

The Natives of the Lower Reaches of the Amur River as Represented in Chinese Records

By

Sei WADA

- I Introduction
 - a The Geography of Manchuria
 - b The Communications of the Amur River
- II Ancient Communications and the Geographical Knowledge Obtained through Them
 - a Hsüan-ku-kuo and Mao-min-kuo
 - b The Ten States Including Pei-li and Others
 - c The Hei-shui-mo-ho
- III Records of the Yüan and Ming Dynasties
 - a The Kai-yüan-hsin-chih and the Liao-tung-chih
 - b Chien-chou and the Wild Jurchen
 - c K'ö-mu, the A-su-chiang (Ussuri) and San-lu-wên (Sargu) Regions
 - d The Four Gillemi Tribes
 - e The Kuji and the Gillemi
- IV Records of the Ch'ing Dynasty
 - a The Liu-pien-chi-liao and the Huang-ch'ing-chih-kung-t'u
 - b The Hsi-pi-li-tung-pien-chi-yao

I Introduction

The lower reaches of the Amur River have been inhabited by various natives, but no scientific study of them had been made until the middle of the 19th century when Russia very actively engaged herself in exploiting the Far East. The all-important report of Leopold von SCHRENCK,⁽¹⁾ the Russian scholar, which constitutes the material he obtained by his research in those days and the works by

1) SCHRENCK, Leopold von—*Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande in den Jahren 1854-1856*. 4 Bde. St. Petersburg, 1858-1900. (Band III. *Die Völker des Amurlandes*. 3 Lieferungen, 1881-91-95)

E. G. RAVENSTEIN,⁽¹⁾ the Englishman, and C. de SABIR,⁽²⁾ the Frenchman, are still considered to this day the most authoritative masterpieces in the field. Since then various researches have been made in Russia by J. A. LOPATIN,⁽³⁾ P. P. SCHMIDT,⁽⁴⁾ and S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF⁽⁵⁾; but as they, excepting one or two, are generally too specific, not quite comprehensive enough, and, with the inflow of Russians, the whole situation of the Far East rapidly changed and the conditions of these natives had to undergo a radical change, the report of SCHRENCK and others, though an older research, frequently proves more helpful to us who study the past of these peoples in the light of the ancient Chinese records. To these western scholars we are indebted for the result of their researches which alone enable us barely to grasp the gist of the matter after we investigate the very scanty works of China. It goes without saying that most works on the Chinese side are generally so carelessly written that it is difficult for us to form an adequate estimation by means of them. Should we ignore them entirely, however, as SHIROKOGOROFF says,⁽⁶⁾ no historical fact could be obtained. Therefore, we shall try to make an investigation wherever possible.

(1) RAVENSTEIN, E. G.—*The Russians on the Amur*. London, 1861.

(2) SABIR, C. de—*Le Fleuve Amour*. Paris, 1861.

(3) LOPATIN, J. A.—*The Goldi of the Amur, Ussuri and Sungari Rivers. Essay of an Ethnographical Survey*. (Memoirs of the Vladivostok Branch of the Amur Section of the Russ. Geogr. Society, Vol. XVII, 1922, Vladivostok. In Russian.)

Ditto.—*The Orochee Tribe—Congeners of the Manchus*. (Memoirs of the Manch. Research Society, 1925, Harbin. In Russian, with an abstract in English.)

(4) SCHMIDT, P. P.—*The Language of the Negidals*. (Acta Universitatis Latviensis, V, 1923, Riga)

Ditto.—*The Language of the Olchas* (A. U. L., VIII, 1923.)

Ditto.—*The Language of the Oroches* (A. U. L., XVII, 1927.)

(5) SHIROKOGOROFF, S. M.—*Social Organization of the Manchus*. Shanghai, 1924.

Ditto.—*Study of the Tungus Languages* (J. N. C. B. R. A. S., LV, 1924.)

Ditto.—*Northern Tungus Migrations. The Goldi and their Ethnical Affinities*. (J. N. C. B. R. A. S., LVII, 1926.)

Ditto.—*Social Organization of the Northern Tungus*. Shanghai, 1929.

(6) SHIROKOGOROFF, though especially on the Northern Tungus, comments "The Chinese records as to the Northern Tungus are naturally very scanty; and, owing to our present knowledge of Tungus, these records cannot be counted as material of importance. Tungus ethnography, therefore, is a practically virgin field." (*Social Org. of the Northern Tungus*, p. 4.)

Before entering upon the main subject, a brief outline of the geography of Manchuria may be presented. Manchuria is located at the east end of the Asiatic Continent, adjoining on the north the forest region of Siberia, on the south Chosen, on the east the sea, and on the west the desert of East Mongolia. Despite the fact that its locality roughly corresponds to the eastern frontier of the arid zone of Central Asia, it being in the region where the continent verges into the sea marked by some entangled masses of mountains, and affected by the oceanic climate on account of the proximity to the sea, its climate is comparatively damp; and the mountainous region of its interior is covered with forests as if the forest zone of Siberia stretched down south to this part. Of these regions the area the most suited for human habitation is the narrow arable zone running between the forest land on the east and the desert of East Mongolia on the west, which extends from the lower reaches of the Liao-ho 遼河 on the south to the middle courses of the Sungari River on the north. This is the area through which the present Manchurian Railway runs. It is very well-known that from very ancient times this region, under the influence of Chinese civilization was so civilized as to form the centre of Manchurian culture.

Over against this, the forest land on the east was not developed in ancient times because of the difficulty of communications; only in the course of considerable time the area came to be civilized, little by little,—first beginning with the plain in river basins adjoining the civilized area on the west. Especially in the basins of the Ussuri and its tributaries in the further east, the water collected at the low places during the rainy season froze in winter before it was drained; thus forming marshy land either too cold or too hot throughout the year for the ancient uncivilized natives to develop the area. Further east, the Sikhota Alin mountains run down to the Japan Sea. The coast of the Japan Sea, though supposed to be fairly favourable land, is little indented; and the Sikhota Alin mountains, a typically Manchurian mountain range with a gentle slope on the west and a sharp declivity on the east, extending closely along the coast, the area on the coast offers no com-

munication facilities with the interior, has no good arable land, and has no good harbour. Besides, the current causes a dense mist on the coast. It is really a good-for-nothing area, so to speak. This being the case, the civilization of the natives inhabiting this area lagged and little was known of them to the Chinese. The area comparatively favourable was that on the southern extremity extending from the present Su-ch'êng 蘇城 and Vlădivostok, to Kankyôdô 咸鏡道 of Chosen.

Therefore, the Manchurian interior terminated at the basin of the Mu-tan-chiang 牡丹江; and the only comparatively favourable area beyond was that on the south, extending from the basin of the Tuman River to that of the Suifun, or that on the north, extending from the Sungari to the Amur. It was for this very reason that P'o-hai 渤海, Liao 遼, Chin 金, and Yüan 元 in ancient times conquered only these areas, since the area lying to the south of the present Chien-tao 間島, was formerly Ho-lan-lu 合蘭路; and the basin of the Suifun was likewise Hsü-p'ing-lu 恤品路 of those periods.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, the basins of the Sungari and the Amur in the north were inhabited by a number of powerful tribes; and the extremity of the Amur confronting Sakhalin Island emptied itself into the Okhotsk Sea abounding in curious birds and animals such as hai-tung-ch'ing 海東青 hawks, sea-lions, sea-otters, seals, fur-seals, etc; and therefore, the route connecting the Sungari and the Amur formed the only important highway of North Manchuria in ancient times. For this reason, the various dynasties including Liao 遼, Chin 金, Yüan 元, Ming 明, and Ch'ing 清 all endeavoured to improve traffic on this route. By means of this highway, not only the curious commodities of the northern sea were sent to the Chinese courts as tribute, but also came the presents from the Chinese courts first by way of this route, from the Amur to Sakhalin, and then down south to the Hokkaido in Japanese territory and finally to Japan proper. As is well-known, the fabrics of Nan-king 南京, Su-chow 蘇州, and Hang-chow 杭州, the famous

(1) Vide *Manshû-rekishi-chiri* 滿洲歷史地理 (*The Manchurian Historical Geography*), Vol. II, pp. 175-185.

cities of the Yang-tse Valley were valued among the Japanese as if being brocades produced in Yezo 蝦夷 or the Hokkaidô.

II Ancient Communications and the Geographical Knowledge Obtained through Them

(a) Hsüan-ku-kuo and Mao-min-kuo

It may be seen from the foregoing that the water route up and down the Sungari and the Amur was established from the most ancient times; consequently, the lower reaches of the Amur, despite the great distance, were known to the Chinese from more ancient times than one would imagine. This can be proved by the accounts of Hsüan-ku-kuo 玄股國 (Country of the Black-legged People) and Mao-min-kuo 毛民國 (Country of the Hairy People) recorded in the *Shan-hai-ching* 山海經 and the *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子. Though the Chinese knowledge concerning Manchuria became more and more accurate after the Han and Wei periods, so far as the *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書 and the *San-kuo-chih* 三國志 are concerned, we only find that near the plain in the west the Fu-yü 夫餘 and Kao-chü-li 高句麗 prospered, while in the interior in the east the I-lou 挹婁, the so-called descendants of the Su-shen tribe 肅慎氏. However, *Hai-wai-pei-ching* 海外北經 in the *Shan-hai-ching*, concerning the Country of the Black-legged People 玄股之國, says "The people are clothed with fish... 其爲人衣魚," and goes on to describe the Country of the Hairy People 毛民之國, "The Country of the Hairy People lies to the north. The people have hair on their bodies. Another record says that it lies to the north of the Country of the Black-legged People⁽¹⁾."

A note on Hsüan-ku explains "Their thighs and below are all black. Hence the name..... 髀以下盡黑,故云." As a matter of fact, such a people could not have existed, so it must have been a matter of conjecture, for in Chinese thought, the

(1) 毛民之國在其北,爲人身生毛,一曰在玄股北。(山海經海外北經) Vide also SCHLEGEL, G.—*Problèmes géographiques. Les peuples étrangers chez les historiens chinois*. I. Fou-sang kouo 扶桑國. (T'oung Pao, Vol. III, No. 2, 1892.) XI. Hiouen-kou kouo 元股國. (T'oung Pao, Vol. IV, No. 5, 1893.)

colour for the north was black according to the allotment of the five elements in the Wu-hsing 五行 theory. And the passage "The people are clothed with fish" means as the note on it explains "They made garments with fish-skins 以魚皮爲衣也"; that is, the people actually wore fish-skins as garments. It is well-known that a tribe in the lower reaches of the Amur was called Yü-p'i-ta-tzū 魚皮韃子 (Fish-skin-Tartars),⁽¹⁾ because they made summer garments out of the tanned skins of the fish they caught in the river. The Black-legged People mentioned here must refer to these Fish-skin-Tartars. A collateral evidence is found in connection with the tribe called Mao-min. The tribe is quoted to have lived to the north of the Black-legged, and "Their bodies are covered with hair." Now the people in this area, so hairy all over their bodies, could not have been other than the Ainos who at present inhabit Sakhalin and the Hokkaidô. Moreover, the *Shan-hai-ching* continues to describe a tribe called Lao-min 勞民 or Lao People. Now, Dr. Kura-kichi SHIRATORI 白鳥庫吉博士 holds that, in view of the fact that *lan* in the Gilyak language means the great river, this must refer to the Gilyaks who now inhabit the estuary of the Amur and the northern part of Sakhalin. If so, it would be quite evident that these tribes referred to the natives who inhabited the lower reaches of the present Amur River.

