

Some Problems Concerning the Rise of T'ai-tsu 太祖 the Founder of Manchu Dynasty

By Sei WADA

In praise of the abundance of the historical data on the beginnings of the Ch'ing dynasty, Dr. Torajirō NAITŌ 内藤虎次郎, once said, "Have we as many documents on Ieyasu 家康, the founder of TOKUGAWA 德川 Shogunate, who was roughly contemporaneous with T'ai-tsu 太祖?"⁽¹⁾ Indeed, as to the circumstances of the T'ai-tsu's rise, besides the Ming and Korean records, every detail would seem complete in Manchu records alone, such as the various editions of the *T'ai-tsu-shih-lu* 太祖實錄, the *Man-chou-shih-lu* 滿洲實錄, and the *Man-wên-lao-tang* 滿文老檔. However, one will find that it is not necessarily true if one studies these records. The *Man-wên-lao-tang* is the most detailed of them all, but there is missing its first portion covering the period up to the 35th year of the *Wan-li* 萬曆 era (1607 A.D.), namely, the first 49 years of the T'ai-tsu's life. The rest of the above mentioned records treated the part extremely briefly. The Manchu historians untrained in recording and careless of the understanding of reader give only what they wish to give; therefore, their unreliable one-sided presentation is exceedingly difficult for one to understand. Really, it is quite difficult to clarify the situation of the T'ai-tsu's rise. It is true, much light has been thrown on the subject by the *Ch'ing-shih-k'ao-lich-chuan* 清史稿列傳 (Vols. 9 and 10) and by the works by Kazuki SONODA 園田一龜 entitled "Min Ban-reki Shoki ni okeru Ryōtō Jochoku no Shōchō 明萬曆初期に於ける遼東女直の消長" (The Rise and Fall of the Liao-t'ung Jurchens at the Beginning of the *Wan-li* 萬曆 Period of the Ming Dynasty)⁽²⁾ and "Shin Tai-so Bōkkō Shoki no Gyōseki 清太祖勃興初期の行迹" (The Achievement of the T'ai-tsu of Ch'ing during the Earliest Stage of His Rise).⁽³⁾ The present writer has written on the subject in his papers entitled "Manshū Shobu no Ichi ni tsuite 滿洲諸部の位置について" (On the Geographical Distribution of the Various Manchu Tribes),⁽⁴⁾ "Shin-so Hasshō no Chiiki ni tsuite 清祖發祥の地域について" (On the Homeland of the T'ai-tsu of the Ch'ing Dynasty),⁽⁵⁾ and others.⁽⁶⁾ However, the *Ch'ing-shih-k'ao* is rather superficial, and SONODA's

(1) Torajirō NAITŌ, "Shin-chō Kaikoku-ki no Shiryō 清朝開國期の史料" (Dates on the Foundation of the Ch'ing Dynasty), *Dokushi-sōroku* 讀史叢錄 p. 144.

(2) Manshū Gakuhō 滿洲學報 No. 3.

(3) *Ibid.* No. 4.

(4) Sei WADA, *Tōashi Kenkyū* (Manshū-hen) 東亞史研究 (滿洲篇). 1955, pp. 566-581.

(5) *Ibid.* pp. 582-596.

(6) *Ibid.* "Min-matsu'ni okeru Ōryōkkō-hōmen no Kaitaku 明末に於ける鴨綠江方面の開

papers are confined to treatment of the T'ai-tsu's military tactics and his relations with the Ming dynasty, while mine failed to cover the period following the T'ai-tsu's rising in arms. Therefore quite many questions have been left untreated. In the following, the writer will discuss a few of them, omitting those clarified in the *Ch'ing-shih-k'ao* and SONODA's works.

I

First comes the question of Nikan Wailan 尼堪外蘭. According to the *Man-chou Shih-lu* 滿洲實錄, once there was a person named Nikan Wailan at Fortress Turun 圖倫 of the Suksuhu River 素克素護河 or Su-tzū-ho 蘇子河 tribe. In the 2nd month of the 11th year of the *Wan-li* 萬曆 era (1583 A.D.), he succeeded in instigating LI Ch'êng-liang 李成梁, Commander of the Ming army in Liao-tung 遼東, to attack and kill Atai 阿太 of Fortress Gure 古埒 on the banks of the Suksuhu River. Gure was a fortress situated at the present Kulou 古樓. Atai 阿太, a powerful chief represented in the Ming records as A-t'ai 阿台, was an orphan son of Wang-kao 王杲, Tu-chih-hui-shih 都指揮使 of Chien-chou yu-wei 建州右衛. At the time, as the wife of Atai 阿太 was the daughter of Lidun Baturu 禮敦巴圖魯 (uncle of T'ai-tsu), Giocangga 覺昌安 (grandfather of T'ai-tsu), on hearing that the Gure was surrounded and fearing that his granddaughter would be captured, went accompanied by his fourth son Taksi 塔克世 (that is, T'ai-tsu's father) to rescue her. As they reached the fortress, fighting was so fierce that he entered the fortress alone, leaving Taksi outside. When he was held by Atai and could not come out, Taksi also entered the fortress, and as the fortress fell, both were captured and killed, on a false accusation by Nikan Wailan.

This affair is recorded almost in the same way by the Ming historians. For instance, the *Tung-i-Nurhaci-k'ao* 東夷奴兒哈赤考 by CH'ENG Ling-ming 程令名 adopted at the beginning of the *Ch'ou-liao-shih-hua* 籌遼碩畫 reads as follows:

"Some years ago, Giocangga 叫場 and Taksi 他失, both being loyal and obedient to China, persuaded Wang-t'ai 王台 to capture and send Wang-kao 王杲 into the hand of the Ming commander. Later Atai 阿台, a son of Wang-kao, took Giocangga by force into the fortress of himself. Being compelled to help Atai's revenge for his father's death, Giocangga gave no consent and was held under the arrest by Atai. When the Chinese army was fiercely besieging the fortress of Atai, Taksi hurried in to rescue his father within and was entangled in the battle. Giocangga was burnt to death in the fortress, and Taksi was killed by a Chinese by mistake. Thus the father and the son both lost their lives."⁽¹⁾

拓” (The Development of the Yalu-chiang Region in the Last Stage of the Ming Dynasty) pp. 503-565; “Shin no Tai-so to Ri Sei-ryō to no Kankei 清の太祖と李成梁との關係” (Relation between the T'ai-tsu of Ch'ing and Li-Cheng-liang) pp. 362-379.

- (1) 先年, 叫場, 他失皆忠順, 爲中國出力, 先引王台拿送王杲. 後杲男阿台將叫場拘至伊寨, 令其歸順, 合黨謀犯, 以報父讐. 叫場不從, 阿台拘留不放. 大兵征勦阿台, 圍塞攻急. 他失因父在內, 慌忙救護, 混入軍中. 叫場寨內燒死, 他失被兵誤殺, 因父子俱死.

If these accounts are put together to supplement each other, the circumstances will become graphic. The *Shih-lu* 實錄 says that when the T'ai-tsu 太祖 protested to the Ming complaining of the mistake, the Ming admitted it as an unintended murder, as follows: "At length he returned with the dead body, being given thirty imperial permits and thirty horses. He was also favored with the Imperial message appointing him Tu-tu 都督."⁽¹⁾ The post-script of the *Tung-i-Nurhaci-k'ao* 東夷奴兒哈赤考 also says, "Now Li 李, the Commander of Ming Army, searched for and discovered the corpse of Taksi, and returned them to T'ai-tsu through Po-ch'a 伯樺, his Manchu assistant. Also T'ai-tsu was awarded twenty imperial permits and twenty horses which were left in the fortress."⁽²⁾ However, as it was in the 9th month of the 17th year of *Wan-li* 萬曆 (1589), several years after the abovementioned event,⁽³⁾ that the T'ai-tsu was granted the imperial decree appointing him Tu-tu 都督, the passage which says: "He was also favored with the imperial decree appointing him Tu-tu 都督" in the *Shih-lu*, is, strictly speaking, not correct. Besides the numbers of the imperial permits and horses are somewhat exaggerated. The rest of the two accounts, however, may be said to tally remarkably with each other. An imperial permit is a license for paying tributes and for trade. Be that as it might, both his father and grandfather having been killed at the same time, T'ai-tsu 太祖 unexpectedly became independent at the age of 25. This certainly was an important event in his life.

Since his grandfather and father were murdered through the intrigue of Nikan Wailan, the first objective of the T'ai-tsu's rise in arms was to conquer him. This is a well-known fact because it is clearly stated in the *Huang-ch'ing-k'ai-kuo-fang-lüeh* 皇清開國方略, the *Tung-hua-lu* 東華錄 and also in the later works such as the *Shêng-wu-chi* 聖武記 and the *Ch'ing-shih-kao* 清史稿. The text of the *Man-chou-shih-lu* 滿洲實錄, following the previous quotation, runs as follows:

"T'ai-tsu says; 'My grandfather and father were killed at the will of Nikan Wailan. Should you seize him and deliver him to me, my heart would be satisfied.' A Ming officer said, 'Your grandfather's and father's deaths were caused by a mistake committed by a soldier belonging to us. For this reason you were given imperial permits and horses, and also awarded the imperial decree appointing you Tu-tu 都督. The matter was completely settled. If you desire that even now, I will assist Nikan Wailan, and build a castle at 'Giyaban 嘉班, and declare him the ruler of Man-chou-kuo 滿洲國.' Thereupon, the people of the country all believed this, and they all pledged allegiance to Nikan Wailan. The descendants of the five brothers of the T'ai-tsu's grandfather swore to god to murder T'ai-tsu and wished to pledge

(1) 遂以屍還, 仍與勅書三十道·馬三十四。復給都督勅書。

(2) 時鎮守李總兵將他矢屍首尋獲, 查給部夷伯樺領回。又將寨內所得勅書二十道·馬二十四給領。

(3) The *Ta-ming-shên-tsung-shih-lu* 大明神宗實錄. Item under "the 'i-mao 乙卯 of the 9th month, the 17th year of Wan-li"; also, Kazuki SONODA, "Shin Tai-so Bokkō Shoki no Gyōseki 清太祖勃興初期の行迹". *Manshū Gakuhō* 滿洲學報 No. 4, pp. 132-136.

allegiance to Nikan Wailan. Nikan Wailan also pressed T'ai-tsu to come and pledge allegiance to him. T'ai-tsu said: 'You are one of my father's men. How dare you order me to pledge allegiance to you? Is there anyone who lives to be one hundred years old and never dies?' To the end of his days he bore enmity and never pledged allegiance to him."⁽¹⁾

When, about this time, Gūwara 卦喇, head of the Sarhū 薩爾滸 tribe, one of the Suksuhu 蘇克素護 tribes, was accused by Nikan Wailan in the presence of the officers at Fu-shun 撫順, his younger brother Nomina 諾密納 and Gahašan 噶哈善, chief of the Giyamuhū 嘉木湖 fortress of the same tribe, and others, resenting this together, came away to join T'ai-tsu, saying, "We would join the descendants of the six princes of Aisin Gioro 愛新覺羅 rather than serve such a man." Thereupon, in the 5th month of this year, T'ai-tsu, equipped with the thirteen pieces of armory, his heritage from his forefathers, allying himself with Nomina, rose in arms. However, Longdon 龍敦 the fourth son of Soocangga 索長阿, the 3rd son of the T'ai-tsu's great-grandfather, betrayed him after winning over Nomina and his brother. Still T'ai-tsu single-handed took the Turun 圖倫 fortress, and came away. In the 8th month of the same year, T'ai-tsu with his troops again attacked Nikan Wailan at the Giyaban 嘉班 fortress; but this time again Nomina and his brother had informed the enemy, Nikan Wailan succeeded in running away from the fortress, and entered Ho-k'ou-t'ai 河口臺 to the southeast of Fu-shun-so 撫順所 of the Ming troops. As the soldiers of the Ming garrison interfered him, T'ai-tsu, misunderstanding them to be fighting in support of Nikan Wailan, returned with his men.

Later, T'ai-tsu succeeded in destroying Nomina and his brother at the Sarhū fortress. The tribesmen of Nikan Wailan and those who had pledged to him said among themselves, "When Nikan Wailan was pursued by the enemy, and was about to be destroyed, he ran to the frontier of Ming territory, but he was not admitted. How could we expect that the Ming authorities would build a fortress at Giyaban for him to install him as the ruler of Manchus? It is enough to prove that what had been said before was all a lie." Thus, they went back against him. Alarmed at this, Nikan Wailan, accompanied by his wife and family, ran to Olhon 鄂勒琿 belonging to Fanaha 法納哈 where he is reported to have built a fortress and lived. Since Olhon, sometimes represented as '鄂爾歡' or '鵝兒渾,' is put in the Chan-chi-yü-t'u 戰蹟輿圖 authorized by the Emperor Chien-lung 乾隆 to the south of Cicihar 齊齊哈爾, the capital of Hei-lung-chiang 黑龍江 Province, the *So-fang-pei-ch'eng* 朔方備乘 written by Ho Ch'iu-t'ao 何秋濤 says: "It lies over 30 li to the southwest of Cicihar, about 2 li in circumference."⁽²⁾ However, it is evident

(1) 太祖曰,「殺我祖父者,實尼堪外蘭唆使之也。但執此人與我,即甘心焉。」邊臣曰,「爾祖父之死,因我兵誤殺。故以勅書馬匹與汝,又賜以都督勅書。事已畢矣。今復如是,吾即助尼堪外蘭,築城於嘉班,令爲爾滿洲國主。」於是,國人信之,皆歸尼堪外蘭。其五祖子孫對神立誓,亦欲殺太祖以歸之。尼堪外蘭又迫太祖往附。太祖曰,「爾乃吾父部下之人,反令我順爾,世豈有百歲不死之人。」終懷恨不服。

(2) 在齊齊哈爾城西南三十餘里,周二里許。(朔方備乘 卷二)

that this is absurd. The five characters '法納哈所屬' are given in the *Wu-huang-ti-shih-lu* 武皇帝實錄 as '汛納哈所屬' and are missing in the other *Shih-lu*. Fanaha being the Manchu name of Fu-an-p'ao 撫安堡 to the north of Fu-shun-kuan 撫順關, hsün-na-ha 汛納哈 is, in all probability, an error for fan-na-ha 汎納哈 that is Fanaha; and Olhon belonging to Fanaha must surely have been situated outside the Fu-an-p'ao 撫安堡.

