

Annals of Tai

Early T'o-pa history according to the first chapter of the *Wei-shu*

by Jennifer Holmgren

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Preface

During the 1930s, Peter A. Boodberg completed a number of important studies on the early history and language of the Hsiung-nu, T'o-pa and other East Asian nomadic peoples who inhabited north China during the period of division between the collapse of Later Han and the rise of Sui at the end of the sixth century. Unfortunately, little further research on the early history of these nomadic conquerors has been undertaken since his time.

The present study consists of an annotated translation and analysis of our basic source of information about the T'o-pa in the period prior to the establishment of the (Northern) Wei dynasty at the end of the fourth century - the preface to the *Wei-shu*, written by the Chinese historian, Wei Shou, in the middle of the sixth century. The analysis of the text (*INTRODUCTION* Parts II-IV) is largely confined to questions raised by Wei Shou's material. It does not attempt to deal with problems such as the ethnic origins of the T'o-pa people or the nature of their language and culture before their appearance on China's northeastern frontier in the middle of the third century. By concentrating on the internal structure of Wei Shou's text, it is hoped that new light will be thrown on Chinese methods of history writing during the Northern Dynasties, and on T'o-pa relations with the Chinese during Western Chin, as well as on the history of the T'o-pa leadership in its early years of contact with other non-Chinese peoples settled along the northeastern frontier. A brief introduction on Hsien-pi contacts with China in the period before the rise of the T'o-pa peoples, and a summary of the histories of other non-Chinese peoples mentioned in Wei Shou's text, can be found in Part I of the Introduction and in the first Appendix to the study. In scope, the work covers the period from the pre-historic and mythical era, through T'o-pa I-lu's enfeoffment as Duke of Tai by Western Chin in A.D. 310, to the proclamation of the new state of Wei by the 15-year-old T'o-pa Kuei in A.D. 386. In this way, it encompasses the first part of the second chapter of Wei Shou's *Wei-shu*, as well as the whole of the period covered by the annals of Tai.

The translation follows the Peking punctuated edition of *Wei-shu* (1974). Paragraphing and italics are mine. For easy reference, each

paragraph of the translation has been numbered, beginning with *ws 1:1* and ending with *ws 2:113*. Paragraphs or sentences which refer to peoples of other states, and which appear to have little direct relevance to events in Tai, have been put into an italic script. Romanization of personal and place names follows the Wade-Giles system. T'o-pa and Hsien-pi names, where not sinicized (see *INTRODUCTION* Part II), have been hyphenated as if a single unit - for example, (T'o-pa) She-kuei-fan-neng-chien.

I must express my thanks to Dr K.H.J. Gardiner of the Department of Asian History and Civilisations at the Australian National University for his help with this work, in particular for his assistance in the formidable task of providing background information on the many and varied tribal groups and states mentioned in the text. My thanks also to Dr R.R.C. de Crespigny of the Department of Chinese at the Australian National University for his editorial advice and assistance in identifying place names, and to Dr Alvin P. Cohen, Associate Professor of Chinese in the Asian Languages Department of the University of Massachusetts, United States, for sending me a copy of Peter A. Boodberg's manuscript 'The T'o-pa before 376. Index to *Wei-shu* ch.1'. Mr M.U. Pancino of the Department of Human Geography, Australian National University, drew the maps, Sue Layton typed the manuscript and Mr Chan Man Sing 陳萬成 drew the characters for the index and bibliography.

The frontispiece shows a terracotta funerary statue (16cm) of a Northern Wei warrior. The statue is held in the Collection of the Musée Cernuschi in Paris, and I am grateful to Monsieur Vadime Elisseeff and to Marie-Thérèse Bobot of that museum for their generosity in allowing ANU Press to copy the design of the Musée Cernuschi poster of this statue.

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Abbreviations

<i>BMFEA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
<i>CS</i>	<i>Chin-shu</i>
<i>CTS</i>	<i>Chiu T'ang-shu</i>
<i>ESWSPP</i>	<i>Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien</i>
<i>HHS</i>	<i>Hou Han-shu</i>
<i>HJAS</i>	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
<i>HS</i>	<i>Han-shu</i>
<i>HTS</i>	<i>Hsin T'ang-shu</i>
<i>JAH</i>	<i>Journal of Asian History</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the Americal Oriental Society</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>KCHS</i>	<i>Ku-chin hsing-shih shu pien-cheng (Teng Ming-shih)</i>
<i>LHWT</i>	<i>Liang-han ch'i wu-tai ju chu chung-kuo chih fan-jen shih-tsu yen-chiu (Su Ch'ing-pin)</i>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Monumenta Serica</i>
<i>PCS</i>	<i>Pei Ch'i-shu</i>
<i>PFEH</i>	<i>Papers on Far Eastern History</i>
<i>PS</i>	<i>Pei-shih</i>
<i>SKC</i>	<i>San-kuo-chih</i>
<i>SKCWS</i>	<i>San-kuo-chih Wei-shu</i>
<i>SLKCC</i>	<i>Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-chiu</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Sui-shu</i>
<i>TCTC</i>	<i>Tzŭ-chih t'ung-chien</i>
<i>TP</i>	<i>T'oung-pao</i>
<i>TPYL</i>	<i>T'ai-p'ing yü-lan</i>
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wei-shu</i>
<i>YCHP</i>	<i>Yen-ching hsüeh-pao</i>

TIME CHART OF T'O-PA HISTORY

DATE	T'O-PA	OTHER NON-CHINESE PEOPLES	CHINESE STATES
2nd century B.C.		rise of Mo-tun's Hsiung-nu confederation	est. Former Han
206 B.C.		collapse of the first Hsiung-nu confederation	end. Former Han
c.50 B.C.			est. Later Han
A.D. 9		1st mention of Hsien-pi (H-p)	
A.D. 25		division of second Hsiung-nu confederation	settlement of S. Hsiung-nu inside Chinese frontier
c.A.D. 45		Ch'iang and Ti rebellions in Shensi and southeastern Kansu	
c.A.D. 50		1st raids of H-p leader Ch'i-chih-hsien	
107-150			
c.120			abandonment of settlements in loop of Yellow River
c.140			
c.156		1st raids of H-p leaders T'an-shih-huai and T'ui-yen	Chinese armies badly defeated by H-p
177			
c.180		death of T'an-shih-huai	

DATE	T'Ō-PA	OTHER NON-CHINESE PEOPLES	CHINESE STATES
c. 184-189			collapse of Later Han empire
c. 190	southern migration under T'Ō-pa Chi-fen		
A.D. 207		decimation of Wu-huan by Ts'ao Ts'ao	
220			est. Ts'ao state of Wei
235		death of H-p leader K'o-pi-neng	
238		Mu-jung/Wei alliance in Liaotung	Ssū-ma I's campaign against Kung-sun family
246		2nd Mu-jung/Wei alliance	Ssū-ma I's campaign against Koguryō
c. 255	move into Ho-lin-ko-erh on Loop of Yellow River		
261	Sha-mo-han hostage in Wei		
265			est. Ssū-ma state of Chin
267	Sha-mo-han returns to T'Ō-pa		
275	Sha-mo-han sent to Chin		
277	murder of Sha-mo-han; death of Li-wei		

DATE	T'O-PA	OTHER NON-CHINESE PEOPLES	CHINESE STATES
289			Chin appoints Mu-jung Hui Gov. of Ping Province
294-295	tripartite division of realm		
296	re-est. Chinese alliance		Chin advisers sent to T'o-pa
300-306			civil war in Chin
302		Yü-wen attack Mu-jung	
304		Liu Yüan (Hsiung-nu) revolts	
307			Chai Sang's rebellion against Chin
307/8	unification of realm under I-lu	Mu-jung/T'o-pa alliance; est. N. Han by Liu Yüan (Hsiung-nu)	
310	I-lu appointed Duke of Tai by Chin		Chinese advisers sent to T'o-pa
311		Hsiung-nu take Lo-yang	Chin court moves to Ch'ang-an
313		Liu Ts'ung murders Chin emp.	Ssu-ma Yeh proclaimed Emp. in Ch'ang-an
c. 315	I-lu appointed King of Tai; move into Ma-i in northwestern Shansi		Chin withdraws from northwestern Shansi

DATE	T'Ō-PA	OTHER NON-CHINESE PEOPLES	CHINESE STATES
316	murder of I-lu	Hsiung-nu take Ch'ang-an	
317		Mu-jung move into northeastern Hopei	Chin court re-est. at Chien-k'ang
319		est. Former Chao (Hsiung-nu)	
321	murder of Yü-lü		
321-325	rule of Lady Wei	Hsiung-nu/T'Ō-pa alliance	
325	support for Mu-jung against Hsiung-nu		
327	move into Hsuan-hua, northwest of Peking	Shih Hu (Hsiung-nu) attacks T'Ō-pa	
328		Shih Le captures ruler of Former Chao	
329	Shih-i-chien sent as hostage to Shih Le		
330		est. Later Chao by Shih Le (Hsiung-nu)	
331			Chin appoints Mu-jung Hui King of Yen
333		death of Shih Le; death of Mu-jung Hui	
c. 337	move back to Ho-lin-ko-erh	declaration of Former Yen (Mu-jung)	

DATE	T'O-PA	OTHER NON-CHINESE PEOPLES	CHINESE STATES
338	division of realm between Shih-i-chien and brothers	Shih Hu (Hsiung-nu) supports T'o-pa Shih-i-chien	
341	marriage alliance with western Hsiung-nu		
341/2		Mu-jung capital est. at Ch'ao-yang in Liaoning	
342		Mu-jung conquer Koguryō	
343/4			Chang family (northwestern Kansu) successfully resists attack by Shih Hu
344	marriage alliance with Mu-jung	Mu-jung decimate Yi-wen	
345			Chang Chün takes title King of Liang
346/7			Liang resists attack by Shih Hu
348/9		death of Shih Hu; death of Mu-jung Huang	
350		usurpation of Jan Min in Later Chao; Mu-jung move into northeastern plain; Fu Chien ^a occupies Ch'ang-an	
351		est. of Former Ch'in under Fu family (Ti)	

DATE	T'O-PA	OTHER NON-CHINESE PEOPLES	CHINESE STATES
352		Mu-jung conquer Jan Min	
353		Mu-jung Chün proclaimed Emp.	
c. 356	unification of realm under Shih-i-chien		
357		Mu-jung capital moved to Yeh	
356-357	campaigns against Hsiung- mu		
364		Mu-jung conquer Lo-yang	
370		Former Ch'in conquers Former Yen	
371	attempted murder of Shih- i-chien; birth of N. Wei Tai-tsu (Kuei)		
376		Former Ch'in conquers Former Liang	end of Chang state of Former Liang
Jan 377	death of Shih-i-chien; conquest of realm by Former Ch'in		

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT

I *Hsien-pi history during Later Han and the Three Kingdoms*

In Chinese records, the name 'Hsien-pi' appears for the first time about A.D. 45 on the eve of the collapse of the second Hsiung-nu confederacy. Following the division of the Hsiung-nu horde into two mutually hostile camps, and the settlement of the Southern Hsiung-nu within the great loop of the Yellow River, the Hsien-pi, along with the Wu-huan and Ch'iang peoples,¹ became the object of recruitment drives by the Chinese authorities in their campaigns against the Northern Hsiung-nu. In A.D. 58, when the Wu-huan temporarily turned against the Chinese, the Hsien-pi were also enlisted as mercenaries against them.²

In A.D. 87, the Hsien-pi dealt a savage blow to the Northern Hsiung-nu from which the latter never recovered. It took another ten years however before the victors were ready to challenge Chinese authority. The first tests of strength occurred in the Hsien-pi strongholds of Liao-tung and Liao-hsi, but even after these initial clashes, Hsien-pi raids on Chinese settlements along the frontier were infrequent and far less trouble to the government than those of the Wu-huan and rebellions of the Ti and Ch'iang people in southeastern Kansu.³

¹ At this time, the Wu-huan were a distinct cultural and political identity, different in manners and customs from both the Hsien-pi and the Hsiung-nu - a distinction which they lost during the Three Kingdoms sometime after their defeat by Ts'ao Ts'ao in 207. *TCRC* p. 3030 says that in T'o-pa history, the term 'Wu-huan' was a general name given to tribal leaders who had submitted or given their allegiance to the T'o-pa leaders. For a detailed study of the Wu-huan, see R.R.C. de Crespigny, 'The Wu-huan barbarians and the empire of Han; a study of frontier policy', unpublished seminar paper, Dept. Far Eastern History, Australian National University, 1979, 80 pp. On the Ch'iang people, see n3 below.

² In the following section, I am indebted to K.H.J. Gardiner and R.R.C. de Crespigny, 'T'an-shih-huai and the Hsien-pi tribes of the second century A.D.', *PFEH* 15 (1977) 1-44.

³ See R.R.C. de Crespigny, 'The Ch'iang barbarians and the empire of Han; a study in frontier policy, Part II, frontier wars and the great rebellions', *PFEH* 18 (1978) 193-245.

At this time, the Hsien-pi tribes consisted of a host of small, independent and uncoordinated bands of raiders. The earliest leader known to have had any measure of success in uniting these groups was Ch'i-chih-chien, based in Liaoning. He is first mentioned in A.D. 120, but, as Gardiner and de Crespigny point out, there is no way that he can be described as a supreme leader of the Hsien-pi in the mould of his successor, T'an-shih-huai (lived c.136-180).⁴ The latter's base was near modern Chang-pei on the northern side of the great wall in northeastern Hopei, and his first raids on Chinese settlements are recorded for the year 156 in the area around Yün-chung on the eastern side of the bend in the Yellow River. Yün-chung and the area to its east were to become the centre of T'o-pa operations in the latter part of the third century, well after the collapse of T'an-shih-huai's confederacy. At this time, however, the T'o-pa, who were probably based in the mountainous areas of Heilungchiang,⁵ were apparently unknown to the Chinese - at least they were not regarded as worthy of mention in the records of a dynastic history.

Two years after T'an-shih-huai's first raid on Yün-chung, his tribesmen were attacking settlements all along the northeastern frontier, and the Chinese were forced to turn to the leaders of the Southern Hsiung-nu for help. This pattern of alliances was to last for the next one hundred and fifty years, and it is well-evident in Wei-Shou's annals of Tai: the Hsien-pi, established along the northeastern frontier, would at one turn ally themselves with the Chinese against their traditional foes the Hsiung-nu, and, at the next, rebel against the inevitable pressures of Chinese domination. In the latter case, they would often be forced to fight on two fronts as the Chinese temporarily allied themselves with Hsiung-nu and Wu-huan defectors from the Hsien-pi confederation. In 166, T'an-shih-huai achieved a remarkable feat in breaking this traditional pattern of Hsien-pi/Hsiung-nu hostility: he managed to coordinate a raid by Hsien-pi, Wu-huan and Hsiung-nu tribesmen along the whole of the northern frontier. Fortunately for the Chinese, Wu-huan and Hsiung-nu cooperation with the Hsien-pi lasted only a few months as the Hsiung-nu renegades began returning to their Chinese alliance.

⁴ Gardiner and de Crespigny, pp. 6-8

⁵ See *TRANSLATION*, n8.

T'an-shih-huai's horde was composed of three fairly distinct geopolitical groups. The western division was administered by some twenty semi-independent leaders one of whom, a man called T'ui-yen, is of considerable interest for the study of Wei-Shou's annals of Tai (see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:1 below). These western leaders occupied the territory between northeastern Hopei and Tunhuang to the west. As we remarked above, the eastern sector of this area was to become the centre of operations for the T'o-pa leaders during the late third and early part of the fourth centuries (see Map 2 below). The central division of T'an-shih-huai's horde was contained in northern Hopei and dominated by the leaders of ten tribes, one of which was known as the T'u-ho. These people were later to move eastwards into northern Liao-hsi and then into Liaotung, setting up the Mu-jung state of (Former) Yen in the latter part of the third century.⁶ The eastern division, the largest and strongest, comprised twenty-four different groups settled in the province of Liaoning and the area to its north. One of these groups, the Yü-wen, were to play some part in T'o-pa history during the late third and early fourth centuries.⁷

Gardiner and de Crespigny have pointed out how some aspects of Chinese descriptions of the magnitude of T'an-shih-huai's empire are certainly exaggerated. The same can be shown for Wei Shou's descriptions of T'o-pa conquests at the beginning of the fourth century. For example, Wei Shou describes 'Emperor' P'ing-wen's lands as stretching from the former territory of the Wu-sun in modern Kazakhstan, through the area occupied by the Korean kingdom of Koguryō, to the territory of the Wu-chi people in northeastern Heilungchiang. He gives a similar account of the grandeur of the empire in 339, a time of great uncertainty for the T'o-pa leadership⁸ (see below).

⁶ On the Mu-jung, see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b and *APPENDIX* 1:9 below.

⁷ Gardiner and de Crespigny, p.41. On the Yü-wen, see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b and *APPENDIX* 1:5 below.

⁸ See Gardiner and de Crespigny, pp.28-9; *TRANSLATION*, n66 and 87 below.

From 168 to 177, Hsien-pi attacks on the northern frontier met with little coordinated resistance from the Chinese. Moreover, in 177, the central government suffered a disastrous defeat during its first and practically only attempt to mobilize an army against T'an-shih-huai. More than twenty thousand cavalry were lost - most of them probably Hsiung-nu and Wu-huan mercenaries especially recruited for the campaign. Nevertheless, despite all the circumstances in its favour, T'an-shih-huai's confederation did not last much beyond his death (c.180). The weakness of his immediate successors prevented the Hsien-pi as a whole from taking advantage of the break-up of the Later Han empire in the years 184-189, and allowed the Chinese frontier warlords to play a successful game of divide and rule with the factions within the confederation. During the next century, under the leadership of Ts'ao Ts'ao and then Ssü-ma I, as general of the Wei dynasty, the Chinese managed to weaken seriously the influence of the strongest contender for the leadership, K'o-pi-neng. In 225, one of K'o-pi-neng's chief rivals was induced to come to the Wei court and form an alliance against him, and, in 235, the Wei court successfully arranged for K'o-pi-neng's assassination.⁹

K'o-pi-neng himself had at times joined with the Chinese against his enemies, and, in 238, three years after his death, the Mu-jung leaders were induced to help Ssü-ma I against the Chinese Kung-sun warlords in Liao-tung. Eight years later, the Mu-jung also participated in a Chinese campaign against the kingdom of Koguryō.¹⁰ In 265, the Ssü-ma family overthrew the Ts'ao rulers of Wei and established the state of (Western) Chin. Sixteen years later, they were able to reunify southern China. In the north, however, their authority was more apparent than real, and again it was a matter of divide and rule.¹¹ Wang Chün (d.314), Chin Inspector

⁹ *ibid.* pp.37-40.

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of the campaign in 238, see K.H.J. Gardiner, 'The Kung-sun warlords of Liao-tung (189-238) - continued', *PFEH* 6 (1972) 165-76. On the state of Koguryō, see K.H.J. Gardiner, *The early history of Korea; the historical development of the Peninsular up to the introduction of Buddhism in the fourth century A.D.* (Oriental Monograph Series 8, Centre of Oriental Studies in association with the Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1969).

¹¹ See Kenneth Douglas Klein, 'The contribution of the fourth century Xianbei states to the reunification of the Chinese empire', Ph.D. thesis, Univ. California, Los Angeles, 1980, pp. 18-29.

of Yu Province, had the Tuan leader in Liao-hsi enfeoffed as a duke and given the title Great Shan-yü in return for the enlistment of Tuan mercenaries in campaigns against his enemies in the royal house and against the Hsiung-nu,¹² while Chin Inspectors of Ping Province extended the same 'privileges' to T'o-pa leaders, even allowing them to move south into the agricultural lands inside the great wall (see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b below).

In 316, after a disastrous series of civil wars lasting from 300 to 306, followed by the sacking of both Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an by the Hsiung-nu, the Chinese court fled south to Chien-k'ang leaving the field to the various Hsien-pi contestants, now settled well inside the northern frontier, and to their enemies of old, the Hsiung-nu. The T'o-pa at this time occupied northern Shansi and the border region between Shansi and Inner Mongolia on the eastern edge of the bend in the Yellow River near modern Ho-lin-ko-erh (Map 3). Their relatives, the T'u-fa (along with the Ch'i-fu) were settled in Kansu, and the Mu-jung, Tuan and Yü-wen leaders occupied northeastern Hopei, Liaoning and southern Manchuria. The Hsiung-nu had their main base in the Fen River valley in central Shansi and in northern Shensi.

The Mu-jung leaders were to found the various states of Yen, The T'o-pa, the states of Tai and Northern Wei (398-534). The T'u-fa in Kansu established the state of Southern Liang (397-414), the Ch'i-fu, the state of Western Ch'in (385-431), while the Hsiung-nu leaders founded the states of Northern Han (308-319) and Former and Later Chao (319-349). Apart from the first-mentioned T'o-pa kingdom of Tai, the history of all these states belongs to other studies. Here, I shall deal only with the state of Tai as seen through the eyes of Wei Shou (506-572).

II *A note on the personal and family names of T'o-pa leaders*

There were two methods of transcribing foreign words in China. The first, which may be called 'phonetic', used Chinese characters to represent the sounds of the word as the Chinese listener heard them. The ideographic

¹² *ws* 103, p. 2305.

nature of the Chinese script and the existence of numerous characters with identical or similar pronunciation, as well as the limited range of pure vowels in the phonemic system of medieval Chinese, proved to be formidable obstacles in any attempt at accuracy or standardization.¹³ The second and more consistent method of recording foreign words was to translate their meaning.

In the case of personal or family names, both methods may have been used initially, the result being a variety of transcriptions for a single name. At a later date, all but one variant of the name would be discarded. Sometimes, a new, simplified or sinicized variant of the name would be adopted. Today, most of the early, non-sinicized versions of Hsien-pi names are lost. While those which have survived sometimes pose problems in identifying certain individuals and the roles they played in key events of Chinese and nomadic history, in most cases, the existence of these alternative names provides a second and valuable perspective on the history of this period.

Wei Shou's annals of Tai contains few, if any, early or alternative versions of T'o-pa family names. For the most part, family names in his text are anachronisms - as are terms such as emperor, empress and heir-apparent. They are the standardized, sinicized variants of Hsien-pi names which were adopted in the early part of the sixth century after the radical overhaul of the ranking system of non-Chinese clans by Northern Wei Kao-tsu in 495.¹⁴ Before that time, most T'o-pa and Hsien-pi family names consisted of three or more Chinese characters. Chinese family names contained no more than two characters.

Like the family names in *WS* 1, personal names in the annals of Tai rarely contain more than two characters. For the better-known or more important individuals in T'o-pa history - such as T'o-pa Kuei, Ch'ang-sun Sung and Shu-sun Chien - personal names are often reduced to a single

¹³ See L. Bazin, 'Recherches sur les parler T'o-pa (5^e siècle après J.C.)', *TP* 34 (1949/50) 231-63.

¹⁴ See *WS* 113, pp. 3006-15; *TCTC* pp. 4393-4; A.E. Dien, 'Elite lineages and the T'o-pa accommodation; a study of the edict of 495', *JESHO* 19 (1976) 61-88.

character. In some cases, however, an earlier, more unwieldy version of the name is found in one of the southern histories such as the *Sung-shu* or *Nan-shih*. For example, Shu-sun Chien's personal name in *Sung-shu* is given as (Shu-sun) She-kuei-fan-neng-chien.¹⁵ The simplification of these names in official writings in the north probably took place in the early part of the fifth century during the first compilations of T'o-pa history under emperors T'ai-tsu (r.398-409) and Shih-tsu (r.423-453).¹⁶ In a few cases, as in *WS* 1:4 and *WS* 1:6, and in the name of one of the ancestors of the Tou clan (*APPENDIX* 1:2) the presence of a single-character personal name may be indicative of very late interpolations of fictitious names into well-established and quite genuine genealogical tables (see below).

Some of the so-called family and personal names in Wei-Shou's annals of Tai have their origin in Chinese attempts to describe the blood relationship of a particular individual to the head of the T'o-pa confederation. Two cases which come to mind are the family names Ch'ang-sun (descendants of elder line) and Shu-sun (descendants of paternal uncle). In the case of the Shu-sun, we have not only this later, 'translated' version of the name, but also the earlier, 'phonetic' variant, I-chan.¹⁷

Other names in the text have their origin in attempts to translate Hsien-pi or T'o-pa ranks or titles. The personal names of T'o-pa Sha-mo-han and T'o-pa Sha-mo-hsiung (chieftains of the desert) seem to be examples of this. Similarly, the element *she-kuei* in the names T'o-pa (She-) Kuei, Mu-jung She-kuei and Shu-sun She-kuei-fan-neng-chien may derive from an honorific prefix or title.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Sung-shu* 95, p. 2325; see also *APPENDIX* 1:21 below.

¹⁶ See *INTRODUCTION* Part III below.

¹⁷ See *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:4 and *APPENDIX* 1:21 below.

¹⁸ It is also possible that the characters for *she-kuei* simply represent sounds which were commonly found in Hsien-pi names of this time. *Sung-shu* 95, pp. 2821-2 refers to T'o-pa Kuei as K'ai, styled She-kuei.

The histories of the Shu-sun and Ch'ang-sun families provide much important information about Chinese methods of recording names. They also provide information about the complex political considerations which accompanied name-changes in T'o-pa history during the latter part of the fourth and early fifth centuries. In this respect, the lives of Ch'ang-sun Jen (alias T'o-pa Sha-mo-hsiung) and his family, and those of Shu-sun Chien (alias T'o-pa/I-chan She-kuei-fan-neng-chien) and his family, are particularly interesting for the period between the fall of Tai and the rise of T'o-pa Kuei's state of Wei at the end of the fourth century.¹⁹ In conclusion, we can say that a complex linguistic and political history underlies many of the names in Wei Shou's text and that this study hopes to unravel some of the political tangles surrounding just a few of these names.²⁰

III *Wei Shou's sources*

In A.D. 551 Emperor Wen-hsüan (r.550-559) of Northern Ch'i ordered Wei Shou (506-572) to compile an official history of the Northern Wei period (398-534). Wei Shou had worked on the records of Northern Wei for some time prior to this: in 530, he had begun editing T'o-pa records under Emperor Ch'ien-fei of Northern Wei but had shortly resigned only to resume the work in 543 under the direction of Kao Ch'eng, dictator of Eastern Wei (534-550).²¹ The commission for an official history of Northern Wei in 551 followed the formal declaration of Northern Ch'i by Kao Ch'eng's brother (Emperor Wen-hsüan) in 550.²²

¹⁹ See *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:3-4 and *APPENDIX* 1:13 and 1:21 below for details.

²⁰ For linguistic studies of T'o-pa names, see Bazin, pp. 228-329; P.A. Boodberg, 'The language of the T'o-pa Wei', *HJAS* 1 (1936) 167-85; L. Ligeti, 'Le Tabghatch. Un dialecte de la langue Sien-pi', L. Ligeti (ed.), *Mongolian studies* (B.R. Grüner, Amsterdam, 1970) 265-308. On Hsien-pi languages in general, see Fang Chuang-yao, 'Hsien-pi yü-yen k'ao', *YCHP* 8 (1930) 1429-68.

²¹ Kao Ch'eng (d.549) was dictator of Eastern Wei between 547 and 549. He was given the posthumous title of Emperor Wen-hsiang of Northern Ch'i.

²² See *ws* 104, pp. 2324-6.

First submitted to the throne in 553, Wei Shou's history underwent several minor alterations during his own lifetime. Less than a century later, his work was substantially revised by historians of the Sui and T'ang dynasties. By the time of the Sung dynasty, many of his original chapters had been lost. These chapters were recompiled by Sung historians using the seventh century *PS* (still extant) together with extracts from the Northern Ch'i encyclopaedia, *Hsiu-wen tien yü-lan*, and a ninth century history by Kao Ch'un and his son. Neither of these latter two works have survived to the present day.²³

As far as we know, the earliest official T'o-pa history was commissioned by the founding emperor of Northern Wei, T'o-pa Kuei, after his conquest of the northeastern plain in 398. The ten or so chapters of this work were written by Teng Yüan (d. c.407) and entitled *Kuo-chi* (Records of the state). It was an annalistic history without biographies, treatises or tables.²⁴

According to Kao Yün's biography in *WS*, all or part of Teng Yüan's work was incorporated into Ts'ui Hao's (d.450) *Kuo-shu* - an annalistic compilation of thirty chapters devoted to the deeds of the first three emperors of Northern Wei.²⁵ Ts'ui Hao's biography in *WS* states that before this, T'ai-tsu (T'o-pa Kuei) had ordered Teng Yüan to compile a record of state affairs, but T'ai-tsung's (r.409-423) deeds had not been written down, and so, in 429, Shih-tsu ordered Ts'ui Hao to compile a record of the state's history.²⁶ From this, it seems that Teng Yüan's work may have dealt only with the life of the founder of Northern Wei - that is, with T'o-pa history from the time of T'o-pa Kuei's grandfather

²³ For studies of the history of *WS*, see Chou I-liang, 'Wei Shou chih shih hsüeh', *Wei-chin nan-pei-ch'ao shih lun-chi* (Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking, 1963) pp.236-72; Li Cheng-fen, 'Wei-shu yüan-liu-k'ao', *Kuo-hsüeh chi-k'an* 2:2 (1929) 363-87; J Ware, 'Notes on the history of the Wei-shu', *JAOS* 52 (1932) 35-45.

²⁴ *WS* 24, p.635; *WS* 35, p.815

²⁵ *WS* 48, p.1070.

²⁶ *WS* 35, p.815.

Shih-i-chien in the latter part of the fourth century. Moreover, the fact that Wei Shou was evidently uncertain about the exact number of chapters in Teng Yuan's work suggests that the book did not survive as a separate history after its incorporation into Ts'ui Hao's *Kuo-shu* in the middle of the fifth century.

Seventh century and later historians refer to Teng Yuan's work as *Tai-chi* (Records of Tai) rather than *Kuo-chi* (Records of the [Wei] state).²⁷ It seems, then, that Wei Shou, in 550, was more certain about the content and scope of the work than historians some fifty or sixty years later. The reason for this lies in the history of Ts'ui Hao's *Kuo-shu* which disappeared during the political and social upheavals between 528 and 532.²⁸ As Wei Shou's first official appointment to work on Northern Wei records occurred in 530, it is probable that he had seen Ts'ui Hao's work at some time before its disappearance. Certainly, he must have had access to people who had read the history and knew its content.²⁹ On the other hand, as we observed above, it is unlikely that either the *Kuo-shu* or its incorporated *Kuo-chi* would have been of great use in compiling that section of *ws* 1 which dealt with T'o-pa history before the latter part of the fourth century.

For the early contact period, before T'o-pa Kuei's birth in 371, Wei Shou had access to archaeological material such as the stone inscription mentioned in *ws* 1:39. Much of this material, unless preserved in transcribed form in *ws* itself,³⁰ is now lost to us, as are the majority of Wei Shou's literary sources.

The greater part of the historical material available at that time for information on the early contact period was chiefly concerned not with the T'o-pa but with other peoples, such as the Hsiung-nu of Former and Later

²⁷ See *ps* 56, p. 2030; *ws* 104, p. 2326. The latter chapter is not Wei Shou's work but a compilation of the Sung dynasty based on *ps* 56.

²⁸ *ss* 33, p. 964.

²⁹ For Wei Shou's early life, see *ws* 104, pp. 2323-4; *pcs* 37, pp. 483-7.

³⁰ See *ws* 23, pp. 599-602.

Chao, and the Mu-jung of Former Yen. The *ss* lists the various literary sources on the Sixteen States which might have been available: besides numerous works on Western Chin, there was the *Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu* (*SLKCC*) in a hundred chüan compiled by Ts'ui Hung at the beginning of the sixth century,³¹ a *Chao-shu* in ten chüan on the activities of the Hsiung-nu leader Shih Le (d.333) as well as several other works on Shih Le and Shih Hu (d.349) by Wang Tu of the Chin dynasty, and a work by Ho Pao, who flourished under Liu Yao (d.329), called *Han Chao-chi*. There was also a *Ch'in-shu* in eight chüan which dealt with the life of the Ti leader, Fu Chien^a (r.351-355), as well as two *Liang-shu* and one *Liang-chi* which dealt with Chang Kuei (254-314), and a *Hsi-ho chi* in two chüan on Chang Chung-hua (d.353) of Former Liang. On the early Mu-jung, there was the *Yen-shu* of Fan Heng which dealt with the life of Mu-jung Chun (r.348-360), and at least fifteen or twenty other works on the state of Former Yen. The *Yen-chih* of Kao Iii (d.502) written during the latter part of the fifth century, did not, however, deal with Former or Later Yen but with Feng Pa (r.408-429) of Northern Yen (408-437).³²

Wei Shou also had access to T'o-pa oral traditions. In his day, however, these traditions must have been considerably influenced and distorted by the three centuries of contact with Chinese culture, including

³¹ This was a composite history based on many sources which were still extant after 528. Wei Shou, in his biography of Ts'ui Hung, criticizes the execution of the work. See *ws* 67, pp.1501-6; also G. Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen dynasty, Part I', *ms* 14 (1949/55) 381-6 for the history of the extant version of this work; also M.C. Rogers, *The chronicle of Fu Chien, a case of exemplar history* (Chinese dynastic histories translations 10, Univ. California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968) pp. 18-21.

³² *ss* 33, p. 963. See also Wu Shih-chien, 'Pu chin-shu ching-chi-chih', *ESWSP* vol.3, 3851-94 for histories mentioned by Liu Chih-chi (661-721) in his *Shih-t'ung*. Most of these works are also listed in the *ss* catalogue but with less detail about content and authorship. The *ss* catalogue also mentions a T'o-pa *Liang-chi*. This presumably dealt not with the T'o-pa but with their relatives the T'u-fa of Southern Liang (397-414). For a complete list of works on Former Yen, see Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen', p. 387. See also Chin Yü-fu, *Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh-shih* (Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, Taipei, reprint 1968) p.387. pp. 60-7.

the adoption of the Chinese script, and, with it, the Chinese literary heritage.

Thus Wei Shou's sources were hardly adequate for a detailed account of T'o-pa history before the foundation of the Northern Wei state. This difficulty is, in fact, reflected in the structure and content of *ws 1*. Chronologically, the text falls into three distinct sections: i) the pre-contact or pre-historic period from antiquity to A.D. 260. Here Wei Shou had little more than distorted oral tradition and his own Chinese literary heritage; ii) the early contact period c.260-360, from T'o-pa Li-wei to early Shih-i-chien. Here Wei Shou was on firmer ground with some literary and archaeological material to balance the oral tradition; iii) the era of T'o-pa Kuei (b.371), founder of Northern Wei. For this period, Wei Shou probably had some idea of the content of Teng Yüan's work as it had survived in Ts'ui Hao's *Kuo-shu*. As we shall see, however, Teng Yüan's work presented its own very considerable historiographical problems.