Though the *Shan-hai-ching* is a work of dubious authenticity, and the date of its compilation is not known, I should infer from the accounts that this part of *Hai-wai-ching* 海外經 represents what was known at the beginning of the Han 漢 dynasty. Especially in this case, the account which supports my inference is the following found in the *Huai-nan-tzū* 淮南子. *Chui-hsing-hsün* 墜形訓 (Bk. 4) of the work says in discussing 36 overseas states:

"Between the southeast and the northeast there are Ta-jên-kuo 大人國 (Country of Giants), Chün-tzū-kuo 君子國 (Country of Gentlemen), Hei-ch'ih-kuo 黑齒國 (Country of Black-teeth), Hsüan-ku-min 玄股民 (Black-legged People), Mao-min

(1) DU HALDE, J. B.—*Description of the Empire of China*, Vol. II, pp. 246-7.

毛民 (Hairy People), and Lao-min 勞民 (Lau People)⁽¹⁾." The substance, though somewhat lacking in detail, is about the same as that given in the *Shan-hai-ching*. Seeing that the *Huai-nan-tz'u* as is well-known was compiled by LIU An, Prince Huai-nan 淮南王劉安, an uncle of the Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 of the Han dynasty, there is no doubt that the account in the *Shan-hai-ching* which gives about the same substance represents what was known in the early part of the Han period.

Now, if we come back to *Tung-i-chuan* 東夷傳 of the *San-kuo-chih* 三國志 and examine its context, Fu-yü 夫餘 at that time was situated near the present Hsin-ching 新京 and Nung-an 農安,⁽²⁾ Kao-chü-li 高句麗 about the middle course of the Ya-lu-chiang 鴨綠江,⁽³⁾ and Wu-chü 沃沮 and Wei-mo 濊貊—the states subject to Kao-chü-li near the northeastern boundary of the present Chosen.⁽⁴⁾ They were all of the Wei-mo people. In the interior in the east there lived the I-lou 挹婁 the alleged descendants of the Su-shên 肅慎 tribe. According to the investigation of Professor SHIRATORI, the Wei-mo people were chiefly of the Tungus stock, but mixed with Mongolian blood. On the other hand, the I-lou were a genuine Tungus tribe, namely the original ancestors of the Manchus of the later days.⁽⁵⁾ Of course, some of the so-called I-lou tribe inhabited the lower reaches of the Sungari and others the region near the present Vladivostok. It follows, therefore, that, though of the same Tungus stock, there was some difference among them as that between the present Goldis and Udehes. Probably they were not one homogeneous tribe.

Moreover, we might well infer that a Pale-Asiatic race such as the Gilyaks or the Ainos had inhabited the peninsula which forms the present estuary of the Amur and Sakhalin beyond the sea and spread even into the further interior of the continent. But it is doubtful whether the so-called Su-shên or I-lou included such

(1) 自南東至東北方,有大人國,君子國,黑齒國,玄股民,毛民,勞民。(淮南子墜形訓)

(2) The *Manch. Hist. Geogr.*, Vol. I, p. 221.

(3) Ditto.—pp. 221-225.

(4) Vide ditto.—pp. 13-26.

(5) Dr. SHIRATORI—*Saigai-minzoku* 塞外民族 (The Tribes beyond the Northern Borders of China.) Oriental Thought in the Iwanami Lecture Series. (岩波講座東洋思潮.)

tribes. On the other hand, the so-called Lao-min and Mao-min of the *Shan-hai-ching* were no doubt these tribes, whereas Hsüan-ku (the Black-legged People) might have been another name for the I-lou, a Tungus tribe. It could at least be asserted that a tribe like the modern Yü-p'i-ta-tzū 魚皮韃子 was usually of the Tungus stock.

(b) The Ten States Including Pei-li and Others

It was at the time of Ssü-ma-chin 司馬晉 after the Han and Wei periods that the knowledge of Manchuria somewhat increased. The Ssü-ma 司馬 family, when it usurped the throne after Ts'ao-wei 曹魏, invited the savage tribes in the distance to come to pay tribute in order to demonstrate proudly to the world that the family was destined to rule China. As the result, the savage tribes of the east came one after another and paid tribute, and even the time-honoured Su-shên-kuo 肅慎國 followed suit. The name Su-shên, however, was nothing but a dignified name arbitrarily given to the old state I-lou.⁽¹⁾ But many were the states whose messengers travelled a long-distance to pay tribute. Of them all, the most notable were the ten states including Pei-li 裨離. *Tung-i-chuan* 東夷傳 of the *Chin-shu* 晉書 (Bk. 97) says:

“Pei-li-kuo 裨離國 is situated to the northeast of Su-shên. It takes about 200 days to reach there on horseback. It comprises 20,000 households. Yang-yün-kuo 養雲國 is farther than Pei-li; it takes 50 days more on horseback. It comprises 20,000 households. Kou-mo-han-kuo 寇莫汗國 is farther than Yang-yün-kuo; it takes 100 days more. It comprises 50,000 households. I-chün-kuo 一羣國 is farther than [Kou] Mo-han; it takes 150 days more. It is more than 50,000 li 里 in total from Su-shên. The customs and the land are not yet well-known. In the 3rd year of *T'ai-shih* 泰始 (267 A.D.) each sent a small party and offered the products of each district. Again at the beginning of *T'ai-hsi* 太熙 (290

(1) Dr. IKEUCHI—*Shukushin-kō* 池内博士肅慎考 (A Study of the Su-shên Tribe) *Man-sen-chiri-rekishi-kenkyū-hōkoku* 滿鮮地理歷史研究報告 (The Research Report of History and Geography of Manchuria and Chosen, Vol. XIII)

A.D.), I-chih 逸芝 the chief of Mou-nu-kuo 牟奴國, Sha-chi-chên-chih 沙支臣芝 the chief of Wei-li-mo-lu-kuo 惟離模盧國, Chia-mou-chên-chih 加牟臣芝 the chief of Yü-li-mo-li 于離末利, Yin-mo 因末 the chief of P'u-tu-kuo 蒲都國, Ma-lu 馬路 the chief of Shêng-yü-kuo 繩餘國, Tsan-chia 鈐加 the chief of Sha-lou-kuo 沙樓國, each sent a principal messenger, and an assistant messenger, who came to Ho K'an 何龕, the Tung-i-chiao-wei 東夷校尉 of the Chin court, to be naturalized."⁽¹⁾

This is an account appearing only in the *Chin-shu* and a unique one with no parallel whatever in other works. Unfortunately, there has been no agreement of opinion as to the identification of the ten states.⁽²⁾ This is because a locality more than 50,000 *li* northwest of Su-shên—namely, the I-lou—would be a northern part of the present Outer Mongolia, or the southwest border of Siberia; and it would be impossible to regard this state as among the Tung-i or eastern savage states. However, I am of the opinion that the “northwest” referred to is no doubt a mistake to be corrected to read “northeast,” and that though the lengths of the journeys and the distances are considerably exaggerated, the names in question must have referred to the tribes which inhabited the lower reaches of the Amur River. The reason for my inference is that because western or southern parts of Manchuria were already known, those of Mongolia were not in this direction, an area which contained such a large number of tribes was no doubt the basin of the Sungari and the Amur, the most important centre of communications in North Manchuria. Of course, it may be that some of the ten states were in the basin of the present Nonni 嫩江 or the Hu-lan 呼蘭 River. The word “northwest” might be used for this reason. All the same, it is evident that most of the states lay along the Amur. It is only regrettable that as these names are found nowhere else in other works, it is impossible to investigate them and assign them to definite regions at the present time.

(1) 裨離國在肅慎西北，馬行可二百日，領戶二萬。養雲國去裨離，馬行又五十日，領戶二萬。寇莫汗國去養雲國又百日行，領戶五萬餘。一羣國去[寇]莫汗又百五十日，計去肅慎五萬餘里。其風俗土壤並未詳。泰始三年，各遣小部，獻其方物。至太熙初，復有牟奴國帥逸芝，惟離模盧國帥沙支臣芝，于離末利國帥加牟臣芝，蒲都國帥因末，繩餘國帥馬路，沙樓國帥鈐加。各遣正副使，詣東夷校尉何龕歸化。(晉書東夷傳)

(2) Vide *The Manch. Hist. Geogr.*, Vol. I, pp. 239-40.

In this connection, it may be suggested that of the more than ten states including Ta-mo-lu 大莫盧 in the vicinity of Wu-chi-kuo 勿吉國 recorded in *Tung-i-chuan* of the *Wei-shu* 魏書 (Bk. 100) and the *Pei-shih* 北史 (Bk. 94), some were perhaps on the Khitan side in the northwest,⁽¹⁾ but the others at least referred to the tribes in the basin of the Amur. Otherwise, it would follow that nothing was known of the most important basin of the Amur at that time, which would be quite absurd.

(c) Hei-shui-mo-ho

The Wei-mo 濊貊 tribe which had flourished previously commenced to decline after the Wei and Chin periods; and this was replaced by a tribe called Mo-ho 靺鞨 in the Sui and T'ang dynasties. For the tribe known as I-lou 挹婁 in the Han and Wei periods came to be called Wu-chi 勿吉 during the North-South-Dynasty period and finally Mo-ho in the Sui and T'ang periods. Since many investigations have been made concerning the Wu-chi and Mo-ho,⁽²⁾ we shall make no comment here, except a few remarks on the tribe Hei-shui-mo-ho 黑水靺鞨. The Mo-ho were first divided into several groups, but of them all the best known were the Su-mo-mo-ho 粟末靺鞨 of the south which founded P'o-hai-kuo 渤海國 in later days and the Hei-shui-mo-ho of the north. As the name Su-mo-mo-ho is derived from the name of the river Su-mo 粟末水, the ancient name of the Sungari, the course of which they inhabited, the Hei-shui-mo-ho would suggest that they inhabited the

(1) It is evident that the Ta-mo-lu 大莫盧, identical with the Tou-mo-lou 豆莫婁 recorded elsewhere in the *Wei-shu* 魏書, and also with the Ta-mo-lou 達末婁 recorded in the *T'ang-shu* 唐書, was a tribe occupying the banks of the present Hulan River; and of the more than the ten tribes in question such states as Chü-fu-fu 具弗伏, Pi-li-êrh 匹黎尔, Pa-ta-ho 拔大何, Yü-yü-ling 郁羽陵, were among the so-called eight tribes of Khitans,—they occupying the area between Khitan and Wu-chi 勿吉. This has been elucidated by an investigation of Mr. Hiroto OGAWA 小川裕人. See Mr. OGAWA—*Concerning the Tribes between Khitan and Wu-chi in the time of Early Wei*. The Shi-rin, Vol. XXIII, No. 1.

(2) *The Manch. Hist. Geogr.*, Vol. I, pp. 221-3, 407 ff.

Dr. TSUDA—*Mokkitsu Kô* 勿吉考 (A Study of Wu-chi); *Bokkai Kô* 渤海考 (A Study of P'o-hai) (The Res. Rep. of Hist. and Geogr. of Manch. and Chosen, Vol. I)

Dr. IKEUCHI—*Tetsuri Kô* 鐵利考, (A Study of Tieh-li) (Ibid. Vol. III); *Mokkitsu Kô* 勿吉考 (A Study of Wu-chi) (Ibid. Vol. XV.)

