

華西協合大學

中國文化研究所集刊

第五卷

中華民國三十五年印行

本刊編纂委員會(以姓氏筆劃多寡爲次)

聞 宥(主席) 劉 咸 劉朝陽 顏 闈 韓雲林

本 刊 條 例

- (一)本刊所收論文，以關於中國文化之研究爲主，而尤側重於人類考古歷史地理語言等學科。中國以外，如印度南海等之研究，在文化上關係極密者，或亦兼採，惟以極少數爲限。
- (二)本刊論文，以所中同人自撰者爲主。所外學人有以往實相符之稿本見賜者，本所當斟酌收受之。
- (三)本刊文字，不以國文爲限，英法德文皆得使用。惟用國文者多附英文提要，用英文者多附國文提要，以求國內外學者披閱之便。
- (四)本刊約二百五十頁爲一卷，每卷得分號刊佈之。

本卷定價： 國內 國幣四十元
 國外 美金一元或英金五先令

凡致送文稿書籍及匯寄書款等，皆請書下列地址：
四川，成都，華西協合大學，中國文化研究所。

本 卷 目 次

再談殷代氣候	董作賓
貴州安順普定諸縣之仡佬及其歷史	鮑克蘭
羌之體質測量	顏 闈
小乙征羌方考	劉朝陽
若干東藏方言中添首子音與前置子音之音變	聞 宥

M67
K203-55
1

再談殷代氣候

董作賓

關於殷代氣候的研究，到現在，好像是已有了很堅強的論證，就是說根據卜辭中的紀錄，知道殷代的氣候要比現在稍為和暖或遠較今日為熱。這是衛特夫格氏和胡厚宣君研究的結果。他們的論文是：

商代卜詞的氣象紀錄 衛特夫格(據陳雲華譯本，載大學一卷一、二期)
卜辭中所見之農業(農業叢刊部分 4-21 葉) 胡厚宣(第一篇)
氣候變遷與殷代氣候之檢討 胡厚宣(第二篇，以上均刊入甲骨學商史
叢書第二集)

論殷卜辭中關於雨雪之記載 胡厚宣(第三篇，刊入學衡與建設第一期)
衛氏的論文，我曾在書評中談過，現在與胡君論文三篇，合併再討論一下。

氣候是常常有變動的，不是刻板的，這是人人都有的常識。不過根據了多年的經驗，我們可以得到一個概念，例如現在的黃河流域的氣候，我們可以說：冬春兩季要冷，要下雪，雪雨又少；夏秋兩季要熱，要下雨，雨水又多。竺可楨先生中國氣候區域論，(地理雜誌二卷二期)，中國北部類云：

在此區域，雨量最高點在七月，冬則異常乾燥。此地全年雨量，年年變動甚大；與此區以西北相似，故饑饉時見。此區包括山東河南二省，江蘇安徽湖北北部，及山西陝西南部。

又涂長望氏中國雨量區域分類，(氣象研究所集刊五號)云：

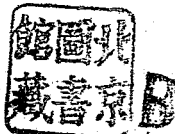
我國黃河流域一帶，為“華北類”，其雨量季候之分配，約計冬季佔 3%，春季佔 10%，夏季佔 70%，秋季佔 17%。雨量集中於夏季。

胡煥庸氏黃河志云：

總現在黃河流域之紀錄，平均每年下雪日數，無超過十五日者。下雪日期，普通多自十一月至三月。

以現在的黃河流域為標準，氣候大數是如此的：

據我粗略的觀察，我所感到的殷代的氣候，表現於卜辭中的，和現在的黃河流域的氣候，並沒有什麼差異，因之我不能說殷代氣候要比現在為暖，甚至於說遠較今日為熱。這是我與衛胡二氏的見解根本不同之處。



衛胡二氏同樣的用統計方法來整理卜辭中有關氣候而記有月名者之紀錄，衛氏收錄了 108 條，胡君收錄了 150 條，他們的看法是這樣：衛氏云：

如果經驗不能使卜者相信在一年的這個時節確有下雨的可能，則乞靈魔力也是無用的。因此，我們假定關於氣象方面的期望，確實反映了當時氣候方面的經驗，也似乎是合理的。

胡君云：

凡此皆卜雨之辭，其真正記載降雨者甚少，然既卜雨矣，則於其時必有降雨之可能，可知。(第一篇)

蓋甲骨文字中，百分之九十以上，本皆為卜辭，間有記事文字，則為數不多，極實然也。但既卜雨矣，則於其時必有降雨之可能，若此，則雖屬卜辭，仍不失為可信之史料。(第二篇，第三篇同)

“期望”下雨而下雨，卜雨“必有降雨的可能”。所以他們都把卜辭記下雨而有月份的，當作測候所的“雨日”紀錄而拿來一併統計。統計的結果，乃得到以下的結論：

殷代氣候稍為和暖一節，既為化石的研究所提出，又由商代的古紀錄中所包涵的氣象學的和季節的材料所證實。這種結論，是否能證明西歷紀元前第四個一千年到第二個一千年全世界的氣候都較為和暖？這是可以問的。(衛)

殷代氣候，較今日為暖，殷代一年中無月不可以降雨，乃極明白可知。(胡，第一篇)

殷代氣候，不特稍暖，且遠較今日為熱。(胡，第二篇及第三篇)

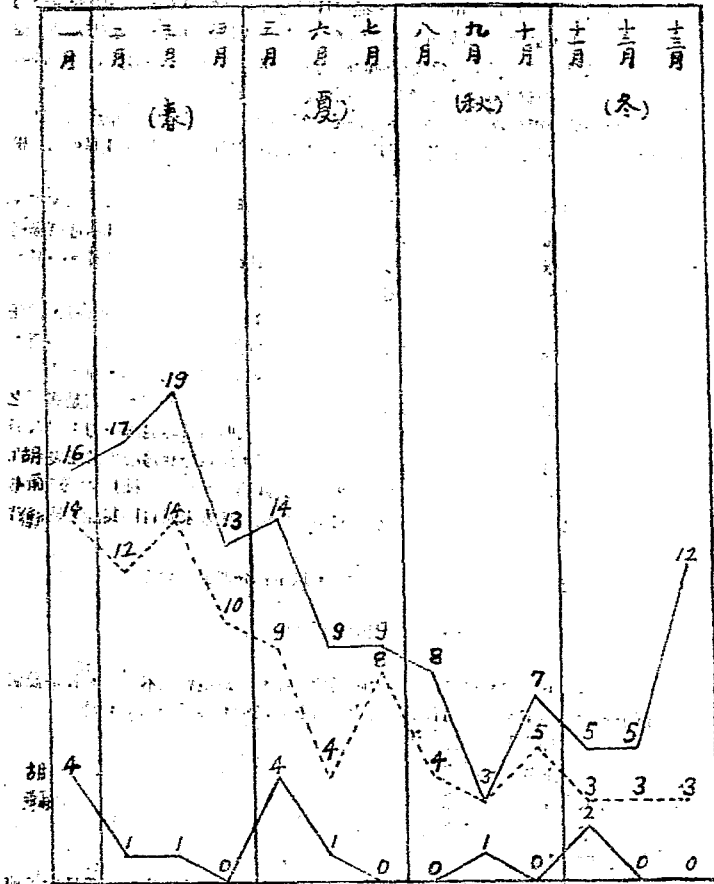
殷代北方黃河流域之氣候，必遠較今日為熱，可知也。(同上)

然則殷代氣候之熱，究至何種程度？曰：由各方面推之，殷代氣候，至少與今日長江流域或更以南者相當也。(胡，第二篇)

知殷代氣候必遠較今日為熱，約與今長江流域以南相當。(胡，第三篇)

衛氏僅稱“稍為和暖”，胡君則決然斷定殷代氣候，“遠較今日為熱，約與長江流域以南相當”。他們的主要證據當然是卜辭，主要方法，是統計了一百多條卜辭，製成一個總表。其餘的如所謂“化石”及“各方面”的推求，都是烘托這統計表的。我們現在且看一看統計表。(依原長數字改製，增列四季)

衡湖二系降雨统计合表



觀上表，衛胡兩氏的材料是差不多的。衛氏曾加以解說：

關於收穫和農業雨的占卜，從四月到七月，忽然減少。……關於晴天的占卜，顯然表明缺乏晴天。大概從二月到八月是如此。一年的末期，從八月到十二月，又為收穫期的祈禱，尤其是在十月十一月間。但對於雨量，則與經大減，事實上專為雨的占卜，幾乎沒有了。

衛氏注意到下雨的反面“卜啓”，這是他的特識。是的，如果不加說明，則表中明明是二、三、四月最高，四月以後，何以忽然降低？便擬以自解。胡君根據統計表的結果，只是含糊的說：

今觀上表，自一月至十三月，下雨之事，無月無之。一、二、三、五、六、九、十一諸月，且皆實際降雨。則殷代一年之中，無月不可以降雨，乃極明白可知。又諸月之中，下雨次數最多者為三月、二月、一月、五月、十三月，降雨次數最多者為一月、五月。

他認為卜雨祇“必有降雨之可能”，所以得此結論。我們想，如果是這樣，信任統計所得的是可靠的事實，下雨次數多，降雨也可能多，那麼我們再看一看：表中的九月是下雨的數字最少，而降雨次數等於春的四、七、八、十一、十二、十三月，又當如何去解釋？既然據統計表，認為十三、一、二、三月是多雨之時，因而斷定了殷代冬春多雨，遠較今日為熱；我們如果再追問一句：“六月至十二月，何以雨少”？是不是殷代的夏秋少雨，遠較今日為冷？又在表中九月下雨最少，降雨的可能當然也最少？而同書（第一、三、三種）講“備雨”部分，所舉九月十八天的連雨，豈不自相矛盾？這些地方未能自圓其說，是胡君不如衛氏細心之處。

以上把衛胡二氏的研究，略作介紹，以下再分別加以討論。

一 統計表中下雨辭的覆核

有一次下雨辭，就認為有一次降雨的可能，這是絕對靠不住的，且舉幾個例子來討論一下。例如胡君所收的十三月下雨之辭，共有十二條，計

前	1,45,6	一條
後	上,32,4	一條
續	2,4,11	一條
甲		八條
誠	108	一條

這十二條，胡君認為是下雨十二次，是可能有十二次下了雨。衛氏只收了前後二條加庫 1511 一條，共三條。我們且看胡君所謂“甲”之八條。這是殷墟

發掘第十三次所得比較完整的一個龜腹甲，上面是左右正反兩面對貞，卜十三月雨的左右各五次，共有十次。如果補充復原，應當是如此：

腹甲左邊，問正面。

(己未卜，癸)貞：“今十三月雨”？ 一 (即第一卜，下同)(左行)

己未卜，癸貞：“今十三月雨”？ 二 (右行)

貞：“今十三月雨”？ 三 (右行)

(貞：“今十三月雨”？) (四) (下行)

“今十三月雨”？ 五 (右行，胡未收)

腹甲左邊，問反面。

己未卜，癸貞：“今十三月不其雨”？ 一 (右行)

貞：“今十三月不其雨”？ 二 (左行)

貞：“今十三月不其雨”？ 三 (左行)

貞：“今十三月不其雨”？ 四 (右行)

“今十三月不其雨” 五 (左行，胡未收)

在一版上，寫着日名，貞人的有三次，其餘的省略了日名，貞人，或卜，貞字。這十次，很明白的是一個人在一天之內的占卜。正面的問“這個十三月之內，要下一場麼”？反面的問“這個十三月之內，不會下麼”？各問了五次。這是武丁時代的某一年的閏月，在己未這一天，史臣叫癸的經手卜問的一件事，是一次十卜，不是十次十卜，這是很清楚的；是問的一個月之內下不下，也是很清楚的。這正是衛氏所謂“希望下”一類的卜辭。為什麼要問一個月之內下不下？我認爲這反映着他們的經驗。因爲在雨少之季，才有這樣問法，我把這一類叫做卜“月雨”，在武丁時代，卜“月雨”的卜辭，都不出十、十一、十二、十三、一、二、三月，我認爲這幾個月是他們經驗中雨少之季。以此版爲例來說，如果己未是十三月的第一日，那麼史臣癸何以知道三五天或十天半月之內不冒卜？而偏要問一個月之內的長期？這正反映着他們的經驗，在十三月（或十二月或一月）常常是一個月之內不下一次的。如果己未是十五日，我們可以知道前十四天沒有下過；如果己未是二十九日，我們可以知道前二十八天沒有下過；這同樣可以證明了十三月的雨少。

我們研究卜辭，不應該斷章取義，支離滅裂，以自欺欺人，我們應當細心的去探求史實的真象，同時要顧及全版有關係的文辭。在這卜十三月雨的同版上，還有另外的十四卜，不記貞人和日子，這由於殷人的習慣，是同人同日所卜的。十四卜之中，仍分爲左右各七卜，問正反兩面者各七次。記卜辭者只有七處，舉列如下：

腹甲右半，近中縫中下部分。

“佳上甲塏雨”？ 一（第一卜，下同）（右行）

二 三（無卜辭）

“佳上甲”？ 四（下行）

“佳上甲” 五（下行）

六（無卜辭）

“佳上甲”？ 七（下行）

腹甲左半，近中縱中下部分。

一（無卜辭）

“不佳上甲”？ 二（左行）

三（無卜辭）

“不佳上甲”？ 四（左行）

五 六（無卜辭）

“不佳上甲”？ 七（左行）

以上卜“上甲塏雨”的七辭，胡君把它摘錄出來，收入他的第一篇論農業文中列號爲 1450—1456，也註了一個“甲”字。他的解說是：

天之時久不雨，殷人則以爲乃祖先或山神作祟。

這話對了，這種卜問，同“佳王亥塏雨”？是一樣的。所謂“佳上甲塏雨”？者，意思是說“這樣很久未下了，是上甲在作祟罷”？所謂“不佳上甲”？者，意思是說“這很久不下，不是上甲作祟罷”？總之，這樣問確實是“天久不雨”了。因爲不記日子，不記貞人，我們可以知道這十四卜也是己未日史臣受所幹的；同時就可以證明己未日的以前若干日，已是很久不雨了，到己未這一天才問十三月之內是否有雨，才問是不是上甲在塏雨，以至於同時卜了十次，或十四次，可見久旱望雨的如何殷切。胡君所列的八次十三月卜雨，事實的真象如此。現在如果把它算入統計的數字，作爲八次（或十次）十三月卜雨，即十三月必有八次下雨的可能，如何要得！

其餘的四條卜十三月雨的，可以類推。這類卜“月雨”之辭只是十月到三月裏有它，四月至九月，就絕沒有卜“月雨”之辭了。我在殷經踏下編卷九，日譜二，文武丁日譜中，曾舉出二十三條卜月雨的例子，這裏不再述及。

不僅此版，尚有卜“五日雨”者，也是在雨少之時。例如前 S.20.4 一版，衛氏收入第二表，見附錄“材料的來源”一月份第一欄。胡君收入一月卜雨例第十四條。詞云：

辛未卜貞：“今日至於乙亥，雨”？ 一月。

這是卜問“從今天辛未到乙亥，這五天之內會下一場罷”？殷之一月，也是雨少之時，所以盼望着五天以內下一場。究竟這五天之內下了不會？我們還是

要看它同版的卜辭，才能知道。我們現在知道了：不但這五天之內沒有下，又過了二十天，仍然沒有下。同版的卜辭云：

乙未卜：“今夕奏舞，出(有)從雨”？

這一條，胡君又把它收入農業文中，編號為 1617，胡君考“奏舞”是奏琴以求雨的專名，也是對的。這一類卜辭，正面是問“出從雨”？意思是“奏舞求雨之後，跟着就要下罷”？反面是問“亡其從雨”？(《九續》4,22,4)意思是“不會跟着就下罷”？為什麼要奏舞以求雨？當然是因為久不下雨了。從辛未到乙未二十五天，辛未卜雨，二十五天以後，仍任求雨，可見得這二十五天之內沒有下(即如下過，也是太少，太小)。同是一個卜辭，單獨看去，可以把它認為必有一次下雨的可能，合起來看，就可以知道不但辛未到乙亥沒有下，以至二十五天之內，都沒有下，解釋就迥然不同了。一個月之內至少就有二十五天不下雨，我們還能說這“一月”是多雨的時候麼？

又如通別 2,3，大骨正面一辭云：

壬寅卜，賓貞：“若茲不雨，帝佳茲為禱，不若”？三月。

胡君誤入二月卜雨第十四條。(同版有庚子，辛丑，甲辰為三月)這卜辭分明是三月之內，很久不下了，農作物急切要雨，所以開頭就說“像這樣久不下雨”，接着問“是天老爺要給這地方人們吃苦頭的罷”？同版的反面武丁也親自的這樣問了一遍，說：

“帝佳茲為禱，不若”？

可見這一年三月裏旱災的嚴重。像這樣一條，如果因為有“雨”字，有月名，即馬馬虎虎算它是一次必有下雨之可能，怎能說得過去。

自然，有些卜雨而記着徵驗的，也可以當作“雨日”看，如前表胡君所列的降雨，但是數字太少了，不完備的測候紀錄，尚不能列入統計，何況是偶然附記的徵驗之辭。至於還是卜問，或是希望下雨，或是怕下雨，那就更不用說了。

二 雨字的涵義

我在評論衛氏文中，曾揭出雨字在甲骨文中的三種用法：

第一種是風雨之雨，是名詞。例如“黍年有足雨”(前 4,40,1)是說“黍子要收成好，有足用的雨罷”？

第二種是由上而下的意思，是動詞。例如“雨從”？(原文從舊釋為雹，今按當釋為雪。後下 1,12)是說“要下從了罷”？又如“辛卯……妹，雪。壬辰卜貞：今日不雨”？是辛卯這一天，在味爽時下了雪，第二天壬辰又問，說“今天不會再下罷”？在前後兩天之內：第一天下雪，第二

天決不會再開下雨的。這兩個雨字，後世的讀法不同，韻會稱“風雨之雨，上聲。雨下之雨，去聲”。

第三種，是名詞動詞合用，就是“下雨”，“落雨”。例如“帝其命雨”？（庫 697）是說“上帝要命令叫下雨罷”？這話如果在冬春季，是包括着“下雪”在內的。

以上的意見，至今不變。胡君却是反對我第二種說法的。他以為是“不可通”。他在他第二篇，三篇裏，都有所辯駁。他說：

今按北風之詩曰：“北風其涼，雨雪其雱”。“北風其喑，雨雪其霏”。言雨與雪其雱霏，非謂下雪其雱霏也。（余曾引此“雨雪”，以為“下雪”。）雨雪連釋，又見詩小雅信彼南山曰：“上天同雲，雨雪雰雰，益之以霡霂”。雨雪之後，益之以霡霂，是雨雪明明為雨與雪，而非下雪之意也。至所舉卜辭，乃後編卷下一葉第十二片，其辭曰“癸巳卜，宀，貞……雨霰，十月，在口”。雨霰之上，適有缺文，則“雨霰”以下，或為記驗之辭，言十月降雨與霰也。或“雨”以上為卜辭，“霰”以下為驗辭，言卜下雨，終降霰也。或“雨霰”皆為卜辭，卜雨與霰也。總之雨霰者，言雨與霰，非言下雪也。蓋有降雨而隨降霰者矣，求有不降雨而只降霰者也。（見第二篇注 146；第三篇 15）

今再按癸巳卜雨霰一辭，雨字與癸字齊，是上無缺文；在字左有界畫，當屬另一辭，是真字下無缺文，故“雨霰”之上，不得有缺文。僅在字下所缺為一地名。這一個卜辭，很明白的是在殷之十月癸巳，天氣忽冷。陰雲四佈，時令猶未屆嚴冬，不當下雪，所以下問說“要下霰罷”？據我粗淺的觀察，這“雨霰”是卜辭，不是驗辭。是卜“下霰”，不是卜下雨兼下霰，事理具在，無須強辯。

至於毛詩中言“雨雪”者凡八見，無一不作“下雪”解者，不憚煩瑣，列舉於此：

一。如彼雨雪，先集為霰 小雅類奔

箋云：“將大雨雪，始必微溫，雪自上下，遇溫氣而搏，謂之霰，久而寒勝，則大雪矣”。正義云“言王政暴虐，如彼天之雨下大雪，其雪必先集聚而搏雜為小霰，而後成為大雪，是雪有漸也。”

二。昔我往矣，楊柳依依；今我來思，雨雪霏霏。小雅采薇

注：“霏霏，甚也”。上文有“歲亦陽止”，“歲亦莫止”，皆冬季下雪之時。

三。“昔我往矣，黍稷方華；今我來思，雨雪載塗”。小雅出車

正義云：“今我自西戎，還到此壘時，天降雨雪，則為泥塗，正月之

中也”。又云：“言雨雪載塗，雪落而釋爲塗泥，是春冰始釋也”。

四·雨雪瀼瀼，見晁曰消。

五·雨雪浮浮，見晁曰流。小雅角弓

箋云：“雨雪之盛瀼瀼然，至日將出，其氣始見，人則皆稱曰，雪今消釋矣”。疏云“言天之雨下此雪，雖瀼瀼然而盛，至於見天晁然之日，氣，人皆稱之曰，此雪今消釋矣”。又云：“浮浮，猶瀼瀼也”。

六·上天同雲，雨雪雰雰，益之以霡霂。小雅信南山

箋云：“雰雰，雪貌。豐年之冬，必有積雪”又云：“成王之時，陰陽和，風雨時，冬有積雪，春而益之以小雨”。正義云“蓋成王之時，在上天同起其雲，正於冬月雨下此雪，雰雰然多而積也。至於春日，又益之以小雨，而霡霂然以接冬澤”。

七·北風其涼，雨雪其雱。

八·北風其喈，雨雪其霏。小雅北風

箋云：“寒涼之風，病害萬物”。注云“雱，盛貌。喈，疾貌。霏，甚貌”。正義云“言天既爲北風其寒冷矣”。又加之雨雪其雱然而盛，由涼風盛雪，病害萬物，以興君政酷暴，病害百姓也”。

以上所舉言“雨雪”者，在毛詩皆當爲“下雪”之義，無一處解爲“下雨兼下雪”而可通者。這本是不成問題的問題，稍具常識者，一覽而知。

其次，雨字作“下雨”，也包括“下雪”在內，這種用法，也見於春秋時代。例如春秋經文中：

莊公三十一年 冬，不雨。

僖公二年 冬十月，不雨。

僖公三年 春，王正月，不雨。

文公二年 自十有二月不雨，至於秋七月。

文公十年 自正月不雨，至於秋七月。

文公十三年 自正月不雨，至於秋七月。

周之冬春雨季，是皆可以下雪的，例如：

桓公十年 冬十月，雨雪。

僖公十年 冬，大雨雪。

隱公九年 三月癸酉，大雨。震電。庚辰，大雨雪。

所以上段所舉的“不雨”，是包括“不下雪”在內的，如果“不雨”只是說“不下雨”，那麼十二、正、二、三月下了雪，四、五、六月不下雨，總不能再說是“自十有二月不雨，至於秋七月”罷？單就春秋時代說，冬春雨季只下雪不下雨，乃是常事，不能說下雪不算下雨，所以說這些雨字就指下雨，也包括

下雪在內的。這是周代承襲殷代文字的習用法，是上文雨字用法的第三種。普通指下雨下雪，都稱爲雨，有時候特別紀錄著雪或霰。我們要讀通契文的雨字，是不可以死板板的，一口咬定它非是“下雨”不可。

三 說霰

卜辭中霰字等字，舊釋爲霰，因从申从 00 或 00，以爲是會意字，說還是“象閃電交作，雜降冰霰之形”。這是可以講得通的。不過就最近發現的新辭中，便成了問題。例如胡君文中所引，十三次發掘之一片云：

☐ 霰，其雪？佳庚吉？

貞：弗其(雪，其)☐？(甲)

這裏應該注意的是☐與雪並卜。我們知道霰是與暴雨同下的，決沒有與雪同下之理。與雪同下的只有霰。因此知道他決不是霰。往時同竺可楨先生談及此事，竺先生說：可能是霰。今按實當爲霰，霰與申閃相近，以 00 或 00 爲形，可以說是形聲字。殷代的月份，既與太陽年節氣有固定之關係，而霰字所見有月份之紀錄，又只限於十月至三月。例如：

癸巳卜，貞：‘雨霰’？十月。在口。(見上引)

乙丑(卜貞：)之一月其雨？七日壬申，霰。前 3,19,3

癸亥卜，貞旬。一月。昃霽；自東。九日辛未，大采格雲自北，霰。乙 478

癸酉卜，貞旬。二月。大采日格雲自北，霰。乙 12

貞‘及今二月，霰’？乙 529

☐(大)采格雲自北西單，霰。☐ 觀星。三月。前 7,26,4

十月及二月是卜辭，一月、三月，都是附記氣候之辭。都確切會下了霰。殷代在武丁時，一月到三月，包涵着小寒至春分的節氣，這時候絕對不會下霰子的，盡證它與雪同下的關係，所以可以說應該是霰字，不是霰字。除了上舉十月到三月記下霰或降霰之外，絕不見從四月到九月有霰的紀錄。

霰和雪的形狀近似，實際上則大有不同。霰是冬天微溫時降的，雪是夏天驟冷時降的。據氣象家言：

雪 小者如豆，大者如拳。能傷禾稼，牲畜。雪之生成，由氣壓之變化，飽和空氣，上昇至極高之處，感低溫而爲雪，降至其次之溫層，溫度略高，在冰點以上，則雪漸溶解。再降至次層，溫度又低，又有凍結之雪，附着此半融之雪上。如此逐次落下，逐次受溫度之變化，雪之附着逐次增加，遂成大體積之雪。剖開視之，其次第增加之層數，明可見。

霰 小如糶米，故亦稱霰雪。雪之溫度近冰點時，其性融而溼，每互相粘附，當其粘附時遇風，則密集而成圓粒，降于地上則謂之霰。霰為寒冷時所生，故多見於初冬及將春之季。

我國舊籍中，亦有此種理論，如禮記月令“仲夏行冬令，則雹凍傷殺”。注云：

陽為雨，陰起脅之，凝為雹。

大戴禮“陽之專氣為霰”。注云：

陰氣在雨水，凝滯為雪，陽氣溼之不相入，散而為霰。故春秋穀梁說曰：霰者，陽脅陰之符也。

陽即溫暖之氣，陰即寒冷之氣，其理相通。由此，我們可以知道雹與霰的大別，因而知降於冬春之季的，應當是霰了。

本來象形文字中，點的象徵太多，且也無大小可言，如一滴滴，一點塵，一塊泥土，一粒砂子，一珠血與汗等等，皆可用點去表示它，所以在形體上僅僅有一圈一點，是無法判斷它是雹是霰的。今所以能夠斷定是霰者，正在它下降的季節，同它與雪並下的關係。

四 雪與糶

卜辭中，一、二、三期，雪字但作𠄎或𠄏，四、五期又增加兩字於上，如今寫之雪字。殷人以雨為下。包括下雨與下雪，故雪字不常用，有時偶然亦用之。與霰字之不常見相同。在武丁時，有以雪字為地名或人名的，但仍當讀為霰，從沒有作他義解者。胡君既以為殷代氣候“遠較今日為熱”，所以他對於記有月名的卜辭，不若不加以甄選。胡君舉卜雪各例，剔除了以下幾條：

己卯卜貞：“今夕小子出雪”？

貞：“翌庚辰，小子出雪”？五月。

“小子出雪”？錄 794, 795, 894, 合

𠄎子雪。前 4, 29, 6

·戊申貞：“𠄎又雪”？

戊申貞：“𠄎又雪”？前 5, 38, 3

己酉卜貞：“亞从之出雪”？三月。後下 25, 9

說之云：

諸雪字，則假為糶字。釋名釋天，雪，糶也。爾雅釋詁糶，安也。有糶，猶言亡禍也。詳拙作卜辭成語研究。

今按上舉諸雪字，與雨雪之雪，字形全同，言“有雪”分明是卜問“是否要下

雪’之義，小子，亞從之，雖不能詳，但“有雪”二字意義甚為明瞭。胡君所以剔除了這些“有雪”之辭，別以為“成語”者，實因其月名為“三月”及“五月”，不合於他的結論而已。衛氏文中，曾收入己酉卜雪一條，入其統計表中，為之說云：

至今只找到一首關於雪的卜辭，上邊記有月份，其所記為“三月”，這正是一年中農業生活正常充分活動的時期。由其上下文觀之，認為這季下雪是一種不祥之兆，使人驚懼。因此我們把它認為是特別寒冷的
一年，或數年反常現象。雖說有時下雪，然冬季的雨，似乎指示殷代的溫度，比現在華北流行的溫度要高些。

衛氏的結論，至少受了這條卜辭的拘束，所以他只是說“比現在稍為和暖”。胡君索性不要這一類的卜辭，止收了一條記有“十二月”的卜雪殘辭，所以他更進一步說“遠較今日為寒”。

其實卜雪而記有月份的還有一個是“四月”，（見殷歷譜日譜二）再加上節節錄卜辭及記降雪的十、一、七、三月，都可以反證着殷代的氣候，冬天不見得和暖，更不見得寒。

在我看起來，這三、四、五月卜雪，並不算希奇。黃河流域，在夏正的三月是可以下“桃花雪”的，舊曆三月，包涵着清明，穀雨兩個節氣，武丁時因為沆閏必在年終的關係，常常是節令向後游移，月名向前游移，據殷歷譜的推證，如

武丁二十八年，五月八日穀雨。

二十九年，五月四日清明，十九日穀雨。

三十一年，五月十二日穀雨。

所以，在武丁時代，五月下雪是很有可能的，三月、四月，更不用說了。

其次，關於釋名，劉熙的釋名，好用聲訓，本來是試探語根之一法，不能算義訓，因為他牽強附會之處太多了。可是釋名講“雪綏也”一段却甚好。原文云：

雪，綏也。水下遇寒氣而凝，綏綏然下也。

“綏綏然下”今本作“綏綏然”，據文選註，初學記，廣韻，太平御覽引文補之。綏綏之義，如詩南山“雄狐綏綏”，荀子儒效“綏綏兮其有文章”，為“行遲”，“安泰”之貌，有從容安詳之義，以“綏綏”說雪之命名，蓋取其“綏綏然下”。劉熙之意，是說雪為什麼叫雪，因為它下降時綏綏然，所以才說“雪綏也”，是雪之名取義於綏，不是說雪字可作綏字來講。知道這一點，才可以斷釋名一書。

這一步說，即使雪可以訓為綏，古籍中也絕沒有其例。釋名中說

霜，喪也。霽，遊也。昏，損也。晨，伸也。風，放也。汜也。雨，羽也。日，實也。月，闕也。

試問古籍中有以霜爲喪，以霽爲遊，以日爲實，以月爲闕之訓詁否？“綏綏”不可以訓雪，何況但取一“綏”字而又轉訓以爲“安”？

如果把雪字訓綏訓安，則一切雪字皆可通。如“王疾首，中日雪”，可以謂王的頭痛，到中午就安好了。“雨大雪”，可以說一場雨而民心大安了。卜雪，真雪，延雪，其雪，妹雪等等，固無不可以安綏訓之而通者，諸雪字若皆作綏安解，則殷代根本不下雪，豈不更妙，何必專選出紀錄“有雪”之“三月”，“五月”，而勉強爲之案解。

五 論所謂大雨與多雨

胡君之言曰：

且如前引(庫 717, 佚 796, 349)等辭，皆言一月多雨，(天 22) 辭言二月多雨，(前 3,19,2) 辭言二月有大雨，(前 3,18,5) 辭言三月帝命多雨，如殷代之一、二、三月，必常常降雨。卜辭所記，決非偶然。如殷建丑之說爲可信，則約相當於今所行陰歷之十二月、一月、二月，陽歷之一、二、三月。然在今之安陽一帶，此三月者，恆降大雪，絕不能降雨，與卜辭所說多雨者不同，此大可注意之事也。

胡君這種論證有兩重錯誤：第一、是把雨字讀得太死。雨只是“下”，不單指“下雨”而言，上一節已經談過了。第二、是把卜辭與記驗之辭混爲一談。卜辭只是一種祈望，記驗才是事實。如胡君所舉的

𠄎成𠄎雨，𠄎巳亦雨，多。一月 (庫 717)

口口卜，“今一月多雨”？ 辛巳雨。(佚 796)

貞：“之一月不其多雨”？(佚 349) 以上一月。

丙申卜，貞：“今二月多雨”？ 王問曰其佳丙𠄎 (天 22)

乙酉卜，大貞：“及茲二月有大雨”？(前 3,19,2) 以上二月。

口口(卜)問貞：“今三月帝命多雨”？(前 3,18,5)

除了第一條，是追記已日下的甚“多”之外，別的都是貞問是否多下，大下。因爲一月至三月是雪雨較少之季，他們在希望着下的大而且多。例如說：‘這個一月之內能多下一點麼’？正反映着一月下得太少了。說‘‘這個三月，上帝能叫多下一點麼’？正因爲這三月之內，雖然下過，却是很少。說‘‘趕着在這三月之內，能夠下下一場麼’？同樣的是二月雖然下過，却是很小的。這樣看，在一、二、三月之內，並不見得常常有大雨，有多雨。至於第一條一月記

一“多”字，或者是這一年的一月，一次下的雪很多，滿足了農業上的需要，因而特別記了一個“多”字。反之，有一年，一月下的不足用，他們也會記過一個“少”字。例如續編 4,6,1 與 4,6,2 相合之一版，在一月之內，每日卜雨，附記驗辭的有三處：

己巳卜，“庚午雨”？允雨。

庚午卜，“壬申雨”？壬申允雨。

（丙申卜：“丁酉雨”？之夕翌。丁酉允雨，少。

假如這個一月是己巳朔，我們可以知道在一月的初一己巳，初四壬申，都曾下過，到了二十九日丁酉又下了一場，這一月之內，至少下過三次，但是下的仍不足用，所以在“丁酉允雨”之下注出一個“少”字。這可以同注出“多”字的一條，互相對照，因而我們知道殷人在一月盼雨的迫切。常常希望下，希望多下。下的少了，記一個少字；下的多了，記一個多字。這記多，記少，只是兩年的一月偶然寫下來的，這只是某一年一月雨多，某一年一月雨少的事實。其餘的五條卜辭都是問的話，一律不能看作“多雨”或“大雨”的事實。

多雨大雨相反的證據是卜“月雨”，在殷代一、二、三月之內，不但雨雪常常不會大，不會多，有時候簡直全月沒有下過一滴雨，所以才有“今一月雨”？“及今二月雨”？“及今三月雨”？等等懇切的卜問，這種卜月雨，只是十月至三月才有的，說見殷虛書契日譜二，可以參閱。

我們發掘殷墟，第十三次有龜腹甲一版，記着八月卜多雨之辭，同版有下列三段：

辛未卜，癸貞：“之八月，帝命多雨”？

貞：“之八月帝不命多雨”？

丁酉雨，至於甲寅，旬有八日。九月。

辭稱“之八月”，知辛未是在八月。丁酉至甲寅是在九月。同版尚有八月壬戌。辛未至丁酉凡二十六日，我們知道在九月之內，曾下過十八天的連綿雨，而在八月的初旬，辛未，（假如壬戌是初一）已經在下問說：“這個八月，上帝要叫多下麼”？“是不叫多下麼”？八、九月，不是缺雨的季節，（無卜月雨者）又是秋收之時，並不希望下雨，所以這樣問“多雨”，却是怕多雨，與一、二、三月問多雨的情緒不同。並且由於九月十八天連綿雨的紀錄，我們可以想見這一年的秋季特別的多雨，在八月初，已嫌下的太多了。胡君把八月、九月，分列兩處，就看不出這個關係來了。

六 求雨與雩雨

在雨少的季節，或者久旱以後，方能有卜求雨及卜某雩雨之事，這是很明白的。如果在雨多時，不缺乏雨水，自然用不着求雨或雩雨之卜了。先明白這一點，然後看求雨雩雨的卜辭之記有月份者。

如第一節所舉十三月卜雨一版，言“佳上甲雩雨”，因同版關係而證明是在十三月。這也是十三月少雨之證。

又如求雨時必奏舞，第一節所舉的“乙未奏舞”求雨，與一月卜五日雨者同版，知此次奏舞求雨是在一月。

奏舞有在二月者，其卜問正反兩面：正面是問“有从雨”？反面是問“亡其从雨”？如續編 4,22,4 有辭云：

貞：“亡其从雨”？ 二月。

因知此次奏舞求雨是在二月。又如胡君所舉

貞：“庚雨舞”？ 二月。（續 4,33,11）

貞：“癸雨”？ 二月。（續 4,24,8）

這兩次奏舞求雨，也在二月。

卜雩雨在十三月，卜求雨在一月、二月，這正在“卜月雨”的十月至三月期間之內，正是雨少時的一重證據。除此之外，從沒有卜求雨雩雨在多雨的季節，即四月至九月之間的。

七 延雨與卜啓

連陰雨，在卜辭中稱為“延雨”。延雨而記有月份的，只有六月一條。即後編上 22,11 文云：

貞：“其延雨”？ 在六月。

延雨自然不止是六月有的，九月的十八天延雨，即是一證。六月、九月，均在多雨的季節，正與現在華北的氣候相當。夏秋雨多，往往苦雨，因而有“卜啓”之舉。卜啓而記有月份者，也正在殷之四月至九月之內。例如：

貞：“不其啓”？ 四月。（契 498）

貞：“不其雨”？ 四月。

壬寅卜，即貞：“翌癸卯啓”？ 四月。

貞：“不其啓”？ 四月。（庫 1034） 以上四月。

辛亥卜，出貞：“今日至其水彫”？ 五月。

丁卯卜，大貞：“今日啓”？（佚 921） 以上五月。

癸巳（卜貞）：“翌甲午啓”？ 甲霧。六月。（藏 36,4） 以上六月。

貞：‘不其啓’？

戊戌卜貞：‘今夕啓’？八月。

貞：‘不其啓’？（叢 36,2）以上八月。

除此之外，卜啓無記月份者。又在雨季之內五月有‘其來水’（前 4,13,5），四五月均有‘大雷風’（七 B 8, 管 3）之紀錄。這都是和雨少之季，十月到三月，迥然不同的現象。

霍特夫格氏曾注意到卜啓的問題，他說：

關於晴天的占卜，顯然表明缺乏晴天。

晴天的占卜，即指卜啓而言，這是衛氏注意周密的地方。夏秋雨多，又常常有卜‘遺雨’之事，例見文武丁日譜，不再述及。

八 關於殷墟哺乳動物羣

衛胡二氏，都曾引到德日進楊鍾健二氏所著的安陽殷墟之哺乳類動物羣一書，德楊二氏整理的只是發掘所得的一小部分動物骨骼，發表的也只限於哺乳類動物。衛氏說‘在安陽發掘的骨頭的科學價值，不能估價太高’，所以他只認為是‘一種輕微的氣候上的改變’，因而有‘稍為和暖’的結論。胡君便抄了好些寒帶的動物，以證明殷代氣候的熱，但是寒帶的動物，他却是一字不提。我們看，關於哺乳動物，在德楊二氏書中的，有

熊 小而嘴短，計為之代表者有一上顎，兩下顎。其大小與烏蘇里熊相若。另有一下顎特大，或代表另一種熊。

貓 二下顎。與現存者甚近。

烏蘇里在吉林，熊是寒帶動物是人所習知的。貓也多產於寒帶，如北亞及北歐。這熊同類的存在，只能認為是人工搬運而來的，我們不能根據它而武斷說殷代氣候遠較今日為冷，同樣的我們也不當根據獾與象等的存在而說殷代氣候為熱。況且鯨魚骨是運來的，武丁時惟一的大龜，與現今產於馬來半島者相近。我們不能說殷代的安陽有大海，或者氣候與熱帶一樣。

德楊兩氏，曾鄭重的聲明：

但鯨魚骨之見於殷墟中，乃確切證明安陽動物羣之複雜性，有一部分係人工搬運而來也。

我們聽了這話，也該不再去強拉哺乳動物，來作殷代氣候的證人了。

總而言之，我們研究殷代氣候的主要材料是卜辭，卜辭不能當作‘雨日’統計，而卜辭中所顯示的殷代氣候，同現在的黃河流域實在是無甚差異。就是說冬春兩季寒冷，雪雨少；夏秋兩季炎熱，雨水多。一點也看不出冬天要比

現在暖或熱的關係來。歸結起來，殷代氣候，一年之中，可以分為兩大季：

- 一、 冬春季 十月至三月 雨少天寒 有卜五日雨，卜月雨，卜求雨，卜老雨，卜雪及霰的卜辭。
- 二、 夏秋季 四月至九月 雨多天熱 有卜延雨，卜啓，卜遺雨及記大水，大雪風的卜辭。

這就卜辭的本身，已經把殷代氣候問題根本解決了。至於衛氏所舉的作物，軍事行動，旅行等，均當別論。胡君所舉的農產之栽培與收穫，森林與草原，稻之生產，水牛，象象等問題，均屬節外生枝，無關大體，這里都一概不再討論了。

三十四年十二月二十九日，初葦於西川渠峯。

STUDIA SERICA

Journal of the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute

Vol. III, 1943

- Prediction Formulae for the Auricular Height and the Cranial Capacity
of the Chinese Skull *Yen Yin and Ho Kuang-Ch'ih*
- Verbal Directive Prefixes in the Jyarung Language and Their Ch'iang
Equivalents *Wen Yu*
- On the Observabilities of α Scarpin in the Three Dynasties
. *Liu Ch'ao-yang*
- A Study of the Names of Tali According to Chinese Sources
. *Inez de Beauclair*
- Sur l'appellation de 女真 *nu-tchen* *Han Ju-lin*
- Phonology of the Ch'iang Language, Group II: Lo-fu-chai Dialect
. *Wen Yu and Fu Mao-chi*
- The Origin and the Doctrines of the Meditative Sect of Chinese Buddhism
. *Lu Cheng*
- A Study of Military Weapons *Ko* and *Chi* of the Han Dynasty
. *Chiang Ta-i*
- Some Remarks on Wu-meng *Yang Han-Hsien*
- Reviews of Books *Li Fang-Kuei, Tang Tso-pin and Wen Yu*

Vol. IV, 1945

- Fundamental Questions about the Yiu and the Chou Calendars
. *Liu Ch'ao-Yang*
- Marginalia to Franz Heger's *Alte Metallvornissen aus Suedost-Asien* . . .
. *Inez de Beauclair*
- Phonology of the Ga'iang Language, Group IV: Hou-erh-k'u Dialect . . .
. *Wen Yu*
- Book Review *W. B. Hartland*

Plate I



Keh Lao of the Ching Dynasty
(After a woodcut in the Hwang Ching
chih Kung 皇清職貢圖)

Plate II



Present-day Keh Lao (Anshun)
(Sketch by Mr. Cheng Chang-ling 曾昌齡)

THE KEH LAO OF KWEICHOW AND THEIR HISTORY ACCORDING TO THE CHINESE RECORDS

By INEZ DE BEAUGLAIR

Among the various groups that form the population of Kweichow province, the Keh Lao 仡佬, though much inferior in number to the Miao and Tai, deserve the highest interest. The Keh Lao consider themselves the aborigine; of Kweichow, and are unanimously looked upon as such by other groups. While the Miao and Tai declare that they are immigrants, the Keh Lao speak of themselves as *pen ti jon* 本地人. Being reduced in number, having given up their original costume, they never aroused the interest of travellers. The colourful Miao and the Tai completely overshadow the Keh Lao in their remote villages, hidden in Kweichow's hard accessible mountains. Except some translations from the Chinese, material on Keh Lao in western literature is therefore very scarce. According to a note in *Anthropos* Vol. VI, 1911, Father Alcys Schotter had collected some material, which however was never published. Father Vial, in *Les Lolos*, chap. 8 gives a description of the Chung Chia 仲家. This information is due to Father Roux from Ghenning 鎮寧. The observation date from the year 1869. With regard to the Keh Lao, Father Roux's account contains the following passage: "The Chung Chia say, that they came to Kweichow eight hundred years ago, to fight against the Keh Lao. There are now scarcely any other Keh Lao left, than those resting in the large graves, which one meets everywhere. The Chung Chia are said to have married the wives and daughters of the slain Keh Lao". These large gravemounds, are also mentioned in the report of the Mission D'Ollone, *Les Derniers Barabares*, 1911. Each tomb is supposed to contain about 50 persons, and the graves are called "Keh Lao Fen", 仡佬墳. Lunet de Lajonquiere, in *Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional*, 1906, states that he has met with a small settlement of Keh Lao near the Kwangsi border*. There were two villages with seven families only. They had immigrated 4-6 generations ago, perhaps following the Miao. The author has not studied them, but remarks the small stature of the women and their ugliness. They dressed

* Secteur Dong Van, 51^eme Territoire.

like Kweichow Chinese. A list of 19 words is added to the short note. Finally S.R. Clarke, in *Among the Tribes in Southwest China 1914*, considers the Keh Lao as "nearly extinct". Clarke has lived as a missionary in Anshun about thirty years ago. He calls the Keh Lao the aborigines of Kweichow, and estimates the number of families in Anshun Prefecture at 2-300 families. Clarke has also collected some words in the Keh Lao language. He considers the Keh Lao hard to distinguish from the Chinese. Still the Keh Lao can be found to-day, in a number of villages of Kweichow and north-west Hunan, speaking their language in different dialects.

