fashion.

<sup>97</sup> 廢帝安定王 "the deposed emperor (who later became) king of An-ting" comes obviously from a source which termed both Kung and Lang "deposed emperors," and hence had to specify which of them was meant. The *Pei shih* editors should have used *fei ti*, "the deposed emperor," alone, as Kung is termed by them *Chieh-min ti* 節閔帝. See *supra*, paragraph 7.

<sup>98</sup> Stichometry throws an interesting light on the processes followed by ancient

We do not imply, naturally, that a Chinese historian was obliged to use exactly 22 or 24 characters<sup>99</sup> to express a thought or record an event and was not permitted to shorten or expand paragraphs. But given the traditional length of a line and the instinctive tendency of an artist to arrange his material in conformity with the physical dimensions of his canvas, it is not surprising that paragraphing in a terse and flexible language like Chinese was conditioned by time-honored stichometry. We believe that the above examples are suggestive enough to give the stichometrical method of textual criticism a trial in disentangling the strands of the web that we call a historical text.<sup>100</sup>

Chinese scholars in editing or condensing a text. Take, for instance, the well-known passage in *Shih chi* I where Sŭ-ma Ch'ien speaks of Shun's employment of the descendants of Kao-yang and Kao-hsin. In the present text the passage can be paragraphed as follows: 17 + 13 + 20 + 16 + 24 = 90 chars. In a much completer form the story is found in the *Tso chuan* (Duke Wên, 18th year) and is paragraphed: 41 + 40 + 21 + 22 + 24 = 148 characters. The only paragraph which is identical in both texts is the last paragraph (24 chars.). From the first paragraph a line of 24 chars. was eliminated from the *Tso chuan* text, leaving substantially the same 17 characters that we have in the *Shih chi* (substituting only 世得其利 for 天下之民). Another continuous line of 24 chars. was left out in the second paragraph; and the remaining 16 chars. were reduced to 13 by substituting 世 for 天下之民. The third *Tso chuan* paragraph was reduced to 20 by the omission of 以 before 至. The next paragraph of 22 chars. was reduced to 16 by the omission of 臣堯 at the beginning of the sentence and of 地平天成 at the end. The last omission is especially significant. The four paragraphs in the *Tso chuan* total 124 chars. If we suppose that these 124 chars. were recorded on tablets 24 inches long, they would require 5 tablets with 4 characters left over. Of these five tablets or lines, the *Shih chi* eliminated two (24 chars. of the first paragraph and 24 of the second), leaving 72 + the 4 surplus chars. Through editorial changes 6 of the 72 were eliminated within the paragraphs and the 4 surplus characters were discarded altogether. The total was thus reduced to 66 chars. which could conveniently be written in 3 lines of 22 chars. each. That the last was indeed the stichometrical pattern of that part of the *Shih chi* is indicated by the fact that in the following section (also apparently based on the same *Tso chuan* text) we have paragraphs 22, 21, 21, 21 chars. long. Note that the last paragraph (on the *t'ao-t'ieh*) was produced, by the elimination of 24 continuous chars., out of the corresponding paragraph of the *Tso chuan* (and six characters transposed from the remaining part).

<sup>99</sup> Observe that the numbers 22 and 24, as consisting of various combinations and multiples of 4 and 6, are numbers well adapted for purposes of paragraphing a Chinese text written in phrases of 4 or 6 characters each.

<sup>100</sup> Illustrations of the stichometrical form of the old documents are abundant in the earlier dynastic histories, and can be easily located through a comparison of variant



## 5. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE HOUSE OF YANG

On May 15, 578 reports reached Ch'ang-an that the T'u-chüeh Turks had invaded Yu 幽 chou and were raiding the countryside.

renderings of events by two different sources, as in the case of the *Shih chi* and the *Han shu*. In reading Professor H. H. Dubs' translation of the *Han shu* annals I have noted numerous passages where a little stichometrical computation would throw considerable light on the history of the text and its relation to that of the *Shih chi*.

The very opening of the first chapter may serve to supply us with several examples. The paragraphing of the sources down to the words 丈夫當如此矣 (or 也, *Shih chi*) is as follows: *Han shu*: 15, 31 (+4?), 24 (-4?), 20, 21, 22, 23, 25. *Shih chi*: 22, 35 (+4?) 24 (-4?), 22, 22, 22, 23, 26.

Note that the sixth paragraph, where the *Han shu* does not specify the "wonderful sight" which appeared over Kao-tsu in the wineshops, while the *Shih chi* mentions a dragon manifestation over the drunken hero, is nevertheless exactly that same length in both sources. Again in both sources, the only paragraph that exceeds our limit of 20-25 characters is the second paragraph, precisely the one that we should suspect (it deals with the miraculous conception of Kao-tsu by a "dragon" 交龍). A skeptic might, indeed, suggest that the source used by both the *Shih chi* and *Han shu* originally ran: 管息大澤之陂夢與神遇是時雷電晦冥父太公往視則見交 (24 characters in the *Han shu*; 23 in *Shih chi*, omitting 父) meaning simply that Kao-tsu was the offspring of a "union (交) in the open field." I doubt very much if Professor Dubs' translation "came to look for her" is justified for 往視, as 視 does not ordinarily mean "to look for." The dragon could, of course, have played a part in another version of the story, but the possibility should not be overlooked that it was introduced into our paragraph from paragraph eight. Note, furthermore that the first two paragraphs combined number in the *Han shu* 46 (15+31) characters, *i. e.* originally they comprised two lines, one of 22, the other, of 24 characters. This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that the *Shih chi* rendering of the first paragraph numbers 22 characters.

For interesting instances, cf. Dubs, pp. 72-76. On p. 72, we have the account of Kao-tsu despatching troops for the relief of his parents at P'ei and of measures taken by HSIANG Yü to prevent it. The account is 40 characters long, but the sentence 遣將軍 ○ ○ ○ 於沛, which is practically identical with the corresponding story in *Shih chi* 8, contains 24 characters. As to the *Shih chi* version it consists of two paragraphs each exactly 24 characters long: 令將軍 ○ ○ ○ 於沛 and 楚聞之 ○ ○ ○ 漢兵.

On pp. 72-73, we have, beginning with 陳餘 ○ ○ ○ and ending with ○ ○ ○ 代王, two paragraphs, the first of 22, the second of 24 characters. Next follows one of 25 characters. The last sentence of that paragraph occurs in *Shih chi* 8 as part of a paragraph 正月 ○ ○ ○ 父老 numbering 24 characters. The paragraph 使韓太尉 ○ ○ ○ 韓王 24), on p. 73, reduced to only 20 characters, is split up in the *Shih chi* by the interpolation of 24 characters: 於是置 ○ ○ ○ 河南郡. Another paragraph of 24, 使諸將 ○ ○ ○ 上塞 completes the page.

The events of the third month, on p. 75, down to the words ○ ○ ○ 河南郡 (27

Fresh from his triumph over the Ch'i, the Chou emperor Yü-wên Yung prepared to send his veteran troops against the invaders,<sup>101</sup> and on June 13, Chou armies began moving towards the frontier. The emperor was about to place himself at their head, when, on June 17 he fell ill. Three days later on account of the aggravated condition of the sovereign, the order was issued to discontinue the

characters) correspond to another paragraph of 24 in the *Shih chi* 三月 ○ ○ ○ 河南郡. The next sentence, omitted in the *Shih chi* has 21 characters (with the preceding 27, the paragraph numbers 48). The following long story of the *San-lao* of Hsin-ch'êng is summarized by the *Shih chi* in 23 characters. The paragraph telling of Kao-tsu's proclamation of mourning for the Emperor I (ending with the words 告諸侯) numbers 23 characters in the *Shih chi*, 22 in the *Han shu* (in different wording).

The difficulty observed by Professor DUBS on p. 70 in the dating of the expedition against Yung, which *Shih chi* 8 says occurred in the "eighth month," seems to be solved by the application of stichometrical principles. In the *Han shu* the day "fifth month" is obviously part of the text for the first two paragraphs of the account (五月 ○ ○ ○ 陳倉 和 雍兵 ○ ○ ○ 雍地) each number 20 characters (including the 五月). In the *Shih chi* the three paragraphs (omitting "in the eighth month" 八月) number: 22 + 21 + 23 = 66, that is exactly three lines of 22 characters, indicating that 八月 is a later addition.

On p. 71, the paragraph 時彭越 ○ ○ ○ 梁地 is 24 characters long. The corresponding paragraph in the *Shih chi* 予彭越 ○ ○ ○ 大破之, 23 characters. The preceding paragraph (p. 70-71) numbers 43 characters. Altogether this section from 五月 ○ ○ ○ 爲齊王 has: 20 + 20 + 17 + 43 = 100 characters, plainly indicating that it was originally recorded in 5 lines each containing 20 characters. The corresponding section of the *Shih chi* (with much additional material and including the P'êng Yüeh paragraph) has from 乃陰令衡山王 ○ ○ ○ down to 頂羽大怒北擊齊: 16 + 28 + 23 + 21 + 23 + 21 characters, showing that it was written in lines of 22 characters. It is interesting to note that after the P'êng Yüeh interlude (24) and another paragraph of 24, the *Han shu* returns to the 20 character line in 秋七月 ○ ○ ○ 降漢 (observe that, as in the preceding paragraph of 20, we have an exact date).

On page 81, beginning with 六月 ○ ○ ○ to ○ ○ ○ 十餘縣 we have 48 characters, corresponding to the same number in the *Shih chi* (without a different wording of the last sentence. That the next 11 characters are an interpolation (as suggested by Professor DUBS) is confirmed by the fact that the next line 於是令 ○ ○ ○ 乘塞 numbers 24 characters (23 in *Han shu*).

These examples can be easily multiplied. We shall end with one more significant illustration. The enthronement of King Huai is described in *Shih chi* 7 in two paragraphs, each of 24 characters: 乃求 ○ ○ ○ 所望也 and 陳 ○ ○ ○ 武信君. In *Han shu* 31, with different wording, we also have 48 characters; in *Shih chi* 8, from 聞陳王 ○ ○ ○ to 武信君, 25 characters (or 24, omitting either 聞 or 梁); *Han shu* 1 (again in a paragraph containing a date) covers the whole story in 20 characters.

<sup>101</sup> The frontier garrisons had been defeated and the commander of the Yu chow march, Liu Hsiung 劉雄, slain (*Chou shu* 29, 50).

elaborate preparations for the campaign.<sup>102</sup> On June 21, while being transported back to his capital, Yung breathed his last.<sup>103</sup>

There is little doubt that, had that energetic ruler lived, the unification of the empire which he had inaugurated with his smashing victory over the Ch'i in 577 would have been carried to a successful conclusion sooner than it actually took place eleven years later under the succeeding dynasty.<sup>104</sup> The seasoned warriors and able generals of Chou, under the command of an emperor beloved by the rank and file, would have undoubtedly been successful, had the Turkish campaign been carried out, in administering a serious blow to the power of the T'u-chüeh, and might have thereby spared the frontier districts of China years of misery. As it happened, however, Yung's scepter passed into the hands of his maniacal son Pin who managed in the brief space of two years to destroy all his father had built.<sup>105</sup>

Officially, Pin abdicated the throne in favor of his young son on April 1, 579, but continued to rule the empire until June 580, when, upon his death, the control of the government slipped into the grasp of YANG Chien. On March 4, 581 YANG Chien deposed the boy YÜ-WÊN Ch'an 闡<sup>106</sup> and Northern China awoke to find a new dynasty ruling over its twenty-five odd millions of souls.

