A Hypothesis on the Origin of the Yu State

by

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The inscription on the memorial table within the tomb of Yu Hong 虞弘, dated from the Sui 隋 dynasty (A.D. 581-618), recently excavated to the south of the Wangguo 王郭 village, Jingyuan 晉源 district, Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi 山西 province, China is of great interest to historians. 1 In this paper, I will offer a brief interpretation of problems related to the stele inscription, especially the origin of "the state of Yu (Fish)", mentioned in Yu Hong's 虞弘 epitaph.

隋虞弘墓誌出土於山西太原晉源區王郭村村南，1兹就有關問題、特別是墓誌所見 "魚國" 之淵源略作考釋。

The inscription says: "When Gaoyang 高陽 controlled the land under heaven, he removed Fertile Place into .... After ... had shouldered the mandate of Heaven, he transferred Chixian 赤縣 to Puban 蒲坂. [Their descendants] flourished for many generations. Branches of them went to the Western Regions. Some distinguished persons wandered and gathered... ".

誌：“高陽馭運，還陸海□□□。□□□籍，徙赤縣於蒲坂。弈葉繁昌，派枝西域，儔儔人物，漂注□□”。

1 It is possible that the three missing characters after 陸海 are 於空桑 (in Kongsang 空桑).

1 “陸海” 後所闕三字可能是 “於空桑”。

"Gaoyang" must have been Zhuanxu 顓顼. In the Shi ji 史記, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors), "Emperor Zhuanxu 頓顼, [the lord of] Gaoyang 高陽" is mentioned. 2 Song Zhong's 宋衷 commentary, cited by the Shi ji Suoyin 史記索隱, says, "Zhuanxu 顓顼 was his name. Gaoyang 高陽 was the name of his state". Zhang Yan's 張晏 commentary, also cited by the same book, says, "Gaoyang 高陽 was the name of
the place in which Zhuanxu 顓頊 was raised". Zhuanxu 顓頊 named the state after the place where he was raised.

“高陽”指顓頊氏。《史記·五帝本紀》：“帝顓頊高陽"； 2《索隱》引宋衷曰：“顓頊，名；高陽，有天下號也”；又引張晏云：“高陽者，所興地名也”。顓頊蓋以所興地名為國號。

Also, according to the "Guyue 古樂" chapter of the Lushi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋, "Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊 was born in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, and in fact dwelt in Kongsang 空桑". The Ruo 若 River must have been identified with the present river of Yalong 雅綿 in Sichuan province 四川. 3 "Kongsang 空桑" was the name of a mountain, which was in the north of Lu 魯. 4 As for "Luhai 陸海", in the Hanshu 漢書, ch. 28B, it is recorded that "There are bamboo forests in Hu 鄂 and Du 杜 (ancient states in what is now Shaanxi, during Xia 夏 times), sandalwoods and three-bristle cudrania in the Southern Mountains [in Qin 秦 state], which were called Luhai 陸海 and were among the most fertile places in the Nine Administrative Divisions". According to Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary, "The region is a high land with abundant products, where all sorts of things grow, as fruitful as a sea, thus it is called Land Sea". Therefore, the inscription seems to indicate that Zhuanxu 顓頊 moved his people to Kongsang 空桑 and made them rich and populous.

又據《呂氏春秋·古樂》, “帝顓頊生自若水，實處空桑”。若水即今四川雅綿江; 3 “空桑”, 山名, 在魯北。4 “陸海”, 《漢書·地理志下》（卷二八下）：
“[秦地]有鄂杜竹林, 南山檀柘, 號稱陸海, 爲九州膏腴”。顏注: “言其地高陸而饒物產, 如海之無所不出, 故云陸海”。因此, 志文似乎是說顓頊徙民于空桑, 使之富庶。

It is possible that the two missing characters after 膺錄 are 虞舜 (Yu Shun).

2 “膺錄”前所闕二字可能是“虞舜”。

First, in the "Luyu 魯語 A" chapter of the Guoyu 國語, it is recorded that "Youyu 有虞 performed the sacrifice called di 禱 to the Yellow Emperor and the sacrifice called zu 祖 to Zhuanxu 顓頊". And in the Shiji 史記, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors), it is recorded that "Yu Shun’s 虞舜 name was Zhonghua 重華. Zhonghua’s 重華 father was Gu Sou 聖父; Gu Sou’s 聖父 father was Qiaoniu 橋牛; Qiaoniu's 橋牛 father was Gouwang 句望; Gouwang's 句望 father was Jingkang 敬康; Jingkang's 敬康 father was Qiongchan 嵯蟇; Qiongchan's 嵯蟇 father was Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊. Zhuanxu’s 顓頊 father was Changyi 昌意, from whom [back] to Shun 舜 had been seven generations". Since Yu Shun 虞舜 had shouldered the mandate of Heaven" corresponds precisely with "Gaoyang 高陽 controlled the land under heaven" and so on.

一則，《國語·魯語上》: “有虞氏禘黃帝而祖顓頊”。《史記·五帝本紀》: “虞舜者, 名曰重華。重華父曰瞽叟, 瞽叟父曰橋牛, 橋牛父曰句望, 句望父曰敬
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康，敬康父曰窪蟬，窪蟬父曰帝顓頊。顓頊父曰昌意：以至舜七世矣’。虞舜乃帝
高陽顓頊氏之後，與前文‘驭運’云云正相呼應。

Second, in the Kuodi Zhi 括地志, cited by Shiji Zhengyi 史記正義, ch. 1 (Basic
Annals of the Five Emperors), it is recorded that "According to the Diji 地記, the capital
of Shun 舜 was located in the old town of Puban 蒲阪, which is distant by two 里
from Hedong 河東 County. In the town there was a Shun 舜 temple and there was
[also] a Shun 舜 house and an altar for his two concubines outside of the town". This
shows that Puban 蒲阪 was the capital of Shun 舜. The statement "[Yu Shun 虞舜]
transferred Chixian 赤縣 to Puban 蒲阪" and so on therefore can be considered to
mean that Yu Shun 虞舜 removed the ruling centre to Puban 蒲阪 (or 蒲阪).