1. THE KEH LAO HISTORY

It results from the Chinese records, dealing with the history of the south-western tribes, that the Keh Lao in various subdivisions, have formed a distinct group among the population of Kweichow, Hunan and Kwangsi provinces for a considerable time. As Keh Lao, under the present form of writing, they first appear in the *Ch'i Man Ts'ung Hsiao* 溪蠻雜笑 of the Sung Dynasty. But taking into consideration the etymology of the characters in question, as well as the similarity of certain customs, the Keh Lao can be traced to much earlier times.

According to the *Kuang Yun* 廣韻 there are three phonetic values to the character 獠 in Ancient Chinese. As the name of tribes it has to be read as *lao*, other wise *tiao* meaning to hunt by night. Besides, the character could be pronounced as *tau*. For this reason the character has in later times been substituted by *tou* 兜 or *tang* 擋, and occurs in the name of Ch'i Tou Miao, 乞兜苗 as will be explained later. Moreover there are direct hints in the following books of the Ming time, *Hsien Pin Lu* 咸賓錄, *Hsing Pien Chi Wen* 行邊紀聞 to the effect that the Keh Lao may be identified with the Ch'i Lao 乞僚. While the character 佬 for 獠 is gradually substituted during the Ch'ing Dynasty, the books in question no further commenting on the change, it is the *Ta Ch'ing I T'ung Chih* 大清一統志 that again points to the fact that 佬 stands for the more ancient 獠. It may thus be concluded, that the Keh Lao are representatives of the ancient Lao 獠, so often mentioned in the records. In the following the history of the Lao shall therefore in an outline be dealt with. It should be said beforehand, that the Lao had hitherto not been classified among the ethnic or linguistic groups of the Sino-Tibetan family. It is only recently, that Dr. Ling Shen Sheng 凌純聲 has connected them with the P'o 猓, establishing a separate ethnic group. Reference must here be made, to the various publications, in which

Ling explains and justifies his theory*. It may only be said here that the P'ao and Lao are often mentioned together in the records; the *Kuo Chi* 華陽國志 even stating that the P'ao form a branch of the Lao. In Books of the T'ang Dynasty, Lao is sometimes interchanged for P'ao.

The Kiating 嘉定 and Suifu 叙府 chronicles mention the P'ao being settled together with the Lao. Furthermore the cultural traits of both groups show great similarity. Linking thus the P'ao with the Lao is a matter of much consequence. It permits the study of both groups under common viewpoints, and to draw new and surprising conclusions. Affinity may thus exist f.i. between the Lao and the Min Chia 民家 of Tali 大理, the present day representatives of the ancient P'ao.

The Lao appear for the first time in the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書. During the 6th year of Yuan Ting 元鼎 B.C. 116, Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 conquered some parts of the south western barbarians, the territory of Yeh Lang 夜郎. It is stated, that when the prince of Yeh Lang, the famous Chu Wang 竹王 was killed, the Lao 夷獠 asked the emperor to bestow titles upon his sons. Yeh Lang Kuo 夜郎國 comprised present-day Kweichow, and was the largest of the south western barbarian states, of which, as the *Shih Chi* 史記 and *Hou Han Shu* relates, over ten existed. In this territory, the Chang K'o Chun 牂牁郡 was established, which shall again be mentioned later on. In the *T'ung Tien* 通典 there is another mentioning of the Lao at the time of the Han Dynasty. In chap. 188 the following is said: "During the time of Han Wan Ti 漢桓帝 and Han Ling Ti 漢靈帝 the Lao again took possession of the Hsiang Chun 象郡." The Hsiang Chun extended to present Kwangsi. So at this early period, when the Lao first appear under a distinct name as separate group, in written history, they are represented in Kweichow and Kwangsi. It is generally believed, that their original homes were at the Szechwen-Shensi border, from where they spread southwards in the 5th century B.C.** As for the time of the Three Kingdoms, there is a statement about Lao in Hunan. The *San Kuo Chi* 三國志 reports as follows: "In the first year of Chang Wu, 章武 A.D. 221, the Han generals Wu Pan 吳班 and Feng Hsi 馮習 attacked the army of Li I 李異 who suffered a defeat. The victorious army remained in Chih Kuei 秭歸. The Man and Lao of Wu Ling 武陵 came and asked for help." In the period of general fightings and unrest that has set in, the

* *The Anthropological Journal*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, published by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.

** Cf. Li Chi, *The Formation of Chinese People*.

south-western regions play a prominent part. In Szechuen it was the aim of the Li 李 family, to restore the independance of the former Shu 蜀 state. In the year 304 A.D. Li Hsiung 李雄 succeeds in establishing the Ch'eng 成 state, or Hou Shu 後蜀, with Chengtu 成都 as capital. It is to an official of this Ch'eng state, Chung Ch'ü 常駿 that we owe a most enlightening work, the *Hua Yang Kuo Chih*.

This record, namely in its part *Shu Chih* 蜀志 together with the *Chin Shu* 晉書 in its 21st chapter and the 76th chapter of the *Shih Lu Kuo Ch'ün Ch'iu* 十六國春秋 form the main sources for the history of the Lao as they were represented in Szechwen during the 4th century. Similar detailed descriptions of this period, however, for the other parts as present Kweichow, Hunan and Kwangai, were, as has been shown Lao appeared during Han time, do not exist. It is for the middle of the 4th century, that a sudden and rather dramatic appearance of the Lao in Szechwen is reported. The *Hua Yang Kuo Chih* states, that before that time i.e. before the second year of Chien Yuan 建元, 344 A.D., there were no Lao in Shu. The ancient Pa 巴 and Shu 蜀 kingdoms, which formed present-day Szechwen had become known at the time of the Chou 周 dynasty. They were populated by a number of tribes, who are mentioned in the *Hua Yang Kuo Chih*. The sudden appearance of the Lao among them, is quoted equally in all the books. The *I Chou Chi* 益州記 states that it was Li Shih 李勢, the son of Li Shou 李壽 who led the Lao from their settlements in Chang K'o 荊河 towards Shu. The other books do not express themselves with regard to the reason of the Lao sudden push to the north. Perhaps the forces behind them, were some other migrating tribes. In the meantime the Ch'eng state had adopted its own titles of reign, and the *Chin Shu*, as well as the *Hua Yang Kuo Chih* report that it was in the year 嘉寧 of Li Shih, that the Lao made their appearance. The *Chin Shu* states: "They came from the mountains, and spread over hills and valleys, from Chien Wei 盤爲 to Tzu Tung 梓潼. They appeared in great number, over 100,000. They could not be overwhelmed, and became an annoyance to the inhabitants. Li Shih was unable to master them, so his territory was diminished, and this (the invasion of the Lao) is one of the reasons, that caused the downfall of Li Shih." The *Po Wu Chih*, 博物志 another contemporary book, describing the state of affairs expresses itself as follows: "From Ching Chou 荊州 to Shu, (i.e. from East to West) the people are all Lao." The *Wei Shu* 魏書 *Pei Shih*, 北史 and *Chou Shu* 周書 equally emphasize the number and wide spreading of the Lao. According to these records, the Lao soon took possession of the region of Liang Chou 梁州 and I Chou 益州, from Han

Chung 滇中, over Ch'ung 邛 and Tse 笮. The *Lia Yang Kuo Chih* apparently endeavoring to give the impression that the Lao appeared suddenly from all sides in Shu, says that they came from Chien Wei, Pa and Tzu Tung. It continues: "The Lao spread over mountains and valleys, disturbing the peace, and causing distress and famine." The *T'ung T'ien* 通典, comprising all the above material describes the situation as follows: "The Lao, belong to the Nan Man 南蠻. At first there were no Lao in Shu. They appeared at the time of Li Shih, and spread over 300,000 in number. They took possession of the cities and pressed hard upon the people of I Chou. Though Huan Wen 桓溫 succeeded in defeating the Shu Han 蜀漢, he could not overwhelm the Lao, and the people of Shu emigrated towards the east. So the Lao took their places, and lived on the mountains and in the valleys among the Chinese."

At the time of Liang Wu Ti 梁武帝 Liang Chou and I Chou had to fight every year with the Lao, for private and public interests. During the reign of the Hsi Wei 西魏 Hsüen Wu Ti 宣武帝 named a governor for the two Ghous, in order to suppress the barbarians. The title of Tai Shou 太守 was awarded to one of the Lao leaders, and an agreement was reached, so that over 200,000 Lao families paid a regular tribute. In the year Hsiao Ch'ang 孝昌 of Wei Ming Ti 魏明帝 A.D. 525, the Lao rebelled again. Their leader was captured. It became necessary, to keep armies ready for defence. Lao were sold as slaves. More and more the tribes grew in number and occupied all the places.' In the *Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao*, 文獻通考 it is emphasized how, since the time of Li Shih, the Lao predominated in a very large area and disturbed the peace of the Hsiens 縣 and Chüns 郡, and how, during the time of the Liang 梁 Dynasty, (502-556) the officials had continuously to deal with their attacks.

Recapitulating the history of the Lao up to the time of the T'ang Dynasty it may be said that the Lao appearing during the Han Dynasty in Kweichow, Hunan and Kwangsi, can be found in Szechwan from the time of the Chin Dynasty in great number. They entered from the south east, crowding out the original inhabitants. It is said that they now lived among the Chinese. This close contact must be kept in mind as an important cultural factor. At the time of the Liang Dynasty they seem to be at the height of their power. It may be inserted here, that certain scholars were induced by the prevalence of the Lao in Szechwan, to connect them with the present-day Lolo. This however does not agree with the occurrence of the Lao as far east as Kwangsi and Hunan. Nor is it in conformity with the cultural traits, as handed down by the records.

Before going on with the history of the Lao during T'ang Dynasty, a representative of the Lao group must be dealt with, settled in the west of Yunnan at Han time, in the Ai Lao 哀牢 region. The Chiu Lao, 麴僚 according to the 'Nan Ch'ung Chih' 南中志, one chapter of *Lua Yang Kuo Chih*, formed a part of the population of the two western Ch'üns, Yung Cheng 永昌 and Hsing Ku 興古. There the Chiu Lao lived still in the fourth century, together with the P'u 濮. As to the P'u, the *San Kuo Chih* 三國志 reports, that Li Hwei 李恢, forced the inhabitants of several thousands P'u villages to emigrate, (from Szechwan) to Chien'ning, 建寧 in order to colonize the two Ch'üns. These Chiu Lao who certainly were a branch of the Lao, are of great interest, as they are considered to be the ancestors of the present-day Karen in Burma.*

All the writers on the population of Burma agree that the original homes of the Karen were in China, which is according to the Karens own tradition. They must have come ahead and pressed by the Shan. The only historical date to rely upon, for the time when their migration took place, is the year 574., when they must have passed through upper Burma originally intending to settle at Laboung, but finding the place pre-occupied by the Shan.** The city of Laboung is said to have been founded by the Shan in 574. However this may have been, this tradition would well agree with their migration to have come to a temporary standstill in the Ai Lao region, a reservoir of fugitives and migrating tribes. Furthermore the Karens, especially those living in the hills of Toungoo, have preserved their own customs, distinguishing them from their present-day neighbours, but showing a distinct affinity with South-West China. Among these the use and worship of the bronze drums is of outstanding interest, considering that the Karen are the only Burmese tribe who uses them. They believe that these drums connect them with an ancient past. The home of the bronze drums, according to Franz Heger*** has been among the tribes of southern China, and as study of Chinese sources reveals, bronze drums were in particular used by the Lao and P'o tribes. Another custom, peculiar to the Karen is the so called 'couvade', a birth taboo, which they have again in common with the Lao. All these cultural traits will be

* Cf. Terrien de Lacouperie, *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, 1835.

** The tradition goes, that the place was selected by their leaders, who had gone ahead in order to choose suitable regions, but found the place settled by Shans, when they returned to it, with their people.

*** *Die Metallbronnen aus Süd-Ost Asien*, 1932.

later on dealt with. A third argument of the Karen, having once settled in the Ai Lao regions, is the fact, that according to the *Hou Han Shu* the Ai Lao paid a tribute to China which consisted among other objects of two cloth garments, with a hole for the head. As the proper Ai Lao costume is described in the *Hou Han Shu* as having consisted of a coat and trousers, the above mentioned garment may have been the one of a tribe, subjected to the Ai Lao rule, i. e. the Chiu Lao. Present-day Karen wear such a tunic, with more or less embroidery. Up to a very recent time, the Kweichow Keh Lao, had a similar costume, to be pulled over the head. Especially the so called P'i P'ao Keh Lao 披袍佬 used it. No other tribe in that province, where the variety of costumes among Miao and Tai is still very considerable, has ever worn a similar garment. As for the Karen language, of which a number of dialects exist, it is said that it is rapidly changing. The archaic form of it, as used with their divination, has become unintelligible. If this archaic form could be thoroughly studied in comparison with the languages of present-day representatives of the Lao group, as i. e. the various dialects of the Kweichow Keh Lao, before it is too late, another valuable argument could be added in favour of the Karens affinity with the Lao.

Following up the history of the Lao during the T'ang time, the Nan P'ing Lao 南平獠 are met with, according to the *Hsin T'ang Shu* 新唐書 chapter 222. The homes of these Nan P'ing Lao were south of Yü Chou 渝州, the present-day Chungking, around Nan Chou 南州. The record speaks of 4000 families. They were split up into different groups. The *Hsin T'ang Shu* recapitulates the Lao history during the previous period, and mentions a prominent Lao leader, Ning Meng Li 寧猛力, who at the end of the Ch'ên 陳 Dynasty (557 A.D.), aspired to make himself independent and ceased to pay tribute. The following Sui 隋 Dynasty sent an army to fight against the Lao, which was held up by bad weather. Under the son of Meng Li the relations between the Sui and the Lao improved, and remained friendly at the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty, though occasional rebellions had to be dealt with. The *Hsin T'ang Shu* states another Lao tribe settled between Jung 戎 and Lu 濠, present-day Nan Ch'i, 南溪 and Lu 濠 Hsiens. They were called Ko Lao, 葛僚. The rendering of the sound *ko* bearing a resemblance to Keh is remarkable.

The *T'ung T'ien* calls the Nan P'ing Lao, Nan P'ing Man 南平蠻 and gives their settlements as bordering Fu Chou 涪州 towards the north. In other details, the *T'ung T'ien* is identical with the *Hsin T'ang Shu*. These Nan P'ing Lao or Nan P'ing Man occur later in the history of the Sung Dy-

nasty, as Yü Chou Man 渝州蠻 and it is said that they were the Pan Shun Man 板楯蠻, who occur in the *Hua Yang Kuo Chih*. Thus during the T'ang time the most powerful group of the Lao was spread through south-eastern Szechwan, especially near the Hunan Kweichow border. Beginning with their appearance in Szechwan at the Chin time until the T'ang, the Lao have been considered an important part of the Nan Man. Most of the official histories treating them in separate chapters, or mentioning their activities.

As to the cultural side, it is especially through the *Pei Shih* 北史, *Wei Shu* 魏書 and *Hsin T'ang Shu*, among the official histories, of which some knowledge can be gained of the Lao's customs. It is stated that they used to live in dwellings raised above the ground, which are called *Kan lan* 干欄 with the Chinese writers. Leadership was hereditary. The Lao kept slaves, and also sold their relatives as such. As weapons they are said to have had spears and shields, but did not use bow and arrow, or the crossbow*. Their instruments were horns and drums, the latter, as proved by other records were bronze drums. Besides they had a so-called *Kuei Ku* 鬼鼓 "spirit drum", beaten to chase demon, which was made of the scalp of the enemy or as the books put it of the skin of the face, especially a bearded one. The dog was considered of great value, but this seemed to have nothing to do with dog-ancestor worship or the like, but probably refers to a kind of valuable watch and hunting dog. Women made presents to their future husbands. A large copper stove is further mentioned, to have been used by the Lao, with a wide opening being very light and thin. They understood how to make a thin cloth 細布, which they dyed in bright colours. In the description of the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, the *T'ung Ch'ün* 桶裙, the round skirt without pleats is mentioned for the first time, as a characteristic garment of the Lao, an expression that is repeated in every book up to the Ch'ing Dynasty, when treating the Keh Lao costume. For burial they used a coffin which was put upright. Furthermore the Lao were said to drink by means of the nose 鼻飲, a strange habit, the mentioning of which is often met with in books of later periods. It must be considered that the writers often knew no bounds in depicting the barbarous ways of living of the tribes people, and is quite possible, that "drinking through the nose", may have been the counterpart of "eating with the hands", i.e. drinking right from the source or river in dipping the whole face into it. The problem, which is rather a physiological one, is however not so easy to be solved, as some books give a description of the

* To the Karen of today the crossbow too is unknown.

procedure, and mention silver and wooden tubes used for the purpose. Cannibalism and the eating of raw fish is as well reported.

Without much success the attempt has been made to classify the Lao according to the above customs, and to connect them either with a Tibeto-Burmese or Tai-Slan group. But it seems that the Lao have had their own distinct culture, a fact that becomes clearer when additional material from later records is considered; the use of bronze drums and the upright coffin, so far being the most outstanding traits. With regard to these and others the Lao can only be associated with the P'ou 濮, the tribe with which they begin so strangely to overlap from the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty. The *Hsin T'ang Shu* further makes mention of two undergroups of Lao, the Fei T'ou 飛頭 and the U Wu 烏武, of which the former, as the name indicates, are the flying heads, while the latter are said to have practiced the breaking of teeth. The Fei T'ou Lao are met with in many later reports, specially of Kwangsi Lao, and shall therefore shortly be discussed here. As the name indicates, the heads of the men with this tribe were supposed to temporarily leave the body and fly away. This flying is said to occur at night, while the heads return in the morning. For many more fantastic details connected herewith, reference must be made to the Chinese texts. Temporary loss of a part of the body is a feature common to the folklore of numerous people, European as well as Asiatic. In the Chinese Encyclopedia *San Ts'ai T'u Hui* 三才圖會 the story of the flying heads is told of a people in Java, and the *Yü Shih Chih Kuai* 于氏志怪 refers to a country called Ta She P'o Kuo 大舍婆國. Of them it is further said that their women gave birth after 7 months, whereupon they bring the child to the river to see if it floats on the surface, which is considered a good omen. Otherwise the child is killed. Of the U Wu Lao the custom of breaking a tooth is reported. Testing a new born child in the water, and breaking a tooth, is also referred to in probably the earliest source on Lao culture, the *Po Wu Chih* 博物志 of Chang Hua 張華 of the Chin Dynasty. The similarity of customs form an important argument for connecting the related groups, who sometimes differ in name and live apart from each other. As to the details however of the various practices, the writers cannot be taken literally; the interpretation of the custom of breaking a tooth for instance, called either *tso ch'ih* 鑿齒 or *ta ya* 打牙 shows many variations. Some authors explain that the tooth is used as an ornament, as ear pendant, others describe the practice as a kind of ceremony connected with the coming of age of the boys, or say that the son and daughter-in-law break a front tooth at the death of the parent, to put it

into the coffin. The *Hsin T'ang Shu*, when speaking of the U Wu Man 烏武蠻 as quoted above, says that in case of sickness, when the mouth can not be opened, for taking medicine, the sick person himself breaks one of his teeth. With other authors again the tooth breaking is described as a marriage custom, a front tooth of the bride being knocked out*. Whether such a variety of the tooth breaking custom ever existed, is very doubtful. It may therefore be supposed that the writers were, perhaps purposely, misinformed, or gave vent to their imagination. It is apparent that the same statements were copied and repeated over and over again, without renewed observations or inquiry. Therefore the cultural traits can only be dealt with according to their importance as seen from a general ethnological viewpoint, and they shall not be enumerated here for the sake of curiosity. It is also through books from the T'ang time, as the *Nan Ts'u Hsin Wen* 南楚新聞 that knowledge can be gained of the birth-taboo practiced by the Lao, the couvade, in Chinese called *tsó yí ch'ü* 坐月. The *Nan Ch'u Hsin Wen* reports of the Lao, that the women after having given birth get up immediately. The husband takes the mothers place on the bed, instead of helping his wife. It is she who carries the wood and cooks without complaint. Another reference to the couvade dating from the T'ang time is made in the *I Wu Chih* 異物志. This book is quoted in *Ling Wai Tai T'a* 嶺外代答 of the Sung Dynasty. The description, as follows, refers to Lao: "The women get up after the birth, while the man lies on the bed."** As

* The present-day descendants of the Ta Ya Keh Lao in Kweichow admit the latter explanation only.

** There is more evidence of the couvade being in use in West China, to be found in literature. Marco Polo mentions it for the Golden Teeth 金齒, near Yung Ch'ang 永昌. The racial affinity of the Golden Teeth has not yet been decided. In the translation of *Tract on Meotse* by Bridgman, the custom of couvade is said to be practiced by the Langtsi 郎志. "a small tribe of aborigines near Weining 威寧." Who these Langtsi may have been is unknown. They occur however in the translation of another Chinese manuscript, dealing with tribes, contained in G.W. Clarke's *Yunnan and Kweichow Provinces*, 1894. This is apparently the same manuscript, which was copied by A.R. Colquhoun during his stay in Tali, where he met Clarke and which he published in his *Across Chryse*, London, 1833. In the latter tract no mention is made of the "Langtsi" practicing couvade, but it is stated, that this tribe differs greatly from the other groups, physically as well as in customs. The couvade is a widely spread custom, and can be found all over the world. According to the definition of Floss, *Das Maennerkindbett*, Leipzig, it has to be looked upon as "ein Ueberrest des Matriarchats in einer patriarchalischen Gesellschaft."

has been shown above, the couvade is still in use with the Karen, furnishing another argument for their affinity to the Lao group.

Further books of the T'ang Dynasty mentioning Lao are the *Shih Tao Chih* 十道志 and the *Ling Piao Lu* 嶺表錄異. Both deal with Kwangsi tribes, the Li 狸 and Lao, who are said to have differed in language, but seemed to have had the same customs and therefore must have been closely related. Cannibalism, drinking through the nose, using bronze drums, and breaking the brides tooth are reported; it is as well remarked that these tribes did not know the use of bow and arrow.

It thus results from the records, that the Lao at the time of the T'ang Dynasty were represented in south-eastern Szechwan and Kwangsi. In Szechwan they tend towards the border south of the Yangtse, absorbing the P'o, with whom they possessed a remarkable conformity of customs. Migration also took place to Yunnan, perhaps simultaneously from Kweichow and Kwangsi. Though contemporary statements of the presence of Lao in Hunan and Kweichow are wanting, there can be no doubt of their being settled in both regions during the T'ang time.*

For the period of the Sung Dynasty, there is clear evidence that the Lao could be found at that time in West Hunan and Kwangsi, almost down to the coast. Their being split into various groups, differing in customs and probably in dialects, becomes more and more distinct. The writers give the number of 21, which occurs also in the ancient records. Of these

* There is however in the *Ts'ao Yeh Chien Tsai* 朝野僉載 of the T'ang Dynasty a notice on the Wu Ch'i Man. 沅溪蠻 of western Hunan. This part, and its various inhabitants, become more distinct with the books of the Sung Dynasty. The "Five Brooks", are the numerous tributaries of the Yuan Chiang in the west of Hunan province. The Wu Ch'i Man's burial practice is described, by which they prove their affinity to the Lao tribe. The final burial of family elders is held after three years, during which period the remains are kept in the vicinity of the village. Drinking, singing and the beating of bronze drums is going on for one month. The coffin is then hung up between the cliffs, which had been hewn and prepared previously. It was considered meritorious and praiseworthy for a faithful son, to choose the highest possible spot. Though the Sung books usually call these tribes in western Hunan the Ch'i Tung Man, the name Wu Ch'i Man was still known, as the *Yuan Ho Chun Hsiei Chih* 元和郡縣志 explains the Wu Ch'i as the regions inhabited by descendants of the Pan Hu tribe. The five ch'i in question were the Yu Ch'i, 酉溪 Yuan Ch'i, 沅溪 Wu Ch'i, 武漢 and Hsiung Ch'i 熊溪. These Ch'i were all around Ch'en Chou 辰州.

about ten are quoted. The books dealing with the Hunan Lao of the Sung time, are the *Sung Shih* 宋史 in its chapters 394,493 西南溪洞諸蠻傳; the *Ch'i Man Ts'ung Hsiao* and the *Lao Hsueh An Pi Chi* 老學菴筆記. The term Ch'i Tung Man comes into use with the Sung Dynasty, and is a general name applied mostly to the Hunan tribes. According to the *Sung Shih*, the Ch'i Tung Man are said to belong to the Pan Hiu 槃瓠 tribe. This was the original name of the Hunan population, their history can be followed up from earliest times to the 6th century. After that they cease to exist as a distinct group. Besides, the *Sung Shih* speaks of Lao 獠 and also mentions a sub-group called Chi Lao, 括僚 as well as Ch'i Ling 玃伶. All of these were settled around Ch'en Chou 辰州 from present-day Yung Sui 永綏 to Ch'ien Yang 黔陽 over Ma Yang 麻陽. The *Ch'i Man Ts'ung Hsiao*, as said above makes the first mention of the 玃 rendering their name in the present form of writing. The *Lao Hsueh An Pi Chi* speaks of a whole 玃 group enumerating Ch'i Ling, 玃翁 Ch'i Lao, 玃獠 Ch'i Lan 玃儻 and Ch'i Lou 玃樓. Of these the Ch'i Ling are said to be the strongest. They were represented as well in Kwangsi. Fightings, especially with these Ch'i Lings are reported in the Sung history. A Ch'i Ling family Yang 楊 is mentioned, who was trusted by the government with the tilling of rice fields 水田. The founding of a buddhist temple in Ku Chou 古州 by a barbarian is recorded. It may thus be concluded, that with the Sung time the Lao became gradually influenced by the Chinese culture. The tribes people gained large amounts of mercury* from the mountains, in which a trade was going on between them and the Chinese. They were as well acquainted with the casting of metals, as silver cups, being in the possession of the rich, in the shape of birds and animals are described. The ancient custom of beating bronze drums, has been widely in use during the Sung period. It is emphasized by all the writers. The *Sung Shih* contains the following interesting passage: In the 2nd year of 雍熙 the extraction of copper, which had been prohibited, was again permitted, as the copper was used by the Ch'i Tung I Lao 溪峒夷獠 of Ch'ien Nan 黔南 for the casting of drums, which were beaten when worshipping *shen* 神 and *kuei*: 鬼. "T'ung Ku" 銅鼓 occurs also as the name of a place in the *Sung Shih*. The size of the drums during the Sung time, however, seems to have been well below that of ancient times. The *Ch'i Man Ts'ung Hsiao* reports the finding of an ancient drum, which was put up in a temple. The drum had been found in the river, where into it

* The *Sung Shih* mentions 1,000 liang of mercury being sent from Ku Chou to the emperor.

had been sunk probably in times of danger, to prevent the sacred treasure from falling into the hands of the enemy.* The above mentioned drum of Ma Yang, was shaped like a big bell; its weight was more than 100 *chin* 斤. It was decorated on its surface with 36 little knobs, and the pictures of knights. According to Frenz Heger, the original (Type I) drums, surpass the later ones in size, and show some times the figures of riders on horseback.

The beating of the drums and gongs is said to have accompanied the festivals, of which that after the harvest is especially mentioned. Large amounts of wine were consumed, and it is in this connection that we are told of the habit of "Nose Drinking". Girls of 15-16 years, broke an upper front tooth on the right side, which they wrapped into tinfoil. This was inserted into a bamboo tube, which was fixed into the lobe of the ear as a decoration. After mutual consent, the bride was taken away by her future husband. She cried and pretended unwillingness to follow him. This may have been a remainder of former capture of the bride. The dead were first put into graves in which wood was piled up. An ox was killed as sacrifice. Later on, the bones were taken out of the grave, put into a kind of small box, which was hidden among the rocks, or suspended on trees. Beating the bronze drum, nose drinking, breaking a tooth and burying on the rocks, thus remain the characteristics of the Lao groups. The keeping of slaves as reported in the Sung books is of equal importance. As to the dress, the Tung Ch'ün with a coloured hem is reported. The author of *Ch'i Man Ts'ung Hsiao* supposes this skirt to be the *Tu Li I* 獨力兒 of the *Hou Han Shu*. As ornaments necklaces of red laquered ox hide were worn, and the young men used to stick feathers into their hair. The fifth of the fifth moon was celebrated by a rowing competition, the boats having been lowered down into the water a month before. A game with balls, filled with grains and beans played during the New Years celebration is of special interest as it has survived, though in a slightly different form, among the present-day Kweichow Keh Lao.

According to the *Sung Shih* and occasional mentionings in other sources, the Lao were dangerous robbers, and believed to be men eaters. As to the southern representatives of the Lao, in what is to-day Kwangsi and the western part of Kwangtung, they are dealt with in the following books of the Sung time: *Ling Wai Tai Ta*, *Kwei Hsi*; *Yü Heng Chih* 桂海

* Some times the drums were buried, and recovered centuries later.

虞衡志 and *T'ai P'ing Huan Yü Chi* 太平寰宇記. The first of these books speaks of Shen Lao, 山嶺 who could be met with south of the Yu Chiang 于江. The "Flying Heads", the "Tooth Breaking" and the "Nose Drinking" are mentioned as undergroups. For the custom of couvade, the author refers to the *I Wu Chih* of the T'ang Dynasty. Apparently the couvade was still practiced with the Fei T'ou. The beating of the bronze drum is reported, especially in connection with the wedding festival. This was held in special grass huts, built up for the occasion about five li distant from the brides home. Both parties brought along their respective slaves, of which there seem to have been great numbers. The book further gives a detailed account of the technique of drinking through the nose. Water, mixed with salt and ginger was snuffed up through a small bamboo tube. Rich people used silver instead. The *T'ai P'ing Huan Yü Chi* gives an account of the different tribes down to the coast. Among them the Li Jen 狸人 are also said to drink through the nose. Beating the bronze drum, is a universal practice. Tribes in the surrounding of Kuei Chou 桂州 to-day Yu Lin 鬱林 Hsien, are men eaters. The breaking of a brides front tooth is reported, as well as a peculiar burial custom, the *Ho Ku* 合骨, a family grave, containing at times over 100 coffins. This is, as it seems, the only mentioning of a common burial mound, which deserves special attention and research in Kweichow province.*

For representatives of the Lao group, in what is to-day Kweichow province, the *Sung Shih* mentions the Chang K'ò Man 牂牁蠻 who pay a tribute of bronze drums. It must be kept in mind, that with the Sung Dynasty, again entirely different designations for the tribes come into use, to which fact the *Sung Shih* refers, stating i. e. that the Yü Chou Man 渝州蠻 were the Nan P'ing Man 南平蠻 of T'ang, or the Pan Shun Man 板澗蠻 of Chin.

From their ancient stronghold in Szechwan, the Lao gradually disappear. Diminished by fightings, they either emigrated to Yunnan, where they are met with as T'u Lao 土佬 in the Yuan, Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties,

* At various places there exist such large mounds, as stated above, called Keh Lao Fen. In Chenning and Anshun Hsiens Keh Lao Fen occurs as name of villages. According to the tradition of the Chung Chia, however, as mentioned by father Roux in Vial. *Les Lolos* these graves are said to contain the slain Keh Lao. But this interpretation may as well be an invention of the Chung Chia, eager to prove their superiority. The Chung Chia say, that when entering the Kweichow region about 800 years ago, they annihilated the Keh Lao, marrying their wives and daughters.

and can be found to-day, or were assimilated by the Chinese settlers and the P'o. The latter formed a distinct group in South Szechwan, up to the Ming Dynasty, when they appear as Tu Chang Man 都章蠻 in the *Ming Shih*, chapt. 212.

The differentiation of the names with the tribes belonging to the Lao group, goes on with the writers of the Yuan Dynasty. In the south of Szechwan, down to the present north eastern and eastern part of Yunnan, the designation of T'u Lao 土獠 springs up. The *Yuan Shih* states that in the 15th year of Chih Yuan 至元, 1275, the emperor accepted the submission of the T'u Lao of Yunnan, while for the 21st year a rebellion of the T'u Lao is reported.

The *Yun Nan Chih Lih* 雲南志略 determines the T'u Lao Man region as between Suifu 叙府 and Wu Meng 烏蒙. The latter place was situated 30 miles to the east of present-day Chaot'ung 昭通 in Yunnan. According to this book, the knocking of teeth is practiced with boys at the age of 14-15 years, the custom thus appearing as a kind of coming of age ceremony. The coffins were put up high on the rocks, — the ancient Lao custom. The T'u Lao cultivated the *Li* tree (荔枝 *nephelium longana*) as well as tea and rice. The *I Yü Chih* 異域志 another Yuan book, speaks in its second chapter under the heading of Lao of the inhabitants of Ch'ang K'o, which, as has been expounded above, mainly stands for Kweichow. The vertical coffin, and the practice of knocking out a tooth, of the Ta Ya Lao 打牙佬 is reported.

As to the T'u Lao of the Yuan Dynasty, they are also called T'u La Man 秃刺蠻 by the Mongolians.* They appear in Marco Polo's travels as Toloman. As in ancient manuscripts, the letters *T* and *C* are often interchanged, one may read Coloman, in which name Sir Henry Yule** sees a possibility of Kih Lao, or Kolo. Henri Cordier however believes Toloman being the correct reading, corresponding to the Mongolian Tu La Man. If Marco Polo travelled, as Henri Cordier assumes, not via Chaot'ung, ung Ch'uan, 東川 but over Hsuen Wei 宣威 Nach'i 納谿, he must have met with the Toloman around Weining 威寧, which agrees well with the above quoted statement of the *Yuan Shih*, i.e. the T'u Lao being settled in the region east of Chaot'ung and to the south of Suifu. Marco Polo's text (chapt. 59) runs as follows:

* Cf. *Yuan Shih Lei Pien* 元史類編 Vol. 12.

** *The Book of Sir Marco Polo*, by Sir Henry Yule with Notes from Henri Cordier, London, 1920.

“The Toloman are a very handsome people, though in complexion rather brown, and are good soldiers. They have a good many of towns, and a vast number of villages, among great mountains, and in strong positions. When any of them die, the bodies are burnt and then they take the bones, and put them in little chests: these are carried high up the mountains, and placed in great caverns, where they are hung up in such wise, that neither men nor beast can touch them. . . For petty traffic and currency they use *porcellani* cowrie shells. There are merchants in this country, who are very rich, and dispose of large quantities of goods. They brew their wine from rice and excellent spices.”

According to Henri Cordier, Marco Polo travelled through this region about or before 1280. As to the Keh Lao proper, the material of Yuan time is scarce. The *Hsin Yuan Shih* 新元史 chapt. 248 quoting reports of the official of Huang Ping 黃平 for the 2nd and 4th year of Ta Te 大德 1299 and 1301, mentions them together with the Miao, and others. Among them the Pa Fan 八番 whose centre was Ting Fan 定番 according to the *Yun Nan T'ung Chih*, taking part in a rebellion and afterwards declaring their submission. In the same record it is said: “In the 5th year of Ta Te, 1302, the Miao and Keh Lao complained, that the local official wanted to cut their hair and brand their face, and send them to the army. Therefore they dared not return, and would rather be killed, in their fortress, than join the army.” Here the Keh Lao are mentioned together with the Miao, whenever a fighting is reported. They must have been superior in number, and ranked high among the strongest of the tribes. This is also proved by later statements. With the time of the Ming Dynasty, fighting in the region of present-day Kweichow province, becomes more and more frequent. Fortifications and the first walled cities are laid out, Chinese settlers appear as military colonists. The *Nan Chao Yeh Shih* 南詔野史, book 2 chapter 1, continuing the history of Talis Tuan 段 family, gives an account of Fu Yu Te's 傅友德 campaign in the 14th year of Hung Wu 洪武, 1387, conquering P'uting 普定, which place belonged to Yunnan during the Yuan Dynasty. The Miao, Man and Keh Lao declared their submission.

The official *Ming Shih* mostly deals with the tribes in general and rarely makes detailed statements. In Vol. 312 however, under the heading of Ssu Chuen T'u Ssu 四川土司 the following passage can be found: “During the 9th year of Hsüen Te 宣德 1434, the official of Yung Ning 永寧, to-day Shü Yung 叙永, near the Kweichow border, reports that all his subjects are T'u Lao, and he accordingly has great difficulties in rendering the imperial decrees intelligible to them. He asks for permission to employ a certain Li Yuan 李源, as director of studies. The request was

granted.' The book of T'ien Ju Ch'eng 田汝成 dates from the beginning of the 16th century. He seems to be the first author, to give a classification of the Keh Lao's undergroups, which differ from each other in costume and habits. Probably they also spoke different dialects, which fact however is not mentioned. With very little modifications this classification has been over and over repeated by later authors, up to the Ch'ing Dynasty. For Yunnan the writer makes mention of the T'u Lao, without giving particulars. In the chapter on Man and I, he points out that the appellation 儼 stands for 犵狁. He distinguished the undergroups: Hua 花, Hung 紅, Ta Ya 打牙, Chien T'ou 剪頭 and Chu Shih 豬屎 Keh Lao. These five groups to which in later descriptions some more are added, can be considered as the classical representatives of the Keh Lao. Hung and Hua Keh Lao are distinguished by the colour of their skirt, the *T'ung Ch'uan*, which men and women wore likewise. The two groups do not intermarry. The Keh Lao use poisoned arrows. The Ta Ya Keh Lao, apparently the Tso Ch'ih 夔蜀 of the ancient books, are supposed to break a tooth at the death of their parents, which is put into the coffin.* The coffin is not buried, but brought on cliffs, or put into caves, or it is deposited at the bank of a river. In such cases a tablet is erected next to the coffin, on which the following characters are inscribed: 家親毀.