In the meantime T'ai-tsu first established peace among the Suksuhu 蘇子河 tribe his own people, conquered the Donggo 棟鄂 tribe, further defeated the allied forces of the Hunehe 渾河 and Jecen 哲陳 tribes and in the 7th month of the 14th year of the *Wan-li* 萬曆 era (1586), captured the Tomoho 托漠河 fortress under the Jecen tribe. Seizing this opportunity, he attacked and captured the Olhon fortress of his long-sought enemy. The *Shih-lu* gives the affair as follows:

"Seizing this opportunity, he proceeded to attack Nikan Wailan his enemy. The tribes along the road were all hostile to him. Advancing in the star-light, he attacked the Olhon fortress and captured it. At that time Nikan Wailan was not in the fortress. First there were over forty men outside the fortress. Before he entered the fortress, they escaped accompanied by their wives and children. There was a man who seemed to be the chief, in blue-cotton armor and with a felt-cap on his head. As T'ai-tsu saw the person, he suspecting him to be Nikan Wailan, rushed single-handed into the midst of the forty men. One of them shot arrows through T'ai-tsu's breast. Behind his back, arrow-heads were seen. He was wounded at thirty different points. Nevertheless, T'ai-tsu was not daunted. Fighting fiercely, he shot eight men dead, and slew another man. The rest scattered. There were nineteen Chinese men in the Olhon fortress, whom he also slew; and captured six men wounded by arrows. T'ai-tsu thrust the arrows more deeply into their wounds, and let them go with the following message for the Ming court: 'You must send back my enemy Nikan Wailan. If not, I will certainly come and conquer you.' Then he returned. The Ming officer at the frontier sent a messenger who said: 'Now that Nikan Wailan has entered China, where is the reason why we should send him out? You should come in person and kill him.' T'ai-tsu said: 'Your word could not be trusted. Are you not going to decoy me into your territory?' The messenger replied: 'If you don't come in person, you may despatch a few soldiers. We are going to give Nikan Wailan to you.' T'ai-tsu ordered Jaisa 齋薩 to take forty men with him and search for him. He arrived. As soon as Nikan Wailan saw him, Nikan Wailan attempted to climb a wall. The men on the wall had taken away the ladder. Jaisa was allowed to slay Nikan Wailan and returned. The Ming troops had previously killed the T'ai-tsu's father and grandfather by mistake. Every year since then he was presented with 800 liang 兩 in silver and 15 p'i 疋 of python-patterned silk cloth."⁽¹⁾

(1) 乘便往攻仇人尼堪蘭。沿途諸部皆是仇敵，星夜越進，攻鄂勒輝城克之。時尼堪外關不在城中。

The above passage is approximately the whole of the accounts concerning Nikan Wailan. From this it would seem that the man Nikan Wailan, though rather a cowardly person, was in a fairly important position, especially in the intercourse with the Ming authorities. However, in other records nothing whatever is mentioned concerning this person. Though omitted in the previous quotation, Giocangga 叫場(覺昌安) and Taksi 他失(塔克世) namely, T'ai-tsu's grandfather and father were those who really made considerable efforts in the intercourse of Ming and Manchu. A Ming record says:

"Some time before this, Taksi 塔失(他失) or the father of Chief Nu 奴(Nurhaci 奴兒哈赤), was a man of courage and resourcefulness, and the commanding officer for Wang-kao 王杲, Governor of Chien-chou 建州. Wang-kao frequently caused disturbances on the frontier. It was then that Li Ning-yuan 李寧遠(Ning-yüan-po Li Ch'êng-liang 寧遠伯李成梁) was appointed commanding officer of the garrison. He admonished the Father of Chief Nu to surrender. For Ning-yüan he made a plan to entice Wang-kao out; operating a strategic detachment, he succeeded in capturing Wang-kao after eight days of the battle. The Father Chief had now achieved an invaluable exploit, etc."⁽¹⁾ Another says: "First, both Giocangga, grandfather of Nurhaci, and Taksi his father were engaged in battle with Atai acting as their guide; they were killed in battle-fire."⁽²⁾

T'ai-tsu himself singing praises of them says: "My grandfather and father collaborating to destroy Wang-kao and Atai, sacrificed their lives for Ming, etc."⁽³⁾ The fact that the *Shih-lu* of the Ch'ing dynasty mentions nothing whatever of Wang-kao the pioneer from Chien-chou, the great chief, serves to reveal that it has ignored his disgraceful acts. Nikan Wailan was a man somewhat like the shadow of Giocangga and Taksi, neither his name nor his affairs being found in the records on the Ming side. Now, what does this mean? There is another greater mystery. Generally speaking, the T'ai-tsu's conquest first began at close quarters and then extended to farther districts; at the earlier stages of his career his influence could not easily reach the Ming frontiers, as is shown by the following account of his last attack in the 14th

初城外有四十餘人，不及進城，帶妻子逃走，爲首一人穿青綿甲，戴氈帽。太祖見之，疑是尼堪外蘭，單身直入四十人中。內一人箭射太祖胸旁，從肩後露鐵，共中傷三十處。太祖不怯，猶奮勇射死八人，復斬一人，餘衆皆散。鄂勒璦城內有漢人十九名，亦殺之。又捉中箭傷者六人，太祖復深入其箭，令帶箭，往南朝傳信，「可將仇人尼堪外蘭送來，不然，我必征汝矣」，遂回。明邊吏遣使言，「尼堪外蘭既入中國，豈有送出之理，爾可自來殺之。」太祖曰，「汝言不足信，莫非誘我入耶。」使者又言，「若不親往，可少遣兵去，即將尼堪外蘭與汝。」太祖令齊薩帶四十人往索之。及至，尼堪外蘭一見，即欲登臺趨避，而臺上人已去其梯，尼堪外蘭遂被齊薩斬之而回。明國因前誤殺太祖父祖，自此每年與銀八百兩，蟒段十五疋，通和好焉。

- (1) 先是，奴酋父塔失有膽略，爲建州督王杲部將，杲屢爲邊患。是時，李寧遠爲總鎮，誘降酋父，爲寧遠嚮導計果，出奇兵，往返八日而擒杲，酋父既負不賞之功，云々 (HUANG Tao-chou 黃道周: *Po-wu-tien-hui* 博物典彙 卷二十; Item under "Ssu-i-nu-chiu 四夷奴酋").
- (2) 初奴兒哈赤祖叫場·父塔失，並從征阿台爲嚮導，死兵火。(MAO Jui-ch'êng 茅瑞徵, *Tung-i-k'ao-lieh* 東夷考略, Item under Chien-chou 建州; P'ENG Sun-i 彭孫貽, *Shan-chung-wên-chien-lu* 山中聞見錄 卷一).
- (3) 祖父與圖王杲·阿台，有殉國忠，云々。(Ibid.)

year of *Wan-li*: "The tribes along the road were all hostile to him; therefore, he advanced in the starlight."⁽¹⁾ It is recorded, however, that when he first attacked Nikan Wailan, it is written that even at the very beginning of his rising in arms, he captured the Giyaban 嘉班 fort, Ta-chia-pang 大夾邦 to the east of the present Fu-shun 撫順, and at once drove to the Ming frontiers. Was this really possible? If you come to suspect it, the name Nikan Wailan 尼堪外蘭 sounds mysterious. *Nikan* is, of course, the Manchu word for *han-jên* 漢人 which means Chinese, while *Wailan* is a corruption of *wai-lang* 外郎 which means mandarin. Thus Nikan *Wailan* means a Chinese mandarin.

It might be supposed, therefore, that this person named Nikan Wailan who is never mentioned in the Ming records was nothing but a fictional character, —the shadow of the father and grandfather of T'ai-tsu of the Ch'ing dynasty, a remnant of the story told to conceal the infamy of his father and grandfather who betrayed Wan-kaio, the great chief of the Nü-chih 女直 tribe. But it would not have been necessary to put this person and T'ai-tsu in a life-and-death struggle; and the last scene cited above is described so concretely that it could hardly be regarded as a fiction. If you should think so, it would be necessary to admit the presence of such a person who actually existed. The absence in the Ming records of the account of this man may be due to the fact that he was too trifling a person, —probably a smart interpreter, or something like that, despite the exaggerations in the Ch'ing accounts. It was due to the guidance of the Sarhū chief that T'ai-tsu could drive him to the Ming frontiers at the beginning and the name Nikan Wailan is not altogether fictions. Should such a man actually existed, T'ai-tsu certainly exercised unrivalled energy and wit in pursuing this man, his enemy. Exaggeration in the *Shih-lu*; however, cannot be denied. As T'ai-tsu first proposed to pledge allegiance to Ming, it is improbable that he should have resorted to using such unnecessary insulting words against the Ming authorities as reported in the *Shih-lu*. As to the last item in the *Shih-lu*: "Every year since then, he was presented with 800 *liang* 兩 in silver and 15 *pi* 疋 of Mang-tuan 蟒緞 silk cloth", the fact is, however, that these awards were given to T'ai-tsu as the compensation for relinquishing land of K'uan-tien 寬奠 approximately in the 30th year of *Wan-li*, namely about fifteen years later than the time mentioned. The actual quantities somewhat smaller than reported were 500 *liang* and 10 *pi* of python-patterned silk cloth.⁽²⁾

II

The second question is the considerable persecution of T'ai-tsu in his earlier days by the other members of his own family. The present writer has

(1) 沿途諸部，皆是仇敵，星夜越進。

(2) HSIUNG Ting-pi 熊廷弼，"Fu-chen-chi-ti-tan-lu-su 撫鎮棄地哨虜疏" (*Ch'ou-liao-shih-hua* 籌遼碩畫 卷一) This will be discussed in full detail elsewhere.

also referred to the fact that Nikan Wailan received assistance from Ming and that all the descendants of the five patriarchs swore to god to murder T'ai-tsu and wished to pledge allegiance to Nikan Wailan. The five patriarchs are the five brothers of Ninggutai Beise 寧古塔貝勒 except T'ai-tsu's grandfather, namely the three elder brothers of Giocangga, T'ai-tsu's grandfather—the eldest brother Desiku 德世庫, the second, Liocan 瑠闌, the third, Soocangga 索長阿; and the two younger brothers—the fifth, Boolangga 寶朗阿 and the sixth, Boosi 寶實⁽¹⁾. They were descendants of these five patriarchs, who were all uncles and cousins to T'ai-tsu. To think that they should swear to god to murder him! When T'ai-tsu first rose in arms, Longdon, the fourth son of Soocangga falsely accused T'ai-tsu to Nomina, the chief of the Sarhū tribe, to estrange him, saying: "At present Ming still wishes to assist Nikan Wailan by constructing a fortress at Giyaban and make him ruler of Manchu. Even when Wan Han 萬汗 of Hada 哈達 is also to assist him, why should you pledge allegiance to Sule Beile 淑勒貝勒?"⁽²⁾ Sule Beile (sule means 'sagacious' in Manchu) was an honorific title for T'ai-tsu, which probably the compiler had purposely substituted for his real name Nurhaci.

According to the *Shih-lu*, in the course of the 11th year of *Wan-li* (1583), Kanggiya 康嘉 the son of Boosi 寶實, conspired with other people and soliciting Hada soldiers and making Lidai 理岱, the chief of the Joogiya 兆嘉 fortress of the Hunehe 渾河 tribe, led them into the Hūji 瑚濟 fort which they destroyed and deserted. In the 1st month of the following year, the 12th year of *Wan-li* (1584), T'ai-tsu personally conquered Lidai, saying, "Lidai is of my own family. But he entices other people to attack. How can I be pleased?" He captured the fortress, but it is written: "He pardoned Lidai's execution and kept him alive." Though Lidai was rather a distant relative, there were closer relatives who attempted his life. The *Shih-lu* reports it as an affair which occurred in the 11th year of *Wan-li*:

"The descendants of the first, second, third, and sixth patriarch all swore at the family altar to murder T'ai-tsu. Toward midnight, one dark night in the 6th month, rebels climbed the fortress walls by means of erected ladders. T'ai-tsu feeling uneasy, rose, wore clothes and armed himself with bow and arrow and carrying a sword, stood on the fortress wall and looked around. The rebels, at the sight of T'ai-tsu standing on the fortress, fell down and

(1) [Ninggutai Beise]

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|--------------------|---------------------------|
| —(1) Desiku 德世庫 | |
| —(2) Liocan 瑠闌 | |
| —(3) Soocangga 索長阿 | —Utai 武泰 |
| | —Longdon 龍敦 |
| | —Lidun Baturu 禮敦巴圖魯 |
| —(4) Giocangga 覺昌安 | —Taksi 塔克世 — Nurhaci (太祖) |
| —(5) Boolangga 寶朗阿 | —Lengden 稜敦 |
| —(6) Boosi 寶實 | —Kanggiya 康嘉 |
| | —Ahana 阿哈納 |

(2) 今明國尚欲助尼堪外闖，築城於嘉班，令爲滿洲主。況哈達萬汗又助之。爾何故順淑勒貝勒耶。

ran away. During the 9th month, rebels availed themselves of the dark night, and removing the palings of the T'ai-tsu's mansion, entered the residence. Now, there was a dog named Tangguha 湯古哈 which looked around and began to bark in surprise. Awakened by this, T'ai-tsu hid two sons and one daughter under a chest. Taking hold of his sword, he shouted: 'What rebels are you that should dare to break into my house? If you don't come in, I will go out. Don't get away.' With the hilt of his sword he struck the window and made a gesture as if he were going out through it. Then he went out by way of the door. The rebels who saw him come out courageously all ran away. It happened that one of the tribes named Pahai 帕海 who was sleeping under the window was stabbed to death by rebels."

These were assassins who came in the dark night; the description is extremely precise and detailed.

Gahašan, chief of Giyamuhū fort of the Suksuhu tribe as well as Nomina already mentioned, was the first to surrender to T'ai-tsu in the 11th year of *Wan-li*. This Gahašan was the son of Mutungga 穆通阿 with whom T'ai-tsu had been acquainted, and a cousin of Eidu Baturu 額亦都巴圖魯 one of the most meritorious generals under the early Ch'ing dynasty.⁽¹⁾ Therefore, when Gahašan came up to submit, T'ai-tsu was so overjoyed that he gave his own sister to be Gahašan's wife; but in the 12th year of *Wan-li*, the next year, Gahašan was killed by Longdon 龍敦, son of the third patriarch, accompanied by Samjan 薩木占, younger brother to the T'ai-tsu's stepmother, whom the former had instigated. The *Shih-lu* says:

"Longdon instigated Samjan and said, 'Your sister is now living in my house. You must conspire with me to murder Gahašan.' Samjan consented to his proposal. Accompanied by his tribesmen, he waylaid and murdered Gahašan. T'ai-tsu, hearing of this, desired to collect men and set out to search for the corpse. All of the brothers being in conspiracy with Longdon, none wished to go with T'ai-tsu. T'ai-tsu was going in search for the body with

(1) CH'EN I-chi 錢儀吉, *Pei-chuan-chi* 碑傳集 (Vol. 3), Eidu-chuan 額宜都傳; *Ch'ing-shih-kao Lieh-chuan* 清史稿列傳 (Vol. 12), Eidu-chuan 額亦都傳, etc. The name Gahašan is transliterated into Chinese as 噶哈善 in the *Man-chou-shih-lu* and 剛哈鄜 in the *Wu-huang-ti Shi-lu* 武皇帝實錄, but in the original Manchu texts it is written as Gahašan Hashū. The later revised edition of *Shih-lu* also transliterates the name as 噶哈善哈思虎. *Hung-i-kung Eidu chuan* 弘毅公額宜都傳 by Aibida 愛必達 reads: "Eidu was an orphan favored with no relatives but an aunt married to Mutungga 穆通阿, chief of the Giyamuhū 嘉木湖 fort. He went there and appealed to her for support. Her son Hashū 哈思護 was a most unusual man. He was older than Eidu, but as they met together, they became very intimate with each other. Eidu lived there a long time. Then it happened that the T'ai-tsu before his ascension, passing this way stopped for the night at the house of the Eidu's aunt. Eidu talked with the emperor and fell in with his temper. Eidu knew him to be a sincere man and desired to follow him." [公少孤, 無伯叔兄弟, 唯一姑適嘉木湖寨長穆通阿。至是往依焉。姑子哈思護傑士也。長於公, 二人相得懽甚。居久之, 適太祖高皇帝龍潛, 有方往, 過宿姑家。公與帝語, 意相合, 輒識爲真人, 欲從之, 云々] 哈思護 in this passage is no other person than 哈思虎, mentioned above.

only a few men, when Lengden 稜敦, who was the chief of the Nimalan 尼瑪蘭 fortress and an uncle of T'ai-tsu, stopped him saying, 'If the tribesmen embrace no hatred for you, why should they murder your younger sister's husband? You must not go now, either. You will probably meet with murder or injury.' T'ai-tsu was exasperated. Putting his armor and mounting his horse, he went up the hill to the south of the fortress, brandishing the bow in a circle and returned to the fortress. He shouted: 'If anyone wants to kill me, step forward at once.' The tribesmen were all frightened and none stepped forward. T'ai-tsu taking hold of the corpse deposited it in a chamber. Taking off the garments, shoes and hat, he buried it reverently."⁽¹⁾

Lengden, chief of the Nimalan fortress, was the son of Boolangga, the fifth patriarch. When the two accounts are taken together, it would seem that, of all the descendants of the six patriarchs, those who had special grievances against the descendants of Gocangga or T'ai-tsu's household were the descendants of the eldest, second, third, and sixth patriarchs; especially, Longdon the fourth son of Soocangga the third patriarch was the ring-leader of the conspiracy, while the descendants of the fifth patriarch had rather friendly feelings towards T'ai-tsu. The wife of Utai 武泰 the second son of the third patriarch being a daughter of Wan Han 萬汗 of Hada, Utai might have been T'ai-tsu's immediate rival.