Hiroto OGAWA—*Makkatsushi Kenkyû ni kansuru Shomondai* 靺鞨史研究に關する諸問題 (Various Problems on the Study of the History of the Moho), The Toyoshi-kenkyû, Vol. II, No. 5.

area lying between the lower reaches of the present Sungari and Amur, because Hei-shui is only another name for Amur. *Pei-ti-chuan* 北狄傳 in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 (Bk. 219) continues this account of the Hei-shui-mo-ho:

“To the northwest of the Hei-shui, formerly there lived a tribe called Ssü-mo 思慕. Travelling north 10 more days, the Chün-li 郡利 tribe is reached; travelling another 10 days northeastward, the Chü-shuo 窟說 tribe also called Ku-shuo 屈說; and travelling another 10 days about southeast, the Mo-i-chieh 莫曳皆 tribe.”⁽¹⁾ A similar account occurs under the Mo-ho in the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要 (Bk. 96):

“An old tradition says ‘To the northwest of the Hei-shui, there is a tribe called Ssü-mo-mo-ho 思慕靺鞨; travelling north-north-east 10 more days, the Chün-li-mo-ho 郡利靺鞨 is reached; another 10 days’ journey northeast will bring you to the Chü-shuo-mo-ho 窟說靺鞨 which is also called Ku-shuo 屈說; and travelling southeast another 10 days, the Mo-i-chieh-mo-ho 莫曳皆靺鞨 is reached.’”⁽²⁾

A study of these records will readily show that there is little doubt that the tribes Ssü-mo 思慕, Chün-li 郡利, Chü-shuo 窟說, all lived in the lower reaches of the Amur. If the home of the Hei-shui was near the point where the Sungari joined the Amur, the Ssü-mo to the northwest must be located somewhere near the Bureya River or the Zeya River; but this region being not usually known to the Chinese,⁽³⁾ it may be supposed that the “north-west” referred to here again is a mistake and should be read northeast,—that is, adjoining the home of the Hei-shui, the Ssü-mo tribe lived to the north-east; and in a further northeastern direction and along the courses of the Amur lived, first the Chün-li tribe, and then

(1) 初黑水西北,又有思慕部,益々北行十日,得郡利部,東北行十日,得窟說部,亦號屈說,稍東南行十日,得莫曳皆部。(新唐書卷二一九北狄傳)

(2) 舊說,黑水西北有思慕靺鞨,正北徼東十日程,有郡利靺鞨,東北十日程,有窟說靺鞨,亦謂之屈說,東南十日程,有莫曳皆靺鞨。(唐會要卷九六)

(3) For instance, even when the Manchurian frontier was thoroughly known during the Yüan and Ming dynasties, it seems that the basins of the Bureya and Zeya Rivers were unknown. Vide WADA—*Min-sho no Manshü Keiryaku* 明初の滿洲經略 (Manchurian Administration at the Beginning of the Ming Dynasty), The Res. Rep. of Hist. and Geogr. of Manch. and Chosen, Vol. XV.

the Chü-shuo.⁽¹⁾ If this is the case, these tribes no doubt correspond to the Ti-fa 薙髮, the Pu-ti-fa 不薙髮, the two kinds of the Hei-chin 黑斤 and Fei-ya-ka 費雅喀 of the later days; to use modern terms, Ssü-mo seems to correspond to the Goldis, Chün-li to the Olchas, and Chü-shuo to the Gilyaks of the Amur. In order to draw this conclusion, however, we must first carefully compare these records with the accounts of still later days.

Moreover, *Tung-i-chuan* in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* (Bk. 220) has the following passage on the Liu-kuei 流鬼 tribe which sent an envoy in the 14th year of *Chên-kuan* 貞觀 (640 A.D.) in the reign of the Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 of the T'ang dynasty:

"The Liu-kuei 流鬼 tribe lives 15,000 *li* away from the Chinese capital, to the northeast of the Hei-shui-mo-ho and to the north of the small sea. Surrounded by the sea on three sides, the land extends unlimited on the northern side. The people live scattered on the various isles. There are many moors and marshes. The land is favoured with a plenty of fish and salt. It grows cold quite early and is frequently visited by a heavy frost and snow. With their feet strapped to the wooden pieces 6 inches wide and 7 feet long, the people walk on the ice and chase running animals. The land abounds in dogs whose skins are made into skin-garments. It is a custom to wear long hair. The millet there resembles setaria, the common weed, only slightly smaller. The land has no vegetable, fruit, or cereal. There are 10,000 competent soldiers. It adjoins the Mo-i-[chieh]-mo-ho tribe on the south, which is reached by voyaging southeast 15 days. In the 14th year of *Chên-kuan*, the King sent his prince Ko-yeh-yü 可也余 with a present of sables changing three interpretations to the Chinese court, which conferred upon him the title of Chi-tu-wei 騎都尉 and delivered it."⁽²⁾

Again, *Pien-fang-tien* 邊防典 in the *T'ung-tien* 通典 (Bk. 200) presents the same

(1) Vide *The Manch. Hist. and Geogr.*, Vol. I, pp. 431-2.

Dr. IKEYUCHI—*Tetsuri Kô* 鐵利考

(2) 流鬼去京師萬五千里,直黑水靺鞨東北,少海之北,三面皆阻海,其北莫知所窮,人依嶼散居,多沮澤,有魚鹽之利,地蚤寒,多霜雪,以木廣六寸長七尺,系其上,以踐冰,逐走獸,土多狗,以皮爲裘,俗被髮,粟似莠而小,無蔬蔬它穀,勝兵萬人,南與莫夷[皆]靺鞨隣,東南航海十五日行乃至,貞觀十四年,其王遣子可也余莫[貢?]貂皮,更三譯來朝,授騎都尉遣之。

matter a little differently, but in full detail. Based on the passage "To the north of the small sea; surrounded by the sea on three sides, the land extends unlimited on the northern side," a theory assigning this Liu-kuei to the present Kamchatka was advocated by DE GUIGNES, the Frenchman, GUSTAV SCHLEGEL,⁽¹⁾ the Dutchman, and Ho Chiu-tao 何秋濤⁽²⁾ of the Ch'ing dynasty. Since Professor SHIRATORI⁽³⁾ of Japan, making a thorough investigation of this matter, assigned this to the present Sakhalin Island, his conclusion has stood unshaken.⁽³⁾ A great deal might be said on the contents of this unique and detailed record: but as the professor's argument nearly exhausts what we should like to say, we shall omit it. Only the Mo-i-mo-ho 莫曳鞞鞞 are mentioned, being given in the *T'ung-tien* as the Mo-shê-mo-ho 莫設鞞鞞, but this refers to the Mo-i-chieh-mo-ho 莫曳皆鞞鞞 tribe recorded in the previously quoted *Hei-shui-mo-ho-chuan*, which inhabited a region to be reached with a 10 days' journey in the southeastern direction from the Chü-shuo tribe inhabiting the estuary of the Amur, and to be reached by a 15 days' voyage in the southeastern direction from the Liu-kuei or the present Sakhalin; so it follows that this locality was evidently on the coast of the Japan Sea and Dr. SHIRATORI assigns it to the banks of the present Tumnin River. At any rate, the people were native tribe somewhat like the present Orochis inhabiting the Sikhota Alin mountains. It is quite noteworthy that such knowledge came by way of the water, as proved by the almost similar conditions in the later days.

III Records of the Yüan and Ming Dynasties

(a) The Kai-yüan-hsin-chih and the Liao-tung-chih

The Mo-ho tribe of the T'ang dynasty came to be generally known in and after

(1) SCHLEGEL, G.—*Problemes géographiques. Les peuples étrangers chez les historiens chinois.* V. Ta-han kouo 大漢國.

(2) Ho Chiu-tao 何秋濤—*So-fang-pei-chêng* 朔方備乘 (Bk. 22) (A Study of K'u-yeh and Other Near-by Islands 庫葉附近諸島考)

(3) Dr. SHIRATORI—*Tô Jidai no Karafuto-ô ni suite* 唐時代の樺太島について (On the Sakhalin Island of the T'ang Dynasty) *The Rekishi-chiri*, Vol. IX, Nos. 4,5; Vol. X, Nos. 2, 4, 6.

the Sung and Yüan dynasties by the name Nü-chên 女真 (Jurchen) or Nü-chi 女直 (Jurchi). Beside this principal tribe of Manchuria, there were others called Chi-li-mi 吉里迷, Wu-ti-kai 兀的改, etc., which inhabited the lower reaches of the Amur and other regions. The Liao dynasty and the Chin dynasty which succeeded the T'ang dynasty must surely have done much in managing these tribes in the interior. It is a misfortune that no adequate literature on the subject has been preserved. Some records of the Liao dynasty mention, as the tribe in the further eastern frontier, Wu-jo 兀惹, Wu-jo 烏惹, Wu-shê 烏舍, Wu-jê 嘸熱, all these being the terms for the Wu-ti-kai 兀的改 mentioned in the foregoing.⁽¹⁾ According to Dr. IKEUCHI's investigation,⁽²⁾ the homeland of the Wu-jo 兀惹 tribe of the Liao period is assigned to the upper reaches of the present Mu-tan-chiang 牡丹江, but since this region was the central part of P'o-hai 渤海 states, the Wu-jo 兀惹 which was a newly-arrived tribe must have come from some farther region. The opening passage of *Ti-li-chih* 地理志 in the *Chin-shih* 金史 (Bk. 24), in describing the eastern frontier of the Chin dynasty says: "As to the territory and frontiers of Chin state, the farthest east is the land of the Chi-li-mi 吉里迷, the Wu-ti-kai 兀的改, and other savage tribes. . . ." ⁽³⁾ Along with the Wu-ti-kai, the name Chi-li-mi is mentioned for the first time. But little is known of the tribes.

A more detailed and systematic account concerning the natives of the lower reaches of the Amur really dates from the next age—the Yüan and Ming periods. As the Mongols rising from the northern desert conquered the vast country around, they ruled North and South Manchuria; in the lower reaches of the Hun-tung-

(1) The name Wu-jo 兀惹 often occurs in the *Liao-shih* 遼史; the *Hsü-tzü-chih-t'ung-chien-chang-pien* 續資治通鑑長篇 by LI TAO 李燾 of the Sung dynasty spells it 烏惹; the *Hsing-chêng-lu* 行程錄 alleged to have been written by Hsü KANG-TSUNG 許亢宗 and the *Ai-t'sé* 哀册 (Epitaph) of Shêng-tsung 聖宗 of the Liao dynasty spells it 烏舍, and the *Sung-mo-chi-wên* 松漠紀聞 by HUNG HAO 洪皓 spells it 嘸熱. All these assign the northeastern frontier of the Nü-chi 女直 to it, calling it the remotest territory.

(2) Dr. IKEUCHI—*Tetsuri Kô* 鐵利考 (A Study of Tieh-li) *The Res. Rep. of Hist. and Geogr. of Manch. and Chosen*, Vol. III: *Researches in the History of Manchuria and Chosen* 滿鮮史研究, The Mediaeval Age, Vol. I.

(3) 金之壤地封疆,東極吉里迷,兀的改諸野人之境,云々。(金史卷二四地理志)

chiang 混同江 or the present Sungari, they established the five *Wan-hu-fu* 萬戶府 including Odoli 翰朵里, Hurkhai 胡里改, Taghun 桃溫 etc. for the purpose of garrisoning the northern frontier, and established the Ho-lan-fu 合蘭府 at the present Kankô 咸興 in Kankyôdô 咸鏡道, Chosen, for garrisoning the south. Shih-tsu 世祖 or Khubilai, some time later, driving home the victory he won from Manchuria and Chosen, went down the lower courses of the Amur as far as the estuary of the present Amgun River where he founded the *Tung-chêng-yüan-shuai-fu* 東征元帥府 and not only pacified the Chi-li-mi and other tribes inhabiting the region around them, but also conquered the Ku-wei 骨嵬, I-li-yü 亦里于, and other native tribes inhabiting Sakhalin Island beyond the sea. Towards the last period of the Yüan dynasty, as rebellions arose in various remote regions with the decline of Yüan's power, the court, after suppressing the rebellion of the Wu-chê-yeh-jên 吾者野人, founded at Ha-êrh-fên 哈兒分 or near the estuary of the present Tondon River a *wan-hu-fu* 萬戶府 for governing the Wu-chê-yeh-jên, the Chi-lieh-mi 乞烈迷 and other tribes.⁽¹⁾ Chi-lieh-mi 乞烈迷 being another transliteration of Chi-li-mi 吉里迷, and the Wu-chê-yeh-jên 吾者野人 refers to the Wu-jo 兀惹 and the Wu-ti-kai 兀的改 of the previous periods, and the Wu-chê 兀者, Wu-chê 兀哲, Wo-chi 窩集, Wu-chi 烏稽 of the later periods. Most of these facts occur in the *Yüan-shih* and other records; but they by no means give any full knowledge concerning the tribes in the Amur region.