As Chinese dynastic changes go, the transition was rather sudden. Of all the great officers of YÜ-WÊN Yung, YANG Chien was perhaps the least conspicuous, even though he was heir to YANG Chung, a general who had served the dynasty with great distinction, and had become himself Crown Prince Pin's father-in-law

<sup>102</sup> These included the commandeering of all horses and donkeys, public- and privately-owned, in the region "within the passes" (Kuan chung).

<sup>103</sup> *Chou shu* 6, *Pei shih* 10. It is possible that he died a day or two before, but that his death was not announced until June 21. Cf. *Chou shu* 40, biog. of WEI-CH'IH Yün 尉遲運, 539-579.

<sup>104</sup> The fate of the Southern Chinese Empire was sealed with the occupation of the Shu country in 553 by the troops of Western Wei under WEI-CH'IH Ch'ung. With the North united under one rule, the weaker South could never withstand a simultaneous attack from the plains and along the river from Szechwan.

<sup>105</sup> YÜ-WÊN Yung was well aware of the defects of his son, and is said to have considered setting him aside. Cf. *Chou shu* 40.

<sup>106</sup> Consult genealogical tables of the YÜ-WÊN family for every YÜ-WÊN mentioned here (see end of this article).

in 573. The position occupied by the YANG family at the Chou court was certainly inferior to that of the LI 李<sup>107</sup> and the WEI-CH'IH 尉遲, and his personal prestige incomparably lower than that of such military leaders as WEI Hsiao-k'uan, prince YÜ-WÊN Hsien, WANG Kuei 王軌,<sup>108</sup> or LIANG Shih-yen 梁士彥.<sup>109</sup> The posts he had occupied and the titles he had received since October 30, 573, when his eldest daughter YANG Li-hua 麗華<sup>110</sup> was married to Pin, were no more important or high sounding than those of a dozen of his contemporaries.<sup>111</sup> And yet, within two years after Yung's death, this seemingly unpretentious man,<sup>112</sup> with no other claim to prestige than that of being the empress dowager's father, suddenly emerged as master of China and, crushing swiftly the opposition of men far greater than he, displaced the YÜ-WÊN on the throne.

Usurpation, in China as elsewhere, must, in order to be successful, follow time-honored rules and requires a complex technique. Traditional loyalties and old habits must be carefully managed and hearts and minds brought slowly to the acceptance of the coming change as inevitable. All through the history of China,

<sup>107</sup> LI Hsien 賢, LI Mu 穆 and their relatives. *Chou shu* 25, *Pei shih* 59.

<sup>108</sup> *Chou shu* 40, *Pei shih* 62. Often referred to as WU-WAN 烏丸 Kuei.

<sup>109</sup> 515-586 A. D. *Sui shu* 40, *Chou shu* 31, *Pei shih* 73.

<sup>110</sup> *Chou shu* 9, *Pei shih* 14, 561-609 A. D. Enfeoffed as Lo-p'ing 樂平 Kung-chu in 586. Died during Yang ti's western campaign. Her only child, a daughter, married LI Min 李敏, *Sui shu* 37.

<sup>111</sup> He was in command of one of the several armies sent against Ch'i in 575; commander of the third army in the Ch'i campaign of 576-577; on March 17, 577 he was made *tsung-kuan* of Ting 定 chou and on January 22, 578 *tsung-kuan* of Nan Yen 南兗 chou. It was only after YÜ-WÊN Yung's death that he received his first appointment at the court, as ta ssü-ma (September 14, 578). *Sui shu* 38, biog. of Lu Fên, states incorrectly that he occupied the last post already under YÜ-WÊN Yung.

<sup>112</sup> The biographies of KUO Jung 郭榮 and P'ANG Huang 龐晃 (*Sui shu* 50) state, however, that about 577 YANG Chien confided to these two friends that he hoped some day to supersede the Chou on the imperial throne. P'ANG Huang even urged him to revolt at Ting chou, but Chien did not think the time ripe. What chances of success would an open insurrection have at the time? In order to answer that question, we must establish on what dissatisfied elements of the population ambitious plotters of the period based their hope of turning an uprising into a revolution. P'ANG Huang was an old retainer of YÜ-WÊN Chih 直, Yung's brother, who rebelled in 574, and P'ANG Huang had approached YANG Chien on his behalf as early as 562. It is likely that the persecution of Buddhism and Taoism which began in 574 afforded adventurers a good chance of organizing a movement of opposition to the government.

wise politicians contemplating a dynastic revolution painstakingly followed historical precedents which prescribed in details the gradual steps to be followed in such cases. They knew that the public must be convinced that the "virtue" <sup>113</sup> of the old dynasty is exhausted and that the vigor of the new house must fully manifest itself before the change is sanctified in the actual transfer of the title of Son of Heaven.<sup>114</sup> History taught them that fifteen to twenty years were necessary for a prospective usurper to win, cajole, or buy lasting allegiance. How often in the troubled dynastic story of China, all-powerful dictators with the coveted imperial scepter within their grasp delayed with the final step of usurpation, and continued to honor outwardly some puppet of their own creation, hesitating to dispossess the moribund dynasty of the last visible vestige of power. Not infrequently, undoubtedly aspiring to emulate the example of the illustrious Wên wang, they left this task to their sons and limited themselves to setting the stage for the dynastic change.

Thus, the mighty Ts'AO Ts'ao, undisputed master of Northern China by 205 A. D.,<sup>115</sup> with the Han emperor completely in his power, contented himself with the titles of chancellor and *wang* and left to his son Ts'AO P'ei the honor of becoming the first emperor of the Wei. The three dictators of the Ssŭ-MA family, omnipotent since 249 A. D.,<sup>116</sup> with the deposition of the Ts'ao-Wei a foregone conclusion in everybody's mind, delay the seizure of the throne until 265, when the son of the last of the three establishes the new dynasty of Chin. LIU Yŭ,<sup>117</sup> founder of the

<sup>113</sup> Chinese *té* 德—"energy," "power." *Té* is conceived almost as a charge of electric energy accumulated by the ancestors of a house which keeps it "going" for a definite amount of time. As long as a dynasty continues to manifest the efficacy of its *té*, any attempt to supplant it runs counter to the *t'ien tao* 天道.

<sup>114</sup> Continuous success in undertakings, military victories (especially over barbarians), recognition by elder sages, and enfeoffment as *wang* were generally considered necessary preliminaries.

<sup>115</sup> The last members of the Yüan 袁 family, Ts'ao's chief rivals in the North, were suppressed in that year. In 208, Ts'ao made himself chancellor. In 213 he is made *kung*, in 216, *wang*.

<sup>116</sup> In that year, Ts'AO Shuang 爽, the most dangerous of the Ts'ao princes of the blood, was put to death by Ssŭ-MA I, and his party completely crushed.

<sup>117</sup> *Sung shu* 1-3, *Nan shih* 1. Ascended the throne on July 10, 420. He was born on

Sung house, did not dispossess the last Ssŭ-MA (Chin emperor) of the throne until 420, although he was certainly contemplating and had ample opportunity for usurpation as early as 405.<sup>118</sup> Both KAO Huan and Yŭ-wĒN T'ai, in complete control of the situation in Eastern and Western Wei respectively, the former for thirteen years (534-547), the latter for twenty-two (534-556), bequeath the task of establishing new dynasties to their sons. In the case of HSIAO Tao-ch'êng,<sup>119</sup> founder of the Southern Ch'î dynasty, the period of apprenticeship for the imperial throne was unusually short, but in that instance the change was quickened by a struggle for power among the members of a regency.<sup>120</sup> Having disposed of his rivals, HSIAO Tao-ch'êng proceeded unhesitatingly to his aim, no one daring to raise his voice in a *quo jure*.<sup>121</sup>

YANG Chien's hand seems to have been forced in a somewhat similar manner. Whatever plans he may have had to make use of his position as the emperor's father-in-law were seriously jeopardized in the spring of 580. Sometime early in the year Yŭ-wĒN Pin became enamoured of a beautiful grand-daughter of WEI-CH'IH Ch'üung who had recently become the bride of Yŭ-wĒN Wên 溫, a prince of the blood. The emperor having forced his attentions upon the beauty,<sup>122</sup> her husband's father, Yŭ-wĒN

the night of *jên-yin* of the third month of the first year of Hsing-ning 興寧 under Ai 哀 ti of Chin, April 16, 363. The *Sung shu* says he was 67 (Chinese) years old at the time of his death, on June 26, 422. The *Nan shih* gives his age correctly as 60. The "7" of the *Sung shu* is a dittographical lapsus due to the following 七月 "7th month" (giving the date of burial).

<sup>118</sup> His task of deposing the Ssü-ma was facilitated by a previous unsuccessful usurpation, that of HUAN Hsüan 桓玄.

<sup>119</sup> Pht. T'ai-tsu Kao ti, b. 427, ascended throne May 29, 479, died April 11, 482. *Nan Ch'î shu* 1, *Nan shih* 4. Father WIEGER, *Textes historiques*, 1153, gives his age at the time of death incorrectly as 54 (Chinese).

<sup>120</sup> The regency had been administering affairs since May 10, 472 in the name of LŪ Yŭ (born March 1, 463; asc. throne May 11, 472; died August 1, 477) and LŪ Chun (born Aug. 8, 469; asc. throne Aug. 5, 477; deposed May 26, 479; died June 23, 479). *Sung shu* 9-10; *Nan shih* 3. I cannot explain why *Sung shu* 10 says Chun was 13 (Chinese) years old when he died.

<sup>121</sup> The Liang who succeeded the Nan Ch'î belonged to the same HSIAO family. The dynastic change did not thus involve a transfer of the heavenly mandate. The Ch'ên inherited the empire in a time of internal turmoil and foreign invasion, and their case is, therefore, exceptional.

<sup>122</sup> She was presented at court probably on the occasion of her marriage, or possibly at one of the banquets given by the emperor. There was one given on April 1, 580.

Liang 亮, unable to suffer the disgrace to his family honor, rose up in rebellion on April 2, 580.<sup>123</sup> The uprising was suppressed, Yŭ-wĒN Liang and his son, another Uriah, were put to death, and on April 19, WEI-CH'IH Ch'ih-fan 熾繁<sup>124</sup> (such was the unfortunate girl's maiden name) was made fifth empress.<sup>125</sup> It must have been sometime during the next six weeks that Pin, determined to exalt his new love further and to eliminate YANG Chien's daughter, condemned, on some pretext or other, the latter to death. She was saved only by the intercession of her mother, *née* TU-KU, who so insistently pleaded for her daughter's life that the emperor relented.<sup>126</sup>

The fortune of the Yang family hung, however, in the balance. Pin had never liked YANG Chien and had once threatened to extinguish his entire family.<sup>127</sup> On June 2, 580, YANG Chien was made *tsung-kuan* of Yang 揚 chow, an appointment tantamount to exile.<sup>128</sup> He delayed his departure<sup>129</sup> until June 8 when it became known that the emperor was desperately ill. Friends of YANG Chien issued a forged imperial order commanding his presence at the sovereign's bedside.<sup>130</sup> He appeared at the palace, and the same night, or sometime within the next few days, Pin

<sup>123</sup> At Yü 豫 chow, while returning from a campaign against Ch'ên (under the command of WEI Hsiao-k'uan), *Chou shu* 7, 10, 31.

<sup>124</sup> *Chou shu* 9, *Pei shih* 14, 566-595 A.D. Forced to become a nun, she later assumed the name Hua-shou 華首. Is she identical with the grand-daughter of WEI-CH'IH Ch'ung of whom YANG Chien became enamored sometime in the nineties and who was killed by the jealous Tu-ku?

<sup>125</sup> Pin had four "Heavenly Empresses." Lady WEI-CH'IH was made "Heavenly Empress of the Left" succeeding Empress Ch'ên 陳, who became "Heavenly Empress of the Center."

