

The Northeast Asian Tribes in the T'ang Period

By Sei WADA

I

Some time ago I investigated the geography of P'ò-hai 渤海 and wrote an article entitled "Bokkai-koku Chiri-kō 渤海國地理考" (A Study of the Geography of P'ò-hai-kuo)⁽¹⁾ which exceeded the space allowed me and I had to do without the section on the tribes beyond the northeastern boundary. This section includes a partial revision of "Kokuryū-kō Karyūiki no Dojin 黑龍江下流域の土人" (The Tribes in the Lower Reaches of the Amur River)⁽²⁾, a paper I wrote several years before, which requires a new study of the tribes. Hence the present paper. According to the item of Mo-ho 靺鞨 in the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要 (Bk. 98), following the account of Hei-shui-mo-ho 黑水靺鞨, a passage reads:

"An old tradition says: 'To the northwest of the Hei-shui 黑水 there is a tribe called Ssū-mo-mo-ho 思慕靺鞨; travelling north-north-east 10 more days, the Chün-li-mo-ho 郡利靺鞨 is reached; another 10 days' journey northeast will bring you to the Chü-shuo-mo-ho 窟說靺鞨 which is also called Chü-shuo 屈說; and travelling southeast another 10 days, the Mo-i-chieh-mo-ho 莫曳皆靺鞨 is reached.'⁽³⁾

Towards the end of Hei-shui-mo-ho-chüan 黑水靺鞨傳 in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 (Bk. 219), a similar passage occurs:

"Formerly, to the northwest of the Hei-shui, there was the Ssū-mo 思慕 tribe; travelling further north for 10 days, the Chün-li 郡利 tribe was reached; another 10 days' journey northeast, the Chü-shuo 窟說 tribe also called Chü-shuo 屈說 was reached; and travelling slightly southeast for 10 days, the Mo-i-chieh 莫曳皆 tribe was reached."⁽⁴⁾ Later on, a passage says: "Though the other tribes occasionally paid a tribute to the T'ang court, these tribes simply could not do so." This means that these tribes were

(1) Sei WADA, *Tōashi Kenkyū* (Manshū-hen) 東亞史研究 (滿洲篇). (Studies on the History of Far East). 1955, pp. 55-117.

(2) M.T.B., No. 10, pp. 41-102.

(3) 舊說黑水西北有思慕靺鞨。正北徼東十日程，有郡利靺鞨，東北十日程，有窟說靺鞨，亦謂之屈說。東南十日程，有莫曳皆靺鞨。

(4) 初黑水西北又有思慕部。益北行十日，得郡利部。東北行十日，得窟說部。亦號屈說。稍東南行十日，得莫曳皆部。

located too far away and too weak to proceed to pay a tribute probably being prevented by such other tribes as the Hei-shui 黑水 and others. The two passages slightly differ from each other, perhaps because the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* reprints the passage in the *T'ang-hui-yao*, or quotes it from the same source only changing a few words.

The abode of the Hei-shui-mo-ho 黑水靺鞨 was no doubt located between the point at which the present Amur River joins the Sungari River 松花江 and the point at which it joins the Usuri River 烏蘇里.⁽¹⁾ If it was in the northwest of the point, it was in the direction of the present Aigun 琿琿 or Hei-ho 黑河; the abode of the Ssü-mo tribe might have been in the reaches of the Zeya River or the Bureya River, but if one went so far there was no traffic road. Therefore, the direction 西北 (northwest) must be an error of 東北 (northeast), for the Ssü-mo tribe certainly was on the Amur River which was the main communication route. According to Mo-ho-chuan 靺鞨傳 in the *Sui-shu* 隋書 (Bk. 81), the abode of the Hei-shui 黑水 tribe is given as in the northwest of the An-ch'ê-ku 安車骨 tribe, — namely, the present Alchukha 阿勒楚喀, but everyone now admits the 西北 (northwest) is an error of the 東北 (northeast). Therefore, the “northwest” in this case may also read the “northeast.” It may be an observational error due to the fact that the starting point from the present Khabarovsk, the centre of the Hei-shui tribe was first in a northwest direction. At any rate, a 10 days' journey northeast from Khabarovsk must refer to a point somewhere near either the present Lake Bolen-Ojal or Komsomolsk. This was the abode of the Ssü-mo tribe. The Chün-li tribe to be reached by another 10 days' journey northeast must be about the present Mariinsk, and the Chü-shuo tribe to be reached by still another 10 days' journey northeast must be near the mouth of the Amur River.

Our knowledge concerning the tribes in these areas is extremely limited. But according to Leopold von SCHRENCK's report⁽²⁾, in the basin of the Gorin River, or the lower course of Lake Bolen-Ojal, there lived the Samagir, a Tungus tribe; and near the lower reaches the mouth of the Amur River the Gilyaks Palæo-Asiatic race; and in Saghalin Island beyond the sea the Ainus. However, this must be a rather modern distribution, for formerly these tribes were surely distributed among further inland regions. If so, considering from their abodes and the phonetic resemblances of their names, it may be that Ssü-mo-mo-ho 思慕靺鞨 was a rough transliteration of Samagir; the Chün-li tribe, Gillemi 吉里迷, 乞烈迷

(1) WADA *op. cit.*, pp. 92-97.

(2) SCHRENCK, *Reisen und Forschungen im Amurlande in den Jahren 1854-1856*, Band III: Die Völker des Amurlandes, St. Petersburg, 1881-95.

of the Chin 金 and Yüan 元 periods, corresponds to Gilyaks; and Chü-shuo 窟說 was the Ainus. That the Ainu, that is, the Mao-jên 毛人 (Hairy People) penetrated into the lower reaches of the Amur River may be guessed from the accounts in the *Shan-hai-ching* 山海經 and the *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子 of the Han dynasty.⁽¹⁾

As the Ainus in the Goldi language was referred to as Ku'i, the Chinese people generally called the Ainus by this term; in the Yüan period it was Ku-wei 骨嵬; in the Ming period, Ku-wu 苦兀 or Ku-yi 苦夷; and in the Ching period, Ku-yeh 庫野, 庫葉, or Ku-yeh 庫頁.⁽²⁾ The ancient sound of 窟說 or 屈說 was not Kut-set, but probably was pronounced Kut-yet, Ku-yüeh, namely another transliteration of 庫葉 (Ku-yeh). Every one knows that 說 in the name of 韓說 of the Han dynasty and in 張說 of the T'ang is read "yet". Dr. SHIRATORI admitted that 窟說 was the tribe inhabiting the mouth of the Amur River, but he failed to identify them with the Ku-yeh 庫葉, namely, the Ainus of Saghalin Island.⁽³⁾ However, I, with Mr. Yoshimi SHIMADA 島田好⁽⁴⁾, do not hesitate to identify them with the Ainus. However, they were not confined to Saghalin Island as nowadays, but extending over the mouth of the Amur River and probably were regarded as one body. And with this as my basic knowledge, I would even proceed to believe the possibility of identifying Chün-li 郡利 with the Gilyaks and Ssü-mo 思慕 with the Samagirs.

II

Be that as it may, the item of Pei-ti 北狄 in Pien-fang-tien 邊防典 in the *T'ung-tien* 通典 (Bk. 200) says under Liu-kuei-kuo 流鬼國:

"Liu-kuei 流鬼 is situated to the north of Pei-hai 北海; it adjoins Yeh-ch'a-kuo 夜叉國 on the north, the other sides are surrounded by the great sea. From Mo-shê-mo-ho 莫設鞞鞞 in the south it may be reached by ship in 15 days. With no castle walls, the people live scattered on the isles. They dig into the ground several feet deep and bending slantwise and fastening pieces of lumber on both sides, they make a house. They are all clad in skin-garments. They also weave a cloth by mixing flax with dog hair, and make garments. The women wear boar or deer skins in

(1) WADA, "The Natives of the Lower Reaches of the Amur River as Represented in Chinese Records", M.T.B., No. 10, pp. 43-48.

(2) *ibid.*, p. 81.

(3) Kurakichi SHIRATORI, 白鳥庫吉 "Tō-jidai no Karafuto-tō ni suite 唐時代の樺太島について" (On Saghalin Island in the T'ang Dynasty) *Rekishi Chiri* 歴史地理 Vol. 9, nos. 4, 5; Vol. 10, nos. 2, 4, 6.