The work which really presented the most accurate distribution of the native tribes in the lower reaches of the Amur is the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* 開原新志, a geography of Manchuria during the Yüan dynasty. Now, the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* is a lost book, not available at present; the passage in question, however, is quoted under the section entitled Nü-chi 女直 in the *Ta-ming-i-tung-chih* 大明一統志 (Bk. 89), a later work of the Ming period. The *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* 開原新志 must have been originally spelt "*Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* 開元新志." Seeing that Kai-yüan 開元

(1) Vide WADA—*Manchurian Administration at the Beginning of the Ming Dynasty*. The Res. Rep. of Hist. and Geogr. of Manch. and Chosen, Vol. XV.

was during the Yüan dynasty, a popular term for Manchuria, it is evident from its name that the book was compiled during the Yüan dynasty; moreover, this is definitely corroborated by the fact that the *Chu-yü-chou-tzû-lu* 殊域周咨錄 (Bk. 24) under Nü-chi 女直 written by YEN Tsung-chien 嚴從簡 towards the end of the Ming dynasty quotes one and the same account, definitely commenting upon it as a *Yüan-chih* 元志, namely, a geography of the Yüan period. The account in the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* is, as quoted below, most complete in form, but this is further revised and supplemented in the *Liao-tung-chih* 遼東志, a geography of Manchuria compiled in the last stage of the Ming dynasty.

The Ming dynasty as it came into power, became as eager as the Yüan dynasty, its predecessor, in controlling the interior of Manchuria: T'ai-tsu Hung-wu-ti 太祖洪武帝, for garrisoning the northern frontier, tried to establish the San-wan-wei 三萬衛 near the present San-hsing 三姓, for garrisoning the southern frontier, Tieh-ling-wei 鐵嶺衛 on the northeastern boundary of Chosen, and even attempted to re-establish the Chün-min-wan-hu-fu 軍民萬戶府 for the Wu-chê-yeh-jên 兀者野人, the Chi-lieh-mi 乞烈迷, and the Nü-chi 女直. And T'ai-tsung Yung-lo-ti 太宗永樂帝, his son, did establish the Nu-êrh-kan-tu-ssü 奴兒干都司 at the former site of the Tung-chêng-yüan-shuai-fu 東征元帥府 and built the Yung-ning-ssü 永寧寺 temple; and Hsüan-tsung Hsüan-tê-ti 宣宗宣德帝, his grandson, again repaired the temple and endeavoured to appease the peoples in the lower reaches of the Amur. These facts are only too well-known.⁽¹⁾ However, with the wane of the influence of the Ming court in these regions after the Emperors Yung-lo 永樂 and Hsüan-tê 宣德, the territory of the Liao-tung Government never again extended north beyond Tieh-ling and Kai-yüan 開原. So it follows that, despite the fact that the *Liao-tung-chih* came into being towards the last stage of the Ming dynasty, the contents of the book were no doubt based upon the knowledge of the early part of the same dynasty; the account in the *Liao-tung-chih* of the Ming dynasty could not be discussed apart from that in the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* 開原新志 of the Yüan dynasty.

(1) Vide WADA ditto. Vol. XIV.

When the Ch'ing dynasty which, succeeding the Yüan and Ming dynasties rose in Manchuria, considerably added to the knowledge of these regions, towards the last stage of the dynasty western scholars began to publish works on the subject in which they reported on the natives in question in much detail, accurately, and even scientifically in the proper sense of the term. In this paper I wish to investigate the matter rather elaborately as the first complete presentation of the matter by the Chinese, prior to the investigation by western scholars, primarily based on the Chinese works of the Yüan and Ming dynasties, but also referring to some description before and after them.

(b) Chien-chou and the Wild Jurchen

Here follows the whole passage the *Kai-yüan-bsin-chih* adopted in the *Ta-ming-i-tung-chih* but paragraphed for convenience' sake.

(a) "Chien-chou 建州 has customs somewhat resembling the old customs of Kai-yüan 開原".⁽¹⁾

(b) "The Nao-wên-chiang 腦溫江, the river, flows from Hai-hsi 海西 down to the Amur. This region is called Shêng-nü-chi 生女直 (or Wild Jurchen). The people are usually engaged in farming. They assemble and show respect to one another. They bring each distilled spirits in the air-bladder of a fish. Sitting on the ground, they sing and drink. Should there be any quarrel, they at once take hold of a bow and arrow and shoot one another."⁽²⁾

(c) The K'o-mu 可木 and the tribes below them build huts with birch-bark. When they move, the bark is carried on horse-back; when they settle, the bark is spread to form huts. The people keep horses, and live by hunting.⁽³⁾

(d) "The tribe inhabiting the district between the A-mi-chiang 阿迷江 and the San-lu-chiang 散魯江, resembles the K'o-mu to a considerable degree. They

(1) 建州稍類開原舊俗。

(2) 其腦溫江, 上自海西, 下至黑龍江, 謂之生女直, 略事耕種, 聚會爲禮, 人持燒酒一魚胞, 席地歌飲; 少有忿爭, 則彎弓相射。

(3) 可木以下, 以樺皮爲屋, 行則馱載, 止則張架以居, 養馬弋獵爲生。

go about on five-plank boats and move rapidly on the stream.”⁽¹⁾

(e) “The Chi-lieh-mi 乞烈迷 are divided into four minor tribes. They are by nature meek, but cruel, and greedy and sly. They catch fish which they eat for food. They wear upright barrel-like garments of fish-skins for summer use and of dog-skins for winter use. Neither the five cereals nor the six domestic animals are known to them. Only dogs are exceedingly plentiful, and are used for farming and food. When a person dies, the entrails are taken out, and the body is burnt; the ashes are thrust in the fork of a tree which is placed upright in the ground.”⁽²⁾

(f) “The Chi-li-mi 乞里迷, live more than 3,000 *li* away from the Nu-êrh-kan 奴兒干. A minor tribe is called Nü-chi-yeh-jên 女直野人. They are by nature stalwart and greedy; they tattoo their faces and wear top-knots. Their head-pieces are set with red straps. The edges of their garments are decorated with multi-coloured braids. They wear only trousers, but no under-garments. The women’s head-pieces are hung with gems, and their garments are set with brass-bells. The people hunt in the mountains and obtain food. When it is warm, they live outdoors; when cold, they live indoors.”⁽³⁾

(g) “One tribe is called Pei-shan-yeh-jên 北山野人. They come and go on deer.”⁽⁴⁾

(h) “Another tribe lives in flat houses. At the back of the houses holes are bored through which they go in and out by means of ladders. They lie down on the grass. The houses resemble dog-holes.”⁽⁵⁾

(i) “The Ku-wu 苦兀 live to the east of the Nu-êrh-kan Sea. They are a very hairy people, wearing bear-skins on their heads and patterned cotton garments. When a parent dies, the entrails are cut out, and dried in the sun and carried on

(1) 其阿迷江至散魯江,頗類可木,乘五板船,疾行江中。

(2) 乞烈迷有四種,性柔刻貪欲,捕魚爲食,暑用魚皮,寒用狗皮,不識五穀六畜,惟狗至多,耕田供食,皆用之,死者剖腹焚之,以灰燼夾於木末植之。

(3) 乞里迷去奴兒干三千餘里,一種曰女直野人,性剛而貪,文面椎髻,帽綴紅纓,衣緣綵組,惟袴不裙,婦人帽垂珠瑤,衣綴銅鈴,射山爲食,暑則野居,寒則室處。

(4) 一種曰北山野人,乘鹿出入。

(5) 又一種,住平土屋,屋脊開孔,以梯出入,臥以草鋪,類狗窩。

their backs. Whenever they have anything to eat or drink, they first serve it to the body. After three years, the body is thrown away.”⁽¹⁾

(j) “In their neighbourhood live the Chi-li-mí 吉里迷. There are more men than women. As soon as a girl is born, she is betrothed to a man by receiving a present of dogs. She is married as she reaches her tenth year. The people eat only raw food.”⁽²⁾

Now, the accounts in the *Liao-tung-chih* 遼東志, though merely an enlargement of the above-given record, are in much greater detail; so here will be reproduced the text, paragraphed similarly to the foregoing.

The paragraph in the *Liao-tung-chih* corresponding to (a) reads:

“Chien-chou 建州 adjoins the Sungari on the east; the climate somewhat resembles that of Kai-yüan 開原. In its upper reaches, there runs a river named Wên-tu 穩禿. The mountain-recesses abound in pine trees. As the present dynasty conquered the Nu-êrh-kan region, the men built ships at this place; and going down the stream, they reached Hai-hsi 海西; loaded with various presents, the ships embarked and went down-stream and soon reached their destination. At the request of the Emperor, So-shêng-ko 瑣勝哥, the Tu-shih-chi of the Wu-chê-wei 兀者衛都指揮 governed and preserved the region.”⁽³⁾

This is a description of Chien-chou in those days, namely, the present Chi-lin 吉林 or Girin-ula, and has nothing to do with the natives in the lower reaches of the Amur. As to the Wên-tu River, the section on the mountains and rivers of Kai-yüan-hsien 開原縣山川 in the same work—the *Liao-tung-chih* (Bk. 1) says: “The river is 500 li northeast from the castle (Kai-yüan); originating from the northern mountains of Fang-chou 房州, it runs north and empties itself in the Sungari.” Fang-chou 房州 being about Shan-ch'êng-tzŭ 山城子 on the present Hui-fa 輝發

(1) 苦兀在奴兒干海東, 人身多毛, 戴熊皮, 衣花布, 親死, 剖腸胃, 曝乾負之, 飲食必祭, 三年後棄之。

(2) 其隣有吉里迷, 男少女多, 女始生, 先定以狗, 十歲即娶, 食惟腥鮮。

(3) 建州, 東瀕松花江, 風土稍類開原, 江上有河, 曰穩禿, 深山多產松木, 國朝征奴兒干, 於此造船, 乘流至海西, 裝載賞賚, 浮江而下, 直抵其地, 有勳, 令兀者衛都指揮瑣勝哥督守。

River, the Wên-tu 穩禿 originating from its northern mountains and running north and emptying itself in the Sungari cannot be anything but the Wên-tao-ho 溫道河 (Wên-tê-hêng-ho 溫特亨河) which to this day empties itself to the south of Chi-lin. This fact very definitely proves that Chien-chou in the Yüan and Ming dynasties was the modern Chi-lin. It is also a well-known fact that the Ming forces utilized this place as the base from which they started for an expedition in the lower reaches of the Amur. At Asi-hada 阿什哈達 a little over five or six *li* above Chi-lin, there remains an inscription on a rocky cliff telling of those days. So-shêng-ko 瑣勝哥, the Tu-shih-chi of the Wu-chê-wei in the foregoing refers to a chief, according to the *Tung-i-ke'ao-liao* 東夷考略 and other works, along with Kang Wang 康旺, Tung Darkhan 佟答刺哈, Wang Chao-chou 王肇舟, famous for his illustrious services in the Ming expedition of the Nu-êrh-kan region. It seems that, while at that time the other three chiefs were exclusively in the Nu-êrh-kan region, So-shêng-ko 瑣勝哥 defended Chien-chou (Chi-lin) the starting point of the expedition. While the *Kai-yüan-bsin-chih* says "Chien-chou has customs somewhat resembling the old customs of Kai-yüan," the *Liao-tung-chih* modifies it to "The climate somewhat resembles that of Kai-yüan." This is because, while during the Yüan dynasty both Chien-chou and Kai-yüan formed part of its own territory, the Chien-chou of the Ming period had slipped away among the savage tribes and the customs of the people did not resemble those of the more civilized Kai-yüan people, but resembled those of the Wild Jurchen, which is an account corresponding to the description of the Wild Jurchen "Their language and manner of living resemble those of Chien-chou."

