

# The Santan 山丹 in the Tôtatsu-kikô 東鞞紀行 (Travels in East Tartary)

By

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The Nerchinsk Treaty of 1689 concluded between Russia and China which ceded to the latter the basin of the Amur river on condition of opening trade was designed by Russia because she believed that trade with China was sure to compensate amply for the cession of the territory. As the treaty went into effect, however, detrimental restrictions were successively presented by China so that Russia was unable to realize any profit and her original objective was completely defeated. Hence Russia's subsequent policy towards China, after this failure, was solely that of recovering lost territory. The visit of Russian ships to the shores of the Kurile Islands, Yezo, and Karafuto (Sagalien), in the last years of the Tokugawa Shogunate, notably during the eras from *Temmei* to *Bunkwa*, was only a manifestation of this policy, because Russia was intent on the gradual invasion of the course of the Amur river by land and sea,—first occupying Yezo which had been long neglected by Japan and establishing there her base in the East and synchronizing her attack from Far Western Siberia. The Shogunate, scenting this ambition on the part of Russia and realizing the urgent necessity of defending the northern frontier, picked up talented men both in and out of office, and made them investigate and explore Yezo. As the men thus appointed were mostly genuine patriots willing to risk their lives for the sake of their country and determined to discharge their duties at all costs, they made a careful and exact record of everything they investigated, relating not only to geography, tribes, populations, products, but also customs, manners, fauna, and flora, and presented it to the

Shogunate. Their objective was entirely military and political in the cause of national defence; their efforts, however, incidentally served to increase the knowledge of the Japanese people concerning Yezo and to contribute considerably to the progress of science. The objective of exploring the northern Yezo (Sagalien) being likewise to improve national defence, it was most urgent to investigate the extent of this territory and the manner of bordering on Russia and China. Rinzô Mamiya 間宮林藏 who was appointed to explore Sagalien keenly felt this necessity. Though without the bounds of his official commission, Mamiya, at the risk of his life, crossed the channel single-handed, landed on the continent, and investigated the lower course of the Amur river. The journal in which he gives the details of this exploration is the work in question. . . . the *Tôtatsu-kikô* 東韃紀行 (*the Travels of East Tartary*). His expedition definitely proves that Karafuto was, not a peninsula as had been believed to be up to that time by westerners as well as by the Japanese, but really an isolated island. Though an important achievement in the military and political points of view, but geographically, this was certainly a discovery worthy of almost world reputation. Moreover, the region called San-tan 山丹 in the possession of China had been till then so vaguely put that some people even imagined it to make an overland boundary with Karafuto in our possession. It was now distinctly defined by Mamiya's expedition. It was no doubt the next greatest discovery after that of the Mamiya channel. Since Sieboldt translated the *Tôtatsu-kikô* 東韃紀行 into German in his *Nippon*, and introduced it to the academic world of Europe, Leopold von SCHRENCK, in his masterpiece *Die Völker des Amurlandes*, has quoted the account of this work and commented upon it. More recently, Mr. Yoshimi SHIMADA 島田好 has written an article entitled *Kaisetsu* 解説 (Expostulation) included in the *Tôtatsu-kikô* published by the South Manchurian Railway Company, in which he has discussed and explained the contents of the work. However, the present writer is of the opinion that the expostulation of this work has yet much to be supplemented. Hence, in further praise of Mamiya's achievements, he has made the present investigation

of the account of Santan 山丹 which forms the principal part of the classical work in question.

The Santan appeared of a sudden like a comet towards the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, arrested attention for a time and passed away no one knows when until few knew even their name. To-day they have become a thing of the past. On the other hand, probably because the Ainus adjoining the Santan district and the memory of that day is still retained, the *Ainu Dictionary* by BATCHELOR gives *Santan-kuru* サンタンクル as Manchus and *Santan-moshiri* サンタンモシリ as Manchu district. Moreover, DOBRŌWORSKI's *Ainu-Russian Dictionary* assigns Santan to Giljak. This term Giljak here does not refer as it now commonly does, to that particular tribe inhabiting the estuary of the Amur river and the northern part of Karafuto (Sagalien Island), but it is a general term applied to all such tribes as the Golde, Olča, Keakla, and Gilemi. How is it that one identical word Santan is thus interpreted in two different ways? The explanation may be that BATCHELOR relies upon the Ainu language of the Hokkaidô, while DOBRŌWORSKI depends upon that of Karafuto. Be that as it may, the two views are of considerable importance, as will be discussed later; but this text being too obscure, Santan in the last stage of the Shogunate cannot adequately be interpreted in its light alone. Though Chinese literature of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties mentions a great many tribes which inhabited the basin of the Amur river, the name Santan is not to be found among them. And nearly every tribe which inhabits there to-day has been investigated, but there is no one with a name which may be identified with Santan. On the other hand, Japanese literature of the last stage of the Shogunate contains quite a number of references to the Santan, which may serve the reader in inferring their identity and range.

It is not clear when the Japanese knew of the Santan for the first time. In the 5th year of *Temmei* 天明 (1785), Tetsugorô YAMAGUCHI 山口鑣五郎, Genrokurô SARÔ 佐藤玄六郎, Okiemon MINAGAWA 皆川沖衛門, and Shunzô AOSHIMA 青嶋俊藏,—all officials in the Public Works Bureau of the Shogunate—investigated

the topography, mining, and products of Yezo land at the request of the Shogunate, and had interviews with "red men" (Russians) and Santan people; and also in the following year, they met four chiefs of the Bianco Santan ビヤンコ山丹. The journal of this expedition is a work entitled "*Yezo-shûi*" 蝦夷拾遺 (*Gleanings in Yezo*). In the book, Santan district is described as follows.

"As to Santa, 山丹 one day's voyage from *Nakkô* ナツカウ in Karafuto Island will bring one to the shores on the other side; after three more days' voyage and eight days' travelling along a mountain trail, one will arrive at the Tani タ = (潤) river; going down the stream for one day, and along the shores of a lake named *Hôba* ホウハ for five days, one will come to *Mekinchibaku* メキンチバク. (This is the largest village in Santan which contains more than sixty houses.) As to the extent of the Santan district, it is confronted by the sea on the east and south, and an endless series of steep high mountains extend on the west. The area on which one can travel now is no more than a half of Karafuto Island. The inhabitants and products are scanty; the people hunt fowls and beasts on which they live, collect their skins and send them to Manjû マンヂウ for a small quantity of Manjû grain, silks, emeralds, etc., which they bring back Karafuto Island to trade with Yezo, and of which they make a living. As to travelling to Manjû, it is said that they go from Kinchibaku キンチバク for two days across the lake until they reach a great river named Mangô マンゴウ and travelling upstream for thirty days, they come to the Yôuki ヤウキ barrier in Manjû."

This information being obtained through an inept Yezo interpreter, probably there are errors in the geographical names, the numbers of days required for travelling, and the distances, but one may get a rough idea of the journey. It is probable that the Tani タ = river in this account is the Taba river, Lake Hôuha Lake Kidzi, Mekinchibaku (more correctly Kinchibaku) Kidzi village, Mangô Mangu (the native name for the Amur river), and the Yôki barrier San-hsing 三姓. If this view be acceptable, a voyage for one day from Nakkô or the present Lake brought you to the opposite shore, after three day's voyage south ward

from there and travelling on land for eight days, you came to the upper course of the Taba river, by going downstream for one day, you reached Lake Kidzi, by going five days along the shores of the lake until you came to Kidzi village, a voyage from there for two days brought you to the Mangû river, by going upstream for thirty days you came to Sansei (San-hsing 三姓) in Manchuria. It may be ascertained that Santan was in the lower course of the Mangû (Amur) river, but as to its locality, this account fails to give accurate information.

After this record of travelling, information concerning Santan is found in the report by Koichirô NAKAMURA 中村小市郎 and Tsugidayû TAKAHASHI 高橋次太夫 who were commissioned by the Shogunate to explore Karafuto in the 1st year of *Kyôwa* 享和 (1801). The *Kyûmei-kwôki* 休明光記 (Bk. 3) contains a colloquial version of this report. For convenience' sake, a part of the report in this version bearing upon the present discussion will be cited below.

“In response to the inquiry as to whether some officials should be dispatched to Karafuto to inspect the island, the Shogunate decided that some officials should be sent. Soon the men were chosen. Koichirô NAKAMURA an official in the Public Works Bureau, and Tsugidayû TAKAHASHI an itinerant police inspector, were the men appointed. On May 30th, the 1st year of *Kyôwa* 享和 (1801), they sailed from Sôya ソウヤ in West Yezo, and reached Shiranushi シラスシ the entrance to Karafuto Island. This island lies to the north of Sôya, a voyage of 18 *ri* 里 (Japanese miles). At that time, there happened to be a 山丹 Santan ship lying at anchor in Shiranushi harbour. Summoning the captain, they studied his appearance. He had his long hair braided in three knots and swung back, had very thin beard; he was middle-aged. He looked more like a Japanese than an Ainu, but his appearance was extremely savage. The Santan are a tributary tribe of Manchuria; they don't know Chinese ideographs; their speech is like the Ainu language, but its intonation being awkward, it is unintelligible. When asked his name, the native country, the number of his crew, and the date of his departure from his home port, he did not understand a single word. Among the interpreters

and guides there was none who could interpret his speech. So an Ainu who had for many years traded with Santan men was now brought. He understood a little. The man was the chief of a tribe in a district called Taikasan タイカサン in Santan, his name being Kantekkai カンテツカイ and his crew eight in number, he did not know the date of his departure from his home port, except that it was still the snowing season. . . . When questioned as to the port in the land of Santan from which he crossed the sea to Karafuto, and other things, he did not understand at all. While waiting for more favourable weather after making preparations for exploring the country, there arrived on the evening of June 3rd four more Santan ships at the same time. The captains of these ships were summoned; their appearance was just like that of the previous Santan captain. When questioned likewise through the same Ainu that was used to translating; they answered that the captain of one ship was the chief of a tribe of a place called Kinchima キンチマ on the Manko マンコ river in Santan; he was named Buyankô ブヤンコウ, with a crew of eight; another was the chief of a place called Monkore モンコレ on the same river; he was named Shosho ショショ, with a crew of eight, another was the chief of a place called Towan トワン on the same river, named Barô バロウ, with a crew of seven; and the last was the chief of a place called Koimancha コイマンチャ, named Tonko トンコ, with a crew of eight. Those places are not very far apart. They sailed from there at the same time and arrived here at the same time. Among these men, Buyankô of Kinchima had come to Karafuto for trading for more than thirty years. Among the crew of this Buyankô, there was one named Kariyashin カリヤシン, formerly an Ainu of Sôya in West Yezo, but was taken away by a Santan man when thirteen or fourteen years of age and naturalized as a Santan, and for the past twenty-four or five years he had come to Karafuto every year to act as an interpreter for the Santan people in trading with the natives of Karafuto. As a whole, the new arrivals were the more intelligent. When we closely questioned them, sometimes requesting them to draw a map on the sand, as to the general state of things in Santan, the port from which

they sailed for Karafuto, and conditions in the interior of Karafuto, they answered that the Santan district has no particularly high mountains, but abounds in rather level mountains; no farming whatever is done. The natives live at various places on the banks of a river named Manko マンコ, making a living of fishing, living on fish and dogs, making garments out of skins. Sometimes they go hunting beasts into the mountains, they eat the flesh, but take the skins to the Manchus to barter for cotton, tobacco, pots, cereals, and other articles. This river called Manko マンコ river is a large one flowing from Manchuria, sometimes one *ri* (Japanese mile) wide, so they say, and empties itself to the north of Karafuto Island. . . . If one goes up this Manko river about twenty days, one will reach a place in Manchuria called Hororokko ホロロツコ . . . . If one goes some more distance upstream, one will come to a place called Nungutai ヌングタイ, then a place called Kiriûra キリウラ, and then a place called Hochon ホチヨン. Now, as to the port in Santan from which to cross the sea to Karafuto, there is a place called Kamawota カマヲタ, one day's journey southwest of the estuary of the Manko river, and another called Mochiffu モチツフ a half-day's journey from Kamawota カマヲタ. From either place, a half-day's plying in a rowing boat will bring one to Nakkô ナツコ in Karafuto Island, according to what they say."