IV *Wei Shou's annals of Tai*

IV:1 The pre-contact or pre-historic period, antiquity to A.D. 260

Since T'o-pa Mao is the first of the T'o-pa ancestors in *ws 1* to be given a posthumous title (Emperor Ch'eng), we might assume that the earlier paragraphs of the text (*ws 1:1-2*) are mainly Wei Shou's own contribution to the T'o-pa genealogy.³³ The problem of identifying T'o-pa Mao is closely connected with the problem of the double occurrence in *ws 1* of T'o-pa T'ui-yin's name. As Boodberg has demonstrated, Wei Shou tried to arrange his material according to a Chinese chronology, beginning with the Yellow Emperor. Thus, T'o-pa Shih-chün^a is meant to correspond with the time of Shun, about 2210 B.C.³⁴ Sixty-seven generations from Shun takes

³³ As the notes to *ws 1:1-2* show, these opening paragraphs rely very heavily on Chinese tradition and myth, and on the Chinese literary heritage. However, *TCTC* p.3484 shows that as early as 398, T'o-pa Kuei was advised to claim descent from the Yellow Emperor. It is not known whether he took notice of the advice.

³⁴ Alvin P. Cohen (ed.), *Selected works of Peter A. Boodberg* (Univ. California Press, Berkeley, 1979) p. 233 has Shun. *ws 1:2* has both Yao and Shun.

us down to c. 200 B.C., the time of the formation of the great Hsiung-nu empire under Mo-tun.³⁵ In *ws 1*, sixty-seven generations from Shih-chün^a brings us to T'o-pa Mao, a man of great intelligence who brought thirty-six states and ninety-nine tribes under his control. T'o-pa Mao is clearly a mirror-image of the great historical figure, Mo-tun.

According to Boodberg's analysis, five more generations (including Mao) takes us to c.50 B.C., the break-up of the first great Hsiung-nu confederacy and the southern migrations of Mongolian tribes.³⁶ In *ws 1*, this is the time of the southern migration of the T'o-pa under T'ui-yin (the First). Thus, it seems that this T'ui-yin represents the Hsien-pi break with their Hsiung-nu masters about 50 B.C.

On another level, however, T'ui-yin the First is one and the same as the historical T'ui-yen of T'an-shih-huai's confederacy some 250 years later.³⁷ Thus the duplication of his name in *ws 1*, where T'o-pa Lin, seven generations down from T'ui-yin the First, is also given the name 'T'ui-yin'.

Boodberg has accepted the existence of two leaders by name T'ui-yin, explaining the origin of the name in terms of the Gog Magog complex of Central Asia.³⁸ Essentially, his theory follows Wei Shou's explanation in *ws 1* that the name refers to leaders who 'bored their way through to new lands'. Although suited perfectly to the activities of the mythical T'ui-yin the First (Emperor Hsüan), this description is more suited to T'o-pa Lin's successor, Chi-fen, than to Lin himself (see below). It seems then, that T'o-pa Lin may represent the real, historical T'ui-yen of T'an-shih-huai's confederacy, while T'ui-yin the First is his mirror-image, projected back in time to give the T'o-pa an exulted heritage paralleling that of their Hsiung-nu rivals, the rulers of Northern Han and Chao.

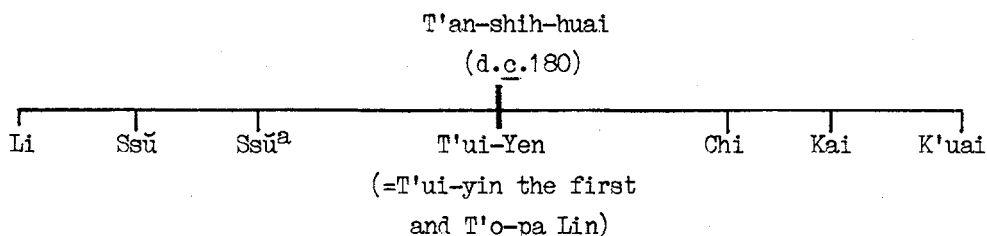
³⁵ Cohen (ed.), p. 233.

³⁶ *ibid* pp. 233-4

³⁷ The identification of T'ui-yin the First with T'ui-yen, T'an-shih-huai's lieutenant, was first suggested by Hu San-hsing in the thirteenth century (*TCRC* p. 2459). On T'an-shih-huai, see Gardiner and de Crespigny, pp. 1-44.

³⁸ Cohen (ed.), pp. 234-7.

So the first identifiable and datable historical figure in *ws 1* is T'an-shih-huai's lieutenant T'ui-yen, and since both T'o-pa T'ui-yin the First and T'o-pa Lin (Emperors Hsüan and Hsien) represent this figure, it is likely that most of the names between T'ui-yin the First and our second identifiable figure, T'o-pa Li-wei (d.277), are fictitious. These names probably represent the seven brothers of *ws 113* who are said to have shared the realm with T'o-pa Lin.³⁹ In other words, we are dealing here with a symbolic representation of a real historical process: the break-up and division of the Hsien-pi empire after T'an-shih-huai's death in about 180. On this level, the power relationship between the leaders in this section of *ws 1* is meant to be not linear but horizontal.



In this scheme, only the names T'ui-yen and T'an-shih-huai are real, in that they represent later, Chinese, equivalents of real Hsien-pi names. The remaining names - including that of Lin - are single-syllabled, fictitious names, created to accord numerically with the list of clan names in *ws 113*. They are thus symbolic on two levels, for they represent both the break-up of the Hsien-pi confederacy at the end of the second century and also the ancestors of the seven clans mentioned in *ws 113*.

In reality, the ancestors of the seven clans mentioned in *ws 113* were of much later date than their symbolic representatives in *ws 1*. These families stemmed not from T'ui-yin but from T'o-pa Li-wei (d.277) or other, later leaders of the state of Tai.⁴⁰ The attempt by the royal Northern Wei line in the fifth century to manufacture a genealogical link

³⁹ *ws 113*, p. 3005.

⁴⁰ For a study of one of these clans, the Ch'ang-sun, and its relatively late history, see APPENDIX 1:13.

with the historical inheritors of T'an-shih-huai's empire inspired similar genealogies among those clans which had played a leading role in the establishment of Northern Wei in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. In imitation of the T'o-pa house, these genealogies were extended back to the time of T'ui-yen and the break-up of the Hsien-pi confederacy. As a result, in *ws* 113, the ancestors of these clans are called 'brothers' of T'o-pa Lin, and in *ws* 1 they are given a fictitious set of names. A linear reading of these names in *ws* 1 also had the advantage, from the point of view of court historians, that it allowed the genealogy of the royal line to be extended further back to the time of the great empires of the Hsiung-nu.

Fictitious genealogical links such as these were naturally built up backwards, over a period of time. We can assume, then, that the link between the Northern Wei house and the inheritors of T'an-shih-huai's empire began to develop in the early part of the fifth century, shortly after the establishment of Northern Wei.⁴¹ With the acceptance of this chronology, and its imitation by the great clans, the royal line had then to be traced further back in time. This extension, taking the line back to T'o-pa Mao, probably developed during the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Wei Shou, taking his cue from oral rather than written sources, then added the first two paragraphs of the text about descent from the Yellow Emperor (*ws* 1:1-2).

In conclusion, it seems that *ws* 113, rather than *ws* 1, contains Wei Shou's basic and most reliable written material for this early period of T'o-pa 'history'. His basic sources must have been those on the forced sinicization of names, and the re-organization of the ranking system of Hsien-pi clans which took place at the end of the fifth century. Presumably, works written at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century⁴² contained details not only of these name-changes but also the basic outlines of the recently-revised tradition on the ancestry of the royal house and prominent non-Chinese families. As the case study of the

⁴¹ When the first ancestral temple was built by T'o-pa Kuei in 399, the only tablets placed therein were for the leaders Li-wei, Yü-li, Shih-i-chien, and Shih. See *ws* 2, p. 36.

⁴² See Li Cheng-fen, pp. 363-5, for details on these sources; also *ss* 33, pp. 956-1083.

Ch'ang-sun clan in *APPENDIX 1:13* shows, however, the truth about the origins of the great Hsien-pi families was maintained, side-by-side with these fictitious genealogies, for many centuries.

The fragmentation of power which occurred after T'an-shih-huai's death at the end of the second century is depicted in several forms in *WS*. In *WS 1*, it is represented not only by the list of names between T'ui-yin and T'o-pa Lin but also by the story of T'o-pa Chi-fen's migration to the south under 'instructions' from his 'father' Lin. This account suggests that the true ancestors of the T'o-pa house were losers in the massive political upheaval following the break-up of the Hsien-pi empire at the end of the second century, and that they were expelled from their lands and forced to migrate south, just as the Southern Hsiung-nu had been in about A.D. 50.⁴³

IV:2a Relations with the Chinese, 260-300

T'o-pa Chi-fen thus introduces the beginning of the T'o-pa period proper. Li-wei, our first identifiable T'o-pa leader, is described in *WS 1* as his son, born of union with a heavenly deity. This magical birth-story suggests that Li-wei was the earliest ancestral figure of the royal Northern Wei house, and that he was perhaps not a lineal descendant of T'o-pa Chi-fen, but a younger contemporary who had accompanied the expelled Hsien-pi tribes on their trek south about A.D. 190-200. The inclusion of his birth-story in *WS 1* is probably an intrusion of early mythical material into a much later set of oral traditions about the ancestry of the T'o-pa house.

Li-wei's leadership puts us on firm historical ground: in 261, he sent his son, Sha-mo-han, to the Wei court at Lo-yang. Displaying the cultural chauvinism of its Chinese authors, but with a somewhat kindly regard for T'o-pa sensibilities, *WS 1* attributes this to Li-wei's curiosity about

⁴³ On the break-up of T'an-shih-huai's empire, see *INTRODUCTION* Part I above; also Gardiner and de Crespigny, pp. 37-43.

Chinese culture. Ssü-ma Kuang, however, refers to Sha-mo-han in more traditional terms as a 'hostage'.⁴⁴ The preamble to Sha-mo-han's visit to Lo-yang - which is ignored by Ssü-ma Kuang - is probably the work of a sixth century historian. The purpose of this passage (*ws* 1:13) is to introduce the reader to the period of contact with the Chinese and to separate the T'o-pa from the usual ravaging hordes on the northern frontier. Basically it is a eulogy of the T'o-pa leadership as a noble and faithful ally of the legitimate rulers of China. Factual content in this passage is thus limited to the T'o-pa move into the prefecture of Sheng-lo on the eastern bank of the Yellow River near modern Ho-lin-ko-erh (Map 3).⁴⁵

Li-wei's speech to his people in *ws* 1:13 revives the memory of T'a-tun (d.207). T'a-tun had nowhere near the significance of Mo-tun or T'an-shih-huai in either Chinese or nomad politics. It was probably the association of his name with Ts'ao Ts'ao, and the fact that he was more or less contemporary with Li-wei, which interested the sixth century historian.⁴⁶ On another level, the common enemy of Wei/Western Chin and the T'o-pa was the Hsiung-nu, and the name T'a-tun perhaps conjured up that of the greatest Hsiung-nu warrior, Mo-tun. In this passage, the havoc wrought on China's northern frontier by T'an-shih-huai's hordes is conveniently forgotten, as is the alliance of the immediate forbears of the Hsiung-nu of Chao with the Chinese state.⁴⁷

In 275, Sha-mo-han made a second journey to Lo-yang. *cs* gives the date of his arrival as July or early August of that year,⁴⁸ and *ws* 1 shows that he stayed in Lo-yang less than six months - just long enough

⁴⁴ *TCTC* p. 2459.

⁴⁵ *TCTC* pp. 2459-60; also *TRANSLATION*, n13 below.

⁴⁶ On Ts'ao Ts'ao and T'a-tun, see de Crespigny, 'The Wu-huan barbarians', pp. 40-9; also *TRANSLATION*, n15 below.

⁴⁷ See Cohen (ed.), pp. 248-53; W.M. McGovern, *The early empires of Central Asia* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1939) pp. 234-7.

⁴⁸ *cs* 3, p. 65.

to collect a great quantity of the most valuable of Chinese trade items, silk.

For both the T'o-pa and the Chinese, Sha-mo-han's two trips to Lo-yang were very different. On the first occasion, he stayed at court for more than five years (261-267) and his status was that of an emissary or hostage from a group of tribal leaders who needed protection against their Hsien-pi and Hsiung-nu neighbours. The second trip in 275 was more in the nature of a trading venture - a civilized raid on the resources of the Chinese empire. By 275, Li-wei had proven a highly skilled tactician, capable of welding the various tribes in the north into a united fighting force (see *ws* 1:9-12). The Chinese approach to this problem was traditional: bribery, using the material wealth of the empire; and secret diplomatic intrigue, to undermine confidence within the enemy camp. In 275, then, Sha-mo-han was induced to return to the capital by the prospect of material gain, and at the same time preparations were made to undermine the T'o-pa alliance by playing on the leadership's ties with the Chinese court.

Wei Kuan's biography in *CS* says that he was made Grand-general-subduing-the-north (*Cheng-pei ta Chiang-chün*) and that he managed to weaken the barbarians on the northern border by dividing the Wu-huan in the east from the T'o-pa in the west.⁴⁹ *CS* gives the date of his appointment as March/April 277, and says that Wei Kuan was specifically commissioned to 'punish' Li-wei.⁵⁰

Here, Wei Shou ran into difficulties: Wei Kuan was a loyal and capable minister, a martyr to the Chin cause, murdered in 291 by the wicked empress née Chia, whose political machinations were thought responsible for the downfall of Western Chin; T'o-pa Li-wei was also a loyal and faithful ally of Chin, and the Chin emperor had just feted and rewarded his son, Sha-mo-han. Treachery on the emperor's part was out of the question. *ws* 1 emphasizes the treachery of the Wu-huan ally, K'u-hsien, and his role in promoting internal dissension in the T'o-pa camp. Wei Kuan - here entitled General-in-the-north (*Pei Chiang-chün*) - is portrayed as acting on his

⁴⁹ *CS* 36, p. 1057.

⁵⁰ *CS* 3, p. 67.

own initiative; motivated by concern for Chin and a misguided apprehension about the T'o-pa. The Chin emperor acquiesces in Wei Kuan's detention of Sha-mo-han only after treachery within the T'o-pa camp has convinced him that Sha-mo-han has become alienated from his father's affections (*ws* 1:19).

The story of Sha-mo-han's prowess with the crossbow also suggests to us that he was deliberately set up by the Chin court. The apocryphal speech by the unknown T'o-pa leader in *ws* 1:21 reveals not only the fruits of Wei Kuan's handiwork in sowing dissension within the leadership, but also the strength of the leadership at that time. Wei Kuan and the Chin court had guessed correctly that the T'o-pa were ready to break with the Chinese alliance.

Naturally, Wei Kuan did not set out to deliberately reduce Chinese influence on the T'o-pa leadership. His primary aim was to weaken its resolve and undermine the confidence of its allies. The best way to do this was to play upon the very real fear of Chinese cultural influence and underhand political intrigue in its affairs. According to both *cs* and *ws* he was very successful. However, although the historian in *ws* 1:26 states that after T'o-pa Li-wei's death the various tribes scattered and rebelled, the text also shows that in the sixteen years between 277 and 293, the T'o-pa had only two leaders, the first of whom (T'o-pa Hsi-lu) ruled for nine years, the second (T'o-pa Cho) for seven years. This suggests that the basic units of T'o-pa social and military organization were still intact. Those tribes which had broken away were probably Wu-huan and Hsiung-nu 'extras' only recently brought under T'o-pa control during the time of Li-wei's occupation of Ho-lin-ko-erh. *cs* mentions that in 277 leaders of various Hsien-pi, Hsiung-nu and other barbarian peoples from the northwest gave their allegiance to Chin. Perhaps some of these tribes had defected from the T'o-pa alliance after the murder of Sha-mo-han.⁵¹

T'o-pa Cho, who ruled after the death of his brother, Hsi-lu, is said to have been brave and warlike, and to have had wisdom, foresight, majesty,

⁵¹ *cs* 3, p. 68.

and virtue (*ws* 1:27). The primary function of these epithets is to explain to the Chinese reader T'o-pa deviation from correct (=Chinese) succession procedure.⁵² When they are removed from the text, it becomes obvious that this was a period about which the Chinese historians knew very little. In other words, between 277 and 295, the Chinese had had no contact with the T'o-pa leadership. Whether one can infer from this that the tribal organization was in disarray is debatable.

It is possible that a temporary decline in T'o-pa strength occurred about 294, after the sudden death of T'o-pa Fu, because Fu's successor, Lu-kuan, was forced to divide the realm between himself and his nephews, T'o-pa I-i and T'o-pa I-lu. T'o-pa I-i was given a domain which stretched to the north of the modern prefectures of Yang-kao in northeastern Shansi and Hsing-ho in Inner Mongolia - in other words, the southernmost region of his realm lay in the area where the present-day borders of Inner Mongolia meet those of northeastern Shansi and northwestern Hopei. The southern portion of Lu-kuan's territory lay further to the east in northwestern Hopei and the western border of Liaoning. The easternmost sector of his realm bordered on Yü-wen territory in southern Kirin. For both T'o-pa I-i and T'o-pa Lu-kuan, the central area of operation lay outside the great wall, well beyond the reach of Chinese authority (*ws* 1:29; Map 1). Thus when Wei Shou says that T'o-pa relations with Chin had been good since the time of Shih-tsu (Li-wei) (*ws* 1:30), he again means that the T'o-pa leadership had had very little to do with the Chinese authorities since Li-wei's death in 277. It seems that the centre of T'o-pa operations had shifted away from the eastern bank of the Yellow River closer to the settlements of the Yü-wen, Tuan and Mu-jung peoples in the northeast (see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b below).

T'o-pa I-lu, the youngest son of Sha-mo-han and his Chinese wife, Lady Feng,⁵³ was given the most precarious sector of the realm - that bordering the territory of the Hsiung-nu tribes in the Ordos loop of the

⁵² For a study of the traditional T'o-pa system of fraternal succession, see J. Holmgren, 'Women and political power in the traditional T'o-pa elite; a preliminary study of the biographies of empresses in the *Wei-shu*' (in press) *MS* 35.

⁵³ On Lady Feng's ethnic origins see *ibid.*

Yellow River and the Fen River valley in central-western Shansi. Yet I-lu was not completely disadvantaged. At the same time as he began moving his people back into Li-wei's former base in Ho-lin-ko-erh, he used his late father's contacts with Chin to re-establish an alliance with the Chinese against the Hsiung-nu. To celebrate this, he held a special burial ceremony for Sha-mo-han and Lady Feng which was attended by representatives from the Chin court at Lo-yang (*ws* 1:32). Despite the exaggerated account of the large number of persons who attended this ceremony, there seems little reason to doubt its basic authenticity, for Lady Feng's biography in *ws* refers to the discovery, c.453, of an inscription commemorating the event.⁵⁴ Thus the date given in the annals of Tai is probably correct.⁵⁵ Given the seriousness of the Hsiung-nu uprising in southern Shansi in 294,⁵⁶ and Ti rebellions in Shensi in 296,⁵⁷ and the fact that T'o-pa I-lu was eager to establish his dominance over the Hsiung-nu, it is very likely that officials from Chin as well as independent representatives from Ssü-ma Yung in Yeh did attend the ceremony. Ssü-ma Ying (280-306), however, was relatively unknown at this time, and Ssü-ma T'eng, who is also mentioned in *ws* 1:32, had yet to be appointed Inspector of Ping Province. His title in *ws* is thus an anachronism.

Wei Shou says that T'o-pa I-lu set up a line of stele along the great wall eighty *li* (roughly forty kilometres) to the north of Hsing-ch'eng in order to commemorate his successful campaigns in the Ordos and to define his border with Chin (*ws* 1:31). Hsing-ch'eng Garrison was established in central Shensi by the rulers of Former Ch'in some sixty years after T'o-pa I-lu's campaigns in the Ordos. Moreover, the location of Hsing-ch'eng was at least two hundred and fifty kilometres southeast of the nearest point of the great wall. Wei Shou's figure of eighty *li* is puzzling, as is his reference to Hsing-ch'eng at all. The important point in this

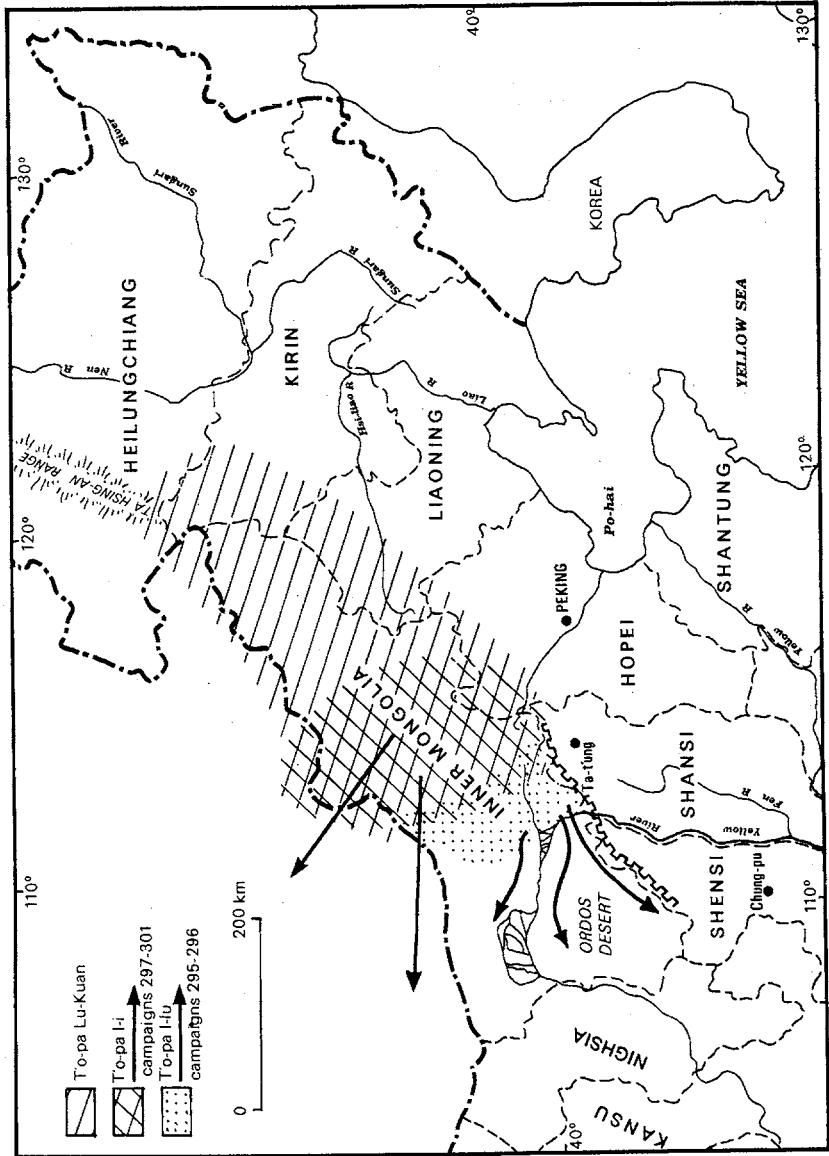
⁵⁴ *ws* 13, p. 322.

⁵⁵ An earlier study suggested that the date may have been set some six years too early. See Holmgren, 'Women and political power'.

⁵⁶ *cs* 4, p. 92; *tctc* pp. 2613.

⁵⁷ *cs* 4, p. 94; *tctc* pp. 2615-7.

MAP 1
The T'o-pa Realm c. 295-308



passage, however, is the apparent success of I-lu's campaigns against the Hsiung-nu in the Ordos and the re-establishment of the alliance with Western Chin (*ws* 1: 29-32).

It should not be thought that the tripartite division of the realm in 295 permanently weakened the T'o-pa leadership. It may have originated in a leadership crisis, but the events of later years show that co-operation between the three leaders was certainly not lacking. T'o-pa I-i seems to have joined his brother in the alliance with the Chinese, and he and T'o-pa Lu-kuan presented a united front on the eastern border against incursions by Mu-jung tribesmen (see below). Wei Shou acknowledges the strength of the T'o-pa leadership at this time when he says that it could muster some four hundred thousand armed horsemen (*ws* 1:30). However, this figure should not be taken literally, for in T'o-pa Shih-i-chien's time, about A.D. 366, the T'o-pa were reported to have only one hundred thousand bowmen at their command.⁵⁸

The re-establishment of Chin/T'o-pa contact in 296 resulted in an influx of Chinese advisers into T'o-pa I-lu's territory. Their presence was aimed at fostering and strengthening the alliance, and it was not long before they were joined by groups of scholar-refugees as the court of Western Chin became absorbed in its own internal squabbles and left the problem of border tribes to the various governors and inspectors in the provinces.⁵⁹ Among these scholar-refugees were members of the Wei family

⁵⁸ See APPENDIX 1:16. *ws* 1:12 refers to two hundred thousand warriors submitting to T'o-pa Li-wei. This figure appears again in *ws* 1:32 as the number of people who attended Sha-mo-han's reburial ceremony, and in *ws* 1:49 as the number of troops levied by T'o-pa I-lu in 312 for battle against the Hsiung-nu.

⁵⁹ In A.D. 300, Emperor Hui's heir-apparent was murdered by the empress née Chia. The latter was in turn overthrown and murdered by Ssü-ma Lun (*cs* 4, p.96). Ssü-ma Lun usurped the throne and after a brief civil war was overthrown and, on 5 June 301, forced to commit suicide. Ssü-ma Ying, in Yeh, declared war on Emperor Hui's new 'regent', Ssü-ma Chiung and his successor, Ssü-ma I.^a Ssü-ma Yüeh^a then marched on Ssü-ma Ying, taking Emperor Hui with him. The emperor was captured by Ssü-ma Ying and held in Yeh (*ws* 1:37). Ssü-ma Yüeh^a's brother and Wang Chin overran and sacked Yeh, and Ssü-ma Ying, with Emperor Hui, fled back to Lo-yang. Emperor Hui was then taken to Ch'ang-an by Ssü-ma Yung. At the same time, the Hsiung-nu leader, Liu Yüan, called an uprising in the Fen River valley - nominally in support of Ssü-ma Yung (*cs* 4, pp. 102-3).

of Tai Commandery, who, between 304 and 314, helped persuade the T'o-pa to join several Chinese campaigns against the Hsiung-nu leader, Liu Yüan (*ws* 1:37-53). Men like Wei Ts'ao, who was probably a grandson of Wei Kuan (see above),⁶⁰ and his nephew, Wei Hsiung, also acted as 'archivists' for the T'o-pa leaders. The annals of Tai mentions a stone inscription set up by Wei Hsiung and Tuan Fan to commemorate the first successful joint venture against the Hsiung-nu, and, in 306, Wei Ts'ao produced a long eulogy on stone to record the heroic deeds and loyalty of the recently deceased T'o-pa I-i. This inscription was rediscovered by the Northern Wei court in 467 and the text has been preserved in Wei Ts'ao's biography in *ws*. Thanks to this inscription, we know that I-i died at the age of thirty-eight on 31 July 305.⁶¹

T'o-pa I-i was succeeded by his son, P'u-ken. P'u-ken, however, was no match for his uncle, I-lu, who, after Lu-kuan's death in 307, reunited the realm under his own command. P'u-ken did not resist this encroachment on his father's domain. He continued his apprenticeship as a leader by serving as a commander for I-lu. Nine years later, he was to take control of the leadership in his own right (see below).

IV:2b Relations with the Mu-jung, Yü-wen and Hsiung-nu, 300-377

In 293, the first of several marriage alliances was concluded between the leaders of the T'o-pa and those of the Yü-wen tribes (*ws* 1:27). The Yü-wen were Hsiung-nu leaders who had settled in the upper basin of the Liao River in northwestern Liaoning and southern Kirin after the collapse of the great Hsiung-nu confederation in the middle of the first century.⁶² After the death of T'an-shih-huai in the latter part of the second century, they had been joined by a group of Hsien-pi leaders known as the Mu-jung. The Mu-jung settled at first in the border area between modern Hopei and western Liaoning, near the homelands of the Tuan peoples.⁶³ Later, during the time of Mu-jung She-kuei (d.283), they

⁶⁰ See APPENDIX 1:7 below.

⁶¹ *ws* 23, pp. 599-602.

⁶² See *ws* 103, p. 2304; APPENDIX 1:5, below.

⁶³ Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen, Part I', pp. 391-4.

moved further to the north and east, closer to the Yü-wen.⁶⁴ In 289, the leader of these tribes, Mu-jung Hui (d.333), concluded the first of many marriage alliances between his house and the leaders of the Tuan people. Despite the fact that Mu-jung Hui continued for some years to stave off Yü-wen attacks on his people by heavy payments and bribes, it was clear that the Tuan alliance was undertaken in preparation for a complete break with the Yü-wen.⁶⁵ As the T'o-pa alliance with the Yü-wen took place during the seventh year of T'o-pa Cho, a time of peace, unity and apparent prosperity for the T'o-pa people (see above), it is likely that it was initiated by the Yü-wen, anxious to secure their western flank in preparation for trouble with the Mu-jung. At this time, the T'o-pa seem to have had little interest in the affairs of central Liaoning and southern Kirin.

T'o-pa Cho died shortly after the establishment of the alliance. He was succeeded by his nephew, T'o-pa Fu, whose sudden death in the following year precipitated the tripartite division of the realm described above. The southeastern portion of T'o-pa territory - that which bordered on Yü-wen and Tuan lands in western Liaoning - fell to T'o-pa Lu-kuan (Map 1). That same year, Mu-jung Hui began moving his people away from the Yü-wen settlements in the upper Liao basin. His people migrated south into the valley of the Ta-ling River, closer to their Tuan allies.⁶⁶ Mu-jung Hui's biography in *ws* says that shortly after this, his tribesmen began encroaching on the eastern borders of the T'o-pa realm, and that T'o-pa P'u-ken, the eldest son of T'o-pa I-i, drove them back. Wei Shou does not mention this in the annals of Tai, but he does note that in 299 a second marriage alliance was concluded between the T'o-pa and the Yü-wen (*ws* 1:35). This alliance was probably initiated by the T'o-pa in response to the intrusion of Mu-jung tribesmen into western Liaoning and the strong Mu-jung/Tuan alliance along the southeastern border of the T'o-pa realm.⁶⁷

64 *ibid*, p. 394.

65 *ibid*, pp. 399-400; *tctc* pp. 2593-4.

66 Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen, Part I', p. 400.

67 *ws* 95, p. 2060. Mu-jung Hui's biography in *cs* 108, pp. 2804-5 does not mention his encroachment on T'o-pa territory.

The second T'o-pa marriage contract with the Yü-wen brought the military situation in the northeast to an effective stalemate, for there was now a balance of power between the strongest contenders for supremacy in Liaoning and Kirin. In addition, the T'o-pa, on the western edge of the region, now had adequate guarantees of protection against Mu-jung/Tuan incursions into their territory.

At the end of 302, Yü-wen Mo-kuei attempted to break the deadlock in the northeast. He took the title Shan-yü, and sent his younger brother, Yü-wen Ch'ü-yün, to attack Mu-jung Hui. Yü-wen Ch'ü-yün had little success in this undertaking, and in turn delegated the task to a tribal leader by the name of Su-nu-yen. Twice Su-nu-yen attacked Mu-jung Hui, the second time besieging him in his capital at Chi-ch'eng on the Ta-ling River. Each time he was unsuccessful. He was routed by Mu-jung Hui's army and pursued by Mu-jung troops for 'over one hundred li'. Most of his men were captured or executed.⁶⁸

It is possible that Su-nu-yen, who, until now, has never been properly identified, was a T'o-pa leader, and that his name, which comes from records of the Yen state, is an early variant of the name So-lu or So-t'ou Pi-yen. The latter was a son of T'o-pa I-lu (see below).⁶⁹ Perhaps Wei Shou does not mention this incident in the annals of Tai in order to avoid drawing attention to the humiliating defeat suffered by the attacking army. A similar omission is found in his records on the defeat of Pi-yen's brother, T'o-pa Liu-hsiu, at the hands of the Tuan in 313.⁷⁰

Despite Mu-jung Hui's success in defending Chi-ch'eng, he must have felt some anxiety about the T'o-pa/Yü-wen alliance and the possibility of further Yü-wen assaults on his capital. This problem became urgent when T'o-pa I-lu came to power as supreme head of the T'o-pa confederation after

⁶⁸ Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen, Part I', p. 401; *SLKCC* p. 176; *TCTC* pp. 2675-6; *CS* 108, p. 2805.

⁶⁹ The only other reference to Su-nu-yen occurs in *TCTC* p. 2692 where he and the leader of the Tuan tribes are said to have been sent daughters of Wang Chün in marriage. In his *k'ao-i* to *TCTC*, pp. 2675-6, Ssü-ma Kuang says that the name Su-nu-yen comes from records of Yen. *CS* 108, p. 2805, *SLKCC* p. 176 and *WS* 103, p. 2304 (a Sung compilation) give his name as Su-yen (who was angry [nu]).

⁷⁰ See Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen, Part I', pp. 404-5 for details of this campaign; also *TCTC* p. 2797.

the death of his uncle in 307 (see above). In the annals of Tai, Wei Shou notes that, in this year, Mu-jung Hui, taking advantage of T'o-pa Lu-kuan's death, presented his case to I-lu in the hope of turning the T'o-pa away from the Yü-wen alliance (*ws* 1:41). His strategy was successful. From A.D. 308 until the year 325, the T'o-pa remained aloof from Mu-jung/Yü-wen quarrels, and, until the year 320, there were no further marriage contracts with Yü-wen leaders. Equally friendly, albeit distant, relations were maintained with both parties. As we shall see, T'o-pa I-lu's main interest at this time lay further to the west with the Hsiung-nu in the Fen River valley and northern Shansi. T'o-pa disinclination to interfere in the affairs of the northeast was probably reinforced in 313 by the humiliating defeat of T'o-pa I-lu's son, Liu-hsiu, in the campaign against the Tuan organized by the Chinese governor, Wang Chiün. Seven years later, when Ts'ui Pi organized an attack on the Mu-jung by leaders from Koguryö, allied with the Tuan and the Yü-wen, T'o-pa I-lu's successors wisely refrained from siding with one group or another.⁷¹

A glance at the annals of Tai shows that the sixth century historian knew very little about the internal workings of the T'o-pa leadership between the death of T'o-pa I-i in 305 and the reunification of the realm in 308. *ws* 1 fills in the gap in our records with notices concerning Li Hsiung's usurpation of the imperial title in Szechuan in 306, and Chi Sang's rebellion against Western Chin in 307 (*ws* 1:40-43). This information probably came from records of Western Chin which were available to Wei Shou at the time of writing.

The surviving records about T'o-pa relations with the Yü-wen and Mu-jung between the years 293 and 325 suggest the existence of three

⁷¹ See Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen, Part I', pp. 412-16 for details of this campaign; also Gardiner, *The early history of Korea*, pp. 40-1. It should be noted that *ws* 103, p. 2304 - a compilation of the Sung dynasty - has substituted the name Yü-wen Sun-ni-yen for that of the Yü-wen commander, Hsi-tu-kuan, and then confused the T'o-pa/Yü-wen alliance of 299 (*ws* 1:35) with a later marriage which apparently took place between Hsi-tu-kuan and one of T'o-pa Yü-lü's daughters after Hsi-tu-kuan had taken refuge with the T'o-pa. See also *cs* 108, pp. 2806-7; *tctc* pp. 2872-4.

different phases in T'o-pa policy towards the northeast during this period: in the first phase, between 293 and 294, the Yü-wen court the T'o-pa, enticing them into an alliance which alienates them from the Mu-jung; in the second phase, between 295 and 307, the T'o-pa, now at odds with the Mu-jung, reaffirm their ties with the Yü-wen in an attempt to discourage Mu-jung/Tuan incursions along the southeastern border; while in the final and by far the longest phase, ushered in by Mu-jung Hui's diplomatic overtures to T'o-pa I-lu in 307, the T'o-pa adopt a neutral stand towards the politics of the northeast, and turn their attention to the problem of the Hsiung-nu on the southwestern frontier (see below).