The *Shih-lu* gives the following account of frequent attempts on T'ai-tsu's life during the 4th and 5th months of the same year:

"One night in the 4th month, T'ai-tsu was asleep towards midnight, and suddenly got up at the footsteps outside the gate; wearing sword and bow, he hid his sons and daughters in remote places and ordered his wife to go to the lavatory on purpose; and T'ai-tsu closely followed her, covering himself with the wife's body. Then he concealed himself beside the chimney as she returned to her room. It was a dark night. A flash of lightning showed a rebel in the immediate neighbourhood. T'ai-tsu knocked him down with the back of his sword, and loudly ordered his men to bound him up. Loohan 洛漢 his servant and others said; 'What is the use of bounding him up? He deserves death.' T'ai-tsu secretly said to himself: 'The rebel must belong to a certain chief. If I kill him, his chief will surely accuse me of murder and attack me with his men. According to my estimation, my men are too few against a powerful enemy.' Therefore, he told a lie: 'You evidently came to steal a cow.' The rebel replied that indeed he came to steal a cow and that he had no other purpose. Loohan again said: 'This rebel really tried to kill my lord. He lies when he says that he came to steal a cow.

(1) 龍敦唆薩木占曰, (薩木占乃太祖庶母之弟)「爾妹見在我家, 汝可與我同謀, 殺噶哈善。」(噶哈善太祖妹夫) 薩木占聽其言, 帶領族人, 遮殺於路。太祖聞之, 聚衆, 往尋其屍。兄弟中, 皆與龍敦同謀, 竟無同往者。太祖帶數人, 往尋之。族叔尼瑪蘭城主稜敦止之曰,「族人若不怨汝, 焉肯殺汝妹夫, 汝且勿往, 恐被人害。」太祖大怒, 遂披甲躍馬, 登城南橫崗, 彎弓盤旋, 復回城內, 大呼曰,「有殺吾者, 可速出。」族人皆懼, 無敢出者。太祖取其屍, 竟納入室中, 解衣服靴帽, 厚葬之。

We should kill him to make a lesson for others.' T'ai-tsu said: 'This rebel really wanted to do so. He had no other purpose.' So he pardoned the rebel. One night in the 5th month, T'ai-tsu was in his bed-room. His chambermaid was not asleep. In the kitchen she was burning a lamp.⁽¹⁾ This lamp flared and went out abruptly. T'ai-tsu noticed it and began to suspect something. Then, wearing a short armour under which he carried bow and arrow, he pretended as if he went to the lavatory when he proceeded to the chimney-side. Looking through bent pailings away to the vacant space, he dimly detected the figure of a human being, revealing its head obscure and unreal, which when closely watched turned into emptiness. Through the darkness, there was a flash of lightning, which showed a rebel near at hand. He shot an arrow which grazed the rebel. With his shoulder garment shot through, he ran away. A second arrow was sent, and it pierced both his legs. Then T'ai-tsu struck the rebel on the head with the back of the sword. As he fell fainting on the ground, he was bound up. Brothers both elder and younger, and relatives assembled and said: 'It won't do to whip him; you had better kill him.' T'ai-tsu said: 'If I kill him, his master will accuse me of murder, and attack me with soldiers, and rob me of my provisions. If my provisions should be scarce, my tribesmen will suffer a shortage of food, and will surely revolt and scatter. If the tribe should scatter and be isolated, the enemy will certainly take the opportunity to attack me in my weakness. When we are short of bows, arrows, and weapons, how should we defend ourselves? And also I fear that other tribes would criticize my murder and would open war. It would be most expedient to pardon him.' So he was set free. The rebel's name was Isu 義蘇.⁽²⁾

The accounts of the *Shih-lu* being extremely brief for this earlier period, it is as if the descriptions of these frequent attempts on T'ai-tsu's life really covered the most part of the *Shih-lu*. From this, it would seem that not only assassins came, but also spies lived even within the household. The descriptions so exceedingly detailed could not have been written by other people, but must have been dictated by T'ai-tsu himself. However, it is not clear at all who

(1) This 燈 (lantern), more strictly 檠燈, is a special indigenous product. See the *Manshū-jitsuroku* 滿洲實錄 translated by Shunjū IMANISHI 今西春秋. (p. 377, note 48)

(2) 四月內，太祖睡至夜半，聞門外有步履聲，即起，佩刀執弓，將子女藏於僻處，令后故意如廁，太祖緊隨，以後體蔽己身，潛伏於煙突側，后即回室。是夜陰晦，忽電光一燭，見一賊將近。太祖以刀背擊仆，喝令家人縛之。家人洛漢等言，「縛之何用，當殺之。」太祖暗思，賊必有主，若殺之，其主必以殺人爲名，加兵於我，自料，兵少難敵。乃佯言曰，「爾必來偷牛。」其賊答以偷牛是實，並無他意。洛漢又言，「此賊實害我主，詐言偷牛，可殺之以戒後人。」太祖曰，「此賊實係偷牛，諒無別意，」遂釋之。

五月，太祖夜宿，有侍婢不寐，在廳燃燈，忽燃忽滅。太祖見而疑之，乃著短甲，於服內持弓刀，作外便狀，至煙突側。見排柵空處，隱々有人形，露其首，恍惚不真，詳視之則無矣。時天色甚晦，忽有電光，見賊已逼近。遂發一矢，被賊躲過，中其肩衣而走。復追射一矢，穿賊兩足，以刀背擊其首，昏絕於地，遂縛之。有弟兄親族俱至，言「撻之無益，不如殺之。」太祖曰，「我若殺之，其主假殺人爲名，必來加兵，掠我糧石，糧石被掠，部屬餓食，必至叛散，部落散則孤立矣，彼必乘虛來攻，我等弓箭器械不足，何以禦敵，又恐別部譏我殺人啓釁，不如釋之爲便，」遂縱之，其賊名義蘇。

was T'ai-tsu's enemy, and why he attempted to kill him. T'ai-tsu seemed to know it, but the writing in the *Shih-lu* fails to express it definitely.

At first, in confronting this difficult question, the present writer suspected relationships with the remnant forces of the ancient Wang-kao 王杲 and Atai 阿台. Since Wang-kao and Atai exercised tremendous power in these regions while they were alive, it would seem that Ninggutai Beilse were also under their sway. If Ahana 阿哈納, an ally of Wang-kao represented in the Ming records, should prove identical with Ahana, son of Boosi the sixth patriarch, this would be the more confirmed. Ahana, quite frequently occurs in the Ming records. If one turns to a passage under the title of Chien-chou 建州 in the *Tung-i-k'ao-lieh* 東夷考略 by MAO Jui-chêng 茅瑞徵, one will find under the spring of the 3rd year of *Wan-li* the following account of the vice-commander of the Ming troops TS'AO Kuei 曹簋: "Vice-commander TS'AO Kuei handsomely bribed the Manchu tradesmen. They informed of Wang-kao hiding in the fortress of Ahana the native chief. He despatched picked troops and took 26 heads. Wang-kao, disguising Ahana with his own python-patterned silk and red helmet, succeeded in escape."⁽¹⁾

Now this passage shows that Wang-kao who lost his headquarters at the Gure fortress now fled and concealed himself in Ahana's fortress at Hsing-ching 興京 (Hetu ala), and later fled further disguising Ahana as himself. Ahana probably was his chief adjutant who ruled territory further interior to Wang-kao's. Now, the *Shih-lu* of the Ch'ing dynasty records the circumstances under which a serious disturbance was caused by Ahana the second son of Boosi the sixth patriarch or T'ai-tsu's uncle, as he attempted to marry the younger sister of Bashan Baturu 巴斯翰巴圖魯 the head of the Sakda 薩克達 tribe. Though there is no connection between the events, it is highly possible that the two Ahanas with the same name, of the same date, and of the same area were one and the same person. Ninggutai Beise and Wang-kao and his son Atai were people thus related. Nevertheless, Taksi and Giocangga namely T'ai-tsu's father and grandfather, betrayed them and caused them to be destroyed by Ming troops, therefore, it may be supposed that their surviving followers who hated him attempted to harm T'ai-tsu who was protected by Ming power.

Further consideration, however, would make it impossible to regard the descendants of the six princes of Aisin Gioro or Ninggutai Beise of the Chien-chou tso-wei 建州左衛 entirely as subjects under Wang-kao of the Chien-chou yu-wei 建州右衛. Indeed, there is some counter-evidence. According to the *Wan-li-wu-kung-lu* 萬曆武功錄⁽²⁾ by CH'U Chiu-ssü 瞿九思 of the Ming dynasty, when Wang-kao in the 10th month of the 2nd year of *Wan-li* was destroyed by Ming general Li Ch'êng-liang 李成梁 at the mountain fortress

(1) 副總兵曹簋厚市夷賞，謀杲匿酋阿哈納寨，勒精騎馳剿，得二十六級。杲僞以蟒掛紅甲授哈納脫走。

(2) Vol. 11, *Tung-sán-pien* 東三邊, *Wang-kao Lieh-shuan* 王杲列傳.

of Gure this was not only warmly received by the Ming troops, but also cheered by some Jurchen chiefs, which is evident in the following account. "Ta-tung-ko 大疼克, San-chang 三章, and others among the natives in the neighbouring fortresses were exceedingly delighted. Forming lines in front of the mountain, they knelt and shouted with joy. 'Through your declaration, General, may our fortress not be molested. Our fortress having been molested by Wang-kao, we have suffered for a long time. We have not dared to approach your frontier. Now that Wang-kao's fortress are completely destroyed, and what has been left is ruined. How can it be that it would not be a blessing?' They bowed their heads in gratitude."⁽¹⁾

Furthermore, according to *Wang-tai-lieh-chuan* 王台列傳 of the same book, when as a result of this disturbance, the awards were discontinued for some time, some native chiefs petitioned for the reopening of the system. Their names are given as follows: "Natives of Chien-chou, Ta-tung-ko 大疼克, San-chang 三章, Mang-tzu 忙子, Bo-lo-pu-hua 孛羅卜花, Sê-shih 色失, Mu-t'ung-ha 木同哈, Na-mi-na 那米納 and others struck the fortress gate and cried bitterly."⁽²⁾ Ta-tung-ko is Tu-tu 都督 of Chien-chou tso-wei 建州左衛 mentioned in the *Ta-ming-shên-tsung-shih-lu* 大明神宗實錄 as follows:

"Ta-tung-ko, the Tu-tu of the Jurchen of the Chien-chou tso-wei in Liao-tung 遼東 district, and others, one hundred and twenty six persons all told, with one hundred and twenty six horses, went up to the capital to pay tribute to the court, and were awarded with usual rewards."⁽³⁾

San-chang may be Samjan 薩木占, a younger brother to T'ai-tsu's mother-in-law, already referred to. Nothing definite is known about Mang-tzu, or Bo-lo-pu-hua. Sê-shih must be Sê-shih of a Ho-pei 河北 tribe, referred to later; Mu-tung-ha must be Mu-t'ung-a 穆通阿, father of Gahašan, the chief of the Giyamuhu 嘉木湖 fortress and Na-mi-na must be Nomina, the younger brother to Gawara 瓜喇 the Chief of the Sarhū tribe. They were those who, generally speaking, did not like the influence of Wang-kao. The names of Ninggutai Beise are not found in the passage cited above but even that Beise, it may be imagined, was not willingly obedient to Wang-kao. It is probable that those of the Tso-wei 左衛 in the far interior being oppressed by the power of Wang-kao of the Yu-wei 右衛 in the neighbourhood, —they all certainly hated him. This being the case, T'ai-tsu's father and grandfather formally pledged allegiance to Wang-kao; while they lent a helping hand in the suppression of Wang-kao and Atai.

Nevertheless, it is probable that among Ninggutai Beise there were some sincerely devoted to Wang-kao like Ahana, and that they persecuted T'ai-tsu who succeeded Giocangga and Taksi. If so, the persecution of the household

(1) 而旁近寨夷大疼克·三章等尤大喜, 並羅列山前, 跪起歡呼, 「願將軍令, 毋擾我寨, 我寨以果故, 久勞苦, 不敢近邊, 今果寨盡破, 滅亡所遺, 豈非天賜哉。」叩頭謝。

(2) 建州八大疼克·三章·忙子·孛羅卜花·色失·木同哈·那米納等叩關悲號。

(3) 遼東建州左衛等女直夷人都督等官大疼克等共一百二十六員, 備馬一百二十六疋, 赴京朝貢, 給賞如例。〔萬曆七年九月壬子之條〕

of Giocangga the fourth patriarch, namely that of T'ai-tsu must date directly from the capture and murder of Wang-kao in the 3rd year of *Wan-li*. Is it not strange that this should be recorded as happening only after Atai's assassination in the 11th year of *Wan-li*?

Therefore, the present writer formed another theory. The most powerful chief on the Liao-tung frontiers between the last days of *Chia-ching* 嘉靖 of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of *Wan-li* was the so-called "Wang-tai 王台 of K'ai-yüan Nan-kuan 開原南關" according to the Ming records, namely, the so-called "Wan Han 萬汗 of Hada 哈達" according to the Ch'ing records, and even Wang-kao and Atai of Chien-chou, it seems, were for some time subjected to his power. There is no doubt that at least after the capture and murder of Wang-kao in the 3rd year of *Wan-li*, Wang-tai's influence beset Chien-chou, pushed back the sphere of influence of WANG Wu-t'ang 王兀堂 on the banks of the Hun-chiang 渾江 or Tung-chia-chiang 佟家江, and subjugated all the courses of the Hun-ho 渾河 and the Su-tzu-ho 蘇子河. The *Tung-i-k'ao-lüeh* 東夷考略 in the chapter of Chien-chou 建州 says:

"In these days the eastern savages ranging from Fu-shun 撫順 and K'ai-yüan 開原 to the north belonged to Hai-hsi 海西. It was ruled by Wang-tai, and those from the Ch'ing-ho 清河 to the south as far as the Ya-lu-chiang 鴨綠江 belonged to Chien-chou. It was ruled by Wu-t'ang 兀堂."⁽¹⁾ Therefore, Taksi and Giocangga, namely the T'ai-tsu's father and grandfather, in the Ming records, are represented as 主梟之奴 (Wang-kao's servants) and later again as 王台所屬 (They belonged to Wang-tai). The *Shih-lu* of the Ch'ing dynasty records Ninggutai Beise's expulsion of an invasion by the Donggo 棟鄂 tribe on the banks of the Hun-chiang 渾江 assisted at an early stage by Hada Han in the basin of Su-tzu-ho 蘇子河.