二則，《史記·五帝本紀》“正義”引《括地志》：“《地記》云‘河東縣二
里故蒲阪城，舜所都也。城中有舜廟，城外有舜宅及二妃壇’。這表明蒲阪即舜都，
“徙赤縣于蒲坂”云云乃指虞舜將統治中心遷往蒲坂即蒲阪。

3 The statement "[His descendants] flourished for many generations" and so on
shows clearly that Yu Hong 虞弘 was a descendant of the branches of Gaoyang 高陽
and Yu Shun 虞舜 that flourished in the Western Regions.

3 “奔葉繁昌”云云，明言自己是高陽、虞舜枝裔之繁昌於西域者。

On the other hand, the above four sentences — "[His descendants] flourished for
many generations" and so on — follow closely the sentence "[Yu Shun 虞舜] transferred
Chixian 赤縣 to Puban 蒲阪" shows that the ancestors of Yu Hong 虞弘 went to the
Western Regions not long after they had reached Puban 蒲阪, and indicates
unambiguously that his family and surname had a distant, long-lasting heritage.

又，“奔葉”四句緊接“徙赤縣於蒲阪”之後，意在表明墓主虞弘之先在遷蒲阪
後不久便去了西域；亦極言其族姓之源遠流長。

To sum up, the above-cited inscription shows that the ancestor of Yu Hong 虞弘
was Yu Shun 虞舜, who, following Yu Shun 虞舜, moved to Puban 蒲阪, and soon
thereafter travelled the vast distance to the Western Regions.

要之，以上詁文旨在表明墓主虞弘之先為虞舜，曾隨虞舜徙蒲阪，旋即遠赴西域。

B

The inscription says further: "His name is Hong 弘, and he styled himself Mopan
莫潘. He came from the town of Helin 級鱗 in the state of Yu 魚... Nuqi 奴栖 was
the Leading People Chief of the state of Yu 魚. His father Juntuo 君陀 was the official
Mohequfen 莫賀去汾 of the state of Ruru 姒茹".
It is possible that the two missing characters are 曾祖 (great-grandfather). Of course, it is also possible that it is 祖□奴栖 (His grandfather was ...nuqi □奴栖).

“奴栖”前所缺二字可能是“曾祖”。當然，也可能是“祖□奴栖”。

According to research, the title "Leading People Chief" was conferred only upon the chiefs of the different races who submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑, but who were not recorded in the census register. Thus it can be seen that the grandfather or great-grandfather of Yu Hong 虞弘, the occupant of the tomb, was a chief of the state of Yu 魚, who submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑. Here, the following three points deserve to be noted:

1 According to the Weishu 魏書, ch. 74 (Memoir on Erzhu Rong 余朱榮), [Erzhu] Rong 余朱榮 "was a native of the northern Xiurong 秀容 prefecture. His ancestors lived along the Erzhu 余朱 River, thus he took Erzhu 余朱 as his surname. His ancestors often led tribes, and were chiefs for many generations. His great-great-grandfather, Yujian 羽健, was the Leading People Chief at the beginning of the Dengguo 登國 reign-period (A.D. 386-396). Leading 1,700 cavalry of Qihu 契胡, he followed the imperial carriage to conquer Jinyang 晉陽 and Zhongshan 中山". From this, it can be seen that the ancestors of Yu Hong 虞弘, the occupant of the tomb, had probably been the chiefs of the Yu 魚 state for many generations before they submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑 and received the title "Leading People Chief".

2 According to the Beishi 北史, ch. 61 (Memoir on Chilie Fugui 叱列伏龜), [Chilie] Fugui 叱列伏龜 "was a native of Western Dai 代 prefecture. One of his ancestors was the chief of the tribe, who paid allegiance to the court at the beginning of the Wei 魏 dynasty. Hence he was the First Leading People Chief for many generations. From him to [Chilie Fulgui 叱列伏龜 it had been five generations". This suggests that Nuqi 奴栖 (or ...nuqi □奴栖) was not necessarily the Leading People Chief for the first generation. In other words, it is possible that the branch of Nuqi 奴栖 submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑 as early as "the beginning of the Wei 魏 dynasty".

3 據《北史·叱列伏龜傳》（卷六一）：伏龜，“代郡西部人也。其先為部落大人，魏初入附，遂世為第一領人酋長，至龜五世”。由此可知，奴栖（或 □奴栖）
未必是第一代領民酋長，也就是說，奴棲一枝入附拓跋鮮卑的時間可能早至“魏初”。

3 The above-cited records about Erzhu Rong 余朱榮 and Chilie Fugui 叱列伏蠡 also show that the people who were led by Nuqi 奴栖 or his ancestors and submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑 were only a part of the Yu 魚 state.

3 以上有關余朱榮和叱列伏蠡的記載，還說明奴棲或其先人所率入附拓跋鮮卑者不過魚國之一部。

C

The epitaph says: "When the virtue of water decided the destiny, an odd lord appeared who had double-pupilled eyes. He made the foundation prosperous and administered government affairs. The branches [of his family] procreated abundantly. One of them won honour for Anxi 安息, and another brought glitter to Yuezhi 月支.