(4) A theory of Mr. Yoshimi SHIMADA.

winter, and in summer fish-skins. Their way of making a garment is similar to that of the Liao 獠. There are many moors and marshes. The land is favoured with a plenty of salt and fish. As to the climate, the cold is severe; it frosts and snows early. When the ice is thick, they strap themselves to wooden pieces 6 inches wide and 7 feet long slide on the ice and chase running animals. There are a plenty of dogs. They have over 10,000 competent soldiers. There is no etiquette of respecting one another, nor a system of government. They know nothing of the functions for each season. If thieves from other countries enter their premises, they call to one another and assemble. Their bow is over 4 feet long, and their arrow is like the Chinese. They make arrowheads out of bones or stones. As for music, they have songs and dances. When a man dies, they pile up dirt for a grave and they know enough to plant trees on it. They lament and cry over a death for 3 years, but there is no system of mourning. Some Mo-ho 靺鞨 people come across the sea for trade; when told of the great prosperity of China, Mêng-fêng 孟犛 their chief sent his son K'o-yeh-yü-chih 可也余志; and in the 14th year of *Chen-kuan* 貞觀 (640 A.D.) of the T'ang dynasty, coming to China after changing interpreters several times, he paid a tribute to the Court. The first time he came to Mo-ho 靺鞨 he did not know how to ride a horse; as soon as he mounted, he was thrown off. According to the story told by an old man in the country, by travelling north one month Yeh-ch'a-kuo 夜叉國 is reached. The people there have fangs like those of a wild boar, and devour human beings. For this reason no one visits that country and there has been no intercourse between the two countries."⁽¹⁾

The *W'en-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考 (Bk. 347) reprints this entire passage. Apart from this, Tung-i-chuan 東夷傳 in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 has the following passage towards its end:

"The Liu-kuei 流鬼 tribe lives 15,000 *li* away from the T'ang capital, to the northeast of the Hei-shui-mo-ho and to the north of the small sea. Surrounded by the sea on three sides, the land extends unlimited on the northern side. The people live scattered on the various isles. There are

(1) 流鬼在北海之北，北至夜叉國，餘三面皆抵大海，南去莫設靺鞨船行十五日。無城郭，依海島散居。棚地深數尺，兩邊斜豎木，構爲屋，人皆皮服，又狗毛雜麻爲布而衣之，婦人冬衣豕鹿皮，夏衣魚皮，制與獠同。多沮澤，有鹽魚之利。地氣沍寒，早霜雪，堅冰之後，以木廣六寸長七尺，施繫其上，以踐層冰，逐及奔獸。俗多狗，勝兵萬餘人，無相敬之禮，官僚之法，不識四時節序，有他盜入境，乃相呼召，弓長四尺餘，箭與中國同，以骨石爲鏃，樂有歌舞，死解封樹，哭之三年，無餘服制，靺鞨有乘海至其國貿易，陳國家之盛業，於是其君長孟犛遣其子可也余志，以唐貞觀十四年，三譯而來朝貢。初至靺鞨，不解乘馬，上即顧墜。其長老人傳言，其國北一月行，有夜叉，人皆豕牙，翹出噉人。莫有涉其界，未嘗通聘。

many moors and marshes. The land is favoured with a plenty of fish and salt. It grows cold quite early and is frequently visited by a heavy frost and snow. With their feet strapped to the wooden pieces 6 inches wide and 7 feet long, the people walk on the ice and chase running animals. The land abounds in dogs whose skins are made into skin-garments. It is a custom to wear long hair. The millet there resembles setaria, the common weed, only slightly smaller. The land has no vegetable, fruit, or cereal. There are 10,000 competent soldiers. It adjoins the Mo-i-(chieh)-mo-ho tribe on the south, which is reached by voyaging southeast 15 days. In the 14th year of *Chen-kuan*, the King sent his prince Ko-yeh-yü 可也余 with a present of sables changing three interpretations to the T'ang court, which conferred upon him the title of Chi-tu-wei 騎都尉 and delivered it."⁽¹⁾

The two phrases in this, 去京師萬五千里, 直黑水靺鞨東北 (15,000 *li* away from the T'ang capital and To the northeast of the Hei-shui-mo-ho), and other two 粟似莠而小, 無蔬蕪它穀 (The millet resembles setaria, the common weed, only slightly smaller and the land has no vegetable, fruit, or cereal)—these are missing in the former account, but in all other particulars they are only somewhat summarized. It is probable that the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* has written its account on the basis of the *T'ung-tien*. True, it contains a few errors and omissions; but when the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* reproduces 莫設靺鞨 in the *T'ung-tien* as 莫曳(皆)靺鞨, it is in the right; it refers to 莫曳皆靺鞨 I have discussed in the preceding section.

Now, as to this Liu-kuei, considering its direction and distance, and topography 少海之北, 三面皆阻海, 其北莫知所窮 (To the north of the small sea; surrounded by the sea on three sides, the land extends unlimited on the northern side), it is only natural to identify it with the present Kamchatka; therefore, from old times such men as De GUIGNES, the Frenchman, G. SCHLEGEL, the Dutchman,⁽²⁾ and Ho Chiu-t'ao 何秋濤⁽³⁾ of the Ch'ing dynasty all agreed in assigning Kamchatka for this. However, the idea that a tribe on such an extreme frontier as Kamchatka should for this once have paid a tribute to the T'ang court struck Dr. SHIRATORI as too extravagant, and he reinvestigated the subject; after comparing their

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- (1) 流鬼去京師萬五千里, 直黑水靺鞨東北, 少海之北, 三面皆阻海, 其北莫知所窮。人依嶼散居, 多沮澤, 有魚鹽之利, 地蚤寒多霜雪, 以木廣六寸長七尺, 系其上, 以踐冰逐走獸, 土多狗, 以皮爲裘, 俗被髮, 粟似莠而小, 無蔬蕪它穀。勝兵萬人, 南與莫曳靺鞨鄰, 東南航海十五日行乃至。貞觀十四年, 其王遣子可也余(貢?)貂皮, 更三譯來朝, 授騎都尉遣之。
- (2) SCHLEGEL, *Problèmes géographiques. Les peuples étrangers chez les historiens chinois*, V: Ta-han kouo.
- (3) HO, *Shuo-fang-pei-ch'êng* 朔方備乘, Vol. 22: K'u-yeh-fu-chin-shu-tao-k'ao 庫葉附近諸島考。

customs, he identified Liu-kuei 流鬼 with the present Saghalin Island. His strongest ground was that Liu-kuei was nothing but the transliteration of Laer Kui the name by which the natives call the Saghalin natives. Dr. SHIRATORI who took Saghalin as Liu-kuei further assigned the Tumnin River basin in Maritime Province for Mo-i-chieh-mo-ho 莫曳皆鞞 which was reached by a 15 days' voyage in the southeastern direction, from Liu-kuei.⁽¹⁾ After this, we mostly followed his view. Nevertheless, I was not without some doubt as to the description of the topography of Liu-kuei; if Kamchatka was to be assigned for Liu-kuei, it would seem unreasonable that distant Kamchatka alone should be known when near Saghalin was left unknown.⁽²⁾

As I look back now, this would seem unreasonable just the same. If a Japanese, coming from the south, had discovered Saghalin and said 三面皆阻海, 其北莫知所窮 (Surrounded by the sea on three sides, the land extends unlimited on the northern side), this would have been reasonable. But this knowledge by the Chinese was doubtless obtained as they came down the Amur River and reached this point. If they came down the Amur, they naturally reached the northern end of Saghalin Island. How should they say 北莫知所窮 (The land extends unlimited on the northern side)? And doesn't the original text say in the *T'ung-tien* 北至夜叉國 (Yeh-ch'a-kuo is reached to the north) and again say 其國北一月行, 有夜叉, 人皆豕牙翹出噉人, 云々 (By travelling north one month Yeh-ch'a-kuo is reached; the people there have fangs like those of a wild boar, and devour human beings...)? If we assign Saghalin for this, there could not be such a separate country to be reached by travelling north for a month. The inhabitants of Kamchatka in those days were no doubt the same Kamchadals that we find there to-day. The Kamchadals at present are a vanquished and declining tribe, but in those days they were still powerful enough to communicate with neighbour tribes and dispatch an envoy to pay a tribute to the T'ang court, even though the statement 勝兵萬人 (They have 10,000 competent soldiers) was somewhat exaggerated. Yeh-ch'a 夜叉 to the north must be the present Koryaks, or Chukchis to the further north.

The man who exclusively contended that the inhabitants of Saghalin Island were called Laer Kui or Ler Koje is Mr. SCHRENK. He based his argument on such phrases under the item Hu-pu 戶部 Hu-chi 戶籍 in the *Chia-ch'ing-hui-tien* 嘉慶會典 (Bk. 11) 其計戶者, 三姓所屬赫哲, 費雅喀, 勒爾庫葉,

(1) SHIRATORI, *op. cit.*

(2) WADA, "The Natives of the Lower Reaches of the Amur River as Represented in Chinese Records", *op. cit.* M.T.B., No. 10, p. 80.