In recording Hada's power and prosperity, the *San-chao-liao-shih-shih-lu* 三朝遼事實錄 by WANG Tsai-chin 王在晉 of the Ming dynasty is somewhat exaggerating, when it says:

"The tribesmen were powerful and prosperous. All Chien-chou, Hai-hsi 海西 and Mao-liên 毛憐 and others—182 *wei* 衛 (garrisons), 20 *so* 所 (positions) and 56 *chan* 站 (stations), every one of them dreaded Hada's military power. Thereupon, Wan Han of Hada gained 1498 Imperial permits which the Ming court had given to the eastern savages in the early days. Therefore, he constructed a fortress at Ching-an-pao 靖安堡 of K'ai-yüan 開原 outside the Kuang-shun 廣順 gate and lived and raised cattle for the convenience of trading. They paid tribute to the Ming court at K'ai-yüan. This was the so-called Nan-kuan 南關 (Southern Fortress). At that time even the shrewder chiefs of the eastern savages became their subjects. Not one of them caused trouble in the country."⁽²⁾ The *Tung-i-k'ao-lüeh* which is somewhat more honest says, that,

(1) 當是時，東夷自撫順開原而北，屬海西，王台制之。自清河而南，抵鴨綠江，屬建州者，兀堂制之。

(2) 部衆強盛，凡建州·海西·毛憐等一百八十二衛二十所五十六站，皆畏其兵威。於是悉得國初所賜東夷一千四百九十八敕，因創寨于開原靖安堡廣順關外住牧，以便互市，入貢即開原，所謂南關也。當是時，東夷酋首之黠者，隸其部下。無一人敢爲內地患。〔總略四〕

as Liao-tung was precariously situated between Manchuria on the east and Mongolia on the west, Wang-tai 王台 or Wan Han 萬汗 succeeded in separating the eastern savages from the western and proved most loyal and obedient to the Ming dynasty. "The eastern frontier being peaceful, people enjoyed farming and cattle-raising for thirty years and Wang-tai contributed to the utmost."⁽¹⁾ It goes on to say:

"In these days Wang-tai ruled Hui-pa 灰扒 and Wu-la 兀刺 on the east, the Ch'ing-ho and Chien-chou on the south, the two Yehe chiefs on the north. His territory extended over several thousand *li*. He obeyed Ming and defended the boundary faithfully and became very powerful."⁽²⁾

And the *Man-chou-shih-lu* says:

"In these days Yehe 葉赫, Ula 烏拉, Hoifa 輝發, and the Hunehe 渾河 tribe that belonged to Man-chou 滿洲⁽³⁾, all of them obeyed to Wan Han. He judged every suit of these tribes. However, bribery prevailed openly, and so the right were decided wrong and the wrong, right. As the upper classes were rapacious, so were the lower class people. Those who were despatched to other tribes inflicted great damage on them. Whenever they saw desirable hawks, dogs and other things they demanded and deprived the tribesmen of all these things. They praised in the presence of Wan Han those tribesmen from whom they obtained something and blamed those who denied their demand. Wan Han failed to divine the secret feelings of the people, but listened only to false accusations. The people unable to obey his orders often defied him and pledged allegiance to Yehe. Moreover, all the tribes that had obeyed him previously now rebelled against him. His power gradually waned."⁽⁴⁾

The latter purposely ridicules his decline in the last days; still it plainly shows his great power in the earlier days. Hui-pa 灰扒 and Wu-la 兀刺 stand respectively for Hoifa 輝發 and Ula 烏拉; Hui-pa was the Hoifa River 輝發河 and Wu-la was the present Sungari River. The two Yehe chiefs referred to Cinggiyanu 逞家奴 (or 清佳努) and Yangginu 仰家奴 (or 揚吉努) the brother chiefs of the east and west fortress of the Yehe tribe. It was in the 7th month of the 10th year of *Wan-li* that this aged Wan Han died in misery, which marks the gradual decline of Hada and the rise of Yehe and Ch'ing. In the *Shih-lu* of the Ch'ing dynasty, the term Wan Han is used for the Hada chief even after this.

As the rise of T'ai-tsu was a movement to become independent of Hada, by taking advantage of its decline, it was only natural that he should have

(1) 東陲晏然，耕牧三十年，台有力焉。

(2) 當是時，台所轄，東盡灰扒·兀刺等江，南盡清河·建州，北盡二奴，延袤幾千里，內屬保塞甚盛。

(3) Man-chou 滿洲 here refers to Chien-chou 建州。

(4) 彼時，葉赫·烏拉·輝發及滿洲所屬渾河部，盡皆服之。凡有詞訟，悉聽處分。賄賂公行，是非顛倒，反曲為直，上既貪婪，下亦效尤，凡差遣人役，侵漁諸部，但見鷹犬可意者，莫不索取得之，即於萬汗前譽之，稍不如意，即於萬汗前毀之。萬汗不察民隱，惟聽讒言。民不堪命，往々叛投葉赫，並先附諸部盡叛，國勢漸弱。

collided with Hada. The text of the *Shih-lu* previously quoted, in connection with Nikan Wailan, represents Longdon, the son of Soocangga the third patriarch as saying, "Even Wan Han of Hada is also to assist him"; also represents Kanggiya, the son of Boosi the sixth patriarch as invading with Lidai chief of the Joogiya fortress accompanied by Hada troops at his request. From this, the present writer has considered that the reason for the T'ai-tsu's persecution by other patriarchs was probably through the instigation of Hada which might have disliked his increase in power. However, as I thought it over, this did not quite satisfy me. If such a powerful state as Hada supported them, why did they send only secret assassins under cover of the night, without openly invading? And why did T'ai-tsu hesitate to kill the assassin? This was a puzzle still to be solved.

The writer's last consideration was to take the affair as a struggle for power among the family. The T'ai-tsu's household was from the fourth patriarch of the six Ninggutai Beise, not necessarily in the position entitled to be the head of the descendants of the six patriarchs. The *Shih-lu* represents him as inhabiting Hetu Ala 赫圖阿拉 in his grandfather's realm. This may not have been a natural occurrence. The fact that of all the children of the six patriarchs only Giocangga and Taksi, father and son, were known to the Ming historians may account for the individual superiority of Giocangga the father which distinguished him (and his son) among the descendants and entitled them to be the leaders of the whole tribe. This may be seen in the *Shih-lu* in the account of their conquest of the two tribes Šosena 碩色納 and Giyahū 加呼 in the present Hsing-ching 興京 basin. Then in the 11th year of *Wan-li* the two were murdered at the same time. Was this not the most opportune moment for the other to struggle for hegemony which they had long coveted? However, young as he was, their orphan Nurhaci was quite a stalwart independent lad. Not only was he independent, but also was awarded by the Ming court with the Imperial permits and horses within the Atai fortresses. This aroused the jealousy of the whole tribe and led to the attempts on his life. When viewed in this light, the above accounts of several attempts on his life would read quite natural and leave no doubt whatever. Only strife within the tribe would make possible entrance into the interior of the estate and attempts under cover of the night. Therefore, T'ai-tsu knew who was his enemy, and fearing to provoke his antipathy, hesitated to kill the assassin. Had he been unable to endure this, and if, prompted by his anger, he had killed the assassin thoughtlessly, a secret strife in the family would have become an open one, and would have at once turned Ningguta a theatre of internecine war and overthrown the foundation of the rise of the Ch'ing dynasty. A man of keen insight, T'ai-tsu thoroughly knew that his enemy was acting blindly only driven by momentary impulses of jealousy, and if he only suppressed his enemy with his real strength, in the course of time, they who were all of the same tribe would form the central forces under his hegemony.

This is no groundless argument, but one evidenced by the above text of the *Shih-lu*. For instance, under the last paragraph which deals with T'ai-tsu's apprehension of alienation among the tribe's members, it says, "And I also fear that other tribes would discuss my murder and opening fire."⁽¹⁾ And a passage dealing with Longdon of the same tribe murdering Gahašan the husband of T'ai-tsu's younger sister for the purpose of weakening T'ai-tsu's individual power, says, "All of the brothers being in conspiracy with Longdon."⁽²⁾ Furthermore Lengden, T'ai-tsu's uncle, is represented as saying, "If the tribesmen embrace no hatred with you, why should they murder your younger sister's husband?"⁽³⁾ All these passages convey a picture of internecine warfare, which in the course of two years was reconciled as T'ai-tsu's real power was established. That this strife did not last longer was a definite proof that there was no sufficient support on the part of Hada.

III

The next question is T'ai-tsu's adoption of a policy of befriending the more distant states and of antagonizing the nearer. The first enterprise for him was solely a conquest of various fortresses in the neighbourhood. In the meantime he succeeded in reconciling the discontent among his tribesmen in the course of the 12th year of *Wan-li*, and in slaying Nikan Wailan his old enemy in the 14th year of the same era. In the 15th year of *Wan-li*, at the age of 29, he constructed at the foot of Mt. Yen-t'ung 煙筒山 the so-called Chiu-lao-ch'êng 舊老城 (the original old castle) of Hsing-ching 興京.⁽⁴⁾ According to the *Shih-lu*, on the 24th day of the 6th month, the same year, the government was established, and treason, theft, or cheating was strictly prohibited. This is the first instance in which an exact date appears in the *Shih-lu*. From this time on T'ai-tsu embarked on his policy of external development. The *Shih-lu*, however, usually dealing with wars, but seldom records foreign relations; therefore, the details are not available.

There are occasional accounts of inter-marriages with other tribes. It records that in the 4th month of the 16th year of *Wan-li*, Amin Jeje 阿敏哲 the granddaughter of Wan Han of Hada was sent by Daišan 代善 her elder brother, and T'ai-tsu accepted her as his wife, and then it goes on as follows:

"T'ai-tsu now visited Yehe; Yangginu, the chief of the country, looking at his extraordinary countenance said, 'I have a young daughter who would make a good spouse for you. Only you would have to wait for a long time

(1) 又恐別部議我殺人啓釁。

(2) 兄弟中皆與龍敦同謀。

(3) 族人若不怨汝，焉肯殺汝妹夫。

(4) Iwakichi INABA 稻葉岩吉, *Kōkyō Nidōgashi Kyū-Rōjyō* 興京二道河子舊老城 (The original old castle at Erh-tao-ho-tzu, Hsing-ching) published by Kenkoku Daigaku (建國大學). 1936.

before she is grown up.' T'ai-tsu said, 'If I am to get married, I wish you would give me your eldest daughter.' Yangginu replied, 'Not that I don't wish to give away my eldest daughter because I can't part with her. It is only because I fear that she would hardly satisfy you. My younger daughter is extraordinary in appearance. People say she will make a fine spouse.' Finally, T'ai-tsu asked for her. After Yangginu was dead, his son Narimbulu, in the 9th month of this year, personally brought along his younger sister as bride. T'ai-tsu accompanied by his princess and ministers received them. A splendid dinner was prepared for his wedding. She became the mother of the Emperor T'ien-tsung 天聰.⁽¹⁾

Now, the first half of this account sounds exceedingly unnatural, perhaps on account of its coloring. The truth may be that Yangginu the chief of the great country, unable to refuse T'ai-tsu's earnest request, consented to give away in marriage his immature younger daughter. Be that as it may, it follows that in the same year, the 16th of *Wan-li*, T'ai-tsu married the daughter of the two countries Hada and Yehe. This may need some explanation.

A few remarks have already been made on Hada which was called K'ai-yüan 開原南關 (Southern Fortress of K'ai-yüan). Yehe was K'ai-yüan Pei-kuan 開原北關 (Northern Fortress of K'ai-yüan) and the rival of Hada. Hada was friendly to Ming, but as Yehe was hostile, his grandfather was conquered by Hada with Ming's support. Wan Han of Hada huddled Cinggiyanu and Yangginu, Yehe's two brother orphans, under his protection, and conciliated Yangginu, by giving his daughter away in marriage. But as the brothers Cinggiyanu and Yangginu were men of a considerable calibre, they secretly sought an opportunity for restoring Yehe hegemony, and embarked on secret activities taking advantage of Wan Han's dotage and cooperating with Atai in Chiên-chou; and immediately upon Wan Han's death in the 10th year of *Wan-li*, they recovered a tremendous power, and gradually extending their territory towards Hada until the latter was now in danger of being destroyed by the former. Li Ch'êng-liang, commander of the Ming army who had become impatient, killed Atai at the Gure fortress in the 2nd month of the following year (the 11th of *Wan-li*), while, in the 12th month of the same year, after hiding their soldiers in the K'ai-yüan castle and decoying the brothers Cinggiyanu and Yangginu, he murdered them. It was thought thereby to cause the hostile Yehe tribesmen to decline and only the loyal Hada to prosper under Ming protection. This did not come true, however, because while the Hada tribe with no able successor suffered from continual internal trouble, in Yehe, Bujai son of Cinggiyanu and Narimbulu son of Yangginu, both men of considerable calibre, in no time regained their former power.

(1) 初太祖如葉赫。其國主揚吉努見其相貌非常，言「我有小女，堪爲君配，待長締姻。」太祖曰，「若締姻，吾願聘汝長女。」揚吉努答云，「我非惜長女不與，恐不可君意，小女容貌奇異，或者稱佳偶耳。」太祖遂聘之。揚吉努故後，子納林布祿於是年九月內，親送妹于歸。太祖率諸王大臣迎之，大宴成婚，即天聰皇帝母也。

Thereupon, in the 3rd month of the 16th year of *Wan-li*, Li Ch'êng-liang attacked the Yehe's headquarters again with a strong army, and despite stubborn resistance succeeded in subjugating the enemy with difficulty.⁽¹⁾

Such was the situation in those days. Though Yangginu of the east Yehe castle was a great chief, it was only about the 10th year of *Wan-li* when Wan Han of Hada grew senile that he became perfectly independent. As he was killed in the 12th month of the following year, his independence had lasted little more than two years. On the other hand, the 11th year of *Wan-li* witnessed in its 2nd month the murder of T'ai-tsu's father and grandfather and in its 5th month T'ai-tsu's rising in arms; therefore, if T'ai-tsu went to Yehe and contracted marriage with Yangginu, it must have been about that time. On that occasion, Yangginu said: "I have a young daughter who would make a good spouse for you. Only you would have to wait for a long time before she is grown-up."⁽²⁾ As it is said that Monggo Jeje, Empress Hsiao-tz'ü 孝慈, mother of the Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗, came to T'ai-tsu in her 14th year and died in the 31st year of *Wan-li* at only 29 years of age,⁽³⁾ it follows that in the 11th year of *Wan-li* she was at a very tender age of 9 years. The stories would tally.

If this theory be accepted, it would follow that T'ai-tsu as soon as he rose in arms travelled as far as Yehe and concluded a treaty with its chief. His purpose was of course to check Hada their powerful common enemy. At this time T'ai-tsu was situated around Hsing-ching 興京 outside Fu-shun and on the Su-tz'ü-ho 蘇子河, while Yehe was situated near Yehe-chan 葉赫站 on the Yehe River to the north of K'ai-yüan and Hada in the Wang-kao-ch'êng

(1) As to the attack on Yehe in the 16th year of *Wan-li*, the *Wan-li-wu-kung-lu* is more detailed than any other work. The *Ming-shih* 明史, under *LI-ch'êng-liang-chuan* 李成梁傳 (Vol. 238), says: "Leading his troops, he attacked the enemy's headquarters. Bujai ran away and joined Narimbulu and shutting themselves in the castle and defended it. The castle was four-fold. Though he attacked it, he could not capture it. He fired cannon into it and destroyed the outer barricades. He finally captured two castles and cut off more than 500 heads. Bujai and others surrendered pledging themselves never again to rebel. So he withdrew his troops in triumph." 率師直搗其巢，卜寨走與那林李羅合，憑城守，城四重，攻之不下，用巨礮擊之，碎其外郭，遂拔二城，斬馘五百餘級，卜寨等請降，設誓不復叛，乃班師。 This seems to show a complete victory on the part of the Ming troops. But the *Chien-i-shou-kuan-shih-mo* 建夷授官始末 by YAO Hsi-mêng 姚希孟 discusses the same campaign: "In the 16th year, LI-Ch'êng-liang accompanied by Governor KU Yang-ch'ien 顧養謙, and leading an army, attacked the Pei-kuan (North Fortress). Our troops suffered such a complete defeat that our losses could not be counted. We were compelled to stop our troops in K'ai-yüan 開原". 十六年，成梁與巡撫顧養謙提兵討北關，我師大敗，所死亡不可勝計，不得已駐師開原。 The *Man-chou-shih-lu* says: "LI-Ch'êng-liang again in the year of mou-tsu (16th year of *Wan-li*) attacked the east castle of Narimbulu and being defeated came back." 成梁又於戊子歲，率兵攻納林布祿東城，失利而回。 Therefore it was at least an extremely hard fighting.

(2) 我有小女，堪為君配，待長締姻。

(3) *Ch'ing-shih-kao-lich-chuan* 清史稿列傳 (Vol. 1.) Tai-tsu-hsiao-tz'ü-kao-huang-hou 太祖孝慈高皇后。

王杲城 half-way between them on the Hada River to the east of K'ai-yüan.⁽¹⁾ At first, Hada at the middle was powerful and was overwhelming her neighbours in the north and south, who now rose to defy her as she began to decline. It was only natural that the two tribes should have allied themselves for their common enemy. A passage in the *Chien-i-shou-kuan-shih-mo* 建夷授官始末 by YAO Hsi-mêng 姚希孟 of the Ming dynasty says:

“Li Ch'êng-liang now bestowed Wang-kao's Imperial permit upon Nurhaci. He first rose in weakness and frailty, but through his inter-marriage with the Pei-kuan 北關 he was powerfully assisted.”⁽²⁾ It goes without saying that, Yehe being a great power and T'ai-tsu a weak up-start, the treaty contracted was by no means on equal terms, but probably one of a protector and a protégé. However, in this may be seen the courage and resourcefulness of T'ai-tsu who, at only 25 years of age, advanced and materialized this far-sighted scheme.