The Chien T'ou Keh Lao, who cut their hair short, burn the corpses. The Chu Shih Keh Lao have dirty habits, eat raw meat, and live in close contact with their domestic animals. T'ien Ju Ch'eng also mentions the Mu Lao, 狝狁 having similar customs to the Keh Lao. They sleep on an ox hide, around the fire place, without using a cover. Corpse is buried downward. It is said to have the purpose of avoiding the pressure. The Mu Lao also occur in later description and shall be further dealt with below. Probably they represent one of the many ancient Lao groups. The same may be the case with the 犵狁, who are mentioned in the *Tung Chi Hsien Chi* 銅谿縣志, dating from early Ch'ing. But they may also be identified with the Keh Lao, as the *Huang Ch'ing Chi* 皇清縣志 states that the Keh Tou belong to the Keh Lao, and the *Ch'ien Chi* 黔記 even explains, that Keh Tou Miao is another name for Hua and Shui Keh Lao.**

* As mentioned above, the present-day Ta Ya Keh Lao deny this custom, admitting it as a marriage practice only.

** In this connection it must be said, however, that there is an undergroup of the Miao, wearing a very long bamboo comb through their hair, which is also occasionally spoken of as Keh Tou Miao.

The *Ch'ih Ya*, 赤雅 dating from 1628, deals with Kwangsi tribes, among them the Ch'ei Jen 乾人, who reappear in the *Shao Man*, 說蠻 of a later period and in the *Kuang Hsi T'ung Chih*. They are generally believed to belong to the Leh Lao group. *Ch'ih Ya* also reports on the Fei T'ou, but it seems that the author repeats the statements of a previous period. A description of bronze drums is added, which is apparently contemporary and refers to the precious large ancient drums (Heger's Type I) ornamented with frogs, and being kept in a temple or the yamen.

The *Hsien P'in Lu* 咸賓錄 after remarking that P' Chou, 播州 (Tsun Yi 遵義) is the Yeh Lang Kuo 夜郎國 of the Chin period, and repeating the story of the Chu Wang 竹王, according to the *Hou Han Shu*, deals in its Sth chapter with the Leh Lao 犍獠 or Keh Lao 犍獠. The author mentions the Lao 獠 as a separate group, among them Fei T'ou and Pi Yin. No new and original statements however appear. The time of the Ming Dynasty marks for Kweichow the period of complete incorporation into the Empire, as a result of numerous campaigns and fightings, and consequently the establishment of an administrative system. According to the *Chih Kung T'u*, the Keh Lao did not remain for a long time under the rule of their T'u Ssu 土司, but were put under Hsien and Chou governments directly, already at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty. Simultaneously the territory was fortified by military strongholds, as the numerous names of places, all ending in Chai 寨 and P'u 堡 indicate to-day, though some of them may date of a later period.

As to the region of the later Tating Fu 大定府, the *Man Ssu Ho Chih* 蠻司合志, relates the history of Huo Chi 火濟, who was named Lo Tien Kuo Wang 羅甸國王 at the time of the Three Kingdoms, followed in the rule by his descendants. His region belonged to the Shui Hsi Kuo 水西國, and Huo Chi is generally believed to have been a Lolo. Lo Tien Kuo was the country about Tating. About the end of the Yuan Dynasty, a certain Ai Ts'ui 窩寨 who held the title of Hsuan Wei Shih 宣慰使 governed this region and surrendered at the time of Hung Wu 洪武. He suggested that in his territory, the Keh Lao should be given definite settlements. They seemed to have been the strongest tribe under his rule. It may therefore be assumed, that in Tating the Keh Lao were under the rule of the Lolo during the Ming Dynasty.

For the region of Hunan, there is the report of the *Miao Fung Pei Lan* 苗防備覽, mentioning the establishment of 24 military camps in the Keh Lao territory, at the time of the Ming Dynasty. These camps were called

Ying Shao 榮暉. The same book remarks, that the Keh Lao were good soldiers, and were often conscripted for the army. They took part in the battle of Wang Chiang Ching 王江寧 against the Japanese.

A few representatives of the ancient Lao, once so numerous and powerful, can still be traced up to the Ch'ing time and beyond. As has been stated above, the T'u Lao spread from Szechwan to Yunnan with the Yuan Dynasty or earlier. What has become of those, staying behind, in South Szechwan after the Ming time, is unknown. They merged into the Chinese settlers, but their influence seems still to be recognizable with the inhabitants of these regions, from their peculiar physical traits, and their speech, containing a good deal of non-Chinese elements.* Various records, dealing with Yunnan tribes however, make mention of the T'u Lao, in the eastern and northeastern part of the province. The *Yun-Nan T'ung Ch'ih Kao* 雲南通志稿, apparently in conformity with the *Ch'ih Kuang T'u*, says that the T'u Lao immigrated from Szechwan and Kweichow and two Kwangs. The latter statement may refer to the Lao in general.

Here we meet with the remark, that the T'u Lao are also called Shan Tzu 山子, and that they are descendants of the Chiu Lao, 鳩獠 and as such are Wu Man 烏蠻. This is later on often repeated in T'u Lao descriptions, but the statement is incompatible with the historical facts. The T'u Lao settle in Cheng Chiang, 澄江 K'ai Hua 開化, Kuang Nan 廣南,

* The writer lived for some time in South Western Szechwan. In the Nan Ch'i 南溪 Hsien. The following observations may here briefly be quoted. Funnel shaped baskets are in use, as lamps at the grave side, for three days after burial. They consist of a bamboo stick, that is split into vertical stripes at one end, whereupon it is interlaid horizontally, forming a receptacle. The other end of the bamboo is stuck into the ground. These baskets have so far only been described for Hainan, Assam, the Wa and Indonesian tribes. There they serve sacrificial purposes, or contain the skulls captured while headhunting. Their occurrence in Szechwan, is of considerable interest. With regard to dyeing methods, the so-called Plangi technique is still in use, which is generally believed to be of Indian origin. Certain parts of the cloth are folded and tied, before dyeing. The result is a white spot, usually in the shape of a flower; such cloth is used for door curtains, bedspreads, etc. The distribution of this technique in China has not yet been studied. It was however observed by the writer with the Min Chia in Yunnan who produced various patterns. The Li tree, the fruits of which are locally known as *kuei pua* 桂埔, mentioned in books of the T'ang Dynasty for this part of the province, is still widely cultivated. The yearly pruning of the trees is done by specially grained men, by means of most suitable tools.

and Chao T'ung. The women wear embroidered dresses, and a red head cloth, a *T'ung Chün* and shoes. They can weave like the Pai Yi 擺夷, and are very diligent. The practice of dipping a new born child into the water as a test, is also mentioned, but according to the *Chih Kung T'u* is gradually abolished. The T'u Lao are divided into Hua 花 around K'ai Hua, who dance during their New Year festival, and beat the bronze drum, Pai 白 and Hei 黑 T'u Lao. The latter are said to blow the flute, and dance before the corpse. In general the *Chih Kung T'u* makes the same statements, adding that the T'u Lao live mixed with the Chinese. Their sacrifices and worshipping is accompanied by much noise. The women wear a square piece of embroidery in front of their dress. According to the *T'ien Nan Tsa Chih* 滇南雜誌, T'u Lao settle around the following places: Stih P'ing 石屏, Hsi 〇 驛, and Lu Nan 路南.

The men wear a blue turban, and are dressed in hemp cloth, showing a collar with red trimming. Some are agriculturists, others live as wood cutters. Their houses are similar to those of the P'o. In customs they are like the Pai Lolo, 白羅羅 celebrating the New Year at the 1st of the 10th moon.

The *T'ien Hsi* 滇黔, contains the same material on the T'u Lao. The chapter 37, Shu I 屬夷, has been translated into French by Soulié and Y.T. Chang.* With regard to the T'u Lao, the translators insert the following remark: "The T'u Lao, as a rule, are considered to be Tai.** We (meaning the two translators) are of a different opinion. The language of the T'u Lao, who are also called Keh Lao, or Lao, is entirely different in its vocabulary from that of the Tai. It is however possible, that the majority of the T'u Lao has merged into the Tai. But they still exist isolated among other ethnic groups." In this connection reference may be made to the classification of Dr. V. K. Ting, where indeed the T'u Lao appear as Tai.

A.R. Colquhoun, who travelled through Eastern Yunnan, entering the province from Kwangsi, in the year 1861, frequently met with the T'u Lao. He describes them in *Across Chryse*, and adds some sketches as illustrations. According to him, the T'u Lao are also called K'ai Hua Jen 開化人.

* Les barbares soumis du Yunnan, *BEFEO*, tome VIII, 1908.

** The book of Alfred Liétard on Lolo, also mentions the Pai T'u Lao. "Near Meng Tzu 蒙自 there is a group called Pai T'u Lao, by the Chinese. They are almost completely sinized. But they are Lolo, and must be carefully distinguished from the Hei T'u Lao, who live in the same region, and who are Tai."

the men wearing a blue twisted turban, waist-coats with many gull buttons, and a red sash. He mentions a group of Ta T'ou I'u Lao 大頭土佬 with enormous black turbans, and Hei T'ou Lao, the women wearing an embroidered square piece in front of their dress. Judging from the sketches, the T'u Lao, are of a much smaller stature, than the Lolo. The author says: "The T'u Lao bear a high character in South Yunnan, for their industry, hospitality and amiable disposition." It is most regrettable that the T'u Lao have so far not yet been thoroughly studied. They speak their own language up to-day.

That other representatives of the Lao immigrated into Yunnan from Kwangsi, and Kweichow is highly probable, but can not be proved from the records. Ch'en Ting 陳鼎, in his *T'ien Ch'ien Chi Yu* 滇黔紀遊 dating from 1667, makes an occasional mentioning of Huang Mao Keh Lao 黃毛貉佬 for eastern Yunnan, who however do not occur elsewhere.

Now let us turn to their geographical distributions. During the Sung Dynasty the region of present-day Kwangsi, as stated above, was inhabited by numerous representatives of the Lao, of whom, for the time of Ming, the *Ch'ih Ya* 赤雅 and *Shao Man* 騫蠻 mention the Ch'i Jen 杞人 besides the southern Fei T'ou and Pi Yin. The *Kuang Hsi T'ung Chih* refers to the ancient books for the tribes of the province, giving very little contemporary statements. The Ch'i Jen however are said to exist still to-day in some of the northern Hsiens. The book further adopts the account of the five Keh Lao undergroups, stating that the Keh Lao came from Kweichow. As no settlements are indicated it seems doubtful, if they ever actually were represented altogether in Kwangsi.* The Li Jen 狸人, who as pointed out before had a possible connection with the Lao group and are met with during the Sung Dynasty in Kwangsi, immigrated into Hainan and Kwangtung. This is stated in the *Chih Kung T'u*.

As for Hunan the *Hu Han T'ung Chih* makes use of the Sung books, and speaks of a 花 group. The Keh Lao, superior in culture to the Yao

* A further representative of the Lao in present-day Kwangsi is the T'ung Jen 桐人 whom the *Ch'ih Ya* attributes to the Lao. They love music, and are good singers. The *Kuang Hsi T'ung Chih* mentions them for the San Chiang 三江 Hsien. The men wear pheasant feathers as a head decoration, and celebrate the arrival of spring by constructing a high wooden *lou* 樓, on which they spend the evenings. They also occur as T'ung Miao in Kweichow books, living in Li Po 荔波 Fu and intermarrying with Chinese. It is said that the T'ung Jen still exist at the Kwangsi-Kweichow border.

紮, use a cover filled with some fibre and wear the *T'ung Ch'ui*, into which they "step in," (this being different from the Chinese skirt, which is tied around the hips.) The skirt is coloured and shows a red hem. There is a group of *Chu Yen Keh Lao* 豎眼挖佬, straight eyed Keh Lao, being very fierce. Rich people possess silver cups in different shapes of animals and birds. It is added that the Keh Lao are prouder than the Miao and Yao. As merchants they are permitted to have a head man 賣首. After having paid their government taxes, they may pass freely in and out of the city. As said before, the Keh Lao trade in mercury and other ore, lime, soda and timber. Others till the fields; around Ching Chou 靖州, the Keh Lao must have had a stronghold, from where they spread, and were assigned new territories by the government, the new place being called *Shih Chuang Yuan* 十莊院. The *Miao Pang Pei Lan*, speaks of the Keh Lao of Lu Ch'i 瀟溪 and Ch'ien Chou 乾州. Their family names were Chang 張, Fu 符, T'an 覃, Yang 楊, Hsieh 謝, and a few Liu 劉 families. The Changs were the most numerous, and said to trace their ancestry to the Sung Dynasty, when two brothers, surnamed Chang; came from Kiangsi to Hunan, to hold military positions as *T'un Chang* 屯長. Their name was originally written as 章 and changed later into 張. The two brothers were called the Big and the Small Chang, and apparently took Keh Lao wives. Their descendants settled in numerous villages, in the Pao Ching 保靖 and Yung Shun 永順 Hsiens, considering themselves as Min 民, the socially superior class of the Keh Lao. Again the Keh Lao in their capacity of merchants are mentioned, speaking Chinese, while those in the country spoke their own language only. A word list of about 30 words is inserted, on which, as will be pointed out later, Terrien de Lacouperie's judgement on the Keh Lao language is based. The Keh Lao are skilful with their fire weapons, which they learn to use at an early age. The weapons are of their own manufacture. The villages some times number about 100 families, the inhabitants cultivating rice, corn, and maize. They exchange their products on the market for salt. Some live on the mountains in cold and misty places, their dresses protecting them insufficiently against the cold. The women wear a coloured skirt and embroidery, the embroidery patterns showing the same designs as those of the Miao. Speaking of the 24 military camps, established at the Ming time, the book states that under each camp, there were Po 播 and K'ai 凱 remarking that the Po originally were the T'u Min 土民 of Tsun Yi 遵義 while the K'ai were the Big and Small Chang, that means Keh Lao. They are good soldiers, others learn to read and write. They worship in a temple, called Yang Kung Miao 楊公廟 and have their own sooth-sayer 巫

師. They swim well and are versed in beating and floating rafts down the streams. Nothing definite is known about the Keh Lao that still exist in Hunan to-day.

For the Keh Lao in Kweichow, there exist several descriptions. A number of under-groups are distinguished, of which the five, recorded in the Ming books, seem the most prominent. A few more names occur in the records of the Ch'ing Dynasty, each group differing in customs. Their respective seats are determined as well. The reports vary only very little. It is remarkable, that from now on, the tooth breaking of the Ta Ya is recorded almost exclusively as a marriage custom. Among the new groups there are the Shui Keh Lao 水花佬, who according to the *Chih Kung T'u* settled in Yu Ch'ing 餘慶, Shih Pin 施秉, and Chen Yuan 鎮遠 Hsiens of eastern Kweichow, near the Hunan border. It is said that they are skilful fishermen, entering the water even during the cold season. The women wear pleated skirts, like the Miao, while the men have adopted Chinese dress. In their customs they also follow the Chinese. The Shui Keh Lao occur as well in the *Ch'ien Chi* and *Ch'ien Nan Chih Lueh* 黔南略. Probably the Shui Keh Lao immigrated into Kweichow from Hunan during the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties. In their old homes they had become accustomed to beating and fishing, in the numerous streams of western Hunan. In one of the anonymous manuscripts, dating from the 18th century, containing short notes on Kweichow tribes, sometimes accompanying illustrated books, as translated by Clark, Bridgman and Playfair, to the description of the Shui Keh Lao the remark is added: "These are not originally Keh Lao, but are added." This also points to a comparatively late immigration of the Shui Keh Lao.

The P'i P'ao Keh Lao 披袍花佬, who are said to belong the Wu San Man 烏撒蠻 of the Sung Dynasty by the *Chih Kung T'u*, owe their name to a sleeveless garment, to be pulled over the head, longer in the back than in front. It was covered all over with embroidery. Their skirt was made of wool. The P'i P'ao were known as good black-smiths, while some of them cultivated the 木荔 tree.* The P'i P'ao were settled mainly in the centre of the province. The Ko Ch'uan Keh Lao 鍋圍花佬, so called because the women had a very big head cloth, were related to the preceding. In case of sickness, they formed a tiger head (out of clay, as stated in one of the

* This was said also from the Tzu Lao and in ancient times from the Lao and P'ao in Szechwan.

above mentioned manuscripts) which they wrapped into coloured silk threads. This was placed on a tray 筥 and the exorcist was called, to perform some ceremony.—By the author of the *Ch'ien Chi*, the Keh Tou 犵兜 are identified with the Shui and Hua Keh Lao, while the *Chih Kung T'u* mentions them living in close contact with the Yang Huang Miao 羊獠苗. As to the latter, Father Schotter, who has met them near Hsing Yi 興義, says that they trace their ancestry to a Yang family, who immigrated from Po Chou. They speak their own language and cannot be attributed to the Miao. They occur in a number of Hsiens in the southeast of the province. The Ko Ch'uan are fond of hunting and drinking, and the *Ch'ien Nan Chih Fang Chi Lush* 黔南職方紀略 describes their costume. The men wear a collar in various colours and the women show much embroidery on their short dresses, especially in front and on the sleeves, while strings of cowrie shells hang down on their back. Together with the Keh Tou, the records usually mention the Keh Tang 犵獠, their dwelling being raised above the ground as a goats sty 羊樓. The Keh Tang settled in the An Shun and P'u Ting Hsiens. To complete the number of additional Keh Lao groups, appearing in the books of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the *Chih Fang Chi Luen* mentions Ch'ing 青 and Ta T'ieh 打鐵 Keh Lao. The former settled in Jen Hwei 仁懷, near the Szechwan border, where they are said to live together with the Hung Keh Lao. Both however, are supposed to have given up their original custom. The Ta T'ieh appeared among P'i P'ao and Ta Ya Keh Lao in the P'ing Yuan 平遠. Perhaps they are identical with the former, who were known to be blacksmiths. The *Ch'ien Nan Chih Lush* remarks for P'u An 普安 that the so called Lao Pa Tzu 老巴子 are Keh Lao,** and immigrated from Hunan. Their family names are Teng 獠 and Yang 犛. For Weining the *Ch'ien Chi* records the T'u 土 Keh Lao, who work for the Lolo, and have the habit of rubbing their feet with hot oil. According to the manuscript translated by Clark, they are also met with in Chen Hsiung 鎮雄 Hsien in Yunnan. This group, if it still can be traced, would form the link between the T'u Lao and the Kweichow Keh Lao. According to the *Hsing Pien Chi Wen*, as quoted before, the Mu Lao are similar in customs to the Keh Lao. They appear in the Ch'ing records as well, spreading over a wide area. The *Chih*

* In P'u Ting I met with the name of Shui Ch'i 水溪 Miao village called Keh Tang Lou, but the origin of the name was unknown.

** While in An Shun, inquiring about Keh Lao, I was repeatedly told by a Chung Chia was had been as teacher in An Nan 安南 (next to P'u An) that he met there with Lao Pa Tzu (老巴子) who were the same tribe as the Keh Lao.

Kung T'u mentions them together with the Chien Fa 嗚發 Keh Lao, in P'ing Fa, 平伐 present-day Kuei Ting 貴定. They also occur according to the *Chih Fang Ch'ü Luch* in Huang P'ing 黃平 Yung Ae 雍安 and Tu Yün 都勻 Hsiens. The women wear a short skirt, while the men have adopted Chinese dress. Their family names are Wang 王, Li 李, Chin 金 and Wen 文 and some of them have studied the classics. During the early winter months, they sacrifice in the open air, and form a dragon of grass, (ts'ao lung 草龍). They put coloured paper flags around it. The Mu Lao produce earthen vessels and such of iron. To the description of the five groups, mentioned in the Ming books as Hung, Hua, Ta Ya, Chien T'ou and Chu Shih Keh Lao, little new material is added. In general it is emphasized that the Keh Lao do not bury, but put the coffins in caves and on cliffs or river banks. Only the Chien T'ou Keh Lao burn the corpses. The Ta Ya knock the brides teeth, which she takes along into her husbands home, "to avoid evil". The different groups do not intermarry. During the Ch'ing time, the Keh Lao are spread practically all over the province, with the exception of the South western corner, where the Tai are prevalent. Their neighbors in the eastern and central parts are the Miao and Chung Chia, in the north-west they live close to the Lolo. In P'u An and An-Nan, as well as in Weining Hsiens, the Keh Lao are in contact with some representatives of the P'o. The *Ch'ien Nan Chih Luch* states, that the P'u An P'o are also called Min Chia, and that they came from Yunnan. That would bring two groups related from ancient time into close contact, offering an interesting subject for research.

The Keh Lao are also represented in the various illustrated books on Kweichow tribes. While the *Chih Kung T'u* contains a full page woodcut, showing each a single representative of the respective tribe dealt with on the opposite page, beautiful albums in water colour exist, rendering scenes of the tribal life. Though these paintings are of no ethnological value, the painter working not from life and observation, they are nevertheless well worth mentioning, for the delicate, minute technique and their naive charm. In the *Ch'ien Miao T'u Shuo*, the Shui Keh Lao can be seen, amidst wintry river landscape, standing in the water to the hips, equipped with baskets catching fish. There is a number of P'i P'ao Keh Lao, showing elaborate embroidery on their sleeveless P'ao. Or a group of Ta Ya Keh Lao women, in bell shaped skirts, (the painters conception of the *T'ung Ch'un*) in front of a hut, gathered around a girl, on whom the operation of teeth breaking is performed by an elderly woman, while others support the victim. There are the Mu Lao, kneeling before their

grass dragon, on a field adorned with small flags in gay colours and various others. A similar book on Yunnan tribes entitled *Tien I Tu Shuo* 滇夷圖說, with paintings on silk, represents among others the Tu Lao, wearing pleated skirts, with an embroidered hem, and a square piece of embroidery on their blouses. The Keh Lao's "cruel" custom of tooth breaking, is also referred to in poetry, of which the following sentimental little poem on a beautiful Miao girl gives proof.

苗妓詩

雲海畸人夢一場
 峯池送子願瓜瓞
 鑿齒縱教隨死猪
 要留阿妹相思曲

吳縣貝青喬子木

柏蓬莫是葬雲娘
 懷去迎神祀竹王
 埋香忍使殉鴛鴦
 水曲從伊唱幾章

The cultural traits of the Lao, as handed down by the Chinese writers have been briefly enumerated above. But they deserve to be studied more closely as to their relation with southeastern Asiatic cultures. A thorough comparative study however requires a separate paper and the question can here only be touched upon.

The Lao clearly appear to have possessed cultural traits which are met with to-day in Southeast Asia including the East-Indian Archipelago. As far as the continent is concerned, representatives of these cultures are in particular the tribes of Assam, the Wa, Palaung and related groups, the Karen of Burma and the Moi* in Indo-China.

Most of the above mentioned groups belong linguistically to the Austro-Asiatic Family. In their respective regions these groups are considered as the most ancient inhabitants, occurring as islands among the Tai and Tibeto-Burmese. But it is assumed that about the beginning of the Christian era, they were widely distributed, reaching into present Southwest China. It is C. G. Lewis in his *The Tribes of Burma*, Rangoon, 1919, when dealing with the Mon-Khmer branch of the population, points to the possibility that among the Chinese southwestern tribes, as supposed by Major Davies, a link of the isolated Mon groups of West Yunnan with

* Moi is an Annamite word, equivalent to the Chinese *man* 蠻. The Cambodian speak of Sieng or Phnong, the Laotians of Kha. The Moi have retired into the forests of the mountains in the western part of the Indochinese Peninsula. They have been studied by a number of French authors, as Henri Heudes-son, Marcel Nèg, Henri Melito and others.

the Khasi, settled so far in the west in Assam, could be found. "It is a far cry from the Palaungs to the Khasis." (p. 12)

The inhabitants of the East-Indian Islands having once been the predecessors on the continent of the Austró-Asiates, belong linguistically to the Austronesian Family.* Anthropologically they are Palaemon-goloides, (Palaungides of Von Eickstedt) comprising the ancient stratum of the Malayan (Altmalayische Schicht). Though Indonesian languages are no more found on the continent, the Malayan component is recognizable with the Naga, the Moi and the Karen. Conditions are however very complicated; as a Weddoid and Négroïd stratum has also to be taken into consideration.

The Chinese sources are generally underrated when it comes to ethnological facts, concerning the "Barbarians", as many despising remarks by the foreign writers show; nevertheless they offer a wealth of valuable material which were the usages and practices of the tribes that struck the Chinese writers as so fundamentally alien to their own culture.

There is the style of the house, the dwelling above the ground, the *kan lan* as described among others for Lao, or a shed erected on a tree. Houses on piles are prevalent to-day in South-East Asia. As to weapons, spear and shield were used, of which the latter exist in various shapes and richly decorated with the Naga of Assam and the Dayaks of Borneo. With both tribes the men wore long feathers as headdress, preferably those of the hornbill (buceros).

The breaking of teeth, either as a marriage or initiation practice, mentioned in Chinese sources for the Lao and up to the Ch'ing Dynasty for the Keh Lao of Kweichow province, occurs with various tribes of Celebes and on the Island Engano in our days. The pointing of the front teeth by means of files, as well as the horizontal filing of the crown, is practiced by the Moi. Blackening of the teeth is very common with Karen and Naga.

The regular *couvade* is reported from the Miri in Assam and also occurs in Borneo. Numerous birth-taboo instructions for both parents exist with different tribes.

As to burial, the Lao are said to have put the coffins on the cliffs

* The Naga of Assam having adopted now a Tibeto-Burmese idiom.

and along the banks of the river. Such coffins can still be seen to-day in West Hunan and South Szechwan (F'ö). Sometimes it is mentioned that the coffins were put in an upright position. This seems to indicate that the corpses were arranged sitting or squatting, which fact also would explain the different shapes of the coffin as a box, a house or boat. The final burial was often held after a considerable time and a big festival was celebrated.* Fastening the coffin on a tree or wooden frame also occurred. All these practices can be met with to-day with the Bataks, Dayaks in Assam and in Celebes. The Toradja of Celebes living in the centre of the island, hew individual tombs into the rock's which bear a striking resemblance to the *Man Tung* 槨洞 of Szechwan.** The *Man Tung* of Szechwan date from a time prior to that at which the appearance of the Lao in that part is reported. Though some of them have been, according to inscriptions, identified as tombs of Chinese of the Han Dynasty, there can be no doubt that the *Man Tung* as a whole, should be attributed to a culture alien to that of the Chinese.

Cannibalism and sacrifice of men is further frequently mentioned with the Chinese writers. Head hunting together with sacrifice as a religious practice, with which numerous magic conceptions are connected, is widely spread in South-East Asia. During the 19th century it is reported for all the Naga tribes, for the Wa and the Dayaks. Total cannibalism is practiced by the Bataks. While reports of partial cannibalism, consuming of heart or other organ of the slain enemy, is quite frequent with a number of tribes.

As to the social organization the *Wei Shu* and later sources speak of hereditary chieftains with the Lao. The clan under the leadership of a chieftain is the rule for most of the Indonesian communities. On the continent it is still very distinct with the Moi, who according to Madrolle in 1904 were ruled by less than 97 chiefs, among whom 82 were hereditary. These chieftains are called *Kuang Lang*.

Much is said in the Chinese books about the barbarians beating the metal drum and of high value they attributed to these objects. At present still the drum plays a prominent part in the social and religious life of many tribes. The Karen and the Moi still use the metal drums,

* See the passage as quoted above of the *Te-ao Yeh Chien Tsai*.

** See the illustrations in A. Grabauer, *Unter den Ka-fjaesera in Zentral Celebes*.

while in Hainan with the Li an oxhide drum has taken its place. Its relation with the original metal drum is however assumed.*

In connection with the practice of "Nose Drinking", the Chinese authors make mention of bamboo or metal tubes. Such tubes, sometimes richly decorated, are used to-day f. i. by Moi for imbibing alcoholic drinks.

This comparative study of cultural traits could be further extended. Which conclusions seem permissible as a result? As long as the outcome of the anthropological measurements are not known and the language of the present day representatives of the ancient Lao groups is not sufficiently and competently studied nothing definite can be said about the affinity of the Lao. Only further researches can prove if the writer's conjecture, that they belong to the Austro-Asiatic stock, is right or untenable.

II. The Present-Day Keh Lao

The writer stayed in Kweichow, Anshun 安順 during the years 1940/41. At that time researches had to be restricted to the neighbouring Hsiens of Anshun, from which most of the following was gained. In 1945, the writer having returned to Kweichow, continued investigation including the Chenning and Langtai 朗岱 Hsiens. The large Keh Lao village Hei Chal 黑寨 of Anshun was also visited. In anticipation of a detailed report it may here be said, that two new Keh Lao groups could be identified as the "Hair-Out" 剪 Keh Lao and "Kettle Ring" 鍋環 Keh Lao, which brings the total of the so far traced groups to five, each speaking a different dialect.

Dr. Woo Ting Liang 吳定良, of the Academia Sinica, has taken anthropological data of the Keh Lao, in the fall of 1941, accompanied and introduced by the writer.

The following observations were made on various trips, to Keh Lao villages, during a stay in Anshun, in 1940/41. While preliminary inquiries, within Anshun city as to villages still inhabited by Keh Lao, had no result, as the Keh Lao were considered to have changed** long ago, investigations among the Miao, especially among the elderly women, proved successful and the respective places were pointed out. After having succeeded in making friends in one Keh Lao village, information about further settlements and introductions to related families were

* Cf. W. Strzoda, Die Li auf Hainan, *Zeit. f. Ethnol.* Bd 43, 1911, H; Stuebel, *Die Li-Stämme der Insel Hainan*, 1937.

** As the local expression goes: K'ü Fien Han 改漢人.

voluntarily furnished. The first village thus traced, was Wan Tzu Chai 灣子寨, the former name of which was Keh Lao Chai. This village lies in a distance of only ten li to the east of Anshun, but off the main road, amidst a typical Kweichow landscape, of barren and steep rocks. (Anshun is situated 1200 m. above sea level.) Wan Tzu Chai is inhabited by about 35 families, among whom the family name of Yang 楊 is predominant. A dialect of the Keh Lao language is spoken by the elder people only, while in general together with Chinese language. Chinese dress and customs have been adopted. The Keh Lao of Anshun belong to the P'i P'ao group. About 60 years ago, the P'ao could still be seen. The embroidery on it must have been exquisite, as was told again by the old Miao women, who had seen it in their youth.* Intermarriage with the Ta Ya Keh Lao of the neighboring P'uting Hsien occurs. While they do not intermarry with the Miao, the Keh Lao men occasionally take P'u Tzu 濮子 wives. The P'u Tzu live in villages along the main road to Kweiyang. As the names of their settlements indicate, (Yao P'u 么堡 T'ou P'u, 頭堡 Erh P'u 二堡 etc.) these must originally have been military colonies, dating mostly from the Ming time, though the Miao tradition says, that the P'u Tzu entered the region at a much earlier period. This group holds a kind of intermediate social position between the Chinese and the tribes in this part of the province. The Kweichow Chinese, being immigrants from other provinces of a later period, are called K'o Chia 客家. The P'u Tzu, who speak the Chinese language only, prefer to be called *Lao Han Jen*, 老漢人 (ancient Chinese). The K'o Chia however consider them as inferior. The P'u Tzu women wear the old Chinese costume, trousers and a long coat. They are very fond of silver ornaments, such as rings, bracelets, earrings and hair pins. Some of the women are remarkably pretty. There can be no doubt, that the P'u Tzu are a very mixed group, and have absorbed a good deal of aboriginal blood. The Wan Tzu Chai Keh Lao denied, and indeed seemed not to have any peculiar customs. The children going to Chinese schools, and the proximity of the city with its regular markets, have furthered the assimilation. About thirty li to the south of Anshun, there are two villages, called Ta Keh Lao 大堡 and Hsiao Keh Lao 小堡 respectively. While Hsiao Keh Lao has developed into a large Chung Chai settlement, of which the Keh Lao have entirely vanished, the small village of Ta Keh Lao, is inhabited by 15 Keh Lao families, by the names of Lü, 呂 Ch'en 陳 and Yang 楊. Some Miao and Chinese families are living

* The Pa Miao 瑯苗 of Anshun, wearing embroidered garments still today, may be considered authorities in criticising any kind of embroidery.

together with the Keh Lao.* The village elder in Ta Keh Lao was a Chung Chia from Hsiao Keh Lao, who had married a Keh Lao woman, and spoke the Keh Lao language well. Further cases of intermarriage with Chung Chia were not known but may exist. The Chung Chia also take Hu Tzu wives. Around Anshun the Chung Chia are called I Chia, 夷家 which name they themselves prefer to Chung Chia calling themselves *Pu Yi*. The Miao in their dialect also speak of *I* and pretend this *I* to be a sound in their own language. They indeed pronounce it in a high tone higher than the Chinese second tone. In northwestern Kweichow however, the Lolo are called I Chia. Hei Chai, in the north of the Anshun, with a number of Keh Lao families could not be visited. The Ta Keh Lao people have relatives there, and the dialect in Hei Chai was the same as in the two other villages mentioned above.

Formerly the Keh Lao must have been very numerous around Anshun. Hsiao Keh Lao, where the Keh Lao have been crowded out by the Chung Chia has already been mentioned. The Miao pointed out further places, which in their language still were designed as Keh Lao villages, *k'e sao* meaning Keh Lao village in the dialect of the Pa Miao, and *k'e pa* in the Ch'ing Miao dialect means Keh Lao hill. The designations for Keh Lao in the respective dialects, being *k'e*, and *ga k'e*. A large burial ground, in a narrow valley, at the foot of steep barren rocks, is called Keh Lao Fen, by the Chinese, who live in a small village near by, and *ba ga diao* by the Ch'ing Miao. At present-day this place is used by the Chinese and Ch'ing Miao for burial. Two other grounds, now entirely deserted, one to the east of Anshun, near Wan Tzu Chai, the other on the way to P'uting, are also attributed to the Keh Lao. The former is still visited at Ch'ing Ming 清明 by some Keh Lao families, who have emigrated to P'uting. These ancient burial grounds indicate, that the Keh Lao had given up their original rock tombs, probably with the time of the last dynasty. More will be said about this question later.

The Keh Lao in P'uting were Ta Ya, besides one village of Ch'ien Mao 黔毛 Keh Lao. This latter statement however can not be made with absolute certainty, as it has become difficult to identify the various groups. The wearing of the P'ao was still remembered, as well as the breaking of the teeth, but names deriving from less striking causes, can be traced with difficulty only. The Chinese today as well as the Miao, and

* Such mixed villages are comparatively rare, though a very few Chinese families are occasionally met with in Miao villages.

the Chung Chia, have one general name for the Keh Lao only, in their respective languages, or dialects. The Keh Lao themselves, of course distinguish the undergroups clearly, the designations, however, being not based on the same characteristics as the Chinese classification. The Teñ Ta Ya villages in the P'uting are situated in its north eastern part, south of the San Ch'a Ho 三叉河. The largest villages number about 30 families, while there are small hamlets of 2-3 families only. Several Chinese settlements are in the same region, or, as in one case, Chinese live in a different part of the Keh Lao village. The family names are Yang 楊, Ch'en 陳, Wang 王, Hu 胡, Mu 木, Yen 顏, and Li 李. The Ta Ya, as said before, intermarry with the P'i P'ao. The teeth breaking custom has been abolished about 100 years ago. As said before, it was only admitted as a marriage custom, and nothing was remembered about the different interpretations given for this practice in the records. Embroidered dresses were no more seen, but the costume, being only given up about 2 or 3 generations ago, could still be described by the old women. The language is in general use, also with the children. Across the river, close to its bank, lies Meng Chia 孟家, a village of about 45 families, who are said to have been Chien T'ou Keh Lao. They have however given up language and customs long ago. The Ta Ya call them *Nang*. Meng Chia is situated near some Shui Ch'i 水溪 Miao villages. Another settlement of Keh Lao could be found at the north eastern corner of the P'uting Hsien, close to the Ch'ih Chin 織金 Hsien. The place was called Pai Kuo Shu 白果樹, which is really a collective name, for a number of scattered hamlets and large single farmhouses, on both sides of a valley. Here again the Keh Lao families live side by side with the Chinese. The identity of these Keh Lao could not be established. Their dialect, also the numerals, which were the same with the P'i P'ao and Ta Ya dialects, was different from that of the other two groups. They call themselves *Ba Dsung*, while the Ta Ya speak of them as *La Dsi*. According to the geographical distribution, these Keh Lao may be Ko Ch'uan 鷓園 or Hung 紅 Keh Lao. A comparison of the dialects, would solve the problem, but so far nothing is known of the dialect of the Hung Keh Lao. The Pai Kuo Shu Keh Lao had formerly intermarried with the Meng Chia group, which the Ta Ya did not. The family names were: Ch'eu 周, Hu 胡, An 安, Wang 王, and Yang 楊. The language was in general use, costume and peculiar practices had been given up. The Pai Kuo Shu Keh Lao pointed out another *Ba Dsung* village, Wa Ho 窪河, of 15 families, situated in the Chih Chin Hsien, in a distance of about 50-60 li. The women there still wear a costume, which will be described later. The Wa Ho people use

to visit a market, Hua Chia 花家, situated about seventy li to the east from Pai Kuo Shu. There was little or no intercourse between the two villages, as Wa Ho was described lying in a hard accessible region, and from Pai Kuo Shu a nearer market is visited. Pai Kuo Shu could already be considered a rather out of the way place, over 100 li from Anshun, which city only a few of the Keh Lao had ever visited.

Perfectly reliable statements were obtained from an old Ta Ya Keh Lao man, about farther Keh Lao in the Ch'ien Hsi 黔西 Hsien, whom he called Ya Xi, while the P'i P'ao Keh Lao gave information about a large village of their group in P'ing Pa 平坝 Hsien, Ma Lang 馬郎 called *Ma Ga Bao*, by the P'i P'ao. According to a certain publication in Kweiyang, on the Hsi Miao of the Lu Shau 羅山 Hsien, Hung Keh Lao are there also met with. No details however are given. In the western part of the province, Keh Lao are said to live in the An Nan 安南 Hsien, where they are called La Pa Tzu 喇巴子 as said before. A thorough research, tracing the Keh Lao from Hsien to Hsien, would probably have a positive result for many of them. 'Keh Lao', in some or other combination, occurs frequently as a name of place, without the Keh Lao being settled there any more today. Hsiao Keh Lao village has already been mentioned, as well as the burial places. In the 3rd Ch'ü of Anshun is another I Chia village called Hung Keh Lao. In Chen Ning, a large I Chia village is called Keh Lao Fen. (near Pien Tan Shan 扁担山) In all the villages mentioned above, the Keh-Lao live the life of the Kweichow farmer. The land, with rare exceptions, is the property of a Chinese landlord. The fields bear rape and beans in the spring, later on a little wheat. With the begin of the rainy season, in June, the fields are ploughed, and the rice is planted. The harvest takes place towards the end of September. In the valleys of the P'uting Hsien, on the slopes of the so called t'u shan 土山 maize is cultivated. It is eaten as *Pao Kuo Fan* 苞穀飯 instead of rice. Domestic animals are waterbuffaloes, or catties, pigs, dogs and fowl. The construction of the houses varies according to the situation of the house and the means of the owner. Sometimes there are only small huts, of stone blocks, the roof covered with straw or stone plates. Some houses have a simple loft. In Ta Keh Lao, the style of the I Chia houses is adopted, with a stair leading up to the living rooms, the stables below. As everywhere in Kweichow, the women work much harder than the men. They do the fieldwork, except the ploughing, look after the animals, and prepare the meals. The old women do the housework, and make straw-sandals and hemp ropes which they sell on the market.

Since the wearing of the peculiar Keh Lao costume has been given up, the dress of the Kweichow farmer has been adopted. It consists of a long coat and trousers of blue cotton and a headcloth for the women, while the men wear a longer upper garment, and shorter but wider trousers, of the same material. Their headcloth varies in size; in the summer both men and women wear the large straw hat, and the fibre raincoat. With the men, the upper garment is girded by a strip of cloth, not exactly a belt. By means of this, the long garment can be tucked up, while working. Men and women wear straw sandals, of which in Kweichow a variety exist, the difference consisting in the fastening of the sandal, and the passing of a strip between the toes. The Miao have their special kind, as well as the above mentioned P'u Tzu, who have very fine pleated strips. The difference however is not obvious, and so far has never been taken notice of. In most villages of the P'uting Hsien the Keh Lao are very poor. The children are dressed in rags. Eye diseases, especially Trachoma are very frequent. Only few children visit the schools in the neighbouring Chinese villages. With such a hard life, tradition has been lost, and the old customs forgotten. Only the language survives, and the conviction of belonging to a very old people, prior to all the other newcomers. "*Wo men shih hen ku hen ku ti jen,*" 我們是很古很古的人 as an aged Keh Lao man once put it. The old men were eager to learn what was said about them in the Chinese books, and wanted to know if there were more of their kind in other provinces. It may be inserted here, that it was in one of these P'uting Hsien Ta Ya Keh Lao villages Shih Pan Chai 石板寨, that Clarke used to stay overnight, on the way to his Miao Mission station. In this village he compiled the Keh Lao words for his book, thirty years or more ago. His visit was still remembered. Clarke says, that he would have taken the Keh Lao for Chinese, if not otherwise told.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Keh Lao show certain physical traits, distinguishing them from the other population. The Miao speak of "a Keh Lao face", 佬佬面. Reference must here be made to the results of the anthropological measurements and data collected by Dr. Woo Ting-Liang.