This account of Santan is the most detailed of those by Japanese before Rinzô Mamiya 間宮林藏 explored Tartary. After this, the *Henyô-bunkaidzû-kô* 邊要分界圖考 (*A Study of the Map of Northern Frontiers*) by Morishige KONDÔ 近藤守重 published in the 1st year of *Bunkwa* 文化 (1804) also contains an account of Santan, which seems to add some new information, but really offers no new material except an expostulation. In the travels by YAMAGUCHI 山口 and AOSHIMA 青嶋 previously quoted, there are some geographical terms yet to be accounted for. The present writer has attempted an outline of the journey from the context, as already given. Since nearly all the geographical terms found in the travels by NAKAMURA 中村 and TAKAHASHI 高橋 have now been definitely located the processes in which they have been investigated will be given in the following.

As seen in the passage previously quoted, the places from which embarked the four Santan ships which arrived at Shiranushi on June 3rd, the 1st year of *Kyōwa* 享和 (1801), are given as Kinchima キンチマ, Monkore モンコレ, Towan トワン, and Koimancha コイマンチャ. Kinchima is identical with Kichî キチー in the *Tōtatsu-kikō*. The note on the work says "This is the place the Japanese call Kinchi キンチ." The head note on it in the *Tōtatsu-kikō* published by the South Manchurian Railway Company says "Kinchi キンチ is Kichin キチン according to the *Tsākō-ichiran* 通航一覽 edition; and Kincha キンチャ, according to the Mamiya Kōjun 間宮孝順 edition." The *Yezo-shūi* 蝦夷拾遺 gives it as Kinchibaku キンチバク, which the *Hen'yō-bunkaidzu-kō* 邊要分界圖考 gives it as Gichi ギチ. The writer is of the opinion that the correct name of this locality is キヂ Kidzi, the others given above being all corruptions of it. Kidzi is situated on the western shore of Lake Kidzi, and is a large village forming a centre of communications. In D'Anville's map, Mangoli Cajan is found to the north of Kidzi on the eastern bank of the Amur river. Cajan being a village in the Tungus language, Mangoli Cajan must be Mangoli village which corresponds to Monkore モンコレ. Below Mangoli Cajan and close to it is found Koueima Cajan. Koimancha コイマンチャ must be a corruption of Koueima. And between Kidzi and Mangoli there is Toun Cajan. Toun must be ascribed to Towan トワン. The above four villages are all situated on the right bank of the Amur river, lying close to one another and forming the range of the Olča tribe.

These four places are the homes of the captains of the four Santan ships which arrived at Shiranushi on June 3rd. The home of the captain of the Santan ship which had arrived a few days before was a place called Tai-kasan タイカサン. According to D'ANVILLE's map, there is a place named Tai Cajan on the right bank of the Amur river a few villages below Tyr where the Amgun river flows into the Amur. It is evident that Tai-kasan is the transliteration, and this needs no explanation. This place at that time being naturally the home of the Giljak tribe, the captain and the crew were all Giljaks, and it is interesting to note that the



Japanese called them Santan people. The homes of the captains of the four ships which arrived at Shiranushi a little later than this ship being the range of the Olča tribe, as already proved, the crew must have been all Olča men. If so, it follows that the Japanese at that time called both the Olča and Giljak tribes Santan people. Was it really the case? What bears on this issue is the following passage in the report by NAKAMURA and TAKAHASHI.

“According to our inquiry of the Santan man named Kariyashin カリヤシン, it seems that, on the coast up to Nakko ナツコ in farther Kotantorū コタントル, there are over ten villages of natives and also some more men living in the remote places in the mountains. Of the people living on the shore, those as far as Horokotan ホロコタン have Karafuto manners and customs, while those beyond and also those in the mountains have Santan manners and customs. They are called Sumerenguru スメレングル, they cross the sea to Santan and trade with the Manchus and otherwise transact business at a place called Kinchima キンチマ. The tribe living at Orikata フリカタ beyond Taraika タライカ on the shore of the northern side is called the Oroko フロコ men also. These are said to be the Sumerenguru also. Now this secondary use of the term Sumerenguru, the Santan man who had arrived at Shiranushi this year before the others, explains as follows. Since the neighbourhood of a place called Taikasan タイカサン was called Sumerenguru, and when the northern people of Karafuto went to Santan and traded with the Manchus, it was a long-standing custom to use the name Taikasan in interpretation and in transacting business, Sumerenguru, the place name of Santan, has come to be involved. The people called Oroko フロコ men are by no means foreigners. It is said that as far as the home of the Oroko men beyond Taraika the Santan Sumerenguru men, during the winter, travel on the ice carrying tobacco, cotton, cereals, etc., and trade them for animal skins.” (The *Kyûmei-kwôki* 林明光記, Appendix Bk. 7)

The meaning of this passage is confusing and obscure, but the fact that the neighbourhood of Taikasan タイカサン was the range of the Sumerenguru may

be established by the statement of the Santan man who arrived at Shiranushi before others. As seen in the report previously quoted, in spite of their questioning through an interpreter, the Santan man who had arrived at Shiranushi before the others, the Japanese officials could make out nothing except the name of his home port and the name of the captain, while the men from the four Santan ships which arrived later understood what the Japanese said and the latter succeeded in getting such information as they sought. It must have astonished these Japanese who had thought them all Santan men alike to find this marked difference between the first arrivals and the later. For the first arrivals being men of Tyr village, were of the tribe which the Ainus called Sumerenguru, or Giljak tribe, while the later arrivals being from Kidzi and near-by villages were of the Olča tribe. As the Giljak language is essentially different from the Olča, it was natural that the interpreter, unless he knew both languages, that is, though he should be versed in the Olča language but not in the Giljak or *vice versa* should have been embarrassed. The Japanese in those days generally called those men Santan people who came across the sea to Karafuto Island from East Tartary or the lower reaches of the Amur river, and they thought that the Santan district extended as far as the part where the Amur flows into the sea. This being the case, when NAKAMURA and TAKAHASHI heard that Tyr village belonged to the range of the Sumerenguru, they were not yet sure whether it was in the land of the Santan people. Such a learned scholar of that day as Morishige KONDŌ 近藤守重 firmly asserted that the Santan district extended to the estuary of the Amur. This is proved by his statement under *Bengi 辯疑* (Questions Answered) in his work *Henyô-bunkaidzû-kô* 邊要分界圖考 (Bk. 2), which is cited below.

“Some Santan men say that the boundary between the further frontier of Karafuto and Santan of Manchuria is overland, while others say that is separated by sea; they are varied in their opinions. I am of the opinion that the boundary between the land of Karafuto and Santan of Manchuria is overland. The western frontier of Karafuto is marked from Santan by the estuary of the tributary of the Mango

river, while the eastern frontier is overland, though too mountainous and rough-shored to afford communications. And as it seems as if the great river Mango separated Karafuto from the Mainland, the natives may have thought Karafuto an island. It is for this reason that some hold that Karafuto is connected with the Mainland, while others argue that it is an island."

This view of Morishige KONDŌ's may be regarded as summarizing the opinions then prevailing among the Japanese : that the northern frontier of the Santan district was believed by the Japanese to extend as far as the neighbourhood of the estuary of the Amur river. As to the boundary on the south, it was not so definite as the northern, but it may be inferred, though somewhat vaguely. According to the previously quoted report by NAKAMURA and TAKAHASHI, going about twenty days up the Manko マンコ river from Kinchima キンチマ or the present Kidzi village, one reaches a place called Hororokko ホロロツコ in Manchuria and by going ten more days upstream, one reaches Ichahotto イチヤホツト. According to D'ANVILLE's map, there is a village marked Horoloco on the bank of the Sahalian ula or Amur river a little above the point where it joins the Usuri river. There is no doubt that this Hororokko is identical with Hororoco in D'Anville's map. And the fact that Hororokko is specially mentioned as being in Manchuria serves a good clue in deciding the point of contact between Manchuria and Santan. The writer is of the opinion that this Hororokko formed a strategic point on the northern frontier of the so-called Manchoukuo and was situated close to the southern boundary of Santan. Now, the fact that Ichahotto イチヤホツト to be reached by a ten days' journey upstream from Hororokko is a transliteration of the Manchurian word *ihé boto*, and corresponds to the present San-hsing 三姓 has already been proved by Mr. Yoshimi SHIMADA 島田好. The original name of the Kyō キヤウ barrier mentioned in the report by YAMAGUCHI, AOSHIMA etc., cannot be known, but the reason why the present writer inferred this to be San-hsing 三姓 is because this place is situated about a thirty days' journey upstream from Kidzi and also because it was the site of the office for pacifying the natives inhabiting the lower reaches of the

Amur river. The text goes on to say that by going up the Mango river from Ichahotto (San-hsing), one reached Nungutai ヌングタイ, then Kiriwora キリヲラ, and then Hochon ホチヨン. Morishige KONDÔ 近藤守重 is right in ascribing Ninguta 寧古塔 to Nungutai ヌングタイ, Chi-lin-wu-la 吉林烏拉 to Kiriora キリヲラ; it is strange, however, that he should have assigned *Cb'uan-ch'ang* 船廠 for ホチヨ Hocho or Hochon ホチヨン. *Cb'uan-ch'ang* 船廠 was only another name of Chi-lin-wu-la 吉林烏拉; so should this Chi-lin-wu-la be identical with Kiriwora, Hochon described as being further upstream must be a place entirely different from it. The report by NAKAMURA and TAKAHASHI, after discussing Kiriora キリヲラ goes on to say "Beyond this there is a place called Hochon ホチヨン where high officials are stationed; from the above-mentioned places—Ichahotto, Nungutai and Kiriwora—men come up to Hochon every year. Hochon is said to be a likely place which lacks no comfort of life. . . ." From this account it is evident that Hochon was no doubt the site of the government office, probably the Fêng-t'ien-fu 奉天府 in Shêng-ching 盛京 Province. Hochon may be a corruption of Fêng-t'ien 奉天.