T'ai-tsu who now stood more and more on his own, in the 6th month of the 15th year of *Wan-li*, personally leading his way, attacked and destroyed Artai 阿爾泰 of the Jecen 哲陳 tribe, and in the 8th month captured the Barda 巴爾達 fortress in the north of Hun-ho 渾河, and further captured the Dung 洞 fortress and subjugated Jahai 札海 the chief of the fortress. The *Huang-ch'ing-k'ai-kuo-fang-liao* 皇清開國方略 (Vol. 2) especially mentions Artai as the

- (1) Everybody now knows that T'ai-tsu of Ch'ing, in the 15th year of *Wan-li*, built the Chiu-lao-ch'êng 舊老城 (the original old castle) on the southern cliff of Hulun Hada 呼蘭哈達 in Hsing-ching 興京, but in the 31st year, moved out to live in the “Lao-ch'êng” 老城 (the old castle) of Hetu-ala; and the approximate sites of the castles in which the six patriarchs lived are also known now. Yehe was divided into two castles, the east and the west, near Yehe-chan 葉赫站 on the present K'ai-yüan-I-t'ung Highway 開原, 伊通街道. The *Wan-li-wu-kun-lu* 萬曆武功錄 (Vol. 11) says, “The distance between the two fortresses is several li 里” 兩寨相去皆數里, and the *Shêng-ching-t'ung-chih* 盛京通志 (Vol. 15) also gives an explanation on it. A study of the present 1/100,000 map will show a castle ruin in the plain to the due south of Yehe-chan, and another castle ruin in the mountain slightly to the southwest. Do these two not correspond to the so-called east and west castles? True, according to the records, the east castle which Narimbulu defended seems to be the stronger of the two, which the incomplete explanation or a map could not make very clear. As to Hada, as one goes up the upper course of the Ch'ing-ho 清河 to the east of K'ai-yüan, and passes Shang-yang-pao 尙陽堡, Pa-k'o-shu 八棵樹 and Kuan-liang-kao 官糧窖, one will come to a point called Ku-ch'êng-tzŭ 古城子. On the mountain here are the ruins of a Kao-chü-li 高旬麗 type mountain castle and also on the plain below the mountain a square castle of the Liao 遼 or Chin 金 type surrounded with earthwork. Neither of these could be the Hada castle. If one goes a little southeast ward along the river, one will reach a large Jurchen type mountain-castle called Wang-kao-ch'êng 王杲城. Why it is called Wang-kao is not known, but this is certainly the Hada castle. When one looks up to the castle across the river from the highway, Mt. Hsia-ch'ang 峽梢山 behind the castle will loom over the castle. The name Hada meaning ‘precipice’ surely came from this. According to the *Hsing-ching-t'ung-chih*, Hada had two castles, the old and the new. The new castle is said to be above the peak of Ice 衣車. Ice is the Manchu word meaning ‘new’.

- (2) 成梁業以王杲勅書, 畀奴兒哈赤, 然初起孱弱, 因結婚北關, 以壯聲援。

head of the Jecen tribe. As Kazuki SONODA points out⁽¹⁾, of all the earlier expeditions by T'ai-tsu, this was the first that is confirmed by a corresponding account in the Ming records: Artai corresponds to A-lang-tai 阿郎泰, and Jahai to Chang-hai 張海 in the Ming. Among the Ming records, the *Wan-li-wu-hung-lu* is the most detailed. For its brevity, the *Shan-chung-wên-chien-lu* 山中聞見錄 (Vol. 1) will be cited here. Ensuing the account of the circumstances under which T'ai-tsu gradually attained independence in the east, it explains in full detail as follows:

"He gradually invaded Chang-hai and Se-shih 色失 and encroached on the several tribes. First, Se-shih, a native of Chien-chou killed Cha-li 劉力 his younger brother. Ying-ko 英革 his orphan was brought up by Se-shih. When grown up, he avenged his father. Thereupon, he slew Se-shih, his wife and four children, leaving one son named Yao-lang 咬郎. Yao-lang succeeded in running into A-lang-tai's fortress. Ying-ko knew all this. He went and pledged allegiance to T'ai-tsu. T'ai-tsu gathered his troops and surrounded A-lang-tai 阿郎泰, who killed Yao-lang and begged for pardon. T'ai-tsu at last burnt down his dwelling-house, and after robbing him of his men and cattle, went away. Chang-hai of the Ho-pei 河北 tribe also bore a grudge against T'ai-tsu. Taking his family with him, he fled to Hai-hsi 海西, and pledged allegiance to Daišan 歹商 the Tu-tu 都督. Thereupon, T'ai-tsu thought, 'Why does he hide my enemy?' At last he thoroughly plundered Hada..... On this occasion Bujai and Narimbulu the chiefs of Hai-hsi Pei-kuan 海西北關 (Yehe) allied themselves with the Westerner (Mongolian Chief) Erdeni 以兒鄯 and pressed on Daišan. As T'ai-tsu hated Daišan also, he joined the two chiefs Narimbulu and Bujai, and intrigued against Daišan. The Ming general Li Ch'êng-liang sent an army and surrounded the fortress of the native chief Narimbulu. The two chiefs surrendered. Li Ch'êng-liang conquered the two powers in Hai-hsi and equally divided the Imperial permits. Thus the chiefs made peace. Daišan was ordered to leave Chang-hai and return to Chien-chou. So hostilities ceased. After a while T'ai-tsu asked Daišan to send a daughter to be his wife. At last he withdrew his troops....."⁽²⁾ The reason why these accounts are comparatively detailed is that probably because these tribes living close to the Ming frontiers, more of them was to be seen and heard. The Ho-pei tribe refers to the one to the north of the Hun-ho River. Daišan 歹商 the Tu-tu 都督 was Daišan 代善, the grandson of Wan Han of Hada; Bujai 卜寨 and Narimbulu 那林孛羅 the chiefs of the Haihsi-pei-kuan 海西北關, Bujai 布齋 and

(1) SONODA, "Shin-taiso Bokkō-shoki no Gyōseki," *op. cit.*, pp. 117-23.

(2) 漸北侵張海。色失諸部蠶食之。初建州貢樊(夷)色失殺其弟劉力,遺孤英革養於色失,長報先人之怨。於是,殺色失及其妻子四人,僅遺一子咬郎,(咬郎)得逃遁阿郎泰寨。英革知之,往投太祖。(太祖)合兵圍阿郎泰,阿郎泰殺咬郎,求解免。太祖竟焚其室廬,掠其人畜乃去。河北部張海亦有怨於太祖,盡携家室奔海西,投都督歹商。太祖以爲歹商何爲匿我仇讐乎。遂大掠海西,.....當是時,海西北關酋卜寨·那林孛羅方聯西人以兒鄯,攻歹商急。太祖怨歹商。因合那卜二酋圖歹商。李成梁發兵圍那酋寨。二酋請降。[成梁]爲平海西二關貢勦,以和諸酋,令歹商逐張海還建州,以弭其變。已而太祖求婚於歹商,遂罷兵,.....

Narimbulu 那林布祿 of Yehe; and the attack on them by LI Ch'êng-liang refers to that conducted in the 3rd month of the 16th year of *Wan-li*. The Westerner Erdeni 西人以兒鄧 was the Mongol chief. According to this, as T'ai-tsu drove Jahai, and Jahai joined Daišan, hostilities arose between T'ai-tsu and Daišan. They were reconciled through Ming mediation and at T'ai-tsu's request for inter-marriage, Daišan sent his younger sister to be his wife. The *Wan-li-wu-kung-lu* (Vol. 11) comments on this:

"After this, Daišan drove away Jahai. Nurhaci at last begged Daišan for inter-marriage. To begin with, a long time prior to this, Nurhaci had contracted an inter-marriage with Yehe, but had betrayed and abandoned it. Fortunately, as one day he made the request for inter-marriage, he made peace with Daišan. What a pleasure to assure a century-old friendship!"⁽¹⁾

This was nothing but a personal, one-sided interpretation of the Ming historian. However, it cannot be denied that Tai-tsu's growing power gradually pressed Hada to take such a measure. When the 16th year of *Wan-li* witnessed the surrender of all the tribes on the bank of the present Hun-chiang 渾江, including the Suwan 蘇完, Donggo 棟鄂 and Yargu 雅爾古⁽²⁾, and the expansion of T'ai-tsu's influence down to the north of the Ya-lu-chiang, which probably forced Hada to conclude a marriage contract, and also made Yehe so uneasy that it revived the former marriage contract and sent that young girl. The *Chien-i-shou-kuan-shih-mo* says; "He also made Daišan give in marriage his elder sister to Narimbulu and his younger sister to Nurhaci; thereby, the several tribes came to be related."⁽³⁾ So it seems that about this time Daišan's elder sister was also married to Narimbulu and that in the course of the year there were two-fold and three-fold expedient marriages accomplished which served closely to unite T'ai-tsu, Yehe and Hada. These relations had also been acknowledged and recommended by the Ming authorities. The *Tai-shang-chuan* 歹商傳 in the *Wan-li-wu-kung-lu* comments:

"Nurhaci asked Daišan for marriage. The Chinese court made Daišan grant this, desiring Daišan inwardly to rely on China and externally to bind themselves through inter-marriage. All this was the policy to check the conspiracy of Yehe."⁽⁴⁾ This indicates the increased importance of T'ai-tsu's position, when he was only thirty years old.

(1) 其後歹商逐張海。奴兒哈赤遂願與歹商通婚媾。始奴兒哈赤與北關，故夙昔姻親，終背棄去，幸一日以請婚故，羽翼歹商，於百年之故誼，寧不媿快乎。

(2) There is no doubt that the Donggo tribe 棟鄂部 was along the middle course of the Hun-chiang and the Yargu tribe on the lower course. Dr. INABA assigned the Suwan tribe to the vicinity of Shuang-yang 雙陽 (the Shua-yan-ho 刷煙河) to the east of the present I-t'ung 伊通. (Manshū-rekishi-chiri 滿洲歷史地理 Vol. 2, pp. 638-9) The site is beyond Hada and Yehe from Chien-chou and within the realm of Ula. If so there is no reason why he should have come out to surrender. The Suwan tribe was also in the basin of the Hun-chiang. It is sometimes called the Suwan tribe of Manchou (Chien-chou).

(3) 又令歹商以姉妻那林李羅，以妹妻奴兒哈赤，因以連絡諸夷。

(4) 奴兒哈赤求婚歹商，漢使歹商許之，欲歹商內倚中國，而外以姻重，皆廢北關之謀也。

We may turn to Hada for a short time. On the death of Wan Han of Hada in the 7th month of the 10th year of *Wan-li*, Hūrgan 扈爾漢, his eldest son, succeeded, but died only eight months after and was succeeded by Daišan, the eldest grandson. To begin with, Wan Han had six sons, but all the middle ones died young; only the eldest Hūrgan and the youngest Menggebulu 蒙格布祿 subsisted. In recognition of considerable services of Wan Han, the Ming authorities had appointed both Hūrgan and Menggebulu as Tu-tu-chien-shih 都督僉事, but now Menggebulu was additionally appointed as Tso-tu-tu Lung-hu-chiang-chūn 左都督龍虎將軍 to rule Hada side by side with the weak-hearted Daišan.⁽¹⁾ Wên-chieh 溫姐, Menggebulu's mother, was the younger sister to the brothers Cinggiyanu and Yangginu of Yehe of the North. In addition to these, Wan Han had an illegitimate son named Kangguru 康古嚕, who being hated by the eldest brother Hūrgan, had hidden himself in Yehe and married a daughter of Cinggiyanu; on his elder brother's death he came home and married his father's bereaved concubine Wên-chieh, and helping Wên-chieh's son Menggebulu began to press on Daišan, when Wan Han's estate was divided into three parts to show nothing of Hada's hegemony. During this period, T'ai-tsu of the Ch'ing dynasty, still in obscurity, was waiting for an opportunity. The two chiefs of Yehe incessantly interfered in the affairs of Hada, often invading it with the Mongols whom they had instigated. Ming protected the latter with difficulty, but after its expedition to Yehe in the 16th year of *Wan-li*, it at last succeeded in managing Kangguru and Wên-chieh and in realizing a peace with Menggebulu and Daišan. Menggebulu and Wên-chieh died one after the other, but Menggebulu who relied on Yehe more and more overwhelmed Daišan who was protected by Ming. Though the wife of Narimbulu of Yehe was Daišan's elder sister, Bujai also now promised to give away in marriage his daughter to Daišan who, travelling to Bujai to receive her and to visit his elder sister, Narimbulu's wife, was assassinated on the way. It took place in the 1st month of the 19th year of *Wan-li*. This was of course an intrigue of the two chiefs of the North. The *Man-chou-shih-lu* (Vol. 1) in dealing with the linealogy of Hada says:

"Wan Han died. Hūrgan his son succeeded to his throne. Only eight months after he died. Kangguru his younger brother succeeded him. Kangguru died. Menggebulu his younger brother succeeded him."⁽²⁾ The fact that Daišan's succession is completely ignored may show his incapacity from the

(1) As to the character of Daišan, KU Yang-ch'ien 顧養謙, the then Governor of Chi-liao 薊遼, comments on it: "Daišan was weak and suspicious. He killed several chiefs and took their places. But he could not keep his followers." 万商弱多疑, 即殲諸酋立之, 不能有其衆. The *Tai-shang-chuan* 万商傳 in the *Wan-li-wu-kung-lu* says: "Daišan was timid and suspicious by nature. He could not very well manage his own followers. His followers were often double-hearted." 万商為人, 氣弱而多疑, 不能善使其左右, 其左右多有離心. The *Tung-i-k'ao-liieh* also says: "Daišan was fond of vicious drinking and killing. His subjects gradually became double-hearted." 万商鬪酒好殺, 衆稍貳.

(2) 萬汗卒, 子扈爾漢襲位, 八月而卒, 其弟康古嚕襲之, 康古嚕卒, 弟蒙格布祿襲之.

beginning. At any rate, after Wan Han's death, Hada came to be ruled by Menggebulu alone for the first time. However, his power grew weaker and weaker until Yehe completely controlled him. To the Ming authorities he only faithfully paid his tribute. Hada in the South came to be isolated and more and more helpless.

It was at this moment that T'ai-tsu courageously attempted to break off relations with Yehe in the North and to manage Hada in the South. Its direct cause, however, lay in the snatching T'ai-tsu's wife on the part of the chief of the Yehe tribe. This incident does not appear in the *Shih-lu*, but the *San-chao-liao-shih-shih-lu* (Vol. 1, General Survey) gives the most detailed account. Ensuing the account of the assassination of Daišan., it says:

"At that time Nurhaci's wife Ming-an-chieh as she returned wept over her elder brother Daišan. Then she was also taken a prisoner by Bujai. Nurhaci, asked to send her back two or three times, but it was not granted. Now he appealed to the Ming authorities at K'ai-yüan to demand on his behalf. It was not granted then, either. Thereupon, he broke off relations with the Northern Fortress (Yehe)."⁽¹⁾

The same affair is given in the *Shan-chung-wên-chien-lu* (Vol. 1): "Chien-chou (Nurhachi) from day to day quarrelled with the two chiefs of the North and appealed to the Chinese government. His wife named An-ming-chieh 安明姐 had been kidnapped, by the Chief Narimbulu. He requested that troops be despatched to arrest the culprit. The above-mentioned affair was all over. But T'ai-tsu at last attacked and killed Bujai."⁽²⁾ This refers to his appealing to K'ai-yüan to intervene. It was not Bujai, but Narimbulu that stole the wife; however, seeing that Bujai was naturally gentle, and only Narimbulu savage and violent⁽³⁾ probably the latter was the culprit. The error was introduced because it was Bujai that was killed later. As *An-ming-chieh* is Amin Jeje the granddaughter of Wan Han 萬汗, *Ming-an-chieh* must be a wrong transcription. The Ch'ing record gives her as married in the 4th month of the 16th year of *Wan-li* as previously stated. Nothing is mentioned as to her giving birth to a child or her death, it is most probable that she was snatched in two years and seven months after her marriage. The curious fact is that not only this major disgraceful affair appears in no Ch'ing record, but also not a word is said as to this where T'ai-tsu quarrelled with Yehe, enumerating all the crimes and complaints of his enemy. Is it not probable that all these facts were expunged and concealed because they were too

- (1) 時奴兒哈赤妻明安姐方歸，哭兄歹[商]。亦爲卜寨所擄取。索之再三不與。轉開原爲代索，亦不與。於是，奴與北關絕。
- (2) 建州日與北關二酋構，訐訟中朝，稱妻安明姐爲那酋所搶，請發兵勦捕。概報罷。然太祖竟攻殺卜寨。
- (3) Narimbulu always stood for a drastic measure. The *Tung-i-k'ao-lieh* comments: "Narimbulu was most frantic." 那林孛羅尤狂諄。The *Shih-lu* of the Ch'ing dynasty also says that when Narimbulu was too firm with T'ai-tsu, Bujai hesitated to pacify him.

disgraceful to be discussed?