They wore headgear and ribbons, and also had bonnets, [chariot] coverings, and flags decorated with feathers (which indicates high-ranking officials)"

铭： “水行驭曆，重瞳号奇，隆基布政，派流云鈇，潤光安息，輝臨月支。簪纏縷緹，冠蓋羽儀”

Traditionally, Zhuanxu 顓頊 was known as a king of the virtue of water. 6 The man who had "double-pupilled eyes" was Shun 舜. 7 Here the epitaph reaffirms that the descendants of Gaoyang 高陽 and the Youyu 有虞 who migrated west were distributed over the various states in the Western Regions, and stresses that the branch of the occupant of the tomb even had contact with Anxi 安息 and Yuezhi 月支, hence the statement "won honour for Anxi 安息, and another brought glitter to Yuezhi 月支".

“水行”即水德，相傳顓頊爲水德之王；“重瞳”指舜。7銘文於此重申誌文之意: 西遷高陽氏、有虞氏之裔分佈於西域各地，且突出墓主一枝在昔與“安息”、“月支”之關係，即所謂“潤光安息，輝臨月支”。

"Anxi 安息", first mentioned in the Shiji 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan 大宛), must be identified with Persia under the Parthian Dynasty, which lasted in Western Asia from roughly 247 B.C. to A.D. 229. 8 This period should be the time when the ancestors of Yu Hong 虞弘, the occupant of the tomb, "won honour for Anxi 安息".

1 “安息”，首見《史記·大宛列傳》，指帕提亞波斯。這一西亞王朝存在的大致年代是西元前247年至西元229年。8這應該就是墓主虞弘之先可能“潤光安息”的時間。

2 "Yuezhi 月支" must refer to Da Yuezhi 大月氏 as described in the Shiji 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan大宛). Before the Xiongnu 匈奴 rose, the Yuezhi 月氏, the predecessor of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 (the Great Yuezhi), had lived as nomads in the
area from the present Qilian Mountains to the Altai Mountains. In around 177/176 B.C., the Da Yuezhi were expelled from the above-mentioned area and moved westwards to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. Then, in around 130 B.C., they were driven from there by the Wusun and reached the valley of the Amu Darya. After that, the Da Yuezhi crossed the river, advanced southwards, and occupied the state of Daxia, whose main territory was located on the south bank of the river.

2 “月支”，即《史記·大宛列傳》所見大月氏。已知匈奴興起之前，大月氏的前身——月氏人遊牧於今祁連山至阿爾泰山一帶。約前177/176年被匈奴逐出上述地區，西徙伊犁河、楚河流域，復於前130年左右被烏孫逐至今阿姆河流域。嗣後，大月氏人渡河南下，征服了領土主要在河南的大夏國。

We do not know the exact date when the ancestors of Yu Hong 虞弘 made contact with the Yuezhi 月氏. However, considering that his ancestors also made contact with Anxi 安息, it is very possible that the "Yuezhi 月支" mentioned in the epitaph must be identified with the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who migrated westward to the Amu Darya. This is because, according to the Shiji 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan 大宛), the state of Anxi 安息 was "situated on the Gui 媽 River (the Amu Darya)", and the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who were expelled from the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers; "established their principal city north of the Gui 媽 River (the Amu Darya) to form the king's court". If this is true, the earliest date that "[the ancestors of Yu Hong] brought glitter to Yuezhi 月支" would be B.C. 130.

墓主虞弘之先何時與大月氏接觸，不得而知。但從其先曾與安息發生關係這一點來看，銘文所謂“月支”指西遷阿姆河流域的大月氏的可能性較大。蓋據《史記·大宛列傳》安息國“臨 мягк水”；而被逐出伊犁河、楚河流域的大月氏人一度“都 мягк水北，為王庭”。果然，“輝臨月支”的時間上限是前130年。

It is noteworthy that, according to the Hou Hanshu 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions), the Kushan Empire that, following the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, rose in the original land of the Daxia 大夏 state at the end of the first century B.C. continued to be called the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 by the Chinese. Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out completely that the statement "brought glitter to Yuezhi 月支" indicates that ancestors of Yu Hong 虞弘 were related to the Kushan Empire.

3 應該說明的是，據《後漢書·西域傳》，繼大月氏之後（約西元前一世紀末）在原大夏國之地興起的貴霜帝國，也被中國人稱為“大月氏”，因此，“輝臨月支”乃指虞弘之先與貴霜帝國的關係的可能性不能完全排除。

It is also noteworthy that the stele was inscribed during the Sui 隋 Dynasty. Therefore, it is possible that the "Anxi 安息" mentioned in the epitaph does not refer to Parthian Persia, but to the state of An 安, one of the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武. This is because in the Suishu 隋書, ch. 83 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is recorded:
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The state of An 安 was the state of Anxi 安息 in Han 漢 times. The king surnamed Zhaowu 昭武, who is from the same clan as that of the king of the Kang 康 state, styles himself Shelideng 設力登. His wife is a daughter of the king of the state of Kang 康. The capital is located to the south of the Nami 那密 River. The town wall has five layers and is surrounded by flowing water. The palaces all have flat roofs, and the king sits on a golden camel throne seven or eight chi 尺 high. Whenever the king hears cases of government, he sits opposite his wife. Three ministers judge and deal with the affairs of the state. The customs are the same as those of the state of Kang 康.