The foregoing constitutes nearly all the information concerning the geography of Santan the Japanese possessed between the 6th year of *Temmei* 天明 (1782) and the 1st year of *Bunkwa* 文化 (1805). It may be said that they vaguely supposed Santan to comprise a basin of the Amur river lying east and west on both banks and extending as far as the estuary on the north and the meeting of the river with the Usuri river on the south. In those days the Manchurian court opened a branch office of the Government at Kidzi every year for the purpose of pacifying the natives where they paid tribute and received gifts from the Government and private trading was permitted between the natives and the Manchus and Chinese and between the natives themselves. For this reason many were the natives who assembled at Kidzi on such occasions from the Korean boundary and Karafuto Island as well as from the lower reaches of the Amur river. There were two routes for the natives of Karafuto who went up to Kidzi. One was to cross the sea from Rakka ラツカ

or Noteto ノテト on the north-western coast of the island, land on the other side between Cape Lazaref and Taba bay, and travel westward by land to Lake Kidzi, and then Kidzi village situated on the north-western end of the lake and adjoining the Amur river. This may be provisionally called the southern route. The other was to voyage along the coast from Cape Lazaref and enter the estuary of the Amur river and go up the river to Kidzi village. This may be provisionally called the northern route. It was a long-standing custom for the Ainus in Karafuto Island to proceed by either route to the branch office of the Manchurian Government established on the shores of the Amur river and pay their tribute and receive in return the gifts from the court in the form of official ranks, cotton, and silks. This being the case, the circumstances of those days remain deep-rooted in the minds of the Ainus. Therefore, when the present-day Ainus in the Hokkaidô ascribe Manchurians to the Santan people, they refer, not to the Manchurians who inhabited Chi-lin 吉林 Province or Shêng-ching 盛京 Province, but to the Manchurians dispatched to the lower reaches of the Amur river within the territory of the Manchurian court. And if the Ainus in Karafuto Island identify the Santan people with the Giljaks and apply the term generally to the various natives in the lower reaches of the Amur river, it may be because the memory that they met and traded with these natives in those days at the branch office of the Manchurian Government still faintly survives among them. When viewed in this light, the different interpretations of the term Santan by BATCHELOR and DOBROWORSKI are not without ground, but they reflect the presence of such underlying historical facts.

If this was the information concerning Santan among the Japanese prior to Rinzôm Mamiya's exploration of East Tartary, his was by no means an exploration of the so-called *terra incognita*, because its outline had been imagined vaguely. However, his exploration and investigation brought out a number of new facts, and rectified the erroneous and clarified the vague in the previous information. As for its details, one should refer to his work itself. The present paper is intended chiefly to explain and comment upon its account of Santan and discuss the con-

sequences. Now, for the sake of easier reading, a rough outline of MAMIYA's journey will be given first.

In July, the 6th year of *Bunkwa* 文化 (1809), Rinzô MAMIYA 間宮林藏 joined the party of the Ainu chief named Kôni コーニ who was to proceed to Tê-lêng 德楞 the site of the branch office of the Manchurian court in order to pay tribute. On the 2nd day of the month, they sailed from Cape Rakka ラツカ on the north-western coast of Karafuto, and on the same day they reached the continent on the other side, and sailing south along the coast, spent the night of the 3rd at a place called Mushibô ムシボ。 It was no doubt the place which the Japanese had formerly called Mochibu モチブ, a locality in the present Taba bay. The party landed there and, proceeding west and crossing Lake Kichi キチ, reached a village of the same name on the 7th. Going up the Mankô マンコー river from here, they arrived at Tê-lêng 德楞 on the 11th. After staying there 7 days, on the 17th they got into a boat again on their homeward journey, and returned to Kichi. It had been planned that they should return to Karafuto by the same route they had taken on their outward journey, but Mamiya who did not expect to revisit this part and was intent on exploring as much of the strange land as possible and study its geographical features, proposed to Kôni to return home by going down the Amur river. Fortunately the Ainu consented and on the 20th they took boat again, and calling at several points on the way, on Aug. 2nd they reached Hirokê ヒロケ situated on the southern bank of the estuary. From this point they sailed on south along the coast, on the 6th reached a place called Hakaruhâha ハカルハハ where they spent the night, and crossing the strait on the following day (the 7th), succeeded in getting to Wagê ワゲ in Karafuto, and on the same evening they returned to Rakka ラツカ from which they had embarked.

This journey of MAMIYA's carried out in 36 days covered the two routes—the northern and the southern previously mentioned—between Karafuto and Kidzi in East Tartary, and the distance between Kidzi and Tê-lêng. It was by

no means on a grand scale, temporally or spatially. However, this region had always been neglected by the Chinese and Russians as well as the Japanese. Extremely scarce was the literature on the actual state of things in this part. Under such circumstances, MAMIYA's *Tôtatsu-kikô* 東韃紀行 (the *Travels of East Tartary*)—the record of his exploration and investigation—was received by the academic world as a torch held up in the night. It brought a large number of things to light. His greatest contribution was his actual discovery of the fact that Karafuto is not a peninsula, but an isolated island. On this point a little has been said already, but there remains something which requires detailed discussion. It was certainly a great discovery of Mamiya's that he proved the presence of a strait between Karafuto and the continent. Of course, his cannot be compared with Columbus's discovery of the American continent. It was only a discovery to the Japanese or Westerners, for the Chinese had for a long time known the existence of an island near the estuary of the Amur river. According to D'Anville's map drawn at the request of the Emperor K'ang-hsi 康熙 of the Ch'ing dynasty on the basis of materials obtained by the Jesuit missionaries, there are found the words *Sabalian ang ga hate* near the estuary of *Sahalian ula* (the Amur river). They are Manchurian words which mean the island at the mouth of the Amur river. Moreover, Chinese classical works such as the *Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chib* 大淸一統志 and the *Sui-tao-i-i-kang* 水道提綱 refer to the existence of a *chang-tao* 長嶋 (long island) and a *ta-chou* 大洲 (large land) outside the Hun-t'ung-chiang 混同江 (the Amur river). Only the references are so brief and indefinite that some readers ascribed to it Karafuto and others another island. Therefore, it may be seen from the above-quoted passage that Morishige KONDÔ 近藤守重, for instance, who had read these geographical works, made no scruple of declaring that Karafuto and Santan were continuous on land. It is supposed that he understood the *ta-chou* 大洲 (large land) in the *Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chin* to refer to an island apart from Karafuto.

KONDÔ was not the only one that considered Karafuto to be a peninsula.

Nearly all the intelligent people in Japan at that time shared that view. This sounds very ridiculous indeed; but, what is still stranger, even some of the natives of the island shared the same view. The report by NAKAMURA and TAKAHASHI, the *Kyūmei-kuōki* 休明光記 (Bk. 3), reads "Two Ainos named Ikoshirankeri イコシランケリ and Yonai ヨナイ (Yayanhaku ヤヤンハク) who have recently moved to Ushoro ウシヨロ in Karafuto from Horokotan ホロコタン in the interior of Karafuto tell us that to the east of the interior of a place called Nakko ナツコ at the farther end of Karafuto Island, the Santan mountains loom one after another and the two lands appear continuous. These men who have often crossed the sea to Santan say that they have embarked from a port called Nakko ナツコ or another called Noteto ノテト and landed at a place called Kamaoka カマオカ or another called Mochitsufuki モチツフキ in Santan. There is a bay beyond Nakko. Having never entered the bay they could not tell for sure: but as far as they have observed from the ports, Santan and Karafuto are separated only by the estuary of the Amur river; they must be connected by mountains on the far interior. . . ." This shows that some Ainus imagined that the northern end of Karafuto adjoined Santan. On the other hand, the Giljaks and Orokkos inhabiting the northern part of this island seem to have supposed Karafuto a peninsula. A passage in MAMIYA's report reads "Karafuto, in the languages of Santan and Sumerenkuru people is called Hetchi-bō ヘツチボ- or Hetchi boshâ ボンヤ-. In the interior in question where people of various tribes such as the Sumerenkuru スメンクル, Orokko ヲロツコ, and Santan サンタン live intermingled, it is said that the language is difficult to understand, and even geographical terms are different. In the interior the word Karafuto is nowhere understood." Thus Santan and Sumerenkuru men called Karafuto Hetchi-bō or Hetchi-boshâ, which are the Tungus words for a large island. Large in this language is *hāgdī*, its dialectal derivative being *bogdi*, *hakdina*, *bokdina*, *yddygō* (hyddinō), *xoduno*, *hādyna*, Hetchi ヘツチ in Hetchiboshâ ヘツチボンヤ- resembles *hāgdī* more than any other in the above list. As the g sound in *hāgdī* sounds faintly as if it were pronounced *hādī*, it may be that Mamiya put it down as Hetchi



pretation be acceptable, *Hetchi-boshâ* would be the transliteration of *bagdi booca* the Tungus phrase for large island. According to Mamiya, Santan and Sumerenkuru men called Karafuto Hethci-boshâ. The Santan people being a Tungus tribe, it is natural that they should have used this term; but the Sumerenkuru being a Giljak tribe, it is not probable that they should have used this same word. This may be a mistake. The writer is of the opinion that, as in the north of this island the Sumerenkuru and the Orokkos a Tungus tribe lived together, Mamiya confused the two tribes. At any rate it is evident that the natives in the northern part of Karafuto regarded their abode as an island. Now, to turn to the Westerners. In 1787, LA PEROUSE the Frenchman, entering the Gulf of Tartary from the Japan Sea and sailed north; and in 1805 KRUSENSTERN the Russian entering the sea from the Sea of Okhotsk and sailed south; but finding sand bars intervening between Karafuto and the continent and despairing of navigating the sea, they turned round their ships and went away.

A word of explanation may be needed here as to the fact that among the natives of Karafuto some regarded Karafuto as an island and others as a peninsula and that the Westerners versed in the art of navigation despaired of navigating the Liman strait. The natives inhabiting the estuary of the Amur river and the northern part of Karafuto were, from ancient times, in the habit of crossing the Liman strait in small boats and visiting each other. Especially in winter, the whole strait was frozen into a level ice-field on which the natives drove dog-sleighs safely and easily. It was, therefore, a self-evident fact among the natives that Karafuto was an island completely separated by a strait. The Manchurians and Chinese of the south learned this true fact direct from the natives; therefore, the *Cb'ing-wei-fu-i-t'ung-yü-ti-pi-t'u* 清內府一統輿地秘圖 and D'ANVILLE's map drew Karafuto as an island; the *Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chib* 大清一統志 describes it as *ta-chou* 大洲 (a large island) and the *Sui-tao-t'i-kang* 水道提綱 as *Ta-chang-tao* 大長嶋 (a large long island). However, the chief route for the Ainus in the southern half of this island who desired to cross to the lower reaches of the Amur river, at least

in the Tokugawa Shogunate period in Japan and the Ch'ing dynasty in China, was what the writer calls the southern route—to sail from the present Lake or Toiku トイク (Noteto ノテト) and to Taba bay on the other side and to travel west by land and to the Amur river. And those Ainus who inhabited the eastern coast of the sea, never rowed into the Liman strait from the Sea of Okhotsk; when they wished to go to Santan from this district, they always crossed the mountain range running lengthwise through the center of the island, and came out to Noteto ノテト or Nakko ナツコ. This being the case, the geography of the northern part of the strait was entirely unknown to the Ainus. As they answered the question of NAKAMURA and TAKAHASHI, they really imagined that there was a mountain range on the northern side of the strait which connected Karafuto and Santan. Unfortunately, this erroneous view prevailed so widely among the Japanese that Morishige KONDÔ 近藤守重 made no scruple in asserting the overland continuity of Karafuto and Santan.