As the Keh Lao represent a vanishing and minor tribe, that has been crowded out and forced to retreat, they are naturally not held in very high esteem by their neighbours. The Miao however, who perhaps know them best, living close to them at various places, call the Keh Lao friendly and reliable. This judgement is usually expressed by a comparison of the

Keh Lao with the I Chia. The Miao say: "The Keh Lao's heart is like ours, they are not like the I Chia!" Who has ever been to Kweichow, knows what this means. Clarke may here be quoted, who says in his book: "The Chinese describe the Chung Chia or Yü Chia as crafty, lying and dishonest, stealing even from their friends". In favour of the Chung Chia however, it must be said out of personal experience, that there are also a number of Chung Chia, who should be excepted from this statement.

Once a certain shyness was overcome, the Keh Lao indeed proved most kind and hospitable, and informations were freely given. The costume, as it was worn before being abolished 2-3 generations ago, had apparently undergone considerable modifications since the time it was described by the writers of the Ch'ing Dynasty. The different groups of the P'u Ting Hsien gave the following details of the dress which today is only still worn by the Keh Lao women in Wa Ho.* The hair was tied in a high knot (*lai' gou*²) on the top of the head. Clarke compares this to the Tagist coiffure. A simple wooden comb (*si*²) was fastening this knot. A cloth was wrapped around the head, (*pei ssou*) The blouse, (*ta tung*) had to be pulled over the head, being longer in the back, than in front. On the sleeves, about the height of the elbow, a rectangular piece of embroidery (*ngao*²) was put.

That the usual blouse of the different Keh Lao groups, not only the P'ao of the P'i P'ao Keh Lao which appears as a kind of modification of the blouse, was pulled over the head, is a fact of considerable interest. Such a blouse is described for the Hainan Li and forms part of the original costume of the Karem. As it is not known with any other tribe, it may be assumed that the blouse with a hole for the head, is a characteristic of the Lao and related groups, the Li and Karen, dating back to the ancient time, when it was first described in the *Hou Han Shu*, as quoted above. The Keh Lao women also insisted upon having formerly known and practiced the technique of Batik, *La Hua* 蜡花, which is in use today with the Miao and Chung Chia. It is most regrettable, that the pattern, which were applied, had been forgotten.

The skirt (*eng*) was no more of wool, probably because the keeping of sheep and goats had to be abolished, when the Keh Lao were forced to retreat. It was woven of cotton thread, and wrapped around, from left to

* The words in brackets are Ta Yeh dialect.

right, without pleats. It reached almost to the ankles, and showed a coloured horizontal stripe, in its upper part. In one Ta Ya village such a skirt could still be demonstrated, but unfortunately no embroidery could be produced. This had been used for children's garments. The skirt in question was wide and heavy, of a bluish colour. The pattern of the stripe that was woven, consisted of 6 narrow lines, of a light colour. Between these lines, were small crescents. The skirt was held by a girdle (*dou¹ kang²*) of white cloth, tied on the left side. Leggings, (*lang²*) and straw sandals (*dji² gang²*) were further in use. Silver ornaments were worn, as bracelets (*gu¹*) rings (*brä¹ mo²*), ear pendants (*roh*) and necklaces. About ancient practices still in use, only little material could be gained, Chinese customs being followed instead. According to the information of the Ta Ya Keh Lao, on the day of the New Year a game was played by young and old, (*ta du gu*) during which a ball, or rather a round bamboo basket filled with copper coins, was thrown or knocked with a stick to and fro, the coins producing a rattling noise. As has been shown above, a similar game is reported for the Sung Dynasty, of the Hunan tribes.

The rock graves, being so highly characteristic for all the representatives of the Lao tribe, and reported for the Kweichow Keh Lao in the book of Tien Ju Cheng, must have been abandoned for a considerable time. To put the corpses on the cliffs, seems, according to the tradition of the Miao, to have been a universal custom of the Kweichow tribes in past times. In fact, to-day it is only with the Miao that corpses, wrapped in mattings, are attached on wooden poles, and hung up horizontally between the rocks, or exposed on the cliffs, in a considerable height. This however, occurs only occasionally, and as it seems with the poorer people, as the Miao, as a rule, at least in the Hsiens visited, bury their dead, and visit the graves at the time of Ch'ing Ming. Remnants of bones, are also frequently met with in the numerous natural caves of the Kweichow rocks. Artificial rock tombs, as in Szechwan, i.e. caves hewn into the rocks, do not occur in Kweichow. Before adopting the Chinese grave with the observation of the Fong Sui 風水, as it is done to-day, there must have existed a kind of intermediate state for the Keh Lao burial; as said above, there are various ancient burial places called Keh Lao Fen, which must date back several centuries. The peculiarities with these graves is, that they are parallel to the mountain, instead of forming a right angle, as with the Chinese, and that some of these graves are well built stone vaults, of slabs or plates. In one case, such an old Keh Lao burial place, along the way from Anshun to P'uting at the slope of a t'u shan, showed

about 20 graves, consisting of stone plates, of which two in front were put together as to form a gable. There were no large villages in the vicinity of this particular place, only a small Pa Miao hamlet of which the inhabitants could give no information about these graves.

The large tombs, of which Father Roux speaks, for the Chenning Hsien, could not be found in Anshun or P'uting. It is therefore possible, that they only occur in those regions, where the I Chia prevail, as they do in the Chenning Hsien, and that their explanation, that they contain the slain Keh Lao is right. To-day Chinese funeral rites have been adopted by the Keh Lao, but not long ago, a Keh Lao exorcist performed the ceremony of the K'ai Lu 開路. An ox and a pig were sacrificed. During the mourning period for a family elder, lasting three years, as a part of the New Year practice, small oxen, plough, and horse figures as well as grains were kneaded of No Mi 糯米 and sacrificed, to ensure the help of the parent, for a rich harvest.

The marriage customs are in many respects very similar to those of the Miao. Boys and girls meet freely, though to-day, for arranging a marriage, a go-between is sometimes used. Formerly, on the day of the betrothal the boys family sent some silver and a cock as a present to the girls family, in exchange of 1 *sheng* 升 rice and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ch'in* 斤 of wine. These gifts were considered as sacrifices to the respective ancestors. As a rule, on the wedding day, an elderly man, or two persons, a man and a woman, were sent to fetch the bride, who was without Pei Niang 伯娘 but accompanied by seven people, possibly sisters and brothers or other near relatives. They all walked on foot. Before leaving the home, the brides hair was combed and arranged in a knot by another girl. A large cash (2 *ts'un* in diameter) was put into the hair, or a silver ring. The head was then covered with a blue cloth, which was sewn tightly. Dragon and dog days were chosen as wedding day. As with the Miao, the family of the boy gives some money to the brides escort, and other members of her family. The maternal aunt and uncle receives 1 *ch'ien*, 錢 and 2 *fen* 分 silver each.* The maternal grandmother receives 5-7 *ch'ien* the brides sisters 3 *fen* each, her brothers and cousins 1 *ch'ien* 2 *fen* each. This money must be paid within 3 days, that means, before the morning of the third day after the wedding. The bride receives no dowry. When the first born child has

* The privileged position of the maternal uncle is also known for the Miao and generally considered as a remnant of a former matrilineal social order.

reached the age of one month, then a dowry is sent. As a rule there is no special room attributed to the young couple. Three days after the wedding, the bride may return to the home of her parents. After the birth of children, usually after three years, the new household is finally established.

The Keh Lao used to celebrate a festival on the 6th of the 7th moon. Oxen and pigs were sacrificed, and a meal was held, while men and women chanted alternately. The *Sa Lo* 唎囉 was blown and the drum beaten. Three years after the death of a family elder a pig is sacrificed, and the meat distributed in 36 bowls, which are put up before the ancestral tablet. This was described by the Keh Lao of Ta Keh Lao and the custom may show some Chung Chia influence, as the Chung Chia have certain conceptions connected with 36 spirits, of the human body.

Trees are worshipped, mostly in case of sickness. A small shrine like the Chinese T'u Ti Miau 土地廟 is generally found at the village entrance, in which usually a pair of strangely, human like formed stones are put. The Keh Lao's name for a bad spirit, corresponding to the Chinese *kuei* 鬼, is *Mhoui*. This word was the same in all the three dialects. The Tu Ya Keh Lao furthermore also knew of a beneficent spirit, whom they called *die*. The Keh Lao questioned so far, knew nothing of any kind of birth taboo or couvade. As to bronze drums there was no remembrance either.* Beating of the leather drum though is very popular for any special occasion. In Kweichow, as well as in Kwangsi, one has to deal with the fact, that the bronze drums to-day are almost exclusively in the hands of the Chung Chia. They however, having no original connection with these objects, considering them a valuable curiosity, beat the drums only for their amusement, especially during the New-Year festival. They have two mallets, and beat the drum with both hands, carrying out different movement, with each hand, which technique requires a great skill. In T'ien Ju Cheng's book it is reported for the Fu Lung 福隆 Chung Chia, that they occasionally find such an ancient drum in the ground, dig it out and consider it a very valuable possession. This statement is

* The Keh Lao, visited during the summer 1945, however were able to give some information about that important point. Two old men, in two different villages, questioned independantly, remembered that their respective families had owned bronze drums up to about 40 years ago. The drums were then sold to the Chung Chia. The two old men, without hesitating, gave the term for copper drum in the Keh Lao language.

apparently repeated by later writers; it appears also in the above mentioned manuscripts. Thus the Pu Lung beating the bronze drum, have also entered into the albums, accompanying some of these manuscripts.* As the bronze drums are not original with the Chung Chia, they have either acquired them by the way the Ming author states, or they have simply taken possession of the treasures of tribes they overwhelmed.

The time spent in investigation of the Keh Lao was much too short, as to give satisfactory results. But as so little is known of them today, the above scarce material may nevertheless be of some interest. The Keh Lao, as has been shown, form a part of the ancient Lao. Therefore they should be studied from ethnological viewpoints as well as linguistically in close connection with their cognates, as far as these are traceable. This however should be possible for the Keh Lao in western Hunan, for the Mu Lao Keh Tang and Keh Tou of Kweichow, the T'u Lao of Yunnan, and the Lao T'ing Jen and Ch'i Jen of Kwangsi. These representatives are supposed still to exist to-day. The next step would be to include the descendants of the P'o, the Min Chia 民家 and La Ma Jen 那馬人 into a comparative study, finally the relatives of the ancient past the Karen of Burma. Considering the records mentioning the similar culture of the Lao and Li, the Li tribes of Hainan, would perhaps also prove themselves linked in one way or other to the Lao.**

The Keh Lao of Kweichow, whose history for one and the same region can be traced for almost two thousand years, are therefore rightly called the aborigines of the province. They are found to-day either in an advanced stage of assimilation as in Anshun, or were they have retreated into the barren and remote mountains, living in a state of poverty and degeneration. This is obvious when the Keh Lao are observed against the background of the I Chia and Miao, of whom especially the latter show a high vitality. The reasons for the Keh Lao's decline may be manifold. They are an old and vanishing race, who had to endure for centuries the attacks and the pressure of the invaders. Though the records tell of the

* They are erroneously called Pu Lung Miao sometimes.

** It is further quite possible, that the Keh Lao, according to what has been pointed out in the conclusion to part one, may then prove to be an extreme eastern representative of those Austro-Asiatic groups, of which the Mon Khmer peoples formed the most ancient part, that are interspersed to-day as minorities, within the Tibeto-Burmese and Taic population of Assam, Burma and Indo China. But nothing definite can be said to-day.

gradual taking possession of the region by the Chinese, necessarily resulting in bloodshed and extermination to a certain degree, there is nothing or little known of the interracial struggles that must have taken place. There is only the tradition of the Chung Chia, who have entered Kwoichow probably during the 10th century, about the slain Keh Lao. The Chung Chia came from the south, the Miao from the east, and the Lolo were pressing down from the northwest.—Furthermore, as we know from the Lolo and the Hainan Li of to-day, there is a constant warfare going on between the different clans. The same may have once been the case within the different Keh Lao groups. During the time of the last dynasty, it is reported that the Keh Lao as good soldiers, often were conscripted for the army, to fight at distant places.

Forced to give way to the intruders, the Keh Lao retreated into regions, where the living conditions were poor. Those staying behind, were forced to adapt themselves to the newcomers. Possibly the P'u Tzu colonies have absorbed a great many of them, centuries ago.

Though the ethnologist may watch with regret the vanishing traces of the old past, there can be no doubt that for the Keh Lao in their present state, all that can be wished for, is a fast assimilation to the Chinese cultural unity, as a possible source of new vigour and vitality.

APPENDIX

The Keh Lao Language

The three groups of Keh Lao, met with in the Anshun and P'uting Hsiens, speak a different dialect each. There can be no doubt, that more variations formerly existed, and perhaps still are in use to-day in Kweichow and Hunan provinces. As stated in the records, there was no intermarriage between the groups, which fact favoured the persistence of independant dialects. The language has not yet been studied by a competent linguist, and it would therefore be a mistake to draw any conclusions by merely comparing fragmentary vocabularies, without a comprehensive study of the structure and syntax of the language.

S.R. Clarke, in *Among the Tribes in Southwest China*, published a list of about seventy words, including numerals, which the writer was able to identify as of the Ta Ya dialect. Lunet de lajonquiere, in *Le Tonkin Septentrional*, has collected 19 words, while the *Mission Lyonnaise*, (1898)

who has not met with any Keh Lao, quotes Father Schotter's opinion of the language. According to Father Schotter, the Keh Lao language is highly mixed with Lolo words. Classifiers precede the designations of relationships and parts of the body. Living beings are without classifier. The *Mission Lyonnaise* gives no example, but the statement agrees well with the author's wordlist. For instance: relationships: son: *li ba*, daughter: *li ma* uncle: *ba djo*, aunt: *ma djo*, etc. Parts of the body: hand: *bi mou*, foot: *bi gou*, tooth: *ma bang*, etc. Living beings: bird: *ko*, pig: *mo*, cat: *tsou*, etc.

As to Chinese books there is a word list contained in the *Miao Fang Pci Lan* 苗方備覽, for the Hunan Keh Lao. It is probably on that list, that Terrien de Lacouperie bases his judgement of the Keh Lao language. The following passage is quoted from his *The Language of China before the Chinese*, Paragraph 84.

"The Keh Lao speak a language known to us through a vocabulary without numerals of 87 words, collected by the Chinese in north west Hunan; it is consequently limited by their narrow orthography. Out of 35 words, which the respective vocabularies permitted me to compare, 16 prove to be connected with the Lolo, including six words in common borrowed from the Chinese, while 15 words out of 25, prove cognate to the Mon language, with merely regional differences. The ideology, which has apparently only been slightly touched on, confirms the glossarial probability, of its original Mon connection."

A comparison of the personal pronouns, which are the same with the three Keh Lao dialects (while the numerals showed differences) with the vocabulary of Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, shows a result in favour of de Lacouperie's supposition.

Personal Pronouns.

I Keh Lao: *yah*

Cf. Semang: *ye*, Palaung: *ye*, Wa: *ye*, Karen (Fassein, Maulmein, Bwe): *ya*, Man (Yao): *ye, ya*.

You, thou Keh Lao: *mu*

Cf. Wa Group, Yin: *mu*, Dana: *mo*, Man (Yao): *mai*.

He Keh Lao: *wo*

Cf. Karen language, Mopwa: *o*, Bilichi: *wo*.

The designation for water is with the three Keh Lao dialects: *ou, ou, ung*.

Cf. the Palaung-Wa group has: *oum, own, um*.

With the Keh Lao language, the modifying word follows the modified, *ou ndo*, water cold, i.e. "cold water". The word order is subject, verb, object.

The Keh Lao have translated the Chinese family names, adding the prefix *ka*. Thus;

Wang 王: *Ka moirt* Yang 杨: *Ka mie* Li 李: *Ka mi* Mu 木: *Kada*
Wen 文: *Ka mao* An 安: *Ka ou* Gheu 固: *Ka mou*

The Keh Lao call the Chinese: *Sa*, using the same word as the Miao. The U'i P'ao Keh Lao call themselves: *Giao*. The Ia Ya call themselves: *Gao*. In the dialect of the Ta Ya, Anskun Hs'en is *Lu Go*, while P'utung Hsien is *Lu Mo*.

In the dialect of the Ch'ing Miao the Keh Lao are called *La Ke*, in the dialect of the Pa Miao *Ec*. The Ta Hua Miao speak of the Keh Lao as *Lu Li* (a contemptuous expression), while the Chung Chia call the Keh Lao *Bu Sung*.

POSTSCRIPT

Having read over the previous pages, the present writer feels that there are things which should be added here. The transcription for the Keh Lao language needs a brief explanation. Her *b*, *d* and *g* must be unaspirated surds and *p*, *t* and *k* must be aspirated surds (The *ɳd* found in the Appendix seems rather a single sennant *d*). This just parallels to the usage of our New Official Romanization. Otherwise her *ds* will become unintelligible.

Besides, she tells us that one Keh Lao group calls itself *glao* (might be *klau*). This corresponds very well to the various Chinese transcriptions. To disyllabize the original consonantal clusters is Chinese traditional method in transcribing both the cognate and foreign languages. Most obvious evidences are to be found in the transcriptions of Sanscrit *snags*, such as 翠祝 for *stu*, 鉢羅 for *pra*, etc. As to other sporadic examples, they are too numerous to be cited here. Further, the first element of these consonantal clusters is in turn always expressed by a character having an abrupt tone. The reason for this usage is quite clear, it is well-known that the abrupt sounds are short in their quantities, so they just suit the representation for those first elements from which usually no clear vowel

can be heard. Consequently, the several characters 葛 (kat), 犛³ (a variation of 草, kæt), 犛 (kj'iət), 犛 (kiet) and even 鳩 (kjiəu < -g) all are very suitable for the original prefix *k-*.

If we are allowed to go a step further, we may say that the aspiration of the character 犛 may be considered as a clue for reconstructing the original form being a sonant *g-*. Other proof in support of it is the appellation 耆 (gī'1 < -d) 老 which is found in "Nan Chung Chih" of *Hua Yung Kuo Chih* and is likely to be another transcription for this tribe.^{**} Its phonetic value is neither more nor less than the sound expected *gl-*. This sonant prefix afterwards devocalized and simultaneously diverged into two forms, one being aspirated *k'* and the other being unaspirated *k-*. If this supposition is right, the development would be the same as that of the appellation of the Thai tribe as Professor H. Maspero asserted.

Wen Yu (聞宥)

貴州安順普定諸縣之佬佬及其歷史

鮑克爾

本文共分兩章：

第一章，述佬佬之歷史。首考定佬爲佬之古字，次歷引中國古籍中關於獠族之記載，加以貫串，證知梁代爲其極盛時期，唐時分佈至廣，今湘桂川黔諸省皆有之。其在川者與漢族往還頗密，外此又考知僚族一支曾遠及雲南，華陽國志亦言鳩僚在永昌與古二郡，故近日學者有疑此卽爲今緬甸之 Karen 者。至僚之在湘西者唐宋載稱五溪蠻或溪洞蠻，或更述其支派。在貴州者宋史稱牂牁蠻。大抵自宋以後，川中僚族大減，其原因爲 (1) 與漢楚同化 (2) 移徙雲南。

元以後始見土獠之名，蒙古人稱之爲秃剌蠻，Marco Polo 則紀爲 Toloman。明田汝成紀佬佬有花，紅，打牙，剪頭，豬屎互支，此當爲有分類之始，此外亦雅言廣西之佬人，廣西通志亦言侗及佬人爲僚族後裔。苗防備覽又言湘西之佬佬，至於貴州之佬佬，則清代載稱紀述較詳，分支亦益繁。且可在黔苗圖說職貢圖諸書中見其生活之片影。

* 獠僚 and 獠佬 are found in T'an Ts'ui (檀華), *Shuo Man* (說蠻).

** The explanation as "梁語能言牂牁服種人者" must be a distortion by Chinese.

近年治民族學者多以佤佬屬 Taic-Sulic 與張翼樞二人意譯漢聲時稍稍實其異見。以作者觀之，則此族文化之特徵：如鑿齒，坐月，崖葬，鼻飲，食人，擊銅鼓等大抵與南亞族 (Austro-Asiatic Group) 文化相符，故可能即為其一支，此作者研習此族歷史後所得之重要假定也。

第二章述佤佬之現狀，以前 Roux, Clarke 等所紀過於簡略，作者於一九四〇，四一，四五諸年在貴州實地觀察，所得有為他人所未詳者，計在安順得佤佬村寨三，皆披袍支，普定較多，大抵為打牙支，惟一寨為窮髮支。安順之頭姓為呂，陳，楊，雖屢止披袍已六十年，而仍操本語。其鄰近民族為苗仲家及保子，後二者已與之通婚。普定之姓為楊，陳，王，胡，朱，顏，李等。打牙之俗，屢棄亦已百年，然人人皆操本語，雖孩提亦然。其音與披袍支不同，然實互通婚姻。

普定之西北有一寨名白果樹，所居亦為佤佬，自稱為 Bā Dswng，自地理分佈觀之，當為紅佤或鍋腰佤，語言又小異。織金亦有此支，黔西尚有一支，打牙支稱之為 Ya Yi。又鎮山有紅佤，安南別有一支，名喇巴子，此今日所已知之分佈情形也。

其一般生活，見於上述諸村落者，大抵與漢族農民相似。所耕多為租地。食糧以玉蜀黍為主。居處尤簡陋，以石板築為小屋。服飾大抵似漢族。以其生活艱苦，并以往傳說，亦已遺忘，然仍自信為貴州最古之民族，苗及仲家亦以為然也。苗族以相處密邇，習知佤佬人之性習，以為重然諾，長於調處，說蓋可信。

至其風俗亦有可述者，以蠟花法製布，一也。歲時以竹球為戲，內實以銅幣，聲響悅耳，舊籍謂湘中佤佬有此俗，正與相符。二也。殯葬之式，已同漢族，然以石窖殮尸，正為崖葬與土葬之中間型，三也。七月初六為令節，男女雜沓歌唱，吹「哨哨」，四也。其他如崇拜樹神，有洪水傳說，皆其可紀者。

最後為附錄，約述佤佬語言之特點及其可能之系屬。

THE ANTHROPOMETRY OF CH'ANG

By YEN YIN

A short account of the early state of Ch'iang tribe in Szechwan has been given in a former paper. It runs:

"The Ch'iang during the Hsia, 夏 Shang-商 and Chou 周 Dynasties 2205-295 B.C. probably acknowledged the suzerainty of China. At the end of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty about 23 A. D. Wei Hsiao 隗囂 a ruler of Shensi and Kansu, occupied Lung Hsi 隴西, and used the Ch'iang to help him. Later they moved to Shensi and Szechwan. They divided into several branches each with its own name. The branches having a close association with Szechwan were the Pai Ma Ch'iang 白馬羌 and the Yuen Hsi Ch'iang 越嶲羌.

"The Ch'iang or Ti Ch'iang were the people who fled into Szechwan from Shensi and who were led by the Li family of the Ti group. They entered China 40 A.D. and entered and overran Szechwan 107-113 A.D."

The present territory of the Ch'iang lies, along the valley of the Min River 岷江. It extends north to Yüing Ting Kuan 永定關 in Mou Hsien 茂縣, and Wen Chuan 汶川 covering several thousand square miles. It is situated at the confluence of the Min 岷 and the I-sa Ku Nao 雜谷草 rivers at a height of between 1,400 and 3,000 meters. There is no plain of any considerable size, the whole territory being mountainous and rugged. The present population of Ch'iang is approximately around 30,000.

The material utilized for analysis is contained in the *Schedule of Physical Anthropology Measurements and Observations on Ten Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province, West China.*

- 1) Since the author is contemplating a more detailed statistical study and would like to compare the results of this paper with those which will be published in the near future, he requests that the results of this work should not be used by others without his permission.
- 2) W. R. Morse and Y. Yen, Ancient Historical Aboriginal and Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province, West China. *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*. Vol. VIII, pp. 121-125.
- 2) By W. R. Morse, supplement to Vol. VIII of the *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*. 1927.

The statistical treatment of the data includes the determination of the means, standard deviation and coefficient variation.

The age of twenty-two years has been selected as the lower age limit of adulthood and sixty-two as the highest. Owing to the very few number of females, the subjects treated are limited to the males. The total number of males is 87.

This presentation is preliminary and partial, just to serve as a suitable baseline for comparison with other similar adequate data from other ethnic groups of Szechwan province.

羌之體質測量

此材料係莫爾思教授於汶川一帶測量所得。曾於華西邊疆學會雜誌第七卷別冊印行。惟係粗型未加分析。本文所述，則詳加整理後之初步報告也。

分析材料，計男性 87 人，年齡二十二以上，六十二以下。分析常數，暫用平均數 (mean)，標準差 (standard deviation)，差異係數 (coefficient of variation) 等。至進一步之比較，則俟他種分析完畢後爲之。故此項結果，在未經作者同意前，請勿任用。

THE ANTHROPOMETRY OF CHIANG

29

TABLE I. ABSOLUTE MEASUREMENTS PERTAINING TO GENERAL BODY SIZE, MALE.

Measurements	No.	Range	Mean	S. D.	V.
Height:					
Stature	87	140-182	159.51±0.42	5.76±0.67	3.61±0.20
Tragion	88	138-158	147.61±0.55	4.71±0.59	3.39±0.23
Suprasternal	88	120-138	130.21±0.59	5.09±0.42	3.59±0.22
Sitting height	87	78-94	85.46±0.27	3.70±0.20	4.43±0.26
I-cromion	88	120-141	131.00±0.06	5.10±0.04	3.86±0.22
Diameters:					
Span	85	150-181	165.25±0.48	6.54±0.24	3.89±0.21
Biacromial	88	88-99	90.72±0.16	1.86±0.11	3.71±0.31
Intercristal	88	24-29	27.48±0.17	1.41±0.12	5.12±0.42
Bitrochanteric	80	27-38	29.77±0.25	2.08±0.18	6.82±0.61
Transverse Thoracic-diameter	88	24-29	26.55±0.14	1.19±0.10	4.42±0.37
Ant. Post. Thoracic	88	19-23	21.56±0.11	0.93±0.08	4.82±0.36
Circumference:					
Thoracic	87	70-92	83.74±0.25	3.48±0.16	4.16±0.21

TABLE II. ABSOLUTE MEASUREMENTS PERTAINING TO HEAD AND FACE, MALE.

	No.	Range	Mean	S. D.	V.
Head:					
Circumf.	35	50-60	54.88±0.29	2.25±0.16	4.11±0.32
Length	87	17-27	18.81±0.05	0.69±0.04	3.65±0.10
Breadth	87	12-16	14.95±0.04	0.60±0.03	3.88±0.20
Height	87	9-18	11.59±0.06	0.87±0.05	7.61±0.49
Face:					
Physiognomic	87	16-21	18.35±0.07	0.97±0.05	5.21±0.27
Anatomical length	87	10-14	12.08±0.05	0.74±0.04	6.10±0.31
Upper face length	33	6-8	6.99±0.05	0.46±0.04	6.87±0.55
Min. frontal length	87	9-12	10.45±0.04	0.58±0.03	5.12±0.28
Bizygomatic breadth	87	12-16	14.83±0.04	0.61±0.03	4.10±0.21
Bigonial breadth	87	9-12	10.82±0.04	0.54±0.03	5.01±0.26
Bimastoid breadth	32	12-14	13.28±0.06	0.54±0.05	4.80±0.04
Nose length	87	4-6	5.50±0.03	1.59±0.02	7.28±0.33
Nose breadth	87	2-4	3.58±0.02	0.28±0.01	7.90±0.41
Ear length	32	5-7	5.07±0.03	0.49±0.04	9.78±0.82
Ear breadth	33	3-4	3.24±0.04	0.38±0.03	9.35±0.84
Mouth breadth	33	4-6	5.15±0.05	0.41±0.03	7.86±0.15

TABLE III. ABSOLUTE MEASUREMENTS PERTAINING TO TRUNK, MALE.

Measurements	No.	Range	Mean	S. D.	V.
Length.	57	78-94	85.46 ± 0.27	3.70 ± 0.20	4.38 ± 0.20
Sitting height.					
Diameters:					
Biacromial	33	33-39	36.72 ± 0.16	1.36 ± 0.11	3.71 ± 0.31
Infercostal	33	24-30	27.48 ± 0.17	1.41 ± 0.12	5.13 ± 0.42
Inverspubal	33	21-27	24.03 ± 0.16	1.86 ± 0.12	5.79 ± 0.43
Transverse	33	24-29	20.85 ± 0.14	1.39 ± 0.16	4.45 ± 0.37
Thoracic ant.-post	33	19-23	21.56 ± 0.11	0.93 ± 0.08	4.33 ± 0.36
Circumferences:					
Thoracic	37	70-92	83.74 ± 0.25	3.43 ± 0.16	4.16 ± 0.21

TABLE IV. ABSOLUTE MEASUREMENTS PERTAINING TO EXTREMITIES, MALE.

Measurements	No.	Range	Mean	S. D.	V.
Upper extremity:					
Upper arm circ.	33	12-26	21.67 ± 0.27	2.30 ± 0.19	10.59 ± 0.37
Forearm circ. max.	32	19-25	22.21 ± 0.01	0.12 ± 0.01	5.89 ± 0.46
Forearm circ. min.	32	14-17	15.23 ± 0.09	0.72 ± 0.06	4.73 ± 0.40
Forearm length	37	13-20	17.96 ± 0.06	0.79 ± 0.04	4.89 ± 0.22
Hand breadth	73	6-9	7.71 ± 0.03	0.42 ± 0.02	5.46 ± 0.31
Lower extremity:					
Thigh circ.	33	36-49	42.21 ± 0.31	2.08 ± 0.22	6.34 ± 0.53
Leg circ. max.	32	29-36	32.56 ± 0.19	1.58 ± 0.13	4.89 ± 0.41
Leg circ. min.	32	17-22	19.48 ± 0.01	0.94 ± 0.08	4.83 ± 0.41
Foot length	33	19-23	23.42 ± 0.08	1.14 ± 0.06	4.88 ± 0.26
Foot breadth	32	7-10	8.08 ± 0.05	0.62 ± 0.03	6.98 ± 0.37

TABLE V. RELATIVE MEASUREMENTS:
INTRASEGMENTAL INDICES RELATING TO THUNK, MALE.

Indices	No.	Range	Mean	S. D.	V.
Stem (sitting height) - stature index	87	10-16	13.37±0.07	1.01±0.05	7.59±0.89
Head height-stem length index	82	10-15	11.69±0.11	0.88±0.07	7.57±0.64
Ventral trunk wall stem length index	82	64-86	74.81±0.43	3.78±0.32	6.05±0.48
Intercristal br.: biacromial br.	80	71-91	82.40±0.65	4.46±0.39	5.41±0.47
Intercristal br.: intercrural br.	82	78-99	87.63±0.69	4.90±0.42	5.66±0.28
Intercristal br.: intercrural br.	80	9-15	11.05±0.12	0.93±0.81	8.38±0.73
Hand breadth: hand length	87	89-98	43.04±0.15	2.08±0.11	4.86±0.23
Chest depth-chest breadth index	82	69-93	89.53±0.56	4.96±0.42	6.18±0.52

TABLE VI. RELATIVE MEASUREMENTS:
INTRASEGMENTAL INDICES RELATING TO HEAD AND FACE, MALE.

Indices	No.	Range	Mean	S. D.	V.
Cephalic index	87	72-88	79.48±1.22	3.08±0.13	3.97±0.20
Head height-head length index	87	49-74	60.90±0.37	5.07±0.26	8.32±0.48
Head height: head breadth	87	63-89	75.96±0.41	5.93±0.30	7.48±0.38
Cephalic module	87	12-18	14.86±0.06	0.77±0.04	6.54±0.33
Physiognomic facial index	87	62-86	75.51±0.30	4.21±0.22	5.98±0.29
Bifronto-bizygomatic index	87	69-84	75.83±0.25	3.43±0.18	4.58±0.23
Bifronto-frontal index	87	9-12	10.41±0.04	0.60±0.03	5.73±0.29
Nasal index	87	53-91	66.85±0.53	8.12±0.41	12.07±0.62
Ear index	88	48-60	56.49±0.53	4.70±0.40	6.43±0.70
Fronto-parietal index	87	63-76	63.29±0.21	2.87±0.15	5.59±0.31
Fronto-bizygomatic index	87	65-84	73.13±0.25	3.43±0.18	4.57±0.24

ON THE CONQUERRING OF CH'ANG FANG BY EMPEROR HSIAO I.

Part I. Geographical Discussion

By LIU CHAO-YANG

In the oracle records of the late Yin periods, there appears a country called Ch'iang Fang 羌方 (前 6,6,1 and 甲 3510) or briefly Ch'iang 羌 (中研 1:0,0049 and 前 4,51,2) that was neighbouring to but not on amicable terms with the Yin. The frequent occurrence of such phrases on the Yin divinations as 伐羌 (鄒下 40,3; 前 6,5,7; 戡 13,5; 後下 45,7; 前 6,6,2; 前 4,44,6; 粹 1167; and 甲 2226), 征羌 (康 259 and 康 706), 伐羌 (康 310; 粹 1167; 粹 144; 粹 105,3; and 拾 5,5) and 鉏羌 (前 8,18,1), all of which means to attack or to punish or to exterminate the Ch'iang, shows clearly that quarrels between them must have taken place very often. Moreover, at least twice is it now found in the divinations to have definitely recorded the Ch'iang's invading the Yin: the first is a divination, made in the second month, inquiring whether the Ch'iang would not kill his subordinate officials (前 4,4,7, 甲辰下至: 朕勿殄朕吏二月); the second, another divination, inquiring whether the Ch'iang would attack the Chih 卮, one of the tributary states in the western Yin frontier (粹 1170, 癸: 卜王貞其征卮).¹⁾ That the circumstances involved in these two cases were rather serious may be probably well reflected by the fact that both divinations were made by the king himself. The statement of 前 4,50,2, 戊: 方其征: 朕御 may serve as a third evidence of this kind, as it means probably that at the day 戊, Ch'iang Fang would attack one of his tributary states and the king would go forward personally to resist the insult, although a breakage that happens to be before the character 方 so that it can not be quite certain whether the lost character which ought to go before the character 方 really be a Ch'iang or not. This Ch'iang thus seems to have been a big and strong enemy to the Yin court. Its strength may be shown by the divination record, in one place it is said, in preparing to proceed a battle against it, the king had to call forth once three divisions of 帝好 with ten thousand soldiers (康 310, 辛巳: 卜貞帝好三最旅一萬平伐羌). It seems also to have been one of the Yin's long lasting enemies, for the King Tang 湯, the first king of the Yin Dynasty, was said in an ode to have once been able to brought Ch'iang to surrender and it was surely meant a very glorious victory to Yin people that was

1) 1) stands for a breakage in oracle record by which two or more characters are lost;

2) 2) stands for a breakage in oracle record by which only one character is lost.

worthy of high praise (詩商頌，昔有成湯，自彼氐光，莫敢不來享，莫敢不來王)。 Indeed, according to *Chu Shu Chi Nien* 竹書紀年, the Ch'iang did go to the Yin court to show its submission in the nineteenth year of the King T'ang.

In attempting to determine the geographical position of Ch'iang Fang with respect to the Yin's capital our attention must be drawn to those contemporary states or countries which appear simultaneously with Ch'iang Fang in the divination records and whose positions can be directly and roughly identified. Among them the most important is certainly the Lung 龍, because of both its being the most familiar to the historians and its having some conspicuous connections with Ch'iang in the later generations. So far as the present author can see, twice has it been found to be together with Ch'iang in the same divination record. The one is 拾 5.5, 貞.. 伐光龍十三月, and the other, 續 105.8, 貞吳勿其伐光...龍. Both inquire whether Ch'iang and Lung should be punished. They must, therefore, have stood on the same side to act cooperatively against Yin. Besides, the Lung also appears alone many times in other records, of which two may be traced to have some relations with our problem on account of their military characteristics. They may be reproduced as follows:

續 4,26,3: 貞勿孚帶耕伐龍方

前 4,53,4: 乙未卜貞黍在龍圃冬受之年二月

Literally translated the first means, to divine whether 帶耕 would not be called to attack Lung Fang and the second, at the day I wei to divine the Shu 黍 at Lung Yu 龍圃, winter, a prosperous harvest, second month. In the second case, the character 黍 may either be a millet as usual, or a name of a state: the identification of the character 圃 was due to Lo Chen-yu, it indicates probably a name for a place either belonging to Lung Fang or independent of it, although the proper meaning of this character is a "garden". Now this character 龍 in the Yin oracle records is evidently equivalent to or identical with the character 隴 of later literatures, the left part of the latter, 阝, having the meaning "mound", is only intentionally added, as it usually happens to be, to signify the fact that it is now used only as a name for a place. In a more strict sense, this 隴 now-a-days stands only for a name of a county situated in the western border of the Shansi province, while in a broader sense as it often was in earlier literatures, it may include both the western half of Shansi and the eastern half of Kansu, wherein are situated the so-called Lung Yu; the Right-of

Lung, Lung Pai, the North of Lung, Lung Hsi, the West of Lung. According to *Kua Ti Chih* 括地志, an ancient work on geography, the west of the counties of Min 岷 and T'ao 洮 was the seat of Ch'iang country of ancient times. Here T'ao is a name of a large affluent of the Yellow River, and Min is the famous mountain of the eastern Kansu. Note that this same character Min is also a name of a large affluent of the Yangtze Kiang. The phrase "ancient times" here means probably only the time of Western Han 西漢, or mostly of Ch'in 秦. Even then the seat of Ch'iang country seems to be a little too further west. For the *Canon for Rivers* 水經 states that the Ch'iang River has its source in Ts'an Valley of Ch'iang Chung 光水出光中參谷 and Li Tao-yuan's *Comments* 水經注 speaks definitely that the Ch'iang River is in Lung Pai 光水在隴北. This Ch'iang River is wellknown to be named after the Ch'iang country. Moreover, in *Han Shu T'i Li Chih* 漢書地理志, the special chapter on geography, and its *Comments*, numerous traces also remain to show that Lung Hsi was formerly a resort of the Ch'iang. On the other hand, this 隴 may be also regarded as a geographical name after Lung Fang.

One point deserves our special attention. The character 龍 in 註 105,3 is an identification due to Lo Chen-yu. According to the opinion of Yeh Yu-sen 葉玉森, it is rather a Shu 蜀, nowadays being an abbreviation substitute always for the Szechuan province. And Szechuan is also too well-known to be an old home of Ch'iang! Indeed, Shu and Ch'iang had once appeared simultaneously as early as in a sentence in the chapter Mu Shih 牧誓 of *Chow Shu* 周書. It reads:

友邦冢君...及庸蜀光黎微盧彭濮人。

According to *Kung Chuan* 孔傳, the Ch'iang was in western Shu 羌在西蜀. One may note also that some parts of the Szechuan province remain to be occupied by Ch'iang even at present! In the oracle records of the Yin Dynasty this Shu appears also to have been an enemy to the Yin court, since a piece of divination says that at the day chia yin, divination by 蔽 the king would mobilize the people to attack Shu 後下 27,7, 甲寅卜蔽貞王戕人正蜀, and another says, at the day tin mao, divination by 蔽, the king would 遷衛 at Shu, second month 後上 9,7, 丁卯卜蔽貞王戕衛于蜀二月. The character 衛 in this Yin divination is evidently equivalent to 蜀 or 隴 in later literatures. Here is a name for a state. Being elsewhere also a name for a state, the character 龍 is here a verb, possessing the meaning of "attacking". This may be easily borne out by the following similar examples: ...

拾 4, 12: 乙未卜 弗寧周八月

前 2, 5, 3: 庚寅王卜在發貞余其自在此北魯寧其其寧其乎燕于商正
余受文王訖曰吉

前 4, 34, 6: 壬辰卜方弗寧見

前 4, 42, 31: 由其寧端

前 6, 29, 2: 罔其寧察

前 8, 12, 2: 癸亥卜王方其寧大邑

Indeed, the bronze record 宗周鐘: 南國天子收略唐我王无寧伐其至: guarantees that our interpretation is surely correct.

There are also several other oracle records in which the Shu appears alone. Thus, a piece, 前 8, 8, 8 says that at the day .. mao divination by 取, we would go to Shu for some undertaking. .. 卯卜取貞至蜀戎有事. This undertaking means probably also some military enterprise. Indeed, at least as many as four pieces of divination are now found to have definitely assured that some diviner did go to and arrived at Shu and stayed there for some time. They are:

庫 981: 癸巳... 在蜀	庫 998: 癸巳卜貞旬亡禍在蜀
... 在東... 亡禍	癸亥卜貞旬亡禍
癸... 貞...	癸未卜貞旬...
癸卯卜貞旬亡禍	癸巳 貞旬在蜀
癸酉卜貞旬亡禍	癸卯卜貞旬亡禍
癸卯卜貞旬亡禍	癸酉卜貞旬亡禍
癸卯卜... 入于商	癸未卜貞旬亡禍
庫 1110: 癸巳卜貞旬亡禍	庫 1096: ... 亡禍在蜀
癸亥卜貞旬亡禍	... 在蜀
癸未卜貞旬亡禍	
癸巳卜貞旬... 在蜀	

Referring back to the records 後 1, 9, 7 and 後 2, 7 quoted above, one can safely conclude that this diviner was most probably the king himself.