鄂倫春, 恰克拉五十六姓云々, which he translates as follows: "So zählt die chinesische Reichsgeographie der Dynastie Tsing im Distrikt Ssan-ssin, welches des untere Amur-Land mit der Küste umfasst, ausser Mandshu und Chinesen noch folgende Völkerschaften auf: Kilerchadschi, Wiyaka (Fiaka), Lerkoje, Oruntschun und Kiyakla." (*op. cit.* p. 100.) This was because he had taken Lerkoje to be Saghalin inhabitants. This passage in the *Chia-ch'ing-hui-tien* is reprinted entire in the *Kuang-hsu-hui-tien* 光緒會典 (Bk. 17) a later work, and again under the item Hu-k'ou 戶口 in *Shih-huo-chih* 食貨志, in the *Ch'ing-shih-kao* 清史稿 a still later work. 赫哲 in it is surely Heje, namely Gold; 費雅喀 Fiyaka, namely Gilyak; 庫葉 Kui, namely Ainu; 鄂倫春 Orontchon, namely Orochon; 恰克拉 Kiakla, namely Kurka on the eastern bank of the Tu-mên 圖們 River. 勒爾 in it must surely read 奇勒爾 with the character 奇 added on top of it, for 奇勒爾 must be a usual transliteration of Kiler. Therefore, 勒爾庫葉 should not be read Lerkoje as one word, but as two words 奇勒爾 Kiler and 庫葉 Kui. This was a mistake on the part of a foreigner who was not versed in the use of Chinese characters. It does not mean that a foreign tribe named Lerkoje was living there. The Ainus in Saghalin Island were called surely Ku-yeh 庫葉. It follows, therefore, that when Dr. SHIRATORI assigned Laer kui (Lerkoje) as the native pronunciation of Liu-kuei 流鬼, he had no ground for his contention. This was discovered by Mr. SHIMADA years ago and he told me about it. I am sure there could be no disagreement on this point.

If Liu-kuei 流鬼 was Kamchatka and the account in the *T'ung-tien* said nothing on Saghalin Island lying on the way, there would be no objection. He would be clarified if one studied the circumstances under which Liu-kuei dispatched an envoy to pay a tribute to the T'ang court. According to this text, some Mo-ho 靺鞨 people who came there for conducting trade, spoke of the power and prosperity of the T'ang court; the Liu-kuei chief was so excited that he dispatched his son to pay a tribute to the court. This was in the 14th year of *Chen-kuan* (640) in the reign of the Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 of the T'ang dynasty. Prior to this, when the Sui dynasty rose and united the north and the south, its influence was at once felt all over the northeast, and while Kao-chü-li 高句麗 being alarmed strengthened her defences against the Sui forces, all the other tribes in the northeast vied one another in paying a tribute to the Sui court. It was then, as I have stated elsewhere, that all the seven Mo-ho tribes came to be thoroughly known.⁽¹⁾ The T'ang dynasty which ousted the Sui

(1) WADA, "Bokkai-koku Chiri-kō 渤海國地理考", *op. cit.*, p. 89.

dynasty waxed so much more powerful that in the 4th year of *Chen-kuan*, it defeated the strong Eastern Turks 東突厥 and frightened all the tribes beyond the northern frontier. As Liu-kuei paid a tribute to the T'ang court, it was certainly following the general trend of the times. It is probable that, though the chiefs of the remoter tribes came up in person to the Chinese capital, they were not well-informed as to the other tribes who lived along their routes. It is little wonder that they should have reported exclusively of their own tribes and nothing of the others on the way. It was an isolated knowledge. On the other hand, the knowledge concerning the Ssü-mo 思慕, Chün-li 郡利, and Chü-shuo 窟說 tribes adjoining the Hei-shui-mo-ho 黑水靺鞨 on the east, to which I have referred in the previous section, — this was a knowledge acquired from entirely different communications. Therefore, it would be only natural if there were no connection between these two accounts.

Dr. SHIRATORI who, while admitting the Chü-shuo 窟說 tribe to be one occupying the mouth of the Amur River, failed to recognize it as another transliteration of Ku-wei 骨嵬 or Ku-i 苦夷, namely the Ainu who included even those in the present Saghalin Island, advanced his theory of identifying Liu-kuei with Saghalin. If Chü-shuo be assigned for Saghalin, it would be impossible to assign Liu-kuei to Saghalin again. What is more interesting is the description 南與莫曳靺鞨鄰, 東南航海十五日行乃至 (It adjoins the Mo-i-chieh-mo-ho tribe on the south, which is reached by voyaging southeast 15 days.) How is it that these Liu-kuei people who did not describe the tribes on the way did describe only the Mo-i-mo-ho like this? Dr. SHIRATORI who assigned the Chü-shuo tribe around the present Amur estuary assigned the Mo-i-chieh-mo-ho to be reached by 東南十日程 (travelling southeast another 10 days) to the basin of the present Tumnin River. But the basin of the Tumnin River lies due west in the middle part of Saghalin Island, and could not be a point to be reached by travelling southeast for 15 days from Liu-kuei. And of course the district was not on the route for the Liu-kuei to take only their passage to the Chinese capital to pay a tribute.

This was not right. Liu-kuei was the present Kamchatka after all. The phrase 依海島散居 (The people live scattered on the various isles,) probably referred to their living scattered even on the Kurile isles, and Mo-i-chieh adjoining on the south and to be reached by voyaging 15 days referred to the Hokkaidō. 少海 (the small sea) in the phrase 少海之北 (to the north of the small sea) must refer to the Kurile Strait. Only because Mo-i-chieh-mo-ho was the present Hokkaidō, it could be reached from Chü-shuo-mo-ho, namely the present Saghalin Island, by voyaging south-

east 10 days. Now-a-days, crossing the sea from the southern end of Saghalin Island to the northern end of Hokkaidō is one day's voyage. The phrase "A 10 days' voyaging" in the T'ang record may be due to the fact that the chief abode of the Chū-shuo in those days extended from the estuary of the Amur River to northern Saghalin. Passage from Saghalin to the Hokkaidō was by way of Sōya 宗谷 and Wakkanai 稚内, passage from the Kurile Islands to the Hokkaidō was by way of Nemuro in Eastern Yezo (Hokkaidō), and there must be some differences between them. However, it seems that the area was known as the homeland of Hokkaidō Ainus. Nothing is known about Mo-i-chieh 莫曳皆, but Chieh (Ka-i) 皆 may be another transcription of Hsia-i (Ka-i) 蝦夷.

In this connection we may recall our conquest of Yezo in the Asuka 飛鳥 period. The T'ang people already knew of the Ainus, for Jih-pên-chuan 日本傳 in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 舊唐書 (Bk. 199A) comments on the land as 西界南界咸至大海, 東界北界有大山爲限, 山外卽毛人之國 (It is adjoined by the great sea on the west and the south of Japan. It is bounded by great mountains on the east and north. Beyond the mountains there is the land of the Hairy People.) The *T'ung-tien* 通典 devotes a chapter on Yezo (Hsia-i) 蝦夷 (Bk. 186) and says:

"Yezo is a small country on the sea. The envoy's beard is 4 feet long. He is extremely clever at archery. He has an arrow on his head. He makes a man stand with something on his head at 40 feet's distance and shoots. Never once does he miss. He came to the court in October of the 4th year of *Hsien-ching* 顯慶 of the great T'ang (659) in the suite of the Japanese envoys."⁽¹⁾

Jih-pên-chuan 日本傳 in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 (Bk. 220) reports a similar affair 明年使者與蝦夷人皆朝, 蝦夷亦居海島中, 其使者鬚四尺許, 珥箭於首, 令人載瓠立數十步, 射無不中 (The following year, the envoys accompanied by Yezo man proceeded to the court. Yezo is also situated on the sea. The envoy has a beard some 4 feet long. He has an arrow on his head. He makes a man stand with a gourd on his head at several dozen feet's distance and shoots. Never once does he miss).⁽²⁾

The 4th year of *Hsien-ching* corresponds to the 5th year of our Emperor Saimei 齊明 (659) when ABE no Hirafu 阿倍比羅夫 was conquering Yezo and Su-shên 肅慎. As to the celebrated conquest of Su-shên by ABE no

(1) 蝦夷國海島中小國也。其使鬚長四尺, 尤善弓矢, 挿箭於首, 令人戴之而立, 四十步射之, 無不中者。大唐顯慶四年十月, 隨倭國使人入朝。

(2) An account of the comparison is also recorded in the *Nihonshoki* 日本書紀 Vol. 26: Saimei-tennō Ki 齊明天皇紀。

Hirafu, a number of researches have already been made⁽¹⁾, and I shall not touch on it now. It is evident that in those days the northsea regions was in trouble and Hirafu and others proceeded far up into the region and conquered the tribes. The name Su-shên 肅慎 being that of a country which had long before gone out of existence, it must be nothing but a euphonious one adopted for the sake of name for the remotest foreigners. The disturbances in these regions might be related to the aforesaid movement of the Liu-kuei and Mo-i-chieh 莫曳皆 tribes. The 4th year of *Hsien-ching* was the year before the downfall of Pei-chi 百濟, and less than 20 years since the Liu-kuei paid a tribute to the T'ang court.