The following is the next item in the *Liao-tung-chih*, which corresponds to the description of the Wild Jurchen under the paragraph (b) in the *Kai-yüan-bsin-chih*.

"The Shêng-nü-chih 生女直 (Wild Jurchen). The tribe inhabiting the basin of the Wên-nao-chiang 溫腦江 extending upstream as far as Hai-hsi 海西 and upstream as far as the Amur is called Shêng-nü-chi. They are under the yoke of Yeh-jên 野人 (Savage Tribe); and are chiefly engaged in farming. Their language and manner of

living resemble those of Chien-chou. Whenever they assemble, they each bring distilled spirits in the air-bladder of a fish. This is commonly called *a-la-chi* 阿刺吉. Sitting on the mats spread on the ground, they sing and drink all day long. If they disagree a little, they take hold of a bow and arrow and shoot at one another. There is a certain stone by the river-mouth called *mu-bua-sbib* 木化石, which is so hard and sharp that arrow-heads may be made of it. The natives value it as a treasure."⁽¹⁾

Wên-nao-chiang 溫腦江 is a transposition of Nao-wên-chiang 腦溫江, while "upstream as far as the Amur" should be corrected to "downstream as far as the Amur." In spite of this transposition and mistake, it certainly originates from the account in the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih*, only in more detail. *A-la-chi* or *araki* in the Manchurian and Goldi languages means distilled spirits.⁽²⁾ The *mu-bua-sbib* is referred to in the *Ta-ming-i-tung-chih* (Bk. 89) as follows:

"The stone arrow is produced from the mouth of the Hei-lung-chiang 黑龍江, and is called *shui-bua-sbib* 水花石. It is so sharp that it cuts iron, and may be made into arrow-heads. When the natives take it, they always first pray to god."⁽³⁾

This is also recorded in the *Ning-ku-ta-chi-liao* 寧古塔紀略 by Wu Chên-chên 吳楨臣 of the Ch'ing dynasty: "The bottom of the Hun-tung-chiang 混同江 produces stone arrows. It is said that rosin which falls into the water is changed into this stone in a thousand years. It has stripes like those on tree-bark. The dark-blue kind is harder than iron. The natives use it for sharpening the edges of their

(1) 生女直, 溫腦江, 上自海西, 下自(至の誤)黑龍江, 謂之生女直, 受轄於野人, 事耕種, 言語居處, 與建州類, 每聚會, 人持燒酒一魚胞, 俗名阿刺吉, 席地而座, 歌飲竟日, 少有忿戾, 則彎弓相射, 江口有石, 名木化石, 堅利可鏗矢鏃, 土人寶之。

(2) GRUBE, W.—*Goldisch-Deutsches Wörterverzeichnis*, s. 5. This is also called *arūki* in the Manchu language (*Ch'ing-wên-chien* 清文鑑 Bk. 27). The *Tōiatsu-kiō* 東韃紀行 by Rinsō MAMIYA says "*Sho-chū* 燒酎 is called *arūki* アルキ in the Manchu language: it is probable then that *arūka* アルカ in this part is a corruption of the same word." *Araki* being a word generally used in Eastern Asia for shao-chiu 燒酒, the theory of attributing it to the Dutch word *arak* is unacceptable. Vide also Dr. Shimpei OGURA—"The Distribution of the Chosen Word for Shao-chiu 燒酒", The Minzokugakukenyū, Vol. II, No. 3.

(3) 石鏃, 黑龍江口出, 名水花(木化の誤)石, 堅利入鐵, 可鏗矢鏃, 土人將取之, 必先祈神。

weapons. It is called *ang-wei-bo* 昂威赫. This is the same thing as the *bu* 楛 (a kind of willow tree) arrow and stone arrow-head found among the present that the Su-shen 肅慎 tribe sent to the Chinese court in ancient times."⁽¹⁾ This article is referred to in many other works. *Sbui-bua-shih* 水花石 in the former should read *mu-bua-shih* 木化石—a mistake arising from a resemblance of the forms of the characters *sbui* 水 (water) and *mu* 木 (wood), *bua* 花 (flower) and *bua* 化 (change) and *ang-wei-bo* 昂威赫 corresponds to a Manchu word *an wehe* meaning fossil-wood.⁽²⁾ However, this being produced in the land of the Wild Jurchen, the *Ta-ming-i-tung-chih* 大明一統志 assigns it to the river-mouth of the Hei-lung-chiang 黑龍江; the *Ning-ku-ta-chi-liao* 寧古塔紀略 to the bottom of the Hun-tung-chiang 混同江, and the *Liao-tung-chih* 遼東志 ascribes the stone to the mouth of the Nao-wên-chiang 腦溫江, but all these must have meant the same thing, because, while the Hei-lung-chiang 黑龍江 (Amur) when used by the Chinese originally referred only to the Amur above the point where the Sungari empties itself into the Amur, and the Nao-wên-chiang 腦溫江 referred to the east flowing Sungari down to the point where it empties itself into the Amur, the Hung-tung-chiang mentioned here seems to refer to the whole Amur River. It follows, therefore, that the Shêng-nü-chi 生女直 must refer to the natives who inhabited the district adjoining the east of Hai-hsi 海西 and extending from the present San-hsing 三姓 to the point where the Sungari joins the Amur. The passage saying that they were 'governed by the yeh-jên (savage tribe) 受轄於野人' must refer to the fact that they were controlled formerly by the savage tribe living near Kai-yüan and Chien-chou and paying tribute to the Ming dynasty. The term Shêng-nü-chi first appeared during the Liao dynasty; and from this time on it had gone into disuse. The term here must be only another name for the Wu-chê-yeh-jên.

(c) K'ô-mu, the A-su-chiang (Ussuri) and San-lu-wen (Sargu) Regions

The foregoing relates to the more western region more or less in contact with

(1) 江中出石箭,相傳松脂入水,千年所化,有紋理如木質,紺碧色,堅過於鐵,土人用以礪刃,名爲昂威赫,即古肅慎氏所貢楛矢石箭是也。(寧古塔紀略)

(2) *T'sêng-ting Ch'ing-wên-chien* 增訂清文鑑 (Bk. 2, Leaf 37, back)

the civilized area. Then come the tribes living at K'o-mu 可木 and below. The *Liao-tung-chih* says:

“At K'o-mu and below there is nothing but wild woods all along the river; [Here the character yen 沿 (along) is miscopied sung 松 (pine).] Men never settle down at definite places, but roam from place to place after water and grass. They build huts with birch-bark: when they move, the bark is carried on horse-back; when they stop, the bark is spread and connected to form huts. They are chiefly engaged in farming. The people keep horses and live by hunting. Carving a single tree, they make a boat. Skins and furs are their merchandise. Sables are presented by them to the Chinese court as tribute.”⁽¹⁾

This is a great deal more detailed, compared with the account in the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih*, but in view of the ensuing account, there is no doubt that it refers to the tribes living at K'o-mu and downstream as far as the A-su-chiang. K'o-mu refers to the present K'o-mu 科木, located slightly below the point where the Sungari and the Amur meet, the site of the K'o-mu post-station 可木站 of the K'ao-lang-ku-castle 考郎古城 during the Yüan and the Ming dynasties; and the A-su-chiang 阿速江 is the present Ussuri River.⁽²⁾ May we not imagine the manner in which the region extending from the mouth of the Sungari to that of the Ussuri was covered with wild woods in those days? The K'o-mu and the other tribes above them had fixed abodes, being chiefly engaged in farming, while the others below the K'o-mu lived in crude tents made of birch-bark, and moved about on horse-back, and were often engaged in hunting. The phrase “being engaged in farming 事耕種” appearing only in the *Liao-tung-chih* of the Ming dynasty and missing in the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* which records only the knowledge of the Yüan dynasty may indicate

(1) 可木以下,松(沿の誤字)江皆榛莽,人無常處,惟逐水草,攤皮爲屋,行則馱載,住則張架,事耕種,養馬弋獵,剝獨木爲舟,以皮囊爲市,以貂鼠爲貢。

(2) Vide WADA—*Manchurian Administration at the Beginning of the Ming Dynasty* and “*Kai sei-no higashi-sui-riku-jo-tan ni tsuite* 海西東水陸城站について,” (On the Land-and-water Castle Post-Station on the Eastern Side of Hai-hsi 海西.) The Rés. Rep. of Hist. and Geogr. of Manch. and Chosen, Vol. XV.

the progress of the people in the course of the Yüan and Ming dynasties. At least in those days, the so-called Shêng-nü-chi were the only people who "were governed by the savage tribes. They were engaged in farming. Their language and manner of living resemble those of Chien-chou."⁽¹⁾ In the Ch'ing dynasty, however, the tribes even below the K'o-mu were thoroughly Manchurianized, wearing the Manchurian queue. It is said that, while the natives in the lower reaches were called Pu-ti-fa-hei-chin 不薙髮黑斤 or Chang-mao-tzū 長毛子 (the Long-haired People), these were called Ti-fa-hei-chin 薙髮黑斤 or Tuan-mao-tzū 短毛子 (the Short-haired People). The manner in which culture penetrated into the interior of Manchuria, with the progress of the times, may be imagined; but we shall enter into a fuller discussion of the subject later.

The text of the *Liao-tung-chih*, after the passage above cited, goes on to say:

"The district between the A-su-chiang 阿速江 and San-lu-wên 散魯溫 is called I-hsi 迤西. The natives' manner of farming and hunting, their foods and abodes resemble those of the K'o-mu. They travel on a five-plank boat with its bow decorated with a fork-like tree-root which looks like deer-horns. As oars are applied on both sides, the boat goes fast on the stream. This is called *kuang-ku-lu* 廣窟魯."⁽²⁾

If compared with this, there can be no doubt whatever that the A-mi-chiang 阿迷江 of the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* is a mistranscription of the A-su-chiang 阿速江, and the San-lu-chiang 散魯江 a mistranscription of San-lu-wên 散魯溫. A-su-chiang 阿速江 is only another transcription of the Ussuri 烏蘇里 River, and San-lu-wên 散魯溫 corresponds to a place near the present Sargu Lake, the former site of the San-lu-wên post-station 撒魯溫站 referred to as one of the 'Land-and-water Castle Post-stations on the Eastern Side of Hai-hsi 海西', during the Yüan and Ming dynasties. Somewhere near this locality there must have been, in those days, the

(1) 受轄於野人,事耕種,言語居處,與建州類。

(2) 阿速江至散魯溫爲迤西,其耕作射獵,飲食居處,類可木,出入乘五板船,頭置枋木根,如鹿角狀,兩舷置槳,疾行江中,謂之廣窟魯。

boundary between the tribes. The three characters 爲迤西, if not redundant words inserted for the sake of decoration, may have meant 迤西 (the neighbouring west) a phrase used for the purpose of differentiating the district from the land of the Chi-lieh-mi 乞列迷, namely, the headquarters of the Nu-êrh-kan-tu-ssü 奴兒干都司. Though this phrase does not occur in the *Kai-yüan-bsin-chih*, *i-hsi* 迤西 was quite a fashionable one during the Yüan dynasty; therefore, this must be a term handed down from the Yüan period.⁽¹⁾