To-day, it goes without saying that it is right to consider Karafuto as an island, and it would be wrong to regard it as a peninsula. In those days, however, people except those in the neighbourhood could not tell which of the two views was right; they were unqualified to judge. It was then that both LA PEROUSE and KRUSENSTERN failed in their attempts to navigate the Liman strait from both the north and south. So the question as to whether the dirt and sand filled up the sea between Karafuto and the continent connected them still remained unanswered. Now what rendered the navigation of this strait impossible? In order to answer this question, it is important to know the condition and the currents of the Liman strait. According to the survey by some Russians, the strait is a large sea extending 65 miles north and south and 25 miles east and west. The Amur river throws such a quantity of sand and dirt into it that the water is generally shallow and full of shoals, and ships can not sail freely anywhere. So, in navigating this strait safely, therefore, it was important to have a pilot thoroughly acquainted with the waters. Even then it is difficult for a ship with a depth over 13 feet to go into the Amur from

the strait. There are three sailing routes or waterways :—one is to go south from a point between Cape Lazaref and Cape Pogobi, or Pronge situated on the southern bank of the Amur and reach the southern boundary of the strait. This is called the southern waterway. Another is to go north along the coast of the continent from Cape Tebak on the opposite bank of Cape Pronge, but owing to the accumulation of sand and dirt at its northern end, a small rowing-boat alone can take this course. It is called the northern waterway. The third is to go north in pallel with the western coast of Karafuto from the southern end of the so-called southern waterway up to the Sea of Okhotsk. It is called the Sahalian waterway. It requires a small ship with a depth of less than 3 feet to go on this waterway from the Sea of Tartary up to the Sea of Okhotsk. So it follows that a ship desiring to enter the Amur river from the Sea of Okhotsk must first go down the Sahalian waterway to the southern end of the southern waterway of the Liman strait, then turn her course northward, and then go on the southern waterway heading for the mouth of the river. It was due to lack of this preparation that LA PEROUSE and KRUSENSTERN failed in their navigation. To the people at large who did not know this reason, this failure unfortunately seemed to confirm the more the old false view.

MAMIYA'S crossing of the Liman strait was performed at such a time, so it was only natural that it should astonish the geographical circle of the world. On May 8th, the 6th year of *Bunkwa* 文化 (1803), he embarked in a Santan ship from Cape Noteto ノテト, and sailed north off the west coast up to the point called Naniwô ナニワ。 This is the Sahalian waterway previously referred to. Of the condition of the currents, Mamiya in his *Tôtatsu-kikô* writes as follows. "All the way up to this point from Noteto ノテト, it is a narrow sea, the island and the land of East Tartary confronting each other. All the tides flow southward. In spite of the currents, dangerous billows are not often observed so that even this small delicate foreign boat has experienced no great difficulty in steering herself. The north sea north of this point gradually opens out, and all the currents dash together, and in the face of high seas, it is impossible to go on." This Naniwô

ナ = ヲ - is the present Nanio situated at a point much further north of the shore opposite the mouth of the Amur river and belonging to the more northern part of the Liman strait. As recorded in, the *Tôtatsu-kikô*, further north beyond this point, the sea was rough and deep; the west and north opening out, there was nothing to greet the eye. The view of the Japanese upholding the presence of a mountain range to the north of the Liman strait and the continuity of Karafuto and Santan was now completely pulverized. And as previously recorded, MAMIYA on Aug. 3rd, the following year, going southward from the mouth of the Mankô マンコ - river (the Amur river) along the coast, succeeded in reaching Nakko ナツコ. This course is the so-called southern waterway where the water is deeper. In this way, MAMIYA personally investigating the geographical features of both shores of the strait and the conditions of the currents declared to the world that Karafuto and the continent are separated by this sea. It is said that afterward KRUSENSTERN who was reading the translation of the *Tôtatsu-kikô* involuntarily exclaimed "Japan has beaten me." This was really a very delightful event in the scientific history of this country. It is quite natural that the Liman strait is to-day known by the name Mamiya strait.

What the Japanese called Santan before MAMIYA visited Tartary was a region in the lower reaches of the Amur river and the natives there were called the Santan tribe. Mamiya's inquiry and investigation he made on reaching that country showed that a number of tribes inhabited the region, the Santan being only one of them. Their range was also limited to a certain region; the Santan district by no means referred indefinitely to the lower reaches of the Amur river. The regions he personally explored represented only part of the ranges of the three tribes Korudekke コルデツケ, Santan サンタン and Sumerenkuru スメレンクル. Of these, the Korudekke being the present Golde and the Sumerenkuru the present Giljaks, the Santan tribe who lived between them corresponds to the present Olča. As people have sometimes migrated, the distribution of these natives at present cannot be regarded as identical with that at MAMIYA's time; but the time being

only a century ago, it may not be wrong to suppose that no remarkable change has taken place in the meantime. A study of the *Tôtatsu-kikô* shows that above the great village named Kichi キチ— or more properly Kidzi キヂ, there are places called Kaue カウエ and Koruhê コルヘ—both in the range of the Santan tribe. Rowing two Japanese miles upstream from Koruhê, one would reach Urugê ウルゲ— where there lives a different tribe named Korudekke コルデツケ. Going four and half Japanese miles upstream from Urugê, one would get to Deren (德楞 Tê-lêng) where there is branch office of the Manchurian Government, which is given as the *chia-fu* 假府 (Provisional Office). The boundary between the Olça (Santan 山丹) and the Golde (Korudekke コルデツケ) is given by SCHRENCK to lie somewhere near *Adi* south of Deren. Mr. Yoshimi SHIMADA in his expostulation of the *Tôtatsu-kikô* says “It would seem that the region above Urugê was probably a hunting-field in those days. I am of the opinion that it was possible for the two tribes to live together on their borderland, it is to be understood that the two tribes lived together in the region extending from Urugê to a certain point above it.” This is a sort of compromise, which seems so plausible that it cannot be rejected flatly. However, since a half-century intervenes between MAMIYA and SCHRENCK, it may be also supposed that the Olça (Santan) pressed down south and seized the range of the Golde (Korudekke). At any rate, Mamiya has recorded the actual facts of his time, and it is unnecessary to discount his statement in the light of Schrenck’s view which appeared forty or fifty years after him.

If the southern boundary of Santan was as stated above, where was the northern boundary? According to the *Tôtatsu-kikô*, the range of the Santan tribe extended downstream on the right bank of the Amur river, from Kidzi to Katakâ カタカ— or the present Kada, Aorê アヲレ— or the present Aur, and Horu ホル or the present Pulu; and the region below formed the range of the Sumerenkuru or the present Giljaks. It would not be very wrong to state that the range of the Santan tribe lay between a point somewhat north of Urugê on the south and a point north of Pulu and extended east and west on both banks of the Amur river. Seeing that

the map of the distribution of the natives by SCHRINCK ascribes this region to the Santan. Mr. Yoshimi SHIMADA is probably right when he assigns the present Olča to Santan. Even if Santan is accepted as the present Olča, the question as to whether it is the name of the region or that of the tribe still remains an open one. The *Tôtsu-kikô*, under the Hun-tun-chiang 渾沌江, says as follows. "The men who come over to our Karafuto from Tartary have generally been called Santan men from ancient times, and their homeland is referred to as the Santan district. Such terms as 山丹, 山且, 山韃 have been assigned to Santan. My observation of various foreign tribes during my travel in these parts has shown that they differ from one another in their manners and customs; they are not of a single tribes. Some are called Sumerenkuru, others Shantan シヤンタン, and still others Korutekke. Each tribe has its own district, distinct from that of another. Santan is a corruption of Shantan; if it should be the name of a tribe, it cannot be used as the name of a region. The Santan tribe calls itself Mankô, while other tribes call it S'anta. Santan is a corruption of Shanta adopted by our Karafuto natives." If this statement is acceptable, Santan was a name employed by other tribes, for the Santan men themselves referred to themselves Mankô. Now, when SCHRENCK asked the Olča living at Tyr what they called themselves, they are reported to have answered that it was Olča. Then Olča must be their race name, not Mankô as MAMIYA reports. Mankô which MAMIYA uses is identical with Mango マンゴ or Mangô マンゴウ which is found in Japanese writings; the more correct form should be Mangû マングウ. Mangû is the Tungus word for river; but the Amur river being such a great river, the common name Mangû referred to this river. When asked where they came from, the Olča would answer Mangu-nei, because the people lived on the Mangu river. It was not only the Olča, but also the Golde who lived on the banks of the Amur river that called themselves Mangû. Therefore, the term Mangû applied to the Olča was only a popular one; properly it was Olča.

It may be seen, then, that Mankô or more correctly Mangû was, though no real name of the Olča, evidently a name which the Olča gave themselves;

and Santan was, as MAMIYA says, a name other tribes used for the Olča. Then, which tribe began to call the Olča Santan first? SCHRENCK was the first scholar that attempted to answer this question. In his opinion, the Ainus and Japanese never distinguished the Olča from the Golde, but called both tribes Santan or Janta interchangeably. They also applied this term to their range—the lower reaches of the Amur river. According to MAMIYA who actually explored the Santan district, the term Santan was given, not by the Chinese, but by the Ainus and Japanese. The Olča born at Tyr also declare that the term Santan was one applied to the Olča by the Ainos, and the Japanese who were enlightened by the Ainus. However, I think that the people who first used this term were, not the Ainus, but the Giljaks who lived next to the Olča. It is because the Giljaks call the Olča Jant or Jantu. The Giljaks, being in close contact with the Ainus on the one hand, no doubt also heard of the Golde, a tribe extensively known through commercial relation among the native of the lower reaches of the Amur river. Because the Giljaks called the Golde Jant, it may be supposed that the Ainus learned this name from the Giljaks. It is probable that there the Ainos pronounced this term Jant like an Ainu word, corrupting it to Santa or Santan. The Golde and the Olča resemble each other in their languages and manners so much that the Ainus could not distinguish them. So the term Jant or Shanto which had originally meant the Golde came to be applied to the Olča also. Now, as to the reason why in the *Tôtatsu-kikô* by MAMIYA the term Santan refers to the Olča alone, it is suggested that due to the fact that MAMIYA explored only the ranges of the Giljaks and Olča in the lower reaches of the Amur river, never taking a step into the land of the Golde, it happens that the term Santan he uses exclusively means the Olča. (*Die Völker des Amurlandes*, pp. 118–119) This view contains some points the present writer cannot accept, but they are all omitted here, because they will be rectified in the course of the following arguments.