<sup>126</sup> *Chou shu* 9, *Pei shih* 14.

<sup>127</sup> *Sui shu* 1, *Pei shih* 11.

<sup>128</sup> According to *Sui shu* 38, however, YANG Chien himself sought a provincial post, probably in order to avoid further imperial displeasure, and the appointment was secured for him by Pin's favorite CHĒNG I. As the latter was one of the chief figures in the plot which gave YANG Chien his chance, it is likely that there was some secret understanding between them as to that particular move. CHĒNG I himself was appointed military commander of Shou-yang and was to join YANG Chien in an attack upon the Ch'ên empire.

<sup>129</sup> Because of illness, real or pretended.

<sup>130</sup> CHĒNG I and LIU Fang were mainly responsible for his being summoned. The efforts of YEN Chih-i 顏之儀 (523-591, *Chou shu* 40, *Pei shih* 83) and others who attempted to notify elder members of the dynasty were circumvented.

expired.<sup>131</sup> His death was kept secret while the conspirators urged YANG Chien to assume the regentship. Uncertain of his power, Chien hesitated, but finally yielded.<sup>132</sup> In his own words, the situation in which he found himself was illustrative of the adage "astride a tiger—unable to get off."<sup>133</sup>

Once he decided upon usurpation, YANG Chien proceeded swiftly and ruthlessly. On June 20, the five remaining sons of YÜ-WÊN T'ai, princes Chao 招, Shun 純, Shêng 盛, Ta 達, and Yu 適 were summoned from their fiefs to the capital.<sup>134</sup> Three days later, with the exception of Empress Dowager Chu 朱,<sup>135</sup> mother of Ch'an, and, of course, YANG Chien's daughter,<sup>136</sup> Pin's empresses were forced to become nuns. On June 25, WEI Hsiao-k'uan was appointed *tsung-kuan* of Hsiang 相 chou to succeed WEI-CH'IH Ch'ung,<sup>137</sup> the most dangerous of Chien's potential rivals. Though suspecting that they were marching into a trap, the YÜ-WÊN princes, arrived at the capital on July 1,<sup>138</sup> and YANG Chien could

<sup>131</sup> Cf. *HJAS* 3, 251, n. 95.

<sup>132</sup> Liu Fang, one of the chief conspirators, is said to have threatened to seize power himself had YANG Chien declined. At the moment Pin was still alive, though unable to speak, his tongue being paralyzed (*Sui shu* 38).

<sup>133</sup> According to *Sui shu* 36, the saying was used by YANG Chien's wife in a message she sent him urging him to assume control of the government. In *Sui shu* 78 (*Pei shih* 89) Chien uses it himself in a conversation with the diviner Yu Chi-ts'ai 庾季才 (516-603) whom he consulted on the occasion. 獸 in the text stands for 虎—"tiger," a T'ang taboo. Cf. also *Sui shu* 38, biog. of LU Fên 盧賁, for YANG Chien's acknowledgment of his indebtedness to the conspirators and his admission that without LIU Fang, CH'ENG I, LIU Ch'iu, LU Fên, and HUANG-FU Chi 皇甫績 he would never have obtained power.

<sup>134</sup> Their appanages were created on June 30, 579 and the princes were ordered on the same day to proceed to their respective fiefs. Yü-wên Chao's daughter's impending marriage to the T'u-chüeh khan served as a pretext for the summons (*Chou shu* 7, *Sui shu* 1).

<sup>135</sup> CHU Man-yüeh 滿月, 547-586, a native of Wu. She became wardrobe-keeper in the Chou palace, where she attracted the attention of Yü-wên Pin, who was 12 years her junior. She changed her name to Fa-ching 法淨 on becoming a nun (*Chou shu* 9, *Pei shih* 14).

<sup>136</sup> YANG Li-hua approved her father's seizure of power, and he considered himself greatly indebted to her (cf. *Sui shu* 37, LI Min's biography). She was much perturbed, however, by his plans to usurp the throne and openly showed her disapproval of his intentions.

<sup>137</sup> Father WIEGER (*Textes historiques*, 1923 ed., 1225, 1264) reads incorrectly WEI-CH'IH Hui 迴 for WEI-CH'IH Ch'ung 迴.

<sup>138</sup> At least one of them, YÜ-WÊN Shun, was brought to Ch'ang-an under duress. Cf. *Sui shu* 54, biog. of Ts'ui P'êng 崔彭.



now be sure that no rival of his could gain precedence over him by making use of the prestige of a member of the dynasty.

On July 7 (a *chia tzü* day, auspicious for pronunciamientos) WEI-CH'IH Ch'üing announced to his troops, as YANG Chien had feared, his intention of rescuing the YÜ-WÊN from Chien's designs, and openly rose against the self-styled chancellor. On the same day prince YÜ-WÊN Hsien 賢, the first victim of YANG Chien's ambition, was executed.<sup>139</sup> Fearing that Ch'üing might find an ally in WANG Ch'ien 王謙, commander of I 益 chow,<sup>140</sup> Chien despatched LIANG Jui 梁睿<sup>141</sup> to relieve him. Within the next days, however, half of the empire was in open rebellion against the chancellor: YÜ-WÊN Ch'ou 胄 and WEI-CH'IH Chin 勤<sup>142</sup> took up arms on August 12, SSÜ-MA Hsiao-nan 司馬消難,<sup>143</sup> the father of Ch'an's consort,<sup>144</sup> on August 21, and, finally, WANG Ch'ien on September 1. On August 24, YANG Chien barely escaped assassination at the hands of YÜ-WÊN Chao and YÜ-WÊN Shêng.<sup>145</sup> Both princes were forthwith executed.

YANG Chien's situation was indeed precarious.<sup>146</sup> Three of the most influential military commanders of the empire were mustering their troops for a march upon the capital.<sup>147</sup> LIU Fang 劉昉

<sup>139</sup> Hsien's plot to thwart YANG Chien's plans for usurpation was uncovered by Chien's kinsman YANG Hsiung 雄 (*Sui shu* 43: 542-612). The other princes were under constant observation. On August 8, they attended YÜ-WÊN Pin's funeral "escorted" by 6000 horse, led by YANG Hsiung.

<sup>140</sup> *Chou shu* 21, *Pei shih* 60.

<sup>141</sup> *Sui shu* 37, *Pei shih* 59, 531-595 A.D.

<sup>142</sup> Ch'üing's nephew, second son of WEI-CH'IH Kang 綱, Ch'üing's younger brother, *Chou shu* 20, *Pei shih* 62: 507-569.

<sup>143</sup> *Chou shu* 21, *Pei shih* 54. The son of SSÜ-MA Tzū-ju 子如, a great officer of the Ch'i, he had fled to Chou in 558. A sworn brother of YANG Chung, he was treated with great respect by YANG Chien who looked upon him as his uncle.

<sup>144</sup> SSÜ-MA Ling-chi 令姬, *Chou shu* 9, *Pei shih* 14. She later married LI Tan 李丹, a provincial governor under the Sui, and was still alive at the time of the composition of the above sources.

<sup>145</sup> For details, cf. biog. of YÜAN Ch'ou 元胄, *Sui shu* 40.

<sup>146</sup> One of his satellites, YUAN Chieh 元諧 (*Sui shu* 40, *Pei shih* 73) compared Chien's position to that of an adobe wall 垣牆 in the midst of water. YANG Chien is said to have laughingly reminded him of the comparison after his triumph.

<sup>147</sup> In addition KAO Pao-ning 高寶寧, a former officer of Ch'i, rebelled in the Northeast, and together with the T'u-chüeh made ready to support YANG Chien's rivals.

and CHÊNG I 鄭譯<sup>148</sup> to whom he owed his elevation showed signs of becoming lukewarm towards his cause and both declined to assume responsibility for the conduct of the campaign against WEI-CH'IH Chiung, the chief of the "rebels." Generals whom he had sent against Yeh, Ch'ung's stronghold, were employing dilatory tactics, playing for time and waiting whither the wind of fortune would turn.<sup>149</sup> LIU Fang was already contemplating placing another YÜ-WÊN, prince Tsan 贊, Pin's brother, on the throne and becoming dictator himself.<sup>150</sup>

But YANG Chien's luck held. In KAO Kung 高穎,<sup>151</sup> an adopted member of the Tu-ku clan, he found a new confidant and a faithful and energetic servant who volunteered to undertake the task of coördinating the armies of the northeast. His spies must undoubtedly have informed him of the inherent weaknesses of his enemies.<sup>152</sup> They were acting as men of small ambition. At Yeh, WEI-CH'IH Ch'ung, at odds with his own sons, entrusted the management of affairs to local officers, many of them old subjects of the Ch'i, who were naturally imbued with separatist tendencies and thought little of the empire as a whole. Instead of moving boldly on Ch'ang-an as he had been advised by KAO A-na-hung 高阿那肱,<sup>153</sup> WANG Ch'ien remained inactive in the fastnesses of Shu. SSŪ-MA Hsiao-nan, pressing but feebly his claims as the little emperor's father-in-law, concentrated all his efforts on safeguarding his rear by effecting an alliance with the Ch'ên empire.<sup>154</sup> To

<sup>148</sup> LIU Fang: *Sui shu* 38, *Pei shih* 74. CHÊNG I (540-591): *Sui shu* 38, *Chou shu* 35, *Pei shih* 35.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. *Sui shu* 60, biog. of Yü Chung-wên 于仲文, on how YÜ-WÊN Hsin, one of the chief generals, was persuaded to act more energetically by Yü Chung-wên's analysis of YANG Chien's virtues. Cf. also *Sui shu* 42, biog. of LI Tê-lin 李德林.

<sup>150</sup> CHÊNG I and LIU Fang's rôle in the *coup d'état* became known almost immediately, as both lost no time in making a display of the favors with which they were rewarded.

<sup>151</sup> *Sui shu* 41, *Pei shih* 72. Cf. *Sui shu* 37, biog. of LI Hsün 李詢.

<sup>152</sup> According to the biography of YÜ-WÊN Ch'ing 慶, *Pei shih* 57, YANG Chien had correctly estimated his rivals' worth as early as 579. He thought of WEI-CH'IH Ch'ung as a man of no great intellectual capacity, SSŪ-MA Hsiao-nan, his "uncle" by adoption, he believed to be flighty, and WANG Ch'ien, downright stupid.

<sup>153</sup> Governor of Lung 隆 chow and former great officer of the Ch'i, who had been in a large measure responsible for their downfall (*Pei Ch'i shu* 50, *Pei shih* 92). *Chou shu* 21 writes incorrectly A-shih-na Huai 阿史那瓌 which would make him a T'u-chüeh Turk.

<sup>154</sup> LIU Hsiung-liang 柳雄亮 (*Sui shu* 47) was despatched by YANG Chien to Ch'ên

YANG Chien's immense relief LI Mu 李穆, who occupied the key post of commander of Ping 并 ch'ou, after some hesitation decided to throw in his lot with the chancellor.<sup>155</sup>

By the first week of September the tide began to turn definitely in YANG Chien's favor. On September 11 WEI-CH'IH Ch'üung was completely defeated and committed suicide;<sup>156</sup> ten days later, SSŪ-MA Hsiao-nan, abandoning the struggle, fled to Ch'ên; and YANG Su 素,<sup>157</sup> the ablest of Chien's clansmen, defeated and killed YŪ-WÊN Ch'ou. Emboldened, YANG Chien deposed the SSŪ-MA empress (October 3) and conferred upon himself additional titles,

in order to circumvent Hsiao-nan's plans. LIU Chuang 莊 (*Sui shu* 66, *Pei shih* 70) performed the same task at the court of the king of Liang, vassal of the Chou. His estimate of the "rebels" was as uncomplimentary as that outlined above. Cf. *Chou shu* 48.