The present writer has not been able to investigate the original word for *kuang-ku-lu* 廣窟魯 the fast boat mentioned in the *Liao-tung-chih*; but according to a passage under, Wei-ku 嵬骨, Liao-yang 遼陽 in the Introduction of the *Ching-shih-ta-tien* 經世大典 adopted in the *Yüan-wên-lei* 元文類 (Bk. 41), we find "In May, the 1st year of *Ta-tê* 大德 (1297, under the reign of the Emperor Chêng-tsung 成宗 of the Yüan dynasty), Wa-ying 瓦英, the Wei-ku 嵬骨 rebel, going aboard a *huang-wo-êrb* 黃窩兒 boat built by the Chi-lieh-mi 吉烈迷, passed across the sea . . .⁽²⁾" *Kuang-ku-lu* 廣窟魯 and *huang-wo-êrb* 黃窩兒 must be the transliterations of one and the same word, and Wei-ku 嵬骨 being a transposition of Ku-wei 骨嵬, corresponds to the Ku-i 苦夷 of the Ming period, and refers to the present Sakhalin Ainos, and Chi-lieh-mi 吉烈迷, like 吉里迷 and 乞列迷, being a transliteration of Gillemi—another name of the Gilyaks in the language of their neighbour on the west, this particular kind of boat was common to the two tribes; and this name was already known from this early time. A five-plank boat with oars plied on both sides was probably the largest and fastest vessel that was invented by the natives of those days and

(1) The *Yüan-tien-chang* 元典章 records that Mongolia was called the I-pei 迤北 by the Chinese of the Yüan dynasty; and this usage was handed on to the Ming dynasty. As the former conquered Yün-nan 雲南, the east, west, and southern parts were respectively called the I-tung 迤東, the I-hsi 迤西, and the I-nan 迤南; and these were named the San-I 三迤 (Three Is) of Yün-nan 雲南. This phrase has come down to this day. When viewed in this light, the name I-hsi 迤西 must surely have arisen in the Yüan dynasty. The name was probably applied to the district around Chi-lieh-mi 乞列迷 where the Tung-chêng yüan-shuai-fu 東征元帥府 was established. I 迤 meaning "adjoining", the I-hsi 迤西 is the neighbour on the west. As to my assigning these localities, see my paper "On the Land-and-water Castle Post-Stations on the Eastern Side of Hai-hsi 海西."

(2) 大德元年五月, 嵬骨賊瓦英乘吉烈迷所造黃窩兒船過海, 云々。(元文類卷四一所收經世大典序錄)

the fork-like tree-root attached to its bow was, like the head of a dragon or an *i* 鶻 (large water-fowl) a figurehead indicative of dignity. The *Liu-pien-chi-liao* (Bk. 4)⁽¹⁾ by YANG Pin 楊賓 of the Ch'ing dynasty describes this five-plank boat as follows: "In Ninguta 寧古塔 there are two kinds of boats. The smaller is called *wei-hu* 威弧 or *weihu*.⁽²⁾ It is made of a single tree with both ends sharpened. This is a tree-boat carved hollow, so well-known from the ancient times. It can hold three or four people. The larger kind is called five-plank boat—one divided into three sections and built of five planks. In connecting the planks no ash-hemp is used. In connecting them wooden nails are used. As the water comes in, green moss is used to stop it. This can hold more than ten people. There is always a man entrusted with the green moss; he has no time for looking about, for if he does, water will come into the boat. The oar is several feet long, and both ends are

(1) The contents of the *Liu-pien-chi-liao* 柳邊紀略 greatly differ according to various editions. The passage quoted here is not found in the popular edition, but adopted from the authorized edition of the *Liao-hai-tsung-shu* 遼海叢書 and the *Kuo-hsueh-wen-ku* 國學文庫 quoted from the *Yang-shih-chien-ch'i-pai-erh-shih-chiu-hao-chai-tsung-shu* 仰視千七百二十九鶴齋叢書.

(2) *Wei-hu* 威弧 in the Manchu language means a single-tree boat. *Hei-lung-chiang-wai-chi* says as follows "The *wei-hu* 威呼 is a single-tree boat 20 feet long and wide enough for one to place his knees on it. Its bow and stern are sharp. It may hold several people. The water reaches within about one inch of the top of the sides. It runs on the middle course of the stream as fast as a bamboo arrow. This is really a ship carved of one tree. When the water overflows, two *wei-hu* are joined together and wagons and cattle are carried on them across the river. As I came along the Mukden-Girin 奉天吉林 route, I often travelled on a *wei-hu*. As the boat was in mid-stream, I used to keep my eyes shut, never daring to look around. You may imagine how dangerous it is. The *jaha* 札哈 is a small boat; much lighter and faster than the *wei-hu* 威呼. It can hold 2 or 3 people. It is said that when a reconnoitring party of Mergen 墨爾根 patrolled the frontier, the stream suddenly overflowed, Nariltai 那里勒泰 the *Hsieh-ling* 協領, made a *jaha* with horse-skins, and succeeded in crossing the river. Later the people began to construct such boats in advance with birch-bark by Nariltai's method. 威呼獨木船也,長二丈,濶容膝,頭尖尾銳,載數人,水不及舷管寸許,而中流蕩漾,駛如竹箭,此真剡木爲舟也,遇河水暴漲,則聯二爲一,以濟車馬,余來時,奉天,吉林道中,數乘之,中流瞑目,不敢視,其險可想。札哈小船也,較威呼,尤輕捷,載受兩三人,相傳,墨爾根察邊者,猝遇江漲,協領那里勒泰以馬革爲札哈,徑渡,其後預以犛皮爲之,猶那遺法。(黑龍江外記卷四) And also the Preface to the Twelve Poems entitled *Chi-lin-t'u-feng-tsa-yung* 吉林土風雜詠 by the Emperor Chien-lung says on *wei-hu* 威呼 as follows "A gigantic tree is carved into a boat with, flat sides and round bottom; the bow is sharp, the stern is long. A large one may hold 5 or 6 people. A small one only 2 or 3 people. A tree is carved at both ends to make an oar. A man holds it and paddles with it on the right and left. It runs as if flying. 剡巨木爲舟,平舷圓底,脣銳尾修,大者容五六人,小者二三人,剡木兩頭爲槳,一人持之,左右運棹,捷若飛行。(吉林通志卷六天章志)

shaped like willow-leaves and the middle part is rounded. When the men take hold of the oars and play them on both sides, the boat seems to fly. This is the one referred to in the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* by the phrase 'going aboard a five-plank boat and going fast on the stream.' The five-plank boat is owned by wealthy people. The *weihu* is seen everywhere. In autumn and winter, this is used as a manger."⁽¹⁾

(d) The Four Gillemi Tribes

Investigation of the foregoing has been comparatively easy; but the following is, because of confusion in the account, extremely hard to interpret. The *Liao-tung-chih*, in the order followed by the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih*, reproduces the paragraph (e) as follows:

"As to the Chi-lich-mi 乞列迷, there are four tribes. They are by nature treacherous and greedy. Living in grass huts, they catch fish for food. They never wash themselves. They wear upright barrel-like garments of fish-skins for summer use and of dog-skins for winter use. They cannot be approached on account of their bad odour and filth. They use urine for washing. Parent and child are not kind to each other. Husband and wife do not respect each other. When parents fall ill, a grass hut is built at a distance for them to live in and they are left alone until they die in time. The five cereals and the six domestic animals are unknown to them. Only dogs are exceedingly plentiful. They are made to pull the *pa-li* 扒犁. Men have gems hung from their ears and their necks are girt with iron rings. The presence or absence of these articles indicates whether they are wealthy or otherwise. If a man marries a woman, all her younger sisters become his concubines. As a man or woman grows old and dies, the entrails are taken out and the body is burned. The ash and bones are placed between the branches of a tree which is planted in the ground. If a man is drowned, his body is pierced with

(1) 寧古塔, 船有二種, 小者曰威弧, 獨木銳首尾, 古所謂剡木爲舟者是也, 可受三四人, 大者曰五板船, 三艙合五板爲之, 合處不用灰麻, 釘以木, 水漬則以青苔塞之, 可受十餘人, 常置一人, 執青苔以俟, 不違他顧, 他顧則水入船矣, 槳長數尺, 兩頭若柳葉, 而圓其中, 人執之, 左右棹若飛, 開元新志所謂乘五板船, 疾行江中者是也, 五板船富者乃有之, 威弧隨所皆有, 秋冬則以爲馬槽。

a fish-fork, and wrapped up with a seal-skin and is buried in the ground, and they say that the body has turned into a seal. If a man is wounded and killed by a bear or tiger, the body is uncovered and made to crawl as if it were a bear or tiger. A man is told to shoot an arrow at it. The body is buried with an arrow thrust into it. They say that it has turned into a bear or tiger... The products of the region are hai-ch'ing 海青 hawks, black hawks, white hares, black hares, black foxes, and martens. All these pay tribute to the Chinese court."⁽¹⁾

The passage "They wash their hands and faces with human urine 以人溺洗手面" appears in *Wu-chi-chuan* 勿吉傳 in the *Wei-shu* 魏書 (Bk. 100) and also in *Hei-shui-mo-bo-chuan* 黑水靺鞨傳 in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 舊唐書 (Bk. 219). The custom of the so-called sororate marriage as is found in the passage "If a man marries a girl, all her younger sisters naturally become his concubines 娶其姊, 則妹以下皆隨爲妾" is to this day observed as a common custom among the Ho-chê 赫哲 or Goldis, according to the *Sung-hua-chiang-hsia-yu-ti-ho-chê-tsu* 松花江下游的赫哲族 (pp. 217, 315, 410) by Mr. LING Chun-shêng 凌純聲. Besides, the customs recorded in the passage "They catch fish which they eat for food. They wear upright barrel-like garments of fish-skins for summer use and of dog-skins for winter use. Neither the five cereals nor the six domestic animals are known to them. Only dogs are exceedingly plentiful, and are used for farming and food"⁽²⁾—these are applicable to the present Goldi tribe, and this often coincides with the accounts of SCHRENCK, RAVENSTEIN, and modern Chinese travels. Much might be said on the strange funeral custom and the superstition regarding accidental deaths⁽³⁾, but

(1) 乞列迷有四種, 性奸貪, 居草舍, 捕魚爲食, 不櫛沐, 着直筒衣, 暑用魚皮, 寒用狗皮. 腥穢不可近, 以溺盥洗. 父子不親, 夫婦無別. 父母疾, 遠構草庵處之, 待其自死. 不識五穀六畜, 惟狗至多, 牽拽扒犁. 男耳垂珠, 項鐵圈, 以有無知貧富. 婚姻若娶其姊, 則姊(妹?)以下皆隨爲妾. 男女老死, 剖其腹焚之, 以灰骨夾於木植之. 溺死者以魚叉叉其屍, 裹以海豹皮埋之, 曰變海豹矣. 熊虎傷死者, 裸擲其屍, 作熊虎勢, 令人射中, 帶矢埋之, 曰變熊虎矣. 物產則有海青, 皂鷗, 白兔, 黑兔, 黑狐, 貂鼠, 今皆入貢.

(2) 捕魚爲食, 着直筒衣, 暑用魚皮, 寒用狗皮, 不識五穀六畜, 惟狗至多, 耕田供食, 皆用之.

(3) Of these customs, that of treating those who met an unnatural death is so interesting. The reason why one drowned is treated as if one were a seal, and one wounded and killed by a bear or tiger was treated as if he were a bear or tiger, may be because they were considered to have come from the

here it is all omitted.