Klein has shown that the Mu-jung adopted a most effective method of ensuring Tuan loyalty: between 289 and 320, they developed a system of 'consort clans' whereby Tuan women who married into the Mu-jung house became the mothers of Mu-jung heirs. In this way, the Tuan/Mu-jung alliance remained more or less intact until the year 320.⁷² Klein's attempt to relate the Mu-jung system of consort clans to T'o-pa relations with outside or distaff groups is somewhat less convincing.⁷³ While it is true that in-law or distaff clans sometimes played an important part in settling T'o-pa succession disputes - particularly during the period 316-337 - these were isolated cases of interference in T'o-pa affairs by rival distaff factions each intent on imposing its will on the leadership during a period of internal crisis. Like other nomadic peoples, the T'o-pa used marriage contracts with other peoples for temporary political gain. There is no evidence, however, that a particular tribe was ever regarded by the T'o-pa as a consort group whose women would become mothers of T'o-pa heirs. As Klein admits, the T'o-pa system of fraternal succession effectively blocked in-law hopes for sustained political influence on the leadership during the Tai period.⁷⁴ Moreover, during the fifth century, when the traditional system of succession was abandoned for succession by primogeniture, the T'o-pa adopted a number of ad hoc measures designed to

⁷² Klein, pp. 29-30, 33-4 and 95.

⁷³ *ibid*, pp. 30-3 and 95 *passim*.

⁷⁴ *ibid*, p. 97.

eliminate distaff influence at court.⁷⁵ It seems that they were acutely aware of the dangers of falling prey to the influence of a single, powerful distaff family.⁷⁶

In 310, Liu K'un, who had replaced Ssū-ma T'eng in 307 as Inspector of Ping Province,⁷⁷ sent his son, Liu Tsun, as a hostage to the T'o-pa to prevent the new leadership under I-lu turning away from the Chinese alliance. Although relations between Liu K'un and T'o-pa I-lu were not as rosy as made out in the annals of Tai,⁷⁸ Liu K'un's strategy worked fairly well: between 308 and the year of his death in 316, T'o-pa I-lu participated in at least two major and successful campaigns against the Hsiung-nu (*ws* 1:45 and 49). Several other campaigns were also planned, but, for one reason or another, these were abandoned in mid-stream (*ws* 1:50 and 53). Such was Liu K'un's reliance on T'o-pa I-lu, that, during the last years of Western Chin, he managed to have him enfeoffed as Duke of Tai (310), with a promotion to King of Tai in 315 (*ws* 1:45). Tai Commandery, near the present-day prefecture of Wei in northwestern

⁷⁵ See J. Holmgren, 'The harem in Northern Wei politics - 398-498: a study of T'o-pa attitudes towards the institution of empress, empress-dowager and regency governments in the Chinese dynastic system during early Northern Wei' (in press) *JESHO*.

⁷⁶ Klein refers to Ho-lan relations with the T'o-pa during the time of T'o-pa I-huai (d.337) and T'o-pa Kuei (r.398-409) to illustrate his point about the T'o-pa system of 'consort clans'. The Ho-lan case, however, illustrates not only the actual and potential influence of in-law clans on the leadership, but also the anxieties of T'o-pa leaders about that influence, and their determination to eliminate it. After coming to power with the help of his mother's clan, T'o-pa Kuei took every possible step to reduce the influence of his maternal uncles and cousins on the leadership. He gave them largely ceremonial positions in the bureaucracy, and attempted to divide and scatter their tribes. After his assumption of the throne in 398, there were no further marriages between the members of the royal family and women from the Ho-lan clan. Moreover, in 409, Kuei forced the Hsiung-nu mother of his eldest son to commit suicide so that neither she nor her family might have any influence on the leadership after his death, and a similar fate was planned for Lady Ho-lan, mother of his second son. The same wary attitude to distaff influence on the leadership can be seen in T'o-pa I-huai's earlier, and less successful, attack on Ho-lan power in 335 (see below). A full discussion of the role of in-law clans in T'o-pa succession disputes between the period 260 and 409 is found in Holmgren, 'Women and political power'.

⁷⁷ *cs* 62, p. 1680.

⁷⁸ See *ws* 1:48, n62 below.

Hopei,⁷⁹ came under the jurisdiction of Yu Province, controlled at that time by Wang Chiin. Wang Chiin resented this intrusion, and attacked I-lu. He was driven back. After this, relations between Liu K'un and Wang Chiin cooled considerably.⁸⁰

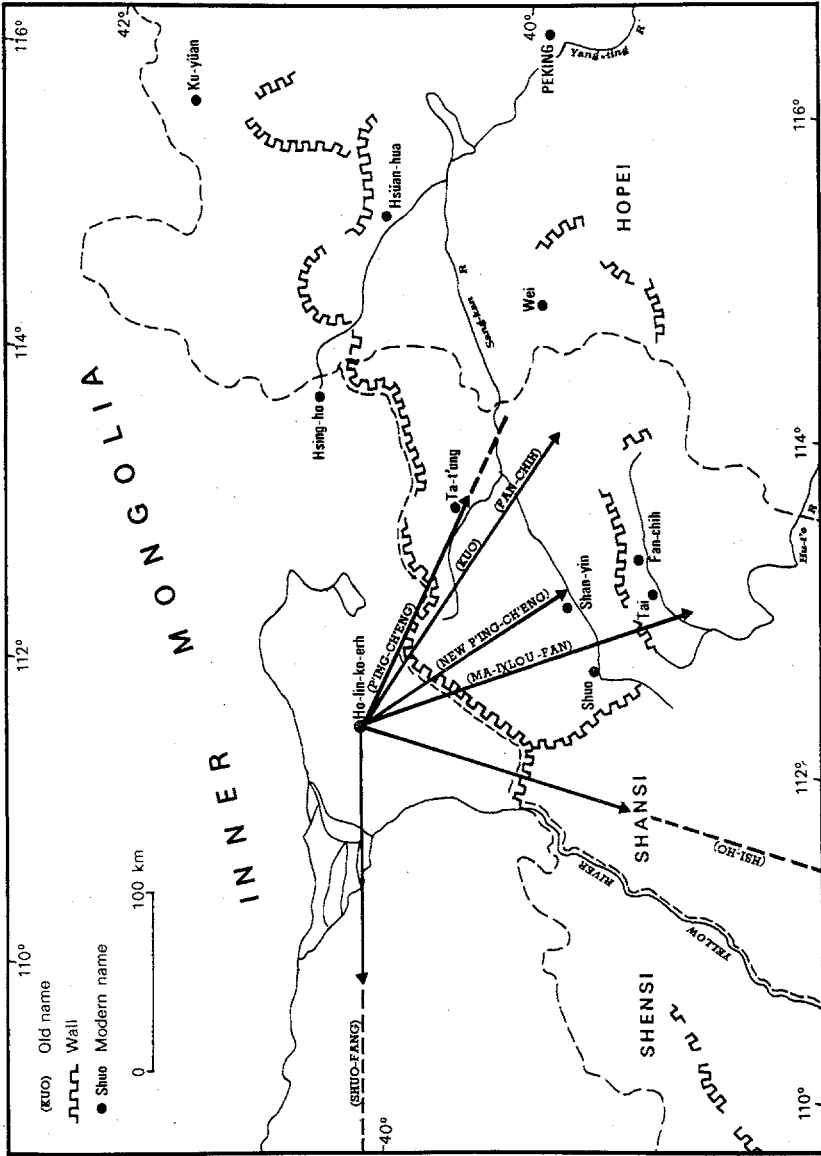
Wei Shou states that after the appointment as Duke of Tai, Liu K'un allowed I-lu to move south into Ma-i and adjacent prefectures in northwestern Shansi (*ws* 1:46). These prefectures were some two hundred kilometres to the southwest of Tai Commandery. At best, Tai lay on the eastern edge of this area. In this respect, the appellation 'Tai' to this era of T'o-pa history is somewhat of a misnomer (see *APPENDIX* 1:16 below). Moreover, despite these new territorial acquisitions, T'o-pa I-lu, continued to camp at Sheng-lo (Yün-chung) near Ho-lin-ko-erh to the north of the great wall in Inner Mongolia (Map 2). The southern portion of his realm in northwestern Shansi was guarded by his son, T'o-pa Liu-hsiu (*ws* 1:52). This latter area was to become the permanent residence of the T'o-pa leadership only after the establishment of Northern Wei at the end of the century.

In 316, T'o-pa I-lu was murdered by his son, Liu-hsiu. In the annals of Tai, Wei Shou is rather vague about Liu-hsiu's part in his father's death (*ws* 1:56), details of the story being found in Liu-hsiu's biography in *ws* 14. Unfortunately, *ws* 14 is not part of Wei Shou's original, sixth century text, but a Sung compilation based on the T'ang biography of Liu-hsiu in *ps* 15. The Sung text says that T'o-pa I-lu had favoured his youngest son, Pi-yen, and had wanted to make him his successor. This was why he had sent Liu-hsiu out to govern the southern portion of the realm in northwestern Shansi (see above). T'o-pa Liu-hsiu had had a 'five-hundred-li' horse which was confiscated by I-lu and given to Pi-yen. When Liu-hsiu came to court to pay his respects to his father, he refused to acknowledge his younger brother. So I-lu had Pi-yen placed in the royal

⁷⁹ See *TRANSLATION*, n27 and Map 4 below. Many maps of the Sixteen States erroneously place Tai near its modern counterpart on the Hu-t'o River to the south of Ta-t'ung in northwestern Shansi.

⁸⁰ *TCTC* p. 2752.

MAP 2
Southern Expansion c. 310-327



palequin and carried around until Liu-hsiu, thinking that it contained his father, knelt before it. Furious at this trick, Liu-hsiu left Sheng-lo and refused to return. Annoyed, his father sent an army against him. When the army was defeated, I-lu panicked and fled. Later, he was caught and delivered up to Liu-hsiu who killed him.⁸¹

T'o-pa Liu-hsiu was in turn killed by his cousin P'u-ken, a son of the late T'o-pa I-i. During P'u-ken's time, members of the Wei family and their Chinese friends who had advised T'o-pa I-lu on strategy against the Hsiung-nu fled back to Liu K'un with K'un's son, Liu Tsun.⁸² This was the year of the successful Hsiung-nu attack on Ch'ang-an, and it seems that P'u-ken planned to turn against the Chinese in favour of reconciliation with the Hsiung-nu. In conformity with the reluctance of later historians to discuss the careers of Chinese officials who served both Western Chin and the T'o-pa leadership, Liu Tsun and the members of the Wei family receive only passing mention in *cs*. It is significant, however, that *cs* historians refer to Liu Tsun as a hostage, leaving little doubt about the weakness of the Chinese at this time.⁸³ In view of this, it is surprising that the T'o-pa alliance with Chin lasted as long as it did. Its strength can be attributed to traditional Hsien-pi/Hsiung-nu hostility rather than to T'o-pa love for the Chin house.

T'o-pa P'u-ken died some months after coming to power. His mother, the Lady Wei, attempted to have her infant grandson proclaimed as leader. Not surprisingly this was unsuccessful, although Wei Shou, in the annals of Tai, implies that her lack of success was due only to the fact that the child died (*ws* 1:57).⁸⁴ T'o-pa Yü-lü, a son of the late T'o-pa Fu, came to power. With the Chinese eliminated in the contest for control of the north, Yu-lu saw the possibility of uniting Chinese, Hsien-pi and

⁸¹ *ws* 14, p. 348; *TCFC* pp. 2830-1.

⁸² *ws* 23, pp. 602-3; *TCFC* pp. 2830-1.

⁸³ *cs* 62, p. 1684.

⁸⁴ On T'o-pa attitudes to young or infant rulers, see Holmgren, 'Women and political power'; Holmgren, 'The harem in Northern Wei politics'.

Hsiung-nu under his own command. Accordingly, he continued his late uncle's policy of opposition to the Hsiung-nu leaders of Northern Han. His inflexible attitude to Hsiung-nu overtures for peace aroused so much alarm in the T'o-pa camp that, in 321, he was murdered, and Lady Wei returned to power. She promptly sent envoys to Shih Le to establish peace between the two peoples (*ws* 1:60-63).

Unfortunately, very little is known about T'o-pa affairs during Lady Wei's time (d.c. 324-5?). As a woman who 'interfered' in the affairs of men, Chinese historians pay her scant attention. All comments about her period of rule are naturally condemnatory. Wei Shou, in the annals of Tai, attributes her move against T'o-pa Yü-lü to jealousy on her sons' behalf (*ws* 1:62), and Hu San-hsing (1230-1302), in his commentary to Ssü-ma Kuang's *TCYC*, states that under her administration, the T'o-pa became weaker. Ssü-ma Kuang himself has no comment on the state of the realm during her time. His account of her rule is confined to the more personal story of how young T'o-pa Shih-i-chien was saved by his mother during the massacre of T'o-pa Yü-lü's family.⁸⁵ As pointed out in an earlier study, not only Shih-i-chien but several of T'o-pa Yü-lü's adult sons also survived this 'massacre'. It seems that Yü-lü had lost a large proportion of his following through his anti-Hsiung-nu stand, and that Lady Wei's faction had been able to return to power with relative ease. It also seems that during her time, the T'o-pa realm was at peace - both internally and with its neighbours.⁸⁶

In March 325, the Hsiung-nu leader, Shih Le, sent the Yü-wen against the Mu-jung, and the T'o-pa participated in the war by siding with the Mu-jung. Although the Mu-jung and T'o-pa successfully counter-attacked the Yü-wen,⁸⁷ the campaign was a disaster for the internal stability of the

⁸⁵ *TCYC* p. 3891; *ps* 13, p. 491.

⁸⁶ See Holmgren, 'Women and political power'. We have only one account of disturbance in the realm during her time. *ws* 95, p. 2060 states that after Yü-lü's death, Mu-jung Hui attempted to invade the realm but was driven back. This invasion may have been in retaliation for the T'o-pa alliance with the Hsiung-nu.

⁸⁷ See Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen, Part I', pp. 420-1; *cs* 108, p. 2808; *TCYC* p. 2933 for details.

T'o-pa leadership. The elite became irreparably divided between those who feared Hsiung-nu retaliation, those who supported an actively pro Yu-wen or pro Mu-jung policy in the northeast, and those who wished to retain the neutrality of the past. In 327, the Hsiung-nu did retaliate and the T'o-pa were driven out of northern Shansi and away from their territories in Inner Mongolia along the edge of the Yellow River. Under the leadership of Ko-na, the youngest son of Lady Wei, the T'o-pa tribes retreated to the northeast, just as they had done after the death of Li-wei in 277 (*ws* 1:65). While there, T'o-pa Ko-na attempted to enlist the Yü-wen in an attack on the Ho-lan who were harbouring T'o-pa I-huai, a son of the late T'o-pa Yü-lü. Having already alienated the Hsiung-nu, the T'o-pa elite was unwilling to antagonize another ally, and, in 329, Ko-na was ousted from power and replaced by I-huai (*ws* 1:66-67).

Not wishing to repeat the mistakes of his immediate predecessors, I-huai promptly dispatched his younger brother, T'o-pa Shih-i-chien, as a hostage to the Hsiung-nu court. Apart from this, nothing is known about T'o-pa affairs during I-huai's time until he attempted to reduce the power of the Ho-lan clan by murdering their leader, Ho-lan Ai-t'ou. This enabled T'o-pa Ko-na, backed by the Yü-wen and/or the Mu-jung, to return to power. T'o-pa I-huai took refuge with his younger brother at the court of Later Chao. With Hsiung-nu support, he was returned to the leadership in 337, and T'o-pa Ko-na sought refuge with the Mu-jung (*ws* 1:67-70). This might have gone on indefinitely had not T'o-pa I-huai, presumably with permission from Later Chao - shifted his people back to Ho-lin-ko-erh on the banks of the Yellow River. There, under the protective umbrella of the Hsiung-nu, he hoped to regain some of the stability which had possessed the realm during the time of Lady Wei.

Wei Shou's account of T'o-pa relations with the Yü-wen, Mu-jung and Hsiung-nu leaders for the period 321-337 seems to have been based not on T'o-pa records but on material in the histories of Later Chao and Former Yen which were available to him in the middle of the sixth century (see *INTRODUCTION* Part III above. As pointed out earlier, such material was

of little use in compiling a detailed study of the internal workings and activities of the leadership. The annals of Tai thus tells us very little about Lady Wei and her sons, and practically nothing about T'o-pa I-huai's activities during the period of peace between 329 and 335. The text skips the years 331 to 332 entirely, and fills in the years 330 and 333-4 with a summary of events in Later Chao, Former Yen and Ch'eng in Szechuan (*ws* 1:67-69).

IV:3 T'o-pa Shih-i-chien's rise to power, 338

One year after his return to Sheng-lo, T'o-pa I-huai died. At this stage, the leadership had not yet reclaimed T'o-pa I-lu's former domain in northern Shansi near Ma-i, Kuo, and P'ing-ch'eng (Map 2). This area still belonged to Later Chao.

T'o-pa I-huai's half-brother, T'o-pa Shih-i-chien, came to power (*ws* 1:71). Of the seven leaders from I-lu (d.316) to the end of 'Tai' (377), T'o-pa Shih-i-chien is the most interesting. His was the longest period of rule (thirty-eight years), and he brought the leadership to its apogee of power, laying the foundations for the rise of Northern Wei at the end of the century under his grandson, T'o-pa Kuei (d.409). It is in his reign that the historian, for the first time, can tell us the exact month of an event rather than just the year in which it occurred.

The documentation of Shih-i-chien's rule nevertheless still leaves much to be desired. A glance at *ws* 1:71-99 shows that this part of our text falls into three sections: i) a relatively detailed account of his early years (338-344), somewhat padded by a stylized description of his physical appearance and a semi-fictitious account of his rise to power (*ws* 1:71 - see below); ii) the decade 345-355, which tells us virtually nothing about his activities or his relations with other states; iii) the years 356-375, which give an outline of his military campaigns against the T'ieh-fu Liu. The account ends with a brief description of Fu Chien's conquest of Tai at the end of 376 and the beginning of 377 (*ws* 1:99).

The paucity of records on Shih-i-chien's middle years (345-355) - which were no doubt crucial in the development of his career from puppet ruler controlled by Later Chao to independent leader in his own right - is

evident in the large number of italicized entries which relate to matters in other states in this part of the text (*ws* 1:77-82). While a few of these entries may have marginal bearing on events in the T'o-pa realm, the primary function of these passages seems to be to fill out the text in order to obscure the fact that very little could be said about the T'o-pa during these years. The only paragraph of real relevance in this section of the annals is *ws* 1:79, where the historian has concocted a speech by Shih-i-chien about the misery of the people under the Hsiung-nu leaders of Later Chao and under Jan Min of Wei. The value of this pseudo-historical passage is that it shows how the historian tried to separate the T'o-pa leadership under Shih-i-chien from other non-Chinese invaders and usurpers of power of the north during the Sixteen States period. Once this paragraph and the italicized entries have been deleted from the text, it becomes apparent that almost no records existed for this period of Shih-i-chien's rule; certainly no records which the historian could use in his depiction of the T'o-pa rulers as just, able and legitimate leaders of the Chinese people.

The tripartite division of the text on Shih-i-chien's rule is paralleled by three major historiographical problems: i) Shih-i-chien's relationship with his brother, T'o-pa Ku, in 338; ii) the attempt on Shih-i-chien's life by Ch'ang-sun Chin in 371; and iii) the manner of Shih-i-chien's death in 377. Each of these problems is intimately bound up with the others, and each involves the question of survival of Teng Yuan's *kuo-chi*, and the pressure which existed in his and Wei Shou's time to portray the founding fathers of Northern Wei in as good a light as possible.

According to *ws* 1:71, T'o-pa I-huai left specific instructions that Shih-i-chien was to be brought back from his residence at the court of Later Chao and invested as T'o-pa leader. Shih-i-chien's brother, T'o-pa Ku, then went to Chao, and personally escorted him back to the T'o-pa realm. Wei Shou says that details about this are given in T'o-pa Ku's biography.

Unfortunately, Ku's biography is in one of the lost chapters of *ws*. The material in our present text on T'o-pa Ku was taken from a ninth

century history by Kao Ch'ün and his son.⁸⁸ Ku's biography, as we now have it, states that he was Yü-lü's fourth son, and that his elder brother, T'o-pa Ch'ü, was murdered by Liang Kai⁸⁹ after T'o-pa I-huai's death. Liang Kai then recommended T'o-pa Ku as leader. Ku righteously protested that his older brother, Shih-i-chien, should be invested as leader and went to Yeh to bring him back from Later Chao. Shih Hu allowed both to return to Ho-lin-ko-erh, where the realm was divided between them. The text then says 'Ku died'.⁹⁰

Here, we have a memory, in Chinese form, of the classic T'o-pa response to political crises: division of the realm between competent relatives - brothers, uncles, and nephews - until such time as one or the other is able to reunify the leadership under his own command. Obviously T'o-pa Ku's deference to his brother was made not on the grounds that the latter had been chosen as successor by I-huai, but out of fear of interference from Later Chao. It is possible that Shih-i-chien was escorted into the T'o-pa realm by Shih Hu's armies, and that, Ku, the elected leader after I-huai's death, was compelled by military necessity to come to a settlement with him. To depict the grandfather of the founder of Northern Wei as a usurper and pawn of the Hsiung-nu would certainly have been unacceptable in Teng Yüan's *Kuo-chi*, and probably not permissible either in Wei Shou's time or during the revision of *WS* during early T'ang. It seems likely that the story of Shih-i-chien's rise to power, as given in *WS* 1 and *WS* 14, has been turned inside out to show Shih-i-chien's magnanimity to his brother and his legitimacy as ruler of the T'o-pa hordes.

The biography of T'o-pa Ku's son, Chin, is even more cryptic than that of his father. It merely says that Chin lost his father's office, felt

⁸⁸ *WS* 14, p. 349. Although this is a slightly more wordy version than that found in *PS* 15, p. 546, it is obvious that the latter text was the source of Kao Ch'ün's version of Ku's biography. See also Li Cheng-fen, pp. 371-2.

⁸⁹ Liang Kai is called Liang Kai-p'en in *WS* 2:108. See *APPENDIX* 1:18.

⁹⁰ *WS* 14, p. 349.

angry, provoked T'o-pa Shih-chün into rebellion, and died in Ch'ang-an.⁹¹ The *ws* biography of T'o-pa Shih-chün says that he was Shih-i-chien's eldest son by a concubine and that he murdered his father and lost the realm to Fu Chien.⁹² None of this is mentioned in *ws* 1.

T'o-pa Chin's biography suggests that his father, T'o-pa Ku, may have remained a significant figure in T'o-pa politics for some considerable time after the division of the realm in 338, and that unification under Shih-i-chien was not a simple or quiet affair. Moreover, while the *ws* biographies stress Chin's resentment against Shih-i-chien, it is possible, as Boodberg has pointed out, that Shih-i-chien's murder in 377 contained elements of a ritual killing.⁹³ Certainly, Wei Shou describes the leader as unwell in 376. Perhaps T'o-pa Chin and Shih-chün had the support of many more leaders in the T'o-pa camp than is suggested by the *ws* biographies.⁹⁴

IV:4 The early years of T'o-pa Kuei, 371-386.

The coupling of the name T'o-pa Shih (Kuei's father) and Ch'ang-sun Chin with an unsuccessful attempt on Shih-i-chien's life in 371 (*ws* 1:97) suggests a parallel with the 377 incident involving T'o-pa Shih-chün and T'o-pa Chin. The Ch'ang-sun family only received that name during the reign of T'o-pa Kuei (389-409). Before Kuei's time, they were T'o-pa - descendants of T'o-pa Yü-lü (d.321).⁹⁵ So it is very likely that the 'Ch'ang-sun Chin' of *ws* 1:97 (A.D. 371) is one and the same person as T'o-pa Chin, the accomplice to Shih-i-chien's murder in 377.⁹⁶

⁹¹ *ws* 14, p. 349.

⁹² *ws* 15, p. 369.

⁹³ Cohen (ed.), p. 256 n10.

⁹⁴ There is a parallel case in the murder of T'o-pa Kuei in 409 at the hands of his son, Shao. See Holmgren, 'Women and Political Power'; also n109 below.

⁹⁵ See APPENDIX 1:13; Ying Ts'ien-li (tr.), 'The *ch'ieh-yün* and its Hsien-pi authorship', *ms* 1 (1935/6) 252.

It would seem that the 371 incident in which Kuei's father, T'o-pa Shih, is killed defending Shih-i-chien from an attack by Ch'ang-sun Chin is completely fictitious. But why would the historian invent such an episode? The answer lies in the problem of T'o-pa Kuei's paternity: if Kuei's father was T'o-pa Shih-chün,⁹⁷ the parricide who killed his father Shih-i-chien in 377, then we have the reason not only for the appearance of the false story in *ws* 1:97 (A.D. 371), but also for the confusing series of name-changes among prominent members of the T'o-pa family during the time of T'o-pa Kuei.

Our earliest source on the Ch'ang-sun family states that as well as changing his family name, Ch'ang-sun Sung also received the personal name 'Sung' from T'o-pa Kuei.⁹⁸ *ws* 2:110 shows that 'Sung' was appointed to his father's position as leader of the southern hordes in 386.⁹⁹ *HTS* states that Sung's father, Jen, was formerly known as T'o-pa Sha-mo-hsiung, and that he had been appointed leader of the southern hordes in Shih-i-chien's time. He was Shih-i-chien's older brother.¹⁰⁰ This makes sense of the statement in *ws* 14 that T'o-pa Ku was Yü-lü's fourth son.¹⁰¹ Thus, it seems that after the murder of T'o-pa Ch'ü in 338, there had been a tripartite division of the realm between I-huai's surviving brothers: Sha-mo-hsiung, Shih-i-chien, and Ku.

⁹⁷ Boodberg, 'Language' reprinted in Cohen (ed.), p.223 has a genealogy of T'o-pa leaders with Kuei as the son of Shih-chün and the following note: 'The reader might be surprised that Shih-chün is designated as the father of Kuei. The author has been forced, however, to accept this conclusion and will sometimes undertake to demonstrate this correction of the *Wei-shu*'. I have been unable to find any elaboration of this in Boodberg's subsequent works.

⁹⁸ *PS* 22, p. 805; *APPENDIX* 1:13.

⁹⁹ *ws* 2:105 refers to him as leader of the southern hordes in 376. This is an anachronism as Liu K'u-jen had supreme charge of the southern hordes at this time.

¹⁰⁰ *HTS* 72^a, p. 2409. *HTS* says he was his eldest brother. I-huai was his eldest brother. See *APPENDIX* 1:13.

¹⁰¹ *ws* 14, p. 349.

If our hypothesis is correct - that T'o-pa Chin is one and the same as Ch'ang-sun Chin - then Chin must have been a son of Sha-no-hsiung and brother of Ch'ang-sun Sung. In this respect, *ws* 14 must be wrong in calling him a son of T'o-pa Ku.

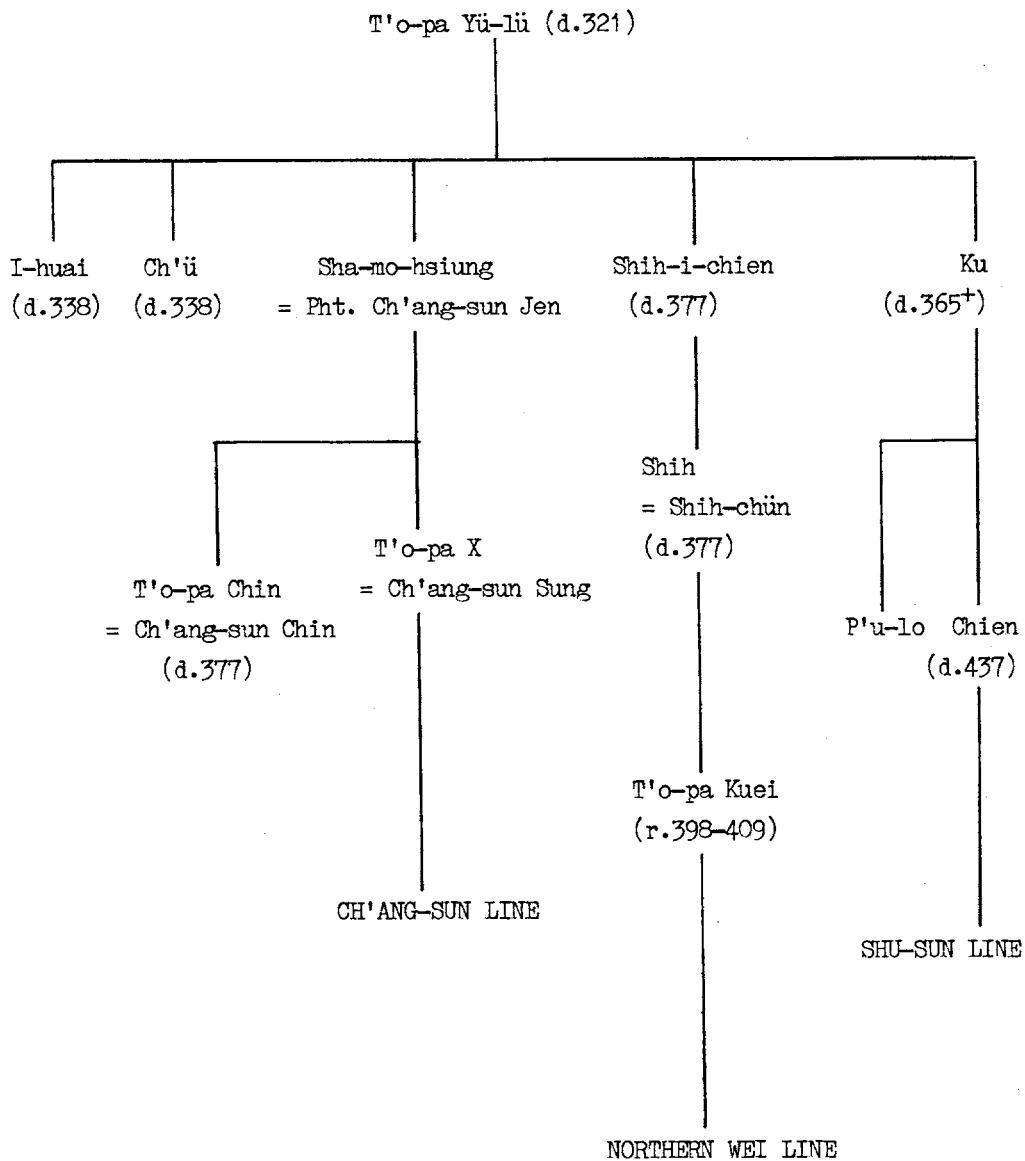
TCTC describes T'o-pa Ku as leader of the northern hordes.¹⁰² This makes sense with what we know about Sha-no-hsiung: in 386, T'o-pa Kuei appointed Ch'ang-sun Sung leader of the southern hordes and Shu-sun P'u-lo leader of the northern hordes (*ws* 2:110). The name Shu-sun was also derived from the blood relationship of the founding members of the family with the Northern Wei royal line. According to Boodberg, Shu-sun is a Chinese equivalent of the name I-chan; the latter being a phonetic transcription of the Turkish word *içi* (elder brother or uncle) by which Shu-sun Chien (365-437) was known.¹⁰³ The biography of I-chan (Shu-sun) Chien states that his father's name was Ku^a and that Ku^a had been raised by Shih-i-chien's mother, the Lady Wang (d.355).¹⁰⁴ Thus, it seems that Shu-sun Chien and Shu-sun P'u-lo were probably sons of T'o-pa Ku, Shih-i-chien's half-brother who had shared the realm with him as leader of the northern hordes in the division of 338. From Shu-sun Chien's birth date (365), we can see that this division of the realm must have lasted well into Shih-i-chien's later years.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² *TCTC* p. 3030. Neither *ws* 1 nor *ws* 14 give Ku's exact position within the leadership. *Ssu-ma Kuang* probably had access to information which is now lost to us. See *INTRODUCTION* Part III.

¹⁰³ Cohen (ed.), p. 232; also Bazin, p. 291; *ws* 29, p. 702; *ws* 113, p. 3006; *Sung-shu* 43, p. 1343.

¹⁰⁴ *ws* 29, pp. 702-5. For Lady Wang's biography, see Holmgren, 'Women and political power'.

¹⁰⁵ *ws* 103, p. 2310 states that the name I-chan was also taken by some of the leading Kao-ch'e families in the Northern Wei state. If T'o-pa Ku and his son I-chan (Shu-sun) Chien were leaders of the northern hordes in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, it is likely that they had control over defeated and subject Kao-ch'e families and that these families took, or were given, the name of their masters, I-chan. These I-chan families probably did not adopt the name Shu-sun.



Neither Ch'ang-sun Chin, Sha-mo-hsiung, T'o-pa Shih, nor Shu-sun P'u-lo have biographies in *ws*, while the biographies of Ch'ang-sun Sung and Shu-sun Chien appear not among the princes of the T'o-pa house but among the early prominent ministers of the Northern Wei state. This may be seen as a result of the attempt to cover up the scandal surrounding T'o-pa Kuei's father and the murder of Shih-i-chien, as well as a result of attempts by later genealogists to trace the origin of the Ch'ang-sun and Shu-sun families back to the time of T'an-shih-huai's Hsien-pi empire at the end of the second century.¹⁰⁶

It is possible that Shu-sun P'u-lo and his brother, Chien, had been taken to Ch'ang-an in 377 by Fu Chien's armies. Shu-sun Chien's name is also given as T'o-pa She-kuei-fan-neng-chien.¹⁰⁷ The first two characters of this name are very similar to those of T'o-pa Kuei, who was also known as T'o-pa She-kuei. Chien would have been about 11 at the time of Shih-i-chien's death - six years older than Kuei. His presence in Ch'ang-an about A.D. 377 may have been the source of confusion in *cs* about T'o-pa Kuei's presence at Fu Chien's court. We know that Shu-sun Chien's brother, P'u-lo, deserted Kuei's cause in 386.¹⁰⁸ This may have been because of a former association with Kuei's uncle, T'o-pa K'u-to, in Ch'ang-an (see below).

The northern and southern histories have very different accounts of the last days of Tai. *ws* 1:99 simply states that Shih-i-chien died about a week after returning from the disastrous flight across the Yin Ranges. T'o-pa Shih-chün's biography in *ws* says that he was murdered (see above).¹⁰⁹ The *cs* account of Fu Chien's conquest of Tai, however,

106 See *APPENDIX* 1:13 and *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:1 above.

107 See *APPENDIX* 1:21 below.

108 *ws* 2:113 below.