<sup>155</sup> *Chou shu* 30, *Pei shih* 59, *Sui shu* 37. The vacillating LI Mu was persuaded to join YANG Chien's cause by LIU Ch'iu 柳裘 (*Sui shu* 38) and his son LI Hun 渾 whom Chien despatched to him for the purpose. According to the son's biography, LI Mu sent him back to YANG Chien with a flatiron as a present urging him to use it to pacify the empire (to "pacify" and to "iron" are homonyms and homographs in Chinese). He is also said to have offered YANG Chien a golden belt with thirteen rings, one of the imperial insignia, thus signifying his assent to YANG Chien's plans of usurpation.

The above passage is one of the earliest references in historical sources to the "flat-iron" (by name, the object is known since Han times), *wei-tou* 熨斗 anc. \**ʷiət-tzu-g*. Another is found in *Chin shu* 75, biog. of HAN Po 韓伯. We believe that the Chinese term was borrowed by the Turks who designate the flatiron by the word \**ütüg* (Osm. *ütü*, with numerous derivatives), which appears already in KAŞYARI (BROCKELMANN, *Wortschatz*, *ütük*, but cf. RACHMATI's review of BROCKELMANN's work, *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 10, 450: read *ütüg*). From Turkish the word passed into Russian which has утюгъ. The final -g of the Turkish word would date the borrowing from Chinese as about the IV-Vth cc. A. D. when the Auslaut of *tou* 斗 was still sounded in the north of China. On the belt with thirteen rings, cf. WANG Kuo-wei's *Hu fu k'ao* 胡服考, also PELLIOU's review of that work in *TP* 25.

Another northern military commander whose defection might have proved fatal to YANG Chien, but who signified his adherence to the cause by arresting the envoy of WEI-CH'IH Ch'üung and sending him to Ch'ang-an was YŪ I 于翼, tsung-kuan of Yu 幽 ch'ou. With LI Mu and YŪ I on his side, YANG Chien could count upon eventual victory. For YŪ I, cf. *Chou shu* 30, *Pei shih* 23, *Sui shu* 60.

On May 22, 607, LI Mu's services to the dynasty were commemorated with a sacrifice at his grave by emperor YANG Ti (*Sui shu* 3).

<sup>156</sup> How much YANG Chien feared WEI-CH'IH Ch'üung is indicated by the fact that he degraded Ts'UI Hung-tu 崔弘度 (*Sui shu* 74) for not killing WEI-CH'IH Ch'üung in time to prevent the latter from denouncing YANG Chien in a violent speech before his self-inflicted death.

<sup>157</sup> *Sui shu* 48, *Pei shih* 41. The rôle that this man played in the events of the next 25 years demands a special study.

tightening his control over the government on October 30. Three days later YÜ-wÊN Shun was executed and on November 18, WANG Ch'ien's rebellion was completely crushed. A month later, the last of the minor rebels was suppressed.

On January 3, 581 (*chia tzü*, the first day of the cycle) YANG Chien signified his triumph by assuming the title of *wang*. A week later, YÜ-wÊN Ta and YÜ-wÊN Yu, the last of the elder princes of the blood, were put to death, and all preparation for usurpation proceeded apace. Auspicious clouds appearing on February 6 prompted diviners to urge YANG Chien to ascend the throne, and on the next *chia tzü* day (March 4)<sup>158</sup> the new dynasty came into being. In the summer of the same year, the last surviving members of YÜ-wÊN T'ai's family were liquidated, including the little ex-emperor, Ch'an, who died, presumably murdered,<sup>159</sup> on July 10.

As one reads the chronicles of YANG Chien's reign, one gets the impression from the passages where the emperor appears as a real individual, rather than a pompous figurehead, that, for the first few years at least, he could hardly believe his luck.<sup>160</sup> He never forgot the desperate situation in which he found himself in July-August 580. He realized that he had no great popular following, that his house had had no time to establish fully its rights to the empire, and that in the minds of many he had arrogated to himself the mandate of Heaven which could not have departed from the Chou so soon after the manifestation of heaven's favor towards that house in the military triumph of 577.<sup>161</sup> Though sober-minded himself, he began to welcome any testimony whatever to

<sup>158</sup> The day was selected by the diviner YU Chi-ts'ai. Precedents: Chou Wu wang and Han Kao-tsu, who both ascended the throne on a *chia* day of the second month of the year. The same diviner "noticed" the clouds.

<sup>159</sup> His death was, says tersely *Chou shu* 8, 隋志也 "the will of the Sui." Altogether, 59 YÜ-wÊN princes were put to death and the main branch of the family was exterminated without trace. Suggested by YÜ Ch'ing-tsé 虞慶則 (*Sui shu* 40, *Pei shih* 73; died 598), the executions were protested only by LI Tê-lin.

<sup>160</sup> He was much perturbed once early in his reign by a prediction of his Grand Astrologer that his "fortune" would end within three years (or in the third year of his reign?). Cf. *Pei shih* 63.

<sup>161</sup> AS P'EI SU 裴肅 (*Sui shu* 62, *Pei shih* 38) expressed it, on hearing that YANG Chien had made himself chancellor: "Is it possible that Heaven should renounce the Chou when the earth is not yet dry on the grave of the great conqueror Wu ti (YÜ-wÊN Yung)?" His remark is said to have so displeased YANG Chien that Su was deprived of official position for five years.

the effect that his family was indeed predestined to the crown, and sycophant diviners eagerly seized upon this opportunity.<sup>162</sup>

The abundance of the most absurd testimonials as to signs and portents presaging his rise, horoscopic calculations, and far-fetched interpretations of trivial events as auspicious manifestations predicting a long reign for him and his dynasty, presented to the throne by sundry wizards and seers,<sup>163</sup> serves as a good indication of YANG Chien's uneasy state of mind and his lack of confidence in his fortune, especially after 586 when he was reminded by a serious plot against his power<sup>164</sup> how shaky was the foundation on which he had built his throne. There is also no doubt that his tolerance towards Buddhism and Taoism, which from 600 on becomes a definite predilection towards those creeds, had its inception in his hope to win adherents and at the same time to find in the divine hosts of their pantheons protection against the consequences of his hybris.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Cf. *Sui shu* 78, *Pei shih* 89, particularly the biographies of Hsiao Chi 蕭吉 and Chang Ch'ou-hsüan 張胃玄; *Sui shu* 69, biographies of Wang Shao 王劼 (also *Pei shih* 35) and Yüan Ch'ung 袁充.

<sup>163</sup> Thus his appointment as governor of Sui chow in 562 is said to have been portended by the clearing of the muddy waters of the Yellow river; the discovery of stones and tortoises with inscriptions predicting a long reign is duly recorded in 580; the appearance of white dragons is naturally interpreted as referring to YANG Chien since he was born in the year of the white cock (*hsin yü*, 541 A. D.); a white dragon triumphs over five black ones: the black dragons are, of course, either the five emperors of Chou (Yü-wên Chüeh, Yu, Yung, Pin, and Ch'an) or the five Yü-wên princes put to death in 580; YANG Chien should not have hesitated to take the throne immediately after Pin's death; the dates of the solstices hide deep significance, all indicating continuous prosperity, etc., etc. Astrologers went as far as reporting that his benign influence caused the lengthening of the gnomon's shadow!

Some physiognomists prided themselves on having discovered his high destiny long before 580. One of them, Lai Ho 來和, pointedly reminded him that in 575 and 576 he had had abundant opportunity to betray YANG Chien's secret to Yü-wên Yung, but had instead allayed the Chou emperor's suspicions. He and three others were handsomely rewarded for both perspicacity and discretion.

While it is true that Chinese sources record similar signs and portents at the accession of every dynasty, in no other case do the chronicles record such an intense interest on the part of the new emperor in this evidence of heavenly favor.

<sup>164</sup> The chief conspirators were Liang Shih-yen, Liu Fang, and Yü-wên Hsin 忻 (*Sui shu* 40, *Pei shih* 60, 523-536) executed on October 16, 586 (*Sui shu* 1). Cf. *Sui shu* 38 (biog. of Liu Fang) for YANG Chien's long edict listing their crimes and justifying the punishment visited upon them. One must remember that earlier that year Chien had been urged to abdicate.

<sup>165</sup> His quick success in wresting power from the Chou had undoubtedly inspired

There was in YANG Chien's character a curious puritanical strain, possibly fostered in him by his wife, but the ostentatious simplicity of dress and manner that he affected cannot entirely be explained by his natural sobriety and thriftiness. One feels in his moralizing speeches an undertone of deep-seated fear that should he or members of his immediate family exercise too freely the privileges or enjoy too completely the benefits of their position, fate would speed up the inevitable turn downward of the wheel of fortune. It seems indeed as if the dread of "the jealousy of the gods" haunted YANG Chien through all his years as emperor.

Earlier in his life, again probably under the influence of his wife, he had quarreled with his brothers.<sup>166</sup> After he became emperor, he repeatedly showed signs of being suspicious of his own sons, accusing them of extravagance and of being too anxious for coming into their inheritance. These suspicions were not entirely unfounded. The life of Northern China was strongly affected by the nomadic traditions of its Turco-Mongol conquerors. Among those traditions was one which did not permit a ruler to continue beyond a fate-appointed time,<sup>167</sup> and another, still more sinister, which enjoined patricide as an almost religious duty.<sup>168</sup> YANG Chien must have pondered over the significant fact that for the preceding two hundred years only two emperors<sup>169</sup> (from among those of the Wei, Ch'i, and Chou dynasties) had reached the age of forty, his own age at the time of the usurpation, and that in many cases the demise of an imperial father was not without the connivance of his imperial son and heir.

some of his officers with the hope that, given a favorable opportunity, some one of them would be able to duplicate YANG Chien's feat, but at his expense. In the edict mentioned in the preceding note YANG Chien accused, probably not without reason, LIANG Shih-yen of paying heed to a physiognomist who predicted that he would become emperor sometime after his sixtieth year. One of the reasons for KAO Kung's disgrace was that his son dared to compare his father with Ssu-MA I. As early as about 584 YANG Su's career was seriously jeopardized by his wife's denunciation that in a moment of anger he had said that he might be emperor some day.

<sup>166</sup> See genealogy of the Yang family, below.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. the custom practised by the T'u-chüeh and the Khazars of half-strangling a newly elevated khan and asking the dazed man how long he expected to reign, subsequently murdering him if he exceeded the limit. We suspect that the same tradition existed among the T'o-pa.

<sup>168</sup> The question of gerontoctony among the nomads, a custom attested already by western classical writers, demands a special study.

<sup>169</sup> T'O-PA T'ao and T'O-PA Pao-chü who both lived to the age of 44.

The year 600, twentieth of his reign and the sixtieth of his life, marked the crisis in YANG Chien's relations to his sons. As early as 586 he had been urged to abdicate in favor of his eldest son Yung 勇<sup>170</sup> whom, in the latter's capacity of heir-apparent, he suspected most of evil designs against himself. The relations of father and son had been strained since 591, when Yung's mother, a fanatical believer in monogamy,<sup>171</sup> accused her son of doing away with his chief wife for the sake of one of his concubines.<sup>172</sup> How YANG Kuang 廣,<sup>173</sup> the second son, skillfully used his parents' prejudice against his elder brother to further his own ends is too well known a story to be recounted here. We must insist, however, on the significance of the date of Yung's disgrace and Kuang's elevation in his stead, 600 A. D. In July of that year YANG Chien had completed a full sexagenary cycle (59 years in our reckoning) of life.<sup>174</sup> He must have suspected that in the belief of many of his subjects he should not attempt to exceed that, to them natural, limit.<sup>175</sup> A week after his birthday, his third son Chün 俊 died under exceedingly suspicious circumstances: his wife was accused of having poisoned him and was forced to commit suicide.<sup>176</sup> YANG Chien openly displayed great callousness at his son's funeral, performing the prescribed lamentations in less than perfunctory manner. Was he secretly glad of being rid of a prospective rival and was there more to Chün's death than we are led to believe by the sources?<sup>177</sup> In the tenth month of the same year, on November

<sup>170</sup> Cf. *HJAS* 3, 236.