Only as to the *pa-li* 扒犁, a passage will be quoted from the *Liu-pien-chi-liao* 柳邊紀略 (Bk. 4): "The *pa-li* 扒犁 is called *fara* 法喇 by the natives. They make it with wood. Though a plough, it has a floor; though a wagon, it has no wheels. The shafts are long and flexible. It is used in carrying wood on the snow. Oxen are used for pulling it."⁽¹⁾ And also the Preface to the Twelve Poems by the Emperor Chien-lung entitled *Chi-lin-t'u-fêng-tsa-yung* 吉林土風雜詠 says as follows—"The *fara* 法喇. This looks like a wagon, but has no wheel. Though like a bed, it has no legs. The seats are covered as if with a canopy. A rope is used in driving. This is used in travelling on the ice and snow; it is commonly called *pa-li*. Because of its flat bottom like that of a plough, the natives have adopted the Chinese language *pa-li* 扒犁."⁽²⁾ The *Chi-lin-wai-chi* 吉林外記 (Bk. 1) contains the following passage: "The *fara* 法喇. A wooden bed. Though like a bed, it has no legs. Though like a wagon, it has no wheels. This is used in winter. There are some covered with woolen hangings and encircled with deer-skins. Horses, oxen, or mules are employed for pulling it, on the ice or snow. It is restful and fast and convenient."⁽³⁾ The *Hei-lung-chiang-wai-chi* 黑龍江外記 (Bk. 4) also says: "*Pa-li* 扒犁 may be transcribed, in our Manchu language as *fara* 法喇. It is made like a sleigh, but no iron rods are used. Bent wood is used for shafts. When two horses are harnessed to it, it runs on the snow like a flying bird. Some people say that this corresponds to the dog-carriage used in P'u-yü-lu 蒲與路 during the Yüan dynasty; but at present no dog is seen to pull it. It is reported, however, that among the Ho-chê 赫哲 and the Fei-ya-ka 斐雅哈 of Chi-lin province,

animal world temporarily into this world as human beings, but now that they were recalled to their original world, they were made to take an attitude as natural as possible to their original selves, in accordance with the popular belief.

(1) 扒犁,土人曰法喇,以木爲之,犁而有架,車而無輪,轆長而軟,雪中運木者也,駕以牛。(柳邊紀略卷四)

(2) 法喇,似車無輪,似榻無足,覆席如簾,引繩如御,利行冰雪中,俗呼扒犁,以其底平似犁,蓋土人爲漢語耳。(吉林通志卷六天章志)

(3) 法喇柅牀也,似榻無足,似車無輪,冬日御之,亦有施氈氍及鹿皮圍者,以馬牛驢挽,行冰雪中,纒捷便利。(吉林外記卷一)

they employ dogs exactly like cattle (horses and cows). They are called dog-driving-tribes 使犬部. The so-called dog-carriage still exists in these parts."⁽¹⁾ The vehicle here referred to was a large sleigh; and it was characteristic of these districts to harness dogs to it. I rather think, contrary to the opinion of the Emperor Chien-lung, that the Chinese *pa-li* 扒犁 is a corruption of the Manchurian *fara* 法喇.

At any rate, since the passage begins with "As to the Chi-lich-mi, there are four tribes" 乞列迷有四種, and ends with "All these pay tribute to the Chinese court 今皆入貢"; it seems, at first glance, to be a general discussion of the four tribes. However, the manner of its description is too much detailed for a general discussion; as the products mentioned here are entirely different from those ascribed to the Pei-shan-yeh-jên 北山野人 later referred to as one of the four tribes of the Chi-lich-mi, it is impossible to suppose that the former were the products common to all the four tribes, and the latter the special products of the Pei-shan-yeh-jên 北山野人 only, apart from those common to them all; and, besides, while this account concludes with "All these pay tribute to the Chinese court 今皆入貢," the other says about the Pei-shan-yeh-jên "This tribe formerly paid tribute, but there is no communication now 昔入貢, 今不通焉"; for these reasons, this could not be a general discussion. I am of the opinion that there must be an omission after "As to the Chi-lich-mi, there are four tribes 乞列迷有四種"—something like "one of them 一種" really meaning the original tribe of the Chi-lich-mi. The home of the Chi-lich-mi being the Nu-êrh-kan region or the lowest reaches of the Amur, the above must be a description of this region only.

In the next place, the *Liao-tung-chih*, after giving the above account, goes to describe a tribe named Chi-hei-mi 乞黑迷.

"The Chi-hei-mi 乞黑迷 live more than 3,000 *li* away from the Nu-êrh-kan 奴兒干. They are by nature stalwart and greedy. They tattoo their faces and wear

(1) 扒犁, 國語曰法喇, 制如凌牀, 而不施鐵條, 屈木爲轅, 駕二馬, 行雪上, 疾於飛鳥, 或曰, 此元時蒲與路之狗車, 然今日不見有駕狗者, 惟聞吉林屬赫哲, 斐雅哈等處, 役犬如牛馬, 號使犬部, 所謂狗車當在其地. (黑龍江外記卷四)

top-knots. Their head-pieces are set with red straps and decorated with sea-shells. They make neck-laces of gold, silver, and tin rings. They cover their breasts with small pieces of armour, and wear garments of coloured cloth, and hang leather straps reaching down exactly to their feet. The garments are hung with gold and tin plates mingled with magnets. When they walk, a jangling occurs, which is called *ya-êrh-ma-chi* 鴉兒馬吉. They use strong bows and long arrows. They hunt, for a living, in the mountains. They are never engaged in ordinary industry. When it is warm, they live outdoors; when it is cold, they live indoors. Women decorate their head-pieces with hanging gems and knit brass bells in their garments. The dead are put in coffins and hung in the trees."⁽¹⁾

There is no doubt that this Chi-hei-mi 乞黑迷 is a mistranscription of Chi-li-mi 乞里迷, namely, another transcription of Chi-lich-mi 乞列迷 and also that this is a tribe mentioned in the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* as "one tribe named Nü-chi-yeh-jên 女直野人." The reason why the compilers of the *Liao-tung-chih* omitted this passage is perhaps because they wished to avoid the contradiction that one tribe of the Gillemi or Gilyaks was the Nü-chi-yeh-jên or Wild Manchus. However, the region is more than 3,000 *li* away from the headquarters of the Chi-lich-mi, namely, the Nu-êrh-kan. It was by no means the Chi-lich-mi, but on the contrary, very probably the Nü-chi-yeh-jên. When I think of the Nü-chi-yeh-jên of another kind discovered from the side of the Nu-êrh-kan region, I call to mind the natives in the Sikhota Alin mountains to the east of the present Vladivostok. It was a tribe always very well-known, like the Mo-i-chieh-mo-ho 莫曳皆靺鞨 of the T'ang dynasty and the Kiakla 恰克拉 of the Ch'ing dynasty. It is impossible that this tribe should have been left obscure during the most prosperous periods of the Yüan and Ming dynasties, when the development of the interior of Manchuria was most carefully planned. It is true that the Mo-i-chieh-mo-ho of the T'ang dynasty was

(1) 乞黑迷, 去奴兒干三千餘里。性剛而貪。文面椎髻。帽綴紅纓, 飾以海貝, 用金銀錫闕爲項飾, 胸掩細甲, 衣綵帛, 垂皮條, 長與足齊, 墜以金錫牌, 間以磁石, 行則瑣鏘有聲, 謂之鴉兒馬吉。勁弓長矢, 射山爲食, 不治產業, 暑則野居, 寒則室處。婦人飾帽垂珠珞, 衣綴銅鈴。死者柩懸於樹。

considered to have lived comparatively near the Liu-kuei 流鬼 (Sakhalin) or the Ku-shuo-mo-ho 窟說鞞鞞 (the estuary of the Amur), namely, the banks of the present Tumnin River, but the Nü-chi-yeh-jên in question lived at the distance of 3,000 *li* from the Nu-êrh-kan. Of course, this distance 3,000 *li* may not have been free from exaggeration, but it was no doubt a great distance from the place; I should rather locate it somewhere in the extreme south of the Sikhota Alin mountains to the east of Vladivostok. My reason for this is that the soil there is rather fertile, as I mentioned in my introduction, and corresponds to the land of the Kiakla of the Ch'ing dynasty, and was no doubt a district under the direct sway of the Yüan and Ming dynasties.⁽¹⁾ The tribe was at least the Orochis or Udehes, another tribe of the Tungus stock; but probably because of its greater proximity to the Manchus than the Gilyaks, the Yüan people regarded them, not as the Chi-lih-mi, but as the Nü-chi-yeh-jên.

If this is the case, what would strike the reader as unusual is the very unnatural order of describing the various tribes—jumping from the headquarters of the Nu-êrh-kan to the Nü-chi-yeh-jên 3,000 *li* away, coming back to the Pei-shan-yeh-jên, and then again to another Yeh-jên 野人. Mr. Yoshimi SHIMADA, therefore, disregarding the *Liao-tung-chih* and depending solely upon the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih*, in this case, has interpreted the passage “The Chi-li-mi live 3,000 *li* away from the Nu-êrh-kan 乞里迷去奴兒干三千餘里” to apply to the three following tribes, namely, “the Nü-chi-yeh-jên 女直野人”, “the Pei-shan-yeh-jên 北山野人” and “still another tribe 又一種” and, therefore, transferred the three tribes in question to the area on the Chukchee peninsula at the northeastern extremity of the Asiatic Continent.⁽²⁾ Thus the context would surely read much more naturally. In that case, however, a question would arise as to: How was the 3,000 *li* covered? By land or by sea? If by land, how is it that the tribes on the way are not described? If by

(1) Vide WADA—*Manchurian Administration at the Beginning of the Ming Dynasty*. Res. Rep. of Hist. and Geogr. of Manch. and Chosen, Vol. XV.

(2) Mr. Yoshimi SHIMADA—*Kindai Tôbu-Manshû Minzoku Kô* 近代東部滿洲民族考 (A Study of the Modern Tribes of Eastern Manchuria), Manshû-gakuhô, Vol. V, pp. 92-95.

sea, how is it that the region 3,000 *li* away is first described, after which the Ku-wu 苦兀 and the Chi-li-mi 乞里迷 in Sakhalin Island in the nearer sea are described? Would this not read just as unnaturally? In placing all these tribes at the north-eastern extremity of Asia, there would arise a good many difficulties. However, it would seem more convenient to discuss this matter a little later.

The *Liao-tung-chih* goes on to describe the Pei-shan-yeh-jên 北山野人 in question:

“The Pei-shan-yeh-jên are another tribe of the Chi-lieh-mi. They keep deer, and come and go riding on them. The sea produces furs of *hai-lu* 海驢 (sea-lions), *hai-pao* 海豹 (seals), *hai-chu* 海豬 (sea-hogs), *hai-niu* 海牛 (sea-cows), and *hai-kou* 海狗 (fur-seals). And *shu-chiao* 交角 (walrus ivories), and *fang-bsü* 魴鬚 (whale fins) are regarded as rarities. Formerly the tribe paid tribute to the Chinese court, but there is no communication now.”⁽¹⁾

Elsewhere in the same work (Bk. 9) under the title “Wai-i-kung-hsien” 外夷貢獻 (Tribute Paid by Foreign Tribes), the tribute from the Chi-lieh-mi 乞列迷 is enumerated as follows: *hai-ch'ing* hawks 海青, large hawks 大鷹, black hawks 皂鷗, white hares 白兔, black foxes 黑狐, martens 貂鼠, *ho-chiao* 呵膠, and black hares 黑兔; while the tribute from the Pei-shan-yeh-jên 北山野人 is seal-skins 海豹皮, sea-lion skins 海驢皮, sea-otter furs 海獺皮, walrus ivories 交角 (or tusks of sea elephants 卽海象牙), whale fins 魴鬚, and *hao-la* 好刺 (or deer of various kinds 卽各色鹿). There is a slight difference between the two groups, but this as a whole applies to the aforesaid differences between the products of the homeland of the Chi-lieh-mi and those of the Pei-shan-yeh-jên 北山野人; it also serves to prove that the two represent two entirely different regions. Among the products, the *hai-lu* 海驢 is identical with the *hai-lo* 海騾. A passage under Wu-ch'an 物產 (products) in the *Shêng-ching-t'ung-chih* 盛京通志 (Bk. 27) reads: “The *hai-lu* 海驢 resembles the *lu* 驢 (donkey). During the autumn months, they come up to