109 Four of the eight reigning emperors of Northern Wei and three of the leaders mentioned in *ws* 1 were murdered. Only one case - that of T'o-pa Yü-lü (d. 321) - is expressly referred to as murder in the annals. See Chao I, *Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao* (Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, Shanghai, 1957) pp. 138-9.

states that in November 376 Fu Lo was sent to attack Shih-i-chien. Shih-i-chien was defeated in battle and his son, I-kuei, then bound him and asked to surrender. Fu Chien ordered that Shih-i-chien enter the Grand Academy in Ch'ang-an and study the Chinese classics, while I-kuei was banished to Szechuan for unfilial conduct.¹¹⁰

This latter version of the end of Tai is probably a late elaboration of the source which supplied the much briefer *Sung-shu* version written at the end of the fifth century. *Sung-shu* states simply that Shih-i-chien was captured and sent to Ch'ang-an; he was later allowed to return north where he died and was replaced by his grandson, T'o-pa Kuei.¹¹¹

Since Kuei was born in 371, he would have been too young to have taken any active part in the events of 376. Moreover, *ws* 2:105 states that he was not taken to Ch'ang-an but spent his time with Liu K'u-jen. We can thus discount the *cs* claim that T'o-pa Kuei was responsible for the fall of Tai and that he was taken to Ch'ang-an. It is probable that *cs* historians confused his name with those of She-kuei-fan-neng-chien and Shih-i-chien - thus giving him the name 'I-kuei'.

The origin of Shih-i-chien's presence in Ch'ang-an - as found in *Sung-shu* and *cs* - probably stems from early Ch'in propaganda about Fu Chien's magnanimity towards his vanquished enemies. Uchida Gimpu has suggested that the southern historians substituted Shih-i-chien's name for that of his son, T'o-pa K'u-to. This certainly agrees with K'u-to's biography in *ws* which states that he was transported to Ch'ang-an in 377 and forced to study the Chinese classics.¹¹²

For the northern historians, we can assume that the task of absolving T'o-pa Kuei's father and Ch'ang-sun Sung's relatives from complicity in Shih-i-chien's death fell initially to Teng Yuan, and that the material in *ws* 1 is derived from what was known about the content of his work as transmitted in Ts'ui Hao's *Kuo-shu* (see above). Our sources on the

110 See Rogers, pp. 140-1.

111 *Sung-shu* 95, p. 2321.

112 *ws* 15, p. 385; Uchida Gimpu, 'Gisho joki, Tokuni sono seikei kiji ni tsuite', *shirin* 22:3 (1937) 474-8.

Ch'ang-sun family show that the truth about the activities of the ancestors of the founders of Northern Wei was still well-known even during the T'ang period.¹¹³ In *ws* 1:97, the rather obvious and clumsy metamorphosis of T'o-pa Kuei's father, T'o-pa Shih-chün, from parricide to filial saviour, must have aroused considerable mirth among readers of the fifth and sixth centuries. Were it not for Teng Yüan's execution shortly after the completion of his work, one would find it hard to believe that this passage is his handiwork.¹¹⁴ In this context, one can also speculate about Ts'ui Hao's depiction of Shih-tsu's ancestors in the *kuo-shu* and the reasons for his hasty execution in 450. Perhaps this is what was on Emperor Wen-hsüan's mind when he tried to reassure Wei Shou about his appointment as Grand Historian in 551.¹¹⁵ It is possible that the restraints on Wei Shou in revealing the truth about the end of Tai were not as great as they had been in Teng Yüan's or Ts'ui Hao's time, or were to be again in the early part of the seventh century.¹¹⁶ Wei Shou's biographies of T'o-pa Chin and T'o-pa Shih-chün may have been somewhat different from the T'ang versions which we have today. Nevertheless, despite any changes made to the text by T'ang historians, the outlines of what really happened are still apparent. For this, we have to thank the arrogance and the courage of those Chinese literati in the Northern Dynasties who persisted in treading the perilous path of 'concealing yet revealing'.

113 See *APPENDIX* 1:13.

114 *ws* 24, p. 635.

115 *ps* 56, p. 2030.

116 For example, the Ch'ang-sun were not an effective political force under the rulers of Northern Ch'i. They served Northern Chou in northwestern China and then the Sui/T'ang leadership after reunification of the empire.

THE TRANSLATION

Wei-Shu 1 (WS 1)

WS 1:1

In antiquity, the Yellow Emperor had twenty-five sons. Those who stayed at home became the ancestors of the Chinese people; those who went abroad scattered in the wilderness. The youngest son, Ch'ang-i, was given the northern lands containing Ta Hsien-pi Mountain. From this he took his name.¹ For generations, his descendants were made chieftains in charge of the lands to the north of Yu-tu,² where, in the vast wilderness, herding and hunting formed the basis of life. The customs were pure and unsophisticated; the culture plain and simple. The people were without any written script, and contracts were sealed by notching a piece of wood. Details of both the recent and remote past were passed down by word of mouth just as historical records are in China.³ Since the Yellow Emperor ruled through the virtue of 'earth', and northerners call the earth 'T'o' and the ruler 'Pa', the people took the name 'T'o-pa'.⁴

WS 1:2

[Ch'ang-i's descendant, T'o-pa] Shih-chün,^a served the court during Yao's time and drove the female drought demon back beyond the Jo River. The people trusted him and Emperor Shun was pleased. He made him 'Field-Granddad' (Ancestor of the Fields). Then came the Three Dynasties and the Ch'in/Han era when the Hsi-yü, Shan-jung, Hsien-yün, and dependent tribes of the Hsiung-nu ravaged the frontiers of the Middle Kingdom. At that time, Shih-chün^a's descendants had no contact with China and there are no records about them.⁶

WS 1:3

Sixty-seven generations passed down to the time of Emperor Ch'eng whose taboo name was Mao. He was intelligent, warlike, resourceful, and widely esteemed. Thirty-six states were brought under his control, and the ninety-nine tribes in the north submitted in awe. There were none who dared disobey.⁷

ws 1:4

He passed away, and Emperor Chieh, whose taboo name was Tai, came to the throne. He passed away and Emperor Chuang, whose taboo name was Kuan, came to the throne. He passed away, and Emperor Ming, whose taboo name was Lou, came to the throne. He passed away, and Emperor An, whose taboo name was Yüeh, came to the throne. He passed away, and Emperor Hsüan, whose taboo name was T'ui-yin came to the throne.

ws 1:5

[T'o-pa] T'ui-yin moved south to a great lake which had a circumference of over 1,000 li. The soil there was dark and sodden. He planned to move further south but died.⁸

ws 1:6

Then Emperor Ching, whose taboo name was Li, came to the throne. He died, and Emperor Yüan, whose taboo name was Ssü, came to the throne. He died, and Emperor Ho, whose taboo name was Ssü^a, came to the throne. He died, and Emperor Ting, whose taboo name was Chi, came to the throne. He died, and Emperor Hsi, whose taboo name was Kai, came to the throne. He died and Emperor Wei, whose taboo name was K'uai, came to the throne. He died and Emperor Hsien, whose taboo name was Lin, came to the throne. During his time, a spirit spoke to the people: 'This is a barbarous and barren land. You cannot build a capital here. Move once more'. As the emperor was old and weak at that time, he handed the throne to his son, Emperor Sheng, whose taboo name was Chi-fen. Emperor Hsien ordered Chi-fen to move south. They moved into a hilly terrain with valleys, gorges, natural defences and passes. There they wanted to settle, but an animal spirit appeared. It was shaped like a horse and bellowed like an ox. It led them south for several years and then disappeared.

ws 1:7

Originally, the T'o-pa had lived in Hsiung-nu territory. Many had deserted emperors Hsüan and Hsien during the moves south. Both men were called 'T'ui-yin' which means *Tsuan-yen*, 'The Virtue of a Penetrating Auger'.

ws 1:8

Once, when Emperor Sheng [Chi-fen] was leading several thousand horsemen out into the hills and marshes to hunt, he caught sight of a wagon descending from the sky. As it approached, he saw it contained a beautiful woman flanked by numerous heavenly bodyguards. The emperor was amazed and questioned her. She said: 'I am the daughter of Heaven and I have been ordered to mate with you'. And so, they spent the night together. In the morning she asked permission to return to Heaven, saying: 'Next year at the same time we will meet here again'. Then she left, dispersing like the wind and rain. Next year, the emperor returned to that place to hunt and met her again. The daughter of Heaven had given birth to a boy which she gave to the emperor, saying: 'He is the ruler's son. Look after him well. His descendants will inherit and rule the world'. Then she left. That child was Emperor Shih-tsu [Li-wei]. At that time it was said: 'Emperor Chi-fen has no in-laws, Emperor Li-wei has no maternal relatives'.⁹

ws 1:9

When Emperor Chi-fen died, Emperor Shih-tsu, whose taboo name was Li-wei, came to the throne. As soon as he was born, Li-wei had shown himself brave and shrewd. The first year of his reign was a *keng-tzū* year [A.D. 220].

ws 1:10

Before this, the western tribes had attacked his people and they had fled to the protection of Tou Pin, the leader of the Mo-lu-hui people.¹⁰ Shih-tsu was brave and calculating. No-one could outwit him. He and Tou Pin attacked the western tribes. Their armies were defeated and their horses lost. Tou Pin had to flee on foot, so Emperor Shih-tsu sent someone to give him one of the fast horses he rode himself. When Tou Pin had made his way home he ordered his tribesmen to seek out and reward the person who had saved him. Emperor Shih-tsu remained silent. After a long time, Tou Pin realized who his benefactor was and felt greatly alarmed. He wanted to divide his kingdom in half and share it with the emperor. Shih-tsu would not hear of it. Then Tou Pin sent him his beloved daughter.¹¹

ws 1:11

Tou Pin still thought about showing his gratitude and insistently enquired about the emperor's wishes. Shih-tsu asked him to settle his people to the north of Ch'ang-ch'uan.¹² Tou Pin obeyed at once. Ten or more years later, when the two peoples had grown close together, Tou Pin's tribesmen offered their allegiance to the T'o-pa.

ws 1:12

In the emperor's twenty-ninth year [248], Tou Pin died. On his death-bed, he warned his two sons to serve Shih-tsu faithfully. His sons did not listen and plotted rebellion. When Shih-tsu ordered their execution, the people and nobles all submitted to him readily. In all, more than two hundred thousand mounted warriors submitted to the T'o-pa.

ws 1:13

In his thirty-ninth year [258], he moved to Sheng-lo in Ting-hsiang Commandery.¹³ In summer, during the fourth month [May/June], he sacrificed to Heaven and all the tribal leaders came to pay homage. Only the nobles of the Pai stood aloof and did not attend. Thereupon, they were hunted down and exterminated.¹⁴ The emperor's name was respected far and wide, and everyone was cowed by him. Shih-tsu addressed the nobles, saying: 'For many generations the followers of the Hsiung-nu and T'a-tun¹⁵ have been immoral and greedy, attacking the people of the border and carrying them off. Although they take many prisoners, it is never sufficient to replenish the numbers killed or wounded and thus they have to continue their raids. The common people suffer miserably. In the long run, this is not the way to behave'. And so he established friendly relations with Wei.

ws 1:14

In the forty-second year [261], the emperor sent his son, Emperor Wen, to Wei to study the local customs. That was in the second year of *ching-yüan* of Wei.¹⁶

ws 1:15

Emperor Wen's taboo name was Sha-no-han. Because he was heir to the state, he stayed at Lo-yang and was given rank as official guest of Wei. There was a continuous stream of visits and trading contacts at this time, and in one year, the people of Wei presented the T'o-pa with as much as ten thousand pieces of gold cloth and silks.

ws 1:16

Shih-tsu was sincere and trustworthy in his relations with other states. He did not oppress them for temporary gain. He was forgiving and just, and respected far and wide. When the Chin [dynasty of the Ssū-ma family] succeeded Wei [265], close and friendly relations were maintained.

ws 1:17

Because Shih-tsu was very old, the emperor [Sha-mo-han] sought to return home. Emperor Wu of Chin prepared an escort and sent him off with full honours. In the forty-eighth year [267], Emperor Wen returned to the T'o-pa.

ws 1:18

In the fifty-sixth year [275], he travelled once more to Chin, and in the winter of that year, he again returned home. Chin gave him brocade, cashmere, silks, variagated silks and cloth, silk floss, and pongee. These sumptuous goods were packed up in great quantities and sent off in one hundred ox-drawn carts.¹⁷

ws 1:19

When he got to Ping Province,¹⁸ Wei Kuan, who held the post of General-in-the-north under Chin,¹⁹ was afraid that such a brave and remarkable character would later make trouble for Chin. So he secretly sent word to the Chin emperor asking permission to detain him. The Chin emperor did not accept his argument and refused the request. Wei Kuan then petitioned the emperor [Li-wei], bribing the T'o-pa nobility at court with gold and brocade to alienate him from the emperor's affections. After this, the Chin emperor agreed to the proposal and Sha-mo-han was detained. Then the dignitaries and foreign nobles at [the T'o-pa] court who had achieved this received presents from Wei Kuan.

ws 1:20

In Shih-tsu's fifty-eighth year [277], the emperor was released. When Shih-tsu heard that he was coming home, he was overjoyed and sent all the nobles out to Yin-kuan²⁰ to meet him.

ws 1:21

While they were drunk, Emperor Wen [Sha-mo-han] looked up and saw some birds flying overhead. He said to the nobles: 'I shall bring them down for you'. He took up his crossbow and let fly. A bird fell to each bolt. At that time, the T'o-pa did not have the crossbow. Everyone was afraid. They said to one another: 'The heir-apparent's manners and clothing are those of the Chinese, as is this remarkable device. If he governs the state, the old customs will change and our wishes will be ignored. It would be better if the state remained in our hands so that the native habits [of the T'o-pa people] may remain pure and unsullied'. Everyone thought in this way.

ws 1:22

Since his conduct set him apart from others, a plot was hatched to kill him. The conspirators returned home ahead of the emperor, and when Shih-tsu asked: 'What changes have you observed in my son since he left our land?' They all replied: 'The heir-apparent's talents and skills are quite extraordinary. He can draw an empty bow and bring down birds in flight. This strange magical device of the Chin people may bring trouble to the state and misery to our people. We wish you to look into the matter'.

ws 1:23

Since the emperor [Sha-mo-han] had been in China, the favour shown to the other sons had increased day by day. Shih-tsu was more than 100 years old, and easily misled. When he heard what the nobles had to say, he began to have doubts about his son. He said: 'We cannot allow this, he must be done away with'. So the nobles hurriedly rode out to the southern passes and deceitfully killed the emperor [Sha-mo-han]. Then Shih-tsu regretted his words.²¹

ws 1:24

Emperor Wen [Sha-mo-han] had been eight feet tall,²² brave, handsome, and strong. When he was at Chin, many men of quality had been friendly with him. He was praised as a trustworthy and respectable man. Later, he was given a posthumous title.

ws 1:25

That same year, Shih-tsu became unwell. The Wu-huan prince, K'u-hsien, became close to him and very influential. Before this, he had accepted presents from Wei Kuan [ws 1:19]. He therefore sought to make trouble amongst the tribes. At this time, therefore, he made a show of grinding a battle-axe inside the courtyard, and when the nobles asked the reason, he replied: 'The emperor is resentful because your slander persuaded him to kill the heir-apparent. He is going to take the eldest son from each of you nobles, and kill him'. They believed him and fled. A little later, Shih-tsu died. He had ruled for fifty-eight years and was aged 104 *sui*. When T'ai-tsu [Kuei] came to the throne [398], he honoured him with the temple-name, Shih-tsu.

ws 1:26

Emperor Chang, whose taboo name was Hsi-lu, came to the throne. He was one of Shih-tsu's sons. At this time, the various hordes had scattered and rebelled, and the state was in confusion. He ruled for nine years and passed away.

ws 1:27

Emperor P'ing, whose taboo name was Cho, came to the throne [286]. He was Emperor Chang's youngest brother. Because he was brave and warlike, had wisdom and foresight, and was majestic and virtuous, he was recommended for the throne. *In his seventh year [293], the chieftain of the Hsiung-nu Yü-wen tribe, Mo-hui^a, was killed by a subordinate. His younger brother, P'u-po was made leader. The emperor gave one of his daughters to [Yü-wen] P'u-po's son, Ch'iu-pu-chin.²³ [T'o-pa] Cho ruled seven years and passed away [293].*

ws 1:28

Emperor Ssu, whose taboo name was Fu, came to the throne. He was the youngest son of Emperor Wen [Sha-mo-han].²⁴ He was intelligent, had foresight, and was respected by his older relatives. His rule was exalted, liberal, and simple. The common people were submissive. He ruled for one year before passing away [294].

ws 1:29

Emperor Chao, whose taboo name was Lu-kuan, came to the throne. He was a son of Shih-tsu [Li-wei]. He divided the state into three parts. The emperor himself [Lu-kuan] settled in the eastern section to the north of Shang-ku²⁵ and west of Ju-yuan.²⁶ On the east, his territory bordered on that of the Yü-wen. He gave one portion of the realm to Emperor Huan, the eldest son of Emperor Wen [Sha-mo-han]. His taboo name was I-i and his territory stretched to the north of Ts'an-ho-p'o in Tai Commandery.²⁷ He gave the third portion of the realm to Emperor Huan's younger brother, Emperor Mu, whose taboo name was I-lu. He settled in the old city of Sheng-lo in Ting-hsiang.²⁸

ws 1:30

Since Shih-tsu's time, relations with Chin had been good. The people were at peace, and the land was plentiful. The tribe boasted over four hundred thousand armed horsemen.

ws 1:31

In that same year [294/5], Emperor Mu began to move out of Ping Province. He shifted his tribes north to Yün-chung, Wu-yüan, and Shuo-fang, crossing the Yellow River and attacking the Hsiung-nu in the west and the Wu-huan tribes.²⁹ Eighty li to the north of Hsing-ch'eng, along the line of the great wall, he set up stone stele on each road to mark his border with Chin.³⁰

ws 1:32

In the second year [296], Emperor Wen [Sha-mo-han] and his empress née Feng were reburied. Previously, Emperor Ssü had been going to do this, but he had died. Now his plan was put into effect. Ssü-ma Ying, the Chin Prince of Ch'eng-tu, sent his Delegate Commissioner, T'ien Ssü. Ssü-ma Yung, the Prince of Ho-chien, sent his Minister of Military Affairs, Chin Li, and Ssü-ma T'eng, the Inspector of Ping Province, sent his Archivist, Liang T'ien, to attend the burial ceremony. Two hundred thousand people came from near and far.³¹

WS 1:33

In the third year [297], Emperor Huan [I-i] travelled throughout the desert to the north. From there, he plundered the states in the west.

WS 1:34

*In the fourth year [298], Pei-chin, the leader of the Wei-nai-lou tribe in the east, settled in Liao-tung.*³¹

WS 1:35

In the fifth year [299], Yü-wen Mo-hui's³² son, Sun-ni-yen, offered tribute. The emperor [Lu-kuan] was pleased by his sincerity and gave him his eldest daughter in marriage.

WS 1:36

In the seventh year [301], Emperor Huan [I-i] came back from his western campaigns. More than twenty states had submitted to him. He had been away five years.

WS 1:37

In the tenth year [304], Emperor Hui of Chin was detained as a prisoner at Yeh³⁴ by Ssü-ma Ying, the Prince of Ch'eng-tu. Liu Yüan, the Hsiung-nu leader, rebelled at Li-shih and called himself King of Han.³⁵ Ssü-ma T'eng, the Inspector of Ping Province, came to beg help from the T'o-pa, and Emperor Huan [I-i], putting himself at the head of one hundred thousand horsemen, levied a great army to help him. Liu Yüan's forces were defeated in Hsi-ho and Shang-tang.³⁶ When Emperor Hui was returned to Lo-yang, Ssü-ma T'eng dismissed the troops. Emperor Huan [I-i] and Ssü-ma T'eng swore an oath of allegiance on the eastern bank of the Fen, and returned home. Deputy Chancellors Wei Hsiung and Tuan Fan were then sent to pile up stones as markers on the western side of Ts'an-ho-p'o and to set up a stone inscription to record the event.

WS 1:38

In the eleventh year [305], Liu Yüan attacked Ssu-ma T'eng. T'eng again asked for soldiers. Emperor Huan [I-i] gave him several thousand light cavalry. Liu Yüan's general, Ch'i-wu T'un, was killed and Liu Yüan fled south to P'u-tzū.³⁷ The Chin government bestowed the title of Great Shan-yü on Emperor Huan and awarded him a gold seal and purple ribbon.

ws 1:39

That year [305], Emperor Huan [T'o-pa I-i] died. He was a brave and awesome figure. No horse could carry him, and he usually travelled in a wagon drawn by great oxen with horns weighing one *shih*. Once, when the emperor had suffered witchcraft poisoning, he had vomited, and at that spot, an elm tree grew up. The land at Ts'an-ho-p'o had no elms and so people marvelled at this and passed down the story.³⁸ In all, the emperor ruled eleven years. Later [306], Wei Ts'ao, the Marquis of Ting-hsiang, set up a stone inscription at Ta-han-ch'eng to record his virtues.³⁹ He was succeeded by his son, P'u-ken.

ws 1:40

*In the twelfth year [306], the Tsung leader, Li Hsiung, falsely assumed the title Emperor of Shu and called his dynasty Great Ch'eng.*⁴⁰

ws 1:41

In the thirteenth year [307], Emperor Chao died. Mu-jung Hui, the Great Shan-yü of the T'u-ho tribes, sent tribute.⁴¹ *That year, Shih Le, a Chieh [Hsiung-nu], made a treasonous pact with Chi Sang against Chin.*⁴²

ws 1:42

Emperor Mu was handsome and brave. His valour and strategy was exceeded by no-one. After Emperor Chao died, he reunited the three portions of the realm.

ws 1:43

*In the first year of unification [308], Liu Yüan appropriated the title of emperor and called his dynasty Great Han.*⁴³

ws 1:44

In the third year [310], Liu K'un, the Chin Inspector of Ping Province, sent envoys to the T'o-pa with his son, Tsun, as a hostage. The emperor was pleased and richly rewarded and feted him.⁴⁴

ws 1:45

The leaders of the Pai rebelled and invaded Hsi-ho [310].⁴⁵ T'ieh-fu Liu Hu joined them and raised the standard of revolt at Yen-men.⁴⁶ He attacked Liu K'un in Hsin-hsing⁴⁷ and Yen-men commanderies. Liu K'un went to the T'o-pa for help and the emperor sent his brother's son, Emperor P'ing-wen [Yü-lü], at the head of twenty-thousand armed horsemen. First the Pai suffered a great defeat, and then Liu Hu's people were attacked and butchered. Hu gathered the survivors and fled west across the Yellow River. They went into hiding at Shuo-fang. Emperor Hui of Chin gave the emperor the title of Great Shan-yü and enfeoffed him as Duke of Tai.

ws 1:46

Because the emperor's place of enfeoffment [Tai] was far away from his own territory, he had no contact with the people there. He asked Liu K'un for the lands to the north of the Chü-chu Pass.⁴⁸ Because Liu K'un depended upon the T'o-pa, he was pleased by the request and moved his people out of the prefectures of Ma-i, Yin-kuan, Lou-fan, Fan-chih, and Kuo to the land south of the pass.⁴⁹ He built a walled town and presented the land - in all, several hundred li stretching from Tai in the east to Hsi-ho and Shuo-fang in the west - to the emperor [I-lu]. The emperor then moved one hundred thousand families into the area.⁵⁰

ws 1:47

Liu K'un asked again for troops to defend Lo-yang. The emperor sent twenty thousand foot and mounted soldiers to help, but Ssü-na Yüeh, the Prince of Tung-hai, sent them back because of famine in Lo-yang.⁵¹ *That year [310], Liu Yüan died and was succeeded by his son, Liu Ts'ung.*⁵²

ws 1:48

In the fourth year [311], Liu K'un's lieutenant, Hsing Yen, rebelled and occupied Hsin-hsing. He asked Liu Ts'ung for assistance. The emperor [I-lu] sent an army to punish him and Liu Ts'ung retreated.⁵³

ws 1:49

In the fifth year [312], Liu K'un asked for troops to punish Liu Ts'ung and Shih Le. Because Liu K'un was loyal and upright, the emperor [I-lu] pitied him and agreed. At that time, Liu Ts'ung had sent his son, Ts'an, to attack Chin-yang.⁵⁴ He had killed Liu K'un's parents and seized the city. Liu K'un came to tell of this calamity and the emperor was greatly angered. He sent his eldest son, Liu-hsiu, and P'u-ken, son of [the late] Emperor Huan [I-i], to lead a vanguard with Wei Hsiung, Fan Pan, Chi Tan and others, while he gathered a great army of two hundred thousand men to follow.⁵⁵ Liu Ts'an was frightened. He set fire to his baggage wagons and abandoned the area in an abrupt retreat. He was pursued by horsemen, and his generals, Liu Ju, Liu Feng, Chien Ling, Chang P'ing and Hsing Yen were killed. The occupants of several hundred villages were pacified. Liu K'un came to give thanks and the emperor treated him with respect. Liu K'un repeatedly insisted that the emperor's armies enter the city, but the emperor replied: 'We did not arrive in time to save your parents. We feel deeply ashamed. The borders of the province are now secure, but We have come a long way and our men and horses are worn out. Yet We must await the final battle. The rebels are not yet exhausted'. He presented Liu K'un with horses, oxen, and sheep - more than a thousand head of each - with one hundred ox-carts. Then he returned home, leaving behind a well-armed detachment of able-bodied men.

ws 1:50

*That year, Ssü-ma Yeh, the Prince of Ch'in, who was a son of Emperor Huai's elder brother, was made Emperor-designate by Chia P'i the Inspector of Yung Province and Yen Ting Grand Administrator of Ching-chao. This was after Emperor Huai had been seized by Liu Ts'ung. Ch'ang-an was made the temporary capital.*⁵⁶

ws 1:51

The emperor [I-lu] again issued a declaration of war against the Hsiung-nu. He and Liu K'un raised a large army. Liu K'un was given authority by the acting court at Ch'ang-an and the armies were divided

between the emperor, who was to lead one hundred thousand horsemen south through the Chien Pass at Hsi-ho, and Liu K'un, who was to lead the Chin troops east from P'u-fan.⁵⁷ They were to meet at P'ing-yang⁵⁸ where they would feast on Liu Ts'ung's supplies of grain and restore the Chin emperor. The plan did not eventuate.⁵⁹

ws 1:52

In the sixth year [313], the city of Sheng-lo became the northern capital. The old city of P'ing-ch'eng was restored and made the southern capital.⁶⁰ The emperor [I-lu] climbed the western hills in P'ing-ch'eng and looked over the aspect of the land. Then he moved one hundred li to the south and built New P'ing-ch'eng on the Huang-kua Hill on the northern bank of the Lei River.⁶¹ The Chin called it 'Lesser P'ing-ch'eng'. The emperor sent his eldest son, T'o-pa Liu-hsiu, to guard it and govern the southern part of his realm.

ws 1:53

In the seventh year [314], the emperor [I-lu] again arranged to meet Liu K'un at P'ing-yang. In the meantime, Shih Le had captured Wang Chün.⁶² In the T'o-pa state there were more than ten thousand families from various Hsiung-nu groups. Many came from Shih Le's tribe. When they heard that he had conquered Yu Province,⁶³ they planned to rebel and join up with him. This became known and they were executed. However, the plan to punish Liu Ts'ung was thwarted.

ws 1:54

In the eighth year [315], Emperor Min promoted the emperor [I-lu] to King of Tai and set up the appropriate offices in the commanderies of Tai and Ch'ang-shan.⁶⁴ The emperor [I-lu] was angry with Liu Ts'ung and Shih Le for causing trouble. He planned to pacify them.⁶⁵

ws 1:55

Before this, customs in Tai had been relaxed and simple, and the people knew no restrictions. Now, the laws became comprehensive and inflexible, and many tribespeople were found guilty of transgressing the law. All were put to death with their clans. Sometimes families on their way to execution would pass in succession along the road, and

if asked what had happened, would tell of their guilt and necessary punishment. Such was their awe of the government.

ws 1:56

In the ninth year [316], the emperor [I-lu] summoned [his son T'o-pa] Liu-Hsiu, but he did not come to court. The emperor was angry. He attempted to punish him and failed. He was then forced to go into hiding in disguise among the common people. Then he died. [T'o-pa] P'u-ken had been guarding the frontiers at this time. He heard about the trouble, came back, and attacked and destroyed Liu-hsiu. Wei Hsiung and Chi Tan, with more than three hundred Chin and Wu-huan families, fled back to Ping Province with Liu Tsun.

ws 1:57

P'u-ken ruled a little over a month and then passed away. His son, no more than an infant, was put upon the throne by Emperor Huan's empress. That winter, the child died. That same year, Li Hsiung sent tribute.

ws 1:58

Emperor P'ing-wen came to the throne. His taboo name was Yü-lü and he was a son of Emperor Ssü [T'o-pa Fu]. He was handsome and strong, imposing and calculating. The first year of his rule was a *ting-ch'ou* year [317].

ws 1:59

In the second year [318], Liu Hu occupied Shuo-fang and harassed the western tribes. The emperor counter-attacked and inflicted a heavy defeat on him. He fled alone on horse-back. His cousin, Liu Lu-ku, led his tribespeople in submission and the emperor gave him a daughter in marriage. T'o-pa territory now stretched from the former territory of the Wu-sun in the west⁶⁶ to the western sector of Wu-chi,⁶⁷ with one million armed horsemen.

ws 1:60

When Liu Ts'ung died, his son, Liu Ts'an took over. He was then murdered by his general, Chin Chun, and a son of Liu Yüan's third cousin, whose name was Yao, came to power. When the emperor [Yü-lü] heard that Liu Yao had murdered Emperor Min of Chin, he said: 'Now that the Great Plain is without a ruler, we must rely on Heaven to

assist us'. Liu Yao sent an envoy asking for peace, but the emperor refused to receive him.⁶⁸ *That year, Ssŭ-ma Jui usurped the imperial title in Chiang-nan.*⁶⁹

ws 1:61

In the third year [319], Shih Le called himself King of Chao and sent envoys seeking a peaceful brotherhood between the two states. The emperor executed the envoys and thus severed diplomatic relations with Chao. In the fourth year [320], the self-elected Inspector of Liang Province, Chang Mao, sent tribute.⁷⁰

ws 1:62

In the fifth year [321], the usurper Ssŭ-ma Jui sent the envoy, Han Ch'ang, to add to the emperor's titles. The emperor severed relations with him. He assembled the troops to discuss the military situation and the prospect of pacifying China. Because he was loved by his people, the empress of [the late] Emperor Huan [T'o-pa I-i] was afraid that her own sons would be disadvantaged. She therefore had the emperor murdered along with several score nobles. At the beginning of the *t'ien-hsing* era [398], he was given the title T'ai-tsu. Emperor Huai, whose taboo name was Ho-ju, came to the throne. He was Emperor Huan's middle son. He made Yü-lü's fifth year his first year [321], but did not govern in his own right. His mother, the empress-dowager, attended court. She sent an envoy to Shih Le to establish peace between the two states. People of that time called him the envoy from the Woman's Country.⁷¹

ws 1:63

*In the second year [322], Ssŭ-ma Jui died and his son Shao came to the throne.*⁷² In the fourth year [324], the emperor [Ho-ju] began to govern in person. Because the tribespeople were not yet completely submissive, he built a walled town on Tung Mu-ken Mountain and established his capital there.⁷³ *That year, Chang Mao died. Chang Chün, a son of his elder brother Chang Shih, succeeded him. He sent envoys with tribute.*

WS 1:64

In the fifth year [325], the emperor [Ho-ju] died. *That same year Ssü-ma Shao also died and was succeeded by his son Ssü-ma Yen.*

WS 1:65

Emperor Yang, whose taboo name was Ko-na, came to the throne. He was the younger brother of Emperor Hui [Ho-ju], and he made Hui's fifth year his first year [325]. In the third year [327], Shih Le sent Shih Hu at the head of five thousand horsemen to plunder the border tribes. The emperor [Ko-na] tried unsuccessfully to block him at the Chu-chu Pass, but was forced to retreat to Ta-ning.⁷⁴

WS 1:66

At that time, Emperor Lieh [I-huai] lived with his maternal relatives, the Ho-lan.⁷⁵ Emperor Yang [Ko-na] sent a messenger asking for him. Ai-t'ou, the Ho-lan leader, protected him and rejected the request. Emperor Yang was angry and ordered the Yü-wen to attack Ho-lan Ai-t'ou. The Yü-wen were defeated and the emperor [Ko-na] had to return to Ta-ning. *In the fourth year [328/9], Shih Le captured Liu Yao.*⁷⁶

WS 1:67

In the fifth year [329], the emperor fled to the Yü-wen. The Ho-lan and the nobles of other tribes combined to put Emperor Lieh, whose taboo name was I-huai, on the throne. He was the eldest son of Emperor P'ing-wen [Yü-liü], and he made Emperor Yang's fifth year his first year. Shih Le sent envoys to ask for a peace treaty, and the emperor sent his younger brother, Emperor Chao-ch'eng [Shih-i-chien], to Hsiang-kuo. More than five thousand families accompanied him.⁷⁷

WS 1:68

*In the second year [330], Shih Le falsely assumed the imperial title, calling himself King of Great Chao. In the fifth year [333], Shih Le died. He was succeeded by his son, Ta-ya.*⁷⁸ *Mu-jung Hui died and was succeeded by his son, Yüan-chen.*⁷⁹ *In the sixth year [334], Shih Hu dethroned Ta-ya and usurped the throne. Li Hsiung died and was succeeded by his nephew Pan. Li Hsiung's son Ch'i killed Pan and set himself up as ruler.*⁸⁰

ws 1:69

In the seventh year [335], Ho-lan Ai-t'ou exceeded his powers as minister. He was summoned and executed. The people of the state turned against Emperor Lieh [I-huai], and Emperor Yang [Ko-na] returned from the Yü-wen and was restored to the throne. He made I-huai's seventh year his first year. Emperor Lieh [I-huai] went to live in Yeh, where Shih Hu gave him a house, with concubines, female slaves, and various other things.⁸¹

ws 1:70

In the third year [337], Shih Hu sent his general, Li Mu, at the head of five thousand horsemen to escort Emperor Lieh [I-huai] back to Ta-ning. More than six thousand of the tribespeople rebelled against Emperor Yang [Ko-na] and he fled to the Mu-jung. Emperor Lieh came back to power and made Emperor Yang's third year his first.⁸² He built New Sheng-lo, ten *li* to the southeast of the old city, and died after one year [338].