<sup>171</sup> Her puritanism in this respect went as far as meddling in the family affairs of her husband's ministers. Cf. the biog. of KAO Kung, *Sui shu* 41.

<sup>172</sup> Lady YÜAN, Yung's consort, died on February 22, 591 (*Sui shu* 1). She was the daughter of YÜAN Hsiao-chü 元孝矩 (*Sui shu* 50). Yung's favorite concubine was Lady Yün, daughter of YÜN Ting-hsing 雲定興, *Sui shu* 61.

<sup>173</sup> Pht. YANG Ti, *Sui shu* 3-4, *Pei shih* 11. Ascended throne August 13, 604; murdered April 11, 618.

<sup>174</sup> He was born on July 21, 541.

<sup>175</sup> About 598, some Buddhist seers prophesied that YANG Chien would not live beyond 599, *Sui shu* 41.

<sup>176</sup> *Sui shu* 45, *Pei shih* 71. She was a sister of Ts'ui Hung-shêng 崔弘昇. The latter's daughter married YANG Chao, YANG Kuang's eldest son, who divorced her following her aunt's condemnation.

<sup>177</sup> The prince had been deprived of his official position and title on August 30, 597 for extravagance and wasting public funds. YANG Chien had repeatedly declined the petitions of several of his officers to reinstate Chün, and upon the prince's death,

20, Kuang's machinations against Yung finally accomplished their purpose. Yung was publicly degraded and he and all his sons were reduced to the state of simple subjects without rank or title. On December 13 Kuang was proclaimed crown prince. YANG Chien and his wife thought that they had nothing to fear from their favorite, who had shown himself to be a dutiful and pious son in the best Chinese tradition, and doubtless congratulated themselves on having left the critical year behind them. On February 4, 581 (three days before the close of the Chinese year) YANG Chien issued an edict which re-established Buddhism and Taoism as religions favored by the state by proclaiming that the defamation of Buddhist and Taoist images would be henceforth considered a criminal offense.<sup>178</sup>

On September 15, 602 YANG Chien lost his life companion, the Empress Tu-ku.<sup>179</sup> Still suspicious of his sons, he lent a willing ear to the calumnies of YANG Kuang and on January 27, 603 he degraded his fourth son Hsiu 秀 on the accusation of black art practices against his father and his brother Liang 諒. In the manufactured evidence Kuang skillfully involved the last brother by instilling into Chien's mind the belief that Hsiu considered Liang a rival worthy of a magic attack and, therefore, a potential equal to his father. With all his brothers out of the way, Kuang had now the field to himself and undoubtedly resolved to succeed his father at the earliest opportunity.<sup>180</sup> This presented itself in the summer of 604. YANG Chien was ailing,<sup>181</sup> and YANG Kuang was impatiently awaiting his passing. An incident at the palace having revealed to the emperor the evil mind of his son, YANG Chien

ordered the latter's richly ornamented and expensive household objects to be burned and refused the request of Chün's retainers to erect a stele in his memory.

<sup>178</sup> On June 16, 603 (5 mo., 40, *Pei shih* 11; *Sui shu* 2, incorrectly, 4 mo.) an edict prohibited the slaughter of animals on YANG Chien's birthday (13th day of the 6 mo.).

<sup>179</sup> According to the sycophant WANG Shao she was an avator of Avalokiteśvara, and undoubtedly continued to protect him in the beyond.

<sup>180</sup> Although YANG Chien apparently did not suspect Kuang of treacherous designs, he lost his confidence in Kuang's chief supporter, YANG Su, who was denounced about that time by LIANG Pi 梁毗 (*Sui shu* 62).

<sup>181</sup> Both *Pei shih* 11 and *Sui shu* 2 say he fell ill on *i-mao* of the fourth month. Read "fifth" (June 22), as there was no *i-mao* day in the fourth month. On March 4 of that year he had retired to the Jên-shou palace, entrusting YANG Kuang with the management of current affairs. Note that 604 was a *chia-tzū* year, the first of the cycle.



came suddenly to the realization of his folly in playing into his designs.<sup>182</sup> With his plans discovered, no way was left to Kuang but to administer the *coup de grâce*. The *Sui shu* pointedly hints that on his orders YANG Chien was murdered in his bed on August 13, 604.<sup>183</sup>

A life beset by fear of retribution had ended and the uneasy conscience of a man who dared too much was stilled by death, but the curse of the family which presumed to gather the fruits of power before they were ripe descended upon the patricide.<sup>184</sup> The sources are suspiciously vague on the subject of YANG Kuang's relations with his sons. His eldest, Chao 昭, died in August 606,<sup>185</sup> a day before YANG Su, Kuang's *âme damnée*, whose death was undoubtedly ordered by the emperor,<sup>186</sup> who since his accession feared this unscrupulous man, the companion of all his crimes, and as Kuang well knew, a crafty and dangerous plotter. Did the

<sup>182</sup> After the death of his wife, YANG Chien elevated to the rank of *kuei-jên* his favorite among the women of the palace, the lady Hsüan-hua 宣華, a daughter of CH'EN Hsü 陳頊 (emperor Hsüan of the Ch'ên). According to her biography in *Sui shu* 36, *Pei shih* 14, YANG Kuang had as early as 589 formulated a plan to use her in furthering his ambitions and it is said that gifts from the prince influenced her to the extent of helping him in his campaign against Yung, the heir-apparent. At the time of YANG Chien's illness, YANG Kuang tried to make love to her. When she reported it to the emperor, the latter in his wrath against Kuang ordered that his disgraced son Yung be recalled, apparently in the intention to restore him to his rightful place as Crown Prince, but YANG Su and YANG Kuang prevented the order from being executed.

After Chien's death, the lady Ch'ên was forced to accept Kuang's attentions. She died about 606, at the age of 29 (Chinese). Her father, CH'EN Hsü was emperor of Ch'ên from February 5, 569 to February 17, 582 (*Ch'ên shu* 5, *Nan shih* 10); he died at the age of 52 (Chinese), and was thus born in 530. The *Ch'ên shu*, however, gives as the date of his birth August 6, 528 (7th month, day *hsin-yu* of the second year of *Ta-t'ung*). The *Nan shih* corrects *Ta-t'ung* to *Chung-ta-t'ung* which indeed give us the correct date 530, but there was no *hsin-yu* day in the 7th month of 530.

<sup>183</sup> Presumably by CHANG Hêng 張衡, *Sui shu* 56, *Pei shih* 74; cf. *Sui shu* 1. He was executed in 612.

<sup>184</sup> YANG Yung and his sons were put to death shortly after YANG Chien's death, and YANG Liang was killed in prison sometime in 605, after an unsuccessful rebellion. YANG Hsiu remained incarcerated all through Kuang's reign.

<sup>185</sup> On August 30 (*Sui shu* 3, *Pei shih* 12), the next day, according to *Sui shu* 59. Note that YANG Su was at the time t'ai shih of the Heir Apparent.

<sup>186</sup> Shortly before Su's death, YANG Kuang had him enfeoffed as Duke of Ch'u 楚, maliciously expecting the fulfillment of an astrological prediction that death would soon strike a great personage residing in that region. *Sui shu* 48 implies that Kuang intended to poison Su.

emperor suspect YANG Su of contriving his overthrow in favor of his heir, and was the murderer of father and brothers a filicide as well? A further study of the sources might elucidate that question. Kuang's second son Chien 暎 enjoyed a brief period of favor,<sup>187</sup> but soon fell into disgrace, was suspected of harboring secret designs against his father and was kept under close observation. The remaining members of the Yang family felt constantly upon themselves the suspicious eye of the emperor. A cynic, YANG Kuang tried to enjoy at least the years allotted to him by fate to the full. He lived in real imperial style and remained in Chinese history a notorious example of the regal spendthrift, a magnificent and proud waster. When his ambitious and grandiose plans of foreign conquest failed and the empire began to crumble under his feet,<sup>188</sup> with a flippant *après nous le déluge*, he let his dynasty and power crash to their doom, recognizing, with the ease of the amoral individual that he was, that in the battle against fate man is always worsted, and in the hour of his death he undoubtedly let the responsibility for the ruin of the house rest on his father's shoulders. When the news of his murder at the hands of YÜ-WÊN Hua-chi 化及,<sup>189</sup> a scion of the house that his father had overthrown in 580, spread through the disrupted empire, it startled no one, for the masses instinctively know that Heaven's ways are sure and the doom of retribution it visits on those guilty of *hybris* is inexorable.<sup>190</sup>

#### 6. ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO MARGINALIA 1-2 AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES

We hasten to correct two mistakes committed in "Theophylactus Simocatta on China," *HJAS* 3, 236:

1. For KAO Hui read KAO Wei. The character 緯, which served

<sup>187</sup> He was, however, never officially proclaimed crown prince.

<sup>188</sup> On Yang ti's reign and the disintegration of his empire, cf. Woodbridge BINGHAM, *Factors Contributing to the Founding of the T'ang Dynasty* (Univ. of California doctoral dissertation, 1934) which, we hope, will soon be published in revised form.

<sup>189</sup> *Sui shu* 85, *Pei shih* 79. Killed on March 22, 619, *T'ang shu* 1. Four months previously he had proclaimed himself emperor.

<sup>190</sup> The fate of the Yang is constantly used by Chinese historians as an illustration of the principle of the dependency of the fate of a dynasty and the empire on the

as the personal name of the last sovereign of Ch'i, is now read Wei. Same correction on p. 233.

2. At the bottom of the same page, in the phrase: "the reigning sovereign and father of the boy," read *grandfather* for *father*.

Note 32 on p. 232 requires a more serious correction:

The age of the empress TU-KU (personal name Ch'ieh-lo 伽羅,<sup>191</sup> pht. Hsien 獻) was incorrectly given, as we were misled by *Sui shu* 36 which says that she was 50 (Chinese) years old at the time of her death in 602. The correct figure is 59, as given by *Pei shih* 14. She was then born in 544 and was thus already of marriageable age at the time of her father TU-KU Hsin's death in 557. She was YANG Chien's junior by only three years.

The date of her birth is confirmed by *Sui shu* 78, biography of HSIAO Chi, where, in his report to the emperor, that diviner insists that the year 594 has especially auspicious chronological characteristics since the winter solstice falls on the day *hsin-yu* (58th of the cycle) which is also the cyclical designation of the year of the emperor's birth (541), while the summer solstice falls on *chia-tzū*, the cyclical designation of the date of the empress's birth, and 544 was precisely a *chia-tzū* year.<sup>192</sup>

The possible explanation of the mistake in the *Sui shu* (50 for 59) is that in the original source used by the compilers after the mention of the empress's death which took place in the *eighth* month, there followed some entry of a happening (such as an order

proper exercise of *té* by the ruler, expressed so tersely in the saying 一人失德四海土崩 (cf. postface of *Sui shu* 5).

<sup>191</sup> Anc. *g'ia-lá*, transcribing Sanskrit *kāla*. The binom usually designates agallochum or eaglewood perfume (the wood of the *Aquilaria agallocha*), Chin. *ch'ên hsiang* 沉香 and possibly represents the first two syllables of Sanskrit *kālāguru*—"black *aguru* (agallochum)." A term referring to incense or perfume would be quite appropriate as a girl's name, while "black" alone would hardly be suitable as a proper name for a representative of the fair sex.