The state of Kang 康: its king is a descendant [of the royal house] of the Kangju 康居. They often change their residence and do not regularly live in their former land. Their family had continued without interruption since Han 漢 times. Its king was originally surnamed Wen 溫 and he was a Yuezhi 月氏. Anciently, they had lived in the town of Zhaowu 昭武 to the north of the Qilian 祁連 Mountains. After they had been crushed by the Xiongnu 匈奴 and gone west across the Cong 蔚 (Pamir) Mountains, they came at last to possess this state. Each branch of this people respectively established its own king, therefore the states to the left and right of the state of Kang 康 have taken Zhaowu 昭武 as their surname to show that they have not forgotten their origin.康國者，康居之後也。遷徙無常，不恒故地，自漢以來，相承不絕。其王本姓溫，月氏人也。舊居祁連山北昭武域，因被匈奴所破，西踰葱嶺，遂有其國。枝庶各分王，故康國左右諸國，並以昭武為姓，示不忘本也.
Indeed, the fact that these ancient names of states, "Anxi 安息" and "Yuezhi 月支", occur in the epitaph may be understood as the result of rhetoric. However, considering that "Anxi 安息" and "Yuezhi 月支" are mentioned in the epitaph together, it seems difficult to take "Anxi 安息" as "the state of An 安" while taking "Yuezhi 月支" as one of the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武. That the "Yuezhi 月支" of the epitaph was one of the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武 is only possible if the "Anxi 安息" of the epitaph is taken as Parthian Persia, because the earliest date that the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武 occurred in history must be the year when the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 moved westward from the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. 9

To sum up, the state of Yu 鱼, whose chief was one of Yu Hong’s 虞弘 (the occupant of the tomb) ancestors, once had something closely to do with Parthian Persia and the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who occupied the valleys of the Amu Darya (as well as with the Kushan Empire and the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武).

Since "Anxi 安息" refers to the Parthian Persian Dynasty, and "Yuezhi 月支", the "Da Yuezhi 大月氏" occupied the valley of the Amu Darya (as well as the Kushan empire or the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武), the original territory of Yu Hong's 虞弘 ancestors could be traced back to Sogdiana, located on the northern bank of the Gui 嫦 River (i.e., the Amu Darya).

First, Parthian Persia, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, and Kushana were all "situated on the Gui 嫦 River (the Amu Darya)", and Sogdiana was also the main territory of the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武.

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Second, the earliest record concerning Sogdiana occurs in the Behistun inscription of Darius I (521-486 B.C.), where Sogdiana is listed as one of the provinces subject to the Achaemenid Dynasty. \(^{10}\) There is no doubt that this place was deeply influenced by Persian culture. This is possibly the origin of the strong Persian style in Yu Hong's 虞弘 tomb. \(^{11}\)

二則，索格底亞那最早見諸阿喀美尼朝波斯大流士一世貝希斯登（Behistun）銘文，是當時王朝屬下行省之一。\(^{10}\) 該地深受波斯文化影響無庸置疑。這與虞弘墓葬濃重的波斯風格或者不無關係。\(^{11}\)

Third, Yu Hong 虞弘 was appointed the Acting S'rtp'w during the Northern Zhou Dynasty. This was the main office in charge of the Hu 胡 community (mainly Sogdian people). Hence it is clear that the relationship between Yu Hong 虞弘 and the Sogdians was quite a close one.

三則，墓主虞弘本人在北周任“撿按薩保府”，這是負責管理胡人聚落的主要官員。這說明虞弘和索格底亞那胡人關係密切。

Fourth, the Zoroastrian themes of Yu Hong’s 虞弘 tomb paintings display an evident Sogdian flavour. This suggests that the funerary ritual was performed by Sogdians. \(^{12}\)

四則，虞墓石槨圖畫的祆教內容有明顯的索格底亞那色彩；這表明其葬儀可能是由索格底亞那人操辦的。\(^{12}\)

Fifth, the inscription mentions that Yu Hong 虞弘 styled himself "Mopan 莫潘". "Mopan 莫潘" was normally a Chinese name used by Sogdians during Sui 隋 and Tang 唐 times, such as Cao Mopi 曹莫毗, Cao Mopan 曹莫盤, Cao Mo... 曹莫, \(^{13}\) He Mopan 何莫潘, etc.

五則，誌文載墓主虞弘“字莫潘”。“莫潘”多為隋唐時來華索格底亞那人所用漢名，如曹莫毗、曹莫盤、曹莫、\(^{13}\) 曹莫盤、何莫潘等。

Since the state of Yu 魚 was first established in the mid-third century B.C. in Sogdiana, it seems possible that the state was the Massagetae of Western sources.

既然虞弘之先為酋長或部落大人的魚國最早可能在前三世紀中葉已經出現在索格底亞那，則該國似乎應該是西史所見Massagetae。

1 The word "Massagetae" first appears in Herodotus' History, where their first settlement was already known to be located on the northern bank of Syr Darya. The Achaemenid King Cyrus II (c. 558-529 B.C.) attempted to conquer the Massagetae, but his whole army was wiped out, and he himself was killed in the battle. Later, the Issedones tribe, who originally lived in the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers, migrated to
the west, driving the Massagetae to Sogdiana along the southern bank of the Syr Darya. The migration occurred between 529 and 521 B.C., after the death of Cyrus II and before the enthronement of Darius I (521-486 B.C.). This can be proved by the fact that, when Alexander the Great met the Massagetae, all of them lived on the southern bank of the Syr Darya. This shows that the Massagetae, as early as 521 B.C., when Darius I came to the throne, had already settled in Sogdiana. This recalls the situation of the tribe of Yu Hong’s ancestors.

1 According to Herodotus, the Massagetae "do not sow land at all but live off cattle and also fish, which they have in abundance from the River Araxes (Syr Darya)". (History, I, 216). The Massagetae lived along the bank of the Syr Darya and thrived on fishing, hence their name the "Fish State".