At any rate it may be said that the T'ang dynasty at its height of power knew, not only the Chü-shuo 窟說 tribe of the present Saghalin Island, but also the Mo-i-chieh 莫曳皆 tribe in the Hokkaidō and even the Liu-kuei 流鬼 in Kamchatka. The Chü-shuo was the Saghalin Ainus, the Mo-i-chieh the Ainus in the Hokkaidō, and the Liu-kuei the Kamchadals.

III

If it comes to this, the issue must be further extended, because the problem of these tribes would cry for solution. It was well-known that the Chukchis tribe lived in the Chukchi Peninsula which confronts the Bering Strait in the extreme northeast of the Asiatic Continent, the Kamchadals tribe in the Kamchatka Peninsula which stretches southward, and the Coryaks tribe between them; and down in the south, the Gilyaks lived around the point at which the estuary of the Amur River stretches into the sea and in Saghalin Island in front, and the Ainus from Saghalin Island to the Hokkaidō; these are generically called the Paleo-Siberian races, and represent Palæo-Asiatic races in this region. The Palæo-Asiatic races generally remain uncivilized, and their languages and customs conspicuously differ from those of the Turks and Tungus of the Neo-Asiatic races, their western neighbors. This is not a question, though. The question is that their abode, though so contracted now, was so much wider and extended westward as may be supposed from the instance of the Japanese Ainus, and how this may be observed in history.

(1) For instance, Mr. Raisuke NUMATA, 沼田頼輔: "ABE no Hirafu no Seishitaru Shuku-shinkoku ni tsuite 阿部比羅夫の征したる肅慎國について" (On Shuku-shinkoku which ABE no Hirafu Conquered), *Rekishi-chiri 歴史地理* Vol. 1, No. 3. Dr. Sōkichi TSUDA 津田左右吉, *Shuku-shin-kō 肅慎考* (A Study of Su-shên), *Nihon Jōdai-shi Kenkyū* 日本上代史研究. Hiroshi TANAAMI 田名綱宏, "Abe no Hirafu no Watarijima Ensei ni tsuite 阿部比羅夫の渡島遠征について" (On ABE no Hirafu's Overseas Expedition), *Nihon-rekishi 日本歴史* No. 66. Dr. Masajirō TAKIKAWA 瀧川政次郎, "Saimai-chō ni Okeru Tōhoku Keiryaku 齊明朝に於ける東北經略" (The Northeastern Expedition during the Reign of the Emperor Saimei), *Yoichi 餘市* ed. by Chihōshi Kenkyū-jo 地方史研究所.

This was a question which haunted me a long time. When I read *Sung-hua-chiang-hsia-yu-ti-He-je-tsu* 松花江下游的赫哲族 (He-je the Tribe of the Lower Reaches of the Sungari River) by LING Chun-shêng 凌純聲 of China, and saw in it that the author quoting the Russian scholars, SHIROKOGOROFF and SCHMIDT, advanced the view that Kao-li 高麗 (namely Kao-chü-li), I-lou 挹婁, and P'o-hai 渤海 were all Palæo-Asiatic tribes.⁽¹⁾ I was deeply impressed by such an idea. Prof. Tsugio MIKAMI 三上次男 is a scholar who has studied this question most eagerly. After solely investigating their customs and manners, he has often declared that, while Kao-chü-li and P'o-hai were Neo-Asiatic tribes, I-lou 挹婁, Wu-chi 勿吉, and Hei-shui-mo-ho 黑水靺鞨 were decidedly Palæo-Asiatic tribes.⁽²⁾ True, the customs and manners of these tribes are strikingly different from those of their neighbor tribes. However, would it be possible to assert them as Palæo-Asiatic tribes on this strength alone, disregarding all other circumstances?

The oldest and fairly detailed account of the tribes in interior Manchuria is of course Tung-i-chuan 東夷傳 in the *Wei-chih* 魏志 of the *San-kuo-chih* 三國志. According to it, Fu-yü 夫餘 situated at the present Nung-an 農安 and Chang-ch'un 長春, Kao-chü-li chiefly around Chi-an-hsien 輯安縣 the middle reaches of the Ya-lu 鴨綠 River, Wu-chü 沃沮 in Hamgyōng-do 咸鏡道 of Korea, and Wei 濊 in Kang-wōn-do 江原道 of Korea and nearly all the tribes then known had nearly the same languages, customs and manners, but only I-lou 挹婁 situated in the northeastern corner differed in language, customs and manners. For instance, concerning Kao-chü-li 高句麗, it says 東夷舊語, 以爲夫餘別種, 言語諸事, 多與夫餘同, 其性氣衣服有異 (An old tradition of the eastern tribe says; Kao-chü-li is another stock of Fu-yü 夫餘. In language, and other matters, they are like Fu-yü, only differing in their disposition and costume.) Concerning Wu-chü 沃沮, 其言語與句麗大同, 時々小異, 云々 (Their language is generally similar to that of Kao-chü-li, occasionally differing only slightly.) As to Wei 濊, 其耆老舊自謂與句麗同種,.....言語法俗, 大抵與句麗同, 衣服有異 (Their aged people themselves say that they are of the same stock,In language, customs and manners, they are generally like those of Kao-chü-li, only differing in costume.

(1) LING, *Sung-hua-chiang-hsia-yu-ti-He-je-tsu* 松花江下游的赫哲族, Vol. 1, p. 33.

(2) MIKAMI, "Kodai Hokutō Ajia no Shominzoku 古代北東アジアの諸民族", (Various Tribes in Northeast Asia in Ancient Times), Teikoku Gakushiin Tōa-shominzoku Chōsashitsu-hōkoku-kai Kiroku 帝國學士院東亞諸民族調査室報告會記錄, No. 6; "Hokutō Ajia ni okeru Dokuya Shiyō no Kanshū ni tsuite 北東アジアに於ける毒矢使用の慣習について" (On the Custom of the Use of Poisoned Arrows in Northeast Asia), *Minzoku-gaku Kenkyū* 民族學研究 N.S., Vol. 1, No. 3; Hokutō Ajia Shozoku ni okeru Jinnyō Shiyō no Kanshū ni tsuite 北東アジア諸族における人尿使用の慣習について" (On the Use of Human Urine among Various Tribes in Northeast Asia), *Rekishi to Bunka* 歴史と文化 (東大教養學部人文學科紀要) No. 1.

In the case of I-lou 挹婁, it says that there is no similarity except in facial appearance, and describes the people as follows:

“I-lou 挹婁 lies more than 1,000 *li* to the northeast of Fu-yü 夫餘, facing the great sea. On the south it is adjoined by north Wu-chü, but nothing is known of the northern frontier. The land is full of steep mountains; its people resemble the Fu-yü tribe in facial appearance, but their language is not similar to that of Fu-yü or Kao-chü-li. They produce five kinds of grain, cattle and horses, and linencloths, and they are generally courageous. There is no great ruler, but the villages have each a head. They live in a forest, and always in a cave. A large house is so deep that the ladder has 9 rounds. The more rounds a ladder has, the more valuable it is considered. The climate is cold; the cold being much severe than in Fu-yü. It is a custom with them to keep swines, to eat their meat, and to wear their skins. In winter they cover their bodies with swine fat to the thickness of a few tenths of an inch to protect themselves from the wind and cold. In summer, they are naked, only covering their front and back with small pieces of cloth. The inhabitants are unclean; they have their toilet at the centre of the house and live around it. Their bow is 4 feet long, and is strong as a cross-bow. Their arrow is made of a pomegranade tree, 1.8 feet long, and provided with a green stone arrowhead. This is the land of Su-shên-shih 肅慎氏 of old. They are clever archers. When they shoot at a man, the arrow always pierces him, and as it is poisoned, the man who is shot is invariably killed. They produce red stones and excellent sables—the so-called I-lou sables. Since the Han period, they had subordinated themselves to Fu-yü. As the latter levied too heavy taxes, they rose in mutiny during the *Huang-ch'u* 黃初 era. Fu-yü attacked them often, but never succeeded in conquering them because the populace, though not many in number, lived in steep mountains and the neighbors were afraid of the bow and arrow of the I-lou people. As the natives sometimes invade in a boat and commit robbery, their neighbors dread them. The eastern foreigners always use small tables and bowes when they eat and drink. Only the I-lou have no such custom. They have least discipline in their customs.”⁽¹⁾

- (1) 挹婁在夫餘東北千餘里，濱大海，南與北沃沮接，未知其北所極。其土地多山險。其人形似夫餘，言語不與夫餘。句麗同。有五穀牛馬麻布。人多勇力，無大君長，邑落各有大人，處山林之間，常穴居，大家深九梯，以多爲好。土氣寒，劇於夫餘。其俗好養豬，食其肉，衣其皮，冬豬膏塗身，厚數分，以御風寒。夏則裸袒，以尺布隱其前後，以蔽形體。其人不可不潔，作澗在中央，人圍其表居。其弓長四尺，力如弩，矢用楛，長尺八寸，青石爲鏃，古之肅慎氏之國也。善射，射人皆入，因矢施毒，人中皆死。出赤玉。好貂，今所謂挹婁貂是也。自漢已來，臣屬夫餘，夫餘責其租賦重，以黃初中叛之。夫餘伐之，其人衆雖少，所在山險，鄰國人畏其弓矢，卒不能服也。其國便乘船寇盜，鄰國患之。東夷飲食，類用俎豆，唯挹婁不法，俗最無綱紀也。