The Chinese writings of the Ch'ing dynasty and the works by the Christian missionaries always treated the Golde and the Olča as one and the same tribe, calling

them Ketschen (Hochè 赫哲) or Khodsen (Hèi-chin 黑津). The first man that, distinguishing the Olča from the Golde, introduced their names was the Russian missionary named IAKINF. *The Chinese Empire*, a book compiled by him, under the chapter entitled the Amur river, gives the names of the three native tribes living on the banks of the Amur river between the Usuri and the mouth of the Amur river Jant, Orlik, Giljaks enumerated in order from the south upward. On this Schrenck comments as follows. The Jant being the Golde, the Orlik must refer to the Olča inhabiting the region to the north of the Golde. As IAKINF never travelled in the basin of the Amur river, some people may suspect this account as information he obtained from some Chinese travels or topographical works. That will be a serious mistake, for MIDDENDORF suggests that the source is a plagiarism from the autographic document by Gurij WASSILJEF, a Russian who frequented the basin of the Amur between 1815 and 1826, went by boat down the river to the mouth, and sojourned some time among the Giljaks, gathering information concerning the various tribes far and near. The term Jant by which the Giljaks referred to the Golde, occurs only once in this work, and never in the Chinese or Russian literature of that period. The term Orlik also appears for the first time in his writings, from which MIDDENDORF adopted these terms. As the Giljaks call the Olča Orongsch or Orongr, Orlik is probably a Russian corruption of it. WASSILJEF who gives the names of the tribes which inhabited the lower reaches of the Amur river says nothing on their languages or manners. There is evidence that he arbitrarily distributed their ranges, because he places the Jant between the Usuri river and Dondon, the Orlik between Dondon and Zikdochi, and the Giljaks between the Zikdochi and the mouth of the Amur river. If his distribution were adopted, the Jant would correspond to the Golde in the upper reaches of the Amur and the Orlik to the Golde in the lower, and it would follow that the Olča and Giljaks lived together toward the mouth. (*Die Völker des Amurlandes*, pp. 42-43)

As previously referred to, Iakinf gives Jant, Orlik, Giljaks as the three tribes which occupied the lower reaches of the Amur. They would correspond to the



Golde, Olča and Giljaks, according to the present-day map of distribution of the tribes. If Orlik is a Russian corruption of Orongr the term by which the Giljaks referred to the Olča, as SCHRENCK suggests, the Jant probably referred to the Golde. Again, SCHRENCK says that if the Giljaks were asked to enumerate the natives in order who lived above them on the shores of the Amur river, their answer would be the Orongr, Jant, Tscholdok, and Mandso. The tribe adjoining the Mandso overland on the north was the Golde; and if Orongr were another name of the Olča, the Jant and the Tscholdok would be both terms referring to the Golde. Judging from the forms of these names, it is apparent that Santa or Santan used by the Ainus was identical with Jant used by the Giljaks; Golde used by the Russian and Korudekke used by the Japanese were identical with Tscholdok used by the Giljaks. If it were the right order to arrange the Jant, Orlik, and Giljak, as Iakinf says, the Jant would be the Golde. And if the order—Orongr, Jant, Tscholdok, Mandso—which SCHRENCK attributes to the Giljaks were right, the Jant would be taken to refer to the Lower Golde and the Tscholdok to the Upper Golde. If the Jant were thus taken as the Golde, the accounts in the above two passages would be reconciled without difficulty. However, a serious difficulty would arise if the Santan サンタン or Jant were taken as the Olča, as recorded in the account in the Tôtatsu-kikô, and the Santan were differentiated from the Korudekke コルデツケ or Tscholdok. When viewed in the light of the *Tôtatsu-kikô* by MAMIYA, as to the first arrangement—Jant, Orlik, Giljak, it may be said that, Jant being a corruption of Santa and referring to the Olča, mentioning the Orlik the term which the Giljaks used for the Olča would be a repetition and it would meant the omission of the Golde. Concerning the second arrangement—Orongr, Jant, Tscholdok, Mandso, it may be said that, because the Orongs refers to the Olča, and the Tscholdok to the Golde, it was unnecessary to mention Jant or Santa which referred to the Olča. Now what brought about this confusion? It is certainly a very difficult matter which must be settled.

According to the context of the *Tôtatsu-kikô*, the basin of the Amur below Pulu

was the range of the Giljaks, while the region extending from it upstream to a certain point north of Urugê was that of the Sumerenkuru or Olča. There occurs, however, a geographical term Santan-kowe サンタン・コエ in the alleged range of the Sumerenkuru, and as this happens to serve as a clue in settling the difficult matter above-mentioned, the passage containing it will be cited below and investigated and commented upon.

“... The region below this place (Pulu) is the village of the Sumerenkuru. . . . Leaving Pulu, on the 23rd, and spending four days on the way, we reached a place called Karumê カルメー and spent the night at the house of a man of the Harada ハラダ tribe. . . . Among the places we passed to-day, there was a place called Santan-kowe. It is said that in olden times the Russian invaders came downstream on the Honkô ホンコー river (which comes from their country and empties itself into this river), built houses at this place; pacifying the natives in the neighbourhood and plundering their products, they attempted to occupy this part. Then they were attacked, and defeated by the Manchus at an unknown date. When they fled this country, they built two yellow stone monuments on a high spot on the bank of the river. As I had only a distant look at them from our boat, I cannot tell whether they contain inscriptions or not. When the natives pass this point, they worship these monuments from afar scattering into the river rice, millet, and grass-seeds which they have brought. I have no idea what this means. . . .”

The place named Santan-kowe in the above passage is situated between Kalm and Pulu, and on the bank of the Amur, opposite to the point where the Amgun river flows into it. That this point corresponds to the present Tyr has already been established and admits no doubt. The man who has introduced for the first time the topography and ruins of this place is probably RAVENSTEIN. He personally explored this district. According to his report, on the right bank of the Amur, not very far from the mouth of the Amgun there stands a cliff 100 feet high, on the top of which were discovered a couple of monuments and relics of an old temple. One of the stone monuments stands about two steps from the edge of the cliff and

is 5 ft. in height. Its foundation is granite, while the monument itself is a grey marble of fine features. On the two monuments are engraven inscriptions telling of the origin of the temple that once stood on the site. (*The Russian on the Amur*, 1861. pp. 193-194) Later Ts'AO T'ing-chieh 曹廷杰 of the Ch'ing dynasty who explored this part of the Amur basin in the 11th year of *Kuang-hsü* 光緒 (1885) in his travels entitled *Hsi-pi-li-tung-p'ien-chi-shua* 西比利東偏紀要 describes these relics as follows. "More than 250 Chinese miles upstream from Miao-êrh 廟爾 (Nikolayevsk), in the T'ê-lin 特林 district on the eastern bank of the Hun-t'ung-chiang 混同江, there are marble rocks looming upright on the edge of the river. They look a veritable castle wall, over 100 feet in height. On the top of it there are two monuments, dated the Ming dynasty. The inscription on one of them describes the construction of the Yung-ning-ssü 永寧寺 temple by Imperial request and that on the other describes the reconstruction of the Yung-ning-ssü temple in the 6th year of Hsüan-tê 宣德 and also the conquest of the Nu-êrh-kan-Sea 奴兒干 and the K'u-i 苦夷 beyond the sea by I Shih-ha 亦失哈 who was Ta-chien 大監."<sup>1)</sup>

MAMRYA, believing what the natives told him, records that the monuments were erected by Russians. He had only a distant glance at them; it was impossible to read the inscriptions. Ts'AO T'ing-chieh had access to them, and it came to light that they were of the Ming dynasty. One of them is a monument commemorating the construction of the Yung-ning-ssü temple by Imperial request in the 11th year of *Yung-lo* 永樂, while the other is one commemorating the reconstruction of the Yung-ning-ssü temple by Imperial request in the 6th year of *Hsüan-tê*. They were transferred in 1885 to the Vladivostok Museum and have been preserved there to this day. The present writer during his Manchurian journey in 1908, had the opportunity to visit the museum and inspect the

1) 廟爾上二百五十餘里、混同江東岸特林地方、有石礮、壁立江邊、形若城闕、高十餘丈、其上有明碑二、一刻勅建永寧寺記、一刻宣德六年重建永寧寺記、述大監亦失哈征服奴兒干海及海中苦夷事。

former monument, but not the latter because it was not exhibited in the museum at that time.

The Emperor Yung-lo 永樂 of the Ming dynasty who heard from a native chief that Nu-êrh-kan 奴兒干 was a beautiful and strategic point, sent in the 9th year of *Yung-lo* I Shih-ha a high official with troops and warships to conquer this region; he opened the Nu-êrh-kan-t'u-ssü 奴兒干都司 in the following year, and founded the Yung-ning-ssü in the 11th year of the same era. This is given in the inscription on the monument commemorating the founding of the Yung-ning-ssü as follows.<sup>1)</sup> "In the autumn of the 11th year to the west of Nu-êrh-kan there is a *chan* a post-station chosen to the left of the Man-ching-chan 滿涇站. The mountain is high and beautiful. A small shrine dedicated to AVALOKITĒSVARA (KWANNON 觀音) had already been built on it. This time a temple was built with an engraven Buddha."<sup>2)</sup> The Man-ching-chan may be identified as Mangatchan in D'ANVILLE's map, located on the northern edge of the mouth of the Amgun river. The two characters 有站 "There is a chang" in the passage of the inscription and "To the west of Nu-êrh-kan there is a *chan* 站 (post-station) chosen to the left of Man-ching-chan 滿涇站"<sup>3)</sup> do not fit the foregoing phrase or the following; so the present writer is of the opinion that the words probably are tautological and it should be corrected to read "To the west of Nu-êrh-kan and to the left of Man-ching-chan."<sup>3)</sup> The high hill rising opposite Man-chan on the other side of the Amur river in the present Tyr the former site of the Yung-ning-ssü. The Nu-êrh-kan cited here together with Man-ching-chan evidently refers, not to Nu-êrh-kan in the broader sense, or the district, but to Nu-êrh-kan in the narrowest meaning, or the point at which the *tu-ssü* 都司 (Government Office) was established. The Nu-êrh-kan-tu-ssü of the Ming dyansty was the former site of the Tung-chêng-yüan-shuai-fu 東征元帥府

1) 十一年秋卜奴兒干西有站滿涇站之左、山高而秀麗,已建觀音堂於其上,今造寺塑佛。

2) 奴兒干西有站滿涇站之左。

3) 奴兒干西、滿涇站之左。

of the Yüan dynasty. This is proved by the passage in the *Liao-tung-chih* 遼東志 (Bk. 9), which reads "The Nu-êrh-kan-tu-ssü 奴兒干都司 was formerly called Yüan-san-wan-fu 遠三萬府. Nothing is known of the previous periods. The Yüan court had the Tung-chêng-yüan-shuai-fu<sup>1)</sup>. "The *shên-tao* monument 神道碑 of Prince CHA-LA-ÊRH 札剌爾 who served SHIH-TSU HU-PI-LIEH (KUBLAI) 世祖忽必烈 of the Yüan dynasty contains the following passage "As to the Tung-chêng-yüan-shuai-fu, the approach to it is steep and difficult, precipitous rocks rising at random. In mid-summer, the stream runs so that boats may be plied. In winter dog-sleighs may be run on the ice."<sup>2)</sup> The present writer is of the opinion that the name Nu-êrh-kan 奴兒干 of the Yüan dynasty, sometimes spelt 奴兒哥, referred to the district which comprised the present Tyr. The exact date at which this term Nu-êrh-kan was changed to Santan is not known, but it may be approximately set at the end of the Ming dynasty or the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty.