2 It has been suggested that the original meaning of "Massagetae" is "fish" because in Avestan fish is masjō (in Sanskrit matsja). If so, "Massagetae" should be translated into Chinese as "Yu 魚 (Fish) State".

3 To sum up, Yu Hong’s ancestors were Massagetae who migrated from the northern bank of the Syr Darya to Sogdiana, had contact with the Parthian and Yuezhi people, crossed the Amu Darya, migrated eastwards, and submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑, where they were appointed to the post of the Leading People Chief.
Because the pronunciations of "Yu (Fish) 魚" [ngia] and "Yu 處" [ngiuia] are similar, Yu Hong 虞弘 regarded himself as the descendant of Yu Shun 虞舜. It must be considered that this was the result of his wishing to attach himself to authority.

However, it must be pointed out that the similar pronunciations were not the only reason for Yu Hong 虚弘 to attach himself to Yu Shun 虓舜.

First of all, the state of Yu 魚 (Fish) was originally a branch of the Massagetae, which had a long history, as long as that of the Youyu 有虞 family.

Second, the Massagetae migrated southwards to Sogdiana from the northern bank of the Syr Darya, where they had lived peacefully with the nine surnames of Zhaowu 柚武 when they moved there later had cultural and marriage exchanges with each other. In the Suishu 隋書, ch. 83 (Memoir on the Western Regions), the nine surnames of Zhaowu 柚武 were identified with the descendants of the Yuezhi 月氏, which can be considered to be a common understanding of the people at that time. Furthermore, the pronunciations of Yue 月 [njiuk] and Yu 處 were similar.

Third, according to the Shi ji 史記, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors), "Shun 處, farmer at Mount Li 厲; all the people at Mount Li 厉 did not fight over borders of fields. Shun 處, fished at Lake Lei 雷; all the people at Lake Lei 雷 did not fight for dwelling places. Shun 處, made pottery on the banks of the river; all the people on the banks of the river did not suffer from the inferiority of their ware. In the place he had lived for one year, a village formed; and for two years, a town; three, a city". Thus we know that the Youyu 有虞 were good at fishing too.

Fourth, Shun 處 had double-pupilled eyes, and coincidentally the Hu 胡 barbarians surnamed Yu 魚 had double eye pupils too. According to the Suishu 隋書, ch. 64 (Memoir on Yu Juluo 魚俱羅), "Yu Juluo 魚俱羅 was a native of Xiagui 下邽, Fengyi 馮翊. He had an extraordinary appearance [including] double-pupilled eyes". Considering that the epitaph especially stresses that "[Yu Shun 處舜] had double-pupilled eyes", it is very possible that Yu Hong 虛弘 himself had double-pupilled eyes as well.
Fifth, the contemporaries of Yu Juluo 魚俱羅 are Yu Qingzhe 虞慶則, etc. 20 According to the Suishu 遵書, ch. 40 (Memoir on Yu Qingzhe 虞慶則), "Yu Qingzhe 虞慶則, was eight *chi* 尺 tall, brave and powerful, fluent in Xianbei 鮮卑 language, wore heavy armour with two leather cases [for bow and arrows], and could gallop and shoot with both hands. All the local strongmen and knights revered him". This description does not mention whether he had double-pupilled eyes, but his figure and facial features bear a strong resemblance to those in the account of Yu Juluo 魚俱羅: "[Yu] Juluo [魚]俱羅 was eight *chi* 尺 tall, had powerful muscles, and possessed a loud voice that could be heard a hundred yards away"; in a battle, "[Yu] Juluo [魚]俱羅, together with several cavalrymen, stared [at the enemy] and shouted loudly. The enemy troops fled at their advance. He would come in from the right and go out from the left, hurrying back and forth as if on wings". Perhaps the resemblance is more than a coincidence. Furthermore, in "the Memoir on Yu Qingzhe 虞慶則", it is recorded that [Yu] Qingzhe's [虞]慶則 son, Xiaoren 孝仁, "preferred a life of luxury. He always took camels with him to carry water vases in order to raise fish". It is unlikely that he troubled himself so greatly to eat fish while travelling only because he "preferred a life of luxury". Rather, he must have been following a custom that was handed down from generation to generation.

Sixth, the birthplace of the Youyu 有虞 is located in the south of Jin 晉 (the present Shanxi 山西 province), 21 Yu Hong 虞弘, the occupant of the tomb, chose his burial ground in present-day Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi 山西. This shows that Yu Hong's 虞弘 intention to identify with his ancestors and return to his own clan was quite earnest.

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To sum up, although there is no evidence to show that the Massagetae had a direct relationship with the Youyu, it is plain that Yu Hong, the occupant of the tomb, had every intention of attaching himself to Yu Shun. 

要之，儘管目前的證據完全不足以說明Massagetae與有虞氏之間有直接淵源，但必須看到墓主虞弘攀附虞舜是深思熟慮的結果。

The intention of identifying with their ancestors and returning to their clan is also evident in the epitaphs of many ethnic groups in the north and west of China during Sui and Tang times, not only in that of Yu Hong. Many of them may be determined simply be attaching themselves to important persons in history, but cannot to be lumped together, and are well worth pondering individually. Let us take the epitaph of Long Run 龍潤, unearthed from Taiyuan 太原, for example:

The name of the tomb occupant was Run 潤. He styled himself Hengqie 恒伽, and he was a native of Jinyang 晉陽, Bingzhou 毕州 … His earliest ancestor was Emperor Shao Hao 少昊, who laid the foundation. Following Shao Hao 少昊, yet seeking novelty, an annals records a general of the Western Chu 楚 [whose surname was Long 龍]. During the reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 of Han 漢, a figure surnamed Long 龍 was honoured by Shi You 史遊. Later [Long 龍] Bogao 伯高 was praised by Ma Yuan 馬援, who admired his behaviour and had great respect for him. In the Jin Zhongxingshu 晉中興書, [Long 龍] Ziwei 子偉, a hermit, is especially noted, because he was an incomparably graceful man, being parallel with heroes in other times, luxuriant like pine, upright like jade.