A question naturally arises. Was the conquering of 沔 and Shu by the Yin emperor simply a part of the enterprise in the same military expedition to attack Ch'iang and the Liang described and discussed in the above paragraphs? An affirmative answer to this can be obtained from a deduc-

tion based on different sides of reasoning. There is an oracle record which consists of the following statements:

前 2,11,3 : ...卜戎衛...冬十三月
 衛十四月
 辛巳卜弗受..
 辛巳卜貞十三月雀受又

Its importance is triple. The first sentence indicates that the divination here made in the thirteenth month is concerned with 衛. One is readily reminded of 拾 5,5, which concerns Ch'iang and Lung and of another oracle record 續 176,1 which concerns Ch'iang alone 甲子卜禮貞燕光百十三月. These latter two were also made in the thirteenth month. That all these three divinations were made in the thirteenth month is an important point to be rather worthy of notice, for the thirteenth month is indeed a month that is quite peculiar from any point of view. In order to demonstrate this coincidence to be not only accidental, attention may be called to another fact that the thirteenth month of 前 8,11,3 is indisputably pointed out to have belonged to the winter season, and it must also be regarded as very peculiar that the piece of oracle record 前 4,53,4 indicates definitely that the second month, at which the diviner is said to have stayed at Lung, belonged also to the winter season. Still more peculiar is, indeed, the second sentence of this 前 8,11,3 which asserts that the diviner was at 衛 in the fourteenth month! That as many as five times has the fourteenth month appeared in the oracle and bronze records³ is suffice to prove it to be not due to a misinscription. And yet how great a difficulty will it be to those who maintain that the thirteenth month in the oracle records was an intercalary month! On the other hand, sufficient reasons have been given by the present writer⁴ to regard the thirteenth month and the fourteenth month as only another names for the first and second months when they are enumerated in succession to the foregoing months. After interpreting the thirteenth month as the first month under this light, the inclusion of both the first month of 前 8,11,3 and the second month of 前 4,53,4 in the same winter season will appear to be only too natural when the wandering about of the seasons is taken into account by assuming the common Yin calendar year to consist of always three hundred and sixty days without

³ See the author's "Fundamental Questions About the Yin and the Zhou Calendars," *RP*, 64-65, *Studia Serica*, Vol. IV, 1945.

⁴ *Ibid.* See also the author's "Third Note On Yin Calendar," *Journal of Historical Research*, Vol. I No. 2, 1936, Sun Yat-Sen University.

any regular rule for the intercalation to suit the solar year. But as soon as this wandering about of the seasons is once acknowledged, the oracle records, which assign the first and the second months to the same winter season, must either be contemporaneous or separated by a long period of many years. By combining with the first argument about the coincident thirteenth months, one is thus rather obliged to take the inevitable conclusion that the Yin emperor had in fact attacked and conquered 兗, Shu, Ch'iang and Lung almost at the same time.

Assuming the capital of the late Yin periods to be An Yang 安陽, which is located in the northern corner of the Honan province and whereabouts were unearthed the oracle bones and shells, or some other place that was near by it, the distance from this capital to Shu and to Lung may be readily estimated, if these latter two are understood to be Szechwan and the western part of the present Shensi respectively, as the popular believe outlined above has related it. They are found to be very far away. Remember that the primitive means of communication at those remote times was probably no better than to travel on bare foot, the difficulty of the transportation for the military expedition concerned can be easily realized. Indeed, this difficulty must have been so great that it would amount practically to be impossible. On the other hand, the Shu appears once also in Shih Fu Chieh 世俘解 of *I Chou Shu* 逸周書, which states that after conquering Yin Chou 殷紂 by King Wu 周武王 at Mu Yeh 牧野, which is generally believed to have been a battle field near the Yin's capital, a general named Hsin Huang 新黃 was sent at the day keng tsu by the latter to attack Shu, being then a faithful ally to the Yin Chou, and this general is said to have conquered Shu and captured the Duke Ho 霍侯, who happened to have been at Shu at this time, and returned back to Mu Yeh at the day I ssu 乙巳 陳本命伐麇百韋命伐宜方新黃命伐蜀乙巳 陳本命新黃 蜀麇至告禽霍侯 艾侯 伾侯 侯 小臣四十有六. As this chapter of *I Chou Shu* is known to deal exclusively with the events that had occurred in the fourth month of the last year of the Yin Dynasty, or the eleventh year of King Wu of the Chou Dynasty, a simple calculation based on the combination rule of the stem and branch will make out that it was only five days from keng tsu to I ssu. It must, therefore, have needed not more than two days to go from Mu Yeh to Shu. If this Shu of *I Chou Shu* is the same one that has occurred in the Yin oracle, as it is most probably the case, one can not help thinking that it must not have located so far away as Szechwan. So also the Lung of the oracle records was probably not so far away as the western part of Shensi as it is usually believed.

From this point of view, not only the geographical position of Ch'iang Fang can hardly be made out by simply referring to Lung and Shu as the known marks, but also these latter two names themselves in the oracle records need a reidentification. They must be some places near both to Ch'iang and to Mu Yeh. In order to answer this purpose, one may remind of the Duke Ho captured at Shu by Hsin Huang. He was so called probably because of his having the Ho, a place situated between Fen Ho 汾河 and the Ho Shan 霍山 of southern Shansi, as his feudal state. Here Ho was evidently originally named after the Ho Shan. According to the Article Mountain of *Erh Ya* 爾雅釋山, Ho Shan is the Southern Ho 霍山爲南岳. In the earliest work geography, Yü Kung 禹貢, it is also known as Tai Yo 臺口雷首至于太岳. The *K'ung Chuan* comments here that Tai Yo is in the west of Shang Tang 上黨; in other place, as a comment to "Yo Yang 岳陽" of the Yü Kung text, it remarks that this Yo is Tai Yo, in the south western of T'ai Yuan 岳太岳在太原西南. In *Chou Li* 周禮職方, Ho Shan is the representative mountain of Chi Chou 冀州. According to *Han Shu* 漢書地理志, there is a Ho T'ai Shan 霍太山 in the east of Chih Hsien 虢縣 in the prefecture of Ho Tung 河東. These early records suffice to indicate the fact that Ho Shan was a famous mountain in the earliest times. So also the Ho State was one among the early wellknown states. It appears several times in the oracle records of the Yin Dynasty 前 5,35; 前 10,3 and 前 2,15,7. The first records a divination at Ho and the last, another divination made in the camp at Ho, implying thus a military expedition over there. After the Duke Ho's being captured at the end of the Yin Dynasty, a quotation from *Shih P'ien* 世本 by *Shih Chih So Yin* 史記索隱 after the Genealogical List of the Three Dynasties 三代世表 says that this Ho state, being descendant from the Tsen family, was given to his younger brother Shu Ts'u as a feud by the King Wu 武王封弟叔處于霍. He was well-known to be one of the Three Inspectors 三監 who rebelled against Chou Kung 周公 when acting as a king. As the rebellion was silenced afterwards, he was suspended from attending his feudal state as a punishment for three years after which time he was recovered as the Duke Ho. According to *Tso Chuan* 左傳, this feudal state was exterminated by Chin 晉 in the first year of Duke Min 閔公. Tu Yu 杜預 comments here that there is a Ho T'ai Shan in the north eastern of Yung An Hsien 永安縣. As the Chi Chou of Yü Kung and Chih Fang of *Chou Li* includes the majority of the Shansi province of today, and the Shang Tang of the Han Dynasty, occupying just the south

eastern part of this province, is in the east of Ho Tung, and the site of Yung An Hsien of the Chin Dynasty, practically equivalent to Hsiao I 孝義 of the present geography, is in the west of Ho Shan, these old records have definitely located the Ho without any ambiguity. As the Duke Ho, hearing King Wu to have gone to attack Yin Chou, hurried to help the latter to show his loyalty, he was met probably in the mid way from his feudal state to Mu Yeh by the General Hsing Huang and was defeated and captured without arriving at his destination. The Shu seems therefore to have been a place between the Ho and the Yin's capital. Note also that Tai Yuan Chuan of the Han includes a place called Shang Ai 上艾 according to *Han Shu Ti Li Chih*. This was probably the feudal state of Duke Ai 艾侯 who was captured by the Chou general at the same time as the Duke Ho as described in the *Shih Fu Chieh*. It agrees well with the above mentioned identification.

In the chapter Hai Nai Ching of *Shan Hai Ching* 山海經海內經 it is said that

流沙之東黑水之西有朝雲之國司嶽之國黃帝娶雷祖生昌意昌意降居若水生稔流嶽施埴首護耳人面豕鬚身渠股取渾子曰阿女生帝顓頊。

According to *Shih Chi So Yin*, Jo Shui 若水 was a river in Shu and was the feudal state of Ch'ang I. And Pih Yuan 畢沅 was of the opinion that 渾 is here an archaic form of the character 蜀. Indeed, *Ti Wang Shih Chi* 帝王世紀 and *Shih Pen* 世本 assure that the mother of Chuan Hsiao was named 崇僕 and was a daughter of Shu Shan Shih 蜀山氏. Now the country of 司嶽 is probably identifiable with Chi 岷, whether the King Li 厲王 of the Chou Dynasty had been expelled by his countrymen as a result of his tyrannous behavior, and Hei Shui, the Black River, had, by Li Tao-uen's *Comments*, its source in Hei Shan, the Black Mountain, seated about forty Chinese Li north of Fou Shan Hsien 浮山縣, and passed westward through the south of Yang Ch'eng 楊城, which lies in fact in the south of Chi and combines with the Ch'iao Shan Shui 巢山水. Moreover, the same chapter of *Shan Hai Ching* states also that

南海之內黑水青水之間有水名曰若水若水出焉有禺中之國有列婁之國有靈山有赤蛇。

This Jo Shui is evidently the same one mentioned above and Ch'ing Shui 青水 is probably identifiable with 潛水 which, according to the *Li's Comments*, had its source in a mountain also called Hei Shan but seated in the north of Hsin Wu Hsien 修武縣, Ho Nai, and its lower course ran through Chi Hsien 汲縣 near to Mu Yeh. These two rivers, Hei Shui and Ch'ing Shui,

may, therefore, serve as the two limits of the locality of Shu. It is remarkable that according to *Hou Han Shu* Hsien Ti Chi 後漢書獻帝紀 the king of the Wei Dynasty, the usurer, had assigned a city called Cho Lu 潯陽 of Shan Yang 山陽 to be the feudal state of the resigned king, Hsien Ti, of the Han Dynasty. The comment says that Cho Lu Cheng was also briefly called Cho Ch'eng 潯城 and sometimes also called Ch'ing Yang Cheng 清陽城. It seated in the north east of Hsü Wu Hsien. The name Ch'ing Yang was evidently taken intentionally, as usual to indicate the seat of this city to be in the north of the river Ch'ing Shui. May not be that this city was just the main remnant of ancient Shu?

There are several other records which may serve as evidences. Shu and Ch'ao happens once to be together in a sentence of a Chou bronze inscription. 毛父班勞，翳縣涇與 and this symbolizes evidently the neighborhood of these two places. This Ch'ao has had probably some innate connection with Chao Shan Shui which combines with the lower course of Ho Shui. In *Kuo Ming Chi* of Lu Shih 路史國名紀, it is said that the Shu is the descendant of Ti Ko 蠡爲帝嚳之後裔, while the latter is said to have been buried in Yo Shan 岳山 according to *Ta Huang Ching* 大荒經 and in Ti Shan 荻山 according to *Hai Wei Nan Ching* 海外南經 of Shan Hsi Ching. As the Ti had occupied the majority of the Shansi province even as late as the Ch'un Ch'iu period, the Yo Shan which was also called Ti Shan may be safely identified with Ho Shan which was indeed called a Yo in ancient times. It is rather reasonable to expect that the Shu, established by the descendants of Ti Ko 帝嚳, may be somewhere near their mother country. Moreover, *Ta Huang Ching* relates that there was a country of Hsiao Hao 少昊之國, wherein the king Hsiao Hao had brought up the king Chuan Hsüo and there was a mountain called Kan Shan 甘山 in which originated Kan Shui 甘水. It ought to be somewhere near Shu since the mother of Chuan Hsüo had come from there. There was a place called Kan in the twenty fourth year of the Duke Hsi 僖公 and another place called Kan Lu 甘鹿 in the seventeenth year of the Duke Chao 昭公 in *Tso Chuan* 左傳. The former was in proximity with Lo Yang 洛陽, while the latter, a little further south. According to *Li's Comments*, the Kan Shui had its source in Lu T'i Shan of I Yang 宜陽鹿蹄山 in the prefecture of Hing Nung 弘農, and ran north east to Honan Hsien and flowed into Lo Shui 洛水. Lo Yang is in fact not far away from Hsü Wu.

In addition to these deductions, a few other remarks concerning Shu may be also briefly made here in passing. In the chapter Wang Hui Chieh 王會解 of *T' Chou Shu* 逸周書 there are special paragraphs describing the

tributes from the barbarous countries. One of them runs as follows:

正北方義渠以貢白... 央林以膏耳... 北唐以閭... 渠粵以鬻犬... 樓煩以羊
 施... 卜盧以犏牛... 區陽以鼈封... 河申以鳳鳥... 瓜荒以鬻鳥... 巴人以比
 翼鳥... 方蹇以皇鳥... 蜀人以文翰... 方人以孔鳥... 卜人以丹沙... 夷用閭
 木... 康民以稗苽... 州靡發資

Many of these countries may be coarsely located in this position, while some others, till later in other connections. Thus 央林 and 樓煩 is identifiable with 林胡樓煩之戎 of the north of Chin of the Hsinng Nu Chuan of *Shih Chi* 史記匈奴傳; 北唐 is equivalent to present Chin Yang 晉陽 which is known to be the Tang country of *Shih Ching*; 區陽 was probably situated in Ta Tung of the present day geography therein is known to have had a river by the name of 區夷 which was the representative river of Pin Chow 并州 in *Chou Li* under Chih Fang Shih and it is remarkable that the lake 昭余祁 in the north eastern of Chieh Hsiu Hsien 介休縣 was also called 滎澤 in *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* 呂氏春秋, the origin of these names were probably traceable to this ancient barbarous country 區陽; 方蹇 ought to be somewhere near the present Hung Tung where is known to have established an ancient country of Yang Hou 楊侯古國 according to *Han Shu* Ti Li Chi; and 州靡 may be probably identifiable with 靡集 of Shih Fu Chieh 侯來命伐靡集於隰. But the most noteworthy among them are the Pa 巴 and the Shu, one of them goes before and the other after 方蹇 in the text. This Shu is of course the same one which appears in Shih Fu Chieh and which was conquered by the Chou general Hsing Huang shortly after the war at Mu Yeh. Here is once more the evidence that this Shu could not be present Szechwan. For these barbarous countries are openly spoken of as all situated in the north of the Chou court by the text and Szechwan ought to be, on the contrary, in the far south west. This conclusion may be also reached by the order of enumeration of the text which represent perhaps the order of distance from the Chou court. Under this light, nor the Pa can be identified with the eastern part of the present Szechwan province. Now the 鬻獸, which appear simultaneously with Shu in the above cited phrase from Mu Shih is said to be in Pa Shu by *K'ung Chuan*. *Hua Yang Kuo Chih* says also that in conquering the Chou the King Wu had indeed got much military help from Pa and Shu the former were exceptionally fierce and courageous in the battle, singing before and dancing after to defeat the Yin people and to reward this merit the King Wu had assigned Pa as the feud of its princess 華陽國志: 周武王伐紂 實得巴蜀之師 著乎尙書巴師勇銳歌舞以凌殷人 前徒倒戈故世稱之曰武王伐紂前歌後舞也 武王既克殷以其宗姬封於巴爵之以子. By the same argu-

ments concerning Shu, this Pa ought also only be a place withing a few days' travel from Mu Yeh. It is interesting to see that in one place in Hai Nai Ching, an article reads as follows:

西南有巴國大澤生成鳥咸鳥生乘箴乘箴生後照後照是始爲巴人有國名曰流黃辛氏其城中方三百里其出是腹上有巴遂山澗水出焉

In another place, there is also the following paragraph:

夏后啓之臣曰孟涂是司神於巴巴人請訟於孟涂之所其有血者乃執之是諸生岳山上在丹山西

It is also recorded in *Chu Shu Chi Njan* that at the eighth year, the King Ch'i 啓 ordered his official Meng T'u 孟涂 to hear litigations among the Pa people. Now an account of Tan Shan, in the west of which was the mountain on which dwelled Meng Tu, is given in Ta Huang Ching together with Ta Tsē 有始州之國有丹山大澤其澤方千里羣鳥所解 and this Ta Tsē has been located in Hai Nai Ching in the north of Yen Mēn 雁門. Even this seems to be still too far away from Mu Yeh. On the other hand, there was a Tan Shui which had its source in Tan Ling, a forest east of Hsin Shui according to *Shan Hai Ching* 沁水之東有林焉曰丹林丹水生焉. Li Tao-Yuen's *Comments* says also that its lower course flowed into Tan Ku 丹谷. It lies as a whole in the south of the present Kao P'ing Hsien 高平縣 up to Hsin Shui. It is remarkable that there was a Pa Kung-Yuen 巴公原, nowadays called Pa Kung Ch'ēn 巴公鎮, a little north of Feng T'ai 鳳台, which is indeed in the south of Kao Ping, at which a famous battle between Hou-Chou and Pei Hau of the Five Dynasties was fought at the first year of Hsien Teh, as recorded in *T'ung Chien Chi Lan* 通鑑輯覽: 周顯德之年周主自將擊北漢戰於高平漢軍却周主趨兵急進漢主陣於巴公原. This is likely the seat of the ancient Pa country neighbouring to Shu.

It is easily seen from the record 後上 9,7 that the T'ao, 佻 or 陶, was also closely related to Shu. Either they were only neighbourly to each other, the former was attacked by Yin at the latter place simply because it marched forward to invade the latter, which must then have been a subordinate to or an allied state of Yin, or the former was a subdivision of the latter, or vice versa. It is remarkable that this Tao is wellknown to have had some connection with the famous Emperor Yao who is always called by historians as T'ao T'ang Shih 陶唐氏 and whose myths have their center always in Shansi province. According to the comment to *Shih Chi* by Ch'ēn Tsan 臣瓌, Emperor Yao had at first lived at Tang and then removed to Tao. It is the reason why he was called T'ao T'ang Shih. A

relinquished paragraph of *Hsia Shu* 夏書 quoted by *Tso Chuan* at the sixth year of the Duke Ai 哀公 says that the place ruled by Tao Tang was Chi Fang, that is, the Chi Chow of Yü K'ong 惟彼陶唐有此冀方今失其行亂其紀綱乃滅而亡. In *Ta Huang Pei Ching*, a chapter of *Shan Hai Ching*, 山海經大荒北經, it is said that there was a Yan Ch'ang 鹽長 country having nine mounds, of which one is the Tao Tang mound. Nothing can be learned about the location. Only is it, wellknown that the capital of Tang Yao was Ping Yang 平陽, nowadays called Lin Fen 臨汾, south of Ho. It is interesting to see that at the north east of Ho, there is a place called Ping Yao 平遙, originally called Ping Tao 平陶 according to *Han Shu Ti Li Chi*. Now the character Yang 陽 of Ping Yang may be probably regarded as equivalent to the character Tang 唐 in the oracle records of the Yin Dynasty, since there the King T'ang 湯 was always written as 唐. Would it not be probably that they just be the two cities that referred to Tao Tang Shih? Note that a story prevails that the prince of the Emperor Yao was expelled to Tan Shui 丹水 the natural course of which begins at somewhere near Kao Ping 高平 of south Shansi and ends at Pao Ai 博愛 of Honan.

According to *Chu Shu Chi Nien*, in the eighty ninth year of the Emperor Yao, a traveling palace was built at Tao and the Emperor stayed at Tao from his ninth year and died there in the hundredth year. A quotation of it by *Shih Chi* Huo Chih Chuan 史記貨殖傳 is changed to be that the Emperor Yao worked and rested at Cheng Yang 昔帝堯作游成陽, and the comment by Ju Shuen 如淳 assigns it to be some place in Ting Tao 定陶 of Shantung. Attention may be called to the important point that the character tao 陶 means pottery. If the Emperor Yao was not the first potter, he must have been an expert in it or a man who regarded it as very important, for Emperor Shun 舜, being promoted, instead of his own son, to succeed his throne, was said to have been a good hand on pottery 陶於河濱器不苦窳, and this was, considered as one of his merits that deserved the election. And Ting Tao is also generally said to be the place where the Emperor engaged to opt. before ascending the throne. But Chao T'ching 趙一清, the famous geographer of the Ch'ing 清 Dynasty who wrote a detailed *Comments to the Canon for Rivers*, had tried to refuse this tradition by saying that, according to Li's *Comments*, the Yellow River passes by the west of a city called Tao Cheng 陶城 after which the section of the River at Meng Ching 孟津 is generally named Tao Ho 陶河 which was then also called T'ao Chu 陶渚, and this city, being in the north of P'u Pan 蒲坂, which was known to be the capital of

the Emperor Shun, was probably the place where he engaged in pottery, since there is in the south just a mountain called Li Shan 歷山 which coincides with the name of the place where the Emperor Shun had ploughed. It is also remarkable that, according to Li's *Comments* there is a T'ao Shui 陶水, having its source in the south of T'ao Hsiang 陶鄉, goes north and passes through Ch'ang Tzu city 長子. Note that this river combines with a river from Yang T'ou Shan 羊頭山水 and goes north to flow into Sho Chang Ho 潯漳河 and the form of the character 光 in oracle records likens, indeed, very much a Yang Tao, the head of a gout. Moreover, according to *T'ung Chih* 通志, there is a T'ao T'ang Ku 陶唐谷, a valley about thirty Chinese Li east of Ho Chou 霍州, wherein flows a Yu Ch'uen 玉泉 and where was said to have been frequented by Emperor Yao to spend his holidays.

Besides, a few more points must be touched here a little in connection with Tao. Firstly, in Yen Ts'ê of *Chan Kuo Ts'ê* 戰國策燕策, a quoted passage runs as follows:

我起乎宜陽而獨平陽二日而莫不盡繇。

According to the comment by Kao Yu 高誘, the character 繇 here represents a barbarous tribe and the last sentence means simply that it needs only two days to seize all the places south of P'ing Yang. This implies that all these places were at that time occupied by the 繇 tribe. Now this character 繇 is often-times an equivalent substitute for the character T'ao 陶, for the name 皋陶 of Yü Shu 虞書 was written as 皋繇 in the quotation by *Shan Shu Ta Chuan* 尚書大傳, *Shuo Wen* 說文 and *Li Sao* 離騷. This 繇 tribe is therefore probably the descendants from Tao Tang Shih whose capital was well-known to be just P'ing Yang as mentioned above. It throws some light on our problem by showing that Tao was indeed a name for a tribe rather than a state. Secondly, it is said in *Mu T'ien Tzu Chuan* 穆天子傳 that the King once arrived at T'ao Shui 滔水 wherefrom the Shu Yu Shih derived the revenue 庚辰至於滔水濁繇氏之所食 and after five days' travel eastward his majesty arrived at another place called 長淡 wherein reached the western border of 重龍, 丙戌至於長淡重龍氏之西疆 and this latter country 重龍氏 was said to have been occupied formerly by San Miao Shih 重龍氏之先三苗氏之口處. This is probably the original home of San Miao before being expelled to San Wei 三危 in the preperure of Yung Chou 雍州 by Emperor Shun⁵. Now, in *Tso Chuan*, at the seventeenth year of Duke Hsian 宣

5) Sheng Shu Yao Tien.

公, there is a person by the name of Miao Pen Huang 苗賁皇, who was a native of Chu 楚 and went to enjoy the revenue at Miao in Chin after his family was exterminated by Chu according to the comment by Tu Yü, 賁皇楚閻椒之子, 楚滅閻氏而奔晉, 食邑於苗地. This Miao was understood to be a place near to Yeh Wang 野王 and was named probably after San Miao. Being somewhere west of the Miao, the Shu Yuo Shih must have lived at a place north of the Yellow River and west of Chi Yuan Hsien 濟原縣 of modern geography. Its location agrees very well with that Yuo of Yen Tsē. This Yuo of *Mu T'ien Tzu Chuan* may, therefore, be also identifiable with the Tao 陶 and the character 濁, although superficially different from the character 陶 in form, represents probably the same thing as the latter. Note that, in the last chapter of *Mu T'ien Tzu Chuan*, there is also a Ku Yuo Shui 姑繇水 and which seems also to have been somewhere near Yeh Wang: It might also have some connection with Tao.

Thirdly, according to the Comment to *Shuo Wen* by Tuen Yü-tsai 段玉裁, the characters 繇 and 由 were equivalent to each other in ancient times. This may be seen by the fact that the 繇 of *I Ching* K'uen Kua 易經坤卦其所繇來漸矣 and of the Article Water in *Erh Ya* 爾雅釋水繇隄以下爲繇 is practically used as the character 由. In this sense the barbarous country 爰由, exterminated by Chih Po 智伯, was also one probably established by a branch of the Tao tribe. In the Biography of Ü Li, *Shih Chi* 史記樞里傳, it is written as 仇繇. This character 繇 was also equivalent to 繇 in ancient times according to *Tzu Tung* 字通. Indeed, in the chapter Shuo Lin of *Han F'ei Tzu* 韓非子說林, it is written as 仇繇, and in *Li Lan* 呂覽, as 夙繇. 爰由 is known to have located at the north of modern Yü Hsien 孟縣, where is situated the Chou Yu Shan 仇繇山, on which there is a temple worshipping the king of 仇由. It might be one of the Tao branches that had migrated to this place after its being conquered by the Yin people. Chih Po was a notorious lord of the Chin state at the beginning of the Warrior States period, about thousand years after the reign of emperor Wu Ting of the Yin Dynasty.

Lastly, it is recorded in *Shih Chi* that at the fifth year of the emperor Tao Hsiang 悼襄, there was a big earthquake in Tai 代, from the west of Yo Hsü northward to P'ing Yin 代地大動自樂徐以西北至平陰. According to *Cheng I* 正義, Yo Hsü was in Chin Chou 晉州 while P'ing Yin, at Fen 汾. Judging from its location, this P'ing Yin is probably identifiable with that P'ing Tao mentioned above, although there was a P'ing Yin in the south of the Yellow River as described by Li's *Comments*. Indeed, Liu Hsiang 劉向 had ascertained in *Ch'ih Lüch* 七略 that to writhe 見 as 典 and 陶

as 陰 were mistakes very frequently happened in ancient literatures 古文或誤以見爲典以陶爲陰. Thus, a quotation by *Shih Chi Chi: Chieh* 集解 says that, according to Hsü Kuang 徐廣 the character 陶 of the sentence 乃封魏而於纘復益封陶 in the Biography of the Duke Hsiang in *Shih Chi* 史記穰侯傳 was written as 陰 elsewhere. So also the 陶 of 成陶 in the Chronological List of Dukes from emperor Hui to emperor Ching 景閏侯者年表. On the other hand, the character 陰 was conversely also often mistaken to be written as 陶 in ancient literatures. For instance, the Comment to *Wen Hsuan* 文選註 points out definitely that the two characters 陶唐 of the sentence 奏陶唐之舞 in the Biography of Ssu Ma Hsiang-jü of *Ean Shu* 漢書司馬相如傳 ought to be corrected as 陰康. By this easy confusion of these two characters 陰 and 陶, it is rather reasonable to suggest that the 陰戎 troops led by Liang Ping 梁丙 and Chang Yo 張趯 of the Chin state to attack Yen 潁 at the ninth year of Duke Chao related in *Tso Chuan* may be probably identified with that 繇戎 of Yen Tsö and therefore also with the 陶. In a similar manner, the 陰地 of the second year of the Duke Hsüan and of the fourth year of the Duke Ai 哀公 in *Tso Chuan*, which belonged also to the Chin state and which was in the way from the south west corner of the Chin to the Cheng 鄭 state was probably also a place occupied by the Tao tribe at that time. According to *Feng Hsi T'i Li Chieh* 風俗地理志, quoted by Li's *Comments*, the Ping Yin in the south bank of the Yellow River was originally the 陰地 of the Chin state and was the home of 陰戎. These arguments tend to demonstrate the fact that the Tao tribe once occupied almost the majority of the south part of modern Siansi province. In *Tso Chuan*, at the fourth year of the Duke Ai, it is said that the Ch'i 齊 general Kao Hsia 闕夏 attacked the Chin and encrached upon many places of the latter, among which was 陰人 that came near by Yü 孟. Interpreting this 陰 also as a 陶, it seems to convince our former hypothesis that the barbarous tribe country 仇由 was a branch of Tao. It is noteworthy that a passage from the chapter Shang Hsien of *Mo Tzu* 墨子尚賢 says: Yu had elected from among Yin Fang and promoted the latter to be his prime minister 禹舉益於陰方之中，授以政. This Yin Fang equals probably also to Tao Fang, although its location is so far entirely unknown.

After locating thus approximately Shu and Tao by a comparative study of the ancient geography, it is now in a position to specify the site of Lung Fang in a similar manner. One is readily reminded of the divina-

tion record 前 4,53,4 in which there are two other sentences besides the one already quoted above. They are:

戊戌貞...居之从雨乙亥卜...居之从雨

As this Yo must have referred either to Ho Shan since it was universally acknowledged as Tai Yo, or to An Tsē 安澤, because it was called Yo Yang in Yu Kung and therefore in ancient times, both Lung and Yu that have occurred in this same divination ought to be somewhere near by them. A chain relation existing between the three places Ch'iang, Lung and Yo may also serve to convince this conclusion. For, as mentioned above, Ch'iang and Lung have been found to co-exist in the oracle records 拾 5,5 and 錢 105,3, while in the record 前 4,53,4, both Lung and Yo have appeared at the same time. Now it happens that Ch'iang and Yo also co-exist in the oracle record 癸 34,6, as it contains Such a statement: 貞在岳光其厥. This phenomenon seems to be able to guarantee their localities to be not very far away from each other.

It is rather remarkable that there is a genealogical legend concerning Yo, Lung and Ch'iang in correspondance to this interesting chain relation of oracle records. The legend is contained in Hai Nai Ching. It runs as follows:

伯夸父生西岳西岳生先龍先龍是始生氏光丞光乞姓

This 夸父 appears also in other two chapters of the same book. The one is Chung Shan Ching 中山經:

又西九十里曰夸父之山...其北有林焉名曰桃林(中次六經),

and the other, Hai Wai Pei Ching 海外北經:

夸父與日逐走入日渴欲得飲飲於河渭河渭不足北飲大澤未至道渴而死棄其杖化爲鄧林。

A short description of the last named 鄧林 is found also in *Lieh Tsu* 列子. 鄧林彌廣數千里. According to Kao Yu, in his comment to *Hui Nan Tsu* 淮南子, and Pi Yuen 畢沅, in his Introductory Preface to Chao's *Comments to Li's "Comments to the Canon for Rivers"*, this 鄧林 must be identified with 桃林 of Chung Shan Ching, which appears also in Wu Ch'eng 武成 of *Shan Shu* as 放馬於桃林之蹇 and is wellknown to be situated between Hung Nung Ho 宏農河 and Yellow River, the other bank of the latter reaches; the south west corner of the Shansi province. Note that, instead of Tai Yo, the Ho Shan, it is here written as Hsi Yo, the Western Yo, which is always understood to be Hua Shan 華山 in later generations. There might have suffered some modification in the evolu-

tion of this legend.

Besides, there is another interpretation which seems to be also possible. The two characters, 西岳, as well as 先龍, instead of combining themselves to make a single geographical name, may represent two different places which are enumerated in pairs simply because they are situated in proximity to each other or have some other feature in common. Indeed, in oracle records there is a place called 西 or 酉.

前2,18,3: ...在綱師貞...酒亡災 契56:辛卯卜咎貞乎西三...
 粹1166:佳西方覓我 前2,10,3:癸酉...在酒貞...亡戾
 前6,7,7:貞乎攻...于西...其...

It may be readily identified with Hsi Yang 西陽. In the comment to the passage "attacked the Ch'ao and encroached the two cities Chung Tu 中都 and Hsi Yang", in Ch'in Pen Chi 秦本記 of *Shih Chi*, a quotation from *Kua Ti Chih* by Cheng I says that Hsi Yang was identical with Chung Yang and located in ten li south of Shih Cheng 滎成 Hsien in the prefecture of Fen Chou. 汾州 According to *Han Shu Ti Li Chih* it belonged to Hsi Ho Chun, 西河郡. It can be also identified probably with the Hsi of the Chou bronze 不婁婁:

颺方颺允廣伐西兪王令我差追于西。

A strong evidence of this identification is found in the fact that the Kang of 前2,10,3 may be identifiable with 交剛 of *Ch'un Ch'iu* Ching which records, at the twelfth year of the Duke Cheng, 成公 the conquest of Ti at 交剛 by the Chin people in the autumn. Ch'iang Yung's *Ch'un Ch'iu Ti Li Kao Shih* 江永, 春秋地理考實 has ascertained this Ti to be white Ti and 交剛 to be a place in the east of the Yellow River. According to Yang Shou Ching's *Ch'un Ch'iu Lieh Kuo T'u*, 楊守敬春秋列國圖 it coincides almost exactly with Shih Ch'eng. The short distance between Hsi and Chiao Kang suits therefore very well that divination by assigning them within a day's travel. In fact, this identification indicates that Hsi and Yo were closely neighbouring to each other.

On the other hand, the identification of Hsien is seems at first not to be so evident. It has appeared alone in the oracle record 前2,15,2, 丙辰卜在亥貞今日王步(于)先亡災 and stands definitely for a name of a place. By another record 前2,28,2, 壬戌卜受貞上下令學田于先侯十月. It may further be seen to mean probably a feudal state subject to the Yin court. It has also been found to be in company with Kuei 歸, 後上29,2, ...酉...獻...貞告苦方于且乙, 貞苦方還勿告于且乙 and with Mao 茅 in 前1,48,3, 貞于厥先茅一月, 辛酉品真于大先茅一月. The identification of the character 薛 was due to late Wang Kuo-wei, 王國維. Now the record 鐵122,3, 己亥余服歸方 refers this Kuei definitely as an independant country and another record 鐵3,1, 壬子卜受貞止翌癸丑勿乎歸往于岳 locates it indeed approximately in

the vicinity of Tsu and Yu. As the latter means always the Ho at that time, the locality of Hsien may be thus roughly estimated from these data to be somewhere also near by Ho. As for the relation between Hsien and Mao, it is rather noteworthy to find in *Tso Chuan* a passage at the thirty fifth year of Duke Hsi 僖 in which the Duke of Chin is said to have given his official Shu Ch'en 胥臣 the Hsiens of Hsien and Mao 先茅之縣 as a reward for his merit of recommending Chio Chu 卻缺 who had conquered the Ti at Chi 箕. Following the comment of Tu Yu, Hsien and Mao were probably situated in or near to Hsi Ho Chua 西河郡, since the home of the white Ti was over there. Note that Mao Jung 茅戎 in *Tso Chuan*, first year of Duke Ch'eng 成公. According to Li's *Comments*, the Mao T'ing 茅亭 in T'a Yang 太陽 is an old city of Mao Jung. It shows that the territory of Mao once reached as far south to the Yellow river. It is in agreement with the statement of *Tung Chih* which ascribes the original feud of Shih Shu 濕叔 of Chin state to be this Hsien. In Chin Yu, *K'uo Yu*, 國語晉語 there is a Chin official named Hsien Yu 先友. According to Wai Chao's 韋昭 comment, Hsien Yu belonged to the family of Hsien Tan Shui, 先丹水 being once a high official of Chin state. This family was so called probably because their predecessors had lived at Hsien.

It is said in one place in Ta Huang Ching that there was a mountain by the name of Hsien Min 先民之山 and a country by the name of Shu Cho 叔獸之國, the son of Chuan Hsu. In another place it is again said that outside the north western sea and west of Ch'ih Shui 赤水, there was a country called Hsien Min 先民之國 and another country called Pei Ti 北狄之國; the latter was the descendant of Huang Ti 黃帝, while the former, occupying T'ao Shan 搖山, had descended from Chuan Hsu. This T'ao Shan may have probably some kind of connection with 繇 or 陶 discussed above in detail. On the other hand, Pi Yuen was inclined to identify the character 獸 with 蜀. By its relation with both 陶 and 蜀, the Hsien Min country of *Shang Hai Ching* may be probably identifiable with Hsien of the oracle record of the Yin Dynasty. Moreover, there is, in two oracle records 前 5.12.3, 甲申卜 殷貞乎歸好先收入于龐 and 前 7.34.4, 乙酉卜 殷貞乎歸好先收入于龐, a state 龐 whose people had been called into regiment by Hsien and 歸好 by the order of the Yin court. It suggests thus a neighbourhood among these places. This 龐 is probably only a different or modified form of hand-writing of the character 龍. If this is the case, the co-existence of Hsien and Lung in these two records will correspond exactly to that of Hai Nai Ching. It is also remarkable to find that the records 中研 4.2.0007

已丑卜 殷貞吳古王事, 甲午卜 殷貞乎畢先御賁于河, 貞勿乎畢先御賁, 貞戊不其獲羌, 貞吳古王事, 戊獲羌, 乎畢先, 貞吳勿其古貞...

relates definitely the Hsien with the expedition to attack Ch'iang and the Pi 靠, which occurs as much as three times together with Hsien in the same divination to inquire whether they should be called forth, has also been found elsewhere to be in company with Ch'iang, for example, 著 10.8, 甲午卜敵貞喪... 甲午卜敵貞. 且.... 戊午卜敵貞乎靠, 戊午卜敵貞用光.... It is a pity that this piece was broken just at the place after the character Pi in the third sentence. Might be the lost character after Pi also a Hsien. One may here be remind of the fact that the Hsiao 昊 in the first, fifth and eighth sentences of 中研 4.2,0007 has also appeared in record 鈔 105,3 which concerns itself with the war against both Ch'iang and Lung.

Secondly, a short passage in Hai Hsi Ching gives a brief legendary description of a country called Lung Yu 龍魚 the north of which is said to have situated the country of Pai Min 白民 and further north, the country of Su Shen 肅慎. These latter two appear also in Wang Hui Chieh enumerated in succession with other northern barbarous tribes by such an order: 稷城, 穢人, 良夷, 楊州, 發人, 俞人, 周頭, 黑齒, 白民. This Pai Min, which may be literally translated as White People, is probably identifiable with the Pai Ti that had scattered generally in ancient times in the north west of the present Shansi and Lung Yu, with Lung Fang concerned here, although it does not yield any detailed information about their location. It may be noted in passing that the other tribe 俞人 mentioned here is probably identifiable with that 俞 of Chou bronze 不嬰鬲 quoted above. Besides, in an Appendix openly spoken of as *Shang Shu* 商書 in Wang Hui Chieh, I Yiu 伊尹, the prime minister of the Emperor T'ang, is said to have ascribed the following countries to be in the right north: 空桐, 大夏, 莎車, 姑他, 旦路, 秋胡, 代翟, 匈奴, 樓煩, 月氏, 罽梨, 其龍, 車胡. Attention may be temporarily paid to the country 其龍. The present writer inclines to suggest it simply as another name of Lung Fang, the prefix 其, probably equivalent to 箕, is specially added here to indicate the place occupied by Lung at that time. By the comment of Tu U to the article "The Chin people defeated Ti at Chi 晉人敗狄于箕" in *Tso Chuan* at the thirty third year of Duke Hsi, 僖公, the Chi was indeed situated in the south of Yang I Hsien 陽邑縣 in the prefecture of T'ai Yuen 太原.

Thirdly, in Chao Shih Chia 趙世家 of *Shih Chi*, at the nineteenth year of the King Hsiao Ch'eng 孝成王, the two countries Chao and Yen 燕 are said to have exchanged by mutual agreement some parts of their territories with each other, the former gave the latter three cities called 龍谷, 汾門, 臨樂 and took back in return from the latter also three cities called 葛武, 平舒. Both *Chi Chieh* 集解 and *Cheng I* had located those three Chao cities in I

Chou 易州 of the present Hopei 河北 and considered the character 汾 as a mistake, for it always represents in ancient literatures the Fen Ho of Shansi and is certainly too far away to be related with Lung Shan 龍山 of Shi Ch'eng 遂城, which was the origin of the name 龍兌 according to *Cheng I*. On the other hand, according to the opinion of the present writer, this 汾 may be indeed interpreted as the Fen Ho and 汾門 as a place somewhere along it, probably at its north end. In this sense the city 龍兌 would be a city near the source of Fen Ho and also identifiable with Lung Fang in the Yin oracle records. Once upon a time Yen and Chao had in fact a border line in the north part of Shansi.

There is a Lung Shan in Ta Huang Ching. It is said there to be a place where set the sun and the moon and whereabouts lay three lakes called Shan Shu 三淖 which was the water place of Kun Wu 昆吾. In the comment by Pi Yuen, this Lung Shan is said to be a mountain in Shu 蜀 because the character 淖 is an archaic form of the character 蜀. Now, in Chih Fang of *Chou Li* there was a lake called 昭余祁 which was the representative lake of Ping Chou 并州. Similar statements appear also in the comments of *Han Shu Ti Li* 鄆九澤在北是爲昭余祁并州藪. This lake was and still is unique in having three characters in its name which extremely seldom occurs elsewhere. The present writer is biased to think it as originally consisted of three lakes which were just those mentioned in Ta Huang Ching. Another evidence may help to make convincing this suggestion is that in *Lo Chuan*, at the Autumn in the eighteenth year of Duke Hsiang 襄公 the Ti is said to have attacked Chin and crossed Fen Ho and taken the city Kun Wu 秋狄侵晉取孤府受鐸涉汾取昆都. The latter city had been identified with Hsiang Ling 襄陵. Literally interpreted, it might have once been the capital of Kun Wu. The Lung Shan from where Kun Wu is said to have taken waters must therefore lie near by Hsiang Ling which is in fact neighbouring to Wu Hsien 鄆縣 and Chieh Hsiu Hsien 介休 wherein lay the famous lake 昭余祁. Prevailing tradition has also related Kun Wu to have been exterminated by the Emperor Tang at the same day as Chieh 傑, the last Emperor of the Hsia Dynasty. According to Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 Kun Wu had hurried to go to An I 安邑, to help Chieh when the latter was attacked by T'ang and there was in An I a city called Kun Wu near by Ming T'ia, whereto Emperor Chieh had been expelled by T'ang. A genealogical legend briefly rehearsed in Chung Shan Ching has also spoken of a mountain called Kun Wu on which there were animals called 龍蜺. This 龍 is evidently identical with 龍 and 蜺 with 氏. The latter appears oftentimes in company with Ch'iang in ancient literatures and they were also some time combined to form a complex name Ti Ch'iang 氏羌.