ws 1:71

Emperor Chao-ch'eng, whose taboo name was Shih-i-chien, came to the throne. He was a son of Emperor P'ing-wen [Yü-liü]. When he was born, he was remarkably strong. He was kind and liberal. Whether happy or angry, his face would remain passive. He was eight feet tall, had a prominent nose, and an imperial countenance. When standing up, his hair swept the ground; when sleeping, his nipples hung down to the mat.⁸³ When Emperor Lieh [I-huai] was dying, he issued an order saying: 'Shih-i-chien must be made ruler. Only he can bring peace to the land'. When Emperor Lieh died, Shih-i-chien's brother, T'o-pa Ku, personally went to Yeh to bring him back as ruler. Details of this are given in Ku's biography.⁸⁴ In the eleventh month [Dec 338], the emperor was enthroned at a place to the north of Fan-chih. He was nineteen *sui* and proclaimed his reign-period *chien-kuo* [establishing state]. That year, Li Hsiung's first cousin, Shou, killed Ch'i and usurped the throne. He called his dynasty Han.⁸⁵

ws 1:72

In the second year [339], plans were made to establish the offices and delegate authority to the officials.⁸⁶ The state stretched from the Hui-mo in the east to the P'o-lo-na in the west and everyone was truly submissive.⁸⁷ In summer, the fifth month [June/July 339], the court and nobles assembled at Ts'an-ho-p'o to discuss whether to fix the capital at Lei-yüan Ch'uan.⁸⁸ Days passed and no decision was made. Finally the empress-dowager's advice was accepted and the plan abandoned. Her words are to be found in the biographies of empresses.⁸⁹ Mu-jung Yüan-chen's sister was accepted as empress.

ws 1:73

In the third year [340], the capital was moved to the palace at Sheng-lo in Yün-chung. In autumn, the ninth month of the fourth year [Oct 341], Sheng-lo City was built eight li to the south of the old city. The empress née Mu-jung died. In winter, the tenth month [Nov 341], Liu Hu attacked the western border. The emperor sent out an army and Liu Hu suffered a great defeat, just managing to escape with his life. When he died, he was succeeded by his son, Liu Wu-huan, who came to give his allegiance. The emperor gave him a daughter in marriage.⁹⁰ In the twelfth month [Jan/Feb 342], Mu-jung Yüan-chen sent tribute and offered one of his clanswomen.

ws 1:74

In summer, the fifth month of the fifth year [June/July 342], the emperor went to Ts'an-ho-p'o. In autumn, on the seventh day of the seventh month [24 Aug 342], all the tribes gathered together to prepare the altars and enclosures and to discuss military matters. This henceforth became their custom. In the eighth month [Sept/Oct], the emperor returned to Yün-chung. *In autumn of that year, Ssü-ma Yen died and was succeeded by his younger brother Yüeh.*

ws 1:75

In autumn, the eighth month of the sixth year, [Sept 343], Mu-jung Yüan-chen sent envoys asking to present his daughter.⁹¹ *That year, Li Shou died and was succeeded by his son Li Shih.* He sent tribute.

ws 1:76

In spring, the second month of the seventh year [March 344], the noble Ch'ang-sun Chih was sent to the border to welcome Mu-jung Yüan-chen's daughter as empress.⁹² In summer, the sixth month [July], the empress arrived from Ho-lung.⁹³ In autumn, the seventh month [Aug], Mu-jung Yüan-chen sent envoys requesting a reciprocal betrothment. The emperor agreed, and in the ninth month [Oct/Nov] sent him a daughter of Emperor Lieh.

ws 1:77

*That year, Ssü-ma Yüeh died and was succeeded by his son Tan. In the eighth year [345], Mu-jung Yüan-chen sent tribute. That same year, Chang Chün unlawfully named himself King of Liang.*⁹⁴

ws 1:78

In the ninth year [346], Shih Hu sent tribute. *That year, Chang Chün died and was succeeded by his son Chung-hua. In the tenth year [347], envoys were sent to Yeh to take the covenant.*⁹⁵ *That year, Ssü-ma Tan captured Li Shih.*⁹⁶ *Chang Chung-hua sent tribute. In the eleventh year [348], Mu-jung Yüan-chen died and was succeeded by his son Chün.*⁹⁷ *In the twelfth year [349], the emperor went on a western tour, turning back at the Yellow River. That year, Shih Hu died. His son Shih Shih succeeded him and was then killed by his elder brother, Tsun, who came to the throne and was killed by his elder brother, Chien. In the thirteenth year [350], Shih Chien was killed by Jan Min, who usurped the throne.*⁹⁸

ws 1:79

In the fourteenth year [351], the emperor said: 'The influence of the Shih family is on the wane. Jan Min is a disaster. The provinces of the plain are in distress and confusion. No-one there can help the people. I shall personally lead the six armies to settle the empire'. Then he ordered each tribe to gather the troops under its command and prepare for the great undertaking. The nobles, however, protested saying: 'At present the provinces of the great plain are in chaos. It is right that they should be taken. But if strong men arise, we shall not be able to subdue the area quickly. Then things will drag on for years and there will be no advantage in it for us, only suffering'. So the emperor desisted.

ws 1:80

That year [351], the Ti leader, Fu Chien^a, appropriated the imperial title and called his dynasty Great Ch'in.⁹⁹ In the fifteenth year [352], Mu-jung Chün vanquished Jan Min and took the imperial title. In the sixteenth year [353], Mu-jung Chün sent tribute. That year, Chang Chung-hua died and was succeeded by his son, Yao-ling. Chang Tso, Chung-hua's elder brother by a concubine, killed him and set himself on the throne, taking the title, Duke of Liang.¹⁰⁰

ws 1:81

In the seventeenth year [354], envoys were sent to Mu-jung Chün. Chang Tso took the title King of Liang. He set up the appropriate offices and sent envoys with tribute.

ws 1:82

In the eighteenth year [355], the empress-dowager née Wang died. That year, Fu Chien^a died and was succeeded by his son, Fu Sheng.¹⁰¹ The Ch'iang leader, Yao Hsiang, began to style himself Generalissimo and Great Khan.¹⁰² Chang Kuan and Sung Hun killed Chang Tso and set Chang Chung-hua's youngest son, Chang Hsüan-ching, on the throne. He was called King of Liang.¹⁰³

ws 1:83

In spring, the first month of the nineteenth year [Feb/March 356], Liu Wu-huan died and was succeeded by his younger brother, Liu O-t'ou, who planned to rebel against the emperor. In the second month [March/April], the emperor toured the west. When he got to the Yellow River, he sent messengers to summon Liu O-t'ou. The latter promptly obeyed.¹⁰⁴ In winter, Mu-jung Chün came seeking a marriage alliance. The emperor agreed.

ws 1:84

In summer, the fifth month of the twentieth year [June 357], Mu-jung Chün courteously presented gifts. That year, Fu Chien killed Fu Sheng and usurped the throne. Yao Hsiang was killed by Fu Mei.¹⁰⁵

ws 1:85

In the twenty-first year [358], many of Liu O-t'ou's people rebelled and he fled east in fear of his life. When he was half-way across the Yellow River, the ice collapsed. Later his people turned to his nephew, Liu Hsi-wu-ch'i. Before this, when Liu O-t'ou had rebelled against the T'o-pa, Liu Hsi-wu-ch'i and his twelve brothers had been in attendance at the T'o-pa court. They were all sent home in the hope that the group would become divided through mutual hostility.¹⁰⁶ Then Liu Hsi-wu-ch'i had gained the trust of his people, and Liu O-t'ou, now impoverished, had to turn back to the emperor. The latter treated him just as before.

ws 1:86

In spring of the twenty-second year [359], the emperor went on an eastern tour as far as the Sang-kan Ch'uan.¹⁰⁷ In the third month [April/May], Mu-jung Chun sent tribute. In summer, the fourth month [May/June], the emperor returned to Yün-chung. Liu Hsi-wu-ch'i died and his younger brother Wei-ch'en came to power. In autumn, the eighth month [Sept], Liu Wei-ch'en sent his son with tribute to the court.¹⁰⁸

ws 1:87

In summer, the sixth month of the twenty-third year [July 360], the empress née Mu-jung died. In autumn, the seventh month [Aug], Liu Wei-ch'en arrived to attend the funeral. He sought a marriage alliance. The emperor agreed. That year, Mu-jung Chün died and was succeeded by his son Wei, who sent envoys with presents for the funeral.

ws 1:88

In spring of the twenty-fourth year [361], Liu Wei-ch'en again sent envoys requesting a marriage alliance.¹⁰⁹ That year, Ssü-ma Tan died and Ssü-ma Ch'ien-ling, a son of Ssü-ma Yen, came to the throne.

ws 1:89

In the twenty-fifth year [362], the emperor went on a southern tour as far as the Chün-tzū Ford.¹¹⁰ In winter, the tenth month [Nov], he visited Tai. In the eleventh month [Dec], Mu-jung Wei presented his daughter as a candidate for the harem.¹¹¹

WS 1:90

In winter, the tenth month of the twenty-sixth year [Nov/Dec 363], the emperor attacked and defeated the Kao-ch'e.¹¹² He seized ten thousand people and over one million head of cattle, horses, and goats. That same year, Chang T'ien-hsi, a younger brother of Chang Chung-hua, killed Chang Hsüan-ching and put himself on the throne.¹¹³

WS 1:91

In spring of the twenty-seventh year [364], the emperor returned to Yün-chung. In winter, the eleventh month [Dec], he attacked and defeated the Mo-ke people, seizing several million head of cattle, horses and goats.

WS 1:92

In spring, the first month of the twenty-eighth year [Feb 365], Liu Wei-ch'en plotted rebellion and came east across the Yellow River. The emperor punished him and he fled in fear.¹¹⁴ In winter, the twelfth month [Jan 366], Fu Chien sent tribute.¹¹⁵ That year, Ssü-ma Ch'ien-ling died and his younger brother, Ssü-ma I^b, came to power.

WS 1:93

In summer, the fifth month of the twenty-ninth year [July 366], Yen Feng was sent as an envoy to Fu Chien.¹¹⁶

WS 1:94

In winter, the tenth month of the thirtieth year [Nov 367], the emperor attacked Liu Wei-ch'en. At that time, the ice had not yet formed across the Yellow River. The emperor used ropes to hasten the coagulation of the floes, but it was still not strong enough. Then he spread reeds over the top, so that the ice and reeds adhered to each other, and formed a floating bridge. The armies crossed safely and the enemy was caught unawares. Liu Wei-ch'en and his clansmen had gone west. Their tribespeople were rounded up and taken back to the T'o-pa realm. Several hundred thousand people and animals were captured in this way.¹¹⁷

ws 1:95

In spring of the thirty-first year [368], the emperor returned from his western campaign and distributed rewards according to merit.

ws 1:96

In the first month of the thirty-second year [Feb 369], the emperor went south to the Chün-tzŭ Ford. In winter, the tenth month [Nov/Dec], he visited Tai. In winter, the eleventh month of the thirty-third year [Dec 370], he attacked and roundly defeated the Kao-ch'e. *That year, Fu Chien captured Mu-jung Wei.*¹¹⁸

ws 1:97

In spring of the thirty-fourth year [371], Ch'ang-sun Chin planned to rebel and was executed. He had drawn his sword and advanced towards the emperor's chair. The Crown Prince, [posthumous] Emperor Hsien-ming, whose taboo name was Shih, had attacked him and been wounded in the chest. In summer, the fifth month [June 371], he died. Later, he was given a posthumous title.¹¹⁹ In autumn, the seventh month [Aug], the imperial grandson, T'o-pa Kuei, was born and an amnesty declared.¹²⁰ *That year, Huan Wen, one of Ssŭ-ma I^b's officials, dethroned Ssŭ-ma I^b. He was made Duke of Hai-hsi, and Ssŭ-ma Yü, a son of Ssŭ-ma Jui, was put on the throne. In the thirty-fifth year [372], Ssŭ-ma Yü died and was succeeded by his son, Ch'ang-ming.*

ws 1:98

In summer, the fifth month of the thirty-sixth year [June 373], Yen Feng was sent as an envoy to Fu Chien. In the thirty-seventh year [374], the emperor attacked Liu Wei-ch'en who fled south. In the thirty-eighth year [375], Liu Wei-ch'en asked for assistance from Fu Chien.

ws 1:99

In the thirty-ninth year [376], Fu Chien sent his Generalissimo, Fu Lo,¹²¹ at the head of two hundred thousand troops, along with Chu T'ung, Chang Tz'ü, Teng Ch'iang and others, to invade the state at various points and harass the southern border.¹²² In winter, the eleventh month [Dec], the Pai and Tu-ku people attempted to resist the advance and were completely routed. The chieftain of the southern tribes, Liu K'u-jen, fled to Yin-chung. The emperor sent him back with one hundred thousand men to intercept the enemy at the Shih-tzü Range.¹²³ This was unsuccessful. At this time, the emperor was unwell, and none of his officials could take over his responsibilities. So they moved the people to the north of the Yin Ranges.¹²⁴ The various tribes of the Kao-ch'e were rebellious and surrounded and attacked them on all sides. They were forced to come south again. Fu Chien's armies retreated somewhat and they returned to Yun-chung in the twelfth month [Dec/Jan 377]. About twelve days later [Jan 377], the emperor died. He was 57 sui. When T'ai-tsu came to the throne [398], he gave him the title Kao-tsu.¹²⁵

ws 1:100

The emperor had been liberal and generous. He was wise, brave, humane and merciful. In his time, the state had suffered from a shortage of silk. Hsü Ch'ien of Tai had stolen two rolls of silk pongee. Someone saw him and reported it to the emperor. The emperor kept the matter secret, saying to Yen Feng: 'I cannot bear to look at Ch'ien's face. Don't say a word about this. Perhaps Ch'ien will feel ashamed and commit suicide. We can't disgrace an official over matters of money'.¹²⁶

ws 1:101

Once, when the emperor was on a campaign against rebellious tribes in the west, an arrow hit him in the eye. Later, when the rebels had been subdued, the officials seized the person responsible. They took an awl, wanting to butcher him, but the emperor said: 'How can we punish someone for serving his master?' He was released. *That year, Fu Chien vanquished Chang T'ien-hsi.*¹²⁷

*Wei-shu 2 (WS 2)**ws 2:102*

Emperor Tao-wu's taboo name was Kuei. He was Emperor Chao-ch'eng's grandson by a legal wife, and the son of Emperor Hsien-ming [T'o-pa Shih]. His mother was Lady Ho, empress to Emperor Hsien-ming.¹²⁸ When the tribe had been herding near Yün-che,¹²⁹ and had settled down to rest, Lady Ho dreamt that the sun entered her room. She awoke and saw from the window a radiant light shining up to heaven. Suddenly, she conceived.¹³⁰ In the thirty-fourth year of *chien-kuo*, on the seventh day of the seventh month [4 Aug 371], she gave birth to T'ai-tsu [T'o-pa Kuei] at a place to the north of Ts'an-ho-p'o. That night, the light appeared again. Emperor Chao-ch'eng [Shih-i-chien] was very pleased. The officials voiced their congratulations and there was a general amnesty. The event was reported to the ancestors.¹³¹

ws 2:103

His nurses thought him twice as heavy as a normal child. Privately, they considered him rather unusual. The following year, an elm tree sprang up from the place where his mother had buried the placenta. Later there was a complete forest of elms.¹³² He could speak when very young, and a dazzling light shone from his eyes. He had a broad forehead and large ears. Everyone marvelled at him. In his sixth year [376/7], Emperor Chao-ch'eng [Shih-i-chien] died.

ws 2:104

When Fu Chien's generals were sent into the land to oppress the people, they were going to take him south to Ch'ang-an. However, they eventually released him. Details of this are to be found in Yen Feng's biography.¹³³

ws 2:105

When Fu Chien's armies left, the people were scattered and divided. Fu Chien had divided the realm between Liu K'u-jen and Liu Wei-ch'en.¹³⁴ Ch'ang-sun Sung, the noble of the southern hordes, Yüan T'a, and others, led their people south to join Liu K'u-jen.¹³⁵ Thus, the emperor was entrusted to the care of the Tu-ku tribe.¹³⁶

ws 2:106

In the first year [377], Emperor Chao-ch'eng [Shih-i-chien] was buried in the Chin tombs. When they were building his coffin, the catalpa wood suddenly sprouted. It eventually produced a whole forest.¹³⁷

ws 2:107

Although the emperor [T'o-pa Kuei] was young, he stood out clearly from the crowd. Liu K'u-jen often said to his sons: 'The emperor has the aspect of a ruler who can revive the empire and reflect glory upon his ancestors. He will be our leader'.

ws 2:108

In winter, the tenth month of the seventh year [Nov/Dec 383], Fu Chien was defeated south of the Yangtze. That month, Mu-jung Wen and others killed Liu K'u-jen. Liu K'u-jen's younger brother Liu Chuan took over the running of the realm.¹³⁸ *In the eighth year [384], Mu-jung Wei's younger brother Ch'ung usurped the throne. Yao Ch'ang called himself Great Shan-yü and Everlasting King of Ch'in. Mu-jung Ch'ui called himself King of Yen.*

ws 2:109

In the ninth year [385], Liu K'u-jen's son, Liu Hsien, killed Liu Chüan and set himself up as leader. He plotted rebellion [against the emperor, T'o-pa Kuei]. The merchant Wang Pa knew this and pressed the emperor's foot in a crowd as a warning for him to hurry home. At the same time, Liang Liu-chüan a son of Liang Kai-p'en - a former noble¹³⁹ - also knew of Liu Hsien's plan to make himself ruler. He secretly sent Mu Ch'ung¹⁴⁰ to take word to the emperor, who then passed the message on to Ch'ang-sun Chien, Yüan T'a and other former officials of the T'o-pa state. In autumn, the eighth month

(Sept/Oct), the emperor fled to the Ho-lan tribe. That very day, Liu Hsien sent someone to fetch him back. He was unsuccessful. Details of this are to be found in the biography of the empress of Emperor Hsien-ming.¹⁴¹ That year, the Hsien-pi Ch'i-fu Kuo-jen styled himself Great Shan-yü.¹⁴² Fu Chien was killed by Yao Ch'iang, and his son, Fu P'i, set on the throne.¹⁴³

ws 2:110

In the first year of *teng-kuo*, in spring on the *wu-shen* day of the first month [20 Feb 386], the emperor was proclaimed King of Tai. He sacrificed to Heaven, established the reign-title, and held a great gathering at Niu-ch'uan.¹⁴⁴ Ch'ang-sun Sung was appointed Chief of the southern hordes, and Shu-sun P'u-lo Chief of the northern hordes.¹⁴⁵ Ranks and titles were distributed according to merit. In the second month [March/April], the emperor travelled to Sheng-lo in Ting-hsiang. He pacified the people and exhorted them to take up agriculture. In the third month [April/May], Liu Hsien was forced to flee south from Shan-wu¹⁴⁶ to Ma-i. His clansman, Liu Nu-chen, led his people in submission.¹⁴⁷ In summer, the seventh month, [May/June], the emperor changed his title to King of Wei.

ws 2:111

In the fifth month [June/July], the emperor travelled east to Ling-shih.¹⁴⁸ Hou Ch'en, the leader of the Hu-fu-hou people, and Tai-t'i, the leader of the I-fu tribe, rebelled and fled.¹⁴⁹ Everyone wanted to pursue them, but the emperor said: 'Hou Ch'en and the others have served Us for generations. Although they have now transgressed, We should forgive them this time. We are only at the beginning, and there is no unity of spirit. Those who are simple, or recently subdued, will give way to weakness. There is no need to pursue them'. In autumn, on the *chi-yu* day of the seventh month [20 Aug], the emperor returned to Sheng-lo.¹⁵⁰ Tai-t'i brought his people back in submission. However, after a week or so, he fled to Liu Hsien. The emperor appointed his grandson, Pei-chin, as leader of the tribe in his stead. That month, Liu Hsien's younger brother, Liu Pei-ni, led an attack on Liu Nu-chen and then came to offer his submission.¹⁵¹

ws 2:112

Before this, the emperor's paternal uncle, [T'o-pa] K'u-to, had been taken to Ch'ang-an by Fu Chien. From there, he had joined Mu-jung Yung, who made him Grand Administrator of Hsin-hsing. In the eighth month [Sept], Liu Hsien sent his younger brother, Liu K'ang-ni, to meet K'u-to and give him a military escort to harass the southern border of the T'o-pa realm. Then the tribes became restless and loyalties were divided. Yü Huan¹⁵² and others among the emperor's attendants planned to rebel with their tribespeople. The matter became known, and five of those who had instigated the plot were executed. The rest were not even questioned. The emperor feared troubles within the realm and went north across the Yin Ranges to stay with the Ho-lan. The mountain passes were made secure and An T'ung, along with Ch'ang-sun Ho, was sent to Mu-jung Ch'ui to ask for troops. Mu-jung Ch'ui sent tribute and ordered his son, Ho-lin, to follow An T'ung and the others with foot-soldiers and cavalry.¹⁵³

ws 2:113

By winter, the tenth month [Nov], Mu-jung Ho-lin's army had still not arrived, and the rebels were advancing. Shu-sun P'u-lo and other nobles of the northern hordes fled to Liu Wei-ch'en with the Wu-huan tribes. The emperor moved from Nu Shan to Niu-ch'uan.¹⁵⁴ He camped to the south of the Yu-yen River. Then he came out through Tai-ku to meet Mu-jung Ho-lin at Kao-liu.¹⁵⁵ [T'o-pa] K'u-to suffered a devastating defeat and fled to Liu Wei-ch'en who killed him. The emperor gathered his people together again. In the twelfth month [Jan 387], Mu-jung Ch'ui sent tribute and offered the emperor the title of Western Shan-yü and enfeoffment as King of Shang-ku. He declined.

Notes to the translation

- 1 On the Ta Hsien-pi Mountain, see n8 below.
- 2 Yu-tu was a traditional name for the area to the north of the bend in the Yellow River (i.e. to the north of Shuo-fang). This term goes back to the Canon of Yao in the *shu-ching* which says that Yao ordered his brother Ho to live in the north in Yu-tu and there to adjust or regulate the winter. See James Legge, *The Chinese classics*, 5 vols (Hongkong UP, Hongkong, 1960) vol.3, pp. 21-2.
- 3 This passage is based on early Taoist philosophical texts about the simplicity and contentment of the people in antiquity. 'Bring it about that the people will return to the use of the knotted rope ...Will be content in their abode, And happy in the way they live ...I am free from desire and the people of themselves become simple like the uncarved block.' See D.C. Lao, *Lao Tzū, Tao te ching* (Penguin classics, 1963) pp. 142 and 118.
- 4 Each of the legendary emperors was associated with one of the seasons, one or a set of culture heroes, and one of the cardinal points. In most texts, the Yellow Emperor is associated with the god Hou-t'u and the element Earth. This may be the origin of the explanation of the name T'o-pa, in which t'o is seen as being close to t'u - earth (*ws* 1:1). See Bernhard Karlgren, 'Legends and cults in ancient China', *BMFEA* 18 (1946) 222-4, 239, 241 and 247. It should be noted however that the first use of the term T'o-pa may be as late as the latter part of the fourth century. The earliest Chinese word for these people seems to have been So-lu or So-t'ou as found in *CS* references to the T'u-fa and in *Sung-shu* references to the T'o-pa. See *CS* 125, pp. 3118; *Sung-shu* 95, p. 2321; also n16 below.
- 5 T'o-pa Shih-chün^a seems to be a mirror image of the mythical Chinese culture hero, Shu-chün. In *shan-hai-ching*, Shu-chün is set in opposition to Po the daughter of the Yellow Emperor. Where Po resides, there is no rain. Because Shu-chün complains of this, Po is banished to the north of Ch'ih-shui, and Shu-chün is made 'Ancestor of the fields'. See Karlgren, 'Legends', p. 284. In earlier texts, however, Po is an asexual drought demon. See Bernhard Karlgren (ed. & tr.), *Book of Odes* (Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 1950), p. 225, Ode 258.
The term 'Field Grandad' was first used in *shih-ching*. Later, it took on the meaning of 'Ancestor of the fields' and became associated with the culture hero, Shen-nung. See Arthur Waley (tr.), *The Book of Songs* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 2nd ed., 1954) pp. 169 n1 and 170.
The Jo-shui in Chinese mythology is associated with Ch'ang-i and his son, Chuan-hsü. In historical times, the term was given to the Edsin-Gol on the Kansu/Mongolian border. Its main association for the historian would have been in frontier history - Han relations with the Hsiung-nu and the peoples of the Western regions. See Bo Sommarström,

Archaeological researches in the Edsen-Gol region of Inner Mongolia (Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm, 1956) pp. 1-5 and 16-19 on the geography of the Edsin-Gol area and its place in early Chinese history.

- 6 Here, Wei Shou has lumped together the Hsia, Shang, Chou and Ch'in with the two Han dynasties. In reality, relations with frontier peoples varied considerably over this period. The purpose of the passage is twofold: to explain the lack of records about the T'o-pa during this time; and to set the T'o-pa apart from the common herd in their relationship with China. See *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:1 above.
- 7 On T'o-pa Mao, see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:1 above.
- 8 The above passage (*ws* 1:5) has inspired much comment about the original homeland of the T'o-pa people. Most commentators connect this statement with the report in *ws* 108a, p. 2738 of an ancestral temple to the northwest of the Wu-lo-hou. Through the description of the Wu-lo-hou homeland in *ws* 100, Wang Chi-lin and Lin Lu Chih put T'o-pa origins in northwestern Heilungchiang. Lin Lu-chih identifies the Ta Hsien-pi Mountain of *ws* 1:1 with the Ta Hsing-an Range in Heilungchiang, as does Su Pai in his report on Hsien-pi remains in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. See Wang Chi-lin, 'Yüan-wei chien-kuo te t'o-pa shih', *Shih-hsüeh hui-k'an* 8 (1977) 69-70; Lin Lü-chih, *Hsien-pi shih* (Chung-hua wen-hua shih-yeh kung-ssü, Hongkong, 1967) pp. 143-4; Su Pai, 'Tung-pei, nei-meng-ku ti-ch'ü te hsien-pi i-chi', *wen-wu* 5 (1977) 42-54, tr. David Fridley, 'Xianbei remains in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia', *Chinese studies in Archeology* 1:2 (1979) 18-19.
- As a distinct political entity, however, the T'o-pa did not emerge until the latter part of the third century after their entry into the southern regions of Inner Mongolia near the Chinese frontier. Nevertheless, there is one interesting aspect of the Wu-lo-hou account in *ws* 108 - the ceremony performed at the ancestral temple under the orders of Emperor Shih-tsu in the middle of the fifth century: *ws* 108a, p. 2738 says that the Northern Wei party felled a birch and planted it upright in the soil. Later, a whole forest sprang up in that spot and people worshipped there. Similar stories are found in *ws* 1 and *ws* 2. In *ws* 1:39, an elm tree sprouts miraculously from T'o-pa I-i's vomit, while in *ws* 2:106 and 103, the wood of Shih-i-chien's coffin sprouts miraculously, eventually producing a whole forest, and a complete forest of elms comes up from the place where Lady Ho-lan gives birth to T'o-pa Kuei. While the worship of trees and tree-spirits is a world-wide phenomenon, the particulars of these stories may be unique to *ws* and/or to the T'o-pa people, although it is likely that the story in *ws* 1:39 also reflects Chinese ideas (see n38 below).
- 9 See *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:1 for analysis of passages 5-8.
- 10 On the Mo-lu-hui, see *APPENDIX* 1:2 below.

- 11 For her biography, see *ws* 13, p. 322, tr. in Holmgren, 'Women and political power'.
- 12 Ch'ang-ch'uan lay to the north of modern Hsing-lo in Inner Mongolia. See Map 5.
- 13 Sheng-lo Prefecture lay near modern Ho-lin-ko-erh in Inner Mongolia. During Former Han it had been the capital of Ting-hsiang Commandery. Later Han shifted the capital of Ting-hsiang to Shan-wu Prefecture near modern Yu-yü, about fifty kilometres to the southeast of Sheng-lo. See Map 4.
- 14 See *APPENDIX* 1:3 below.
- 15 At the end of the second century, T'a-tun succeeded his uncle, Ch'iu-li-chiu, as leader of a small group of Wu-huan in Liao-hsi. He was given the title Shan-yü, and enfeoffed by Yüan Shao. After the latter's death in 202, he supported Yüan Shao's sons in a losing battle against Ts'ao Ts'ao. The latter defeated him in 207. See *INTRODUCTION* Part I, n1 and Part IV:2a, n46 above.
- 16 *TCTC* begins its account of the T'o-pa here. See *TCTC* p. 2459 for Hu San-hsing's discussion of the northern and southern versions of the origin of the word 'T'o-pa'. See also n4 above and *APPENDIX* 1:6 below.
- 17 See *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2a for analysis of passages 13-18.
- 18 Theoretically, Ping Province covered Shansi, northern Shensi and southwestern Inner Mongolia. Its administrative divisions in Western Chin were T'ai-yüan, Shang-tang, Hsi-ho, Lo-p'ing, Yen-men and Hsin-hsing. It was administered from Chin-yang, but in effect controlled only central and northern Shansi. See *CS* 14, pp. 428-9.
- 19 His full title was *Cheng-pei ta Chiang-chün* (Grand general-subduing-the-north). See *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2a above.
- 20 Yin-kuan is not mentioned in *CS* treatise on geography. It appears in *HHS* treatise 23, p. 3525 as a prefectural centre under Yen-men Commandery to the west of present-day Tai Prefecture, 120 kilometres south of Ta-t'ung. See Map 4. It also appears in *ws* 106a, p. 2475 as the name of a town under the administration of Yüan-p'ing Prefecture in Yen-men Commandery.
- 21 See *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2a for analysis of passages 19-23.

- 22 Eight Chinese feet at this time was equivalent to about two metres.
- 23 On the Yü-wen, see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b and *APPENDIX* 1:5.
- 24 *TCTC* p. 2613 mistakenly has him as a son of T'o-pa Cho. See *ws* 13, p. 322 the biography of his mother, Lady Lan, tr. in Holmgren, 'Women and political power'.
- 25 Shang-ku Commandery lay to the south of modern Huai-lai, 100 kilometres to the northwest of modern Peking. It was part of the province of Yu. See *cs* 14, pp. 425-6; *HHS* treatise 23, p. 3528; Map 5 below.
- 26 Yang Shou-ching (1839-1915), *Li-tai yü-ti yen-ko hsien-yao t'u* [1879] (Yang-shih kuan-hai-t'ang, n.p., revised ed., 1906-1911) Folio on Northern Wei, pp. 7a-7b, locates the beginnings of the Ju River to the northeast of modern Hsing-ho. This makes sense of *ws* 2, p. 43 which states that T'o-pa Kuei, having arrived at Ch'ang-ch'uan (n12 above) from a trip across the Stony Desert, 'went on to visit the source of the Ju [Ju-yüan] ...[and] in autumn, during the seventh month, left Ju-yüan to go west to Ts'an-ho-p'o [n27 below] ...[in the following year] he visited Ts'an-ho-p'o again to observe the fish in the Yü-yen Waters'. The Yü-yen Waters can be identified with the modern Tung-yang, P'ing-yang and Nan-yang Rivers flowing south from modern Hsing-ho. Thus, as Yang Shou-ching, p. 7b, suggests, the Ju may be identified with the present-day Luan in northeastern Hopei, while Ju-yüan refers to the source of the Luan to the southeast of modern Ku-yüan Prefecture about 200 kilometres northeast of Hsing-ho (Map 5). The identification of the Ju with the Luan River also agrees with its location in Liao-hsi Commandery given in *ws* 106a, p. 2496, and with the description in *shui-ching-chu* (Wen-hsüeh ku-chi, Peking, 1955) ch. 5, p. 186 [228].
- 27 Tai Commandery was east of Wei Prefecture in northeastern Hopei. See *HHS* treatise 23, pp. 3527-8; *cs* 14, p. 426. Several locations are given for Ts'an-ho-p'o: one to the southeast of modern Ta-t'ung; another near Yang-kao in Shansi near the Great Wall. Yang-kao, about sixty kilometres south of Hsing-ho (Map 5), lies on the Nan-yang River which has its source to the north of Hsing-ho. This location seems to agree with the description of T'o-pa Kuei's travels given in *ws* 2 (n26 above). It is also the area where T'o-pa Kuei's troops and those of Mu-jung Ho-lin fought T'o-pa K'u-to in 386, and where Kuei defeated Mu-jung Pao in 395. Ts'an-ho-p'o features in all these battles, and the area is within easy access of Ta-t'ung. There is no reason, therefore, to think of the above locations as mutually exclusive: Ts'an-ho-p'o was probably located somewhere to the east of Ta-t'ung and south of Yang-kao in the area between the Nan-yang and Sang-kan rivers (Maps 4 and 5).

- 28 Sheng-lo Prefecture belonged to Ting-hsiang Commandery during Former Han and to Yün-chung Commandery for most of Later Han. See *HHS* treatise 23, p. 3525. At the end of A.D. 214, both Ting-hsiang and Yün-chung, as well as Sheng-lo Prefecture, were abolished as administrative centres. Sheng-lo was only re-established as a prefectural centre at the end of Northern Wei. See *SKCWS* 1, p. 45; *TCTC*, p. 2460. In *ws* 1, Sheng-lo and Yün-chung are used interchangeably.
- 29 Wu-yüan Commandery was near modern Wu-yüan Prefecture in Inner Mongolia on the northern bank of the Yellow River, 330 kilometres to the west of Yün-chung. Shuo-fang Commandery lay on the northwestern edge of the Ordos, to the southwest of Wu-yüan. Shuo-fang and Wu-yüan were both abolished as commandery centres in 214. See *CS* 14, p. 428.
- 30 Hsing-ch'eng was southwest of modern Chung-pu Prefecture in central Shensi. See Yang Shou-ching, vol. 2, Folio on Former Ch'in, p. 35b; *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2a and Map 1 above.
- 31 See *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2a for analysis of this paragraph.
- 32 See *APPENDIX* 1:4 below.
- 33 *CS* 108, p. 2805 has Mo-kuei. Kuei was the personal name of the founder of Northern Wei and was thus taboo in records written in the north before the middle of the sixth century.
- 34 Yeh Prefecture and City lay to the west of modern Lin-cheng in Hopei. During Western Chin it was under the control of Wei Commandery, Ssu Province. See *CS* 14, pp. 418-20. Control of the Yeh gave access to the heartland of the great plain. This city was to become the capital of Later Chao, Former Yen, Western Yen, Later Yen, Eastern Wei and Northern Ch'i. At various times during the fourth century, the T'o-pa also considered shifting their capital to Yeh.
- 35 Li-shih Prefecture lay near modern Li-shih in central Shansi, about fifty kilometres east of the Yellow River (Map 3). During Western Chin, it was under the control of Hsi-ho in Ping Province. See *CS* 14, pp. 428-9. On Liu Yüan, see *APPENDIX* 1:6; *INTRODUCTION* Part IV: 2a, n59.
- 36 During Western Chin, Hsi-ho Principality and Shang-tang Commandery were part of Ping Province (n18 above). The principality of Hsi-ho administered Li-shih (Liu Yüan's base) and three other prefectural centres in central western Shansi, while Shang-tang Commandery

administered ten prefectural centres near Lu-ch'eng in southeastern Shansi, about fifty kilometres from the Hopei border. See CS 14, pp. 428-9.