Research shows that Long Run 龍潤 came from Yanqi 焉耆 in the Western Regions and later moved to the Central Plains. "Long 龍" was originally the surname of the Yanqi's 焉耆 royal family. In my opinion, there are reasons why Long Run 龍潤, a man of Yanqi 焉耆, stated that he was a descendant of Shao Hao 少昊.
In the *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂, Vol. 1 ([the Surname of] Zhong 鍾 the third, Shang Pingsheng 上平聲 [rising level tone]), it is recorded that, "According to the *Shangshu* 尚書, Long 龍, an official of Shun 舜 was appointed the Adviser. His descendants took their ancestor's secondary name as their clan name. Furthermore, Dong Fu 董父 was surnamed Ji Ji, but he was granted the clan name of Huanlong 濤龍, thus his clan name was Long 龍". Therefore, the surname "Long 龍" is of two origins: one came from the Adviser of Yu Shun 虞舜, the other came from Dong Fu 董父. Since Long Run 龍潤 "came from Emperor Shaohao 少昊", he must have been the descendant of Dong Fu 董父.

按之《元和姓纂·上平聲·三錫》（卷一），《尚書》，舜臣龍為納言，子孫以王父字為氏。又，董父，己姓，賜氏豢龍，為龍氏”。這是說龍姓來源有二，一為虞舜之納言龍，一為董父。龍潤既“愛自少昊之君”，當為董父之裔。

First, Shaohao 少昊 was the Qingyang 青陽 surnamed Ji Ji, and "Dong Fu 董父 was surnamed Ji Ji". According to the *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂, Vol. 6 ([the Surname of] Dong 董 the first, Shangsheng 上聲 [rising tone]), "Dong 董, a descendant of the Yellow Emperor, belonged to a state with the surname Ji Ji. There was a Liu Shu'an 刘叔安 who begot Dong Fu 董父, and the latter's surname Dong 董 was bestowed by Shun 舜".

一則，少昊為己姓青陽，而“董父，己姓”。《元和姓纂·上聲·一董》（卷六）：“董，黃帝之後，己姓國，有劉叔安，生董父，舜賜姓董氏”。

Second, the possibility that the Yanqi 燕耆 and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 came from the same origin cannot be ruled out, and the latter were also the descendants of Shaohao 少昊. Another name of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 was the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸浑. There is no harm in considering that "Luhun 陸浑" and "Long 龍" were different transcriptions of one and the same name.

二則，燕耆與允姓之戎同源的可能性不能排除，而後者亦少昊之後。允姓之戎又稱陸浑之戎，“陸浑”與“龍”無妨視為同名異譯。

Third, the statement "[Dong Fu 董父] was granted the clan name of Huanlong 濤龍, thus his clan name was Long 龍" is a misunderstanding. This is because "Dong 董 [tong]" can be regarded as a [phonetic] loan character for "Long 龍 [liong]". The statement in the *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂, vol. 6 ([the surname of] Dong 董 the first, Shangsheng 上聲 [rising tone]): "Huanlong 濤龍 (means rearing dragon) was granted the surname of Dong 董 by Emperor Shun 舜" certainly presents the actual state of affairs. Of course, it is also possible that "Dong" was changed into "Long", which is similar to the former in pronunciation, because of the association with rearing dragons.
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Fourth, according to research, the *dām* which occurs in Khotanese texts must be a transcriptional reference to the surname Long or to the Long family. The Khotanese text (KT 2.117.9) says: "kīthā sādamī dūm ya (Dūm were in the city of Solmi)". But the city name is marked off and is changed into dūm. This shows that dām were sādamīya (Solmi people). Since Solmi was another name of Yanqi, dām must have been the Yanqi People. In my opinion, it may be not accidental that the dām which occurs in Khotanese texts corresponds to "Dong".

We may make the following additional observations:

1 In the *Gujin Xingshishu Bianzheng* 古今姓氏書辨證, Vol. 21, it is recorded that "Dong came from the surname of Si and were the descendants of the Yellow Emperor. Their fief was located in Liu. Its monarch had a legitimate son, Dong Fu

2 In the "Feng 風" section of the Zihui Bu, it is stated that "Liu was the descendant of the Gaoyang, and surnamed Ji. In my opinion, this theory is incorrect.

二、《字彙補·風部}：“兲，高陽氏之後，己姓”。今案：其說非是。

In the Zuo zhuan 左傳 (the twenty-ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded: "Formerly, Liu Shu'an 践叔安 had a distant descendant named Dong Fu 董父, who was very fond of dragons, knew their habits and needs, and would feed them. As many dragons turned towards him, he raised and trained them in the service of Emperor Shun. Therefore, the Emperor granted him the surname of Dong and the clan name of Huanlong 恒龍. The Emperor also granted him the land of Zongchuan 鼇川, and the Zongyi 稝夷 are his descendants". Du's 杜 commentary says that "Liu 践 was an
ancient state. Shu'an 叔安 was the name of the monarch of this state. The records do not mention the origin of Liu 龍.