In Shi Hsiang Hsun 陸形訓 of *Hui Nan Tzu*, Chin Shui 晉水, after which was named the Chin state of Ch'un Ch'iu and hereafter the prevailing abbreviation substitute for the Shansi province, is said to have its source in Lung Shan. So also the comments of *Han Shu Ti Li Chi* says, in *Tai Yuan Chun* there is Chin Yang Hsien 晉陽縣 wherein is situated Lung Shan, it is the source of Chin Shui which goes eastward and flows into Fen Ho. Both *Chin Shu Ti Tao Chi* 晉書地道記 and *Shih San Chou Chih* 十三州志 also trace the source of Chin Shui to Lung Shan. It is beyond doubt that this Lung Shan can be identified with that of Ta Huang Ching. Its location would agree very well with other arguments if the name of Lung Fang is considered to have its origin in this Lung Shan because it was once the representative mountain of this country.

It is also remarkable that P'eng and Lung have appeared simultaneously in the oracle record 後上 II.5. It implies the fact that these two places were neighbouring to each other. Now, according to *Chu Shu Chi Nien*, in the eleventh year of Emperor Ch'i 帝啓 of the Hsia Dynasty the youngest prince Wu Kuan 武觀 was banished to Hsi Ho where he rebelled in the fifteenth year and the Count of P'eng was ordered to silence it with success. The selection of the Count of P'eng in engagement with this military enterprise suggests naturally a neighbourhood between P'eng and Hsi Ho. So must have also been Lung which is supposed to have been a place near to P'eng. Moreover, in the twenty-fourth year of Duke Ai 哀公 in *Tso Chuan*, a quotation from a certain Van Kai 范匄 runs as follows:

昔句之祖自虞以上爲陶唐氏在夏爲御龍氏在商爲豕韋氏在周爲唐杜氏
Beside the Yu Lung Shih 御龍氏 which had apparently some close connection with Lung Fang in question, Shi Wei is also said in *Cheng Yu* 鄭語 to have belonged to the P'eng family and the comment of Tu Yu to this article of *Tso Chuan* speaks that at the end of the Yin Dynasty Shih Wei had settled at Tang which is wellknown to have been equal to Chin Yang Hsien.

Reference has already been made to the oracle record 前 4,53,4 in which Lung and Yu appear together. That this Yu was here a name of a place may be further confirmed by the following records:

前 4,12,3 : . . 西卜 貞翌王後囿 前 4,12,4 : . . 西卜 翌王往囿貞卯 ;
前 7,20,1 : 貞王往出癸卯卜 亶貞乎囿丙止

The last one is especially noteworthy. Literally translated, it says that the king calls Yu from Tsu. It suggests evidently a neighbourhood between them. This Chih appears also elsewhere in many records directly concerning the expedition to conquer Ch'iang and will be proved later on very definitely to be a place near Tai Yuan. Note that Lung and Chih coexist also in a single

oracle record 錄 627: 乙酉 頁从止...龍. It is a pity to have a breakage just accidentally occurring here, which renders incomprehensible the relation originally implied between them. It might mean to attack Lung from Chih.

Lastly, there is an oracle record which relates Lung with a certain Chuan 犬. It is 錄 751: 今日犬龍. This Chuan was certainly meant Chuan Jung, 犬戎, one of the well-known wild tribes of the west in ancient times, which had, according to *Tso Chuan* in the spring of the second year of Duke Min 閔 been defeated by Duke Kuo at Wei Nai 渭汭. The latter is known to be a place embraced by three rivers Huang, Wei and Lo 黃河渭洛, situating in the eastern border of Shensi, in opposition to the south-western corner of Shansi. In Chou Peu Chi of *Shih Chi*, this Chuan Jung is also said to have been once conquered by King Wen and *Shang Shu Ta Chuan* ascribed it definitely to the fourth year after King Wen had received the Heaven's decree. A quotation from *Mao Shih Su* 毛詩疏 by *Shih Chi Cheng* I identifies it with Kun I 昆夷. That Chuan Jung had once flourished in the north and west and stood always as a strong enemy to Chou may easily borne out at least by two evidences. The one is its marching up to the city gate of Chou's capital in the first month of the same year of King Wen mentioned above, in a quotation from *Ti Wang Shih Chi* by *Mao Shih Su* under the piece Mien 詩綿疏, the other, its involving in a well-known conspiracy with a certain Count She; 申伯 to have murdered emperor Yu 幽王 and put an end to the West-Chou. The famous migration of Ku Kung Tan Fu 古公亶父 from Pin 豳 to Ch'i 岐 had probably also the principal motive in evading the external pressure due to Chuan Jung, since the Hsi Ch'iang Chuan of *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書西羌傳 once points out that Chuan Jung attacked the border of Yin under the reign of the tyrant Wu I 武乙 and, in order to escape himself from being a victim, Ku Kung went far away from it and passed over Liang Shen 梁山. Indeed the Preface to the piece of Ode 采薇 suggests also a constant disturbance at Chou border due to Kun I at the time of King Wen.

On the other hand, Chuan Jung seems, so far as the oracle record reveals, to have been one of the loyal dukedoms towards the Yin court. The contrast reflected in this difference of its attitude towards Yin and Chou gives the hint that its disturbance at the Chou border might be only a part of the systematic plan of the Yin court in trying to conquer Chou. The present writer has also the bias to look in Shansi for the old home of Chuan Jung. A detailed discussion of this problem will be later on given elsewhere.

Besides Lung and Shu, there are many other countries or states that were more or less closely connected with Ch'iang in a similar manner and that also occur simultaneously sometimes with the latter in the oracle records. They may at first be briefly tabulated as follows.

1. 先 甲午敲貞乎壘.先御賁于河貞勿乎壘先乎壘.先(中研 4,2,0007)
2. 壘 癸未卜賓貞由葛往追羌(前 5,27,1)
貞壘不羌幸(前 4,50,3)
辛丑卜貞壘呂羌王子門射(後下 9,4)
3. 戊 貞戊不其獲羌貞戊獲羌(中研 4,2,0007)
戊獲羌(綴 41,1)
...敲貞王鼎以望乘...
...卜敲貞令望乘...
...卜敲貞戊獲羌(綴 3,43,1)
戊獲羌从望乘令望乘(粹 3,42,3)
4. 昊 ...敲貞乎昊邗...
...敲貞乎邗羌... (粹 1168)
己丑昊古王事貞昊古事勿其古(中研 4,2,0007)
貞昊勿其戕羌... (綴 103,3) 貞昊戕羌龍十三月(拾 3,6)
勿令昊...羌龍(甲 2097)
羌亡貞昊貞內(綴 70,4)
貞昊弗其戕羌龍三月(契 646)
5. 唐 勿攻唐獲獲又乎鉏羌方獲又(前 8,18,6)
6. 丁 丙申貞射串...羌...自上甲(丙)申貞大又丁射串...羌... (後上 23,7)
...卜賓貞...丁炎垂...王...吉(後下 9,4)
7. 射 癸丑卜賓貞出于寅尹二月射蜀(前 1,51,6)
8. 串 今夏串串伐羌(甲 1792)
己酉卜敲貞串獲羌(前 4,50,6)
口貞誅至告...串來呂羌
貞酒御于...
至...誅至告串來呂蜀(明1794)
9. 馬 乙卯卜咬貞王...馬羌(林 2,15,16)
乙酉王貞余幸朕跟工征北貞隻余受馬方又...弗幸其受方又二月正
馬央(前 4,46,1)
癸巳卜賓貞多馬稱班(前 4,45,3)
丁未咬...告曰馬方...人甞... (前 4,46,4)
...辰卜咬貞乎攻馬于串三月(微地 34)
貞多馬亞其有... (粹 1290)
丙申貞戕馬左右中人三百六月(前 3,12,2)
...王貞馬方...陵...疆... (前 4,46,2)
10. 止 癸卯卜賓貞乎令止羌方十二月(前 6898)
...卜貞貞于止(前1,53,1)
在止(前7,391)

- 癸卯卜賓貞...王亂曰出筮...攻風止...羌五三(月)(佚386)
 癸...卜王貞羌其征訛(粹1170)
 訛其車羌(鐵18,1)
11. 風 ...德伐羌...風(前6,6,2)
12. 弱 乙巳貞弱翟雀伐羌... (粹1167)
 乙丑卜弱避羌...月(鐵71,3)
 辛丑卜王貞弱伐羌(粹1167)
13. 五族 王宙虎令五族...伐羌方
 ...弱令...其每(後下45,1)
14. 雀 ...卜設貞尙其伐雀(鐵1,2)
 癸亥卜弗...雀雀亡正宙(庫987)
 辛巳卜貞十三月雀受又辛巳卜弗受又...尙冬十三月(前8.11,3)
 車雀代羌(甲2323)
15. 蒙 辛巳(卜)設貞王車蒙代羌受... (鐵13,5)
 貞令蒙侯虎伐羌方受有又(前4,44,8)
16. 假 貞勿伐羌方伐假(前6.5.7)
 ...往出狩假攻風... (鐵36,3)
17. 岳 貞在岳羌其風(鐵34,6)
18. 易 甲戌卜賓貞在易牧隻羌令...攻... (卜通462)
19. 牧 庚子卜賓貞呂羌延于...用(後下12,13)
 戊戌卜賓貞牧甸人令壽呂夷(前3,27,1)
20. 旨方 癸巳...于一月伐羌采旨方又(羈下40,2)
21. 光 八日庚子幸羌口人...之圖三人(羈3,3,1與徵雜 80 合)
22. 濫 己卯卜卑貞令春令殺丑从殺至于濫隻羌(前9,2,4)
23. 雪 辛酉卜受貞雪呂旃族从...羌... (菁10,7)

For some of these countries or states, it seems to be quite not difficult to identify their localities definitely, while for others, their sites turn out to be hardly traceable. Among the latter there is not a few for which even the identification of the character in oracle records with that in later vocabulary remains to be doubtful. Different opinions exist still in a state of controversy. One must remember that the present condition of this section of archaeology, especially the study of tortoise shell forms of Chinese characters, is yet far from reaching its maturity. Many characters are waiting for identification, while others, though identified by some writers, need still further corroboration or modification. This gives also the principal reason why the present writer goes oftentimes astray from his main track to appeal to some discussions along the line of archaism.

The site of Hsien 先 has already been discussed in quite detail in connection with Lung and approximately located in the north of Mao, 茅 that is, in the south-western corner of Shansi. In order to establish this conclusion on a sounder basis, one more evidence only will be provided here. It is stated in one place in *Chuh Shu Chi Nien* that, in the first year of Wai Ren 外壬 of Shang dynasty, the people of P'i and that of Hsien rebelled 邶人攸人叛. In the first year of Duke Chao, *Tso Chuan* also alludes to Hsien together with P'i of which both are said to have belonged to Shang 商有邶攸. By another record of *Chuh Shu* the people of Hsien is again said to have encroached into Pan Fang 班方 in the fifth year of Ho Tan Chia 河亶甲 and counts of Peng 彭 and of Wei 韋 were called to beat Pan Fang with the purpose of silencing it, which had indeed succeeded; for the latter had actually come to find terms of agreement with the Shang court in accordance with the later record. By these records one is biased naturally to regard P'i, Hsien and Peng as three near neighbours. As a matter of fact, besides Peng's having been located to be near to Hsi Ho in our earlier paragraphs, *Han Shu Ti Li Chih* does speak of a village - remains called Pan Shih Hsiang 班氏鄉 in Hsiang Ling Hsien in the prefecture of Ho Tung Chun 河東郡懷陵縣. To all intents and purposes it may be readily identified with the remains of ancient Pan Fang concerned here, and as a neighbour to it, the site of Hsien agrees as well with our earlier location as one can have expected. Note that in the article Ju Yang Shui 如洋水, Li Tao-yuan's *Comments to Canon of Rivers* assigns the position of ancient Pan country as far north as the Pan Shih 班氏 of Tai Chun 代郡. The latter was probably sometimes occupied by Pan Fang after its migration northwards.

As regard the location of P'i, the case become somewhat less evident. One has better to appeal once more to the records on *Chuh Shu Chi Nien* for further information. In one place in it, one reads: in the seventh year of Chung Kang 仲康 of Hsia dynasty, the prince Hsiang 相 went out to Shang-Chiu to depend on Duke P'i 世子相出居商邱依侯. This statement is sometimes written as "to depend on feudal dukes Chen Kuan and Chen Hsun of the same surname" 依同姓諸侯斟灌斟尋 according to the comments. By the context it is beyond doubt that Shang-Chiu was the place held at that time by duke P'i or dukes Chen Kuan and Chen Hsun, or the place to which at least lay nearly the feudal states of these dukes. Now a quotation from Chan Tsan 臣瓚 by *Shi Chi Cheng I* under Hsia Pen Chi, by *Comments to Canon of Rivers* in the article Chu Yang Shui 巨洋水 and by *Comments to Han Shu Ti Li Chih* all affirm definitely Chen Hsun as a capital for the notorious tyrant Chieh as well as for Tai K'ang, while the last Emperor Chieh is well-known to have been defeated at Ming Tiao 鳴條 and captured as

Chiao Meng 焦門 by T'ang, both were situated in Pu Chou 蒲洲, just the south-western corner of Shansi. The sites of Chen Hsun and P'i must therefore, have been somewhere not very far away from this place, if they were not identical to it. Besides, three times more has *Ch'u Shu* mentioned the capitals of Hsia Emperors, Chi 冀 or Yangcheng 陽城 as the capital of Yu, Yuan 原 and Lao-chiu 老邱 as that of Chu 宁 and Hsi Ho 西河 as that of Yin Chia 胤甲. All these places seem to have been situated north of Huang Ho and in south part of Shansi. Indeed, a statement in Chin Shih Chia, *Shih Chi* 史記晉世家 claims definitely that Chin has P'i and Cheng 晉有邲鄭.

In Yin Pen Chi Of *Shih Chi*, the first ancestor of Shang, Ch'i 契 was said to have been given the place Shang as his feud and knighted as a surname of Tzu as a reward for his merit in helping Yu to have regulated the Flood 契長而佐禹治水有功封於高陽姓子氏. So also a statement of a certain Sung Chung 宋忠 quoted by *Shih Chi Chih Kiai* reads: Hsiang Tu 相土 went to reside in the feudal state Shang of Ch'i, while *Tso Chuan* states that Yin Po 閼伯 settled at Shangchiu and Hsiang Tu followed him and resided there. Now, in other place of Yin Pen Chi the Emperor T'ang is said to have followed his ancestors and begun to settled again at Po 湯始居亳從先王居. The latter place is generally and also correctly identified with Shang-chiu mentioned above, although it is not easy to make a choice between the different opinions in assigning the location of Shang-chiu. From the view-point of our arguments, the one which locates Po as somewhere near Yuan Chiu 垣曲 seems to be most probable. It is maintained by *Tai Ping Huan Yu Chi* 太平寰宇記 which speaks of a Po about fifteen li north-western of Yuanhsien 垣縣, and identifies it as the place whereto the Emperor T'ang came back after his conquering Hsia Ghieh and made a declaration to different countries now-a-days known as T'ang Kao 湯誥, a chapter of *Shang Shu*. This may be further confirmed by other evidences. For example, A brief description of Ch'i's mother is given in *Shih Chi* Yin Pen Chi, in which she is named Chien Ti 簡狄 and spoken of as a daughter of Yu Jung 有娀, which lies north of Pu Chou 不周 according to *Hui Yuen T'su*, while in other lines of Yin Pen Chi it is alluded to as a place where Hsia Ghieh was defeated by T'ang and called as Waste of Yu Jung 有娀之虛. Remembering that the place whereto Hsia Ghieh escaped after his failure of the fatal battle is Ming Tiao, one is

(5) A quotation from *Chu Shu Chi Nien* by *Yu Shi Hou Chi* 路史後記 writes it as "Lao-Wang 老王" instead of "Lao-Chin", it means probably Yek Wang 野王 which lies quite near Yuen. Both appear in *Tso Chuan* in the seventeenth year Duke Hsui, which reads: 晉人執晏弱于野王執蔡朝于原.

well convinced with *Shih Chi Ch'eng I* to locate this Yu Jung also somewhere in Pu Chou. The neighbourhood between Yu Jung, the native country of Ch'i's mother, and Po thus located seems to lend much weight in favour of our theory, although it can hardly be regarded as a very strong support for it. For, accepting Yuan Chiu as Po, which was also identical with Shang-chiu in this sense, the feudal state of duke P'i must lie in its neighbourhood if not coincide with it, so also the position of Hsien could not be far away from it. It is noteworthy that I Yin 伊尹, the prime minister of T'ang's court, who helped the latter a great deal in planning to conquer Hsia Chieh, is well-known, for example, it is so told in *Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'iu*, to be a native of Hsien. This travel from Hsien to Po to seek a chance for beginning his political career by visiting Emperor Tang there will appear to be only too natural when the nearness of these two cities is thus realised.

As mentioned above, the feudal state Pi 畢 of the Yin court occurs many times together with Hsien in oracle records and was apparently very closely connected with the latter. This significant fact can be again accounted for by nothing else but their neighbourhood. Before considering its locality, one must first realise that there are some dispute about the identification of this character. Its original form in tortoise shell is inscribed as 畢. Whether or not it was Yeh Yu-sen who had first translated it into current square form 畢 is a question which can't be easily decided at present. At any rate, it was adopted by him and so presented in his late work *Yin Shu Shu Chi Ch'ien Pien Chih Shih* 殷虛書契前編集釋. In contrast with this, some writers regard it only as a complicated form of the character 畢 (6), while others identify it with the character 羅 (7), and takes it only as a simplified form of 畢. The present writer has a new happy idea of reconciling these diverse opinions by establishing an equivalence in meaning between 畢 and 羅 in ancient usage. It so happens that in the comments to Wu Hsing Chih of the *Hsu Han Shu* 續漢書五行志 there is a quotation from Tai Kung 太公, the military advisor of King Wen, which reads: 人主田獵畢弋不避時禁, 則多大風. This 畢 is evidently equivalent in meaning to 羅. So is also the 畢 of 田獵畢弋不聽國政 in Chi Yu of *Kuo Yu*. It suggests that the difference between these two characters in later literatures might not exist in the time as early as Yin dynasty, they might be only different forms of writing of the same character, differentiated into two characters only in the transition period from tortoise shell form to newer forms in the hands of translators by mistaking or by accident. The writer has even the idea of going still a step further to

(6) For instance, prof Y. Wen.

(7) Lo Chen-yu is one among them.

identify it with the character 巢, for he although agrees with others in acknowledging the upper part ㇀ or ㇁ of this inscribed form as a symbol to represent a bird, he departs from them by taking its mid part ㇂ as a symbolic nest and its lowest part ㇃ as something representing a trunk of a tree, rather than a net or other things which are used to catch the bird as they suppose it to be. If this interpretation is not more reasonable than those two cited above, it can claim at least to have the same plausibility as they have. Indeed, all these might originally be only differentiated forms of one character.

In Chung Hwei Chih Kao 仲虺之誥 *Shu Ching*, we read of the exile of Ch'ieh to Nan Chao 南巢 by Tang 成 湯 放桀於南巢; according to *Chu Shu Chi Nien*, Ch'ieh was exiled to Nan Chao after being captured at Chiao Meng 焦門 by Tang; it is also said in Yin Chu Chieh 殷觀解 of *I Chou Shu* that, following the suggestion of Tang, Ch'ieh went to reside in Nan Chao with his remaining five hundred adherents. A quotation from *Chu Shu Chi Nien* by *Tai Ping Yu Lan* 83 calls this place as Nan Chao Shih 南巢氏, hinting that it was probably a small independent country in ancient times. It can be identified with Yu Chao Shih 有巢氏 related in Shi Chi Chieh of *I Chou Shu*, who lost his country by a conspiracy of his treacherous minister. Now, the Preface of *Shang Shu* does speak of a certain count Chao 巢伯 who went to the Chou court and a certain count Rui 芮伯 who wrote Lu Chao Ming 旅巢命, a chapter of *Shu Ching*, which means literally "a decree for traveling to Chao", although its content remains entirely unknown since it was lost long ago. The simultaneous occurrence of Chao and Rui in this place implies probably also a short distance between them, if it is not exactly a neighbourhood. There is a certain Count Rui by the name of Wan 芮伯萬 in *Tso Chuan* in the third year of duke Huan, whose feud was assigned to be in the border of south western corner of Shansi between Su Shui 洙 泗河 and Huang Ho 黃河 by Yang Shou-ching in his *Chün' Ch'iu Lieh Kao T'u*. While the *Comments to Canon of Rivers* speak of a Chao Shan Shui 巢山水 which meets Hei Shui 淮 in south-west of Yang-cheng and which is identified with Chu Shui 潁水 whose source is traced to be in the east valley of Chao Shan 巢山. Remember that we have already mentioned the geographical relation between Shu and Ch'ao by referring to bronze inscription 毛父班彝. Assuming 巢 in oracle records to be this Chao, it agrees well with our location of Hsien, since Yang-cheng was indeed the right east neighbour of Pu Chou.

In Chou Yu 周語 of *K'iao Yu*, on reproving the Emperor Hsiang 襄王 for his going to adopt a daughter of Ti, the northern Barbarian, as a queen, Fu Chen 富辰 told a story of a country Lo 羅 whose king lost his throne by

marrying himself to the young girl of the Chi family 季姬. According to the comment by Wei Chao 韋昭, Lo was a country founded by the descendant of Hsiung 熊 family, to which had also belonged the feudal state Chu 楚. Now the bronze inscription on 矢令殷 consists of the sentence 佳王伐楚白在豈, showing that 豈 is a city in Chu or at least near to it, while a recombined oracle record from 後下 11,8 and 前 2,7,1 reads:

癸酉... 豈良亡
 癸丑卜在綱貞王旬亡辰
 癸酉卜在罔貞王旬亡辰
 癸未卜在麥貞王旬亡辰
 癸丑卜在罔貞王旬亡辰
 癸亥卜在綱貞王旬亡辰

This 罔 is evidently identical with the 罔 in the cited bronze inscription 矢令殷, just as this 酉, with 酉, occurring sometimes also in oracle records. The latter has already been identified with Hsi Yang, while 綱 with Chiao Kang in our earlier paragraphs. From the positions of these two places, it is quite reasonable for one to expect that 豈, hence also Chu, lies probably in the south-west part of Shansi in the time when Yin was reigning. This hypothesis, seeming at first sight to be unacceptable because of its being contradictory to the old popular belief that Chu was far much south away in Hupeh and Hunan even at very ancient times, may be proved to be reliable by a few evidences. First, there is a piece of oracle record which relates this Chu with Chao 召 and Yu 孟:

粹 1547: 其雩于召于楚不雨。(于)孟(又)雨

Yu is well-known to have been north east of Tai Yuan, while Chao is probably identifiable with Chao Yu Chi 昭余所 which was a representative lake of Pin Chou 並州 according to *Chou Li* and which is also called Ta Chao 大昭 in *Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'in*. The co-existence of these two with Chu in the same record implies therefore naturally that this latter was also in Shansi at that time. (According to *Canon of Rivers*, She Yin Shui 奢延水 enters Huang Ho when the latter passes through the west of Li Shih Hsien 離石縣, and its Compeuts explains that it is identical with Sheng-Shui 生水 which has its source on Yu Shan 孟山 by *Shan Hai Ching*. *Yuan Ho Chih* identifies it with Wu Ting No 無定河. This Yu Shan may have some connection with the Yu in oracle records and hints that once upon a time Yu Fang had probably occupied this place. It leads one to find the old home of Chu in the west part of Chao Yu Chi.)

Secondly, there is an oracle record which runs as follows:

前 2,1812: 丙辰卜在綱貞声大又先.. 欲美綱利不羸羸

The occurrence of Kan in this piece and the context both assure itself to belong to the same military enterprise as that recombined one quoted above. What deserves our special attention here is the name 欽美 which has been recently identified by some writer with 鬻熊 who is well-known to have been the teacher of King Wen and was given Chu as his feud for reward and is acknowledged to be the forefather of this Feudal state. Note that here also appears the Hsien. It suggests that the original position of this feudal state ought to be a place lying near somewhere to Hsien.

And lastly, we read in *Shou Hai Ching* of a Mountain known as *Su Lieh* wherein lies the source of Chu Shui which runs southward to enter into the Wei Shui. 數歷之山...楚水出焉南流注于渭。Li Tao-yuan's *Comments to Canon of Rivers* also says thus: Wei Shui passes through the south of Nan Yu Hsien 南由縣 and eastward to meet Chu Shui. The latter is to-day known as Ch'ang Sbe Shui 長蛇水 which comes from Su Lieh Shan of Nien Hsien 汧縣 and which is identified with Nien Shui 汧水 by K'au Yin 關驥. The rivers Nien 汧 and Wu 汧 also flow into Wei Shui when the latter runs east again. In another place this *Comments* states again that Chu Shui is originated in Chu Shan 楚山 which lies in the south west of Shang Lo Hsien 上洛縣. As the character Nien was certainly identical with the character Chien 荊 in ancient times, the combination of Nien with Chu strongly reminds one of Chien Chu, a common title for Chu, and has long ago persuaded some writers to regard this region as the old home of Chu. Besides, there were a Chu-chiu at which a certain count Fan had been defeated and captured by Jung according to a record of Ch'iu Ch'iu in the seventh year of duke Yin 戎伐凡伯於楚邱以歸 and a Hsin Chu 新楚 at which, the duke of Chiu had encamped when he encroached Ch'iu with his allies in the thirteenth year of duke Cheng. By Tu Yu's comments the former was situated in the south west of Cheng-wu Hsien, Chi Yin of Wei 衛城武濟陰, while the latter, between Lo Shui 洛水 and Huang Ho, just on the other bank of Huang Ho, opposite to Yung Chi 永濟, according to Yang Shou ching's *Ch'iu Ch'iu Lich Kuo T'zu*. By analogy with Sheng-chiu, Chu-chiu may be regarded as the old home of Chu, while Hsin-Chu means literally "new Chu". The possibility of Chu's having been either in the east or in the west borders of Shansi at early Chou periods solidifies somewhat a great deal our suggestion that it might have been in south western part of this province at later Yin periods, for the migration from Chu-chiu to Nien Chu must have passed by the way of this region and also probably stayed there for sometimes. It is said in Tsoh Lo Chieh that Chou Kung exterminated the Yin and Hsu Yen 徐奄 at east of Yin and also reduced seventeenth countries of Hsiung Hsing family 熊盈族. This latter is

generally acknowledged to be of the same surname as that of Chu, and doubts have always been thrown on whether could they be so far away as Hupeh or Hunan. It would be quite intelligible in the light of our arguments, since they might have scattered just over that region between Chu-chiu and Hsin Chu and the ancient country Lo mentioned above might simply be one among them and probably lie somewhere in the south-west part of Shansi as it is suggested by our other two evidences. In fact there is a certain Lo Kao Shui 羅谷水 which has its source in mountains a little south of Pu. By its name it seems to have come from a certain valley prefixed with Lo. It might as usually be a waste of this ancient Lo.

Some consideration with respect to Pi will be also taken into account at this juncture. A few lines of *Mu Tien Tzu Chuan* has related it with Ho and Fang 防. It runs as follows:

季秋口乃宿于防畢人告戎曰俊翟來侵天子使孟兪如畢討戎霍侯舊告莒。

Besides the Ho which has already been located definitely in our earlier paragraphs, the Fang may be identifiable with Fang Jen of Wang Wei Chieh of *I Chou Shu* quoted above, and hence also with Fang I 方夷 of *Chu Shu*, *Chi Nien* which went to the court of Emperor Hsiao Kang of Hsia dynasty to express its submission. By the order of enumeration of the original text, it was probably neighbouring to both Po 卜 and Shu. So also the Pi which occurs simultaneously with it could not be very far away from it if not in proximity to it. This geographical relation may be also borne out by several other evidences. In a Chou bronze 召卣 it is inscribed the following sentences: 皇辟君休王自賞畢土方五十里. According to Kuo Mo-jo, this Tu Fang is identifiable with that occurring oftentimes in the oracle records of Yin dynasty and located somewhere in the northern part of Shansi. He interprets the sentence 賞畢土方五十里 as bestowing on Pi as a feud a piece of land of fifty li from Tu Fang. Instead of the northern part, the present writer, however, attempts to locate Tu Fang, as far as the Yin oracle records are concerned, rather in the western part of this province and the neighbourhood between Pi and Tu Fang thus implied by this bronze inscription seems to fit quite well that relation between Ho and Fang. A detailed discussion of this problem will be given later on in connection with military affairs concerning Yin and Tu Fang.

Another evidence comes from the location of Fang. According to *Shuo Wen* Sou Mang 夔嗇 was a country of northern tall barbarians; it was called Fang Feng Shih in Hsia dynasty and Wang Mang Shih in Yin dynasty 北方長狄國也。在夏爲防風氏，在殷爲汪芒氏。 Tu Yu's comment to *Tso Chuan* in the eleventh year of duke Wen also refers it as a country of northern barbarians

established by the descendants of Fang Feng Shih. In Lu Yu 魯語 the latter is narrated by Confucius as a king of a feudal state Wang Mang Shih, in charge of the mountain of Feng Yu 封禺之山 who was punished to death for his going too late to attend the formal meeting summoned by Yu at Kuei Chi Shan 會稽山; Confucius also definitely spoke of its being called Wang Mang Shih in Yu, 虞 Hsia and Shang dynasties, Chang Ti 長狄, that is, Tall Northern Barbarian, in Chou and Ta Jen 大人, that is, Big Men, at the time when Confucius flourished.

Now a country of this Tall Northern Barbarians is said to have been exterminated by Chin in *Tso Chuan* in the fifteen year of duke Hsun and the land encroached by it was returned to duke Li 黎侯. Indeed, the capital of this Tall northern Barbarians was known to be Lu 黎 and its king, Lu Tzu 黎子. This Lu has been definitely co-related to Sou Mang in *Tso Chuan* in the eleventh year of duke Wen. It is noteworthy that Kuei Chi Shan is identified with the ancient Fang Shan in Li Tao-yuan's *Comments*. It seems to have lay in the territory of Fang Feng Shih and also been its representative mountain. Moreover, the character 防 was identical with the character 房 in archaic Chinese and *Chu Shu Chi Nien* says that Tan Chu, the son of Emperor Yao, gave up his right to succeed the throne and went to Fang immediately after the death of the Emperor and was afterward given this very land by Hsun as his feud. So also *Lu Shi Hou Chi* tells a similar story and designates Tan Chu as the duke of Fang.

Remember that this very heir of Emperor Yao is also said in other place to have been exiled to Tan Shui the source of which can be traced to be somewhere near Kao Ping. The latter is indeed in immediate proximity with Lu. It is not far away from Ho. Indeed, it is almost as near to Ho as the latter is to Pi. Note that, according to *Shan Shu Yu Tien*, the Emperor Hsun died after ascending the Fang 陟方乃死 which may probably be identifiable with Fang Shan or Kuei Chi Shan and which seems to have been a mountain in Fang. It harmonizes with the statement of Ta Huang Nan Ching that the Emperor Hsun was buried on Yu Shan which means Ho Shan.

This Pi may be probably also identifiable with the Pi Fang Niao 畢方鳥 of Hai Wei Nan Ching and also with the Pi Cheng Shih 畢程氏, a short story of which is described in Shih Chi Chieh of *I Chou Shu*. But the most important thing here is the fact that no discrepancy whatever will appear, so far as our argument goes, in identifying the character of the oracle record of Yin dynasty either with 羅 or with 巢 or with 畢, since the sites of the ancient countries or cities, which are represented by these three characters and thus

located in accordance with our idea, almost coincide. This interesting phenomenon can, indeed, in turn be only the very reflection of the identity existing between them.

We turn next to 戊. This character of the oracle records is generally and almost correctly identified with the character 越 of late times. The latter is a name of a place of great importance in the legend in connection with Hsia Yu and is generally believed to have indicated that eastern region of Chekiang wherein lies the city Kuei Chi. It is beyond doubt that the Yueh of Ch'un Ch'iu was situated in this place. But the Hsia dynasty was about two thousand years earlier than Ch'un Ch'iu. It remains debatable whether the Yueh of Hsia was also situated in this place. It is quite incredible that the Emperor Yu and his near posterity could, at that remote times, set their feet on so far a place as Chekiang. Of course it might be true with *Shih Chi* Hsia Pen Chi that the Yueh in Chekiang at the time of Ch'un Ch'iu was a descendant of a certain duke of a feudal state by the name of Yu Yueh 於越 who was the youngest son of Hsiao Kang. But it is another thing to identify this place with the original feud given to him by his father or elder brother. It is well-known that in ancient China, different tribes have migrated very often and the names of their old motherlands were almost always brought along with them. It is why many cities that are very far away from each other can assume the same name of ancient countries. The appearance of a Yueh in Chekiang is most probably owing to this effect rather than to an geographical identity of that Yueh in Hsia dynasty.

According to Shih Koo's commentary to *Han Shu* Ti Li Chih, Yu Yueh is the name of a place which was given as a feud to the youngest son of Hsiao Kang to take care of the sacrificial service of the Yu's temple and the Yueh as a name of a country can be traced thus far back. It is also said in Ho Hsui's 賀循 *Kuei Chi Chi* 會稽記 that Hsiao Kang had a youngest son by the name of Yu Yueh and the Yueh as a name of country had come into being after him 少康其少子號曰於越. 越國之稱始此. Indeed the Yueh of Chekiang became well-known only as late as in the reign of the king Kou Chien 勾踐 and its early appearance in the fifth year of duke Ting 定公 and in the fourteenth year of duke Ai 哀公 in *Ch'un Ch'iu* was designated just as Yu Yueh and why was it so called has been openly questioned by *Kong Yang Chuan* 公羊傳. On the other hand *Shih Chi Chih Chieh* has quoted a few sentences from *Yueh Chuan* 越傳 which assert that the emperor Yu arrived at Ta Yueh, ascended Miao Shan 苗山, inquired into the rewards of and bestowed the honour to his officials on a large scale, gave them ranks

and feuds and the M'ao Shan was for this sake changed to be called Kuei Chi afterwards. Similar statements appear in *Wu Yüeh Ch'ün Ch'iu*. It says: Yu made a circuit over his empire and came back to Ta Yueh, ascend Mao Shan, called together his subjects from all sides to have an audience, gave them ranks and feuds according to their rewards and changed the name of Mao Shan into "The Mountain of Kuei Chi". His Majesty died and was buried there. When Hsiao Kang reigned, fearing that Yu's footsteps and sacrificial service would be lost and discontinued, a son of his concubine named Yu Yueh was given this place as his feud and entitled as Wu Yu 禹周行天下，還歸大越。登茅山以朝四方羣臣。遂更名茅山曰會稽之山。封有功爵有德。崩而葬焉。至少康，恐禹迹宗廟祭祀之絕，乃封其庶子於越，號曰無餘。The Yu-h, as a name of place, must therefore have existed long before the feud bestowal of Hsiao Kang. It would directly contradict the former view of regarding the feud of Yu Yueh as the very beginning of Yueh country in Chekiang, if the latter was identified with Ta Yueh whereto the Emperor Yu went back after going on a round of inspection and wherein lay the mountain Kuei Chi on which he had assembled his subjects. There is therefore an imperative need for one to look at the reverse of the medal.

We have seen in earlier paragraphs that the mountain Kuei Chi was originally called Fang Shan and situated somewhere near Kao Ping in the south-eastern region of Shansi. Since it is definitely stated that it was one of the mountains in Ta Yueh, the latter is also positively determined at the same time. The correctness of this location may be further strengthened by several other evidences. Firstly, according to *Lu Shih Ch'ün Ch'iu*, Kuei Chi was one of the so-called nine famous mountains. As all the other eight, namely, Tai Shan 大山 (It was meant Ho Tai Shan rather than the Tai Shan of Shangtung), Wang Wu 王屋, Shou Shan 首山, Tai Hwa 太華, Chi Shan 岐山, Tai Hien 太行, Yang Chang 羊腸 and Mon Men 孟門, lie in Shansi or very near to its border, the mountain Kuei Chi must be also in this province, probably near to Ho Tai Shan by the order-relation of enumeration, and certainly could not be so far away as in Chekiang. Secondly, it is said in *Tso Chuan* in seventh year of duke Ai that Yu convoked a conference at Tu Shan and the number of attendances from his feudal states amounted to ten thousands 禹會諸侯於塗山，執玉帛者萬國。This conference has sometimes been identified with that at Kuei Chi mentioned above and some writers, for instance, the author of *Ching Yi Tung Chih* 稽一統志, say that there is a Tu Shan in Kuei Chi. This Tu Shan is celebrated especially in connection with Yu. It is related in *Hsia Shu* that Yu was married to a daughter of Tu Shan 禹娶于塗山 and a quotation from *Shih Pen* by *Shih Chi* Hsia Pen Chi So Yin speaks of her name as Nu Wo 女媧. A more detailed story is also told

in *Lu Shih Ch'uan Ch'iu*. It runs as follows:

禹行功，見塗山之女，未遇，而巡省南土。塗山氏之女，乃令其妾，候禹於塗山之陽。女乃作歌。歌曰，候人兮窈。實始作爲南音。周公及召公取風焉，以爲周南召南。

Similar statement is also found in Tien Wen 天問, an article in *Chu Tsu* 楚辭:

禹之力獻功，降省下土方，焉得彼塗山女，而通之於台桑。

Widely different opinions exist as to where was located this Tu Shan. While the assignments to Anhwei or Chekiang or Szechwan are all unlikely, no one seems to have ever paid any attention to the Tu Shui Hsiang 塗水鄉 of Yu Tsu Hsien 榆次縣 in the prefecture of Tai Yuan Chun, which appears in the comment to *Han Shu* Ti Li Chi. It is known to have been given as a feud to a certain Chih Hsu Wu 知徐吾, a high officer of Chin, in the twenty eighth year of duke Chao, as it is recorded in *Tso Chuan*. Besides, there are a certain Fang Shan 方山 forty li north of Shou Yang 壽陽, a later name for Yu Tsu, according to *Tang Shu* Ti Li Chih 唐書地理誌, and a certain Wo Shan 渦山 eighty li south, according to *Tung Chih* 通志. The latter is also called Kuo Shan 渦山 under which runs Tung Wo Shui 同渦水. As *Chun Kuo Chih* 郡國志 points out, there is in Shou Yang Hsien a temple to offer sacrifice to a stone the form of which looks like an old lady, and a popular legend has come to this extent that as soon as Chi 啓, the heir of Yu, was born, the mother, Tu Shan Shih, became a stone, the present writer does not hesitate to recognize that the home of Tu Shan Shih might be some place near this Tu Shui Hsiang, for there was probably a Tu Shan to suit this Tu Shui here just as there was a Wo Shan to suit Tung Wo Shui, which seemed to have named after and in memory of her and the stone Madan in the temple of Shou Yang represents also nothing else, but the mother of Chi. The important meaning implied by the phrase "came back to Ta Yueh" in the quoted sentences from *Wu Yueh Ch'uan Ch'iu* would then be very natural if Tu Shan might be included in Ta Yueh as our arguments go so far. Note also that, according to *Ti Wang Shih Chi*, Nu Wo Shih had the surname Feng 女媧 風姓, while a certain Fang Feng Shih had been killed by Yu as a punishment for his going too late to attend the conference at Tu Shan according to *Shih Chi* Hsia Pen Chi. A discussion of this Feng wlii be given later.

Thirdly, we have seen that Kuei Chi Shan was also called Miao Shan 苗山 or Mao Shan 茅山. This Mao was probably identical to 茅 in Mu Shih quoted above. Moreover, Mao And Miao appear to be identical with each other in this place. Indeed, according to Tuen's Comments to *Shuo Wen* 說文, the character 茅 was often borrowed to substitute 苗 at ancient times 古或假苗爲茅. Besides the San Miao appearing in *Mu Tien Tzu Chuan* and being identified with the feud of Miao Pen Huang near to Yeh

Wang in our earlier paragraphs, a quotation from Cheng Yuan's Comment to *Shan Shu* Lu Hsing 鄭注呂刑 by *Li Chi Cheng* 1 under Tsu I 緇衣 'as als, identified Miao Min with Chiu Li. It reads: 苗民謂九黎之君也。九黎之君，于少昊氏之衰，而棄善道，上效蚩尤重刑。必變九黎言苗民者，有苗九黎之後。顓頊代少昊，誅九黎，分流其子孫，爲居於西裔者三苗。至高辛之質，又復九黎之惡。堯興又誅之。堯末又在朝。舜時又竄之。 Remember that the site of Li was near Chang Tzu 長子 in the Ch'un Ch'iu period. Miao Shan, being probably a representative mountain of Miao, could only lie somewhere in this place.