- 37 *TCFC* p. 2708 says that Wei Ts'ao was responsible for persuading T'o-pa I-i to go to Ssü-ma T'eng's rescue (see *APPENDIX 1:7* on Wei Ts'ao). Ssü-ma Kuang's *k'ao-i* notes that in CS, Liu Yüan is said to have fled from Li-shih to Li-t'ing. The prefecture of P'u-tzü lay to the northeast of modern Hsi, about 100 kilometres south of Li-shih in Shansi. According to *ws 106a*, p. 2474, P'u-tzü was established - or reestablished - in the year 426.
- 38 The Chinese elm (*Ulmus campestris* or *Ulmus sinensis*): the inner bark of the white variety was used for medicine as was that of the *Catalpa kaempferi* (see *ws 2:106* and n137), while the leaves, taken in their green state were believed to be a counter-poison. See F. Porter Smith, *Chinese materia medica: vegetable kingdom* (1911) revised and ed. by the Rev. G.A. Stuart, M.D. (Ku T'ing Book House, Taipei, 2nd revised ed., 1969). Even from the Han period, elm seeds were used to make sauces and alcohol, and, during late Ch'ing, elm seed cakes were eaten in Peking during the fourth month of the year. See Patricia Ebrey, 'Estate and family management in the Later Han as seen in the *Monthly Instructions for the Four Classes of People*', *JESHO* 17 (1974) 181; Derk Bodde (ed. & tr.), *Annual customs and festivals in Peking as recorded in the Yen-ching sui-shih-chi* (Hongkong UP, Hongkong, 1965) p. 40. So it appears there is a possibility that T'o-pa I-i had taken some food or medicine concocted from the elm just before his death, and the story in *ws 1:39* has some basis in fact. At the same time, the presence of similar stories in *ws* suggests that any factual basis underlying this story has been incorporated into a more general (T'o-pa?) system of myths and superstitions involving the miraculous sprouting of trees (see n8 above).
- 39 During Northern Wei, Ta-han-ch'eng was part of Ssü-lu Prefecture in Hsiu-yung Commandery which lay to the northwest of modern Hsin Prefecture in Shansi, about 200 kilometres south of Ta-t'ung. See *ws 106a*, p. 2474. On Wei Ts'ao, see *APPENDIX 1:7* below.
- 40 *cs 4*, p. 105 has Li Hsiung's declaration of independence in July 305. *TCFC* pp. 2720-1 follows *ws 1:40* above. See *APPENDIX 1:8* on Li Hsiung.
- 41 On the Mu-jung, see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b and *APPENDIX 1:9*.
- 42 Chi Sang rebelled in June/July 307. He defeated Feng Sung the Grand Administrator of Wei Commandery and overran Yeh, killing Ssü-ma T'eng. On Ssü-ma T'eng, see *ws 1:32* and *ws 1:37-38* above. The fires in Yeh are said to have raged for over a week. At Lo-ling, he killed a former Inspector of Yu Province, and at P'ing-yüan, he killed

the Duke of Shan-yang. In August and September, he met his first setback and was beheaded at Lo-ling in December 307 or early 308. See *CS* 5, p. 117; *TCTC* pp. 2709-10 and 2729-33. On Shih Le, see *APPENDIX* 1:10 below.

- 43 See *APPENDIX* 1:6 below.
- 44 Liu K'un was made Inspector of Ping Province in 307 after the death of Ssu-ma T'eng. See n42 above. Liu Tsun has no biography in *CS*. See *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b on his relationship with the T'o-pa.
- 45 On the Pai people, see *APPENDIX* 1:3 below.
- 46 Yen-men Commandery, with Hsi-ho and Shang-tang, was part of Ping Province. The headquarters of Yen-men were at modern Tai Prefecture on the Hu-t'o River 120 kilometres south of Ta-t'ung. Yen-men controlled Kuang-wu, Fan-chih, Ma-i and Kuo prefectures among others. See n49 below; *CS* 14, p. 429.
- 47 The headquarters of Hsin-hsing were at modern Hsing Prefecture in Shansi (Map 3). See *CS* 14, p. 429.
- 48 The Chü-chu Mountains - also known as Yen-men Mountains or Hsing Range - lie to the northwest of modern Tai Prefecture in northern Shansi (Map 4). The Chü-chu Pass is probably the pass now known as Yen-men Pass.
- 49 Ma-i, Yin-kuan, Lou-fan, Fan-chih, and Kuo were, or had been, prefectural centres for the commandery of Yen-men. See *HS* 28b, p. 1621; *HHS* treatise 23, p. 3525; *CS* 14, p. 429; *WS* 106a, p. 2475. Ma-i lay to the northeast of modern Shuo on the Hui River to the west of the Chü-chu Mountains; Lou-fan during Western Chin lay to the east of modern Kuo; Fan-chih lay to the west of modern Hun-yüan. Kuo also lay to the west of modern Hun-yüan (Maps 2 and 4).
- 50 Ssu-ma Kuang's *K'ao-i* notes that *CS* has T'o-pa I-lu's invasion of T'ai-yüan and Liu K'un's evacuation of the above prefectures (see n49) occurring in Dec 311, with Liu K'un requesting I-lu's enfeoffment in Oct 312. See *TCTC* p. 2753. These dates differ from the account above which suggests that I-lu was made Duke of Tai in 310. Ssu-ma Kuang follows the *WS* account. *Sung-shu* 95, p. 2321 has the enfeoffment in *Yung-chia* 3. If this were the eleventh or twelfth month of that year, the date would be early 310. *CS* 5, p. 124 gives the date of the enfeoffment as 19 Oct 312. On T'o-pa I-lu's southern expansion, see Map 2.

- 51 *TCRC* pp. 2753-4 says that Liu K'un had sent envoys to Ssü-ma Yüeh^a asking for a joint attack on Liu Ts'ung and Shih Le. Ssü-ma Yüeh^a, being suspicious of the ambitions of Feng Sung and Kou Hsi, who had taken part in suppressing Chi Sang's rebellion (n42), would not agree. Liu K'un then sent I-lu's troops home.
- 52 On the Liu Hsiung-nu, see *APPENDIX 1:6* below.
- 53 *TCRC* pp. 2772-3 says that T'o-pa I-lu sent his son, Liu-hsiu, to help guard Hsin-hsing during an attack by Wang Chün on Liu K'un. The latter gave Liu-hsiu a precious stone which had been presented to him by Hsing Yen. When Hsing Yen refused Liu-hsiu's demands for another stone, his wife was seized as hostage. Hsing Yen attacked Liu-hsiu, turned Hsin-hsing Commandery over to Northern Han and asked Liu Ts'ung for troops to attack Liu K'un in Ping Province. *ws 1:48* takes up the story at this point.
- 54 Chin-yang lay near modern T'ai-yüan in central Shansi (Map 3).
- 55 *cs 5*, p. 124 says that on 23 Oct 312, I-lu sent his son, Li-sun (Liu-hsiu), to help Liu K'un, but Liu-hsiu could not advance. So in November of that year, T'o-pa I-lu himself led sixty thousand horsemen to Yü City to the southeast of modern Hsin Prefecture. Shortly after this, Liu Ts'an fled and Liu K'un transferred his headquarters to Yang-ch'ü near the present-day prefecture of T'ai-yüan (Map 3).
- 56 Lo-yang fell to the Hsiung-nu on 13 July 311, and on 14 March 313 Emperor Huai was put to death in P'ing-yang (Liu Ts'ung's capital). The 'Emperor-designate' Ssü-ma Yeh was then proclaimed emperor of Western Chin by the Chinese court in Ch'ang-an. See *cs 5*, pp. 123-5.
- 57 P'u-fan Prefecture was just north of modern Yung-ch'i, on the east bank of the north-south course of the Yellow River in Shansi (Map 3).
- 58 P'ing-yang, Liu Yüan's capital, was near modern Lin-fen Prefecture in Shansi, about 200 kilometres northeast of P'u-fan (Map 3).
- 59 Ssü-ma Kuang puts this abortive attack on Northern Han in July/August 313; a date which makes better sense than that given in *ws 1:51* above, for the campaign to recapture Chin-yang did not end until Dec 312. See *TCRC* p. 2800. See also *TCRC* p. 2797 for an abortive campaign against the Tuan in 313 which is not mentioned in *ws 1*.
- 60 P'ing-ch'eng was east of present-day Ta-t'ung in northern Shansi. See Map 4.

- 61 The Lei River can be identified with the Hui or Huang-shui rivers which run into the Sang-kan. See *TCTC* p. 3510. Huang-kua Hill is the present-day Huang-hua Shan to the north of Shan-yin Prefecture, about eighty kilometres south southwest of Ta-t'ung. See Map 4.
- 62 See *TCTC* pp. 2810-13 for details.
- 63 Yu Province, in northern Hopei administered Fan-yang, Yen, Pei-p'ing, Shang-ku, Kuang-ning, Tai, and Liao-hsi commanderies. Its capital was at Chi to the southwest of modern Ta-hsing. See *CS* 14, pp. 425-6; Map 5.
- 64 Ch'ang-shan was near modern Cheng-ting on the southern bank of the Hu-t'o River in Hopei. By 315, neither it nor Tai were the Chin emperor's to give away. See Map 5.
- 65 In July or August 315, the Hsiung-nu had defeated Liu K'un at Hsiang-yüan in Shang-tang. They planned to march on Yang-ch'ü, Liu K'un's base, but instead turned their attention to Ch'ang-an. See *TCTC* p. 2821 for details.
- 66 The Wu-sun had occupied modern Kazakhstan near the northwestern border of Hsinchiang Province. See M. Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict in Han China* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1974) pp. 215-51.
- 67 *WS* 100, p. 2219 says that Wu-chi lay to the north of Kao-kou-li (Kogiryō) and was formerly known as Su-chen. This area surely lay well outside T'o-pa control at this time. See Hu San-hsing's commentary to *TCTC*, p. 2860.
- 68 Emperor Min (Ssü-ma Yeh) had surrendered to the Hsiung-nu in Dec 316. He was murdered in Feb 318, well before the death of Liu Ts'ung on 31 Aug 318.
- 69 The word 'usurpation' is important here because it signifies, for northern historians, the end of legitimate rule for the Chin dynasty.
- 70 Chang Mao (276-324) succeeded his brother, Chang Shih, as Inspector of Liang after the latter's assassination on 25 July 320. Liang Province was in modern Kansu, an area with which the T'o-pa seem to have had little to do before the fifth century.
- 71 *WS* 13, p. 322, calls Emperor Huan's empress Lady Ch'i. *PS* 13, p. 491; *TCTC* p. 2891; and *TPYL* 139, p. 2a, call her Lady Wei. See *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b above on her rule.

- 72 Ssü-ma Jui was Emperor Yuan of Eastern Chin. He died 3 Jan 323. See *CS* 6, p. 157; *APPENDIX* 1:26 below.
- 73 Hu San-hsing's commentary to *TCTC* p. 2932, says that Mu-ken Mountain lay to the west of the Yellow River to the northeast of Wu-yüan, and that Tung (Eastern) Mu-ken lay to the east of the bend in the Yellow River - i.e. firmly in T'o-pa territory. Rogers, p. 325 locates this mountain to the west of the Heng Shan in Shensi (sic?) - i.e. in Shansi (see Map 4).
- 74 Hu San-hsing's commentary to *TCTC* p. 2948, says that Ta-ning was Kuang-ning of Former Han. Kuang-ning Prefecture was part of Shang-ku Commandery near modern Huai-lai in northwestern Hopei. By Western Chin, it had become a commandery in its own right with its administrative headquarters to the northwest of Hsüan-hua, 170 kilometres northeast of Ta-t'ung. See *CS* 14, p. 426; Map 5 below.
- 75 On the Ho-lan, see *APPENDIX* 1:12 below.
- 76 Liu Yao was captured near Lo-yang on 21 Jan 329. See McGovern, pp. 336-7.
- 77 Hsiang-kuo, to the southwest of modern Hsing-t'ai Prefecture in southeastern Hopei was Shih Le's capital (Map 3). Emperor Chao-ch'eng (Shih-i-chien) was a hostage. See *TCTC* pp. 2973 and 3025; *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b above.
- 78 Shih Ta-ya is better known as Shih Hung (r.333-334). Hung was the personal name of Emperor Hsien-tsu (r.465-471) of Northern Wei and thus taboo in records written after A.D. 465. On the Shih of Later Chao, see *APPENDIX* 1:10 below.
- 79 Mu-jung Hui died 4 June 333. Mu-jung Yüan-chen's personal name, Huang, contravened the taboo on the personal name of Emperor Kung-tsung (d.452) of Northern Wei. This is why he is referred to as Mu-jung Yüan-chen throughout the *Wei-shu*. On the Mu-jung, see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b above; *APPENDIX* 1:9 below.
- 80 See *APPENDIX* 1:10 and 1:8 below.
- 81 Shih Hu had shifted the capital of Later Chao from Hsiang-kuo to Yeh in Oct 335.
- 82 *CS* 106, p. 2764 and *TCTC* p. 3007 state that in the previous year, a T'o-pa leader had defected to Shih Hu with some thirty-thousand troops. The leader, Yü-chü, is otherwise unknown in the northern histories.

- 83 *Nan-shih* 8, p. 232 records that Emperor Ch'ien-wen of Liang (lived 503-551) also had 'hair which swept the ground'. On T'o-pa Shih-i-chien's height, see n22 above.
- 84 *WS* 14, p. 349. For a discussion of T'o-pa Ku's biography, see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:3 above.
- 85 *CS* 7, p. 181 says Li Shou murdered Ch'i, but Ch'i's biography in *CS* 121, p. 3043 says he was dethroned and committed suicide. See *APPENDIX* 1:8 below.
- 86 *TCTC* p. 3025 says that at this time, Yen Feng was appointed chief clerk, and Hsü Ch'ien was made prefect of the palace gentlemen. On Yen Feng and Hsü Ch'ien, see *TRANSLATION*, *WS* 1:93, 98 and 100 above; *APPENDIX* 1:16 and 1:17 below.
- 87 *SKCWS* 30, p. 843 says that the Hui-mo were on the southern border of Koguryō; *SKCWS* 30, p. 848 says that Koguryō lay to the north of the Hui people; and *SKCWS* 30, p.842 says that the Fu-yü once occupied Hui-ch'eng which belonged to the Hui-mo people. Gardiner, *The early history of Korea*, pp. 18-47, shows that originally, the Hui (Korean Ye) were a group of chieftains who took control of the northeastern coastal strip of the Korean Peninsular at the end of the first century A.D. - the area of the former Chinese commandery of Lin-t'un. In 244/5, the Chinese invaded this area again, in pursuit of the King of Koguryō. Some of the Ye were taken prisoner with the people of Koguryō and resettled in China further to the west. It is unlikely that T'o-pa influence in 339 extended as far to the east as the original homeland of the Ye tribes, for at that time, the states of Yen and Koguryō (which were at war), as well as the kingdom of Paekche to the southeast, lay between them and the Ye homelands. It is possible that 'Hui-mo' in the annals of Tai refers to settlements of people from Ye and Koguryō further to the west, but it is more likely that the statement in *WS* 1:72 above is an exaggeration, designed to show Shih-i-chien, the grandfather of the founder of Northern Wei, at his best. P'o-lo-na refers to Ferghana in present-day Kazakhstan. These people were famous for their 'blood-sweating' horses, some of which were presented to Northern Wei Kao-tsung in A.D. 465. See *WS* 5, p. 123. Their kingdom lay to the west of the Wu-sun. See n66 above.
- 88 Lei-yüan Ch'uan probably lay on the nexus of the Sang-kan and Huang-shui rivers, about thirty kilometres south of Ta-t'ung. See n61 above.
- 89 *WS* 13, p. 323, tr. in Holmgren, 'Women and political power'.
- 90 Liu Wu-huan is also known as Liu Pao-tzū. *TCTC* p. 3046 says he also sent tribute to Later Chao. See Cohen (ed.), p. 50; *APPENDIX* 1:11. It is probable that Liu Pao-tzū's alias, 'Wu-huan', is a con-

90.

fusion with the generic term Wu-huan, given to surrendered tribes. See *INTRODUCTION* Part I, n1 above.

91 *TCTC* p. 3056 says that in 343, T'o-pa Shih-i-chien requested another marriage alliance with Yen and that Mu-jung Huang (Yüan-chen) asked for one thousand horses in exchange for the bride. Shih-i-chien refused, and in Sept 343 Mu-jung Huang sent his son, Chün, to attack the T'o-pa. Shih-i-chien's people hid, and Chün had to return without result. The *k'ao-i* gives the source of this information as *Yen-shu*.

92 The Ch'ang-sun were T'o-pa descendants of Yü-lü (d.321). The use of their name here is an anachronism. See *INTRODUCTION* part IV:4; *APPENDIX* 1:13

93 Ho-lung was the name of Mu-jung Huang's palace in Lung-ch'eng. It eventually became the name for the city of Lung-ch'eng near modern Ch'ao-yang in Liaoning, 140 kilometres northeast of the Hopei border. See Rogers, p. 316.

94 Chang Chün (305-346) was a son of Chang Shih (270-320). Chün had been confirmed by Emperor Min (r.313-316) of Chin as governor of Liang Province. See Rogers, pp. 9-13 for the history of Former Liang.

95 By 347, Shih Hu had ten provinces in north China provinces under his control: Yu, Ping, Chi, Ssu, Yü, Ching, Hsu, Yung, and Ch'in. See *TCTC* p. 3078.

96 Ssü-ma Tan (d.361) was Emperor Mu of Eastern Chin (*APPENDIX* 1:26). General Huan Wen (d.373) was responsible for Li Shih's surrender to Eastern Chin. See *cs* 98, pp. 2568-83 for Huan Wen's biography, and *cs* 8, p. 193.

97 Mu-jung Yüan-chen died 25 Oct 348. See *APPENDIX* 1:9 on the Mu-jung.

98 Shih Hu died 25 May 349. Shih Tsun deposed Shih Shih on 16 June 349. He was aided by Jan Min (d.352). The latter then deposed Tsun at the end of 349, put Shih Chien on the throne and then killed him in April 350. Jan Min usurped the throne and called his new dynasty 'Wei'. See McGovern, pp. 348-52.

99 See *APPENDIX* 1:14 on the Fu of Former Ch'in.

100 Chang Chung-hua died 29 Dec 353. In fact, Chang Yao-ling was not killed until 355 when Chang Kuan and Sung Hun (d.361) revolted against Chang Tso. See *TRANSLATION, WS* 1:82; Rogers, pp. 11-12.

- 101 Fu Chien^a died 10 July 355. Fu Sheng reigned 355-357. See Rogers, pp. 29-32; APPENDIX 1:14 below.
- 102 See APPENDIX 1:15 on the Yao of Later Ch'in.
- 103 Chang Hsüan-ching was only 6 years old at this time. The real power lay with Chang Kuan and then with Sung Hun. See n113 below.
- 104 Liu O-t'ou is also known as Liu O-lou-t'ou. See APPENDIX 1:11; Cohen (ed.), pp. 50-1.
- 105 Yao Hsiang died in June 357. Fu Chien usurped the throne in July 357. Fu Mei is also known as Fu Huang-mei. He was a son of an elder brother of Fu Chien^a.
- 106 Reference to this is also found in the biography of the empress née Mu-jung: *ws* 13, p. 323, tr. in Holmgren, 'Women and political power'. See also Cohen (ed.), pp. 50-52.
- 107 Presumably, he travelled along the modern Sang-kan River towards Huai-lai in northwestern Hopei (Maps 4 and 5).
- 108 On Liu Wei-ch'en, the most formidable of T'o-pa enemies in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, see Cohen (ed.), pp. 52-8; APPENDIX 1:11; n109 below.
- 109 Before this, Liu Wei-ch'en had also been seeking ties with Fu Chien's state of Former Ch'in. *TCTC* pp. 3183-4 says that he plundered the people on the borders of Fu Chien's realm and presented Chien with the booty. When it was coldly returned to him, he 'rebelled' and went over to the T'o-p'a again.
- 110 The Chün-tzŭ Ford was ninety li to the northwest of Ch'ing-shui-ho Prefecture in Inner Mongolia - about sixty kilometres south of Ho-lin-ko-erh (Map 4).
- 111 *TCTC* p. 3191 says Shih-i-chien sent one of his daughters to Yen, and Mu-jung Wei reciprocated.
- 112 Hu San-hsing's commentary to *TCTC*, p. 3194, says that the Kao-ch'e were the same as the Ch'ih-le, and that they were known for the high-wheeled carts. He quotes Li Yen-shou (seventh century) who says they were a group of Red Ti and were like, or the same as, the Juan-juan.

92.

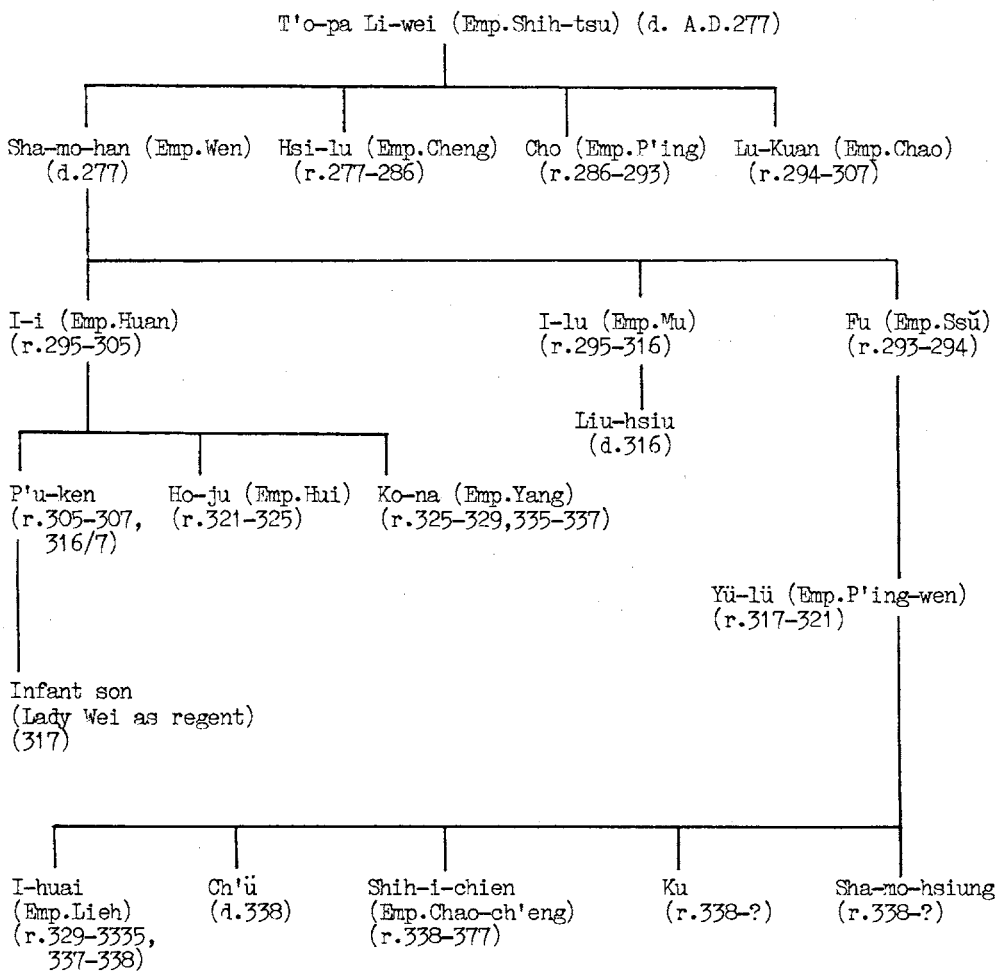
- 113 Chang T'ien-hsi had seized power in Liang from Sung Hun's brother at the end of 361. See n103 above.
- 114 After his defeat, Liu Wei-ch'en renounced his allegiance to Fu Chien and sided once more with the T'o-pa. He was captured by Fu Chien's armies but released and forgiven. He then reattached himself to Former Ch'in. See Rogers, p. 22; Cohen (ed.), p. 53.
- 115 It is unlikely that Fu Chien sent 'tribute' to the T'o-pa in this year. However, he may have had some communication with them over Liu Wei-ch'en. See n114 above and n116 below.
- 116 Yen Feng's mission to Fu Chien was probably undertaken in response to Former Ch'in's victory over Liu Wei-ch'en in 365/6. See n114-5 above and *TCTC* p. 3202. On Yen Feng, see *APPENDIX 1:16* below.
- 117 Liu Wei-ch'en then begged help from Fu Chien and was sent back to his base at Shuo-fang with a military escort from Former Ch'in. See *TCTC*, p. 3208.
- 118 Mu-jung Wei was captured in Dec 370. He, his empress, his clansmen and officials - about forty thousand families - were removed to Ch'ang-an. See *TCTC* p. 3239.
- 119 For an analysis of this passage, see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:4.
- 120 See n131 below.
- 121 Fu Lo, Duke of Hsing-t'ang, was a grandson of an older brother of Fu Chien^a. See *APPENDIX 1:14* below.
- 122 *TCTC* p. 3277 states that Fu Chien's armies left from Ho-lung in the east and Shang Commandery in the west, meeting up with Fu Lo near the southern border. From then on they had Liu Wei-ch'en to act as a guide. See also Rogers, p. 140.
- 123 Rogers, p. 330 states that the Shih-tzŭ Ranges were near modern Ho-lin-ko-erh.
- 124 The Yin Mountain Range rises to the northwest of Wu-yüan in Inner Mongolia and runs eastward to the north of the great wall along the borders of Shansi and Hopei.
- 125 On Shih-i-chien's death, see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:4 above.

- 126 *TCRC* p. 3197 has this incident occurring in 365. On Hsü Ch'ien's career, see *APPENDIX 1:17* below.
- 127 See Rogers, pp. 13 and 138-9.
- 128 See *WS 13*, pp. 324-5 for Lady Ho-lan's biography, tr. in Holmgren, 'Women and political power'. See also *APPENDIX 1:12* below.
- 129 Location unknown - perhaps near Yün-chung.
- 130 This is a common motif in the northern mythology of this time: similar stories appear in the foundation myth of Koguryō in *WS 100*, p. 2213; in the biography of the Korean mother of T'o-pa Shih-tsung in *WS 13*, p. 335; in the annals of Emperor Hou-chu of Northern Ch'i in *PCS 9*, p. 97; and in the biography of Mu-jung Te in *CS 127*, p. 3161. See also K.H.J. Gardiner, 'The legends of Koguryō (I)', *Sanguk sagi: annals of Koguryō*, *Korea Journal* (Jan 1982) p. 62.
- 131 4 Aug 371. T'o-pa Kuei's birth was only important in retrospect. It is thus unlikely that the exact day of his birth would have been recorded. It seems that the historian - Teng Yüan? - chose the day of his birth to correspond with the important autumn gathering of the tribes on the seventh day of the seventh month each year. See *WS 1:74*.
- 132 See n8 and 38 above.
- 133 Yen Feng's biography in *WS 24*, p. 610 says that he persuaded Fu Chien to allow T'o-pa Kuei to remain in the north and to divide the realm between Liu K'u-jen and his enemy, Liu Wei-ch'en.
- 134 See *APPENDIX 1:11* on the T'ieh-fu Liu, and n133 above.
- 135 On Ch'ang-sun Sung, see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:4; *APPENDIX 1:13*. Yüan T'a's identity is unknown.
- 136 The Tu-ku was Liu K'u-jen's branch of the T'ieh-fu Liu Hsiung-nu tribes. See *APPENDIX 1:11* below, and n133 above.
- 137 The *tzū* is white-veined wood of the *Catalpa kaempferi* which grows in the mountain valleys of southeastern Shansi. Its timber was very popular for building palaces and temples. See n8 and 38 above.
- 138 *TCRC* p. 3335 puts these events in 384.

- 139 On the Liang family, see *APPENDIX 1:18* below.
- 140 On the Mu family, see *APPENDIX 1:19*.
- 141 T'o-pa Kuei's maternal aunt was married to Liu K'ang-ni, one of Liu Hsien's brothers. She found out about the plot to kill Kuei and warned his mother. See n128 above; Cohen (ed.), pp. 61-2.
- 142 On the Ch'i-fu, see *APPENDIX 1:20* below.
- 143 Fu Chien died 16 Oct 385. See Rogers, pp. 73-6.
- 144 The description of T'o-pa Kuei's journey to meet the Yen army at Kao-liu (*ws 2:113*) suggests that Niu-ch'uan lay to the west of Ch'ang-ch'uan near modern Hsing-ho (Map 5). When Kuei led his troops against the Kao-ch'e in 399, one army followed the western road through Niu-ch'uan, the other the eastern road through Ch'ang-chuan. They met in the desert to the northwest of Hsing-ho. Thus, it seems that Hu San-hsing is wrong in placing Niu-ch'uan to the west of modern Tso-yün. Tso-yün is about fifty kilometres west of Ta-t'ung. See *TCTC* p. 3357.
- 145 On the Ch'ang-sun and Shu-sun see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:4; *APPENDIX 1:13* and 1:21.
- 146 Shan-wu lay in southern Yu-yu Prefecture - about eighty kilometres west of Ta-t'ung (Map 4).
- 147 Boodberg in Cohen (ed.), pp. 158-9, considers Liu Nu-chen and Liu Lo-ch'en to be one and the same person: in *ws 83a*, p. 1813, Lo-ch'en is called elder brother of T'o-pa Kuei's wife nee Liu; in *ws 23*, p. 606 (part of Wei Shou's original text) Nu-chen is said to have offered a younger sister to T'o-pa Kuei. However, Liu Lo-ch'en is also mentioned in this text as the second son of Liu Chüan (*ws 23*, p. 605). Moreover, the text suggests that Lo-ch'en defected to Kuei immediately after Liu Chüan's murder in 385, while Nu-chen defected only after Liu Hsien's flight to Ma-i in May 386. See *TRANSLATION*, *ws 2:110* above and *ws 23*, p. 606. It is thus likely that Kuei had two wives from this clan and that Lo-ch'en and Nu-chen were two separate persons.
- 148 Hu San-hsing's commentary to *TCTC* p. 3365 places Ling-shih to the east of Sheng-lo; a not unreasonable supposition since T'o-pa Kuei had just shifted his 'capital' to Sheng-lo. Otherwise, the location of Ling-shih is unknown.
- 149 On the Hu-fu-hou and I-fu, see *APPENDIX 1:22* and 1:23 below.

- 150 This was 3 days after the annual autumn gathering. Thus, the exact record of the day here is not as dubious as that of T'o-pa Kuei's birth-date. See n131 above.
- 151 See Boodberg in Cohen (ed.), p. 63 for details. However, Boodberg mistakenly has Liu K'ang-ni for Liu Pei-ni. On Liu K'ang-ni, see *TRANSLATION WS* 2:112.
- 152 On the Yü family, see *APPENDIX* 1:24 below.
- 153 For details, see *APPENDIX* 1:25 below.
- 154 The location of Nu Shan is unknown. On Niu-ch'uan, see n144 above.
- 155 The Yü-yen Waters are now known as the Tung-yang, P'ing-yang, and Nan-yang rivers which flow south from Hsing-ho. Kao-liu Prefecture appears in *HHS* treatise 23, p. 3527 as part of Tai Commandery. It lay to the northwest of Yang-kao Prefecture in Shansi, about fifty kilometres northeast of Ta-t'ung. This suggests that Tai-ku was somewhere between Hsing-ho and Yang-kao near the northwestern border of Hopei (Map 5).
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APPENDIX I PEOPLE, TRIBES AND GENEALOGIES

1:1 The T'o-pa leadership from Li-wei to Shih-i-chien¹

1. r. = ruled rather than reigned. In many cases, this was shared leadership.

1:2 *The Tou Hsien-pi (Mo-lu-hui)*

The name Tou in *ws 1:10-12* is an anachronism, for this was the family name adopted at the end of the fifth century by Hsien-pi leaders earlier known to the T'o-pa as Ko-tou-ling or Ko-t'u-lin. According to *HTS*, the name Ko-tou-ling was first given to these people during the time of (Tou) Pin's grandson, Ch'in, who was enfeoffed as Marquis of Chung-i at the same time as T'o-pa I-lu was appointed King of Tai (A.D. 315). *HTS* states that after his enfeoffment, (Tou) Ch'in moved west across the Yellow River into Wu-yüan. There, his people remained independent of the T'o-pa leadership until the time of Ch'in's son, (Tou) Chen, at the end of the fourth century.²

The *HTS* genealogy is clearly defective. According to *ws 1:12*, (Tou) Pin's son, T'a, was killed by T'o-pa Li-wei about A.D. 248. This would make Ch'in at least 67 years old at the time of T'o-pa I-lu's enfeoffment. It is thus unlikely, although by no means impossible, that (Tou) Chen, who was the great grandfather of Tou Yen (fl.494), was Ch'in's son. (Tou) Chen's name in the *HTS* genealogy should perhaps be read as (Tou) Tzū-chen, making him a grandson or great grandson of the man known as Tou Ch'in.³

It was stated above, in *INTRODUCTION* Part II, that Hsien-pi names of only one or two syllables are almost certainly anachronisms - simplified versions of earlier, much longer names. In this respect, it is likely that Tou Chen, who, in *HTS* is said to have submitted to T'o-pa Kuei at the end of the fourth century, is meant to be either Ko-t'u-lin Ni-wu-ni, who rebelled against T'o-pa Kuei and was vanquished by him in 397, or his predecessor, Ch'ü-t'a-chien who submitted in 390.⁴

² *HTS* 71b, p. 2289.

³ Su Ch'ing-pin, *Liang-han ch'i wu-tai ju chu chung-kuo chih fan-jen shih-tsu yen-chiu (LHWT)* (Hsin-ya yen-chiu-suo hui-k'an, Hongkong, 1967) p. 201 reads his name Tzū-chen, but still has him as the son of Ch'in.

⁴ See *ws 2*, pp. 23 and 29; *ws 103*, p. 2312.

It is also possible that the name Tou Ch'in in the *HTS* genealogy is not so much anachronistic as completely fictitious. This name may be a T'ang fabrication designed to give the ancestors of the Tou clan a history paralleling that of the early T'o-pa leaders of Tai, and designed to fill a gap in the genealogical records between the time of (Tou) Pin's children and that of Ko-t'u-lin Ni-wu-ni: first, Tou Ch'in's enfeoffment is not mentioned in *CS*; second, Chung-i was a T'ang establishment which did not exist in Western Chin; third, Wu-yüan was under T'o-pa control for most of the period between 295 and 327; and finally, Wu-yüan is not mentioned in *WS* records about T'o-pa Kuei's conquest of the Ko-tou-ling people. It would seem that the *HTS* account of Tou Ch'in's move into Wu-yüan simply mirrors that of Wei Shou's account of the T'o-pa in *WS* 1:29-31 where I-lu is said to have moved his people across the Yellow River into Wu-yüan and Shou-fang commanderies.

1:3 *The Pai*

The Pai were probably descendants of people from Kucha in Hsinchiang who had been settled by the authorities of Former Han in Shang Commandery to the north of modern Yü-lin in Shensi, four hundred kilometres to the southwest of Ta-t'ung. The royal line of Kucha in Han times was known as Pai.⁵

⁵ See *WS* 102, pp. 2266-7; *HS* 23b, pp. 1617-8; Yao Wei-yuan, *Pei-ch'ao hu hsing k'ao* (Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking, 1962) pp. 371-6.