The present Tyr was called Santan-kowe in MAMIYA's days, and belonged, as at present, to the range of the Sumerenkuru (Giljaks). According to MAMIYA's inquiry, Santan was a term given to the present Olča. How is it, then, that the district Santan-kowe considered to be related to the Olča existed within the range of the Giljaks? This must be a matter which occurs to every reader. The name Santan-koe or Santan-kowe must be a combination of the two words—Santan and kowe or koe. What do these words mean then? The present writer cannot interpret them as Giljak words, but thinks that he can interpret them as Tungus words. Fist is *sântō* in the Golde language, among the Tungus language-group, and *sjantu* in the Olča language; to beat is *sjantulei*, and to beat with a fist is *sjentul'e* in the Olča language. These are derivatives of the word meaning fist.<sup>3)</sup> In the Manchu language, the small rear thigh bone is called *santu*. This must be

1) 奴兒干都司先名遠三萬府。前代無考。元爲元東征元帥府。

2) 東征元帥府道路險阻。崖石錯立。盛夏水活乃行舟。冬則以大靛把行冰上。

3) GRUBE: *Goldische Wörterverzeichnis*, p. 97.

a word of the same origin as *sjanto*, *sjantu* of the Golde language. Fist is *solta* in the Tungus language, according to CASTREN.<sup>2)</sup> (p. 91) *solta* being a derivative of *sona*, a considerable phonetic resemblance between it and *sjantu* may be observed. In the Korean language, hand is *son*. This is a varied form of *sona*,—the ending *ta* being omitted—probably a word of Tungus origin. The Ainus called the East Tartars Santa or Santan, but when MAMIYA investigated in their homeland, he found out that it was *sjanta*. If so, a considerable phonetic resemblance may be observed between this word *sjanta* and *sjanter* of the Olča language.

Santan-kowe in MAMIYA'S days in the present Tyr—the site of the Tung-chêng-yüan-shuai-fu in the Yüan dynasty, and of the Nu-êrh-kan-tu-ssü 奴兒干都司 as already stated. And if Santan in the phrase Santan-kowe may be taken as the Tungus word for fist, it must be rather interesting here to investigate what was meant by Nu-êrh-kan 奴兒干, or 弩兒哥 of the Yüan and Ming dynasties. In the Oroche language, one of the Tungus language-group, fist is *nurka*, *nurga*.<sup>1)</sup> In the Solon language, it is *nurga*, *nurg*, *nuruga*.<sup>2)</sup> In the Manchu language, fist is *nuzan*, and to beat with a fist is *nuzambi*.<sup>3)</sup> This Manchu word *nuzan*, at first glance, appears to have relation to the other Tungus word *nurga*, but in fact it is nothing but a corruption of *nurga*. In some languages of this group, *rg* or *rk* occurring at the middle of a word is, by assimilation, reduced to one sound *ž* or *č*. For instance, *urka*, *urko* a Tungus word for gate is *ucon* in the Manchu language. This is a case where two sounds *rk* in a Tungus word are reduced to one sound *c* in the Manchu. *Bargila* the Tungus word for yonder is *bazila* in the Manchu language; *gurgakta* the Tungus for moustache is *gozakta* in the Manchu language. *Kurgu* the Manegir for bellows is *buzuku* in the Manchu language. These are cases where the two sounds *rg* in the Tungus language are reduced to one sound *ž* in the Manchu language. The stem of the word *nurga* (fist) occurs in the other

1) The *Ch'ing-wên-hui-shu* 清文彙書.

2) O. SCHMIDT: *The Language of the Oroche*, p. 48.

3) IWANOWSKI: *Mandschurica*, pp. 50-51.

4) The *Ch'ing-wên-hui-shu* 清文彙書.

languages of the *Ural-altaic* group. For instance, *nyrk* the Finn word for fist is evidently traced to the same origin as *nurka* the Tungus. *Nidurga* in Mongolian, *nioderga*, *niodaorga* in Burjat, *njudurga* in Turkish may be traced to the same origin as *nurga* the Tungus. In the light of the above examples, it may be asserted that Nu-êrh-ko 奴兒哥 of the Yüan dynasty was the transliteration of *nurga*, and *nu-êrh-kan* of the Yüan and Ming dynasty was that of *nurkan* or *nurgan*—the Tungus word meaning fist.

As stated above, the more correct representation of Santan in the phrase Santan-kowe should be *sjantan* a Tungus word meaning fist, and *nu-êrh-k'e'o* 弩兒哥 or *nu-êrh-kan* 奴兒干 was another Tungus dialect also meaning fist. If this view should be accepted, both Santan of the Ch'ing dynasty and Nurgan of the Yüan and Ming dynasties were synonymous dialect words referring to the identical locality. Thus the fact that Nurgan and Santan, words of different periods, referred to the identical locality and had an identical meaning would serve at once to prove the adequacy of this interpretation. The reason why the district comprising Tyr came to be named after a fist may be because the geographical feature of the locality somehow reminded one of a fist. If one went downstream on the Amur from Pulu, on the eastern bank hills in succession approached the edge of the stream, and rose higher and higher until a spot called Santan-kowe at which the bank, as stated already, became a cliff about a hundred feet high and below which it came lower and lower. So that if one stood near Tyr and looked right and left, one would feel like standing on top of a fist. REVENSTEIN was the man who described the view from the point where the Tyr monuments stood. The passage in which he describes the view from the top of the hill will be cited here.

“The view from the place where these relics exist is really very beautiful. To the south, light dark forests extend like a billowing sea, leaving the bald summits of the mountains. Turning to the north, the mouth of the Amgun river is dotted over with wood-covered deltas. And turning to the west, the Amgun river flows in the broad valley. Both banks of the river are tundras fringed behind with a

succession of thick forests like hedges." Ts'AO T'ing-chieh 曹廷杰 who seems to have looked from the river up to this spot records. "There are marble rocks looming upright on the edge of the river. They look a veritable castle-wall, over 100 feet in height,"<sup>1)</sup> while the inscription of Prince CHA-LA-ÊRH 札刺爾 reads "Preciptous rocks rising at random." The thing which inevitably amazed the passengers passing this spot on a ship going down the Amur was the cliff looming at the edge of the river. If so, *kowe* in the phrase *Santan-kowe* must be a word related to this spectacular piece of scenery. Keeping this in mind, one may seek the meaning of the word *kowe*. In the Uralginsk language, one of the Tungus group, a small hill is *kuwdek*, and the fringe of a man's skin-coat is *kuwo*.<sup>2)</sup> In the Manchu language, the fringe of a garment is *kubube*.<sup>3)</sup> The reason why the hill and the fringe of a garment are expressed by one and the same word is because the fringe of a garment is somewhat raised from the face of the stuff. This word is also observed in the Mongolian language. In its literary diction, river-bank and the fringe of a garment are called *kufebe*. For instance, the river bank is *mürenü kubebe* (river's bank) and the small wall built on the castle-wall is *çotanu kubebe* (castle's wall).<sup>4)</sup> In the Seleginsk language, one of the Burjat group, the ridge of a low mountain is *gube*; in the Chorinsk language, a treeless mountain is *gube*; in the Xalxa language, a hill is *çübü*; and in the Balagansk language, it is *çöbö*.<sup>5)</sup> The stem of these words occurs in the other Ural-altaic languages. For instance, in the Tawgi language, one of the Samoied group, a mountain ridge is *kooja*; in the Jenisei language, it is *kuiju*, *kueo*.<sup>6)</sup> In the Ostjak language, a mountain is *ki* or *ke*; and in the Kamassin language it is *kawa*. Again, in the Jenisei-Ostjak language, a cliff is *kai*, and a mountain ridge is *k'ei* or *kei'*.<sup>7)</sup> Thus the stem of these words

1) 有石礮壁立江邊形若城闕。高十餘丈。

2) CASTREN, p. 81.

3) The *Ching-wên-hui-shu* 清文集書。

4) KOWALEWSKI, p. 9.

5) PODGORBUNSKI, p. 9.

6) CASTREN, p. 205.

7) CASTREN, p. 71.



extensively occurs in the Ural-altaic languages. The original meaning was height, but it came to mean mountain, hill; river-bank, castle-wall; and finally the fringe of a garment. *Kowe* in the phrase *Santan-kowe* must be of the same form as such Tungus words as *kuwudek*, *kuwo*; and it must mean a cliff here. *Santan* in the phrase *Santan-kowe* is, as already explained, a word meaning fist, but because it had already become a geographical term in this case, *Santan-kowe* must mean the cliff at Santan, or the Santan cliff.

If the name *Santan-kowe* could be interpreted in the light of the Tungus language, it would appear quite strange that it referred to Tyr included in the range of the Giljaks. According to SCHRENCK, however, only the Olča, namely Santan people, lived at Tyr and Tyrvi, while all the villages around them were Giljaks. There were two families at Tyr and six families at Tyrvi. They seemed to have newlyimmigrated from the south.<sup>1)</sup> As already stated, *Santan* being a term with which other people referred to the Olča, some might argue that it would not be strange if Tyr inhabited exclusively by the natives of this tribe were called *Santan*. It is too fantastic to think that Tyr was called *Santan* because of the eight Olča families who lived there, Tyr was called *Nu-êrh-kan* 奴兒干 in the Yüan and Ming dynasties which implied fist in the Tungus language, the natives who inhabited there at that time must have been Tungus. And if with the coming of the Ch'ing dynasty, the name was changed to *Santan* which also meant fist in the Tungus language, the natives introduced this name must also have been Tungus. When viewed in this light, it may be said that the district north of Pulu became a range of the Giljaks not very long time ago, but rather in comparatively recent years. Though SCHRENCK regards the Olča at Tyr as new settlers, it may be more proper to regard them as a remnant of the people who had inhabited the district from ancient times.

The present writer can cite an instance of a new tribal migration in the lower reaches of the Amur river from the *Tôtatsu-kikô*. MAMIYA after mentioning

1) *Die Völker des Amurlandes*, p. 16.

Santan-kowe says as follows :

“As we sighted on the northern bank of this place three ships of a different style, we asked what they were, we were told that they were Idâ イダ - men who lived at the source of the Honkô ホンコ - river and paid tribute to Russia; they came down the Honkô river to this place where they built temporary huts on the shore in which to live while fishing. As we looked from a distance, we cannot give a detailed description. The natives who inhabit the source of the Honkô river are not exclusively of this one tribe. There are many different tribes, so they say.”

The Honkô river here refers to the present Amgun river. It was called Xönggun by the Golde, Xönggu by the Samagir, Henggun by the Manchus represented Hêng-kun 亨濱 in the *Ch'ing-wei-fu-i-t'ung-yü-ti-t'u* and Hên-ku 恨骨 or Hên-ku 恨古 in the records of the Ming dynasty. The Nigidal men called it Omgun.<sup>1)</sup> The present term Amgun is a corruption of Ömgun. The initial sound of the Golde word Xönggun was eliminated to become Önggun, the ng sound Önggun was changed to the m sound to form Ömgun and was again corrupted to Amgun.