As to the passage towards the end of this account, Wu-chü-chuan 沃沮傳 comments on the North and South Wu-chu as follows: 其俗南北皆同, 與挹婁接, 挹婁喜乘船寇鈔, 北沃沮畏之, 夏月恒在山巖深穴中爲守備, 冬月冰凍, 船道不通, 乃下居村落 (The south and the north are alike in their customs and manners. They are adjoined by the I-lou. The I-lou people like to ply a boat and invade into another country to commit robbery. The North Wu-chü dread them. During summer months they always stay in the deep caves in the steep mountains and protect themselves. During winter months when the water is frozen and a boat cannot be plied, they come down and live in the villages.) So it seems the people who were invaded by the I-lou were exclusively the North Wu-chü, their neighbors on the south. When it says that the land stretches along the great sea on the east, but it extends limitless on the north, it might read as though it referred to the immense area extending from East Manchuria to the whole coast province and the Amur province in Russian territory, but a knowledge covering such a vast area in those days would have been impossible, nor could such varied tribes have been described concisely. Therefore, the chief abode of the Fu-yü who occupied the region 1,000 *li* to the north of the then Hsüan-t'u 玄菟 or the present Fu-shun 撫順, namely the homeland of the I-lou more than 1,000 *li* to the northeast of Chang-ch'un 長春 and Nung-an 農安 may probably fall around the present Harbin. This region and the Vladivostok region adjoining the North Wu-chü would be in entirely different directions, and too far apart; the two could not have been the one and the same tribe. Judging from the later actual instances, the natives around Harbin and those around Vladivostok were of entirely different tribes.⁽¹⁾ The reason why the *Wei-chih* called them I-lou alike is because the knowledge of the Chinese at that time about the remotest Manchuria was inaccurate and they regarded the tribes in the distance as the one and the same tribe. This must be a case similar to that in which during the Ming dynasty the remote natives beyond Hai-hsi 海西 and Chien-chou 建州 were called Yeh-jên-nü-chi 野人女直.

As to the homeland of the I-lou, both Dr. IKEUCHI and Dr. TSUDA assigned it to the homeland of the Su-shên 肅慎, namely the region around the present Ninguta 寧古塔.⁽²⁾ It would seem absurd to imagine that such

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- (1) See WADA, "The Natives of the Lower Reaches of the Amur River as Represented in Chinese Records", *op. cit.*
- (2) Hiroshi IKEUCHI 池内宏, "Sōgi no Tōhō Keiryaku 曹魏の東方經略" (The Eastern Expedition of Ts'ao-Wei), *Mansen-shi Kenkyū, Jōseihen 滿鮮史研究*, 上世篇, pp. 275-6. TSUDA, "Bokkai Kō 渤海考" (A Study of P'o-hai), *Mansen Chiri Rekishi Kenkyū-hōkoku 滿鮮地理歴史研究報告* No. 1, p. 132.

a remote region should be first known to the ancient Chinese. Much more so when you remember that during the Three-Kingdom period, these tribes were still in Fu-yü territory. It could not have been the homeland of the I-lou. As seen in the above-cited I-lou-chuan, when the Fu-yü rose first, the I-lou had always been a subjugated tribe under them since the Han period, until the *Huang-ch'u* 黃初 era (220-226) of the Wei dynasty when they deserted. At that time the present Ninguta region was still under the influence of the Fu-yü, and even after they declined, it was here that the so-called East Fu-yü came into being. This may be proved by Tung-i-chuan Wu-chü 東夷傳沃沮 in the *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書 and in the *San-kuo-chih* 三國志, which says that Wu-chü 沃沮「北與挹婁, 夫餘, 南與濊貊接」(is adjoined by I-lou and Fu-yü on the north and Wei-mo on the south). As the northern limit of the Wu-chü was the basin of the Tumen River 豆滿江, it would have been adjoined on the north only by the I-lou, and not by the Fu-yü, if the influence of the Fu-yü had not extended to the present Ninguta region.

At any rate there is little doubt that the homeland of the so-called I-lou was in the present Harbin region. This will be proved by the historial works of the succeeding dynasty. A passage under Pei-ti-chuan Mo-ho 北狄傳靺鞨 in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 舊唐書 (Bk, 199B) reads: "It is supposed that Mo-ho is the land of Su-shên of old. During the Hou-Wei period, it was called Wu-chi 勿吉. It lies 6,000 *li* to the northeast from the T'ang capital. The land reaches the sea on the east, and is adjoined by Turks 突厥 on the west, is bounded by Kao-li 高麗 (Kao-chü-li) on the south, and borders on Shih-wei 室韋 on the north."⁽¹⁾

Hei-shui-mo-ho-chuan 黑水靺鞨傳 in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 (Bk. 219) gives practically a similar account, 黑水靺鞨居肅慎地, 亦曰挹婁, 元魏時曰勿吉, 直京師北六千里, 東瀕海, 西屬突厥, 南高麗, 北室韋,(The Hei-shui-mo-ho inhabit the old abode of the Su-shên. They are also called I-lou. Formerly in the T'o-pa Wei dynasty they were called Wu-chi 勿吉. The distance from the T'ang capital is 6,000 *li* in the northeast. The land faces the sea, and is adjoined on the west by Turks, is bounded on the south by Kao-chü-li and borders on the north by Shih-wei.) It states that Su-shên became I-lou, then I-lou became Wu-chi, and finally Wu-chi was changed to Mo-ho, and this is what is generally accepted. Change of a tribe-name usually occurs as a powerful community rules the others, its name covering the whole tribe. Therefore, when a Chinese historian says that So-and-so is the successor of So-and-so, he is often making a random guess and could

(1) 靺鞨蓋肅慎之地, 後魏謂之勿吉, 在京師東北六千餘里, 東至於海, 西接突厥, 南界高麗, 北鄰室韋.

not be relied upon, though he is no doubt writing about some tribe in the same region.

IV

Let me first take up Wu-chi 勿吉 in the Wei dynasty. It was in the 5th year of *Yen-hsing* 延興 (475) in the reign of the Emperor Hsiao-wên-ti 孝文帝 of the Wei dynasty that Wu-chi for the first time paid a tribute to the North Wei court and had its name recorded in history. It was incidentally the year in which the King Chang-shou 長壽王 of Kao-chü-li, defeated Pai-chi 百濟, captured its capital Wei-li-ch'êng 尉禮城 (South Han-shan-ch'êng 南漢山城) and the Wu-chi envoy jointly with Pai-chi petitioned for permission to attack Kao-chü-li. For further comparison, I shall take the trouble to quote a greater part of Wu-chi-chuan 勿吉傳 in the *Wei-shu* 魏書 (Bk. 100).

"Wu-chi-kuo 勿吉國 lies to the north of Kao-chü-li; it is Su-shên-kuo 肅慎國 of old. Each village has its own head, and the villages are not united as one body. The populace are courageous, and the strongest of all the foreign tribes in the east. Their language is unique, differing from every other. As they have always insulted the other countries such as Tou-mo-lou 豆莫婁, etc., the others complain about it. 5,000 *li* from Lo-yang 洛陽 and over 300 *li* to the north from Ho-lung 和龍 rises Mt. Shan-yü 善玉山. By a 13 days' journey north from this mountain, Mt. Chi-li 祁黎山 is reached. By another 7 days' journey north, the Ju-lo-kwei-shui 如洛瓌水 is reached. This river is over one *li* wide. By another 15 days' journey further north from there, the T'ai-lu shui 太魯水 is reached. By another 18 days' journey northeast from these, this country is reached. In Wu-chi-kuo, there is a great river; the width is over 3 *li*. The river is called Su-mo-shui 速末水. The land is low and damp. They build a castle and live in a cave. Their house is in the shape of a grave; the door opens upward and it is entered by means of a ladder. This country has no cows, but has horses and wagons. When they plough land, they plough walking side by side; they walk pushing their cart onward. They have millet and barley, and hollyhocks as a vegetable. The water is salty and hard. Salt grows on top of trees, and there are salt ponds also; a plenty of hogs, but no sheep. They chew rice and brew rice-wine; they are intoxicated when they drink it. Women wear cloth-skirts, while men wear hog or dog skins. The night they are first married, the bridegroom visits the bride's home, and as he grasps her breasts, the wedding is complete, and they are man and wife. Their custom is to wash their hands and faces with urine, and stick the tail of a leopard or tiger into their