1:4 *The Wei-nai-lou*

ws records that people known earlier in the century as I-na-lou had changed their name to Lou after Northern Wei Kao-tsu's move to Lo-yang in 494. *ws* also mentions a Ch'i-na-lou people connected with the early Mu-jung and T'u-yü-hun leaders. *cs* gives the name of the latter as Shih-na-lou, while *Sung-shu* refers to them as I-na-lou^a.⁶ It is possible that the Wei-nai-lou of *ws* 1:34, as well as these other variant names, refer to the ancestors of Lady Lou Chao-chün (501-562), first empress-dowager of Northern Ch'i under whom Wei Shou wrote his annals of Tai.⁷

1:5 *The Yü-Wen Hsiung-nu*

ws states that the Yü-wen were Hsiung-nu leaders who took control of a group of eastern Hsien-pi after the break-up of the great Hsiung-nu confederation in the middle of the first century. Their language was somewhat different from that of the people they governed, and the men are described as cutting their hair at the back but leaving the top pieces long to make a coiffure. The women are described as wearing long jackets down to the ankles.⁸

The short-lived Yü-wen state in Liaotung is not counted as one of the Sixteen States. Consequently, the early history of these people appears only incidentally in *SLKCC*. Most references are found in the records of the Mu-jung leaders of Yen, in particular Mu-jung Hui (d.333) and his son Huang (d.348). In 344, the latter won a decisive victory over the Yü-wen and shifted more than fifty thousand Yü-wen subjects to the Mu-jung capital

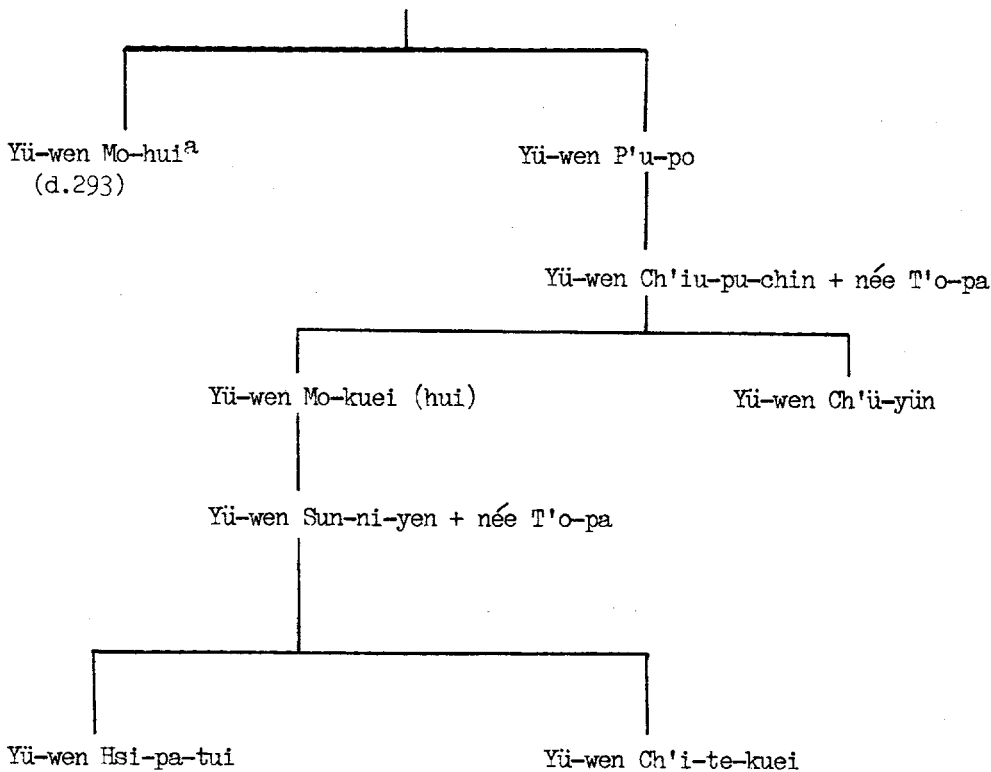
⁶ See *ws* 113, p. 3014; *ws* 101, p. 2233; *cs* 97, p. 2537; *Sung-shu* 96, p. 2369.

⁷ See *PCS* 9, pp. 123-4; Yao Wei-yüan, pp. 90-4; J. Holmgren, 'Family, marriage and political power in sixth century China: a study of the Kao family of Northern Ch'i, c. 520-550', *JAH* 16:1 (1982) 74-5.

⁸ *ws* 103, p. 2304; Yao Wei-yüan, pp. 166-99.

in Ch'ang-li. This put an effective end to Yü-wen independence.⁹ However, under the leadership of Yü-wen T'ai in the middle of the sixth century, the Yü-wen did establish an effective state - the Northern Chou (557-589).

Early Yü-wen leaders¹⁰



⁹ See *ws* 95, p. 2060; *tctc* pp. 3057-8; Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen, Part I, pp. 464-72; Lin Lü-chih, pp. 39-41.

¹⁰ The above genealogy is based on information in *ws* 103, pp. 2304-5. For a full genealogy of Yü-wen leaders from the third to the sixth centuries, see Su Ch'ing-pin, *LHWT*, pp. 161-78.

It should be noted that Yü-wen Ch'i-te-kuei was not Sun-ni-yen's eldest son, and that his elder brother, Yü-wen Hsi-pa-tui, seems to have held important political and military posts in the Yü-wen administration as did Yü-wen Mo-kuei's younger brother, Ch'ü-yün. This suggests that Yü-wen succession, like that of the T'o-pa, was not as fixed as the Chinese system of primogeniture,¹¹ and that like the T'o-pa and the Tuan, the Yü-wen practised shared leadership between brothers, uncles and nephews.¹²

1:6 *Liu Yüan and the Hsiung-nu of Northern Han and Former Chao*

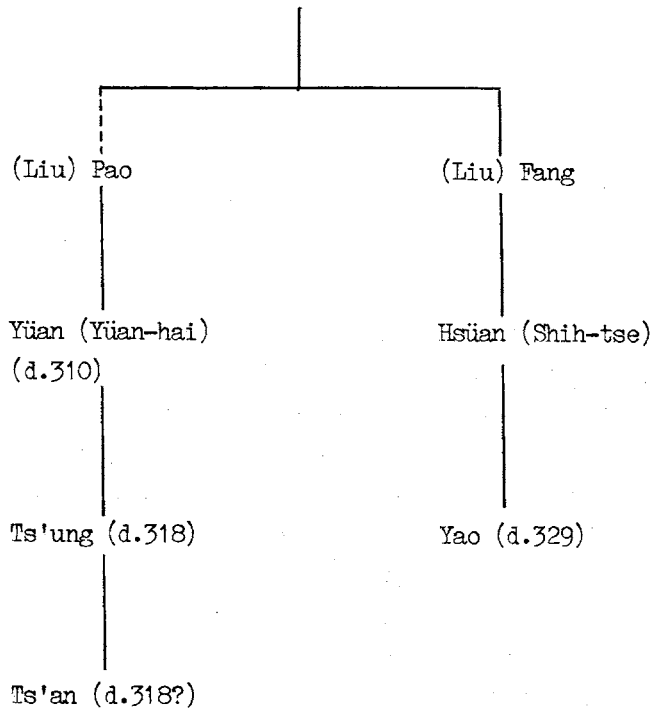
The Liu Hsiung-nu of Northern Han (308-319) and Former Chao (319-329) were the most formidable of non-Chinese tribes in the north during the early part of the fourth century. *ws* says that they were the descendants of Han Kao-tsu through one of his daughters who had been given to the Hsiung-nu leader, Mo-tun.¹³ This is similar to the statement in the southern histories about T'o-pa descent from the Chinese general, Li Ling.¹⁴ Such claims reveal the Chinese desire to see Chinese blood in those tribes which managed to set up successful states in the north.

¹¹ On the T'o-pa system of fraternal succession, see J. Holmgren, 'Women and political power'.

¹² On the Tuan, see Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen, Part I', p. 407 n116.

¹³ *ws* 95, p. 2043.

¹⁴ *Sung-shu* 95, p. 2321; *TCTC* commentary, p. 2459.

Leaders of Northern Han and Former Chao¹⁵

¹⁵ For a full genealogy see Su Ch'ing-pin, *LHWT* pp. 22-4; Cohen (ed.), pp. 248-53. For a comprehensive history of the Hsiung-nu peoples, see Uchida Gimpu, *Kyōdo shih kenkyū* (Sōgensha, Osaka, 1953). For details on the career of Liu Yüan, founder of Northern Han, and his successors, see *CS* 101, pp. 2644-53; *WS* 95, pp. 2044-5; *SLKCC*, pp. 1-5 and 7-12.

1:7 Wei Ts'ao and the Wei family of Tai

Wei Ts'ao 操 (d.310) came from Tai. *ws* says that his first contacts with the T'o-pa were in the service of Wei Kuan, and that he and his nephew Wei Hsiung, along with several other Chinese clan leaders and members of the Wei family, went over to the T'o-pa during the time of I-i and I-lu c.295.¹⁶

Wei Kuan's great great grandfather had come from Tai,¹⁷ and the two branches of the clan - one in Tai, the other in Ho-tung - were obviously still in contact during Western Chin. It is very tempting to suggest that Wei Ts'ao^a 操, who is described in *cs* as the grandson of Wei Kuan,¹⁸ is the same person as Wei Ts'ao of *ws* 1 and *ws* 23. Very little is known about either of these men and it is possible that both northern and southern historians felt it unpalatable to stress the fact that the grandson of Wei Kuan had been both in T'o-pa and in Western Chin employ. The connecting links between these two men are as follows: i) the similarity of their names;¹⁹ ii) their close death dates (310 in *ws*, 311 in *cs*); iii) their association with Wei Kuan; iv) their connection with Wei Ch'ung. This last point is the most important. In *ws*, Wei Ch'ung is listed as one of the members of the Wei clan of Tai who followed Wei Ts'ao to serve the T'o-pa c.295. In *cs*, he is named as the son of a great grandson of Wei Kuan who was made Wei Tsao^a's legal heir in 317 by Eastern Chin.²⁰

 16 *ws* 23, pp. 599 and 601.

17 *cs* 36, p. 1055.

18 *cs* 36, p. 1066.

19 If *cs* Wei Ts'ao^a had been born before 265, the character 操 as given in *ws* would have contravened the taboo on the personal name of Ts'ao Ts'ao.

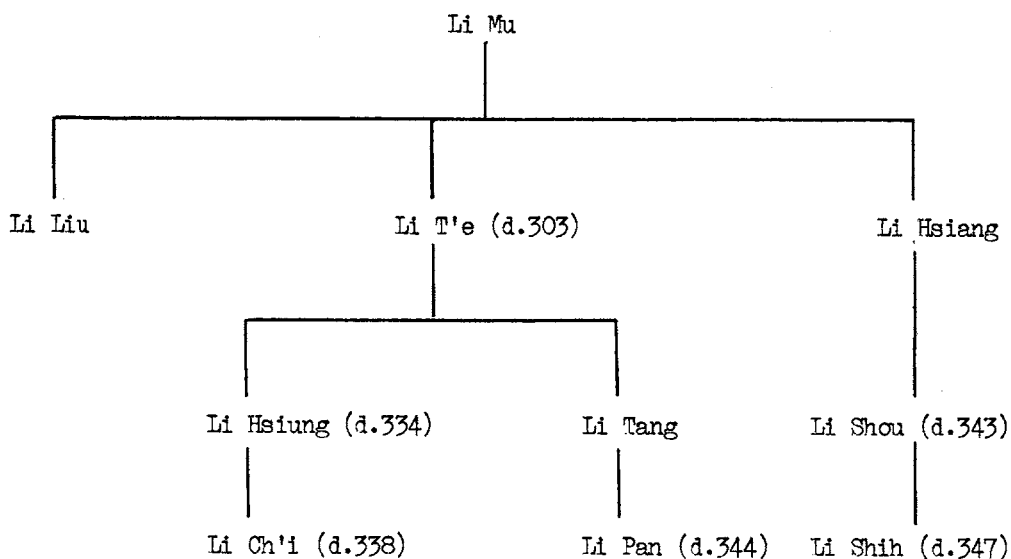
20 *ws* 23, p. 602; *cs* 36, p. 1066. Since all surviving members of the Wei clan of the Tai fled south after T'o-pa I-lu's death in 316, it would not be impossible for Wei Ch'ung to have been in Eastern Chin in 317. See *ws* 23, pp. 602-3.

Against the theory that Wei Ts'ao of *ws* is the same as Wei Ts'ao^a of *cs* is the different style-names given these men, and the possibility that there were two different men by the name Wei Ch'ung.

1:8 *The Ch'eng/Han dynasty in Szechuan*

Li Hsiung's ancestors had originally lived in T'ang-ch'ü Prefecture in Pa-hsi Commandery. Later they moved to Lüeh-yang in Shensi.²¹ Li Hsiung's father, Li T'e, served Western Chin until the end of 301. Rebellling in that year, he took Tzū-t'ung and Pa-hsi in 302, and was killed the following year. Li Hsiung continued the rebellion.²²

The Li of Szechuan²³



²¹ On the ethnic origins of the Li family, see Yao Wei-yüan, pp. 351-3.

²² *cs* 4, pp. 99-100.

²³ For details of the history of the Li family see *SLKCC* pp. 533-63; *cs* 120-1, pp. 3021-52; *ws* 96, pp. 2110-3.

1:9 *The Mu-jung Hsien-pi*

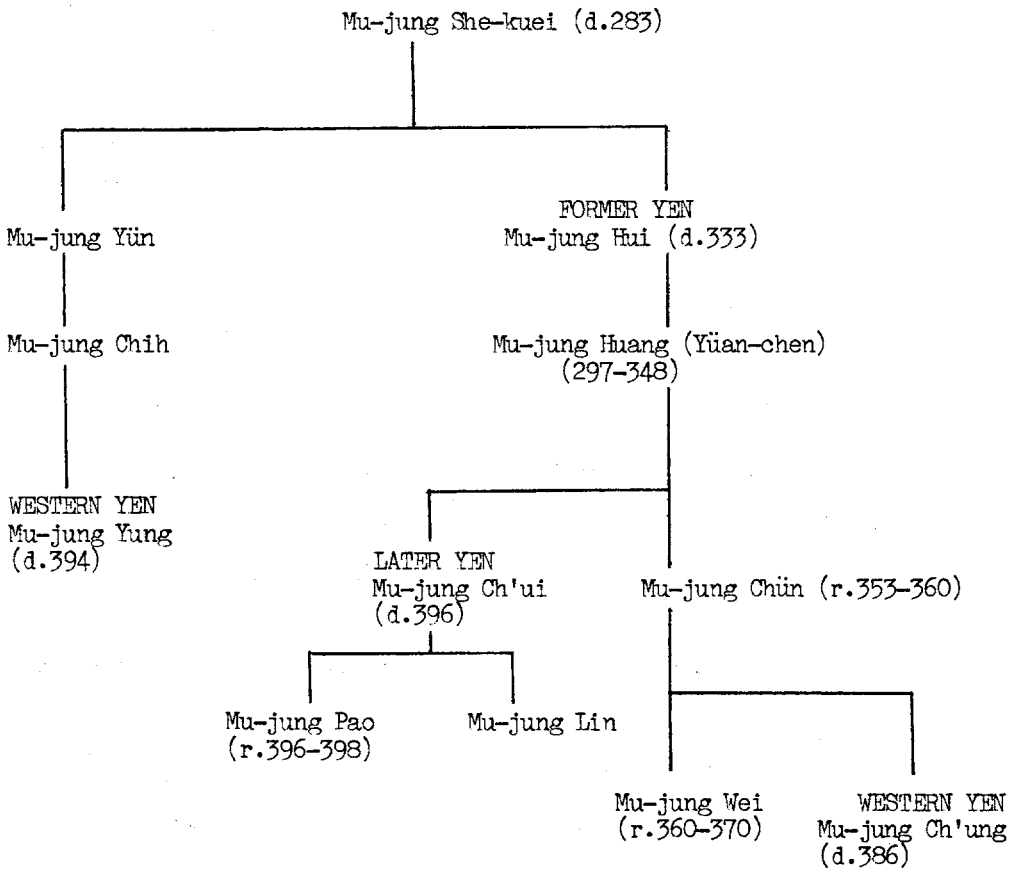
The history of the Mu-jung leadership can be traced back to the Hsien-pi confederacy of T'an-shih-huai in the second century AD.²⁴ During the third century, Mu-jung leaders established the state of Former Yen (285-370) in Liaoning and northern Hopei. Yen was one of the most stable and progressive states in Northern China during the Sixteen States period - or so the Chinese historians would have us believe.²⁵

Former Yen fell to Fu Chien's armies in 370, but after the collapse of Former Ch'in, Mu-jung Ch'ui re-established the state in central Hopei (Later Yen). This state was annexed by T'o-pa Kuei in 398.²⁶ After the dissolution of Later Yen, Mu-jung leaders continued to play a part in the military affairs of the north under T'o-pa, Northern Ch'i and T'ang rulers. They never adopted a Chinese genealogy or a Chinese family name.

 24 See Yao Wei-yüan pp. 170-1; Gardiner and de Crespigny, p. 41; *INTRODUCTION* Part I above.

25 For a detailed history of Former Yen, see Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen, Parts I and II'; also *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:2b above. For Mu-jung relations with Koguryō, see Gardiner, *The early history of Korea*, pp. 37-42.

26 See *SLKCC* pp. 329-72; *WS* 95, pp. 2065-72.

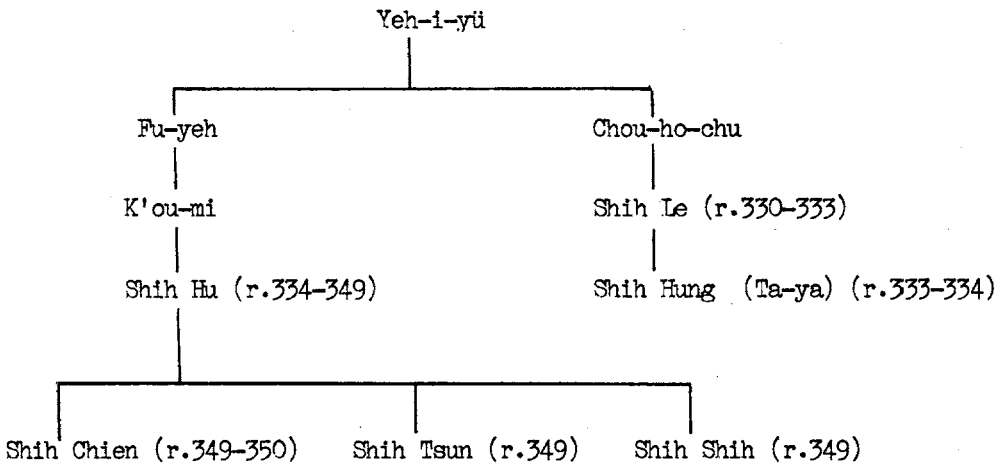
Early Mu-jung Leaders²⁷

²⁷ For a full list of Mu-jung leaders between the third and eighth centuries, see Su Ch'ing-pin, *LHWT* pp. 79-84 and 415-7.

1:10 *The Shih of Later Chao*

Shih Le served under Liu Yüan, Liu Ts'ung and Liu Ts'an of Northern Han (see above, *APPENDIX 1:6*). After falling out with Liu Yao, he set up his own state of Chao (330-349) in central and southern Hopei, Shansi, and Shensi. His name, Shih Le, was only adopted in 307 - being given to him by the rebel leader, Chi Sang (*ws 1:41*).²⁸ Shih Le is described in the histories as a 'Chieh' Hsiung-mu.²⁹

Shih leaders of Later Chao³⁰



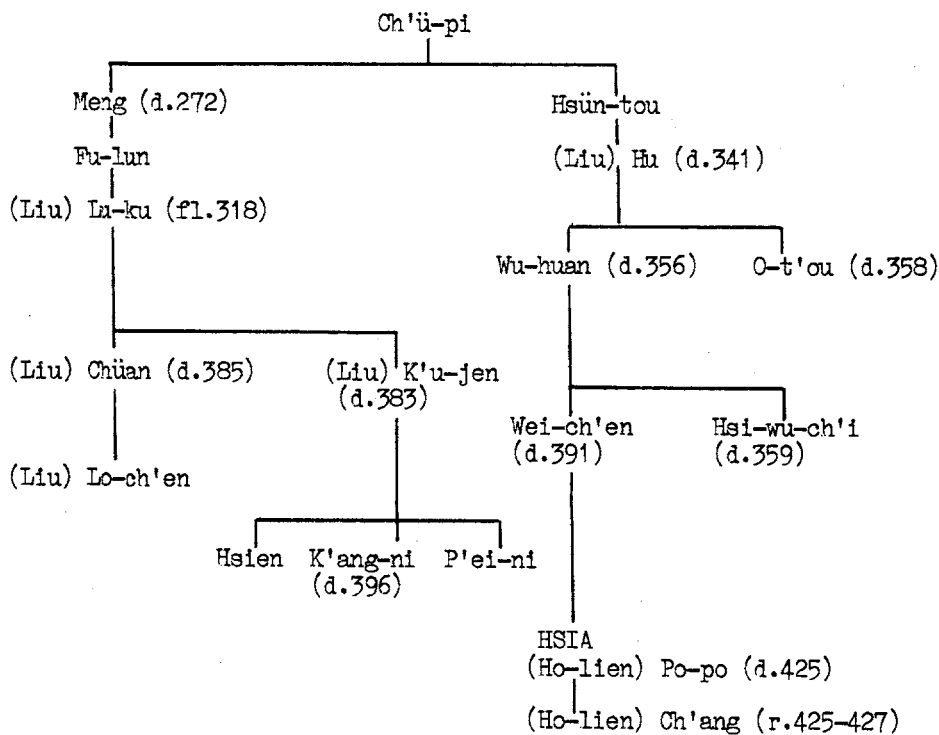
²⁸ *ws* 95, p. 2048.

²⁹ See Yao Wei-yüan pp. 355-60.

³⁰ On Shih Le, see *ws* 95, pp. 2047-50; *cs* 104-105, pp. 2707-52; *SLKCC* pp. 73-119. On Shih Hu, see *ws* 95, pp. 3050-3; *cs* 105-106, pp. 2752-78; *SKLCC* pp. 121-51.

1:11 The T'ieh-fu Liu Hsiung-nu

The T'ieh-fu were a western branch of the Hsiung-nu Liu of Northern Han and Former Chao (see above, 1:6). With their base in central and northern Shensi, these leaders posed a serious threat to T'o-pa consolidation and expansion in the north during the fourth century. The son of the last T'ieh-fu leader, Liu Wei-ch'en, changed his name to Ho-lien and established the state of Hsia in the early part of the fifth century (413-431).³¹ Those T'ieh-fu leaders who allied themselves with the T'o-pa against their kinsmen became known as Tu-ku Liu. Tu-ku leaders came to the fore during the latter part of the Northern Dynasties, Sui and early T'ang.³²



³¹ For the early history of the Liu and Ho-lien leaders, see Boodberg in Cohen (ed.), pp. 47-77 and 252-6; Holmgren 'Women and political Power'; Wang Chi-lin, 'Pei-wei chien-kuo shih-ch'i yü sai-wai min-tsu chih kuan-hsi', *Shih-hsüeh hui k'an* 9 (1978) 47-59.

³² See HHS 75b, pp. 2437-43; Su Ch'ing-pin, *LHWT* pp. 366-71.

1:12 *The Ho-lan Hsien-pi*

Despite the fact that the names of more than twenty prominent Ho-lan scholars and officials are known to us from T'ang records, the origins and history of this clan are very obscure. The reference in *ws* 1:66 seems to be the earliest historical record of these people, who, like the T'o-pa, probably belonged to the Hsien-pi confederacy of the second century.

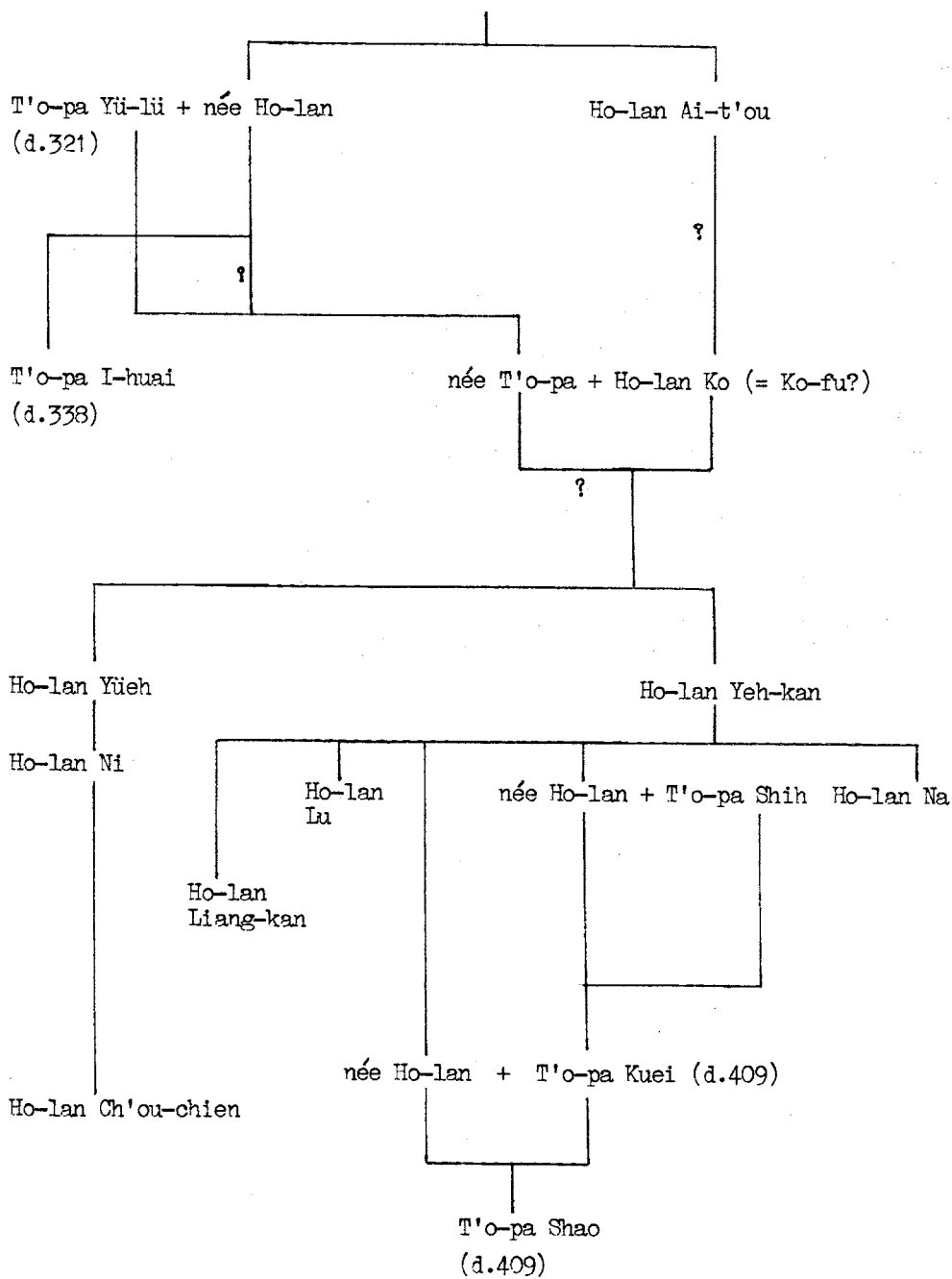
T'ang tradition said that these people took their name from the Ho-lan Mountains to the west of Yin-ch'uan in Kansu. Bazin, Chavannes, and Yao Wei-yüan agree with Hu San-hsing that Ho-lan and Ho-lai are probably Chinese transcriptions of the Turkic/Mongol word 'Alaq' meaning 'dappled horse', and that the variegated foliage of the Alashan or Ho-lan Shan when viewed from afar resembles the colour of the dappled horses of Mongolia.³³ It is thus likely that the Ho-lan tribes took their name from the horses they rode and that the mountains took their name from the people. *Chou-shu*, however, gives a different version of the name Ho-lan. The biography of Ho-lan Hsiang, favourite nephew of Chou T'ai-tsu, states that the name derived from the title *mo-ho-fu* given to their chieftains when they lived at Wu-ch'uan in Inner Mongolia during the fourth century.³⁴

It is possible that in the fourth century these people had a slightly different, less centralized, political structure than the T'o-pa. They may have been grouped into smaller, relatively independent, social units each with its own leader. A political system of divergent authority, without centralized controls would account for the Ho-lan failure to take control of the T'o-pa leadership in 355, 386 and 409 when conditions for a take-over were propitious. Like the Mu-jung of Hopei, the process of political survival in the face of 'failure' to develop a Chinese-style clan structure

³³ Bazin, pp. 252-4 and 290-1; Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux, recueillis et commentés, suivi de notes additionnelles* (A. Maisonneuve, Paris, 1903) p. 56 n2; Yao Wei-yüan, pp. 32-8.

³⁴ *Chou-shu* 20, pp. 335-9.

Ho-lan leaders



in the fifth and sixth centuries remains a mystery.³⁵

Ho-lan Ai-t'ou's name appears only in *ws* 1:66 above. His relationship to T'o-pa I-huai is uncertain. It is likely that he was a maternal uncle. Ai-t'ou's relationship to Ho-lan Ko, who married T'o-pa I-huai's sister, is also uncertain. He may have been Ko's father.

1:13 *The Ch'ang-sun Hsien-pi*

The Ch'ang-sun, like the Ho-lan, were of some social and political significance in early T'ang. It seems that their name was first adopted during the time of T'o-pa Kuei, founder of Northern Wei, and that they were in fact T'o-pa leaders from the same house as the founder of the dynasty. In order to clarify the complex question of Ch'ang-sun origins, the relevant material is presented below in table-form. The texts have been arranged in chronological order.

³⁵ For notes on the Ho-lan relationship with early T'o-pa leaders, see Holmgren, 'Women and Political Power'; *ws* 83a, pp. 1812-3.

Origins of the Ch'ang-sun clan³⁶

Text Written Amended Details on Ch'ang-sun

WS 113 (pp.3005-6)	mid 6th C.	-----	In Emperor Hsien's (Lin's) time, his third elder brother took the name T'o-pa and shared the realm. Later, his descendants were known as Ch'ang-sun.
WS 25 (p. 643)	mid 6th C.	7th C.	Ch'ang-sun Sung of Tai was given his personal name by T'o-pa T'ai-tsu (Kuei, d.409). Sung's father, Jen, was leader of the southern hordes in Shih-i-chien's time.
SLKCC 56 (p. 423)	6th C.	Ming?	T'o-pa Sung, Duke of Nan-p'ing...
PS 22 (p. 805) (source of amended WS 25)	7th C.	-----	Ch'ang-sun Sung's father's name was Jen. Jen was the leader of the southern hordes under Shih-i-chien. Shih-i-chien gave Sung his personal name, and Kuei made Sung leader of the southern hordes.
Chou-shu 26 (pp. 427 and 433)	7th C.	9th C.?	Ch'ang-sun Chien ^a 's ancestors had the surname T'o-pa. This was changed to Ch'ang-sun during Kao-tsu's time. (c. A.D. 496).
Chien ^a 's tombstone (see Chou-shu 26, p. 433 n2)			Chien ^a 's family name was T'o-pa

³⁶ The material here is not a translation but a paraphrase of the relevant texts.

Text	Written	Amended	Details on Ch'ang-sun
CTS 65 (p. 2446)	10th C.	----	<i>Ch'ang-sun</i> Wu-chi's ancestors were descendants of the third older brother of Northern Wei Emp. Hsien (T'o-pa Lin). At first they were known as T'o-pa. Later, they became known as Pa. Because they were 'elder' relations, their name was changed to <i>Ch'ang-sun</i> .
HTS 72a (p. 2409)	11th C.	----	The <i>Ch'ang-sun</i> were descendants of T'o-pa Sha mo-hsiung who was Yü-li's (d. 321) eldest son. He became leader of the southern hordes and later his personal name was changed to Jen. He was called T'o-pa. His son, Sung, was given the family name <i>Ch'ang-sun</i> during Kuei's time because he was an older relative. In Kao-tsu's time (496), Emperor Hsien's (Lin's) brothers took the names ... (here there is no mention of the name <i>Ch'ang-sun</i>).
TCTC (p. 3746)	11th C.	----	<i>Ch'ang-sun</i> Sung's original family name was Pa-pa.
TCTC (p. 4393)	11th C.	----	(Kao-tsu) then changed the name Pa-pa to <i>Ch'ang-sun</i> (496).
TCTC (Hu San-hsing's commentary, pp. 2459 and 3244)	13th C.	----	Lin's third elder brother became known as Pa-pa. Later, this was changed to <i>Ch'ang-sun</i> ... The Pa-pa took the name <i>Ch'ang-sun</i> .
KCHS 27 (pp. 2b-4a)	12th C.	----	T'o-pa Yü-li's son, Sha-mo-hsiung, became known as <i>Ch'ang-sun</i> Jen
KCHS 37 (p. 8b)	12th C.	----	Emperor Hsien's (Lin's) brother was called Pa-pa. Later, he became <i>Ch'ang-sun</i> .

I would suggest a synthesis of the above material as follows: the *HTS* version is basically correct except where it has Sha-mo-hsiung as T'o-pa Yü-lü's eldest son. (Yü-lü's eldest son was T'o-pa I-huai). Sha-mo-hsiung, however, was probably older than Shih-i-chien and Ku, since the latter is described in *ws* as Yü-lü's fourth son (see *INTRODUCTION* Parts IV:3 and IV:4. It is probable that during T'o-pa Kuei's time, only Sha-mo-hsiung's son, Sung, and his immediate family took the name Ch'ang-sun, and that other branches of the family took that name at the end of the fifth century after the move to Lo-yang during T'o-pa Kao-tsu's time.

Some members of the family may have been known as Pa-pa during T'o-pa Kuei's time. However, it should be noted that *CTS* is the first text to mention this name. All earlier records give the original name of the family as T'o-pa, including *ws* 113. Thus, it seems more likely that the name Pa-pa is a late explanation for the peculiar occurrence of the name 'T'o-pa' among the list of brothers in *ws* 113 who are said to have shared the realm with Lin and to have taken different names at the end of the second century.

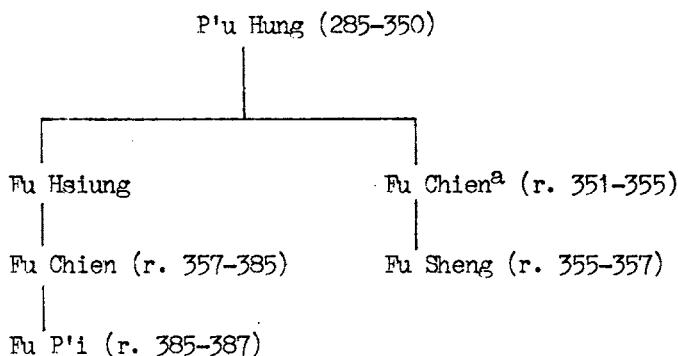
In conclusion, it seems that the Ch'ang-sun were descendants of T'o-pa Yü-lü (d.321) and, through him, T'o-pa Li-wei, and that extension of the royal line back to T'o-pa Lin of the second century resulted in an extension of the Ch'ang-sun line back to a 'relative' of T'o-pa Lin, who shared the realm with him after the division of T'an-shih-huai's empire (see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:1). However, while the mythical ancestors of other great families could be given a family name, there was no name other than T'o-pa for the ancestor of the Ch'ang-sun line short of making one up, which is what seems to have happened during the T'ang period. *ws* 25, *SLKCC* 56, *PS* 22, *Chou-shu* 26 and *HTS* 72a also show that the truth about Ch'ang-sun descent from T'o-pa Yü-lü survived side-by-side with the Lin/T'ui-yen origin myth well into the T'ang period.