Lastly, it is said in Shih Fu Chieh of *I Chou Shu* that a certain general by the name of Lu Ta 呂他 had been sent by King Wu to attack Yueh Hsi Fang 越戲方. According to the comment by K'ung Chao 孔晁 of the Chin dynasty these are the three cities belonging to the Yiu court. Now in *Han Shu* Ti Li Chih there is a district called I Shih 隄氏 in the préecture of Shang Tang Chun and *Chi Yun* 集韻 speaks openly that this I 隄, the I Shih Pan, of Shang Tang by Shuo Wen, was sometimes written as 隄 or 戲, also equivalent to 猗, 說文上黨隄氏既, 或作崎. 戲通作猗. Identifying this Hsi 戲 of Shih Fu Chieh with I Shih, its position is found actually to be in proximity with the Fang as it is required by the text, when the latter is located as we have in our earlier paragraphs. From this we can safely conclude that the Yueh must also have been some place near Hsi and Fang. This condition will be automatically fulfilled if it is also located in some place of Shang Tang as we have just done. Moreover, a quotation from *Sze Ma Fa* 司馬法 by *Shuo Wen* under the character 戍 has related that the Hsia people held black 戍, the Yiu, people, white 戍 and the Chou people, yellow 戍 in left hand and white 戍 in right hand 夏執玄戍, 殷執白戍周左杖黃戍. 右把白戍. But these have been also quoted by *Ta Tang Lei Yao* 大唐類要 in which, instead of yellow 戍 in the left hand of Chou people, it is written as yellow 戲, hinting thereby that the characters 戍 and 戲 might be interchangeable with each other at ancient times. This leads one to suspect that the Yueh Hsi Fang of Shih Fu Chieh might not be three different cities, but imply only one country Yueh, the name Hsi Fang was probably only an additional apposition, inserted by a certain commentator, and was got confused afterwards with the text by misprinting. Indeed, according to Hui 惠, this Yueh Hsi Fang may be identified with Fan Hu Fang 反虎方 of the Chou. Bronze 南宮中鼎. This identification may be not correct in lack of direct evidence, but the idea of regarding it as one unit is probably correct. Thereby the Yueh itself may be identified with I Shih of *Han Shu* Ti Li Chih. At this juncture one may be reminded of the song 候人兮猗 sang by Tu Shan Shih in which the character 猗 has never been suitably interpreted before. It now becomes clear

under this light that it represents probably the country of Yu whom she was eagerly waiting for and the quoted stanza as a whole may be translated as: I wait for the man who is a native of I Shih. It agrees unexpectedly well with the phrase "came back to Ta Yueh" referring to Yu in *Wu Yueh Ch'iu* 吳越 仇 which implies evidently also the significance that Yu was a native of Ta Yueh.

As we know, in eighth year of duke Ting, *Tso Chuan* makes allusion, to a certain Liu Hsu 留吁, which is acknowledged to be a branch of Ch'ih Ti 赤狄. Moreover, there is, in *Han Shu* Ti Li Chih, a district called Yu Li 于離 in the prefecture of Tai Yuan Chun, while Liu Hsu is said to have occupied some place in or near Lu. 魯 Being in proximity to Yueh we have thus located, it may probably be taken to account for the prefix Yu 於 going before Yueh, combining to form the complex designation Yu Yueh as it appears in *Ch'iu Ch'iu*. Note also that the characters 於 and 越 were in fact two synonyms in ancient literatures. For instance, according to *K'ung Chuan*, the 越 of the sentence 越有饋雜 in Kao Tsung of *Shan Shu* ought to be interpreted as to mean 於. So also the 越 of 越以駿選 in *Shih Ching*, Cheng Feng 陳風; such examples are indeed too many to be enumerated one by one. Besides, in the same year of duke Ting in *Tso Chuan* there is a country called Chan Yueh 苦越 which is Chan 苦夷 according to Tu Yu's comment. This Chan is probably identifiable with 沾, a district in the prefecture of Tai Yuan Chun in *Han Shu* Ti Li Chih. Its position seems to have been also near to Yueh and it is probably the reason why should it be combined with Yueh to have the complex name Chan Yueh in a similar way as Yu Yueh.

The tortoise shell form of the character 吳 is generally identified with 昊 or 吳. The latter two seem to be identical with each other in ancient times, since *Shao Wen* has quoted the phrase 日昊之難 from *I Ching Hsi Chuan* 易經繫傳 to be an evidence of one of the meanings of the character 昊. We have seen that in Ta Huang Tung Ching of *Shan Hai Ching* there was a country called Shao Hao 少昊之國 which is said to have situated at Ta Ho, 大壑 outside of Tung Hai 東海 and in which the emperor Shao Han had brought up the emperor Chuan Hsu, 顓頊 while Hai Wei Ching speaks of the latter as a son of the daughter of Shu-Shan Shih. This country of Hsao Hao may be therefore supposed to have been somewhere near Shu. Now in his comment to *Shan Hai Ching* Kuo Pu 郭璞 has quoted from *Shih Han Shen Wu* 詩含神霧 the sentence "it flows eastward into a bottomless valley" to be the explanation of "Ta Ho", which may, in fact, be literally translated as Big Valley. By this sense one may be reminded of a certain Shao Shan 少山 in *Chin Ti Li Chih* 晉地理志 which is there also called Ta Ku 大谷, the Big Valley. It is also spoken of in *Shan Hai Ching* as a mountain which produces

many kinds of jades and in which lies the source of Ch'ing Ch'ang Shui 清漳水. According to *Yuan Ho Chih* 元和志, Shao Shan is a mountain in Lo Ping Hsien in the prefecture of Liao Chou 遼州樂平縣 while a certain Tai Ku Hsien 太谷縣 remains to-day to be a district formerly in the prefecture of Tai Yuan Ch'un.

Besides, some story is told about Wu 吳 in Hai Nai Tung Ching, after the narration of Ta Hsia 大夏. It says that there was in Lei Tse 雷澤, the Thunder Pond, a thunder god with a human head but a dragon body, beating his belly, and it is in the west of Wu. While Hai Nai Ching tells us that in the field of Ta Lo 大樂 the Hsia emperor Chi 夏啓 danced the chiu tai 九代 and Pi Yuan was of the opinion that this field ought to be somewhere in Tai Yuan because both Lie Shan's comment to *Wen Hsuan* 李善注文選 and *Chu Hsueh Chi* 初學記 have quoted a similar remark from *I Kuei Tsang* 易歸藏, saying that once upon a time the Hsia emperor Chi offered sacrifice to gods in the ruin of Chin 晉墟. This Lei Tse may be probably also identifiable with the Big Valley which is said above to have received the water from a certain river. It may also have some probability to be identified either with the Chin Tse 晉澤 which is known to lie six li in the south-west of Chin Yang according to *Huan Yu Chi* 寰宇記 or with Chao Yu Ch'i 昭余祁 which is also called Ou Tse 徇澤 by *Lu Shih Ch'uan Ch'iu* and which was wellknown to have been a representative lake of Pin Chou according to *Chou Li*. The position of Wu, being in the east of Lei Tse, is thus turned out to agree with that of the country of Hsiao Hao located above. Here one may be reminded of a certain Ku Yao Ling 鼓腰嶺 in the west of Yu She Hsien 榆社縣, of which the character Yao 腰 might be probably mistaken for the character Fu 腹. Note also that, according to Hsu Hung P'an's *Fang Yu K'ao Cheng* 許鴻警方輿考證, T'ao Shui 桃水, having its source in the eastern mountain of Shou Yang Hsien 壽陽縣 in the prefecture of P'ing Ting Chou 平定州, is sometimes also called Kan T'ao Ho 甘洶河. While the character 洶 is evidently a substitute for the character 桃 with the same sound, which happens very often in ancient times, the origin of the character Kan 甘 may be probably referred to that Kan Shui 甘水 which appears simultaneously with the country of Hsiao Hao in Ta Huang Tung Ching mentioned above.

On the other hand, in our earlier paragraphs we have seen that the country of Hsiao Hao might lie also possibly a little more south. Indeed, in San Huang Pen Chi 三皇本紀 of *Shih Chi* it is said that the mother of Fu Hsi Shih 伏羲氏, named Hua Hsu 華胥, had become pregnant by treading the big man's footsteps at Lei Tse and bore P'ao Hsi 庖犧 at Ch'eng Chi 成紀.

According to the comment, Lej Tse is here a name for a lake which was a fishing place of the emperor Shun, while *Mo Tzu* has called this lake, in which the emperor Shun had fished, Hu Tse 護澤. As quoted by Li's *comments* from *Chu Shu Chi Nien*, Hu Tse and Yuan Wu 玄武 were the two cities which were taken over by Chia in the Nineteenth year of King Hui Cheng 梁惠成王. This Hu Tse is known to be in the west of Yang Cheng 陽城. Now, in describing the course of Ch'ing Shui 清水, Li's *Comments* says that there is a certain Wu Tse Pi Shui 吳澤陵水 which flows into it and which receives in its upper course a certain Wu Pi 吳陵 at the west of ancient city of Hsiu Wu 修武; the so-called Ta Lu 大陸 is nothing but Wu Tse 吳澤 which, according to *Wai Tu Ti Chi* 魏土地記, lies in the west of Hsiu Wu city and whose area is about a little more than twenty li from south to north times thirty li from east to west; there is, in Hsiu Wu Hsien, a certain Wu Ting 吳亭 which is passed through by Chang Ming Kou Shui 長明溝水, the latter flows north east into Wu Pi Shui. The names of so many things are here capped with the character Wu that it suggest a more formal cause for them than by mere accident. It is probably here that lies the ancient country of Wu. Note that the old home of Big Man seems to have been in Lu Chou 潞州, which is in fact very near to this site of Wu.

It is also remarkable that in *Sbang Mai Chieh* 審麥解 of *I Chou Shu Chih Yu* is said to have been ordered to dwell in Shiao Hao 命豈尤宇少昊 which must, of course, means a country. While a quotation from Cheng Yuan's comment to Lu Hsing 鄭玄注呂刑 by *Li Chi Cheng I* under Tsu I 淄衣 says that Miao Min was the king of Chiu Li who abandoned good deeds to imitate the cruelty of Chih Yu at the time when Shiao Hao was declining. 苗民謂九黎之君也九黎之君子少昊氏衰而棄善道上效蚩尤重刑. Similar remark relating Shiao Hao to Chou Li is also found in *Kuo Yu* 少昊之衰九黎亂德. We have seen that the old home of Chiu Li was Lu Chou 潞州. It will be well fitted by either locating the Hao 昊 or Wu 吳 in some place near Shou Yang in the east of Tai Ku or a little more south near Yang Cheng as discussed above. Both of these might have been included in its territory when Shiao Hao or Wu was strong and prosperous, but suffered a shrinkage afterwards to have only preserved the latter part when it was declining. By its frequent occurrences in the oracle records of the Yin dynasty and its relation thus suggested to the Yin court, it must have had a very close connection with the latter, probably due to their neighborhood, which is indeed ensured by our location so far developed.

In its relation with Tao, the position of T'ang 唐 has already been

located in present day Ping Yang in our earlier paragraphs. To this a few commentary remarks will be only supplemented here. It is suggested above that the character 陽 of the name 平陽 might be equivalent to the character 唐 in oracle records simply by analogy of the identification of the tortoise shell form of the character 唐 with the character 湯 of later literatures. A positive evidence for it is found in *Tso Chuan*. Now the text of *Ch'ün Ch'iu Ching* in the twelfth year of duke Chao says that in the spring, Kao Yen of Chi helps the count of North Yen to go back to Yang with military force 齊高偃帥師納北燕伯于陽, while *Tso Chuan* modifies it by saying that in the spring of twelfth year, Kao Yen of Chi help the count of North Yen to go back, the latter entertains this general with banquet at T'ang because of his military support 十二年春齊高偃納北燕伯款于唐因其衆也. According to Tu Yu's comment, Yang is identical with T'ang, one of Yen's cities. Moreover, in *Shih Chi Chieh of I Chou Shu*, a story is told that there was once a country called Hsi Hsia whose people was too kind to neglect completely their military preparations and, as a result of this, lost their country by being exterminated by Tang Shih 昔者西夏性仁非兵城郭不備武士無位惠而好賞 而無以賞唐氏伐之城郭不守武士不用西夏以亡. Assuming as usual this Hsi Hsia to have its capital at An I 安邑, and T'ang Shih, being also identifiable with T'ang in the oracle records of Yin dynasty concerned, may be well regarded as a country situated in Ping Yang, since, by neighboring to the former, it was in fact very easy to run an attack over there. Note that Tai Yuan is also generally looked as the ancient T'ang country of *Shih Ching*.

In the oracle record 後上 25,7 the character 丁 represents evidently a feud or a country at that time. That there was a feudal state called 丁 in the reign of Yin is confirmed by a quotation from *Liu Tao* 六韜 by *Tai Ping Yu Lan* VII, 37, which says that the duke of 丁 never went to the court after the duke of Wu had attack the Yin 武侯伐殷丁侯不朝. This character 丁 is now generally identified with the character 示. It seems to be quite correct. As for its location at that early time, one may note that there is a certain Shih Shui 洸水 which confuses with I Shui 夷水 and is called Chi Shui 淇水 when it flows eastward in *Li's Comments*. According to Pi Yuan, Chi Shui is identical with Shih Shui; in other place he says also that the sounds of the character 洸 and 淇 are identical so that one may be mistaken for the other 洸淇音同傳寫誤耳. It is remarkable that an oracle record 前 2,7,2 has related this Shih with Chang 丁在丁...步于...亡災癸丑...長...步... Assuming the latter to be Chang Tzu 長子 in the prefecture of Lu Chou, it is in fact near to the upper course of Chi Shui. On the other hand it is said in *Chin Pen Chi* of *Shih Chi* that in the twelfth year of duke Ling

靈公

there is a certain person by the name of 示昧明 who was once saved from starvation by Chao Tun at Shou Shan under a mulberry tree 初盾常田首山見桑下有隕人餓入示昧明也. According to *So Yin* this 示昧 must read 示 鄆彌 and is identical with 提彌明, of *Tso Chuan*; it is said there that the character 示 in *Shih Chi* is identical with the character 祇 the god of earth, of *Chou Li*, it is changed into 祁 just because the sounds of 祁 and 提 are near to each other, and this is the reason why Chou Tan Sheng 鄆莖生 reads 示 as 祁. Note that there is a feudal state of Chin officer called Ch'i 祁 in *Tso Chuan* in the twenty eighth year of duke Chao. It included Wu 鄆, Ch'i 祁, P'ing Ling 平陵, Keng Yang 稭陽, Tu Shui 塗水, Ma Shou 馬首 and Yu 孟. This Ch'i was changed to be Shih in the reign of Wang Mang 王莽.

One point may be mentioned here in passing. The character 垂 occurring simultaneously with T in the same record 後下 94 is not yet identified. It seems also to represent a state or country. Yeh Yu-sen reads it as 垂, its correctness remains still doubtful. On the other hand, there is, besides, another character which is known to be 奕 and which seems to be also a state; but its location remains so far entirely unknown.

As an ancient country, She 射 has once appeared in Hai Wai Hsi Ching of *Shan Hai Ching* quoted by *Shih Chi So Yin*. The text runs as follows:
軒轅之邱在窮山之際西射之南

Its position may therefore be conveniently located, by taking both Mound of Hsien Yuen 軒轅之邱 and Ch'ung Shan 窮山 as references. It is said in *Ti Wang Shih Chi* that when Hsia was declining, the people did not adhere to the court, Ni 羿 migrated from Tsu 緄 to Ch'ung Shih 窮石, usurped the throne, replaced the Hsia, and was called Yu Ch'ung Shih 有窮氏. S. also says *Tso Chuan* in the fourth year of duke Hsiang that King Ni migrated from Tsu to Ch'ung Shih. According to Tu Yu's comments, Tsu is a name of an ancient country. There is a Tsu city in Pu Yang 濮陽 according to *Hou Han Shih Chun Kuo Chih*. In Chui Hsing Hsun of *Hui Nan Tsu* a certain Jo Shui 弱水 is said to have its source in Ch'ung Shih Shan 窮石山. This Jo Shui seems to be identical with Jo Shui 若水 which Shih was the feud of Ch'ang I, the younger son of Huang Ti, and wherein was born the emperor Chuan Hsu, as mentioned in our earlier paragraphs, since *Chou I Cheng I* has definitely written the latter as 弱水. Note that Hai Nai Hsi Ching talks about Jo Shui 弱水 and Ch'ing Shui 青水 which flow southward in the east of Pi Fang Niao 畢方鳥. They are evidently identical to that Jo Shui 若水 and Ch'ing Shui of Hai Nai Ching cited above. The so-called Ch'ung Shih Shan or Ch'ung Shan must, therefore, somewhere between Fou Shan Hsien and Ch'i Hsien in accordance with our former

arguments. It is quite near to Tsu 錕. This Ch'ung Shan is probably identical also to Ch'ung Sang 窮桑 from where the emperor Shao Hao is said in *T'z' Huan-y' Shih Chi* to have come to ascend the throne 少昊氏自窮桑登帝位. It is rather near to the ancient country Hao located above.

The Mound of Hsien Yuen is said in Hsi Shan Ching of *Shan Hai Ching* to be the source of a certain Hsua Shui 沔水 which flows southward into Hei Shui 黑水. On the other hand, Huang Ti is said in *Shih Chi* Wu Ti Chi to have established his capital in Cho Lu 涿鹿 and was married to the daughter of Hsi Ling 西陵 which is known to be an ancient country; the mother of Huang Ti by the name of Fu Pao 附寶 is said in *Shih Chi Cheng I* to have pregnancy after seeing a big lightening around the Great Bear on the sky in the field of Ch'i 祁. These records will suit the location of Chung Shan very well if this Cho Lu is identified with Cho Lu 濁鹿 of Shan Yang Kung, Hsi Ling with Ta Ling 大陵 or Ching Ling 京陵 and this Ch'i with that we have referred to as Shih 示 above. Being in the north of Ch'ung Shan, the position of She will agree somehow with Mao K. She of *Chuang Tzu* 莊子藐姑射之山汾水之陽. Now She and Shu 蜀 have occurred simultaneously in the oracle record 前 1516 while She and Ch'ang 長 also happen to occur in the same record 前 2,83: 癸己卜在長貞王筮于射佳來無災X十六. They imply a neighborhood between these three places. This condition is indeed satisfactorily satisfied in our location.

The character 肆 of the oracle records is not yet identified. Some writers translate it into the square form 肆 while others read it as 賁. No decisive conclusion has so far been obtained. In the records tabulated above, it stands evidently for a country or state. Its position may be roughly estimated from those countries or states that occur simultaneously with it. We have seen that 肆 and She have co-existed in the record 後上 25.7; it happens to occur simultaneously with Shih 示 in 前 7.3.1; 前 7.14.1 及 74.2 合:卜通列何3; Besides, 肆 and Hsi 西 co-exist in 續 1.4.6 and 珠 1182背. Assuming this Hsi to be Hsi Yang 西陽 as mentioned above and regarding Shih 示 as Ch'i Hsien 祁縣 and She as a place near Chao Ch'eng 趙城 or Liu Fen 臨汾 as just considered, it will not be very wrong to identify this 肆 with Nieh Shih 涅氏 of *Han Shu* Ti Li Chih in the prefecture of Shang Yang 商陽. According to Shih Ku this district derives its name from Nieh Shui 涅水 which has its source over there. Moreover, the character 涅 has also the principal structural element identical with that of 肆.

This 肆 was sometimes also called 西肆, for example, 續 5.51; 5.12; 5.31 合:…… 壬辰亦有來., 自西囿乎., 正我冀茂四邑. One is readily reminded of

that Hsi Shen 西申 of Wang Hui Chieh of *I Chou Shu* which stands between Ou Yang 區陽 and Ti 氏. We have seen that the site of Ou Yang might be somewhere near Ou Tse 瀨澤 of Chieh Hsiu Hsien, while Hai Nai Tung Ching definitely mentions that Ti Jen Kuo 氏人國 lies west of Chien Mu 建木 which is on Jo Shui 弱水, west of Chi Wu 契畝. Nieh Shih was in fact near to Chieh Hsiu and also not far from Jo Shui 若水 and Fen Shui is said in Hai Nai Ching to have its source in 上陸 which seems to be identical with Fen Yang. The character "west" of Hai Nai Tung Ching ought probably to read "south" in order to suit this kind of argument. It is also said in *Tso Chuan* in the twenty-sixth year of duke Chao that Hsi Shen is the resort whereto the emperor P'ing took the refuge 平王奔西申, for his mother was a daughter of 'duke Shen. By the odes Sung Kao, Ta Ya 崧高大雅 and Shu Miao, Hsiao Ya 黍苗. 小雅 of *Shih Ching* one learns that the feud of duke Shen was at that time appointed at She 謝 which is generally interpreted as a place in Nan Yang 南陽 of Honan. But this was evidently at that time a new city which needèd cultivation so far as the text of these odes go. Before this time where was the home of duke Shen is entirely unknown. Now the first lines of the ode Sung Kao read: 崧高維嶽峻極于天維嶽降神生甫及申. This Yo is probably also referred to Ho Shan since the character 甫 is identical to the character 呂 and *Hsu Han Shu* Chun Kuo Chih has quoted *Po Wu Chih* 博物志 to this extent that there was a Lu Hsiang 呂鄉 in Yung An 永安 of Ho Tung Chun, which is generally known as the feud of the Chin officer Lu Sheng 呂甥. Being in always proximity of Lu and "born" from god of Yo, the site of Hsi Shen will agree very well with our location. Note also that a passage from Tu I Chieh, *I Chou Shu*, runs as follows:

王曰予克致天之明命定天保依天室志我共惡粵從殷王封四方未宜未定我子西土

This 學 is probably identifiable with 申 which was here meant an adherent to the tyrant and not yet conquered by King W. J.

But the most interesting case in the locating of these countries or states is that of Hsi Chih 西沚 鐵 42,3 or briefly Chih 沚. It is also one among those of which the geographical position is most definitely known. The close relation between it and Chi'ang is already shown in the beginning. From the simultaneous occurrence of Chih and Yo 岳 in the same record 鐵 4,1: 壬子卜貞沚... 翌癸丑勿乎帶住于岳 it may be known to be a place near Ho Shan 霍山; by the same reason the co-existence of Yueh and Chih in the record 鐵 132,3: 貞厲車其X沚 reveals probably a neighbourhood between them. Moreover, in *Chou Tse* of *Chan K'uo T'se* there is a noticeable passage that runs as follows:

或謂周晨謂金投日秦以周最之齊疑天下。而又知趙之難與齊人戰，恐齊韓，

之合，必先合於秦。秦齊合，則公之國虛矣。公不如救齊，因佐秦而伐韓魏，上黨長子，趙之有已。公東收資於秦，南取地於韓魏，因以困徐爲之東則有合矣。周最謂金投曰，公負秦與強齊戰，戰勝秦且收齊而封之，使無多割，而聽天下之戰，不勝國大傷，不得不聽秦，秦盡韓魏之上黨大原，西止秦之有已，秦地天下之半也，制齊楚三晉之命，復國且身危，是何計之道也。

The punctuation was due to Wu Tséng Chi 吳曾祺 in the popular edition by Commercial Press. Particular attention may be paid to the sentences 秦盡韓魏之上黨大原。西止秦之有已。秦地天下之半也。 Being so punctuated, they would mean: The Ch'ing state will take over all the Shang Tang and Tai Yuan of Han Wui up to the west limit of Ch'ing territory, and Ch'ing has already possessed half of the world. But the present writer is biased to think of it as erroneous, because their structure is quite similar to that of the sentences just going before, that is, 因佐秦伐韓魏，上黨長子，趙之有已。 By analogy with the latter, the former, instead of being punctuated as Wu does, ought to read rather as: 秦盡韓魏之上黨，大原西止，秦之有已，秦地天下之半也。 It implies that Hsi Chih is here a name of a city at that time and its position was somewhere between Shang Tang and T'ai Yuan. It just agrees with the location of Hsi Chih required by the oracle records of Yin dynasty mentioned above. Remember that Han and Wui had indeed each a Shang Tang.

Now, according to Li's *Comments*, there is a Hsin Shui 沁水 which has its source in Nieh Hsien 涅縣 in the prefecture of Shang Tang and which passes through the ruin of Hsin Shui 沁水縣 at its north; the latter is identical to Shao Shui 少水 of *Ch'un Ch'iu*. Ching Hsiang Fan 京相璠 also says that Shao Shui is equal to Hsin Shui of to day. The transition from Shao Shui to Hsin Shui seems to have been by accident mistakes. An article "On Mountains and Rivers" 山川考 in *Shan Hsi T'ung Chih* 山西通志 has pointed out that the so called 流沙 are only mistakes for 沁沙. The easiness of mistaking between 沙 and 沁 is thus acknowledged. There is indeed in *Shuo Wen* a character 𠄎 which is said to be the reverse of 止. Chieh Yun writes it as 𠄎. From the easy confusion between 少 and 𠄎 or 止, the existing mistake can be readily accounted for. One may thus realize that the "Shao Shui" of *Ch'un Ch'iu* is identifiable with Chih Shui 止水 of Yin records. It explains also why the character 止, representing a country or state in oracle record, is oftentimes written as 止. This country or state had really a very close connection with Chih Shui. On the same ground the "Shao Shan" 少山 of *Shang Hai Ching* which is said there to produce jades and whereabouts lies the source of Ching Chang Shui 清漳水, is probably also a mistake for "Chih Shan" 止山.

Without going into detail, which may be given later on elsewhere when chance allows, the location of many other countries or states that have more or less direct connection with Ch'iang and are tabulated above may be briefly stated as follows.

Ma 馬 is probably identifiable with Ma Shou 馬首 of *Tso Chuan*, in the twenty-eighth year of duke Chiao. It is said there to have been a feud of a Chin officer Han Ku 韓固. Note also that in *Shan Hai Ching* there is a certain Pai Ma Shan 白馬山 from which runs Mu Ma Shui 木馬之水. According to *Yuan Ho Chih* 元和志 Pai Ma Shan lies sixty li north east of Yu Hsien 孟縣. There is also further north a certain Ma I 馬邑 wherein lies the source of Ma I Chuan 馬邑川 which flows into Sang Ch'ien Ho 桑乾河. Besides, there is also a certain Ma Ling Kuan 馬陵關 in the south east of Tai Ku Hsien 太谷縣. The oracle record 徵地望 34: 辰卜辰貞乎攻馬于非田邑三月 suggests also a neighbourhood between Ma and 虜.

We have seen that Fu Hsi was of the surname Feng 風. According to *Huan Yu Chi*, fifteen li south of Chao Cheng Hsien there is Fu Niu Tai 伏牛台 which was the resort of Fu Hsi. This same author speaks also of a certain Feng Shan 風山 in Ching Lo Hsien 靜樂縣 which is Fen Yang 汾陽 of Han dynasty. It is probably identifiable with Feng of the Yin oracle records. Note that *Chu Shu Chi Nien* says that the emperor Hsiang 相 of Hsia dynasty had once conquered a certain Feng I 風夷.

The character 弱 of the oracle records appear already in *Shuo Wen* which identifies it with the character 疆. 弱疆也. 从二弓. There is a god called Yu Chiang 禺疆 and another, Chiang Liang 疆良 in Ta Huang Pei Ching of *Shan Hai Ching*, both are said to be the gods of the north; in *Kuan Tzu*, Kue Tu 管子揆度, it is said that the jades come from Yu Shih 禺氏 of the north. According to *Lu Shih*, Chiang Shih is a branch of the descendants of Yu Chiang Shih and *Chien Fu Lun* 潛夫論 has also pointed out that Chiang Shih has the surname of Chiang 姜. According to *Lu Shih Ch'uan Ch'iu*, when Yu 禹 traveled north, his host was Yu Chiang. On the other hand it is said in *Hai Nai Ching* that inside of the south sea, between He Shui 黑水 and Ching Shui 青水 there are trees called Jo Mu 若木 from which originates Jo Shui 若水, there is a country called Yu Chung 禺中之國. The Chiang of Yin dynasty is therefore either located north of Yueh, the mother-land of Yu, or south west of it, near Jo Shui. One may note that there is a certain Chiang Yin Hsien 疆陰縣 in the prefecture of Yen Men Chun 雁門郡 in *Han*

Shu Ti Li Chih.

Wu Tsu 五族 is probably identifiable with Wu Shih 五氏 of *Ch'un Ch'iu*, in the ninth year of duke Ting. Tu Yu's comment speaks definitely of it as a place of Chin. *Tso Chuan* rewrites it as Han Shih 寒氏. It is generally located in the west of Han Tan Hsien. 邯鄲縣 See for instance, Yang Shou-ching's *Ch'un Ch'iu Lich Kou T'u*.

Chiao 雀 is identifiable with Kuan Chiao Ching 冠爵津 which is passed through by Fen Shui according to *Canon for Rivers*. Li's *Comments* locate it at the south-west of Chieh Hsiu Hsien. It is said there to be a passage at Chiao Ku 雀谷; it is sometimes called Ch'iao Ching 雀津 and the unauthorized popular name for it is Ch'iao Shu Ku 雀鼠谷. It is rather near to P'ing Yao. This is a condition required by 前2.11,3, in which Chiao and 岳 occur simultaneously.

Some writers identify the character 冢 of Yin oracle with 蒙, others with 崇. Both P'ing Ting Chou 平定州 and Chin Yang 晉陽 are said to have a Meng Shan 蒙山. The latter is said to be ten li in the north-west of Chin Yang. On the other hand, a quotation from Huang-fu Mi by *Shang Shu Cheng I* takes Meng as Pei Po 北亳 and *Ch'u Shu Chi Nien* has recorded that Pan Keng Hsun removed his capital from Yen to Pei Meng and began to be called Yin 盤庚旬自奄遷于北蒙白般. It is said in *Wei Shu* 魏書 that there is in the east of Fen a certain Meng K'eng 蒙坑 that extends over three hundred li from east to west and no passable road has ever been found. From the close relationship revealed by the oracle records with the Yin court, it is probably meant nothing else but the "Pei Meng" of *Ch'u Shu*. On the other hand, Ch'ung 崇 is well-known for being the feud of the notorious duke Hu 崇侯虎, which was exterminated by King Wen.

The character 龜 on Ch'ou bronze inscription 小孟鼎: 隻職四千·百八二 職 is identified with Huo 獲. The tortoise shell form 倝 is probably equivalent to it and hen'e also to Hu 獲 it is probably Hu Tse 譏澤 where emperor Shun is said to have fished. It lies west of Yang Ch'eng Hsien 陽城縣. Besides, it is well-known that there was a country of dwarf called Chiao Yao 焦饒 while Hu Tse has indeed a Chiao Yao Shan 嶠饒山. It is probably the old home of Chiao I 焦夷 mentioned in *Tso Chuan* in the twenty-third year of duke Hsi. The co-existence of T'ang 唐 and Huo in the same oracle record 前5.36,3 suggests a neighbourhood between them, which is really

satisfied by our location when Tang is identified with Ping Yang as stated above. Note that there is a ruin of an ancient country Chiao 故焦國 in Shang Yang 上陽 of Kuo 饒, which lies north east of Shen Chou 陝州; it was given to the descendant of Shen Nung 神農 as a feud by King Wu after his conquering the Shang 商 and was at later times exterminated by Chin 晉. The latter is near to Pi 邶; they occur simultaneously in 粹 1107: 爰邶, 貞告土方於上甲受敵.

The character 易 in the oracle record, representing a country or state, is evidently identical with 楊 of later literatures; it is the Yang Hsien 楊縣 of *Han Shu Ti Li Chih*, in the prefecture of Tai Yuan Chun which was Yang Hou Kuo 楊侯國 according to Ying Chao's 應劭 comment.

Mu Yeh is well-known to have been the capital of Chou 紂. It is remarkable that, in Ch'in Pen Chi, *Shih Chi Cheng I* has quoted from a certain Liu P'o Chuan 劉伯莊 to the extent that Ho Tai Shan was the north of Chou's capital 霍太山紂都之北也. The so-called Mu Yeh might therefore have rather a much bigger area than was generally acknowledged. This may perhaps account for the fact that Mu has occurred together with Yang in the oracle record 卜通 462. Ho is in fact very near to Yang.

𠄎方 in 鄴下 40,2 or 占續 2,21,1 is probably identifiable with Cha 沾 of *Han Shu Ti Li Chih*. The structures of these two characters are very similar to each other if not completely identical. The latter derives its name from Chan Shui 占水 which has its source in Hu Kuan 壺關. It is near to Yueh. It was sometimes combined to be called Chan Yueh 苦越 as we have mentioned above. Somewriter likes to write it as 旨. Hu Kuan is probably identifiable with 亞 of the oracle records. The piece of oracle record 前 2,8,5 includes both Ch'ang 長 and 亞 simultaneously 己亥卜在長貞王...亞其从取白伐土...方不皆伐在十月又..., while another piece 粹 1290 includes both 亞 and Ma 貞多馬亞其有... A neighbourhood between these three places is thus suggested. Our location satisfies this condition very satisfactorily.

As a country or state the Ko 戈 of the oracle record is probably identifiable with Ko Ling Shan 戈嶺山 in the east of P'ing Yao 平遙. There is a Ko in *Tso Chuan* in the twenty-ninth year of duke C'iao and in the twelfth year of duke Ai, which is located at the intersection between Sung and Ch'ng. The latter seems to be too far away from Chiang.

At last the Ming 鳴 of the oracle records may be identifiable either with

Ming Shan 鳴山 in the south of Fou Shan Hsien or with Chi Ming Ling 鷓鴣嶺 of Hu Kuan, both of which are recorded in *Tai P'ing Huan Yu Chi*. The latter is also called Huo Shan 火山 and gives the source of a certain Chi Ming Shui 鷓鴣水 according to *Wai Shu Ti Hsing Chih*. We may also identify the Hsueh 雪 with Hsueh Shan 雪山, twenty five li south west of Wu Chai Hsien 五寨縣 of *Tung Chih*. It is well-known that the father of Hsia Yu, Kun 鯀, was punished to death at Yu Shan 羽山. Now the so-identified character Hsueh of the oracle records is almost identical in form with the square form Yu 羽. Hsueh Shan and Yu Shan might be identical to each other in this sense. Besides, the Kuang 光 of the oracle records may be also a country or state. It may be identified with Kuang Lang Ch'eng 光狼城 which is said to have been a city of Chao in *Tso Chuan* in the twenty seventh year of duke Hsiang. According to *Kua Ti Chih*, there is an ancient country Kuang Lang 光狼故國 situated some twenty li west of Kao P'ing in the prefecture of Tse Chu. The character 戎 in 前 4,2,4 己卯卜地貞今春令戎田外戎至于澠隹光 is probably equivalent to the square character 莒 which is Chih Hsien of *Han Shu Ti Li Chih* in the prefecture of Ho Tung Chun. 澠 is probably equivalent to the square character 澠 which represents Min O 澠阨, one of the Nine Fortresses 九塞 enumerated in Shi Hsing Hsun of *Hui Nan Tzu*. There is also a Min Chih Hsien 澠池縣 in *Han Shu Ti Li Chih* in the prefecture of Hung Nung Chun. The character 莒 may be possibly equal to Tai 戴. In Hai Wei Nan Ching there is a Tai Kuo 戴國 and in Ta Huang Nan Ching, a Tai Min Tzu Kuo 戴氏之國 which is said to be east of San Mao 三毛. The latter is probably identical with San Miao 三苗. This Tai is located therefore somewhere near to Yeh Wang. In *Tso Chuan* in the sixth year of duke Wen, there is a city called Pei 郚 at which a prince of the duke of Chin state, Lo 公子樂, was murdered by the order of Chao Meng 趙孟, a high officer of the same state. According to Tu Yu's comment, it belongs to Chin. This city is identifiable with the character 郟 of the divination records, for example, 庫 993, which happens to occur oftentimes with Shu. This Pei has appeared also in *Tso Chuan* in the tenth year of duke Ai. In the latter place it is definitely shown to be a city near to Shao Shui, hence also to Shu as we have located it. It represents probably the same place as 卑耳 in *Kuan Tzu*, Hsiao Kuang 小匡. It is there mentioned together with Tai Han 太行.

It is almost needless to say that the position of Ch'iang can be readily determined after locating these countries or states in the above manner. It must have been situated north of Pi, Hsien, etc., and west of Ho, Chih, Yang, Shu, etc.: in a word, it seems to have occupied the right west region of Shansi at the time of the Yin dynasty. This conclusion may be further confirmed

by several other evidences." First of all, this region includes a city called Pei Chu 北屈 through which runs Chu Ch'an Shui 屈產水. It was famous for bearing good horses. The so-called 屈產之乘 had become favourite of dukes of many states in Ch'un Ch'iu period and had paired with 垂棘之璧 as two rare precious things in the hand of duke Hsien of the Chin state. It is rather remarkable that the divination records of Yin do reveal the important fact that Ch'iang Fang was plentiful of horses. For both 錄 1554: 貞多馬光 勿令多馬光 and 錄 625: ... 貞多馬光 已 had mentioned it in the name of 多馬光 which may be literally translated into "the Ch'iang that possesses many horses". Besides, the divination record 微地望 42 has been interpreted by some writers as 壬辰卜貞乎取馬于羌氏三月. It shows that the Yin court did oftentimes require the horses to be sent from Ch'iang Fang.

There is, moreover, a divination record quoted in Lo Cheng-yu's *Yin Hsu Shu Chi Kao Shih* 殷虛書契考釋 that suggests a neighbourhood between Ch'iang and Tien 奠. It runs thus: 丙辰卜在奠貞今日王步羌亡災 while another record 前 4.36.7: 貞于囟南進奠貞乎攻且 and 前 7.12.4: 癸未貞翌甲申不易日貞从奠攻呶圖三邑, yield a similar relation between Tien and Pi 呶. But this Pi can be nothing else but that 邶 that we have located in connection with Hsien. Now the comment to *Shu Han Shu Chun Kuō Ch'iu* says quite definitely that in ancient times there was a certain 鄆國 which had been the capital of Huang Ti. We have seen in our earlier paragraphs that the Mound of Hsien Yuen was well-known to have been Huang Ti's capital and was situated in the south of Hsi She, which lies about thirty li west of Chao Cheng. The Tien of the Yin divinations is just required to have been in this place. Being neighbourly to Tien, the site of Ch'iang is in fact in good agreement with our location.

It is said in *Han Shu Hsi Ch'iang Chuan* that Hsi Chiang was the descendants of San Miao and was a branch of the Chiang Family; its country was near Nan Yo 西羌之本出自三苗善姓之別也其國近南岳. According to the article Mountain of *Erh Ya*, Nan Yo is Ho Shan. Our location of Ch'iang is just west of and in proximity with Ho. Note also that, in commenting to the record of event of Chin people 晉人 and Chiang Jung's 姜戎 defeating the Ch'in 秦 troops at Yao 殺, Tu Yu defines also definitely Chiang Jung 姜戎, as a Jung of Chiang family 姜姓之戎, inhabited in the south region of Chin.

At last we may mention that Ti 氏 and Ch'iang were oftentimes enumerated in succession in such a way as to be combined almost into one complex name in ancient times. It must be due mainly to their close rela-

tionship, especially to their neighbourhood in territories. Now, Ti Jen Kuo is already located somewhere west of Jo Shui in our earlier discussions. So must the site of Ch'iang be not far from it. Our conclusion can just satisfy this condition. Besides, it is also confirmed by the divination record 鐵 52.4, 貞翌甲子出羌于若. The last character Jo here evidently represents a place and can be nothing else than Jo Shui concerned. This is also probably the reason why Ch'iang was sometimes called 西羌, which appears in *Siku Wen*, afterwards quoted by *Tai Ping Yu Lan* 792. It may be mentioned in

passing that in the oracle record 前 2,35.1: 戎戌王卜貞田羌往來亡災王亂曰吉茲御獲鹿四壬辰王卜貞田往來亡災王亂曰吉在十月茲獲鹿六. Ch'iang has occurred together with 致, while the latter has occurred together with Ch'ang 長 in 前 2,8,5 as quoted above. These imply a geographical relation between the three places. Our location of Ch'iang thus proposed is at least not in direct contradiction with it, although it can hardly be made out by a simple direct strike.

It is also remarkable that Mencius has specified Hsia Yu as a native of Hsi Ch'iang, while we have located Yueh, the mother-land of Yu, in somewhere near Wu Hsiang Hsien 武鄉縣. In order to account for this discrepancy, it seems to be probable that at the time earlier than Yin, Ch'iang had originally inhabited more east, in the eastern region of Shansi. They were pushed westward under the pressure of Yin court. By and by they were forced still further west after Ch'in and Han, one branch had fled into Kansua while other, turning a little south, into Szechuan,

(End of Part I)

PHONETIC CHANGES OF THE SUPERADDED AND THE PREFIXED LETTERS IN EASTERN TIBETAN DIALECTS

By WEN YU

If one desires to know how classical Tibetan is changed into modern dialects, one naturally refers at first to Jaschke's record in the Introduction of his *Dictionary*.¹ According to him, the varieties of the superadded and the prefixed letters may be summarized as follows:

Ladak	Lahoul	Spiti	Tsang, ü	Kham	
<i>Superadded Letters</i>					
r—	(r)—, ○—	(r)—, ○—	○—	○—	r—
l—	l—	○—	○—	○—	l—
s—	(s)—, ○—	○—	○—	○—	s—, s—, z—
<i>Prefixed Letters</i>					
g—	○—	○—	○—	○—	γ—
ḍ—	○—	○—	○—	○—	γ—, ○—
ḃ—	○—	○—	○—	○—	v—, b—
m—	○—	○—	○—	○—	m—
h—	○—	○—	○—	○—	h—, n—, m—

Another record is to be found in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, edited by G. A. Grierson, in which western Tibetan dialects have been described in fuller detail. Besides, there is a Hungarian scholar, Brion Bonnerjea, who has recently tabulated them as follows:²

- 1) Jaschke, H. A.: *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London, 1881, xvii-xxi.
- 2) The Italics stand for transliterations of S. Chandra Dās' system, except dz for *ḍ*, sh for *ḡ* and zh for *ḡ*. Instead of native letters. The brackets indicate the exact phonetic values in which the IPA is adopted with a few modifications. Both are used to facilitate the work of printing.
- 3) Bonnerjea, B.: *Phonology of Some Tibeto-Burman Dialects of Himalayan Region*, *TP*, Vol. XXXII, 1936. Indeed, the arrangement in this article is rather complicated as criticized by R. Shafer in his "The Vocalism of Sino-Tibetan", *JAOS*, Vol. 60, pp. 304-5. It is regrettable that Grierson's work is, however, not available to the present writer, necessitating his following Bonnerjea for the time being.