<sup>192</sup> As 544 was a rat year, it is possible that the empress's birth within that cyclical animal's twelvemonth made her, in the opinion of witch doctors, particularly susceptible to the attacks of the malignant "cat demon" 猫鬼 which her half-brother TU-KU T 阼 was accused of cultivating in his house and the exorcism of which was prohibited by imperial edict in 598 (*Sui shu* 1, *Pei shih* 11). On the magical practices of T'o's household, cf. *Sui shu* 79, *Pei shih* 61, and CHAVANNES, "Le cycle des douze animaux." It is to be noted that, according to the story, the "cat demon," to whose influence the empress's illness was attributed by the shamans, was exorcized on rat days.

issued by YANG Chien to select a proper burial place for his wife) dated the *ninth* month of the year. That is, the original text ran 八月。后崩於永安宮時年五十九九月。The compilers, omitting the “ninth month” entry, inadvertently dropped the “*nine*” of “fifty-nine” also. Cf. note 117 for a similar mistake in the *Sung shu*.

A further study of the documents enables us to make the following additions to the discussion of Theophylactus' testimony:

1. That the troops of Chou wore black uniforms is further attested by a passage in *Pei Ch'i shu* 11 (cf. *Pei shih* 52), biography of prince KAO Yen-tsung 延宗, where these troops investing Chin-yang are compared to black clouds surrounding the doomed city on all sides. *Pei Ch'i shu* 10, biography of KAO Huan 渙, the seventh son of the founder of the house, says that one of the pretexts that his brother, KAO Yang, used for persecuting that unfortunate prince was that 七—“seven,” his number in the chronological order of the brothers, was a homonym of 漆—“lacquer,” one of the blackest substances. In this coincidence the perverted mind of KAO Yang saw an echo of the prophecy that “that which will destroy the KAO will be black-robed,” a prediction which impressed the first sovereigns of the Ch'i sufficiently to make them dislike the sight of black-robed Buddhist monks. Again, in the letter of KAO Chêng upbraiding HOU Ching for his desertion in 547, preserved in *Liang shu* 56, that prince warns Ching of the futility of seeking help from the Black Ch'in 黑秦 under which are obviously understood the Western Wei of Shensi and their major-domo YÜ-wÊN T'ai.

Finally in *Hsi Wei shu* 23, biography of LI Shun-hsing 李順興, is recorded an anecdote, the original source of which we have not been able to ascertain. YÜ-wÊN T'ai, it is said, consulted LI Shun-hsing at the time of KAO Huan's invasion of Shensi in 537 as to the outcome of the campaign and Shun-hsing replied with a little ditty in which he alluded to the Eastern Wei as a yellow dog and to the Western Wei as a black one.<sup>193</sup> The colors refer, says the text, to the yellow banners of the Easterners, and to the black color pattern affected by their Western opponents.

<sup>193</sup> The ditty ran: 黃狗逐黑狗, 急走出筋斗, 一個出筋斗, 黃狗夾尾走  
“a yellow dog was chasing a black dog, running fast and turning somersaults; one

2. That the princesses of Northern Ch'ï rode in richly decorated chariots drawn by an ox is further confirmed by an entry in *Sui shu* 22. In the autumn of 576, runs the story, Empress Mu 穆, the consort of KAO Wei, on the eve of her departure for Chin-yang,<sup>194</sup> rode in her chariot to the northern palace to take leave of her mother-in-law, the Dowager Empress HU 胡.<sup>195</sup> As she entered the inner gate of the palace, her "seven-jeweled" chariot sank into the ground without any apparent reason, the four feet of the ox becoming imbedded 牛沒四足. The wording of the passage implies that there was but a single ox pulling the empress's cart.

3. To the enumeration of instances of the use of the title *t'ai-shang* we must add the case of the father of the notorious Empress Hu, HU Kuo-chên 胡國珍 (*Wei shu* 83B, *Pei shih* 80: 439-518). Upon his death, on May 7, 518, the Empress-Regent, to all intents and purposes the real sovereign of the empire, had conferred upon him the title of *T'ai-shang* Duke of Ch'in 太上秦公, and upon her mother (*née* HUANG-FU 皇甫, died in 502), that of *T'ai-shang* Lady. On the long deliberations on the appropriateness of the titles, see *Wei shu* 78, biography of CHANG P'u-hui 張普惠 (468-525).

#### THE CHRONOGRAMMATIC USE OF ANIMAL CYCLE TERMS IN PROPER NAMES

To the cases discussed in "Marginalia 2" we are now able to add the following:

1. LIU T'êng 劉騰, the well known eunuch who played an important rôle at the Wei court in the first quarter of the sixth century, bore, according to his biography in *Wei shu* 94, *Pei shih* 92, the cognomen Ch'ing-lung 青龍. The *Wei shu* states, moreover, that he died in 523,<sup>196</sup> aged 60 (Chinese). He was thus born

turned a somersault and the yellow dog ran (away), its tail between the legs." I take the third line to be as vague in the original as in the tentative translation, as such vagueness is characteristic of the fortune-tellers' ditties.

<sup>194</sup> Apparently on September 29, 576, on which day, according to *Pei Ch'i shu* 8, the emperor proceeded to Chin-yang.

<sup>195</sup> The biographies of both empresses are found in *Pei Ch'i shu* 9, *Pei shih* 14.

<sup>196</sup> In the third month of the year. According to *Wei shu* 9, *Pei shih* 4, seemingly in the second month, but it is quite probable that in both texts some passage has been left out following the record of troubles with the Juan-juan, noted down under the 22nd day (c. 16) of the second month. Immediately after the mention of LIU T'êng's death follows an entry dated the fourth month.

in 464 which was a *chia-ch'ên* year, corresponding to the green dragon in the animal cycle, and green dragon is precisely the meaning of Ch'ing-lung, LIU T'êng's *tzü*.

2. We have another "son of a dragon" in LU Ch'ang-hêng 盧昌衡 (*Sui shu* 57, *Pei shih* 30). That worthy died at the beginning of the Ta-yeh era, while en route to the capital whither he had been summoned to a post in the household of YANG Chao, the heir apparent. This was presumably in 605 as appointments to the Crown Prince's household were made on August 25 (a *chia tzü* day), 605 (*Sui shu* 3). As *Sui shu* 57 says he was then 70 (Chinese) years old, he must have been born in 536, a dragon year. Now, besides his regular *tzü*, Tzū-chün 子均, Ch'ang-hêng had also a nickname which was "son of a dragon," Lung-tzū 龍子.

3. A less definite instance of a chronogram may be seen in the name of LIU Ch'iu 柳蚪 (*Chou shu* 38, *Pei shih* 64), who died in the winter of 534, aged 54 (Chinese). He was then born in 500-501. If his birth took place in the first twelvemonth, it is likely that his name Ch'iu is chronogrammatic, as it means "young, dragon with horns," and 500 A. D. was a dragon year.<sup>197</sup>

4. A "son of a tiger" was undoubtedly HSIEH Hu-tzū 薛虎子 (*Wei shu* 44, *Pei shih* 25, which writes 彪子 for Hu-tzū to avoid the T'ang taboo on Hu). He died in 491 at the age of 51 (Chinese) and was then born in 450-451, and his name Hu-tzū ("tiger's son") would indicate that he came into the world in 450 which was a tiger year. It is also possible that his father HSIEH Yeh-chu 野腊 ("wild pig," "boar") was likewise named according to the year of his birth.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>197</sup> The dates of another Ch'iu 蚪 who lived in the same period, Yü-wên Ch'iu (*Chou shu* 29), are unfortunately unknown. In the case of LIU Ch'iu 劉蚪 (*Nan Ch'i shu* 54, *Nan shih* 50: 438-495), the "dragon" in his name has no chronological significance. We have, however, a "son of the dragon" in HSIAO Tsé 蕭蹟 (pht. Shih-tsu Wu ti, *Nan Ch'i shu* 3, *Nan shih* 4), second emperor of the Southern Ch'i. He was born on July 17, 440 (17th year of Yüan-chia, *Nan shih* 4 has incorrectly 27th year) and died in 493 at the age of 54 (Chinese). His biography tells us that his childhood name was "dragon boy" 龍兒, and 440 was a dragon year.

<sup>198</sup> His biography (*Wei shu* 44) mentions one appointment to a governor's post during the Ho-p'ing era (460-465), followed by another, and then states that he died at the age of 61 (Chinese) after having won a reputation as an administrator. If we presuppose that he lived until 471, the date of his birth would be 411, a year of the boar.

It is possible that 瓌 *huai* < \**ɣwai* which often appears in "barbarian" names is an abbreviation of a transcription of either Mo. *noɣai*—"dog" or *ɣaqai*—"pig" (cf.

5. We find still another “son of a tiger” in LI Ling 李靈 (*Wei shu* 49, *Pei shih* 33). His *tzü* was Hu-fu 虎符—“tiger tally” (*Pei shih* writes, of course, Wu 武 for Hu), undoubtedly an allusion to the year of his birth, as Ling appears to have been born in 390, a tiger year; he died in 452, aged 63 (Chinese).<sup>199</sup>

6. In Southern China, in addition to Ts'AO Hu, we have CHOU T'ieh-hu 周鐵虎 (*Ch'ên shu* 10, *Nan shih* 67). That brave general, whose name means “iron tiger” was made prisoner in the great defeat of the Ch'ên forces by WANG Lin 王琳 in the tenth month of 557. T'ieh-hu, alone of all the officers of the ill-fated army, refused to respond to the advances made by the victor and was put to death by WANG Lin. If, as is likely, he was not executed until 558, he must have been born in 510, as his biography gives his age at the time of his death as 49 (Chinese). 510 was a metal tiger year and his name was thus in all probability chronogrammatic.

It is noteworthy that among the twelve cyclical animals only the dragon and the tiger seem to have been consistently used as chronograms in proper names.<sup>200</sup> This is probably to be explained by the popularity of the animals and the qualities they symbolized as well as by their astrological significance. A further study of the subject may reveal a more subtle use of cyclical terms in the onomasticon of medieval China and may help occasionally to clear up some mooted question of chronology.

*HJAS* 3. 246). It appears to be so used in the personal name of I Huai 乙瓌 (*Wei shu* 44, *Pei shih* 25). Huai died in the middle of the period 460-465 at the age of 29 (Chinese). If his death took place in 463, he was born in 435, a pig (*yaqai*) year; if in 462, he was born under the sign of the dog (*noxai*).

<sup>199</sup> In the case of HAN Hsiu 韓秀, *tzü* Pai-hu 白虎 (“white tiger”), *Wei shu* 42, the cognomen is apparently not chronogrammatic. Hsiu was entrusted with a confidential post before 466 and was certainly over sixteen at the time, while the nearest “white tiger” year is 450. He died about 480, and it is barely possible, if we suppose that he lived to be a nonagenarian, that he was born in the preceding “white tiger” year, 390 A. D. His father Ping 昺 joined the Wei in 396. *Pei shih* 27, avoiding T'ang taboos, writes Pai-wu 白武 for Pai-hu, and Ching 景 for Ping.

<sup>200</sup> We suspect that T'ang T'ai-tung's love of horses was conditioned, apart from the natural attraction that the noble animal exercises over a born cavalryman, by the fact that he was born in a horse year. As observed by the Ch'ien-lung editors, T'ai-tung's age at the time of his death in 649 was 52 (Chinese) as given by the *Chiu T'ang shu*, rather than 53, as we have it in *T'ang shu* 2. According to *Chiu T'ang shu* 2, he was born on the day *wu-wu* (55 of the cycle) in the 12th month of the 18th year of K'ai-huang (January 23, 599). Note that the day had the same cyclical designation as the year (K'ai-huang 18 was a *wu-wu* year) and also corresponded to the horse in the cycle of the twelve animals.