《左傳·昭公二十九年》，“叡有叔安，有裔子曰驃父，實甚好龍，能求其勢欲而飲食之，龍多歸之，乃擾畜龍，以服事帝舜，帝賞之姓日驃，氏曰豢龍，封諸鬷川，鬷夷氏其後也”。杜注：“龍，古國也。叔安，其君名”；並未涉及龍之淵源。

Also, in the "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapter of the Guoyu 國語 it is recorded that "Kunwu 昆吾 was the count of Xia 夏, while Dapeng 大彭 and Shiwei 豕韋 were the counts of Shang 商. During Zhou 周 times, these marquises and counts no longer existed. Kunwu 昆吾, Su 蘇, Wen 溫, Gu 顧, and Dong 董 of the surname Ji 吉, and Zongyi 庄伊 and Huanlong 豪龍 of the surname Dong 董 became extinct during Xia 夏 times". On Kunwu 昆吾, Su 蘇, Wen 溫, Gu 顧, and Dong 董, Wei's 韋 commentary says that "The five states were the descendants of the Kunwu 昆吾 who were separately enfeoffed"; it also says that "The surname of Dong 董 was a separate branch of the surname of Ji 吉, who were granted a clan surname and established their own state". Since the surnames of Dong 董 and Ji 吉 are juxtaposed in the Guoyu 國語, Zongyi 庄伊 and Huanlong 豪龍 were clearly not the descendants of Kunwu 昆吾. This shows that the surname of Ji 吉 which derived from the surname Dong 董 was different from the surname Ji 吉 which derived from Kunwu 昆吾.

又，《國語·鄭語》（巻六）載：“昆吾為夏伯矣，大彭、豕韋為商伯矣。當周未有。己姓昆吾、蘇、溫、顧、董，並姓鬷夷、豢龍，則夏滅之矣”。韋注：昆吾、蘇、溫、顧、董“五國皆昆吾之後別封者”，又注：“董姓，己姓之別，受氏為國者也”。《國語》之文既並列董姓和己姓，鬷夷和豢龍顯然非昆吾之後。知董姓所出己姓，有別於昆吾之己姓。

However, in "the Shuyi 疏仡紀" section of "the Houji 後紀" (Ch. 8) of the Lushi 路史 (Vol. 17), it is recorded that "The surname Ji 吉 was conferred upon Kunwu 昆吾. Kunwu 昆吾 was the count of Xia 夏. His descendants were self-contented and unanimous in opinion. They were destroyed at the same time Jie 桀 was destroyed. ... Afterwards there were the clan surnames of Kun 昆, Wu 吳 and Kunwu 昆吾. The surnames of Gu 顧, Wen 溫, Su 蘇, Hu 侯, Liao 廖, Dong 董, Zhu 著, Zhen 賢, Zhu 祝, and Chan 產 all divided from the Kunwu 昆吾". Here Liao 廖 was arranged after Kunwu 昆吾. After relating the sequence of Hu 侯, Gu 顧, Wen 溫, and Su 蘇, it states that "There was Shu'an 叔安 who was surnamed Liao 廖 and who was separately granted a fief at Dong 董. Dong Fu 董甫 raised and trained dragons to serve Yu 虞 in Zongchuan 鬆川. Another branch of his clan was Zongyi 庄伊, from which came in addition Guanlong 關龍 (note: the pronunciation is similar to that of Huanlong 豪龍). Liao 廖, Dong 董 and Guanlong 關龍 were destroyed by Xia 夏, and Zong 庄 was destroyed by Shang 商. Afterwards there were the clan surnames of Liao 廖, Liu 柳,
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Since the Liu 麟 "came from Shaohao 少昊", it is quite correct that they were called "the descendants of the Yellow Emperor" in both the Yuanhe Xingzuan 元和姓纂 and the Gujin Xingshi shu Bianzheng 古今姓氏書辯證.

Since there were two sources of the surname Long 龍, the general of the Western Chu 楚 (Long Qie 龍且), etc. 28 mentioned in the epitaph was not necessarily the descendant of Dong Fu 董父. Therefore, it is unavoidable that the occupant of the tomb may still be suspected of having wished to attach himself to Shaohao 少昊.

三、既然龍姓來歷有二，墓銘所涉及的 "西楚之將"（龍且）28等未必亦董父之裔；故墓主仍不免攀附之嫌。

The Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi 山西 Province, The Institute of Archaeology of Taiyuan 太原 and others, "Taiyuan Suidai Yu Hong Mu Qingli Jianbao 太原隋代虞弘墓清理簡報" (Preliminary Excavation Report of the Tomb of Yu Hong of the Sui Dynasty in Taiyuan, Shanxi), Wenwu 文物 2001 I, pp. 27-52.

In the "Wudide 五帝德" chapter of the Dadai Liji 大戴禮記 it is recorded that "Zhuanxu 顓頊, who was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor and the son of Changyi 昌意, was known as Gaoyang 高陽". Its source may be the same as that of the Shi ji 史記, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors).

Cf. Li Xueqin 李學勤, "Sanxingdui yu Shu Gushi Chuanshuo 三星堆與蜀古史傳說" (Sanxingdui and Legends on the Ancient History of Shu), in: Zouchu Yigu Shidai 走出疑古時代 (The End of the Period of Doubting Antiquity), Liaoning Daxue Chunbanshe 遼寧大學出版社, 1994, pp. 204-214.