At any rate, this was not a mere accident, but a definite indication that after the actual collapse of Hada the great common enemy of Yehe and T'ai-tsu, their interests began to clash and made it impossible for them to act in concert. Indeed, phrasing in the *Shih-lu*, after this year, represents Yehe as more and more attacking T'ai-tsu with abusive language. Not only Yehe, but all Hai-hsi tribes and others in these days had joined his enemy.

IV

The representatives of the Hai-hsi tribes in the Ming records were the so-called four Hulun 呼倫 tribes of the earliest period of the Ch'ing dynasty, namely, Ula, Hada, Yehe, and Hoifa. Of these Hulun tribes, Ula occupying Ula town to the north of the present Chilin 吉林 was the head family, and Hada of the K'ai-yüan-nan-kuan was nothing but one of the branch families. However, Ula being so far away from the Ming frontier, little of Ula was known to Ming, while Hada was very well-known. Yehe of the K'ai-yüan-peikuan and Hoifa on the Hoifa River were under its control, but now Yehe grew so powerful that it nearly dictated to the other tribes. Therefore, with the severance of friendly relations between Yehe and T'ai-tsu in the 19th year of *Wan-li*, Narimbulu chief of the East Castle of Yehe, in the name of the four powers, sent an envoy with a request for territorial cession. T'ai-tsu naturally refused it, but as had been pointed out, Elmin 額勒敏 and Jakūmu 札庫木 wanted by them were probably the original homeland of the Jecen tribe on the banks of the Ying-ê-ho River 英額河 and the Hunehe tribe of the Hun-ho River 渾河.⁽¹⁾

Now, in the course of the same year, the tribes of Yehe, Hada and Hoifa held a conference, and sent to T'ai-tsu another envoy to intimidate and rebuke him. Judging from the words of the envoy from Narimbulu:

"Some time ago we demanded land, but were not given. We ordered you to surrender, but you did not obey. If our two countries engage in hostilities, we shall be able to stand on your boundaries. Do you think your troops could tread upon our land?"⁽²⁾ It is evident that not only territory but also surrender was demanded. In the same year, T'ai-tsu, despatching his troops, conquered the Yalu-chiang tribe near Mt. Chang-pai 長白山, namely the upper reaches of the present Yalu River, which no doubt threatened him. The two eastern neighbours, at the foot of Mt. Chang-pai, Jušeri 珠舍里 and Neyen 訥殷, guided the Yehe troops in destroying the fortress at Dung 洞 on the eastern boundary of Manchuria. The Dung fortress may have been T'ung-kou 通溝 or Tung-kou 洞溝 area in the present Chi-an 輯安.

(1) WADA, "On the Territories Inhabited by the Manchu Tribes." *op. cit.*, pp. 556-581.

(2) 昔索地不與，令投順不從，兩國若成仇隙，只有我兵能踐爾境，諒爾兵敢履我地耶。

Now, Yehe at last determined to cross swords and in the 6th month of the 21st year of *Wan-li* the forces of the four states Yehe, Hada, Ula, and Hoifa invaded the Hubca 瑚卜察 fortress under T'ai-tsu, and in the 9th month the great troops, the so-called the forces of the Nine Tribes came upon him. The forces included the troops belonging to Bujai and Narimbulu chiefs of Yehe tribe, Menggebulu chief of Hada tribe, Bujantai 布占泰 of Ula tribe, Baidari 拜音達哩 chief of Hoifa tribe, Unggadai 翁阿岱, Manggūs 莽古思 and Minggan 明安 chiefs of Korcin tribe in Nêrho 嫩河 Mongolia, Sibe 錫伯 tribe, Gūwalca 卦勒察 tribe, Yulengge 裕楞額 chief of Jušeri territory, Seowen 搜穩 and Seksi 塞克什 chiefs of Neyen 訥殷 territory, 30,000 soldiers, all told. Unggadai of Korcin was the ancestor of the later Central Banner of the Right Wing 右翼中旗 (Banner of Tusiyetu wang 圖什業圖王旗) who is represented as Western Barbarian (Mongol) Huang-hu-tai 西虜恍忽太 in the Ming record; Manggus the ancestor of the Central Banner of the Left Wing 左翼中旗 (Banner of Darhan wang 達賴罕王旗; and Minggan 明安 the ancestor of the Rear Banner of the Left Wing 左翼後旗 (Banner of Bodolgatai wang 博多勒噶台王旗). T'ai-tsu confronting them, destroyed them at the field of Jaka 札喀 (Hsia-cha-ho 下夾河 of the Hun-ho) at the foot of Mt. Gure and slew Bujai the commander of the enemy troops and captured Bujantai. In praise of the victory, the *Mau-chou-shih-lu* says: "In this battle, we killed 4,000 soldiers, and captured 3,000 horses, and 1,000 sets of helmet and armour. On account of this, Man-chou suddenly came to be reputed as a powerful state."⁽¹⁾ This battle actually decided the fate of the Ch'ing dynasty, for now T'ai-tsu was destined to enjoy a comparatively peaceful future. It is interesting to note that, while his enemies consisting of the principal enemy Yehe, the majority of the Man-chou tribes, and even part of Mongolia, formed a powerful anti-Ch'ing alliance, T'ai-tsu fought almost single-handed. However, it did not necessarily mean Yehe's success in diplomacy and T'ai-tsu's failure in coordination, but a feeling of insecurity in existing power in the face of the rising power of Ch'ing. Furthermore the present writer cannot help feeling here again that T'ai-tsu was exercising his shrewd policy of befriending more distant states and of antagonizing neighbours, because the more powerful Mongol tribes, his western neighbours, had not joined his enemy.

In East Mongolia at this time, in the present Jehol 熱河 area, there was a remote ancestor of the Kharacin 喀喇沁 tribe called Doyan 朵顏, to the east of whom and near the frontier of Liao-hsi 遼西, there lived several Chahar 察爾哈 or 插漢兒 tribes; and Tumen Jasaktu Han 圖們札薩克圖汗, the chief of the latter, was called T'u-man 土蠻 (Native savages) by Ming people, and exercised tremendous influence over all the surrounding countries as the principal descendant of Chinggis Khan 成吉思汗. He was the man who captured and killed Li Ju-sung 李如松 the eldest son Li Ch'êng-liang 李成梁. To the north of Chahar and near the western bank of the east Liao 遼 River, there

(1) 是戰也，殺其兵四千，獲馬三千匹，盔甲千副。滿洲自此威名大震。

Brothers Subahai 速把亥 and Caohua 炒花 of Khalkha Barin 喀爾喀巴林 who were mistaken for guards for T'ai-ning 泰寧 and Fu-yü 福餘; and further in the north and in the course of the Nên-chiang several chiefs of the Korcin 科爾沁 or 好兒趁 tribes. Of all these, the Korcin tribes being over to the northeast and most closely connected with the Jurchens, joined the alliance of the Hai-hsi tribes, whereas the several powerful tribes to the south did not join the Anti-Ch'ing Alliance. It is not that they had no relation with Manchuria, for such powerful chiefs as Wang-kao and Atai had always communicated with T'u-man 土蠻 and Subahai, and the troops under Tumen Han had once advanced east to surround and attack the Hoifa Castle by the Hoifa River.⁽¹⁾ As already stated, Yehe and Hada had allied themselves with Mongolia. According to the *Wan-li-wu-kung-li*: (Vol. 11) *Tai-shang-chuan* 歹商傳, it is said that about the 16th year of *Wan-li* Narimbulu had induced Nurhaci to negotiate secretly with the northern natives, and according to *Nurhaci-chuan* 奴兒哈赤傳, Huang-hu-tai 恍惚大, the Northern Barbarian, helped each other.

A little later, for instance, the record such as the *Shen-chin-chi-fa-lu-mou-su* 睿進止伐虜謀疏, (*Chou-liao-shih-hua* 籌遼碩畫 Vol. 1) by Hsiung T'ing-pi 熊廷弼, says that in the 36th year of *Wan-li*: "Nurhaci once met Sao-ta-tsu 騷達子 (Mongols). They promised to rise in arms and revolt on the day the tribute bearer came home."⁽²⁾ In those days relations between T'ai-tsu and Mongolia are frequently recorded in the *Man-wen-lao-lang*. Still later, the *Shih-lu* of the Ch'ing dynasty records that, in the 10th month of the 47th year of *Wan-li*, Lindan Han 林丹汗 of Chahar in Mongolia, the great-grandson of Tumen Han sent a letter to T'ai-tsu definitely saying: "In the past, messengers were always exchanged between our two countries. Since your messenger falsely accused us of being haughty, we pronounce a wicked word upon you and hereby our relations has been cut off."⁽³⁾ This shows their previous friendly communications.

Still more conspicuous is his communication with Khalkha. The *Shih-lu*, under the item on the 6th month of the 47th year of *Wan-li*, gives the account of the capture of Jaisai 齋賽 the powerful Mongol chief of Khalkha as follows:

"The Emperor T'ai-tsu dreamed of heavenly geese, cormorants and various birds soaring back and forth and of catching a white cormorant with a net.

- (1) The *Man-chou-shih-lu* (Vol. 1) under *Chü-pu-shih-hsi Hoifa-kuo* 諸部世系輝發國 says: "On that occasion, Tumen Jasaktu Han of Chahar-kuo in Mongolia, came in person and surrounded the castle; attacked it, but could not capture it. So he came away....." 彼時蒙古察哈爾國土門札薩克圖汗自將來, 圍其城, 攻不能克, 遂回。In the letter T'ai-tsu sent Ooba Taiji 鄂巴台吉 of Korcin, which is included under the 8th month, the 10th year of *T'ien-ming* 天命, is written: "In olden times Tumen Jasaktu Han attacked Hoifa. At that time Hoifa had 500 men, and only 50 of them wore armours. Against them he fought; but he came back without defeating them; etc." 昔圖們札薩克圖汗曾征輝發, 時輝發兵五百, 帶甲僅五十人, 與之戰, 不勝而回.....
- (2) 奴酋又曾合騷達子, 約於朝貢夷人回巢日, 興兵犯搶。
- (3) 先時, 吾二國使者常相往來, 因汝使捏言吾之驕慢, 告汝以不善之言, 故相絕耳。

On his catching it he cried 'Here I have captured Jaisai.' As he shouted, he awoke. (Jaisai was a Mongol chief hostile to the Emperor. T'ai-tsu had always wished to capture him. So this accounts for his calling in his dream.) When he mentioned this to the Empress, she said; 'Jaisai is naturally like a bird that flits about. How could you capture him?' The following day he again spoke of it to his princes and ministers. The princes and ministers answered, 'Your dream is quite felicitous, for Heaven will enable our country to capture a man of great reputation. This was a good tidings from heaven.'⁽¹⁾

So they rejoiced over the prophetic dream and was on the 25th day of the month the Tieh-ling 鐵嶺 castle was taken, Jaisai and others of the Khalkha tribe in Mongolia came with more than 10,000 men, and lying in wait for our men outside the castle, commenced to fire on us, but our troops which had always feared to fight the Mongols hesitated to march against them. T'ai-tsu scolded them and commanded them to attack the enemy and succeeded in capturing Jaisai alive. The *Shih-lu* says:

"Our troops, as soon as they saw it, went out of the castle. Seeing the enemy was Mongols, they desired to fight at once, but no order being given, they did not. We had already suffered losses, and we only marched close behind them. The Emperor, coming out of the castle and seeing this, said: 'Why don't you fight? It is time to attack them.' The Ta-Wang 大王 said: 'If we fight now, we shall have to regret it in the future.' The Emperor said: 'They are men under Jaisai. With Jaisai we have five complaints. Now they have killed our men first. How shall we regret it in the future?' All the princes and ministers at last led their troops and fought and defeating the enemy, drove them to the Liao River. A great many were drowned and slain. Jaisai and his two sons were captured alive..... All the princes and ministers in wonder said: We have captured Jaisai. The Emperor's felicitous dream has been fulfilled."⁽²⁾

As previously stated, Jaisai was a grandson of Subahai of T'ai-ning 泰寧; the Emperor here mentioned refers to T'ai-tsu after his formal ascension, and the Ta-Wang to Daišan the second son of T'ai-tsu. On reading this account, we realize that the Manchurians who had been forbidden to resist the Mongols even though they were slain, had by this time become confident of their own powers and made bold to take the opportunity to capture the great enemy chief. This took place a great deal later, but it is probable that T'ai-tsu, having adopted this fixed policy from the beginning, had always striven to

- (1) 帝夜夢天鵝鷓鴣及羣鳥往來翻翔，羅得一白鷓鴣，執之聲音，「吾擒得齊賽矣」。隨呼而覺，（齊賽蒙古之長，與帝有隙，常思擒之。故夢中云。）將此夢語后妃，后妃曰，「齊賽為人如飛禽，何以擒之。」次日，復語諸王大臣，諸王大臣對曰，「此夢主吉，蓋天將以大有聲名之人，為吾國所獲，故為之兆也。」
- (2) 我兵一見，即出城，知是蒙古，欲遽戰，又無上命，不戰，即吾人已殺，但躡其後而行。帝出城見曰，「何為不戰，可急擊之。」大王曰，「今一戰，恐貽後悔。」帝曰，「此兵乃齊賽兵也，吾與齊賽之恨有五，今又先殺吾人如此，何悔之有。」諸王大臣遂領兵衝殺，敗其兵，追至遼河，溺死及殺者甚衆，生擒齊賽並二子.....諸王大臣俱奇之曰，「得擒齊賽，正應汗吉夢也。」

avoid provoking the Mongols. This accounts for the fact that, even in the face of the invasion in the 21st year of *Wan-li* of the troops of the so-called Nine Tribes' Powers, the powerful Mongol tribes kept away from joining the enemy forces. Surely, this was not without reason.

T'ai-tsu's troops went round the northern ridges of Mt. Chang-pai into East Manchuria and occupied the backwoods. During the period there was more and more frequent intercourses between him and the Koreans, while desperately fighting the Yehe tribe for hegemony on the one hand, he managed to annex Hada in the 27th year, to destroy Hoifa in the 35th year, to annex Ula in the 41st year of *Wan-li*, and formally under the title of Han 汗, to wage war with the Ming troops. It was in the 4th month of the 46th year of *Wan-li*, namely the 3rd year of *T'ien-ming* 天命 that T'ai-tsu fought the Ming troops for the first time, and in the 8th month of the following year, or the 47th of *Wan-li* that he completely overthrew Yehe. It goes without saying that his policy from the very beginning had been to avoid as far as possible a clash with Ming the greatest power, and to refrain from provoking her uselessly, and exclusively to endeavor to unify Manchuria internally. Therefore, his pro-Ming policy was really noteworthy, and the accounts in the *Shih-lu* written later considerably conceal and color these facts, which will not be discussed here. Ming's realization of the threat of the Manchurians dates from the 35th or 36th year of *Wan-li* and the Mongols realized it ten years later than that when it was respectively only too late for preparation. This matter will be taken up later in another paper.