hair. They are clever archers. The bow is 3 feet long, the arrow 1.2 ft. long and is provided with a stone head. When a parent dies in spring or summer, they at once bury the dead, and build a hut to protect it from getting wet in the rain; if in autumn or winter, they catch sables with the corpse. By letting sables eat the flesh, they catch a great number of them. Always in July and August, they prepare their poison. When they shoot an animal with the poison on the arrowhead, one hit is sure to kill it. The poisonous gas produced in boiling up the poison will also kill a man. In the south of the country rises Mt. T'u-tai 徒太山 which is called T'ai-huang 太皇 by the Wei people. In the mountain there are tigers, leopards, brown bears, and wolves which never harm human beings. People are not allowed to relieve nature in the mountain. Those who pass the mountain depart carrying vessels full of urine and faeces. During the *Yen-hsing* 延興 era, they dispatched I-li-chih 乙力支 as envoy to the Wei court to pay a tribute. Again in the 1st year of *T'ai-ho* 太和 they sent 500 horses as a tribute to the court. According to I-li-chih's report, after leaving his country, he went by boat up the Nan-ho river westward up to the T'ai-êrh River 太淦河 where he sank the boat, and by travelling south by land, crossing the Lo-ku-shui River 洛孤水, reached Ho-lung 和龍 by way of the western boundary of Khi-tan 契丹. According to his own story, Wu-chi-kuo had recently defeated ten Kao-chü-li villages and, secretly conspiring with Pai-chi to conquer Kao-chü-li by uniting their forces and proceeding along the water route, sent I-li-chih to pay respect to the Wei court and asked for its opinion on this plan. The Imperial message issued was: 'These three countries are all our tributaries; they should keep peaceful to one another; they should not invade or disturb each other.' Thereupon, I-li-chih returned, retracing the same route, recovering and floating the same boat, and reached his native country..."⁽¹⁾

(1) 勿吉國在高句麗北，舊肅慎國也，邑落各自有長，不相總一。其人勁悍，於東夷最疆，言語獨異，常輕豆莫婁等國，諸國亦患之。去洛五千里，自和龍北二百餘里，有善玉山，山北行十三日，至祁黎山，又北行七日，至如洛瓊水，水廣里餘，又北行十五日，至太蓄水，又東北行十八日到其國。國有大水，濶三里餘，名速末水。其地下濶，築城穴居，屋形似塚，開口於上，以梯出入。其國無牛有車馬，佃則偶耕，車則步推。有粟及麥稞，菜則有葵。水氣鹹凝，鹽生樹上，亦有鹽池。多賭無羊，嚼米醞酒，飲能至醉。婦人則布裙，男子賭犬皮裘。初婚之夕，男就女家，執女乳而罷，便以爲定，仍爲夫婦。俗以人溺洗手面，頭挿虎豹尾，善射獵，弓長三尺，箭長尺二寸，以石爲鏃。其父母春夏死，立埋之，家上作屋，不令雨濕。若秋冬以其屍捕貂，貂食其肉，多得之。常七八月，造毒藥，傳箭鏃射禽獸，中者便死。煮藥毒氣，亦能殺人。國南有徒太山，魏言太皇，有虎豹羆狼，不害人，人不得山上洩汗，行逕山者，皆以物盛去。延興中，遣使乙力支朝獻，太和初，又貢馬五百匹。乙力支稱，初發其國，乘船泝難河西上，至太淦河，沉船於水，南出陸行，渡洛孤水，從契丹西界達和龍。自云其國先破高句麗十落，密共百濟謀，從水道，并力取高句麗，遣乙力支奉使大國，請其可否。詔勅三國同是藩附，宜共和順，勿相侵擾。乙力支乃還，從其來道，取得本船，汎達其國……

The rout of the envoy to the Wei court followed both ways is described in such full detail that Dr. SHIRATORI first of all discussed it⁽¹⁾; later Dr. TSUDA and Dr. IKEUCHI discussed it comprehensively.⁽²⁾ Omitting the details, I may simply say that Dr. TSUDA concluded that, seeing that over 30 days were spent in travelling from Ho-lung 和龍 in the Wei period, namely the present Chao-yang 朝陽 in the north to the vicinity of T'ao-nan 洮南 on the banks of the T'ai-lu-shui 太魯水, namely the present T'aorho 洮兒河, the homeland of the Wu-chi 勿吉 which was reached by travelling northeast 18 days from there along the river must have been the neighbourhood of Yü-shu 榆樹 to the east of the present north Sungari River 松花江, while Dr. IKEUCHI, likewise, assigned this to a vicinity of A-ch'êng 阿城 to the south-east of Harbin. Dr. TSUDA's assigning such an insignificant place as Yü-shu for the homeland of the Wu-chi was the result of his laying emphasis on the distance of 1,000 *li* reported as separating Tou-mo-lou 豆莫婁 which was to be assigned for the basin of the Hu-lan River 呼蘭河 in the north of the place. However, Tou-mo-lou which avoided the power and prosperity of the Wu-chi was more probably lived more to the north. At any rate, it may be considered that the strongest tribe of all in the east lived at such a strategic point as later became the birth-place of the Chin dynasty. Therefore, in this case, I could rather favor Dr. IKEUCHI's position. As I explained the point elsewhere in my study: "Bokkai-koku Chiri kō 渤海國地理考" the seat of the Mo-chi-fu 莫訶府 which P'o-hai later founded retaining the name must be at this same place.

The homeland of the Wu-chi was somewhere around the present A-ch'êng 阿城; in those days the tribe was so strong and powerful that its influence seems to have felt even in part of East Mongolia. As to the words of the Wu-chi envoy 自云其國先破高句麗十落 (According to his own story, Wu-chi-kuo had recently defeated ten Kao-chü-li tribes), Dr. IKEUCHI, emphasizing this, suspected that this was the basin of the present Hui-fa River 輝發河⁽³⁾ and Mr. Kaisaburō HINO, 日野開三郎 favored this view.⁽⁴⁾ This could not have been the case. Since it was a time when Kao-chü-li was at its height of power, the area to the south of the present Chi-lin 吉

(1) SHIRATORI, "Tōko-minzoku Kō 東胡民族考" (A Study of the Eastern Tribes), Shigaku-Zasshi 史學雜誌, Vol. 21, No. 7.

(2) TSUDA, "Mokkitsu Kō 勿吉考" (A Study of Wu-chi), Mansen Hōkoku 滿鮮報告, No. 1, p. 138; IKEUCHI, "Mokkitsu Kō 勿吉考" (A Study of Wu-chi), Mansen-shi Kenkyū, Jōsei-hen 滿鮮史研究, 上世篇 pp. 469-522.

(3) IKEUCHI, "Mokkitsu Kō 勿吉考", *op. cit.*, Mansen-shi Kenkyū, Jōsei-hen 滿鮮史研究, 上世篇, pp. 508-9.

(4) Kaisaburō HINO 日野開三郎, "Makkatsu Shichi-bu Kō 靺鞨七部考" (A Study of the Seven Mo-ho Tribes), Shien 史淵, Vol. 36/37, pp. 16-19.

林 was completely included in its territory⁽¹⁾, it would be impossible to imagine that the basin of the Hui-fa River was invaded by the Wu-chi. The villages invaded probably were only small villages like the present Yü-shu 榆樹 and Wu-ch'ang 五常 in the south of the then Wu-chi. On the contrary, the Wu-chi which, in communicating with China, avoided the influence of Kao-chü-li and crossed the land of East Mongolia, probably exercised a great deal of power in those parts. This may be supposed from the circumstances of the envoy's above-cited return trip, but the text of Wu-chi-chuan states that within its territory, “水氣鹹凝, 鹽生樹上, 亦有鹽池” (The water is salty and hard. Salt grows on top of trees, and there are salt ponds also.) As everyone knows, there are many salt ponds in arid Mongolia, but there is none in damp Manchuria. Now it is stated that within Wu-chi territory there are salt ponds. Then this must be the region of Chagan-nor 查干諾爾 in the west beyond the present Fu-yü and Petune 伯都訥. If so, the Wu-chi must have been a tribe occupying the extreme west in all Manchuria and immediately adjoined by Mongolia. It is true that Hei-shui-mo-ho in the *Pei-shih* 北史 which followed the *Sui-shu* 隋書 says this on the same item: 水氣鹹, 生鹽於木皮之上, 亦有鹽池 (The water is salty. Salt grows on the bark of the tree. There are salt ponds also.) Again, the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* in its Hei-shui-mo-ho says 有鹽泉, 氣蒸薄, 鹽凝樹顛 (There are salt springs. The air is hot and thin. Salt condenses on top of trees.) Of course these are uncritical reprints from the previous history on the part of the compilers. It would be absurd to imagine salt ponds on the banks of the Amur River.