"The zither and lute of Kongsang 空桑" is mentioned in the "Dasiyue 大司樂" section of the "Chunguan 春官" chapter of the Zhouli 周禮. Zheng's 郑 commentary says that Kongsang 空桑 "is a mountain name". Also, in the "Beishanjing 北山經" chapter of the Shanhaijing 山海經,
it is recorded that "Two hundred li farther north is Mount Kongsang. There is no vegetation there and it is snow capped all year. The Kongsang River flows east from here to Hutuo [approach Kongsang]." The commentary on the "Beishanjing [北山經]" chapter in the Shanhaijing Guangzhu [山海經廣注] (vol. 3) says, "There is also Kongsang in the land of Yan. The place is extremely vast, and it is where the people of the clan surname Gaoyang [高陽] dwelt. It is the wilderness of Guangsanş 幡桑 that Huangfu Mi [皇甫謐] has referred to. In ancient times Kongsang was located here."

Also, in the "Benjingxun 本經訓" chapter of the Huainanzi [淮南子] it is recorded that "In the reign period of Shun 舜, Gonggong 共工 made the flood run wild to approach Kongsang. Gao's 高 commentary says, "Kongsang is the name of a place which is in Lu [魯]." [《周禮·春官·大司樂》: "空桑之琴瑟"。鄭注: "空桑, "山名"。又，《山海經·北山經》: "又北二百里，曰空桑之山。無草木，冬夏有雪。空桑之水出焉，東流注於虛沱"。吳任臣《山海經廣注》卷三注“北山經”曰: "兗地亦有空桑，其地廣絕，高陽氏所著居，皇甫謐所謂廣桑之野，上古有空桑氏"。又，《淮南子·本經訓》: "舜之時，共工振滔洪水，以薄空桑"。高注: "空桑，地名，今在魯也”。]}

Zhou Yiliang 周一良, "Lingmin Quzhang yu Liuzhou Dudu 領民首長與六州都督" (The Leading People Chief and the Military-Governor of the Six Provinces), in Wei Jin Nanbeichao Shilun Ji 魏晉南北朝史論集 (Papers on the History of Wei, Jin, and the Northern and Southern Dynasties), Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, pp. 177-198.

According to the Shiijing 世經, cited in the Hanshu 漢書, ch. 21B (Treatise on Scales and the Calendar), "The Emperor Zhuanxu 頤頤: In the Chunqiu Waizhuan 春秋外傳, it is recorded that when Shaohao 少皞 was in decline, the tribes of Jiuli 九黎 disturbed the [prevailing] virtue. Zhuanxu 頤頤 succeeded, and commissioned Zhong 重 and Li 黎, who were the sons of Canglin 蒼林, namely Changyi 昌意. Since metal gives rise to water, Zhuanxu 頤頤 was [the king of] the virtue of water and was styled Gaoyuan 高陽 by all under heaven. Also, in "the Zhouyu 周語 C" chapter of the Guoyu 國語 (vol. 3), it is recorded that "Emperor Ku 奚 succeeded those who had been established by Zhuanxu 頤頤". The commentary of Wei Zhao 韋昭 states that "Zhuanxu 頤頤 was a king of the virtue of water, and acceded to the throne in the north". [《漢書·律曆志下》(卷二下)引《世經》: "額頤帝: 《春秋外傳》曰，少皞之衰，九黎亂德，頤頤受之，乃命重黎。蒼林昌意之子也。金生水，故為水徳。天下號曰高陽氏"。又，《國語·周語下》(卷三): "頤頤之所建也，帝頤受之"。韋注: "頤頤，水徳之王，立於北方"。]

In the Shiiji 史記, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors), it is recorded that "Yu Shun's 虞舜 name was Zhonghua 重華". The Shiiji Zhengyi 史記正義, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of Five Emperors), states that "[Yu Shun 虞舜] had double-pupilled eyes, thus his given name was Zhonghua 重華". Also, in the Shiiji 史記, ch. 7 (Basic Annals of Xiang Yu 羅羽), Sima Qian 司馬遷 states that "From Zhou Sheng 周生 I have heard of that Shun's 舜 eyes had double-pupils; I have also heard that Xiang Yu 羅羽 similarly had double-pupiled eyes. Wasn't [Xiang] Yu's 羅羽 the descendant of Shun 舜?" This is also an example of the fact that those who had double-pupiled eyes were taken to be Shun's 舜 descendants. [《史記·五帝本紀》: "虙舜者，名曰重華"。 "正義" 曰: "目重瞳子，故曰重華"。又，《史記·項羽本紀》太史公曰: "吾聞之周
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15. *Saizhongshi Yanjiu*, pp. 6-10.


18. The name "Massagatae" is generally thought to be refer to "the great Sacæ horde"; see W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 80-81. Yu Taishan 余太山, *Saizhongshi Yanjiu* 塞種史研究, p. 7, also adopts this theory to prove that the Massagetae can be identified with Sakās. Identifying "Massagetae" with "the state of Yu (Fish)" does not conflict with the identification of the Massagetae with Sakās.

19. There is a possibility that the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武 were the descendants of the Yuezhi 月氏. See Yu Taishan's 余太山 work, cited in note 9, pp. 104-106.


24 Guzu Xinkao, pp. 117-119.

25 Saizhongshi Yanjiu, pp. 63-69, 117-121.


27 Bailey's work, p. 17, cited in note 26, suggests that dain is the equivalent of ldong occurring in Tibetan texts. The tribe was located south of Ganzhou 甘州 and Suzhou 蘇州. Its Chinese name was "Dong 董".

28 The Yuanhe Xingzuan 元和姓纂, Vol. 1 ([the Surname of] Zhong 鍾 the third, Shang Pingsheng 上平聲 [rising level tone]) only says that "Long Qie 龍且 came from Chu 楚, was a general under Xiang Yu 項羽", but does not record clearly whether his ancestor was the Adviser or Dong Fu 董父. [《元和姓纂·上平聲·三鍾》 (卷一) 僅說：“龍且，楚人，為項羽將”；並未指明究竟是納言之後，抑為董父之後。]
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