1. Emperors of the House of T'ŏ-PA, 386-557 A. D.

Kuei<sup>1</sup> 珪 371-386-409

Ssü<sup>2</sup> 嗣 392-409-423

T'ao<sup>3</sup> 蕭 408-423-452

Huang<sup>3a</sup> 晃 428-451 ————— Yü<sup>4</sup> 余 d. 452

Hsün<sup>5</sup> 濬 440-452-465

Hung<sup>6</sup> 弘 454-465-471-476

Hung<sup>7</sup> 宏 467-471-499

Hsün 恂 482-497  
K'ŏ<sup>8</sup> 恪 488-499-515

Hsü<sup>9</sup> 詡 Pao-hui 寶暉 510-515-528  
Pao-chü<sup>17</sup> 寶炬 507-535-551

Yü 愉 488-508

I 擇 487-520

Huai 懷 487-520

Hsieh 總 d. 508 ————— Yü 羽 470-501  
Tzŭ-hsiu<sup>11</sup> 子攸 508-528-530-531 ————— Kung<sup>13</sup> 恭 508-528-530-531 ?-531-532

Tan 亶 Hsiu<sup>15</sup> 脩 d. 537 511-532-535

I 怡

Pin 彬 d. 499

Chao<sup>10</sup> 釗 528 ————— Ch'in<sup>18</sup> 欽 551-554 ————— K'uo<sup>10</sup> 廓 554-557  
Shan-chien<sup>16</sup> 善見 534-550-552

Yeh<sup>12</sup> 暉 ?-530-531-532

Jung 融 d. 526

Lang<sup>14</sup> 朗 ?-531-532

Chêng 楨 d. 496



## NOTES TO TABLE 1

- <sup>1</sup> Pht. T'ai-tsu Tao-wu 道武. Born August 4 (7th day of the 7th month) 371; king, Feb. 17, 386; emperor, 7 month, 396; murdered Nov. 6, 409. *Wei shu* 2, *Pei shih* 1.
- <sup>2</sup> Pht. T'ai-tsung Ming-yüan 明元. Ascended throne Nov. 10, 409; died Dec. 24, 423. *Wei shu* 3, *Pei shih* 1.
- <sup>3</sup> Pht. Shih-tsu T'ai-wu 太武. Ascended throne, Dec. 27, 423 (read 11th for 10th month in *Wei shu* 4a); died March 11, 452 (read 2nd for 3rd month in *Wei shu* 4b). *Wei shu* 4ab, *Pei shih* 2.
- <sup>3a</sup> Pht. Kung-tsung Ching-mu 景穆. Died July 29, 451. He did not reign. *Wei shu* 4b, *Pei shih* 2.
- <sup>4</sup> No pht. Placed on the throne by Tsung Ai 宗愛, the murderer of his father, he was killed by the same Tsung Ai on October 29, 452.
- <sup>5</sup> Pht. Kao-tung Wên-ch'êng 文成. Born August 4, 440; ascended throne, October 31, 452; died June 20, 465. *Wei shu* 5, *Pei shih* 2.
- <sup>6</sup> Pht. Hsien-tsu 顯祖 Hsien-wên 獻. Born, August 14, 454; asc. throne, June 21, 465; abdicated Sept. 20, 471; murdered, July 20, 476. *Wei shu* 6, *Pei shih* 2.
- <sup>7</sup> Pht. Kao-tsu Hsiao-wên 孝文. Born, October 13, 467; asc. throne, Sept. 20, 471; died April 26, 499. *Wei shu* 7ab, *Pei shih* 3.
- <sup>8</sup> Pht. Shih-tsung Hsüan-wu 宣武. Born, May 27, 483; asc. throne May 7, 499; died February 12, 515. *Wei shu* 8, *Pei shih* 4.
- <sup>9</sup> Pht. Su-tsung 肅 Hsiao-ming 孝明. Born April 8, 510; asc. throne Feb. 12, 515; died March 31, 528. *Wei shu* 9, *Pei shih* 4.
- <sup>10</sup> No pht. Asc. throne April 2, 528; murdered by Êan-chu Jung on May 17, 528.
- <sup>11</sup> Pht. Ching-tsung 敬 Hsiao-chuang 孝莊. Asc. throne May 15, 528; deposed Dec. 5, 530; died January 26, 531, murdered by Êan-chu Chao. *Wei shu* 10, *Pei shih* 5.
- <sup>12</sup> Pht. Tung-hai 東海 wang. Asc. throne Dec. 5, 530; deposed April 1, 531; died Dec. 26, 532.
- <sup>13</sup> Pht. Chieh-min 節閔 ti, or Kuang-ling 廣陵 wang. Asc. throne April 1, 531; deposed June 6, 532; died June 21, 532. *Wei shu* 11, *Pei shih* 5.
- <sup>14</sup> Pht. An-ting 安定 wang. Asc. throne Oct. 31, 531; deposed June 6, 532; died Dec. 26, 532. *Wei shu* 11, *Pei shih* 5.
- <sup>15</sup> Pht. Hsiao-wu 孝武 ti (*Wei shu* 11 calls him 出帝 "the fugitive emperor"). Asc. throne June 13, 532; fled to Ch'ang-an, Aug. 21, 534. Murdered by Yü-wên T'ai, February 3, 535. *Wei shu* 11, *Pei shih* 5.
- <sup>16</sup> Pht. Hsiao-ching 孝靜. Asc. throne, Nov. 8, 534; abdicated June 7, 550; died January 21, 552. *Wei shu* 12, *Pei shih* 5.
- <sup>17</sup> Pht. Wên 文 ti. Asc. throne, Feb. 18, 535 (New Year's Day); died March 28, 551. *Pei shih* 5.
- <sup>18</sup> No pht. Asc. throne, 3rd mo., 551; deposed, 1st mo., 554.
- <sup>19</sup> Pht. Kung 恭 ti. Asc. throne 1st mo., 554; abdicated, Feb. 14, 557.

## 2.\* The Family of Yü-wên Hung

宇文脈 Yü-wên Hung d. 526

顥 Hao d. 524

什肥 Shih-fei<sup>2</sup>導 Tao  
511-554護 Hu  
513-572連 Lien  
d. 526洛生 Lo-shêng<sup>1</sup>  
d. 528泰 T'ai  
506-556光寶 Kuang-pao  
菩提 P'u-ti胄 Ch'ou<sup>3</sup>廣 Kuang<sup>10</sup>  
d. Dec. 30, 570

亮 Liang

楮 Ch'ün

衆 Chung

洽 Hsia

溫 Wên

仲和 Chung-ho

孰倫 Shu-lun

1. 毓 Yu<sup>5</sup>3. 覺 Chüeh<sup>6</sup>4. 筮 Yung<sup>7</sup>贊 Pin<sup>8</sup>蘭 Ch'an<sup>9</sup>

559-578-579-580

584-557-560

542-557-557

543-560-578

1. 道宗 Tao-tsung<sup>11</sup>

2. 本仁 Pên-jên

3. 隣武 Lin-wu

4. 子禮 Tsü-li

5. 獻 Hsien

7. 乾基 Ch'ien-chi

8. 乾光 Ch'ien-kuang

9. 乾蔚 Ch'ien-wei

10. 乾祖 Ch'ien-tsu

11. 乾威 Ch'ien-wei

573-579-581

573-579-581

573-579-581

573-579-581

573-579-581

573-579-581

573-579-581

573-579-581

573-579-581

573-579-581

## NOTES TO TABLE 2

\* The table is based on *Chou shu* 10-11. Names of YÜ-WĒN princes put to death by YANG Chien in 580-581 are italicized. Only the reigning sons of T'ai are given in this table.

<sup>1</sup> Lo-shêng was put to death by FAN-chu Jung. Posthumous titles were conferred upon the three elder brothers of YÜ-WĒN T'ai on August 1, 561 (*Chou shu* 5).

<sup>2</sup> Shih-fei, Kuang-pao, and P'u-t'i were killed by KAO Huan, presumably in 534.

<sup>3</sup> Ch'ou did not escape from Chi until early in 570 (*Chou shu* 5). Until his return Ch'ien-jên 乾仁 (= Hui 會, second son of Hu) was treated as Shih-fei's heir.

<sup>4</sup> Died in his youth, leaving no posterity.

<sup>5</sup> Pht. Shih-tsung 世宗 Ming 明 ti. Ascended throne November 5, 557 (*chia-tzû*, 9th month), died, poisoned by YÜ-WĒN Hu, on May 30, 560. *Chou shu* 4, *Pei shih* 9.

<sup>6</sup> Pht. Hsiao-min 孝閔 ti. Ascended throne February 15, 557 (New Year's day, the Wei abdicated on the preceding day). Deposed by YÜ-WĒN Hu about November 1, 557. Died about a month later. *Chou shu* 3, *Pei shih* 9.

<sup>7</sup> Pht. Kao-tsu Wu 武 Ti. Ascended throne June 1, 560; died June 21, 578. Until the third month of 572 reigned under the tutelage of YÜ-WĒN Hu. *Chou shu* 5-6, *Pei shih* 10.

<sup>8</sup> Pht. Hsian 宣 ti. Ascended throne June 22, 578. Nominally abdicated on April 1, 579. Died about June 8, 580. *Chou shu* 7, *Pei shih* 10.

<sup>9</sup> Pht. Chung 靜 ti. Born August 1, 573. Became emperor April 1, 579. Forced to abdicate March 1, 581; died July 10, 581. *Chou shu* 8, *Pei shih* 10.

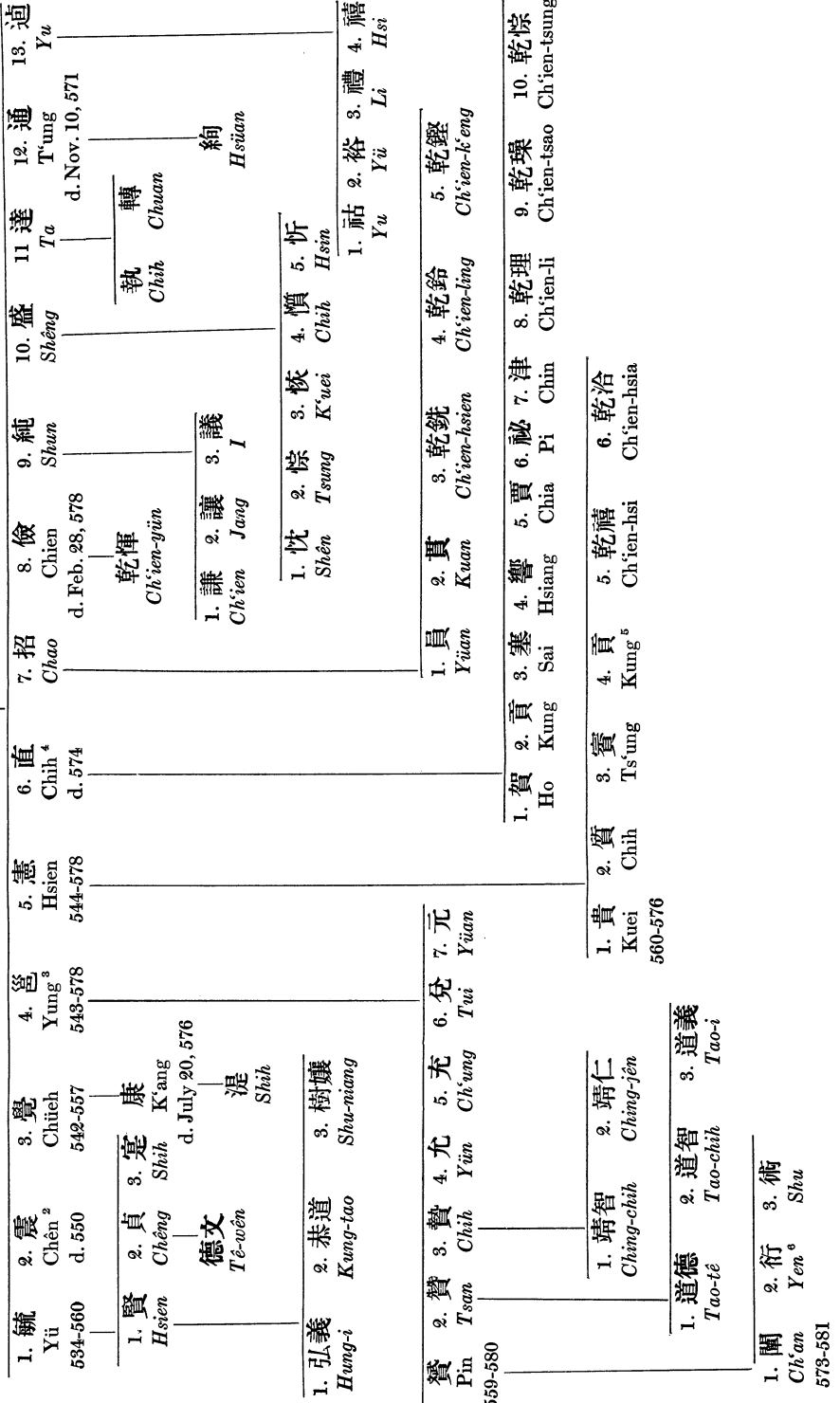
<sup>10</sup> The inscription on his stele composed by the famous Yu Hsin 庾信 has been preserved.