Prefixes *d* and *g*.....are usually rendered by the character 黑 (X)... The prefix *l* is as a rule rendered by 兒. There are also two instances of the use of 兒 for rendering the prefix *r* which is usually transcribed by the character 兒.

Draguncv has not told us the nature of the so-called Leningrad copy. Neither has he discussed entire phenomena of these letters.⁸ The present writer has therefore made a brief survey based on the copy of *Lung Wei P'i Shu* (龍威秘書) with the following results:

Superadded Letters

r- 兒	e.g.	兒答'馬' = <i>ria</i> 'horse'
		兒甲'後' = <i>rgyab</i> 'behind'
l- 失'		失丈'柳' = <i>lean</i> 'willow tree'
		失蓋治毒'一同' = <i>than-cig-tu</i> 'altogether'
s- 思		思葛兒麻'星' = <i>skar-ma</i> 'star'
		思鄂'門' = <i>sgo</i> 'door'

Prefixed Letters

g= 黑	黑謝兒'金' = <i>g'er</i> 'gold'
兒	兒藏橋'江' = <i>gtsan-po</i> 'river'
d	Before the surd and nasal initials it is rendered by 黑.
	黑華'春' = <i>dpyid</i> 'spring'
	黑罵兒潘'紅' = <i>dmar-po</i> 'red'

Before the sonant initials it is rendered by 耳 or 兒.¹⁰

- 8) Laufer also notices the *Hua I I Yu* in the footnotes of his "Bird Divination among the Tibetans" (*TP*. Vol. XV. 1914. pp. 43, 90, 103 and 105) which was based on Hirth's copy in the Royal Library of Berlin but he has not touched these letters, except the nasalization of *h*. Following this, Pelliot's "Quelques transcriptions chinoises de noms tibétains" (*Ibid.* Vol. XVI. pp. 1-26) and Laufer's "Chinese Transcriptions of Tibetan Names" (*Ibid.* pp. 420-4) successively appeared. In these essays the identification of the Sino-Tibetan bilingual inscription of the T'ang Dynasty has been treated in detail. This will be considered later by the present writer.
- 9) Only in 思模迷'鑰匙' = *te-mi-g* 'key' is the use of 思 contrary to the rule. It may be a mistake due to copying.
- 10) Only before the sonant labial plosives it seems to be dropped, such as 物'頭' = *dbu* 'head', 物克思'氣' = *abugs* 'breath', 牙兒'夏' = *abgar* 'summer' and as forth. Another example is 物耳'銀' = *dñul* 'silver'. It seems to be a result of the development of *dñul* > *mul* as cited by Francke in his *Advents of Jaschke's Grammar*.

	耳谷‘九’ = <i>dgu</i> ‘nine’
	兒根‘冬’ = <i>dgun</i> ‘winter’
ò-卜	卜敦‘七’ = <i>bdun</i> ‘seven’
	卜緜耳‘涼’ = <i>bsil</i> ‘cool’
m-母,木	母達‘箭’ = <i>mda</i> ‘arrow’
	木參摩‘夜’ = <i>mishan-mo</i> ‘night’
h-恩	恩桑‘厚’ = <i>htug</i> ‘thick’
	恩卜刺思‘米’ = <i>hbras</i> ‘rice’

Although it is true that the dialect in question is more interesting and seems to retain more of the archaic forms, yet we must realize that Chinese characters cannot express the exact phonetic values after all. Even these Romanizations of Jaschke, Rockhill and Grierson are still nothing more than a rough picture. Inasmuch as they are far from accurate, there has long been felt the need for a more scientific inquiry into these involved phenomena.

Fortunately during four years staying in Szechwan, the present writer has had the opportunity of hearing three archaic pronunciations. These were either collected at Chengtu or taken from the northwestern border. In spite of the fact that the informants differ in their ages and localities, they are all curious enough to offer us a true mirror of the classical spelling. In expecting to discover the original values of these letters, their use will no doubt be superior to that of others.

The first is pronounced by a lama who belongs to the Hbar-Xhan Lama-sery of Chog-Ge (卓克基).¹¹ He is familiar with Tibetan as he has studied it from boyhood, though his old name is Rgyarong. Besides the several pronunciations given in the appended tables, its essentials are:

Supraadded Letters

ɾ Before the surd plosives *k* and *t* and the surd affricate *ts* it becomes a fricative [ɣ] usually slightly aspirated, thus [ɣ^hk-] for *ɾka* [ɣ^ht-] for *ɾta* and [ɣ^hts-] for *ɾtsa*. Before the sonant plosives *g*, *d* and *b*, the sonant affricates *dz* and *ʒ* and the nasals *ŋ*, *ɳ*, *ɲ* and *m*, an untrilled variation

11) This is equivalent to Rockhill's *Lchog-rtsi* (op. cit. p. 344) and *Cho-tse* (p. 345), also Baber's *Dju-tse* (*Travel and Research in the Interior of China*, p. 51). Other different transcriptions are too numerous to be mentioned. The Romanization given here is the transcription of the informant's own spelling illustrating the old saying that the appellation follows its master (名從主人).

replaces it. The symbol [ɹ̥] seems to be quite suitable here, although a weak flapped [ɹ] is scarcely audible.

l All are pronounced as ordinary [l], except a lateral fricative [ɺ] for *lh.c.* The latter is a single consonant and not a combination of the prefix *l* + initial *h* as the native letter represented.

s Before the surd plosives *k*, *t* and *p* and nasals *ŋ*, *n̄*, *n* and *m* it is still a voiceless [s]. It will become a voiced [z] when followed by a sonant plosive *g*, *d* or *b*. The latter clearly shows a regressive assimilation as Francke has mentioned.¹² Francke also records that the letter *sɛsɛ* is; as a rule, pronounced as *sa*. Similar development is to be found in this dialect, but this *s* is pronounced with considerable force and easily distinguishable from the ordinary *s*.

Prefixed Letters

g, *d*, *b*, *m* and *h* all drop out without any trace.

The second is a pronunciation from a native chieftain of Mei-Ch'ung (墨穹) village of Rna-Ba.¹³ Noteworthy features about this are:

Supradadd Letters

r The original *r* is, as a whole, preserved when the coming initials are sonant plosives *g*, *d* and *b*, affricates *j* and *dz* and nasals *ŋ* and *n*; but the roll is rather weak. It becomes a retroflex fricative [ɹ̥], when followed by an initial which is a surd plosive *t* or affricate *ts*. In such a case, the articulation place of the initial is affected, moving slightly backward. It also becomes an uvular fricative [χ] when the succeeding initial is a plosive *k* or a nasal *ŋ* or *m*. Both the fricatives [ɹ̥] and [χ] are aspirated at the same time, so that we may render them accurately as [ɹ̥ʰt-], [ɹ̥ʰts-], [χʰk-], [χʰŋ-] and [χʰm-] for the letters *rta*, *rtaa*, *rka*, *rŋa* and *rmz*.

12) Francke, *Adlenda*, pp. 103-9.

13) Rna-ba is situated at the north of Lang-to (郎格) and the east of Golok. This appellation is said to have originated from its configuration much like a drum (*rna* means a drum). In Chinese, it is called Upper A-Pa (上可蜀), simply because it is placed at the most northern part of A-Pa. The Chinese transcription 墨穹 is found in recent documents, but its original form has not yet been identified. Among the list of the villages of Upper A-Pa, found in volume four of the *Compendium of Sung P'an* (松潘縣志), 1923, there is a name 墨重, which might be another transcription for the same place.

l Besides a lateral fricative [ɬ] for *lka* similar to the Chag-Ce dialect, the majority are somewhat like those with a superadded *r*. Thus we have [rg-], [rʎ-], [rdz-], [rd-] and [rw-] for the letters *lga*, *l̄n̄a*, *lja*, *lda* and *lba*, and [ɸt-], [ɸʎ-] and [ɸk-] for the letters *ltz*, *lca* and *lka*. A very strange thing is the use of a bilabial fricative [ɸ] when followed by an initial which is a bilabial plosive *p*.

s The phenomenon of this letter is much confused with that of the previous two. Similarly the variation [r] occurs before five initials *g*, *n̄*, *d*, *n* and *b*; [ɸ] before two initials *t* and *ts*; [ɸ] before three initials *k*, *n̄* and *m* and [ɸ] before *p*.

Prefixes Letters

g There are three variations in this prefix. [ɸ] precedes the initials *t*, *c*, *ts*, *s* and *sh* and [ɸ] precedes the initials *d*, *z* and *zh*. The last one is a weak laryngeal stricture which appears only before the nasals *n̄* and *n* and the semi-vowel *y*.

b There is only a bilabial obstruction and no clear sound can be heard when it occurs before the tenues *k*, *c*, *t* and *ts*. It is audible and the obstruction is much relaxed, if the mediae *g* or *d* follows. In other words, the former is like a [p] while the latter is a [β]. It is more interesting to note that it invariably becomes [ɸ] or [β], if the initial following is *s* or *z*. Again it will be [ɸ] or [ɸ] when it is placed before the initial *sh* or *zh*.

d Two variations [ɸ] and [ɸ] also regularly appear in this prefix. [ɸ] is seen before the tenues *k* and *p* and [ɸ] before the mediae *b* and nasals *n̄* and *n* (except before the mediae *g* it is replaced by a [r], so the actual value of *dga* is just as that of *rga*). The latter possesses a long duration. A glide is clearly heard between it and the coming initial. We may, therefore, render strictly as [ɸʎβ-], [ɸʎɪ-] and [ɸʎŋ-] the letters *dbz*, *dna* and *dna*.

m This *m* remains unchanged before the palatal and dental initials *ch*, *j*, *n̄*, *ih*, *d*, *n*, *ts* and *dz*, although the articulation is rather weak. It almost disappears if followed by the gutturals *kh*, *g* and *n̄* because the air does not pass through the nasal cavity and the lips are also not in contact but highly rounded. This labializes the initial, so that the symbols [k^l], [k^u] and [ŋ^u] seem the suitable signs for the letters *mkha*, *mga* and *mna*. In such cases the lip-rounding disappears of course a little earlier than the removal of the guttural obstruction.

h There are four different nasal variations for this prefix according to where the coming initial is articulated. [ŋ] is seen of course before the gutturals *kh* and *g*; [ɲ] before the palatals *ch* and *ʃ*; [n] before the dentals *th*, *d*, *tsh* and *dz* and [m] before the bilabials *ph* and *b*.

Now we come to the last dialect which was given by a young man living in a certain village of Sa-Stod,¹⁴ Li-Fan (理番) district. In recording this pronunciation, the writer was fortunate to be able to use an experimental method. Further, the informant's pronunciation is more precise than the previous two and is of a decidedly archaic style. So it may not be unreasonable to use it as our yardstick in this paper.

Superadded Letters

The original *r* occurs before the sonant plosives *g*, *d* and *b*, affricates *ʃ* and *dz* and nasals *n*, *ɲ*, *ŋ* and *m*. This [r] is really trilled, though as a rule not very heavily. Voiceless variety occurs before the tenues *k*, *t* and *ts*. Special attention must be paid here to its peculiar articulation. This is formed by the tip of the tongue against the hard palate. At the same time, the air-passage between the uvula and the back of the tongue is greatly narrowed, sometimes even the vibration of the uvula is carried out, particularly when the following initial is *k*. The whole action is shown in the following figure:



14) This is only a transliteration of its Tibetan name. The writer regrets that the informant was unable to explain its meaning at all. At the same time there is no Chinese name for it. It is said that the name Sa-Stod covers a number of villages. Linguistically, they are divided into three parts: Tibetan is the current language among the first part which contains the villages *Kra-Sbe* and *Kie-Sgem*. As to the other two parts, Rgyarong is current among the villages *Na-Ni-Bo* and *Tsa-Tshi* and Chi'iang the rest. This little region, therefore, may be considered as an ethnic or linguistic centre. As to the informant himself, he was born of a Chi'iang mother and a Tibetan father, so that he is quite at home in both these two languages.

That is to say both retroflex [ʂ] and uvular [ʁ] or [R] are simultaneously produced.¹⁵ Etymologically, the uvular element is of course its original action, while acoustically, it is more like the aspirated [ʃ̥] when placed before *t* and *ts*. To sum up, the whole pattern is somewhat similar to that of Rāa-Ba, except that all nasal initials preceded by the sonant [x] are more systematic.

l This prefix, too, calls for special mention. Two interdental lateral fricatives [ɬ̪] and [ɮ̪] are regularly used for it. [ɬ̪] appears of course before the tenues *k*, *c*, *t* and *p* and [ɮ̪] before the mediae *g*, *ɟ*, *d*, *b* and *m*. Both [ɬ̪] and [ɮ̪] are strictly interdental. The tip of the tongue is indeed placed between the teeth and even sometimes extended beyond the teeth.¹⁶ Consequently, the acoustic effect is the simple fricatives [θ] and [ð] rather than the lateral fricatives [ɬ] and [ɮ]. It must be added here that with the letter *h* the aspiration is stranger, although the voiceless [ɬ̪] is usually aspirated.

o Two dental fricatives [s] and [z] also regularly vary for this prefix. They are, as a rule, articulated with the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth. It goes without saying that [s] must be followed by a surd initial *k*, *t*, *p* or *ts* and [z] by a sonant initial *g*, *d* or *b*. But it is interesting to note that the nasal initials *ñ*, *n̄*, *n* and *m* are still preceded by the voiceless [s], not the voiced [z].

Prefixed Letters

g The variants for this prefix are much like those of Rāa-Ba. [ʁ] also appears before the surd initials *c*, *t*, *ts*, *s* and *sk* and [ʂ] before the sonants *d*, *z* and *zh*, nasals *n̄* and *n* and semi-vowel *y*. A lengthy glide between the prefix and the initial is its only peculiarity and cannot be heard in the pre-

15) The Romanization *rs* in the Bili and Furi dialects cited above probably represent the same manner as here described.

16) On account of the lack of suitable symbols for them, the IPA of lateral fricatives [ɬ̪] and [ɮ̪], by adding a dentalized sign at the bottom, have to be used here and in the ensuing pages for the time being.

17) It is strange to note that this position of the tip of the tongue is not only found in prefix, but also in final, e.g. *gsh-ba* as [ʁsəŋ wa]. It is more curious that the [ɬ̪] for the letter *na* is either used as initial or final, also interdental.

vicious one. The glide is, besides after the prefix [ʃ] being usually obscure, somewhat distinguishable when the preceding prefix is [ʃ]. Acoustically, out of the total words which have been rendered by the writer, about one-ninth are timbre [o] and eight-ninths are timbre [a].¹⁸

b This is a rather puzzling thing. Most of the initials possessing this prefix in their written form are labialized, when they are pronounced quickly, e.g. [gæt pa] for *bgad-pa*, [tʰaŋ] for *bʰaŋ*, [sɲəm-pa] for *bsnam-pa*. It becomes a medial [u] appearing after the initial, when the pronunciations are carefully sounded, e.g. [gʷæt pa] for *bgad-pa*, etc. Of course, the latter one may be considered as its normal value. Next to this are the variants [w] and [m], e.g. [wɲun] for *bdun*, [mʰtsak] for *btsag*. There can be no doubt here that they occur in their proper positions and the [u] mentioned is only a later development. But this occurrence appears less frequently than with [u]. Apart from these, we still have other variants [ʋ] and [ɣ] which appear only before the fricative initials, e.g. [ʋsa] for *bash*, [ɣzək pa] for *bzʰag-pa*. Attention must be called to the fact that [ʋusa] for the former and [ɣuzək] for the latter can still be heard and that even the former can occasionally be replaced as [sua]. In short, two series of derivatives seem to be primary, viz. [w] and [m] before the plosive and affricative initials and [ʋ] and [ɣ] before the fricative initials. In the first series, then, the secondary [u] is highly developed while in the second series it is still in a midway stage. As to the process of this development, it is needless to say that the first step starts from an initial prefixed by a labial element to a labialized initial and then the second, from a labialized initial to an initial followed by a medial [u].

d This seems to be a little later than that of Rñā-Ba. There is only a [ʃ] for the surd initials, thus, [ʃka] for *dkah*, [ʃpak] for *ɖpag*. There will be nothing for the sonorant and nasal initials, thus, [ga] for *dgah* [ɣuŋ] for *dñul*. The only case recorded by the writer is that of [ɣmak] for *ɖmag* in which a very weak uvular articulation is traceable.

m In all cases, this remains a [m] unchanged.

h Four nasals of different positions are to be logically allowed for it. They are identical to those of Rñā-Ba.

18) Besides a very few exceptions the [o] is to be found very often before the head vowel [u] or [o] whereas the [a] before the other vowels. In such sense, we

In addition to the above, some main features, which are of great importance in clearing up their nature, may be formulated as follows:

a) The real qualities of these superadded letters and prefixed letters are weaker and less stable than those of initials, so that they are subject to change. In other words, the initials really exert some influence over these letters. The regressive assimilation through these pronunciations and mutual analogy found in Rāa-Ba are sufficient to show their qualities.

b) Even between the superadded letters and the prefixed letters there are still two gradations concerning their qualities. The complete preservation shows the former a little stronger and less floating than the latter.

c) Because the voiceless varieties of the trill and lateral are as a rule aspirated, they are apt to be sibilantized.

d) Because the retroflex and uvular articulations are particularly dominant, the fricatives [ʃ] and [x] almost serve as representatives for all voiceless varieties. With some cases, [x] occurs more often. This just explains a certain stage of their developments.

Such data makes intelligible the nature of previous transcriptions, both in Romanization and in Chinese as well as some difficulties in Tibetan phonology.

In the first place, the determination of the exact value of these letters is believed to be a troublesome task. On the one hand, as we have seen in the previous data; every individual letter has been varied in many ways, while on the other hand, these variations have again confused each other. One will be at a loss to know which is the original nature, if one but looks at those broad Romanizations and superficial explanations.¹⁹ Now, as we examine our material, we are in a position to say that there are some clues for removing this difficulty. It may not be too dangerous to assume here that their nature and development should be as follows:

τ There must be two trill members in the earlier, probably even ancient, r-sound, one being lingual and the other uvular. As we have seen, the former appears before the mediae initials, and the latter the tenues

19) As Francke describes, in the Ladak dialect the prefixed τ often becomes σ and σ becomes τ; both can become sh. This leaves entirely uncertain the inner cause.

initials. Through long usage, both these two members become pure fricatives. The uvular one has entirely been devoiced and in turn is diverged to [x] and [ɸ]. The lingual one still reserves its voiced nature. Moreover, it is now going a step further tending to become the frictionless continuant.

l Besides the normal [l], there should be a subsidiary member [l̥]. This interdental position is subject to friction, as we saw in Sa-Stc̄d. There might still be another member [l̥] as the retroflex sibilant [ɸ] in R̄na-Ba possibly has a lateral as its previous stage, if it is not a pure analogical form. As to another variation [r] preceding the mediae, it is only a later confusion, as many Sinitic languages do not make any discrimination with *l* and *r*.

s There can be no doubt that the dental [s] is its original value. The varieties [ɸ] and [r] in R̄na-Ba are apparently produced by analogy.

g Its development should be $g > \gamma > k > x$, otherwise it must be originally a back plosive [g̊] or even [G], so easily becomes an uvular fricative. The laryngeal stricture seen in R̄na-Ba is only a prefiguration denoting that it will vanish soon.

d This is really a stumbling-block. Our material remains in its analogical form and nothing can be done with the work of reconstruction. Besides some people suspecting *d* and *g* being of a single origin, Jaschke has stated his supposition that "most probably the original sound was δ which then very soon passed into γ ".²⁰ But we are afraid it is rather doubtful.

b, m, h There is no need to specify that the values of the first two are as plain as their letters show and that the last one is mostly a nasal element.²¹

Let us now, passing these separate details, draw attention to some general observations: (1) The terms 'superadded' and 'prefixed' may be defined as follows. The latter must be formed by complete closure of the air-passage while closure of the former is incomplete. Although the variations have got much confused, we still have never seen any plosive or nasal

20) *Dictionary*. xv.

21) Cf. Shafer. R. t. Prefixed N. Ng. in Tibetan. *Sino-Tibetica*. No. I. 1938, Berkeley.

element in the former and sibilant [ʃ] in the latter. This shows their distinctions to be quite clear. (2) As we mentioned above the tongue-positions of trill and lateral are genetically rather varied. Prefixed letter *h* also exhibits its richer contents. These letters are therefore just like 'phonemes' in the sense of modern terminology.

Secondly, the demarcations among some consonantal combinations, viz. *hdogs-can* (initials with subjoined letters), *mog-can* (initials with superadded letters) and *snon-hjug* (initials with prefixed letters), can definitely be drawn. At first glance, *hdogs-can* and *mgo-can* are pretty nearly the same thing, as we may call both 'consonant clusters' in modern phonetic terminology. From the present materials, we unquestionably know that in *mgo-can* the quality of the second element is much more prominent than that of the first, while in *hdogs-can*, their qualities are just the reverse. That is why in the T'ang inscription the former is always fully written, such as 矩立 (kiu liap) for *kru*, 綺立²² (k'jie liap) for *k'ri*, 物羅²³ (b'uət la) for *bla*, etc. while with the latter, besides a surd *s*, the transcriber used to omit their first elements.

Differentiation is found not only between *hdogs-can* and *mgo-can*, but even between *mgo-can* and *snon-hjug*. In view of their outer appearance, the latter two more alike, hence most of the western students have termed them, if not in literally translation, as 'prefixes'. It is generally believed that their difference is nothing more than one of graphic economy and convenience. Apparently the question rises here, if this belief is reliable, why the letters ㄱ, ㄴ, ㄷ, ㄹ and ㅈ must be placed at the different positions, though their sizes are as equal as two superadded letters ㅊ and ㅌ. Now, if we run over the present record, we would easily see that the distinction is still phonological, at least, partly phonological, if there are really some grammatical diversities. In the youngest one, the Chog-ŭe pronunciation, all the prefixed letters have become mute, while all the superadded letters

22) Other various transcriptions for the same sound, as Laufer mentions, are found in the T'ang Annals as 乙竊, 乙立 or 葉錄, sometimes even only 葉 or 竊. The latter denotes that the second element is relatively negligible. See "Bird Divination" p. 91.

23) Pelliot doubts in his "Quelques transcriptions chinoises" p. 19. that the character 物 may be read as 劫 and it may be equivalent to the previous syllable *gi*. An examination of the original rubbing testifies us that the character in question is undoubtedly 物. It seems very unlikely that the writer would err in such a solemn monument.

are preserved throughout. Even in the other two, we see that the prefixes, in sporadic cases, nearly disappear, while with the superadded letters, they are by no means so. Surely this is sufficient to indicate the difference in their nature. Moreover, ancient documents also furnish the evidence. In Document Pelliot, as Laufer states, prefixes are freely omitted, such as *mu* in lieu of *amu*, *tsho tsho* of *htsho htsho*, *ton* of *gton*, *sod* of *gsod*, whereas with superadded letters something has to be substituted, such as *lton* for *sten*²⁴ On the other hand, in the T'ang inscription, the superadded *s* is fully represented while the others are entirely optional, though they are, in fact, really articulated.²⁵ All this explains the fact that superadded letters, particularly the surd *s*, are much more prominent than prefixes in their acoustic sense.

To sum up, the graphic composition of these combined letters is quite significant. One may suspect why in *hdogs-can* plosives might be more prominent than semi-vowel *y* and liquids *r* and *l* and again why in *mog-can* and *snon-hjug*, liquids *r* and *l*, sibilant *s*, voiced plosives *g*, *d* and *b* and nasals *m* and *h* might be less prominent than voiceless plosives. One must understand that these are due to the fact, as we are reminded by Jones, that "sounds of relatively small sonority may be made prominent by increasing

24) Only in special case is the *r* omitted, as *bda* for *brda*.

25) Laufer only recognizes that "superscribed *s* seems to have been preserved" and assumes that "the superscribed and prefixed letters were already mute at that time in the dialect of Lhasa." With the latter the present writer can hardly agree. Reasons for the objection are obvious. Among Tibetan transcriptions of Chinese pronunciations in the same inscription, there is no example using these superadded or prefixed letters as tone marks as we always meet in later transcriptions, such as *ja-hbin* for 茶瓶, *tcog-rtse* for 桌子, *bkwa-tsi* for 瓜子, etc. This absence tells us that these letters were really vital things in the said dialect. On the contrary, there still are two illustrations, showing their phonetic functions in the same monument. One is *stse* for Chinese 綫 (swi). Laufer has made a mistake in identifying it with the Chinese character 將 and wrongly states "only the desire for regulating the tone can be made responsible for the presence of the prefixed *s*" and the other is *hg* for Chinese characters belonging to the initial 疑, such as *hgo* for 吾, *hgin* for 儀 etc. Precisely the former parallels to the *sts* > *s* development. The latter represents more exactly the fact that the initial 疑 in the northwestern dialect of that time is pronounced as [ʃg]. Moreover, still in the same inscription, the part of Chinese transcriptions for Tibetan pronunciations, offers us another evidence. The transcriptions, as a rule, use Chinese plosives for Tibetan plosive initials. But this method cannot be applied to those

length or stress"²⁶. If one once heard from those eastern natives, one would be rapidly convinced that these practices must have been established from remote stages.

Lastly, the reason, by which the divergence of pronouncing these letters in the central and eastern dialects is formed, can be found. In the ancient central dialect, there was no trace of regressive assimilation and mutual analogy. This is indicated by the Chinese transcriptions in the said monument, such as 悉皆 for *stān*, 悉苟 for *smām* and 齊悉 for *rtsis*, 結 for *rgyad*, in which *s-* is regularly rendered by 悉 and *r-* is omitted, no matter whether the root initial is sord or sonant. This clearly proves that *s-* in *smām* has not been vocalized in the one hand and *r-* in *rtsis* has not been devocalized in the other. Just because none of the assimilations and analogies were started, these sonant letters easily became mute. And then the sord *s-* subsequently disappeared. In the eastern dialects recorded above, although assimilations and analogies have been throughout, there are still disparities in their extents. Chog-Ce is the less assimilative and analogous one, as before all initials *l-* is still [l] and before nasal initials *r-* is still [r] at

initials having an *h* as prefix. Consequently, versus *hygen* the Chinese is 根 (qin) not 堅. *htaj* is 未 (muat) not 鐵 or 鉢. *hdus* is 努悉 (nuo s'iat) not 徒悉 or 都悉. This just coincides with the phenomenon mentioned above. One therefore could hardly exact stronger authority for proving that the prefix *h* was actually articulated as a nasal element at that time. A similar trace is still found in the prefix *b*. This sonant plosive is always omitted in *hdoo-s-can*, let alone in *stoa-h/ua*. Only once in the word *hzan*, it has been rendered as 物贊, which tells us its living nature more clearly. In short, the transcriptions, both of Sino-Tibetan and of Tibeto-Chinese, in the Tsang inscription, seem somewhat irregular. Yet there are still some inner boundaries. With *hdoo-s-can*, the normal method is fully written. The treatment for *moo-cān* is thus, usually rendering the sibilant *s* and neglecting the liquids *r* and *l* (Of course, they have not been devocalized yet). While with *stoa-h/ua*, the transcriber considered as quite negligible, the case *b*, cited above is really a sole exception. As to why these similar consonantal combinations had to be treated with such different methods, the only reason must be due to a distinction based on acoustic considerations. If Wolfenden were able to know these practices, he would not do such an unnatural elucidation inferring a single Si-Hia character, which is faced by several Tibetan transcriptions, either prefixed or non-prefixed, being read by different dialects. Of course, in maintaining the theory that Si-Hia had its prefixes, he must be perfectly right while Wang Ching-ju must be wrong.

²⁶) Jones, D.: *An Outline of English Phonetics*, p. 24. 1935.

the same time *s*-still [s]. The muteness of the prefixed letters just reveals its process is somewhat like that of the central dialect. Sa-Stod comes second. In some cases, it really expresses the unified assimilation and analogy, yet the letters *r*- and *s*- before the nasal initials still reserve their characteristics, e.g. sonant in the former and surd in the latter. It has, too, lost something in its prefixed letters. Only Rñā-Ba almost reaches the fullest extent, it therefore secures all its letters in better condition. Both *rñā*, *lñā* and *sñā* are pronounced as [rʎa], *rñā* and *sñā* as [rɳa]. Also both *rma* and *sma* are pronounced as [ɣma], *rma* and *sma* as [ɣʎa]. Although we have not yet found the reason why it puts the four nasals into two different ways, we realize the fact that it considers the letters *r*-, *l*-, *s*- or *r*-, *s*- as the same thing when they appear before the same initial. Furthermore, even the prefixed letter *d*- sometimes is still treated with the same way as these superadded letters as we have seen in *dga*. In one word, the preservation of these floating letters has been made easy by the regressive assimilations and extensive analogies. They have taken place in the eastern dialects²⁷ and have not occurred in the central, that is why the latter has lost their letters while the former not.

While in considering these pronunciations themselves, it is plain that Sa-Stod is of highest order for identifying with the classical Tibetan with Rñā-Ba next and Chog-Ge last. The second one while showing some later features, as most of the simple mediae initials being developed into tenues, still preserves many archaism.²⁸ Its place in Tibetan linguistics is comparable to that of the Amoy dialect in Chinese philology.

The writer wishes to conclude his discussions here. As to the morphological functions of these letters and the related phenomena existed in other kindred languages, especially those in the Chiang, he plans to treat them separately and in greater detail later.

27) Also in the western dialect, as described by Francke.

28) Nearly all the things represented in *Hsi Fan I Yü* are parallel with this. See above.

APPENDIX I

Comparative Table of the Pronunciations
of the Tibetan Alphabet.

	ཀ	ཁ	ག	ང	ཅ	ཆ	ཇ	ཉ
Chog-Ce	k	k'	g	ŋ	tɕ	tɕ'	dz	n
Rin-Ba	k	k'	k'	ŋ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ	ŋ
Sa-Stod	k	k'	g	ŋ	tɕ	tɕ'	dz	ŋ
	ཐ	ཕ	འ	ག	པ	ཕ	བ	ཎ
Chog-Ce	t	t'	d	n	p	p'	b, v	m
Rin-Ba	t	t'	t'	n	p	p'	β	m
Sa-Stod	t	t'	d	n	p	p'	w	m
	མ	ཚ	ལ	ཤ	ཇ	ཉ		
Chog-Ce	ts	ts'	dz	v	z	z	h	
Rin-Ba	ts	ts'	dz	γ	z'	sz	?	
Sa-Stod	ts	ts'	dz	—	z	z	o	
	ཡ	ལ	འ	ག	ཤ	ཉ	ལ	
Chog-Ce	j	r	l	ɕ	s	h	o	
Rin-Ba	j	r	l	ɕ	s'	h	?	
Sa-Stod	j	r	l	ɕ	s	h	o	

1) Although this ancient sonant has been devoiced here, its tone behavior is always rising and still differs from that of the ancient surd. Similar phenomena are found in [tʰ] and [t̥] too.

2) Although the symbols [tʰ] and [t̥] are used throughout these three pronunciations, the actual tongue-position of R̥ia-Ba is much more backward than those of other two. Applying Lundell's system, the former might be ʈʰ and ʈ̥ and the latter ʈʰ and ʈ̥.

3) The informant refused to recognize this as a simple letter. He hesitated to answer but upon being asked twice, he finally pronounced it as [hwa]. It is evident that he did not make any distinction between ʈ and ʈ̥. This just reveals its most archaic characteristics. Cf. Francke, *Addenda*, pp. 104-5.

4) This [ʈ̥] differs considerably from [ʈ] under the letter ʈ, not only in their positions, but also in their articulations. With [ʈ] the mouth is largely opened while [ʈ̥] is only an ordinary mouth.

5) The tongue-position of this [X] is the same as that of [ʃ] under the letter ʈ. Both are long in their quantities. In rendering their nature in more detail, we may mark them as [Xia] and [ʃia]. Sometimes the last half of their friction is gradually weakened and the symbols [Xʰa] and [ʃʰa] seem to be more expressive.

6) The difference between this and another [ʃ] under the letter ʈ is just as the case in [ʃ] and [ʃ̥]. This is formed by

an open mouth as [ɕ] while at the same time, the tip of tongue is against the lower-teeth. This is not true of ㄷ.

APPENDIX II

Comparative Table of the Pronunciations of Superadded and Prefixed Letters in Eastern Dialects

Superadded Letters

	ㄱ	ㅋ	ㆁ	ㄷ	ㅌ	ㄹ	ㄴ	ㄷ	ㄹ	ㅂ	ㅃ	ㅅ	ㅆ
Chog-Ce	ɕk	ɕg	ɕŋ	ɕdɕ	ɕtɕ	ɕd	ɕn	ɕb	ɕm	ɕts	ɕdz		
Ria-Ba	ɕk	ɕg	ɕŋ	ɕdɕ	ɕtɕ	ɕd	ɕn	ɕb	ɕm	ɕts	ɕdz		
Sa-Stod	ɕk	ɕg	ɕŋ	ɕdɕ	ɕtɕ	ɕd	ɕn	ɕw	ɕm	ɕts	ɕdz		

	ㄱ	ㅋ	ㆁ	ㄷ	ㅌ	ㄹ	ㄴ	ㄷ	ㄹ	ㅂ	ㅃ	ㅅ	ㅆ
Chog-Ce	lk	lg	lŋ	ldɕ	lt	ld	lp	lb	l				
Ria-Ba	ɕk	ɕg	ɕŋ	ɕdɕ	ɕtɕ	ɕd	ɕp	ɕb	ɕ				
Sa-stod	ɕk	ɕg	ɕŋ	ɕdɕ	ɕtɕ	ɕd	ɕp	ɕw	ɕ				

	ㄱ	ㅋ	ㆁ	ㄷ	ㅌ	ㄹ	ㄴ	ㄷ	ㄹ	ㅂ	ㅃ	ㅅ	ㅆ
Chog-Ce	sk	zg	sŋ	sɕ	st	zd	sn	sp	zb	sm	s		
Ria-Ba	ɕk	ɕg	ɕŋ	ɕtɕ	ɕd	ɕn	ɕp	ɕb	ɕm	ɕts			
Sa-stod	sk	zg	sŋ	sɕ	st	zd	sn	sp	zw	sm	sts		

Prefixed Letters

ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་
 Rina-Ba Xts 'n Xt b'd 'n Xts b'z b'z t Xc Xs
 Sa-Stod Xts b'p Xt b'd b'n Xts b'z b'z b'j Xc Xs

ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་
 Rina-Ba pk βg ptc pt βd ptc yz βz yz c'z
 Sa-Stod ku gu t'cu tu du tsu yz yz yz yz

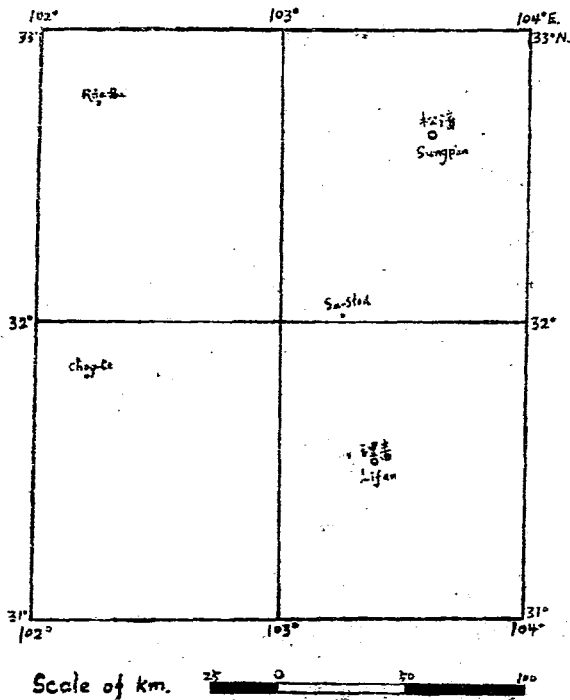
ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་
 Rina-Ba Xk rg k'g Xp b'β km
 Sa-Stod Xk g ḡ xp w m

ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་
 Rina-Ba .k' k' ḡ mts' mde m'p m'e m'd mn mts' mde
 Sa-Stod mk' m'g m'ḡ mts' mde m'p m'e m'd mn mts' mde

ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་ ལཱ་
 Rina-Ba ḡk' ḡg ḡts' ḡdz ḡt' ḡd m'p' m'b nts' ndz
 Sa-stod ḡk' ḡg ḡts' ḡdz ḡt' ḡd m'p' m'b' nts' ndz

APPENDIX III

Sketch Map Showing the Geographical Distribution
of the Three Pronunciations



Since the above was drawn, the writer has come across Robert B. Ekvall's work, *Cultural Relations on the Kanru-Tibetan Border*, Chicago, 1939. It contains a map in which a place name *Ngawa* is located. *Ngawa* is really the same place as the transliteration *Rüa-Ba* in this paper, but its position is somewhat different from the above. At any rate, up to now, no scientific survey has been made concerning these borderland locations. The present writer cannot of course guarantee the accuracy of his map, although it was reproduced from the *Great Atlas of China*, published by the Sun Pac Co., an authoritative work at present.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Subsequent to the printing of the above, a not recent but important essay by Georges de Roerich* has, through Mr. R. Stein, come to my attention. The essay contains not a few things which are closely related to the questions discussed above. Had I known it beforehand, I would have changed my wording in certain respects.

Now I wish only mention some important things here. According to Roerich's classification, the pronunciations described above, at least the last two, might belong to his "archaic nomad dialects", as he has pointed out that all the dialects have as their common characteristic the pronunciation of certain prefixes. But it is surprising to see that besides his mention of *s-* and *r-* being interchangeable, a very few examples of other prefixes given by him still differ from mine, thus:

ngro-ba 'to go' Pa-nag: *j'o-wa*; Hor: *ḡo-wa*.

gzhan-pa 'another' Pa-nag and Go-log: *zan-pa*; Hor: *zam-pa*.

dpuñ 'army' Pa-nag: *huŋ*; Hor: *puŋ*.

dpat 'glory' Pa-nag: *hal*; Hor: *pal*.

It is apparent that in spite of his designation for this group as "archaic", he has never been acquainted with those curious phenomena mentioned above. He emphasizes that "a peculiarity of the Pa-nag dialect is the aspirate pronunciation of the initial *ḡp*." (p. 289). In comparison with our data, this aspiration *h-* shows clearly a step later than our [Xp].

* Modern Tibetan Phonetics With Special Reference to the Dialect of Central Tibet. *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S. Vol. XXVII. 1931, No. 2. pp. 285-312.

Furthermore, there is another very important thing asserted by Recrich that "in the archaic nomad dialects all ancient voiced are still pronounced as such, and even some of the ancient unvoiced under the influence of the prefix become voiced" (p. 301). Though the preservation of the ancient voiced is a familiar fact, the change of ancient unvoiced into voiced is really strange to know. Perhaps it represents a progressive assimilation, if the prefix in question is not *s-*. Of course, it must be a mistake to say anything definite based on such a simple statement and it is hoped that Recrich will let us know its further details soon.

NOTICES

The *Studia Serica* devotes itself to study of Chinese culture, special attention being paid to anthropology, archaeology, history, geography and language. Studies of other oriental regions that have close cultural connections with China, such as India and the South Seas, will also be published.

Although most of the articles appearing in the *Studia Serica* will be the work of the members of the Institute, contributions that answer the descriptions as above will also be accepted.

Articles may appear in any of the chief European languages as well as in Chinese. Articles in Chinese will have abstracts in one of the European languages, and vice versa.

All manuscripts, subscriptions, books and periodicals for review or for exchange should be addressed to:

*Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute,
West China Union University,
Chengtu, Szechwan, China.*

Price for this issue:

Domestic: \$4).00 (Chinese currency)

Abroad: U.S. \$1.00 or 5 Shillings

STUDIA SERICA

Editor: Wen Yu

Associate Editors:

Han Ju-lin Chungshue H. Jiu Liu Ch'ao-yang Yen Yin

Volume V

1946

CONTENTS

On the Climate of the Yin Dynasty.....	<i>Tung Tso-pin</i>
The Keh Lao of Kweichow and Their History According to the Chinese Records	<i>Jacq de Beauclerc</i>
The Anthropometry of Ch'iang.....	<i>Yen Yin</i>
On the Conquering of Ch'iang Fang by Emperor Hsiao I.....	
.....	<i>Liu Ch'ao-yang</i>
Phonetic Changes of the Superadded and the Prefixed Letters in Eastern Tibetan Dialects.....	<i>Wen Yu</i>

Published By

THE CHINESE CULTURAL STUDIES RESEARCH INSTITUTE
WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY
Chengtu, Szechuan, China.