Asto SCHRENCK's, attributing the present Nigidal to the Ida, the present writer has no objection, but fails to favour his interpretation of their name. The term *Nigidal* is represented *negedanzen*, *Nigidal*, *Nigidaler*, *Neidaly*, *Negedaxen* in Russian literature, but the parts following the *i* sound are word-endings, the word-stem being *nigida* or *negda*. According to SCHRENCK the Giljaks call Negda Rhdy or Rhdyng; as the Ainus of Karafuto corrupted this Rhdy to Rhda, and vibrated the initial sound rh in pronouncing the word, Rhda probably sounded Ida to MAMIYA.<sup>2)</sup> As to this interpretation, many obstacles would arise. This scholar says that the Giljaks call only Nigida Rhdy. But is it really true? His work<sup>3)</sup> gives *rhdy enj* as

1) O. SCHMIDT: *The Language of the Samagir*, p. 25.

2) *Die Völker des Amurlands*, pp. 153-154.

3) *Die Völker des Amurlandes*, p. 476.

a Giljak term for the snow-shoes of the Samagir. The Giljak word for foot-gear being *enj*, the word *rbdy* must refer to the Samagir. Now the Golde vocabulary collected by Grube explains *rdy-enj* as the Oroche snow-shoe. Here the word *rdy* or *rbdy* seems to refer to the Oroche. It may be seen that the Giljak word *rbdy* refers not exclusively to the Nigidal, but generally to the Tungus tribes. If so, how should we interpret Idâ in the *Tôtatsu-kikô*? The initial syllable *ni* of a word is sometimes reduced to a plain *i* sound. A few instances may be cited from among the Tungus words. Fish in the Manchu language is *nimaba*, but *imaxa* in the Golde, showing in the Manchu language is *mimarambi*, but *imanara* in the Golde; dog in the Solon language is *ninaxin* or *inakin*. In the language of the Koreans, the neighbours of the Manchus, every Chinese character with a *ni* sound is pronounced practically with an *i* sound. For instance, the correct pronunciation of 日本 (Japan) is Nir-pon, but it is commonly pronounced Ir-pon; though the correct pronunciation of 李朝 (the Ri 李 dynasty) is *ni-cyo*, it really pronounced *i-cyo*. From these examples, it may be said that Nigida might have been corrupted to Igida. The *g* sound between two vowels is sometimes mute; a good example is found in the case of *kaghan* the Mongolian word for emperor which is really pronounced *kaan*. If this kind of change happened to Igida a corruption of Nigida, it was pronounced Iida, and finally became Ida. If Idâ was proved to be a corruption of Nigida, and also the home of this tribe was then in the upper reaches of the Amgun river and the people came downstream to the lower reaches for fishing, they were temporarily there, they had not settled there. If this was the case, it may be inferred that when, MAMIYA passed the mouth of the Amgun, the Idâ were on the way of migrating from the mountain to the lower plains of the Amur river. It must be imagined, therefore, that before the Nigida occupied the district at the river mouth, some other tribe had been in possession of the district.

As to the tribe in question, nothing could be asserted because of the absence of literature on the subject. However, judging from the present distribution of natives in the lower reaches of the Amur river, the tribe which had occupied

this district before the Nigidal was probably the Giljaks from the north, or the Samagir or Olča from the south. The only means of settling this question will be in studying the geographical terms of this district and investigating whether they are Giljak or Tungus words. The *Ch'ing-wei-fu-i-t'ung-yü-ti-pi-t'u* which was published during the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 based on the material obtained during the reign of the Emperor K'ang-hsi 康熙, and also D'ANVILLE's map give the name Mangatschan on the left bank of the Amgun. As Dr. S. WADA 和田博士 has pointed out, this corresponds to Manching-chan 滿涇站 a locality referred to in the inscription of the Yung-ning-ssü temple of the Ming dynasty, and also to Mo-mo-chi 末々吉 represented in the *Ching-shih-ta-tien* 經世大典 of the Yüan dynasty. There is no doubt about it. Some time ago the present writer published his view that Manga in Mangatschan was probably Manggu the term by which the natives in the lower reaches of the Amur referred to the river. Even to-day he has nothing to modify it. As to *tsan* the ending of the term, the writer having then arrived at no satisfactory conclusion, only promised further investigation. He has now arrived at a proper interpretation, which will be set forth below. The Amur is *manggu* in the Oroche, Olča, and Golde languages, among the Tungus group, *mangbo* in the Golde, Olča, Samagir languages; and *manggun*, *mamgu*, *mammi* in the Oroche language.<sup>1)</sup> The word Mangus by which the Oroche referred to the Golde was due to the fact that the Oroche people lived on the banks of the Manggu river. It is thus evident that the Amur was called Manggu, Mamgu, Mammi, and also Mangmu by the people. Mangatchan in the *Ch'ing-wei-fu-i-t'ung-yü-ti-pi-t'u* and D'ANVILLE's map is rendered 莽阿臣 or 莽阿禪 in Chinese works. Of course, these are no doubt different transliterations of one and the same term, but the one nearer the original name must be 莽阿臣. Now 滿涇 in 滿涇站 the phrase well-known during the Ming dynasty serves as a clue in investigating the correct pronunciation of the original name. The two characters 滿涇 are pronounced *manokin*; originally it was *mangga kin*, but the middle sound

1) O. SCHMIDT: *The Language of the Oroche*, p. 47.

*gga* being omitted, it came to be *man-kin*. 末々 in 末々吉 the name known during the Yüan dynasty was the transliteration of *mamma* which is a corruption of *manggu* explained above; the last character 吉 is a word-ending corresponding to 涇 in 滿涇. If this interpretation is to be accepted, the original form of this name was *manggakin*, and was corrupted to *Mamma kin*, *Mamma ki*. *Man-kin* 滿涇 of the Ming dynasty was the transliteration of *Manggakin*, and 末々吉 was that of *Mammaki*. Since the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty the *k* sound was frequently gutturalized to *tsch* (č). For instance, Hei-chin 黑津 was represented 黑金 and C'hi-li-mi 乞里迷 *Chi-lieh-mi* 濟列彌. From this phonetic evolution, *manggakin* was later corrupted to *manggatschin*. 莽阿臣 and 莽阿禪 are its transliterations, and *mangatchan* given in the *Ch'ing-nei-fu-i-t'ung-yü-ti-pi-t'u* and D'ANVILLE's map is also a corruption of it, *nangga* the initial part of this word *manggakin* is a corruption of *manggu* as discussed previously, while the *kin* the final syllable is probably a diminutive ending in this language. *manggu* implies a river; but here it is a proper name for the Amur river; hence *manggakin* affixed with a diminutive ending probably referred to the Amgun river which empties itself into the Amur at a point opposite Santan-kowe. This Amgun river is represented as Honkō river in the *Tōtatsu-kikō*. Honkō and Amgun sound different terms, but are really corruptions of one and the same term. Not that the name *manggakin* was replaced by a new term Hongün ホングーン or Amgun. The river was always called Hongün, but being smaller than the Manggu, it was probably called *Manggakin* also by the natives of the lower reaches of the river. It was perhaps relative to the nick-name of the Hongün river that the post-town established at the mouth of this river was called *Manggakin* or *Mammaki* during the Yüan dynasty. The meaning of the name Hongün is not yet known definitely, but certainly it is a Tungus word like the name *Manggakin*. Therefore, it goes without saying that the Tungus people who gave this name were not the Giljaks, but the Samagir or Olča.

The Japanese write 樺太 and read it *Karafuto*. It is not a native pronunciation, but really a name the Japanese gave to this island. *Karafuto* mean *Karahito* 唐人—

*Kara* 唐 (T'ang or China) and *bito* 人 (men),—namely Chinese people. In Japanese, 人 (man) is commonly called *bito*, but in a certain dialect of the north-eastern district, it is called *futo*. The reason why Karafuto was called Chinese people was because goods from China came into Japan from this direction and this island was supposed to be inhabited by the Chinese. Introduction into Karafuto of Chinese commodities by way of the Amur river must date from very ancient times; it cannot be determined because of a lack of literature on the subject. According to the *Yüan-shih* 元史, the Emperor Shih-tsu 世祖 of the Yüan dynasty established the Tung-chêng-yüan-shuai-fu at Nu-êrh-kan (the present Tyr) or in its vicinity for the purpose of conquering and pacifying the natives in the lower reaches of the Amur river and the Ku-wei 骨嵬 or the present Ainus in Karafuto Island. The Ming dynasty followed suit, and founded the Nu-êrh-kan-fu-ssü 奴兒干都司 for pacifying the natives in the lower reaches of the Amur and the K'u-i 苦夷 or Ainus in Karafuto Island. This is given in the records of these days. It is not difficult, therefore, to suppose introduction of Chinese commodities to the Ainus in Karafuto may be readily supposed to date from the Yüing and Ming dynasties. As the Ming dynasty went down and the Ch'ing dynasty rose, the basin of the Amur came to be included in the Chinese empire during the reign of the Emperor K'ang-hsi; and the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung marked the culmination of this dynasty. When it is supposed that during the reigns of these two emperors, there were probably founded some government offices on a grand scale corresponding to the Tung-chêng-yüan-shuai-fu of the Yüan dynasty or the Nu-êrh-kan-fu-ssü 奴兒干都司 of the Ming dynasty, no such record is given in history, strange to relate. During this dynasty, however, a system was introduced to open a branch of the office at San-hsing 三姓 or Ninguta 寧古塔 in the lower reaches of the Amur and dispatch there some officials to pacify the natives, receive their tribute, and award them rewards. The system was of a minor scale compared with those of the Yüan and Ming dynasties. For this reason this branch is represented as Ka-fu 假府 (Temporary Office) in the *Tôtatsukikô* by MAMIYA. Its

objective was in pacifying the natives and military and political, but its chief purpose being trading with the natives, it goes without saying that during this dynasty more Chinese goods than before came to be introduced to the Ainos in Karafuto.

Such a Temporary Office the Ch'ing court founded in the basins of the Amur river was situated not always at one particular point, but at localities varying with the change of times. At the time of MAMIYA's visit to Tartary, the Temporary Office was at Deren situated a great deal upstream or to the south of Kidzi. Prior to his time, however, the office had been open at Kidzi, as seen in the following passage in the *Tôtatsu-kikô* under キチ - (Kichî) or Kidzi. "This place is the former site of the Temporary Office of the Manchu court; but because of the development of hostilities between it and various tribes in connection with trade (the date unknown), it has been abolished, so I hear." From this passage it may be seen that the Temporary Office had been at Kidzi at an unknown date before it was removed to Deren. In the light of the account in the *Tôtatsu-kikô*, the Temporary Office seems to have been removed to Deren direct from Kidzi, but really it had been first removed to a place called Uchara for some time before it went to Deren. This is proved by the following passage in the report by NAKAMURA and TAKAHASHI.