V

A word may be needed here on the new general situation in these days. In the foregoing, the various subjects have been treated in connection with T'ai-tsu's character, but regardless of his character, the new times had arrived with new tendencies in a ferment. A change among the frontier tribes at the last stages of the Ming dynasty showed in the new fortresses then constructed. The *Shih-lu* records that, in the ancient country of Ula, at the time of Buyan 布顏, the grand-father of Bujantai, building a castle at Hongni on the Ula River, assumed the title of Wang 王; that in Hoifa, Wangginu 旺吉努 the grandfather of Baidari, building a castle on Mt. Hürki 呼爾奇山 by the Hoifa River and lived in it; that in Hada, the castle building dates from Wangju Wailan 旺佳外蘭 the uncle of Wan Han; and that in Yehe, the brothers Cinggiyanu and Yangginu had each a castle of his own and a great number of Hada people pledged allegiance to them. There being many other accounts on castles and fortresses, for instance, on the Gure castle of Wang-kao and Atai, the Turun and Giyaban castles of Nikan Wailan, as previously mentioned, the present writer was convinced that the castles and fortresses in Manchuria had always existed since ancient times. But he was mistaken. If you had

reflected a little, you would have readily realized that neither TUNG Mengge-Temur 童猛哥帖木兒 nor CHIN Ahacu 金阿哈出, the most celebrated chiefs of the earliest Ming period, and the so-called remote ancestors of the Ch'ing family had no fortress deserving the name. No major chiefs of the middle Ming period, such as LI Manju 李滿住 or Tung-shan 董山 by any means resided in a castle.⁽¹⁾ It is true, in ancient Manchuria as in other places, castles and fortresses had been preserved in perfect shape. With the changes of times, however, they were deteriorated. According to a passage in the *Yuan-i-t'ung-chih* 元一統志 quoted in the *Liao-tung-chih* 遼東志 (Vol. 1), after enumerating these castles and fortresses, it says: "These castles were all built by P'o-hai 渤海, Liao 遼, and Chin 金. The Yüan dynasty abandoned them. The castle ruins still exist."⁽²⁾ Generally speaking, the castles and fortresses in Interior Manchuria were demolished during the Yüan and Ming periods. However, in earlier Ming days when Nurgan-tu-ssu 奴兒干都司 prospered, castles and fortresses were constructed in line on the banks of the Sungari and Amur Rivers, as is well-known. These came to be completely destroyed after the middle of the Ming period.

Destruction of castles and fortresses during the Ming period took place, not only in Interior Manchuria, but also along the southern frontier of Inner Mongolia. During the Liao, Chin, and Yüan periods, provinces and *hsiens* 縣 (districts) were established in the present Jehol 熱河 area, to the south of the course of the Hsi-liao 西遼 River, and in the Dolon Nor 多倫諾爾 and Sui-yüan 綏遠 areas. These were destroyed in the Ming period. However, as to the causes and circumstances for this, nothing will be discussed here. In these same areas there arose a revival of the custom of settling down and of living in houses and of building walled castles, which dates from the beginning of modern times, namely about the *Chia-ching* 嘉靖 (1522-66) and *Lung-ch'ing* 隆慶 (1567-72) eras.

During the *Chia-ching* era of the Ming dynasty, in the present Sui-yüan area, there arose a great chief named Altan 俺答 who conquered the surrounding tribes. He was followed by a large number of the Ming fugitives, among whom CHIU Fu 丘富 and CHAO Ch'üan 趙全 became the favorites of Altan and instructed the Mongols in the skill of settling down, of living in houses, and of farming. The *Ta-ta-chuan* 韃靼傳 in the *Ming-shih* 明史 (Vol. 327) describes the circumstances as follows:

- (1) This will be clear when one studies the actual records of the Ming and Korean dynasties; for convenience' sake, the present writer's "Min-sho no Manshü Keiryaku 明初の滿洲經略" (Manchurian Control during the Earliest Days of the Ming Dynasty) or Kazuki SONODA, *Min-dai Kenshü-Jochokushi Kenkyü* 明代建州女直史研究 (A Study of the Chien-chou Jurchens during the Ming Period, Toyo Bunko Ronsō 東洋文庫論叢 No. 31), etc., may be consulted. It is true, CHIN Ahacu for some time occupied the Fang-chou-ch'eng 坊州城, but it was only the ruins of an old castle. In other cases, the names of fortresses are given, but none was a true castle or fortress.
- (2) 城皆渤海遼金所建, 元廢, 城址猶存.

"In those days CHIU Fu and others were in the hands of Mongols. They collected other fugitives and founded settlement at Fêng-chou 豐州. A castle was built to defend them. They constructed a palace, cultivated paddy-fields. These are called *pan-shêng* 板升, meaning 'a house.' CHAO Ch'üan taught the Mongols who became more and more versed in the skill of warfare. Altan liked him very much. Whenever the Ming was invaded, he served CHAO Ch'üan with wine and consulted him as to strategy. (The 34th year of *Chia-ching*.) When CHIU Fu died, CHAO Ch'üan rendered service to the Mongols. In praise of Altan, he called him emperor, and built a palace for him. A day was set the ceremony of putting up the framework of the palace. Suddenly a strong wind rose and blew down the frame, injuring several men. Altan was frightened and never dared to live in a house. (The 44th year of *Chia-ching*.)"⁽¹⁾ Fêng-chou, strictly speaking, is the present Pai-t'á-pu 白塔鋪 to the east of the Kuei-hua-ch'êng 歸化城, and *pan-shêng* is the transcription of the Mongol word *baisin*. In the course of time, Altan gradually adopted Chinese customs, and in the 4th year of *Lung-ch'ing* (1570) entered into friendly relations with the Ming dynasty; and the Ming emperor presented him with the name Kuei-hua-ch'êng for his castle, and the temple was named Hung-t'zü-ssu 弘慈寺. This is the origin of the present Kuei-hua-ch'êng. Moreover, Altan was converted to Lamaism. He built another temple in Ching-hai 青海 and named it Yang-hua-ssu 仰華寺. The magnificent tiled Lama temples towering in the Mongol desert to-day must surely date from about this time.⁽²⁾

The custom of settling down in one locality and living in houses was adopted not only in West Mongolia, but also in East Mongolia. The *Wu-ch'iu-chan-shou-chang-t'se-su* 務求戰守長策疏⁽³⁾ by HSIUNG T'ing-pi, discussing the affairs on the frontier of Liao-hsi 遼西 in the 36th or 37th year of *Wan-li*, contains this passage:

"Formerly, the Mongols used to suffer from food shortage; when the spring grass withered, horses grew as thin as sticks erected. So we managed to obtain some leisure. Nowadays, they plunder the populace and build houses to live in. The most powerful chiefs own about several thousand men; the less powerful chiefs about one thousand; and the still less powerful chiefs about several hundred. All the people are ordered to sow seed and to harvest crops. Men and horses are supplied with food. They are always to invade us."⁽⁴⁾

- (1) 時富等在敵，招集亡命，居豐州，築城自衛，構宮殿，墾水田，號曰板升，板升華言屋也。趙全敵敵，益習攻戰事。俺荅愛之甚，每入寇，必置酒全所，問計。(嘉靖三十四年) 時邱富死。趙全在敵中，益用事，尊俺荅爲帝，治宮殿，期日上棟。忽大風，棟墜傷數人，俺荅懼，不敢復居。(嘉靖四十四年)
- (2) In these days, the custom of living in a castle was adopted at Girad in West Mongolia. Jin-ichi YANO 矢野仁一, *Kindai Shina-shi* 近代支那史 (A History of Modern China) pp. 68-9.
- (3) *Ch'ou-liao-shih-hua* 籌遼頂畫 (Vol. 1).
- (4) 往勞故窮餒，又馬於冬春草枯時，瘦如柴立，故我猶得一間。近所掠人口，築板升居之，大會以數千計，次千計，又次數百計，皆令種地納糧，料人馬得食，無日不可圖我。

Another passage reads:

“Once we secretly overheard a talk among outsiders. ‘Formerly, we were especially afraid that the Mongols would kill us. Now we hear that the Mongols have built houses and let our people live in. Dividing clothing and food, they support us. Every year we sow the fields. We raise only one sack of millet and a few bundles of hay. They order no other task which torment us. Again, in former days the Mongols left the populace behind, with our relatives and friends to look after ourselves. We might die in fighting as victims of beheading rather than die of hunger as victims of starvation. Why should we go with the Mongols and resort to the slight chance of saving our lives?’ Such ominous words make their everyday talk.”⁽¹⁾

This was a change that had visited the nomadic zone where the natives wandered about after water and grass. From this fact, one could readily imagine the tremendous progress of Manchuria where since remote antiquity the natives had been accustomed to living in houses and farming.

When viewed in the light of these circumstances, the sudden fortification of the strategic points in Manchuria which had no castle or fortress up to the middle of the Ming period must surely date from about the *Chia-ching* or *Lung-ch'ing* eras. If so, the fortification of Ula, Hada, Yehe, and Hoifa, discussed at the opening, no doubt referred to their new construction, and by no means to their reconstruction. When one comes to think of it, the expeditions of the Jurchens by Li Ch'êng-liang were all siege war, whereas all the previous campaigns by other generals were by no means siege war, but sweeping war. Is it not clear that fortification among the Jurchens took place only during the few dozen years of the last period of the Ming dynasty, and not before this? The present writer recalls that, as early in the autumn of 1941 and accompanied by Yoshimi SHIMADA 島田好 of the South Manchuria Railway Company, we inspected the ancient fortress ruins in Hsi-an-hsien 西安縣 (Ta-ko-tan 大疙疸) to the east of K'ai-yüan, we observed that those on the summits were all Jurchen fortress ruins, while the earth works covered by grasses looked as perfectly preserved as if only lately constructed. Though on that occasion the writer supposed them as some of the celebrated nineteen Yehe fortresses, it is now evident that they are all those constructed in the late-Ming days.

The present Hsing-ching-lao-ch'êng 興京老城, the headquarters of T'ai-tsu of the Ch'ing dynasty is said to be the site of Hetu Ala where the fourth patriarch Giocangga, his grandfather, had resided. Over against this, closely to the west and at the northeast foot of Mt. Yen-t'ung 煙筒山 across the Giyaha 嘉哈 River lies Giorca 覺爾察, the headquarters of Desiku, the eldest patriarch; Aha Holo 阿哈和洛 of Liocan the second patriarch lies in A-huo-lo

(1) 嘗密聞外間人言，向特怕虜殺我耳，今聞虜築板升以居我，推衣食以養我，歲種地，不過粟一囊草數束，別無差役以擾我，而又舊時虜去入口，有親戚朋友，以看顧我。我與其死於飢餓，作枵腹鬼，死於兵刃，作斷頭鬼，而然寧隨虜去，獨可得一活命也。不祥之語，以為常談。

阿伙洛 still further to the west, and near the northwestern foot of Mt. Yen-t'ung; Holo Gašan 和洛噶善 of Soocangga, the third patriarch, to the north of the Su-tzu-ho River, and at the foot of the present Mt. Ch'i-yün 啓運山 of Yungling 永陵; likewise, Nimalan 尼瑪蘭 of Boolangga the fifth patriarch; and then Janggiya 章佳 of Boosi the sixth patriarch stretch in succession to the east. The *Shih-lu* says: "The six sons occupied six different points at which they built castles and moats. They called themselves six princes. They were the so-called six patriarchs."⁽¹⁾ The note at the same passage says: "As to the distances of the five castles from Hetu Ala, the farthest is no more than 20 *li* and the nearest no more than 5 or 6 *li*."⁽²⁾ After studying the illustrations in the *Man-chou-shih-lu* the present writer formed a rough idea as to their probable sites,⁽³⁾ and afterwards Kyōshirō TAKAHASHI 高橋匡四郎 and others conducted an actual survey,⁽⁴⁾ which served to identify these castle ruins.

Furthermore, about 4 kilometers to the south of the Hsing-ching-lao-ch'êng 興京老城, and on a hill at Erh-tao-ho-tzu 二道河子 within sight of Hsing-ching, there was an immense castle ruin, which had been noticed by a casual English traveller⁽⁵⁾, thought unidentified by the historians of the *K'ang-hsi* 康熙 and *Ch'ien-lung* 乾隆 eras. However, when a report (Kon-chu-ki-chong-to-ki 建州紀程圖記) by SIN Ch'ung-il 申忠一 an envoy from the Korean court in those days was published, it became clear that it was the first resident castle of T'ai-tsu of the Ch'ing dynasty, and this was named Hsing-ching-êrh-tao-ho-tzu-chiu-lao-ch'êng 興京二道河子舊老城⁽⁶⁾ by Dr. Iwakichi INABA. When viewed in this light, it is now clear that this *Chiu-lao-ch'êng* 舊老城 (the original old castle) is the one T'ai-tsu newly built in the 15th year of *Wan-li*, in which he lived until the 31st of the same era, and the present Lao-ch'êng 老城 (old castle) is the one into which he moved after the 31st year. If so, where had he been prior to the 15th year? According to the *Shih-lu*, T'ai-tsu is represented to have lived in the present Lao-ch'êng ever since the day of Giocangga his grand-father, but this is hardly believable. According to the *Kon-chu-ki-ch'ong-to-ki* 建州紀程圖記, T'ai-tsu had for generations lived near the present Hsin-ping-pao 新兵堡 of Hsing-ching further up the Su-tzu-ho River; consequently the present writer had presumed the six patriarchs' homeland to be somewhere near the present Hsin-ping-pao 新兵堡.⁽¹⁾ However, Kyōshirō

(1) 六子六處，各立城池，稱爲六王。乃六祖也。

(2) 五城距赫圖阿拉，遠者不過二十里，近者不過五六里。

(3) WADA, "On the Territories Inhabited by the Manchu Tribes" *op. cit.*, pp. 566-581.

(4) Kyōshirō TAKAHASHI 高橋匡四郎, "Soshi-ga Ryūiki ni okeru Kōkuri to Go-Joshin no Iseki 蘇子河流域に於ける高句麗と後女眞の遺迹" (The Kao-chu-li and Later-Jurchen Ruins in the Su-tzu-ho Basin), Kenkoku Daigaku Kenkyū Kihō 建國大學研究期報 No. 2.

(5) H.E.M. JAMES, *Long White Mountain*. London, 1888, pp. 231-2.

(6) Iwakichi INABA, "Shin-chū-itsu Shokei to Zuki 申忠一書啓と圖記" (Sin Ch'ung-il's So-kye and To-ki) Seikyū Gakusō 青丘學叢 No. 29; *Kōkyō Nidōkashi Kyū-rōjō* 興京二道河子舊老城 *op. cit.*; RI In-yong 李仁榮, "Kon-chu-ki-chong-to-ki 建州紀程圖記" Sin-tan-hak-po 震檀學報 No. 10.

TAKAHASHI 高橋匡四郎 and Sanzō WATANABE 渡邊三三 who had made an on-the-spot survey, after making a careful, extensive exploration of the district near the Hsin-ping-pao, questioned the writer's presumption because they found no trace of one castle, to say nothing of the six fortresses. This certainly embarrassed the writer at the time, though he is now convinced of being in the right, since the six patriarchs began building each a fortress only after moving west into the valley of the present Yung-ling-chieh 永陵街, the ruins of which are, therefore, still extant, but while they had been near Hsin-ping-pao they had not yet learned to live in fortresses. This accounts for the absence of fortress ruins. Judging from the previously quoted account of the frequent attempts on T'ai-tsu's life during his first rising in arms, it is impossible to imagine that he lived in a very strong fortress. When viewed in this light, it is evident, the various fortresses under Aisin Gioro were all completed towards the end of the Ming period; there is not a single one which dates from an older time.