1:14 *The Fu of Great (Former) Ch'in*

The Fu of Former Ch'in (351-394) were Ti people whose history was tied closely to that of the Ch'iang in southern Shensi and southeastern Kansu (1:15 below). At the beginning of the second century, the area occupied by the Ti and Ch'iang peoples was affected by a decade of rebellions against the authorities of Later Han, and, from A.D. 119, by a second spate of rebellion which lasted into the latter part of the century (see n38 below).

The ancestor of Fu Chien (the greatest leader of the state of Former Ch'in) was P'u Hung (385-350), a tribal leader in Lüeh-yang who assumed the governorship of Ch'in Province at the time of the Hsiung-nu conquest of Lo-yang (A.D. 311). During the period 328-349, P'u Hung gave his allegiance to Eastern Chin or to Shih Hu of Later Chao as circumstances dictated. In 350, his son, Fu Chien^a, occupied Ch'ang-an in the name of Eastern Chin, but a year later, proclaimed the establishment of an independent state. His son and successor, Fu Sheng, reigned only two years before being deposed by Fu Chien. After a series of campaigns lasting some six years, Fu Chien succeeded in uniting the whole of Northern China under his command. His downfall came in 383 at the battle of the Fei River during his attack on the south.³⁷

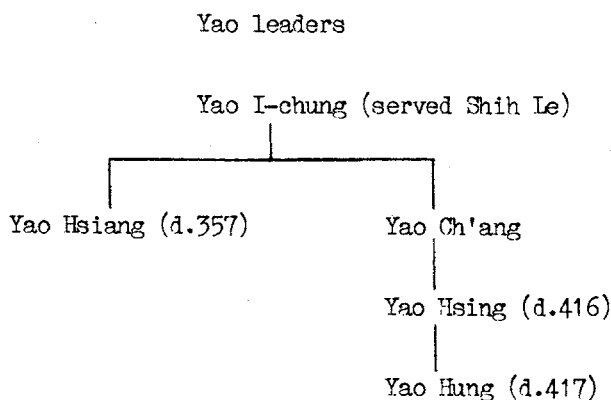
Fu leaders



³⁷ For full details on Fu Chien and the history of the state of Former Ch'in, see Rogers; also *SLKCC* pp. 239-398; *WS* 95, pp. 2073-9.

1:15 *The Yao of Later Ch'in*

Yao was the name adopted by leaders of the Ch'iang tribes in southern Shensi and south-eastern Kansu.³⁸ During the Sixteen States, the Yao served as high officials and generals in the Ti state of Former Ch'in (1:14 above). In 385, Yao Hsiang's brother, Yao Ch'ang, killed Fu Chien, and, in the following year, established his own state of Later Ch'in. Ch'ang's son, Yao Hsing, conquered Lo-yang in 399, but his son, Yao Hung, was overthrown within a year of his succession when the state fell to Liu Yü in 417.³⁹



³⁸ On Ch'iang relations with Han China, see R.R.C. de Crespigny, 'The Ch'iang barbarians, Parts I and II'.

³⁹ See Rogers, pp. 73-6; *ws* 95, pp. 2081-5; *SLKCC* pp. 373-430.

1:16 *Yen Feng of Tai*

Yen Feng came from a low-status Chinese family in Tai. Wei Shou describes him as a scholar who was actively sought out by Shih-i-chien and pressed into T'o-pa service. Wei Shou's story of how Shih-i-chien forced the townspeople of Tai to surrender Yen Feng suggests that this area of northwestern Hopei was only nominally under T'o-pa control even during Shih-i-chien's time.⁴⁰

Yen Feng acted as go-between in T'o-pa communications with the state of Former Ch'in (1:14 above). His biography records a conversation between him and Fu Chien on the subject of Shih-i-chien's qualities as a leader, T'o-pa methods of fighting, and the number of men and horses at Shih-i-chien's disposal.⁴¹ Much has been made of this conversation. Rogers suggests that this section of Yen Feng's biography is a figment of the T'ang imagination, and that the passage was suggested to T'ang historians by T'ang T'ai-tsung's interrogation of a T'o-pa envoy about the number of horses at his master's disposal.⁴² However, Yen Feng's biography, like *ws* 1, is part of Wei Shou's original sixth century text written c. A.D. 550. Moreover, what could be more natural than a conversation about the number of men and horses available to a potential friend or foe? Fu Chien's questions do not show contempt for the northerner's fighting ability; they show his concern to gauge the strengths and weaknesses of the T'o-pa leadership. Presumably, Shih-i-chien's object in sending Yen Feng to Ch'ang-an was to obtain an accurate idea of the strength of Fu Chien's armies.

Wei Shou's figures on T'o-pa men-at-arms suggest that in Shih-i-chien's time (c. 366), the leadership could rely on a force of one hundred

⁴⁰ See *ws* 24, p. 609. Note that *ws* 1:89 records a 'visit' to the Tai region by Shih-i-chien as late as 362.

⁴¹ *ws* 24, pp. 609-10.

⁴² Rogers, p. 15.

thousand bowmen, with about one million horses at their disposal. Fu Chien accepted the figures given for bowmen, but was considerably alarmed and/or skeptical about the estimate of horses. Yen Feng's reply to further questions suggested that the figure for horses - based on estimates made during the spring round-ups - was, if anything, an underestimate.⁴³ This may have been bluff, but it is significant that when Yen Feng returned to Shih-i-chien, he came away loaded with gifts from Fu Chien.⁴⁴ Clearly Fu Chien had been impressed.

In T'ai-tsu's time, Yen Feng was ranked with such dignitaries as Ts'ui Hsüan-po and Feng I from the northeastern aristocracy. He died in office as a marquis and official of the second rank. Two of his sons achieved high ranks in the Northern Wei bureaucracy, but nothing is known of later descendants.

⁴³ Gerard M. Friters, *Outer Mongolia and its international position* (Johns Hopkin Press, Baltimore, 1949) pp. 13 and 18 states that 2.6 million horses were counted in Outer Mongolia during the 1941 census, and four million horses during the 1938 census. S.A.M. Adshead, 'Horse administration under the Ch'ing; an introduction', *PFEH* 17 (1978) p. 72 estimates that there could have been about ten million horses in Inner Asia between late antiquity and the Renaissance, with about half of those in Mongolia.

⁴⁴ *ws* 24, pp. 609-10.

1:17 *Hsü Ch'ien of Tai*

The history of Hsü Ch'ien (334-396) and his family illustrates the opportunities for rapid upward social mobility amongst low-status Chinese families during the Sixteen States and early Northern Wei. Hsü Ch'ien's forbears held no significant official posts. His biography describes him as a literate man, good at divination and prophecy from the stars. Shih-i-chien is said to have put him in charge of the records of state; one of his duties being to teach Emperor Hsien-ming, T'o-pa Kuei's father, the Chinese classics.⁴⁵

It is unlikely that Hsü Ch'ien went into T'o-pa employ before the year 350. By that time, Shih-i-chien's star was on the rise: Later Chao had collapsed and the T'o-pa had survived a period of hostility with Former Yen. Hsü Ch'ien, in 350, was only 15 years old, but in T'o-pa eyes, he was a young scholar who could record the deeds of the T'o-pa leadership just as Wei Ts'ao had done at the beginning of the century. It is interesting to see that 356 marks the reappearance of a monthly chronicle of events in *ws 1* after a decade in which there is virtually no information on Shih-i-chien's activities. This era (346-356) was an uncertain time of changing alliances for the leadership, and it seems that this uncertainty is reflected in the historiography of the period: the detailed records of Shih-i-chien's early years probably stem from his close connection with the court of Later Chao, while those of his later years (356-376) stem from his own ability to gather around him scholars and archivists in the Chinese manner. The paucity of records from 346 to 356 reflects the transition between these two stages of his career.

Hsü Ch'ien's biography in *ws* is laudatory. There is no mention of the silk scandal, and he definitely did not commit suicide (*ws 1:100*). He went to Ch'ang-an after the collapse of Tai and served Fu Chien's state of Former Ch'in. He was probably taken there in the company of T'o-pa Kuei's father, T'o-pa Shih (see *INTRODUCTION* Part IV:4). Retiring from

⁴⁵ *ws 24*, p. 610.

his post at Ho-lung at the right moment, he bided his time and joined T'o-pa Kuei c. 386, whereupon he was promoted to marquis and general.⁴⁶

Hsü Ch'ien died in office with the rank of a fourth class official. Three of his sons achieved high ranks under T'ai-tsu, T'ai-tsung and Shih-tsu, and his grandson, Chi-sheng, died in 467 as a marquis. Another grandson, Po-hu, lost his official position through some unspecified crime. In all, three generations of the family held significant official posts in the early Northern Wei bureaucracy.⁴⁷

1:18 *The Liang Hsiung-nu*

WS gives the original name of these people as Pa-lieh, while *KCHS* of the twelfth century gives their name as Pa-lieh-lan.⁴⁸ Yao Wei-yüan, using material from *SKC* and *CS*, shows that these people were closely related to the Hsiung-nu Hsiu-t'u people of Liang Province who settled in An-ting Commandery and changed their name to Liang during Ts'ao Ts'ao's time.⁴⁹

Neither Liang Kai-p'en nor his son has a biography in *WS*. However, Liang Liu-chüan is referred to in Mu Ch'ung's biography (*APPENDIX 1:19* below) as a 'wai-sun' of Emperor P'ing-wen;⁵⁰ that is, one of T'o-pa Yü-lü's daughters had married Liang (Pa-lieh-lan) Kai-p'en, and Liang Liu-chüan was T'o-pa Shih-i-chien's nephew.

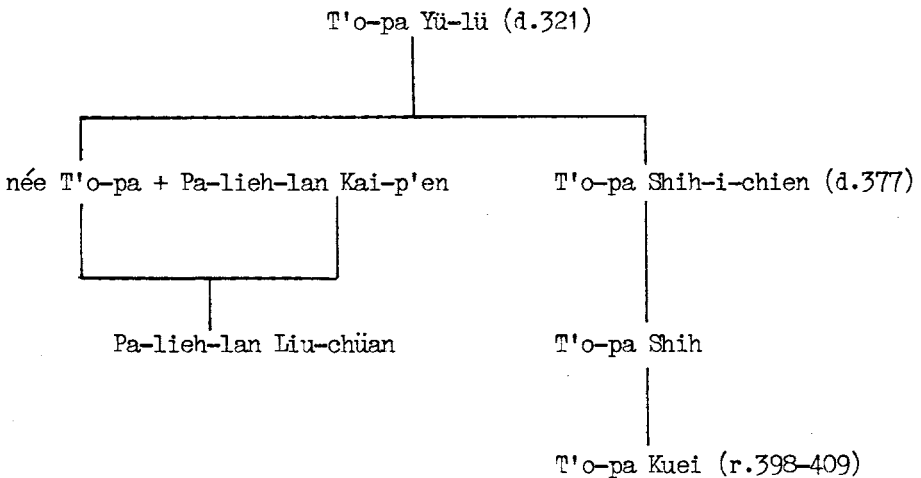
⁴⁶ *ibid* p. 611.

⁴⁷ *ibid* p. 612.

⁴⁸ *WS* 113, p. 3007; *KCHS* 37, p. 8b.

⁴⁹ Yao Wei-yüan, pp. 60-2.

⁵⁰ *WS* 27, p. 661.

1:19 *The Mu Hsien-pi*

WS states that the Mu family of Tai were originally known as Ch'iu-mu-ling.⁵¹ Mao Han-kuang shows that at least forty-seven members of this clan achieved the rank of a class-five official or above during Northern Wei. Mu Ch'ung (d.406) is the earliest of these.⁵²

During T'o-pa K'ü-to's attempt to take control of the T'o-pa leadership in 386, Yü Huan (1:24 below), who was Mu Ch'ung's sister's son, planned to seize T'o-pa Kuei and hand him over to his uncle. When asked to join the plot, Mu Ch'ung informed T'o-pa Kuei. Yü Huan was killed and Kuei fled across the Yin Ranges to the Ho-lan.⁵³

A curious story recorded in Mu Ch'ung's biography - part of Wei Shou's original text - reveals something of T'o-pa and Hsien-pi spirit observances during the latter part of the fourth century:

⁵¹ *WS* 113, p. 3006.

⁵² Mao Han-kuang, *Liang-chin nan-pei ch'ao shih-tsu cheng-chih chih yen-chiu*, 2 vols (Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, Taipei, 1961) Vol.2, pp. 520-4; *WS* 27, pp. 661-79; also Su Ch'ing-pin, *LHWT*, pp. 214-8 for a genealogy of important members of this clan.

⁵³ *WS* 27, p. 661.

When T'ai-tsu [Kuei] was in hiding during the troubles connected with his uncle, K'u-to, he sent Mu Ch'ung out to discover the mood of the people. Leaving his horse with followers, Mu Ch'ung went among the people at night, going into their camps in disguise. In one place, where there was a bright fire, he was recognized by a peasant girl. Everyone fled, and Mu Ch'ung, unable to find his followers, hid in a pit. He waited until he could steal a horse and fled. He spent the night in a swamp. There, a white wolf approached him. It howled, and when Mu Ch'ung was aware of what it wanted, he followed it on his horse and managed to get out of that place. The rebel band pursued him, but he was able to avoid them. T'ai-tsu marvelled at his story and ordered him to set up a shrine at which his descendants could worship.⁵⁴

1:20 *The Ch'i-fu Hsien-pi*

Ch'i-fu Kuo-jen (d.388) came from Lung-hsi in Kansu. His Hsien-pi ancestor, Ch'i-fu Ju-fu, had settled in the south from the desert regions, and his father, Ssü-fan, had submitted to Fu Chien^a of Former Ch'in. When Fu Chien^a was killed, Ch'i-fu Kuo-jen's uncle, Pu-t'ui revolted. He was joined by Ch'i-fu Kuo-jen some time later. In T'ai-tsu's time, Ch'i-fu Kuo-jen set himself up as Shepherd of Ch'in and Ho in Kansu, with his base at Yung-shih-ch'eng near modern Yü-chung. After his death, his younger brother was forced further west by Yao Hsing of Later Ch'in. He shifted to Chin-ch'eng near modern Kao-lan in Kansu and called himself King of (Western) Ch'in in A.D. 409.⁵⁵

1:21 *The Shu-sun Hsien-pi*

The early history of the Shu-sun family parallels that of the Ch'ang-sun (1:13 above): *ws* 113 states that the name was derived from a younger paternal uncle of T'o-pa Lin who shared the Hsien-pi realm at the end of the second century.⁵⁶ However, as with the Ch'ang-sun, it is probable

⁵⁴ *ibid*, p. 662.

⁵⁵ See *ws* 2, p. 38; *ws* 3, p. 50; *ws* 99, pp. 2198-9; *SLKCC*, pp. 591-611.

⁵⁶ *ws* 113, p. 3006.

that this relationship with the royal T'o-pa line refers to Shih-i-chien's time. The first Shu-sun was probably a descendant of Shih-i-chien's younger brother, T'o-pa Ku, who shared the realm with him in the early part of the fourth century (*INTRODUCTION* Part IV:4 above). *ws* 113 states that the early name of the clan was I-chan.⁵⁷ This is verified by references to I-chan Chüan Duke of An-p'ing, and to the Duke of An-p'ing She-kuei fan-neng-chien in *Sung-shu*, and by *ws* references to the Duke of An-p'ing Shu-sun Chien.⁵⁸

1:22 *The Hu-fu-hou Hsiung-nu*

ws 113 has no reference to a Hu-fu-hou clan. It does, however, mention a Hu-ku-k'ou-yin clan which changed its name to Hou at the end of the fifth century.⁵⁹ *KCHS* lists a Ssü (sic?)-fu-hou clan which changed its name to Hou. No genealogy is given but it is probable that all these names refer to one and the same people - a Chieh Hsiung-nu people settled near Shuo-fang.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *ibid* p. 3006.

⁵⁸ See *Sung-shu* 43, p. 1343; *Sung-shu* 95, p. 2325; *ws* 29, p. 702; also Yao Wei-yüan, pp. 22-4.

⁵⁹ *ws* 113, p. 3008.

⁶⁰ *KCHS* 22, p. 3b. See Yao Wei-yüan, pp. 81-7 for a full discussion of these names. Hou Ch'en is also known as Hou Yin. See *ws* 26, p. 655, the biography of Wei Ku-chen - who revealed the plot between Ho Liang-kan, the Hu-fu-hou, and the I-fu leaders to oust T'o-pa Kuei from the leadership of the Ho-lan/T'o-pa confederation. See also *ws* 13, p. 324 on T'o-pa Kuei's mother's role in suppressing this rebellion - tr. Holmgren, 'Women and Political Power'. Ho Liang-kan's role in this rebellion is not mentioned in *ws* 2, but his participation seems confirmed by the reference in *ws* 26 which is part of Wei Shou's original sixth century text.

1:23 *The I-fu Hsien-pi*

WS 113 states that the I-fu changed their name to I at the end of the fifth century.⁶¹ Other sections of *WS* and *PS* show that these people were related to the T'u-yü-hun of Ch'ing-hai.⁶² The T'u-yü-hun were descendants of a branch of Mu-jung Hsien-pi which had migrated west from Liaotung c. 285.⁶³

1:24 *The Yü Hsiung-nu*

WS gives the original name of this family as Wu-niu-yü.⁶⁴ At least twenty-four members of this clan held the rank of a class-five official or above during Northern Wei, with another fifteen members achieving prominent positions in the Northern Chou bureaucracy.⁶⁵ During T'ang, three members of the clan were appointed Prime Minister. It is thus no surprise that *HTS* extends the genealogy of the family back to a son of Chou Wu-wang.⁶⁶

Unfortunately, Yü Huan's name seems to have been expunged from the Northern Wei records. Consequently, his name does not appear in any later Yü genealogy. All we know about his family is that his mother was Mu Ch'ung's sister. It is likely, however, that the 'illustrious ancestor' of the clan, who flourished in the early fifth century, was a close relative of Yü Huan.⁶⁷

⁶¹ *WS* 113, p. 3011.

⁶² *WS* 101, p. 2241; *PS* 13, p. 506.

⁶³ See Schreiber, 'The history of the Former Yen, Part I', pp. 395-7. On the T'u-yü-hun, see T.D. Carroll (tr.), *Account of the T'u-yü-hun in the history of the Chin dynasty* (Chinese dynastic history translations 4, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953).

⁶⁴ *WS* 113, p. 3007.

⁶⁵ Mao Han-kuang, vol.1, p. 25.

⁶⁶ *HTS* 72c. p. 2818.

⁶⁷ In *WS* 31, pp. 735-50, this ancestor is called Yü Li-shan. See Su Ch'ing-pin *LHWT*, pp. 220-6 for a genealogy of the clan in the pre-T'ang period, and *HTS* 72c, pp. 2818-33 for a genealogy of important T'ang members of the clan.

1:25 *An T'ung of Liao-tung*

An T'ung (d.429) came from a Parthian family settled in Liao-tung. His father, An Ch'ü, had served Mu-jung Wei until the latter's defeat by Fu Chien in 370. An T'ung followed his friend's sister, nee Kung-sun, to Liu K'u-jen's camp. There, after Shih-i-chien's death, he met T'o-pa Kuei.⁶⁸

Only T'o-pa K'u-to's biography - a compilation of the Sung dynasty - has details about An T'ung's role in saving T'o-pa Kuei in about 386. This text states that An T'ung and Ch'ang-sun Ho were sent to get help from Mu-jung Ch'ui of Later Yen and that Ch'ang-sun Ho deserted Kuei's cause. An T'ung, however, regardless of personal risk, pressed on to Chung-shan. On his way back, he ran into trouble from T'o-pa K'u-to's nephew, T'o-pa I-lieh, who was blockading Niu-ch'uan. He managed to escape and made his way back to Mu-jung Ho-lin's army. Meanwhile, the enemy was closing in on the Ho-lan and T'o-pa Kuei. An T'ung set out again after hearing of the revolt against T'o-pa Kuei by Shu-sun P'u-lo and the northern hordes. He got through, rallied the Ho-lan and T'o-pa troops, and then made his way back to Mu-jung Ho-lin to arrange the meeting at Kao-liu where T'o-pa K'u-to was defeated.⁶⁹

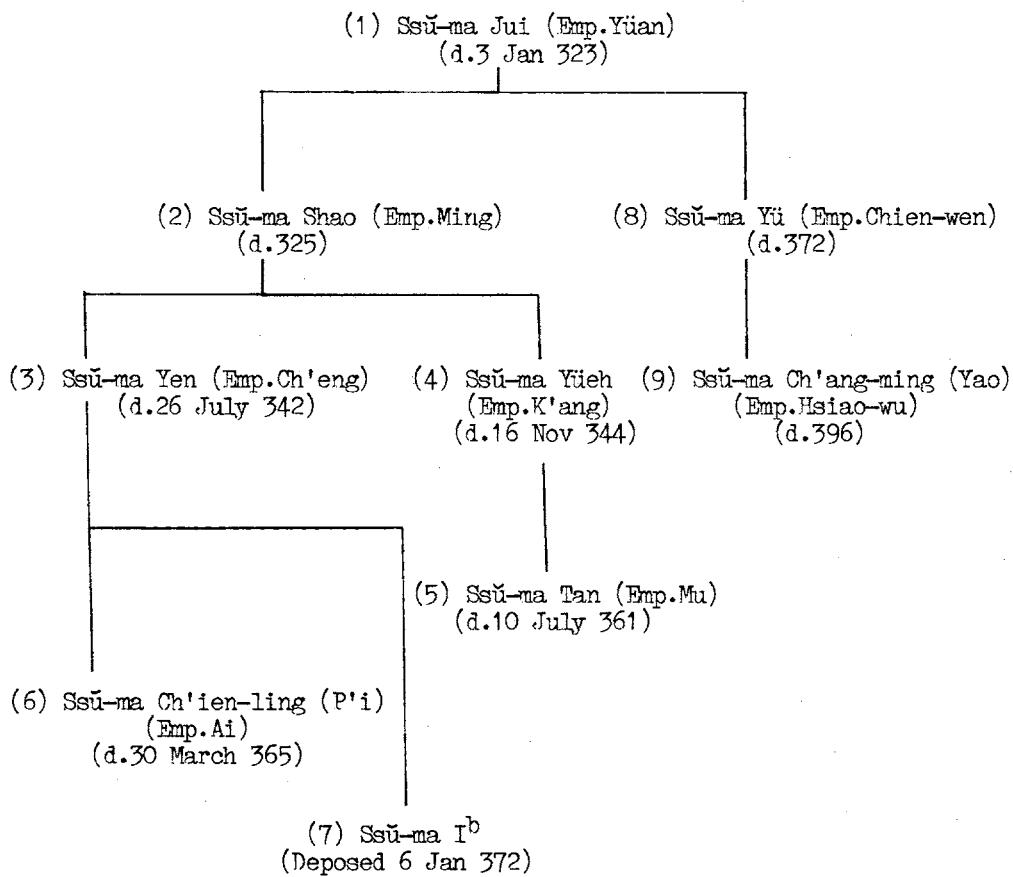
It is probable that much of the above story is fictional, designed to fill in the details about K'u-to's 'rebellion' without giving too much away about the relationship between him and T'o-pa Kuei and the delicate intricacies of T'o-pa family politics at this time. Seven members of An T'ung's family achieved high ranking positions in the early Northern Wei bureaucracy. An T'ung and his son, Yüan, both reached the rank of second class officials.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ *ws* 30, p. 712.

⁶⁹ *ws* 15, pp. 385-6.

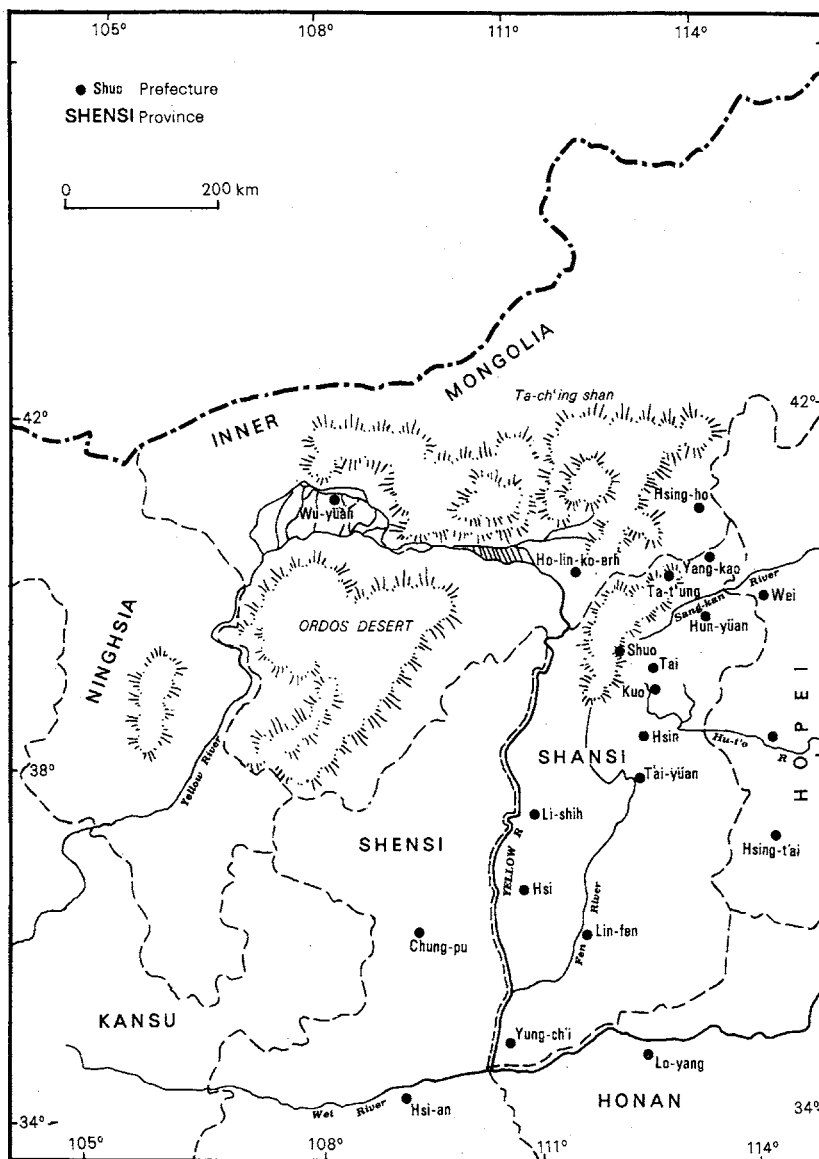
⁷⁰ *ws* 30, pp. 712-7.

1:26 The Ssü-ma rulers of Eastern Chin

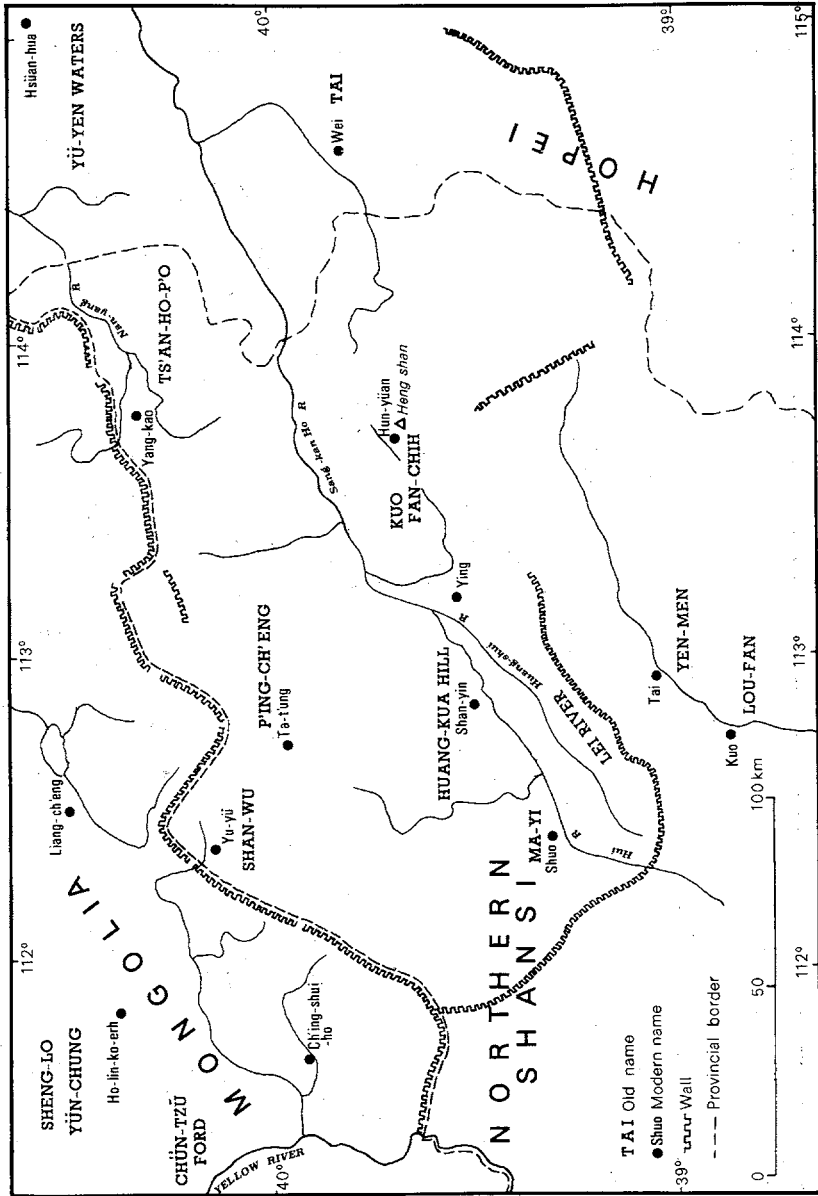


APPENDIX 2 MAPS

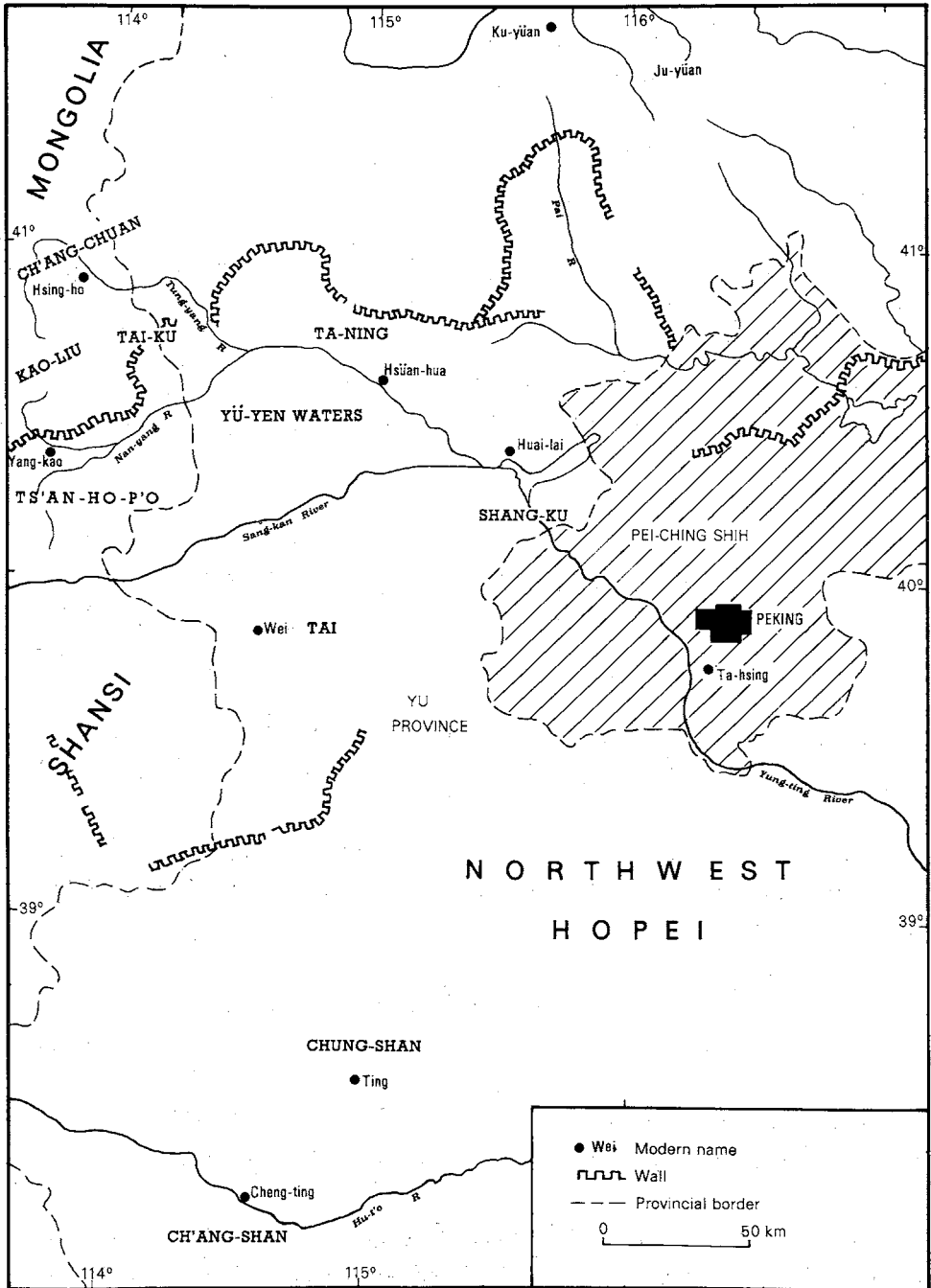
MAP 3
 Modern Place Names in
 Northern Shansi and Inner Mongolia



MAP 4
Northern Shansi during Western Chin



MAP 5
Northwestern Hopei during Western Chin



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臣位受任一方而智力淺短訪節未交所
夜憂惶忘寢與食臣屢遣人至荆揚所在
具論天朝盛化之美莫不忻承聖德傾首
而義隆兄弟知人情搖動遣臣私讎順爲
刺史統淮北七郡代垣苗守懸瓠自鞏洛
敗散已來義隆恥其敗北多加罪罰到彥
位退同卒伍殺姚縱夫於壽春斬竺靈秀
城王休元託疾檀道濟斥放凡在腹心悉
阻民怨臣猜可謂今日臣聞平殄寇逆必垂
勝之威建立功勳亦因離貳之勢伏惟陛下
德膺符道光四海神旌所指莫不摧服其