"Yawenkuru-ainu ヤエンクルアイヌ, head of Nayoro village, is said to have been in Santan several times since those days. So we asked him about the condition of interior Karafuto and the port of Santan, he answered that he had not voyaged there during the past year or so. However, in the year *uma* 午 past, towards the end of February, he had embarked with a crew of five; rowing along the coast of the island, and from a place called Nakko of Karafuto, crossing the sea in one day to a place called Mochiffu モチツフ of the Santan district, and going across the marsh, and down the river adjoining it, reaching a place called Kinchima of the Manko river, where they hired a native named Chou チヨウ who acted as interpreter for the Manchus, and going up the river, they had reached a place named Uchara. At this place there had arrived five ships. Two chiefs dwelt

on-board the ships, but seven or eight others built a hut at a river bank with tree barks. . . . Besides, when Yawenkuru-ainu and others had been in the Santan district before, the Manchus had come downstream as far as Kinchima of the Manko river and had been engaged in trading. In recent years, however, they have come down only to Uchara which is a great deal above Kinchima and so they go up the river from the place for trading there, so we are told. . . .”

As the date at which NAKAMURA and TAKAHASHI set about exploring Karafuto, as stated already, was May 30th, the year *tori* 酉 or the 1st year of *Kyôwa* 享和 (1801 A. D.), it was probably about the beginning of June that they heard the above story from Yawenkuru-ainu, the chief of the Ainus. The chief says that his last visit to Tartary was in the year *uma* 午 past; it was the year *tsuchinoe-uma* 戊午 or the 10th year of *Kwansei* 寛政, three years before the 1st year of *Kyôwa* (1798 A. D.). By this year the Temporary Office of the Manchu court had already moved from Kinchima—more correctly, Kidzi—to Uchara. The date of the transference cannot be given definitely, but it is not wrong to place it to two or three years before the 10th year of *Kwansei*. As to the position of Uchara, the *Kindai-tôbu-manshû-minzoku-kô* 近代東部滿洲民族考<sup>1)</sup> an article by Mr. SHIMADA calls attention to the fact that the map attached to *the Chinese Empire* by Du Halde gives Outchla on the right bank of the Amur somewhat below the Tun-tun 敦 敦 river and it is to-day called 烏扎喇<sup>2)</sup>. Uchara in question must certainly be this Wu-cha-la.

Under カタカ - Katakâ or the present Kada カダ in the *Tôtatsu-kikô*, the following passage occurs. “This place is the former site of the Temporary Office of the Manchu court (like Deren), (The date unknown); but because of the development of hostilities between it and the various natives, it has been abolished.” There is no doubt that the Temporary Office of the Manchu court was founded for some time at Katakâ. When was it then? The date is unknown as the

1) *A Study of Natives in East Manchuria in Modern Times.*

2) *The Manshû-gakuhô* 滿洲學報, Vol. V, p. 79.



*Tôtatsu-kikô* itself admits. However, as already mentioned, when YAMAGUCHI 山口 and AOJIMA 青嶋 interviewed Santan men and asked them concerning the route to Santan, it was the 5th year of *Temmei* 天明; and as the Temporary Office seemed to be at Kinchima or the present Kidzi, the date of the presence of the office at Katakâ appears to have been previous to that year. Furthermore, the *Chi-lin-t'ung-chih* 吉林通志 (Bk. 12) has the following passage under K'u-yeh 庫頁. "The K'u-yeh 庫頁 the tribe referred to in the *Chih-kung-t'u* 職貢圖, live in Ya-tan 雅丹 and Ta-li-kan 達里堪 of the Eastern Sea Island. Every year they present sables to the court. They have Hala-da 姓長 (Family-heads) and Gashan-da 鄉長 (District-heads) who rule their youths. As their domain is extremely far away, they cannot come to Ninguta. In June, every year, officers are sent from Ninguta and they reach the P'u-lu 普祿 district after travelling 3,000 li. They collect tribute and also divide the presents from the court."<sup>1)</sup> K'u-yeh 庫野 also spelt 庫頁 or 庫葉 is identical with 苦夷 in the inscription on the monument of the Yung-ning-ssü 永寧寺 temple and a transliteration of Kughi, Kuji, referring to the Ainos in Karafuto. 普祿 is Furu フル in the *Tôtatsu-kikô*, both of which are transliterations of the present Pulu. The present writer is of the opinion that the Temporary Office was first founded at Pulu and then moved to Katakâ. The date is not definitely known. In his introduction, Mr. SHIMADA, as to the order of transference of the Temporary Office of the Manchu court, says "The Temporary Office of the Manchu court was first founded at Pulu 普祿, but was later moved to Kidzi, Deren 德楞, a point on the opposite bank of Moruki モルキ, and Tun-tun 敦々." The present writer wishes to revise the list as follows:— P'u-lu, Kada, Uchala, a point on the opposite bank of Moruki, and Tun-tun. If this is accepted, it may be admitted that the Temporary Office of the Manchu court, on the whole, receded with the change of the times. The reason was, as the *Tôtatsu-kikô* mentions under Kidzi and Katakâ or Kada due to the development

1) 職貢圖所謂庫野居東海島之雅丹達里堪者是也,每歲進貂皮設姓長鄉長子弟以統之,以其居處甚遠,不至寧古塔,每年六月,遣官至離寧古塔三千里之普祿鄉收貢領賜焉。

of hostilities between it and the various natives in connection with trading, that is because it became impossible for the Manchu court to suppress the disobedience and outrages of the natives. It may be supposed that when the power of the Manchu court was strongest, the Temporary Office was established in the more northern part of the lower reaches of the Amur river; and as it waned, this office was removed to the more southern localities nearer Manchuria. Therefore, the sites of the Temporary Office founded at different times in the lower reaches of the Amur may be regarded as indicative of the prosperity or adversity, power or weakness of the Manchu court.

It was under the reign of the Emperor Shih-tsu HU-PI-LIEH 世祖勿必烈 that the Yüan court founded the Tung-chêng-yüan-shuai-fu at Nu-êrh-kan in the lower reaches of the Amur river, when the dynasty was at the height of its power. The establishment of the Nu-êrh-kan-tu-ssü at this place by the Ming court dated from the reign of the Emperor Chêng-tsu Yung-lo 成祖永樂 also when the dynasty exercised greatest power. And it was during the reign of the Emperor K'ang-hsi 康熙 and that of the Emperor Kao-tsung Ch'ien-lung 高宗 乾隆 that the Ch'ing dynasty enjoyed its greatest power; and if this dynasty established any office for the purpose of pacifying and governing the natives in the lower reaches of the Amur, it must be supposed that the site was also at the Nu-êrh-kan of the Yüan and Ming dynasties. It is extremely strange, however, that investigation of the literature of the Ch'ing dynasty should not reveal any account of opening such an office at this site during these reigns. Despite this fact, the present writer firmly believes that an office of some kind,—one which Mamiya calls the Temporary Office, was open at this locality, on the basis of a study of the significance the Ainos gave to the term Santan. As already stated, the phrase Santan men which the Ainos of the Hokkaidô used for the Manchus referred by no means to the Manchus of the Chi-lin 吉林 Province or Shêng-ching 盛京 Province, but to the Manchus dispatched to the lower reaches of the Amur by the Manchu court. Therefore, the term Manchus by which the Ainos of the Hokkaidô referred to the

Santan men would have no meaning apart from the Temporary Office of the Manchu court founded at a place called Santan. And the phrase Santan men by which the Ainu in Karafuto Island referred to the various tribes inhabiting the lower reaches of the Amur would hardly be understood unless it referred to the natives who gathered together at the Temporary Office at Santan. The number of the Temporary Offices founded by the Manchu court in the lower reaches of the Amur was seven as already stated—Pulu, Kada, Kidzi, Deren, Utchla, Moriki, and Tun-tun, which are all endorsed by records. In addition to these, however, there was one more though unendorsed by records,—one alleged to have been founded at the Nu-êrh-kan of the Yüan and Ming dynasties, or the present Tyr during powerful reigns of the Emperors K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung. Tyr is represented as Tê-lin 特林 in the *Hsi-pi-li-tung-p'ien-chi-yao* 西比利東偏紀要 by Ts'AO T'ing-chieh 曹廷杰. Since his visit to the ruins of the Yung-ning-ssü temple took place in the 11th year of *Kuang-hsü* 光緒 of the Ch'ing dynasty (1885 A. D.), Tyr as far back as that time, was known by practically the same name as the present. Seventy-six years before this, when Mamiya visited Tartary, this locality was known by the name Santan. Re-naming Santan as Tyr must have occurred between Mamiya's visit to Tartary and the exploration of the lower Amur region by Ts'AO T'ing-chieh. The most important point on this question, therefore, is to find out the name of this locality during the reigns of the Emperors K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung. The *Ch'ing-wei-fu-i-tung-yü-ti-pi-t'u* drawn and edited after investigation contains not the name Tyr, but the name Zan Gašan, while D'ANVILLE's map gives the name Čen Cašan. Both Gašan in the phrase Zan Gašan and Cašan in the phrase Čen Cašan mean village: so žan or čen (čan) must be the proper name. As Santa in the Ainu language is a corruption of Sjanta in the Santan language, žan in the *Ch'ing-wei-fu-i-tung-yü-ti-pi-t'u* and čan (čen) in D'ANVILLE's map may be regarded as an abbreviation of Sjanta. It is probable that, in the powerful reigns of the Emperors K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung, the present Tyr was thus called Sjanta or Sjanto and here was established the Temporary Office of the Manchu court to

which the Ainos in Karafuto Island as well as the natives of the lower reaches of the Amur proceeded to pay tribute and receive gifts from the court. The natives who lived in Sjantan being the Olča, all the ranges of this tribe probably came to be called Sjantan by other tribes. It is not clear when the Ainus began to pay tribute to the Temporary Office established at Sjantan. However, the appendix to the Tôtatsu-kikô says, "The date is not known, but probably it was the 12th or 13th year of *Ch'ien-lung*. When the Manchu brocade in the possession of a native of Karafuto was examined, there was a piece of yellow paper the Manchus attached to it, which was marked the 12th year of *Ch'ien-lung*. It is certain, therefore, that the Ainos of Karafuto Island paid tribute to the Temporary Office in the 12th year of *Ch'ien-lung*. This year cannot be set as the first year that the Ainos proceeded to the Temporary Office; but their first visit there had taken place some time before this year, during the first year of *Ch'ien-lung*.

It is hoped that the origin and the development of Santan have been made clear in the foregoing. Before closing this article, the writer wishes to solve the Jantu problem which he has left untouched as a difficult one. As already proved, Santan was a geographical term referring to the present Tyr during a period of the Ch'ing dynasty, but because of the Olča people who lived there, the Giljaks and Ainos later came to extend the term to mean the people and also all the districts they inhabited. The correct pronunciation of Santan was Sjantu, but Giljaks corrupted it to Iantu and the Ainos Santa, Santan. The Giljaks had first called the Olča Orongr (the Russians call them Orlich), but later came to call them Iantu also; among this people the Olča were called either Orongr or Iantu. The Russians who failed to understand the real situation rashly took the two terms

as the Giljak terms for two different tribes. Therefore, Iakinf arranged in order the natives inhabiting the lower Amur region—Iant, Orlich, Giljaks, while Schenck mentioned in order the Oreich, Iant, Tscholdok. The former mentions the Iant referring to the Olča and the Orlich tautologically, but omits the Tscholdok or the Golde, while the latter includes the Tscholdok, but renders the Iant superfluous.