The three-fold construction of the "original old castle" at Hsing-ching is discussed in the *Shih-lu* of the Ch'ing dynasty and in the Ming records, and most elaborately in the *To-ki* 圖記 by SIN Ch'ung-il. According to our survey, the ruins of the Ula castle at Pei-chiu-chieh 北舊街 in Ula-chieh 烏拉街 show to be a level-land castle and divided into several sections; whereas the Hürki castle by the Hoifa River and the Wang-kao castle by the Hada River were both mountain castles, with two-fold or three-fold constructions from the mountain to its foot. The present writer did not visit the Yehe castle personally; the *Wan-li-wu-kung-lu* (Vol. 11) gives an exceedingly detailed account of Li Ch'êng-liang's attack on the Tung-ch'êng 東城 (East castle) in the 16th year of *Wan-li*. "On the outside a great castle is built of stone; outside the stone castle there is a wooden barricade, and inside there is another wooden castle-wall. Within and without the castle there are three large moats running all round. At the centre a steep mountain rose. Cut through a mountain precipice, it is made extremely steep and rocks are piled on it. Inside the castle, another wooden castle-wall was built. The wooden castle has an octagonal light turret—a place where are kept the wife and children and valuables. Up and down, in and out, the castle-wall is four-fold with an extra wooden barricade."⁽²⁾

It shows how strong and impregnable it was. You will understand that a three or four-fold fortress was the characteristic of a major castle in Jurchen in these days. Naturally, impregnability was its aim, but it also classified the inhabitants in the castle according to the social structure in these days. For instance, the *So-kye* by SIN Ch'ung-il describes the "original old castle" as

(1) WADA, *op. cit.* p. 590.

(2) 其外大城以石，石城外爲木柵，而內又爲木城，城內外大濠凡三道，其中堅則一山特起，鑿山坡，周廻峻絕，而壘石其上，城之內又爲木城，木城有八角明樓，則其置妻子資財所也，上下內外，凡爲城四層，木柵一層。

follows:

1. Within the inner castle, a wooden barricade is provided, and within the barricade Nurhaci the native chief lives.
2. Inside the inner castle there are about a hundred native houses, inside the outer castle there are only three hundred houses, or thereabouts, and in every part around the outer castle about four hundred native houses.
3. Inside the inner castle, the relatives live, and inside the outer castle, generals and tribesmen. Those who live around the outer castle are said to be soldiers.
4. Nurhaci and the chiefs of the tribes excepting the neighbourhood of Liao-tung province, namely the north, east and south side of the castle, within the distance of three or four days' journey, live crowded in the castle. When war happens every chief receives an arrow-message and he commands his troops and equips them with weapons and provisions. The number of the troops, it is said, is decided by Nurhaci himself.⁽¹⁾

The *Tung-i-Nurhaci-k'ao* probably refers to the later 'old castle' when it says: "Inside the inner castle live Nurhaci's relatives. Inside the outer castle live his bravest soldiers. Houses situated in and out number over 20,000. Outside the north gate live blacksmiths exclusively engaged in making armour and helmet. Outside the south gate live bow-men and arrow-men, exclusively engaged in making bow and arrow. Outside the east gate is a quarter for storage with 18 sections, all told. Each section is divided into 7 or 8 rooms. This is a place for storing corn."⁽²⁾

The *Po-wu-tien-hui* 博物典彙 under the title of *Ssü-i* 四夷 in Vol. 20 by HUANG T'ao-chou 黃道周 of the Ming dynasty says on the same old castle: "Nurhaci lives in the inner castle. The natives following him live in more than 300 houses. They are all friends and confidants. The natives living in the outer castle are of almost 10,000 families. These are all picked up brave men. The natives living scattered far and near the surrounding fortresses number several hundred thousand."⁽³⁾

It would seem that the inner castle was allotted for the families and relatives, and the outer castle for the generals and tribesmen, outside them other soldiers, and the area outside the castle for the mechanics of various kinds.

There is little time now to dwell on Jurchen social structure in these

- (1) 一. 內城內，又設木柵，柵內奴酋居之。
 一. 內城中，胡家百餘，外城中，胡家三百餘，外城外四面，胡家四百餘。
 一. 內城中親近族類居之，外城中，諸將及族黨居之，外城外居生者皆軍人云。
 一. 奴酋除遼東地方近處，其餘北東南三四日程內各部落酋長，聚居於城中，動兵時，則傳箭於諸酋，各領其兵，軍器·軍糧使之自備，兵之多寡，則奴酋定數云。
- (2) 內城居其親戚。外城居其精悍卒伍。內外見居人家，約二萬餘戶。北門外則鐵匠居之，專冶鐵甲。南門外則弓人箭人居之。專造弧矢。東門外則有倉廩一區，共計十八照，每照各七八間，乃是貯穀之所。
- (3) 奴居內城，隨住夷人三百餘家，皆親黨心服，外城住夷約近萬餘家，皆是挑選精壯者，其遠近環聚散處之夷，約有數十萬之家。

days, but probably it was considerably clanish. Powerful families maintained their spheres of influence throughout land. The more powerful among them built fortresses and jealously defended sectional authority. Great chief conquered and annexed these tribes. So it would seem that the chiefs of the four Hulun countries or a powerful chief like T'ai-tsu lived in an immense three or four-hold castle as described in the foregoing, with the chief and family and relatives living in the inner castle, and his subordinate tribesmen and their dependents in the middle castle. According to the account, along the Ming frontier near Liao-tung, defenses against its power being the chief consideration, it was not necessary to reside personally in the chief's castle; however, as to the rest, that is, in the areas lying in the three directions, namely, north, south, east, the tribe-heads within a distance of 3 or 4 days' trip, that is, practically all the tribe heads within T'ai-tsu's influence attended the middle castle. Of course, they had their own dominions which their subordinates ruled during their absence and probably procured their necessities for them. On an emergency, the tribes-heads were ordered, according to their capacity, to offer soldiers, and consented to despatch troops equipped with provisions and weapons at their own expenses. According to the *So-kye* by SIN Ch'ung-il, in the 24th year of *Wan-li*, the numbers of such generals and officers were as follows: "Nurhaci's generals numbered over 150; and the generals of Šurgaci, T'ai-tsu's younger brother—numbered over 40. These were all tribe-heads. They were all ordered to live in the middle castle."⁽¹⁾ In the *Shan-chung-wen-chien-lu* (Vol. 1), T'ai-tsu in the 17th year of *Wan-li* reports to the Ming authorities that he had succeeded to defend the frontiers saying: "Now personally commanding 32 chiefs, I have defended the frontiers, and have ruled Chien-chou, Mao-lin 毛隣 and other garrisons."⁽²⁾ Under the 24th year, it says: "53 chiefs, all told, labored to defend the frontiers."⁽³⁾ These may refer to the same circumstances. The troops were probably chosen by the generals from among the strongest tribesmen under them. The soldiers stationed in the outskirts of a major castle of a chief were probably Tai-tsu's direct followers. With the chief's family and relatives in the inner castle and with the strongest soldiers who were under his personal command in the outer castle, and with the generals in attendance in the middle castle, the chief enjoyed perfect control. The report by HA Se-kuk 河世國 an interpreter of Korea reprinted in the *Ri-cho-son-chong-sil-lok* 李朝宣宗實錄 (Vol. 69), on his observation in the 23rd year of *Wan-li*, reads:

"To make a general survey, under Nurhaci there are over 10,000 men. Under Šurgaci T'ai-tsu's younger brother, there are over 5,000 men. They have been in the castle, for a long time doing mimic warfare. Over a

(1) 奴酋諸將一百五十餘，小酋（太祖弟速兒哈赤）諸將四十餘，皆以各部酋長爲之，而率居於城中。

(2) 今復身率三十二酋保塞，鈐東建州毛隣等衛。

(3) 總五十三酋，捍邊勞苦。

thousand men have each a war horse. Clad in armour, they have a drill 10 *li* away from the castle. Nurhaci has over 700 war horses; and Šurgaci over 400 war horses. These have been checked up."⁽¹⁾

The blacksmiths, bow-men and arrow-men who live outside the castle were very useful technicians, and not all of them Jurchens, some being Chinese prisoners. The report by HA Se-kuk enumerates the various technicians who were in T'ai-tsu's camp.

"Two draftsmen; three brick-bakers who are said to have been sent down by the order of the Chinese court. It was just when they were beginning to bake brick. Wên-hsüeh-wai-lang 文學外郎 who is a Chinese surrendered himself to Jurchen. He has been there more than thirty years and is said to be in charge of all documents. There are 16 armour-men, over 50 arrowmen, over 30 bowmen, and 15 blacksmiths who are all natives. Not a day passes that they are idle."

Wên-hsüeh-wai-lang is another name for KUNG Chêng-liu 龔正陸. As it was the time when they began to bake bricks, they asked the Ming court to send out technicians. They were replaced by Jurchens as soon as they learned the craft. It was probably the case with other technicians.

Such was the defense of a major castle. Beyond the castle, there was a kind of branch castle at a day's journey down each route. The defense on the west was especially elaborated. The *So-kye* by SIN Ch'ung-il says:

"One day's journey to the south of Nurhaci's house on the Tã-kil-ho-ri 大吉號里 route (to the east of Ch'ang-sang 昌城, Korea) and one day's journey to the north on the Yehe route, a fortress is built. One day's journey on the Liao-tung route to the west, there are built ten fortresses. As for generals of these fortresses, it is a custom to despatch some chiefs in attendance to the castle. They take turns every year. The troops were supplied from among the tribes near each fort. They take turns every ten days."⁽³⁾

This will give an idea of the strength of his defense. Of course, the fort of minor chiefs under him were generally much simpler, and probably there were even minor chiefs without a fort.

The Mongols were a nomadic people. Even they acquired the custom of settling down and living in houses under the influence of the Chinese. Now the Manchus had from the beginning engaged in hunting, fishing, and farming, as given in the *Tung-i-k'ao-lieh*, "They are engaged in farming and weaving,

- (1) 大槩目觀，則老乙可亦（奴兒哈赤）麾下萬餘名，小乙可赤（太祖弟速兒哈赤）麾下五千餘名，長在城中，而當時習陣，千餘名各持戰馬，着甲，城外十里許鍊兵，而老乙可赤戰馬則七百餘匹，小乙可赤戰馬四百餘匹，並為點考矣。
- (2) 畫員二名，瓦匠三名，則天朝命送之人云，而時方始役燔瓦。文學外郎則唐人投屬虜地，幾至三十餘年，而凡所通書，此人專掌云。甲匠十六名，箭匠五十餘名，弓匠三十餘名，冶匠十五名，皆是胡人，無一日不措矣。
- (3) 一。奴酋自其家，南向大吉號里路一日程，北向如許（葉赫）路一日程，各設一堡。西向遼東路一日程，設十堡。將則以酋長之在城中者定送，滿一年相遞。軍則以各堡附近部落調送，十日相遞云。

and are influenced by Chinese customs in their dwelling, eating, and drinking."⁽¹⁾ This people had now attained a marked progress. They had achieved a remarkable development. Why? Because towards the end of the Ming dynasty there had been a considerable outflow of Chinese people beyond the frontier, and T'ai-tsu had access to KUNG Chêng-liu 龔正陸 and other Chinese advisers. This subject has been dealt with elsewhere.⁽²⁾ At any rate, under the guidance of some Chinese experts, castles and fortresses had been constructed and agriculture developed. The existence of a certain manor system at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty is evident from the account of *nêng-mu* 農幕 (farming tents) in the *So-kye* by SIN Ch'ung-il or that of *nêng-chuang* 農庄 (farming manors) in the *K'ôn-chu-mun-kyōn-rok* 建州聞見錄 by I Min-hwan 李民寰. Later this manor system gradually made much progress.⁽³⁾ This was not confined only to Chien-chou, but more conspicuous in Hai-hsi 海西. The *Wan-li-wu-kung-lu* (Vol. 11), mentions that, during Yehe's invasion into Hada, ten manors were burnt down, that ten manors under Menggebulu and under San-ma-tu 三馬兔 and one under Daisan were burnt down and cites U-su-chuang 兀蘇莊 and the names of other manors.

Maintenance of castles or fortresses would presuppose besides political power, tolerable development of transportation and centralization of inhabitants. It seems difficult to produce further evidence at this moment. However, it is interesting to note here an incident reported in connection with the fall of the Hoifa castle. The item under the 10th month of the year *ting-wei* 丁未 of the King Son-chong 宣宗 (the 35th year of *Wan-li* in the *Li-cho-sil-lok*, which cites the report of Yu Hang 柳珩 the Army Controller of Ham-kyōng-puk-to 咸鏡北道, gives the rumor of the fall of Hoifa as follows:

- (1) 事耕紙, 居處飲食有華風.
- (2) WADA, "Shin no Tai-so no Komon KYŌ Sei-riku 清の太祖の顧問龔正陸" (KUNG Cheng-lu, an Adviser of the Founder of the Ch'ing Dynasty.) *Tōshi Kenkyū* pp. 637-649.
- (3) Yoshiyuki SUDŌ 周藤吉之, *Shin-dai Manshū Tochiseisaku no Kenkyū* 清代滿洲土地政策の研究 (A Study of Land Policy in Manchuria in the Early Ch'ing Period) 1944. I Min-hwan 李民寰 of Korea, a prisoner in the 'old castle' of Hsing-ching in the 47th or 48th year of *Wan-li*, is quoted from his *K'ôn-chu-mun-kyōn-rok* as follows: "From Nurhaci and his children down to the native soldiers, all have men and women-servants (who are bought and sold) and farming manors (some native generals have more than fifty such manors). Men and women-servants farm and send produces to their master. Soldiers sharpen swords. In peace time they are engaged in farming For working on silver, iron, leather and wood, there are craftsmen; among whom blacksmiths are most skilful and clever. Women-weavers weave only linen and cotton cloths, and weaving brocade and embroidering were done by Chinese men." 自奴酋及諸子, 下至卒胡, 皆有奴婢 (互相賣買), 農庄 (將胡則多至五十餘所), 奴婢耕作以輸其主, 軍卒則礪刀劍, 無事於農事者, 銀鐵革木, 皆有其工, 而惟鐵匠極巧, 女工所織只麻布, 織錦刺繡, 則唐人所爲也. These skilful black-smiths were produced only towards the end of the Ming dynasty. Takashi HATADA 旗田巍, "Min-dai Joshin-jin no Tekki ni tsuite 明代女眞人の鐵器について" (On the Iron Wares of the Jurchens during the Ming Dynasty) *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報, Vol. 11, No. 1.

“To begin with, Nurhaci intended to invade Hoifa. He secretly despatched a few dozen horsemen disguised as tradesmen carrying goods. They were sent to Hoifa, and stayed there engaged in trading. A few more dozen men were sent. In this way the business was done. A few dozen and then a few dozen again. Now there were more than a hundred. They spied all strategic points and secretly communicated. Then a great army was abruptly sent into Hoifa. The spies rose in arms, and opened the gates to receive the invaders. Utter confusion ensued in the castle. It was captured at last.”⁽¹⁾

The truth of the rumor, of course, could not be established, but it may be seen that in these days Manchurian society was such as even in remote Hoifa mountains it enabled a few dozen unsuspected tradesmen to come and go at will in a body. This enabled it to maintain such a mighty fortress as stated in the foregoing.

It was a most remarkable change in Jurchen society, and for controlling it, the people only looked forward to the appearance of a leader. If the frontier Ming officials, seeing it personally, failed to grasp its significance, it was the most serious blunder committed through their ignorance and negligence. It served them right when presently they were severely attacked. As for T'ai-tsu's exact character, the present writer has not yet thoroughly comprehended it, still he can say this: that, when any great chief before him succeeded in conquering only a few surrounding tribes in a life-time, T'ai-tsu controlled all Manchuria in a brief time, which proves his uncommon talent, and probably his happy capacity to take advantage of the general tendency of the times.

(1) 當初老酋(太祖)欲圖回波。暗使精兵數十騎,扮作商人,身持貨物,送于回波,留連做商。又送數十人,依此行事,數十數十,以至於百餘人。詳探彼中事機,以爲內應。後猝發大兵,奄至回波。內應者作亂,開門迎兵驅入,城中大亂,以至於失守。