<sup>11</sup> *Chou shu* 10 gives the list of Ch'un's sons without a clue as to how we should punctuate it.

<sup>12</sup> All executed with their father in 572.

3.\* The Family of YÜ-WÊN T'ai

YÜ-WÊN T'ai 泰



## NOTES TO TABLE 3

\* The table is based chiefly on *Chou shu* 12-13, *Pei shih* 58. Names of the YÜ-WÊN princes put to death by YANG Chien in 580-581 are italicized.

<sup>1</sup> Yao 姚 *ju-jên* bore Yü, "Empress" Wên-yüan 文元 (d. 541; she was a sister of T'Ō-PA Hsiu; her first husband CHANG Huan 張歡 was put to death on her complaint) bore Chüeh; "Empress" Wên-hsian 宣 née CH'IH-NU 叱奴 (d. 573), Yung and Chih; the *fei* TA-PU-KAN 達步干 (a Juan-juan princess), Hsien; the *chi* WANG 王, Chao; the remaining sons were born of concubines of lesser rank.

<sup>2</sup> Married a daughter of T'Ō-PA Pao-chü.

<sup>3</sup> His dates are those given by *Chou shu* 12, confirmed by the inscription on his stele composed by Yü Hsin. The *Pei shih* says he was 40 Chinese years old at the time of his death, July 18, 578. Both Yung and Hsien were raised in the home of Li Hsien 李賢 (*Chou shu* 25, *Pei shih* 59) and appear to have been of the same age. Hsien's sons (with the exception of the eldest who died before his father) were executed with him.

<sup>4</sup> Chih organized an uprising against Yung on Aug. 29, 574, was captured on Sept. 14, and was put to death, sometime later, together with all his sons. Chih's eldest son Pin 賓 was made heir to Yü-wên Lo-shéng in the fifth month of 572 (*Chou shu* 5, 10). Is Pin identical with Ho?

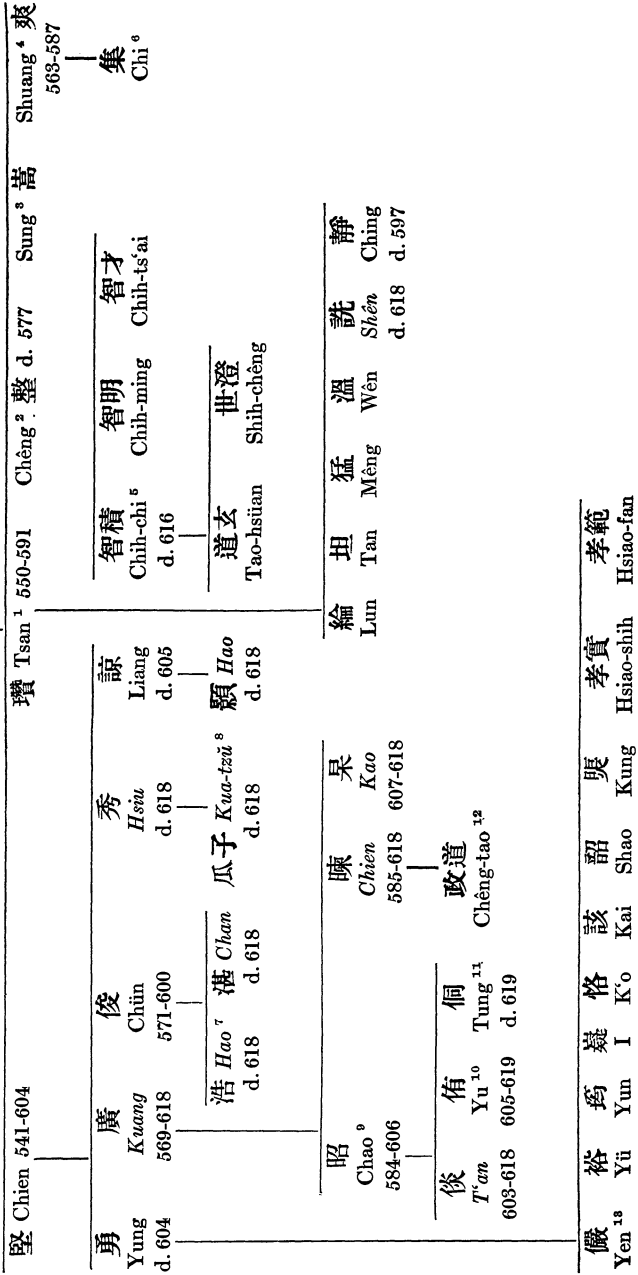
<sup>5</sup> Kung is apparently identical with Fu 負, fourth son of Hsien (*Chou shu* 6) or Chên 眞 (*Chou shu* 10) who was made heir to the same Lo-shéng in 576.

<sup>6</sup> Yen 衍 was the original name of Ch'an 闡. It is not impossible that after the name of Pin's eldest son was changed, Yen was bestowed as a name on the second son. On the other hand, 衍 Yen might be, as suspected by some, a corruption of K'an 衍. YÜ-WÊN T'ai had several daughters: the P'ing-yüan kung-chu married Yü I (see note 155); the I-an kung-chu married a Li 李 (*Pei shih* 60); the fifth daughter, the Hsiang-yang kung-chu, became the wife of Tou I (*Pei shih* 61); SHIH Hsiung (*ibid.*) married another daughter, the Yung-fu kung-chu; the Hsi-ho kung-chu was the wife of Lu Ch'ung (*Pei shih* 65); the Hsiang-lo kung-chu, that of WEI Shih-k'ang (*Sui shu* 47).

Prince YÜ-WÊN Hsin, son of YÜ-WÊN Shéng, is to be distinguished from YÜ-WÊN Hsin of note 164.

4.\* THE FAMILY OF YANG CHUNG

楊忠 YANG Chung 507-568 A.D.



## NOTES TO TABLE 4

\* This genealogical table is based primarily on *Sui shu* 44, 45, 59 and *Pei shih* 71. Names of princes murdered by YÜ-WÊN Hua-chi and his party in italics.

<sup>1</sup> Ts'an was also called Hui 慧, probably identical with Hui 惠 mentioned in *Chou shu* 19 as one of the younger brothers of YANG Chien. Ts'an married a daughter of YÜ-WÊN Yung, the Shun-yang 順陽 kung-chu. YANG Chien and his wife hated them both and at the time of Ts'an's sudden death in 591, it was rumored that he had been poisoned when visiting his brother.

<sup>2</sup> Chêng's wife was a daughter of WER-CH'IN Kang 綱. In this case also a deep-seated enmity existed between the couple and YANG Chien and his wife. Chêng was killed in the campaign against Chi. Ts'an and Chêng were uterine brothers of Chien, born of the Lady Lü 呂.

<sup>3</sup> Died in early youth. Ching, son of Ts'an, was made heir to him.

<sup>4</sup> Shuang's *taiz* was Ming-ta 明達. Apparently identical with Ta 達 of *Chou shu* 19. Both he and Sung were sons of the Lady Li 李.

<sup>5</sup> Chih-chi lived all his life in fear of his uncle Chien and his cousin Kuang, making every effort not to attract attention. He had five sons, only two are known by their names.

<sup>6</sup> Exiled in 605 together with his cousin Lun and his brothers.

<sup>7</sup> Established as emperor by YÜ-WÊN Hua-chi. Murdered after the latter's defeat on November 23, 618.

<sup>8</sup> Favorite son of Hsu. The names of the others are not known.

<sup>9</sup> *Pei shih* 71 says he was born on February 21, 584. YANG Chien is reported to have had (on April 29, 588) a dream presaging his conception. According to the same source, he was 23 (Chinese) years old at the time of his death in 606, which again would give us 584 as the year of his birth. Both *Sui shu* 59 and *Pei shih* 71 say, however, that he was 12 years of age at the time of his enfeoffment as Prince of Ho-nan 河南 which, according to *Sui shu* 2, took place on February 16, 590. This would mean that he was born in 579, when his father, Yang Kuang, was but ten years old.

On the same day, *Sui shu* 2 notes the enfeoffment of another grandson of YANG Chien as Prince of Hua-yang 華陽. I find no other record of that prince, named Chia 楷, in the biographies of members of the imperial family. Was he a son of YANG Kuang? *Sui shu* 80 mentions him as the husband of Lady Yüan 元 and says he was killed by YÜ-WÊN Hua-chi in 618.

<sup>10</sup> Pht. Kung ti. Made emperor by Li Yüan, December 18, 617 (*Sui shu* 5) or December 19 (*T'ang shu* 1); deposed June 12, 618; murdered in the fifth month of 619.

<sup>11</sup> Pht. Kung ti (not officially recognized). Made emperor at Lo-yang by WANG Shih-ch'ung 王世充 (*Sui shu* 85, *Pei shih* 79, *Chiu T'ang shu* 54, *T'ang shu* 85) on June 24, 618; deposed May 25, 619 and murdered in the sixth month of the same year.

<sup>12</sup> The only member of YANG Chien's family to survive the fall of the dynasty. As a baby he was taken to the T'u-chüeh Turks where he remained until 630, when he returned to China. He died about 660.

<sup>13</sup> All Yung's sons were first sent into exile and then put to death soon after YANG Kuang's accession to the throne. YÜ-WÊN Shu and YÜN Ting-hsing are said to have instigated the executions (*Sui shu* 61).

YANG Chien had at least five daughters: the eldest became the wife of YÜ-WÊN Pin; another, the Hsiang-kuo 襄國 kung-chu, married Li Ch'ang-ya 李長雅 (*Sui shu* 54); the Kuang-p'ing 廣平 kung-chu married YÜ-WÊN Ching-luan 靜亂 (*Sui shu* 50); the fifth daughter, A-wu 阿五, the Lan-ling 蘭陵 kung-chu, was married twice: first to WANG Fêng-hsiao 王奉孝, then to Liu Shu 柳述 (*Sui shu* 80).