V

As this powerful Wu-chi tribe declined later, there rose several independent tribes known as 靺鞨諸部 (several Mo-ho-tribes), namely, the Su-mo 粟末 to the north of the present Chi-lin 吉林, the Pai-tu 伯咄 of Petune 伯都訥, the An-ch'ê-ku 安車骨 of A-ch'êng 阿城, the Fu-nieh 拂涅 on the banks of the Hu-lan River 呼蘭河, the Hao-shih 號室 of the San-hsing 三姓 region. The foregoing and the Hei-shui 黑水 on the banks of the Amur River and the Pai-shan 白山 at the foot of Mt. Chang-pai 長白山 were called the Seven Mo-ho Tribes.⁽²⁾

It goes without saying that the word 靺鞨 was another transcription of 勿吉. This new rising tribe Mo-ho frequently sneaked into Kao-chü-li to

(1) WADA, “Bokkaikoku Chiri Kō 渤海國地理考”, *op. cit.*, *Tōashi Kenkyū* (Manshū-hen) 東亞史研究 (滿洲篇), p. 80.

(2) *ibid.*, pp. 89-97.

the south. For instance, the so-called Pai-shan 白山 were Mo-ho people who secretly penetrated along the Sungari River; and that they occupied the north-western district at the foot of Mt. Chang-pai 長白山 is fully recorded in both *Hsin* and *Chiu T'ang-shu* 新舊唐書⁽¹⁾.

Still more aggressive were the P'o-hai who came after them, with their frequent invasions. P'o-hai was of course a country founded by the remnants of Kao-chü-li, whose king we Japanese called Kōrai Kokuō 高麗國王 (the king of Kōrai). While its upper class were chiefly consisted of former Kao-chü-li men, the majority of the lower class were by and by Mo-ho. This fact is most evident in the report of Ei-chū 永忠 the Japanese Buddhist priest who went to China for study in the 15th year of *Enryaku* 延曆 of the Emperor Kammu 桓武天皇, namely the 2nd year of *Sheng-li* 正曆 of the King K'ang-wang 康王 of P'o-hai 渤海 (796). A passage in the *Ruijū-kokushi* 類聚國史 (Bk. 193) reads:

"This country is 2,000 *li* wide, with no provinces, countries, post-stations. There are villages here and there; they are all villages of Mo-ho people. There are not many natives, but the village-heads are all natives. The head of the largest village is called Tu-tu 都督. That of the next largest village is called Tz'ü-shih 刺史, and the common people call them chiefs. The climate of the land is extremely cold so that no rice paddy-field is possible. The people are generally literate."⁽²⁾

It is evident that the native here referred to were people of Kao-chü-li descent. According to the recent report of the researches made on the excavations at the Tung-ching castle 東京城, the former capital of P'o-hai, the relics are of two kinds: one includes relics of a considerably high class and the other only primitive relics, which fact probably differentiates the two tribes, those of Kao-chü-li descent and the Mo-ho. The accuracy of Ei-chū's report has now been materially demonstrated. A theory says that I-li-chin 乙力支 the name of the Wu-chi envoy is not a proper noun, but a Chinese transcription of the Manchu word *elcin* which means an envoy. If so, the Wu-chi was surely a tribe which employed the Manchu language.

I am of the opinion that Manchu culture rose solely under the influence of the culture of China proper; first, as the Chinese people developed the lower reaches of the Liao River 遼河, the agricultural area in north Manchuria was developed and there rose the Fu-yü. It was during the Former Han dynasty. A few centuries later, when the prosperous Fu-

(1) *loc. cit.*

(2) 其國延袤二千里，無州縣館驛，處々有村里，皆鞞鞞部落。其百姓者，鞞鞞多土人少，皆以土人爲村長，大村曰都督，次曰刺史，其下百姓皆曰首領。土地極寒，不宜水田，俗頗知書。

yü began to decline, the Kao-chü-li rose in the south Mancurian mountains. The fortune of the Kao-chü-li lasted longest from the Han period through the Wei 魏, Chin 晉, North and South (Nan-pei) dynasty 南北朝, Sui 隋, and T'ang 唐 periods until the Emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 of the T'ang dynasty conquered them. However, taking advantage of the confusions caused by the Empresses Wu-shih 武氏 and Wei-shih 韋氏 in the T'ang dynasty, the lingering influence of the Kao-chü-li revived itself in founding P'ò-hai. According to Dr. SHIRATORI's study, the people were all descendants of the Wei-mo 濊貊, with a language and customs and manners quite similar; their language, mostly Manchurian containing some Mongol words, resembles the present Solon 索倫 language. They are called the Wei-mo-race.⁽¹⁾ Of these the Fu-yü was a weak tribe situated nearest the west boundary, the Kao-chü-li which rose in the mountains was a strong tribe, and the P'ò-hai which occupied the most interior area enjoyed the greatest prosperity was called "the greatest country in the east." This is the history of the gradual development and increasing prosperity of Manchuria.

The mighty power of the Wei-mo race now seemed to expire and to be overwhelmed by the newly rising Mo-ho race. It was at this time that the Khi-tan 契丹 rose to overthrow P'ò-hai. The Khi-tan had an intention to compete for supremacy in Central China in the south, and their conquest of P'ò-hai was due to their plan to leave no enemy behind who might molest them from their rear. When they captured P'ò-hai, they moved the enemy's whole upper class society to the heart of their homeland in the west. Here came a reversal period in the history of Manchuria, which sent back to the former dark age of Manchuria which had been gradually advancing up to this time. Therefore, after this the Wei-mo race never showed up again. For the later progress of Manchuria was achieved only by such genuine Manchu people as the Chin 金 of the Nü-chên 女真 and the Ch'ing of Manchuria. In Dr. SHIRATORI's view, the I-lou 挾婁, the Wu-chi 勿吉 and the Mo-ho 靺鞨 were the parents of the genuine Manchurians. Such has been our general view of Manchu history. Should we, like Prof. MIKAMI, judging the tribes only from the resemblance of their customs and manners alone, determine the I-lou 挾婁, Wu-chi 勿吉, and the Hei-shui-mo-ho 黑水靺鞨 to be an Palæo-Asiatic race, where should the newly rising Mo-ho tribes have gone? Whence did the genuine Manchu race come?

(1) SHIRATORI, *Tōa-minzoku* 東亞民族 (The East Asian Races), Iwanami Kōza, Tōyō Shichō 岩波講座, 東洋思潮.

VI

Now, Prof. MIKAMI also asserts the Hei-sui-mo-ho 黑水靺鞨 on the Amur River to be an Palæo-Asiatic tribe. It is true, as to the Hei-shui-mo-ho, the *Chiu-T'ang-shu* (Bk. 199) says:

"The Hei-shui-mo-ho are situated in the farthest north, and called the most powerful of all, and as they are proud of their valor, the neighbors always dread them. As for their customs and manners, they have their hair braided and hanging down; their temper is wild and merciless. Young people are respected and old people despised. They have no buildings; they dig holes in the mountains or along the shore, pass trees on it and cover it with dirt. It looks like a Chinese grave. They live in it in a body; in summer they come out of the dwelling and move about after water and grass, and in winter they withdraw into the hole and live in it. Their chieftaincy is hereditary handed down from father to son. They are illiterate. As for weapons, they have bows decorated with horn and arrows made of pomegranate wood. As chief domestic animals, they have hogs; a rich man keeps several hundred of them. The meat is eaten, and the skin is worn. The dead is buried in the earth; the body is directly covered with dirt; they have no tools for burying the dead. They kill the horse which the deceased rode in life and hold religious rites in front of the corpse. During the Sui dynasty, a chief named T'u-ti-chi 突地稽 leading more than a thousand families secretly surrendered to China. So they were allowed to live in Ying-chou 營州....."⁽¹⁾

The same book goes to say that this man T'u-ti-chi 突地稽 was appointed to a high position even in the T'ang dynasty, and LI Chin-hang 李謹行 his son became the great army leader of the whole T'ang dynasty, and further records the dispersion of the Seven Mo-ho Tribes and the subsequent rise of P'o-hai as follows:

"The Hei-shui 黑水 tribe alone had prospered so that they were divided into 16 groups. The Hei-shui tribe had also built palisades along the northern and southern borders. In the 13th year of *Kai-yüan* 開元 Hsieh T'ai 薛泰, An-tung Tu-hu 安東都護 petitioned to the Court for founding the Hei-shui army within Hei-shui-mo-ho, and soon afterward established the Hei-shui-fu 黑水府 with the largest tribe. Thereupon the chief was

(1) 而黑水靺鞨最處北方，尤稱勁健，每恃其勇，恒爲隣境之患。俗皆編髮，性凶悍無憂戚，貴壯而賤老。無屋宇，並依山水，掘地爲穴，架木於上，以土覆之，狀如中國之塚墓。相聚而居，夏則出隨水草，冬則入處穴中。父子相承，世爲君長，俗無文字，兵器有角弓及楛矢。其畜宜豬，富人至數百口，食其肉而衣其皮。死者穿地埋之，以身糲土，無棺斂之具，殺所乘馬，於屍前設祭。有酋帥突地稽者，隋末率其部千餘家內屬，處之於營州.....

appointed Tu-tu 都督 to whom the tz'ü-shih 刺史 of all other tribes were subordinated. China dispatched Chang-shih 長史 to superintend each tribe. In the 16th year, the Tu-tu 都督 was given LI 李 as his family name and Hsien-ch'êng 獻誠 as his personal name; and was awarded the title of Yün-hui-chiang-chün 雲麾將軍, concurrently that of Hei-shui-ching-liao-shih 黑水經略使, under the supervision of the Tu-tu 都督 of Yu-ch'ou 幽州. Since then they never ceased to pay a tribute."⁽¹⁾

Hei-shui-mo-ho-chuan 黑水靺鞨傳 in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 (Bk. 219) also gives an almost similar account. As the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* often uncritically follows the accounts in the *Wei-shu* and the *Sui-shu*, these could hardly be taken as actual facts.

The Hei-shui-mo-ho was a tribe which inhabited the basin of the Amur River, from the point at which the present Sungari River 松花江 joins the Amur River to the point at the Usuri River 烏蘇里江 joins the Amur River. It is true, the customs and manners in the above account are more or less similar to those of the I-lou 挹婁 and Wu-chi 勿吉, but should it be included in the Palæo-Asiatic race on that strength? The Hei-shui-mo-ho, the greatest of the Seven Mo-ho Tribes, was not conquered by P'o-hai at its height of power, and its chiefs often proceeded to the T'ang court to pay a tribute, and some of them became a great general of the T'ang dynasty. The T'ang authorities established the Hei-shui-chou-tu-tu-fu 黑水州都督府 in the district, which, together with Hsi 奚 (Jao-lo-tu-tu-fu 饒樂都督府), Khi-tan 契丹 (Sung-mo-tu-tu-fu 松漠都督府), and P'o-hai 渤海 (Hu-han-chou-tu-tu-fu 忽汗州都督府), were called the four fu 府.⁽²⁾ Could such a powerful tribe have been a Palæo-Asiatic?

As Prof. MIKAMI emphasizes customs and manners, recognizes the fact that the Su-mo-mo-ho 粟末靺鞨 and the An-ch'ê-ku-mo-ho 安車骨靺鞨 related to the later Manchu race were decidedly of the Manchu race, nevertheless he insists that this Hei-shui-mo-ho alone was a Palæo-Asiatic stock. Then if the An-ch'ê-ku and other tribes which rose with the above-mentioned I-lou 挹婁 and the Wu-chi 勿吉 in the same region could be Manchu tribes, how could the Hei-shui alone be a Palæo-Asiatic stock when it was located a great deal away from them? True, the T'ang writers employ the word Mo-ho 靺鞨 so loosely; they apply it to the Chü-shuo 窟說 at the estuary of the Amur River, and the Mo-i-chieh 莫曳皆 in the Hokkaidō are called

(1) 唯黑水部全盛，分爲十六部，部又以南北爲柵。開元十三年，安東都護薛泰請於黑水靺鞨內置黑水軍，續更以最大部落爲黑水府，仍以其首領爲都督，諸部刺史隸屬焉，中國置長史，就其部落監領之。十六年，其都督賜姓李氏名獻誠，授雲麾將軍，兼黑水經略使，仍以幽州都督爲其押使。自此朝貢不絕。

(2) WADA, "Bokkai-koku Chiri-kō 渤海國地理考", *op. cit.*

Mo-ho alike. Therefore, there is no reason why they should be regarded as of the same stock because they are equally called Mo-ho. However, it is most probable that the Hei-shui-mo-ho was the greatest of the Seven Mo-ho Tribes; adjoining to the east there were the Ssü-mo 思慕, Chün-li 郡利, Chü-shuo 窟說; and at least the Chün-li were Gilyaks, Chü-shuo 窟說 ku-yi namely Ainus. These must be of the Palæo-Asiatic race, no doubt. According to the reports of SCHRENCK and SHIROKOGOROFF⁽¹⁾, there lived genuine Manchurian in A-ch'êng 阿城 and San-hsing 三姓, the Gold a Tungus stock from the lower reaches of the Sungari River to the middle reaches of the Amur River, and together with Olcha, Samagir, Negidar which were all Tungus tribes, Gilyaks of the Palæo-Asiatic race near the lower reaches of the Amur River, and the Ainus in Saghalin Island across the sea. Though their distribution in ancient times was no doubt different from that of to-day, there was no sign of the old Asiatic tribes apart from the above mentioned. When even such weak races as the Ainus or Gilyaks still survive, why could those powerful tribes like the I-lou, Mo-ho, Hei-shui-mo-ho have gone away so abruptly? Isn't this a riddle which could never be solved?

The customs and manners of a race have a unique significance and some of them permanently stay with indomitable obstinacy. I am far from denying this fact. But could we get hold of only a few customs, ignoring all the other considerations, and assert those with the said customs as of the same race? Prof. MIKAMI seems to say that cave-dwelling is a characteristic of the Paleo-Asiatic race; when the Tungus race does not live in caves to-day, the I-lou and Wu-chi and Hei-shui-mo-ho live in caves; therefore, they must be of the Palæo-Asiatic race. However, some Chinese people in Shan-hsi 陝西 and Kan-su 甘肅 live in caves to-day and the Japanese aborigines used to live in a kind of pit. Even to-day people at the foot of Mt. Kirigamine 霧ヶ峯 still dig some pits. It was quite natural that cave-dwelling should have become a fashion in severely cold Manchuria. Only with the advance of the times, probably the custom became obsolete. Isn't it said that the Orochi, likewise a Tungus tribe in the Sikhota mountains even to-day dwell in caves sometimes?

Prof. MIKAMI also asserts use of poisoned arrows as another characteristic of the Palæo-Asiatic race, and says that as the I-lou cleverly use poisoned arrows when the Tungus race never does, they must be a Palæo-Asiatic tribe. According to him, the tribes in Southwest China and the

(1) SCHRENCK, *op. cit.* S.M. SHIROKOGOROFF, *Social Organization of the Northern Tungus*, Shanghai, 1927.

inhabitants of Hsin-chiang 新疆 all use poisoned arrows, while the Manchus and Mongols do not know poisoned arrows; therefore use of poisoned arrows among the eastern foreigners in the east of the Hsing-an 興安 Mountains must have been introduced from the Hsin-chiang region. He discusses the subject in full detail. According to the *T'ai-tsu-shih-lu* 太祖實錄 of the Ch'ing dynasty, when in the 12th year of *Wan-li* 萬曆 (1584) of the Ming dynasty the Emperor T'ai-tsu 太祖 fought the Donggo 棟鄂 tribe on the banks of the Tung-chia River 佟家江, the enemy is represented as 以鱗血滓箭, 以備用 (Prepared with arrows soaked in the blood of a boa constrictor). This account is rather suspicious, for a boa constrictor is not found in this part of Manchuria and the blood may not exactly correspond to arrow poison. Nevertheless, there was no doubt that such tradition existed until the last days of the Ming dynasty. If so, one could not say that Manchuria has no tradition of a poisoned arrow. Though as a rule primitive man had to use poisoned arrows in shooting agile sea-animals or strong enemies with a "soft bow and weak arrows," a general tendency, after the progress of culture and improvement of bow and arrow, is to abolish poisoned arrows for the purpose of utilizing the game.

Again, Prof. MIKAMI asserts use of human urine as a characteristic of the old Asiatic race. True, this fact is recorded in *Wu-chi-chuan* 勿吉傳 in the *Wei-shu* and in *Mo-ho-chuan* 靺鞨傳 in the *Sui-shu* 隋書, but is no more given in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 舊唐書. The same statement may be made as to the poisoned arrow; no account of it occurs in either *T'ang-shu*. This may be due to carelessness in writing, or change with the times in the customs and manners. While Prof. MIKAMI's argument is extremely precise and detailed, mine is so rough and far-flung that it hardly deserves the name. However, as one considers the above-mentioned geographical and historical circumstances, this argumentation on the strength of customs and manners alone could hardly convince us.

The great fundamental question in Manchurian history is (1) whether the difference between the I-lou 挹婁 and the Wei-mo 濊貊 race should be regarded as an opposition of the genuine Manchus and the mixture of the Manchus and Mongols, or (2) only the Fu-yü 扶餘 and Koa-chü-li 高句麗 should be regarded as the parent body of the genuine Manchus (the so-called Wei-mo race being a mere fancy of Dr. SHIRATORI's), but the I-lou and Wu-chi belong to the Palæo-Asiatic race. If the latter view is followed, it would be impossible to explain the circumstances which brought forth the golden age of the Nü-chên 女真, after the Chin and Yüan dynasties following the frequent southern expansions of the Mo-ho tribes after the Kao-chü-li and Po-hai; moreover, we should lose sight of the destination

of the huge migration of the once powerful I-lou, Wu-chi, Hei-shui-mo-ho tribes which veritably extended over almost all Manchuria. This accounts for my whole-hearted support of the former view according to Dr. SHIRATORI's theory.