(1) 北山野人, 乞列迷之別種。養鹿, 乘以出入。水產海驢, 海豹, 海豬, 海牛, 海狗皮, 交角, 魴鬚, 以爲異物。昔入貢, 今不通焉。

the island where they give birth to their young and bring them up. When their skins are made into rain-garments, the rain cannot wet them. The *Pên-tsao* 本草 says 'Though put in the water, it does not get wet'. It is produced from an island in the Eastern Sea. It is very seldom found now."⁽¹⁾ This refers to the sea-lion. The *hai-pao* 海豹 is a seal. The *Shêng-ching-t'ung-chih* says: "The *hai-lai* 海獺 is immense in size; its head is like that of a horse. It is called *pin-lai* 獺獺. When found in a river, it is called *chiang* (river)-*lai* 江獺. The fur is white and has spots. It is also called *hai-pao-p'i* 海豹皮 (seal fur). The hunters deliver it to officials. It is good for decorating the tail-piece of the horse-equipment. Kai-p'ing 蓋平, Ning-hai 寧海, Hun-tung-chiang 混同江,—all these districts produce this."⁽²⁾ The *chiang-lai* 江獺 seems to be an otter 獺; so this must refer to the *pin-lai* 獺獺 only. The *Liu-pien-chi-liao* says, "The seal-skin is produced in the sea of the northeast. (During the *Kai-yüan* 開元 era of the T'ang dynasty, Silla-kuo presented this article with the Korean ponies.) It is 3 or 4 feet long and about 2 feet broad, with short hair of a greenish colour and black spots. The people of the Chinese capital by mistake called it the fur of the sea-dragon 海龍. Dyed black, it is made into head-pieces. The sea-dragon fur is of the same size as the seal-skin, with a little longer hair of a pure grey colour. This is what is also miscalled as the fur of the *hai-lai* 海獺 by the people at the Chinese capital."⁽³⁾ The *hai-chu* 海猪 or *hu-pin* 胡獺 is the sea-hog, perhaps the animal referred to in the *Shêng-ching-t'ung-chih* "The *hai-tun* 海豚 (sea-hog) in appearance resembles a hog; the nose is high on the head; it comes and goes with the wind and tide. Sailors can tell the direction of the wind by looking at it."⁽⁴⁾ The *hai-niu* 海牛 (sea-cow) is the *ju-kên*

(1) 海驪，形似驪，常於秋月，登島產乳，皮製雨具，雨不能潤，本草云，能入水不濡，出東海島中，今亦罕見。(盛京通志卷二七)

(2) 海獺形大，頭如馬者，名獺獺，出江中者，名江獺，皮白色花點，一名海豹皮，打牲人以之交官，可飾鞞轡，蓋平，寧海，混同江，皆有之。(盛京通志卷二七)

(3) 海豹皮出東北海中，(唐開元中，新羅國與果下馬同貢者也。)長三四尺，濶二尺許，短毛淡綠色有黑點，京師人誤指爲海龍皮，染黑作帽，海龍皮大與海豹等，毛稍長，純灰色，又京師人指爲海獺皮者也。(柳邊紀略卷三)

(4) 海豚，形如豚，鼻在腦上，隨風潮出入，舟人候以占風。(盛京通志卷二七)

儒艮 or the merman; and the hai-kou 海狗 (sea-dog) is the fur seal. The *Shêng-ching-t'ung-chih* says: "The hai-kou 海狗 (sea-dog), according to the *Pên-tsao* 本草, has an animal's body, an animal's head, but a fish-tail; the tail is divided in two; it has short legs; the fur has spots; its oil can clarify water. Its kidney is made into a medicine called wên-na-chi 膾膾臍 (fur-seal). It is produced in the Eastern Sea 東海 and Ninguta 寧古塔. The natives, removing the ice, catch the animal."⁽¹⁾ As to the *hai-buan* 海獺, the *T'ung-chih* 通志 says "The *hai-buan* 海獺, according to the *Pên-tsao* 本草, furnishes fur-coats. Its shape is unknown,"⁽²⁾ but this is really the *rakko* 獵虎 (sea-otter), and the hai-hsiang 海象 (sea-elephant) is the *hai-ma* 海馬 (sea-horse). As to the *hai-ma*, the *T'ung-chih* 通志 describes it as "having a horse head and lobster-body 馬頭蝦身." Nothing is known of the *ho-chiao* 呵膠; but as to the *shu-chiao* 笄角, the *Ta-ming-i-tung-chih* (Bk. 89) mentioning it as a product of Nü-chi 女直 says "Shu-chiao 殊角, namely, tusks of sea-elephants" 殊角即海象牙 that is, the walrus ivory; and the fang-hsü 魴鬚, as is well-known, is the whale-fin.⁽³⁾

Though some doubt is involved in the above interpretations, it is quite evident from these accounts that the articles enumerated represent valuable products of the Eastern Sea and that the Pei-shan-yeh-jên 北山野人 or the Savage Tribe of the Northern Mountains were, as the name suggests, the tribe of the northern mountains, and also at the same time a tribe which lived by the sea. I am of the opinion that

(1) 海狗, 本草云, 獸身, 獸頭, 魚尾, 尾連兩, 短足, 毛有斑文, 油能澄水, 腎入藥, 名膾膾臍, 出東海及寧古塔, 土人跳水取之。(同上)

(2) 海獺, 本草云, 皮可供衣裘, 其形莫考。(同上)

(3) The *Shêng-ching-t'ung-chih* 盛京通志 of the edition of the 1st year of *Chien-lung* 乾隆. Even the revised edition of the 44th year of *Chien-lung* has the same passage under this heading. Though the description is somewhat obscure, the marine products given in the *T'ung-chih* are nearly all recorded here, except the item which is "The *hai-mao* 海貓 (sea-cat) looks like a cat. It is also called *huang-mao* 黃貓 (yellow cat)." This account, probably following the example of the *Liao-tung-chih*, reported all the products of the Eastern Sea. In this connection, I must acknowledge the advice I received, concerning these sea products, from Dr. Hidemichi OKA 丘英通 through Mr. Tsuguo MIKAMI 三上次男. Vide LAUFER, B.—*Arabic and Chinese Trade in Walrus and Narwhal Ivory*, with addenda by P. PELLLOT, (T'oung Pao, XIV, pp. 315-370) and *Supplementary Notes on Walrus and Narwhal Ivory*. (T. P. XVII, pp. 348-402.)

they must have been a tribe which lived where the eastern end of the Zeya mountains goes into the sea, probably along the course of the Tugur River. The basin of the Tugur is a probable site of the Tu-han-ho wei (or Tugur River Garrison) 督罕河衛 established at the beginning of the Ming dynasty.⁽¹⁾ Besides, as the natives are reported to "come and go riding deer" 乘鹿出入, this must be a deer-driving-tribe of the north, an Orochon tribe of the Northern Tungus stock, which kept reindeer, by no means the Gilyaks along the Amur, who kept dogs. The Orochons lived in territory extending over the Stanovoi mountains, and also on the northern side of the Hsing-an mountains 興安嶺. The tribe in question is definitely referred to in the *Huang-ch'ing-chih-kung-t'u* 皇清職貢圖 (Bk. 3) compiled by the order of the Emperor Chien-lung 乾隆.

"The whole area comprising the sea and islands to the northeast of Ninguta is what the *T'ang-shu* refers to by saying 'To the north of the small sea, surrounded by the sea on three sides. The people live scattered on the isles; they are favoured with a plenty of fish and salt.' The people include several tribes. The Ê-lun-cho 鄂倫綽 (or the Orochons) are one of them. They raise cattle along the River To-lo 多羅河 near the sea and also by Mount Chiang-chin 強駝山. Both men and women wear long hair and go bare-footed. They keep chiao-lu 角鹿 (namely, reindeer) and catch fish for a living. For shelter, they build a tent with fish-skins. They are by nature timid. Every year they present sables to the Chinese court."⁽²⁾

The River To-lo is probably the Tugur, and Mount Chiang-chin 強駝山 the eastern end of the Zeya mountain range, namely Chinggiri range. The presence of a reindeer-driving Tungus tribe in this part is to be readily noted in SCHRENCK'S map.

Now the *Liao-tung-chih* mentioning simply Yeh-jên 野人 (Savage Tribe) which the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* gives as "still another tribe 又一種", says:

(1) Vide WADA—*Manchurian Administration at the Beginning of the Ming Dynasty*, XV, p. 100.

(2) 寧古塔之東北,海島一帶,唐書所云,少海之北,三面阻海,人依嶼散居,有魚鹽之利者。人有數種,鄂倫綽其一也。在近海之多羅河,強駝山游牧。男女皆披髮跣足,以養角鹿(即馴鹿),捕魚爲生,所居以魚皮爲帳,性懦弱。歲進貂皮。

“The yeh-jên 野人, to the south of the North Sea and to the west of the Great River, dwell in low earthen huts, with no gate on any side. The openings are covered with tree-bark. In their daily life they make use of the ladder set on the east of the hut as they go in and out. Only the dead are sent up and down by the ladder set up on the west of the hut. If a mistake is committed, the offender is severely punished. For lying down, they use grass exactly like dogs or hogs. They adjoin the Chi-lieh-mi 乞列迷.”⁽¹⁾

As this definitely refers to “the south of the North Sea 北海之南 and to the west of the Great River 大江之西” and “adjoining the Chi-lieh-mi 與乞列迷爲隣,” they were a tribe situated to the south of the Okhotsk Sea and to the west of the Amur, and adjoining the Chi-lieh-mi, namely, a tribe which occupied the banks of the present Amgun River. The Amgun confronts the Tung-chêng-yüan-shuai-fu 東征元帥府 of the Yüan dynasty and the Nu-êrh-kan-tu-ssü 奴兒干都司 of the Ming dynasty, and was well-known during the Ming dynasty as the Hên-kun-ho 恨古河 or Hên-kun-ho 恨骨河, and during the Ch'ing dynasty as the Hêng-kun-ho 亨滾河 or Hêng-kun-ho 恒滾河.⁽²⁾ These are all transliterations of the ancient name of the Amgun River. And the Russian name ‘Amgun’ may perhaps be a corruption of this native name “Hên-kun.” The people inhabiting the banks of the Amgun at present are mostly Negidals; but the *Huang-ch'ing-chib-kung-t'u* 皇清職貢圖 (Bk. 3).

“The Ch'i-lêng 奇楞 live more than 2,000 *li* to the northeast of Ninguta and where the Hêng-kun 亨滾 River runs. They are by nature stalwart and fierce. Catching fish and hunting animals, they make a livelihood. The garments for both men and women are made of deer-skins and fish-skins. They have no writing. Their native language is called Ch'i-lêng language. Every year they present sables

(1) 野人, 北海之南, 大江之西, 住平土屋, 四面無門, 穴竅用木革覆之, 平居由屋東梯上下, 死者由西梯上下, 偶失行則重罰, 臥藉以草, 如狗彘然, 與乞列迷爲隣。

(2) WADA—*Manchurian Administration at the Beginning of the Ming Dynasty*, op. cit., XV, pp. 120-1, 267 Note 48.

to the court."⁽¹⁾

This proves that in those days the Kilêng (Ch'i-lêng 奇楞) or Samagers lived in the basin of the Hêng-kun River. According to a later study by SCHRENCK and others, the Samagers are reported to have mostly inhabited the basin of the Gorin 格林 River, but they in those days seem to have inhabited the basin of the Amgun River. According to SCHRENCK's report, the Samagers and the Kiles were two different tribes, the former occupying the basin of the Gorin River, while the latter occupying that of the Kur, the neighbour on the west. However, RAVENSTEIN is of the opinion that they are only two names of one and the same tribe. As will be stated later, the Kile or the Kileng seems to have been a common name for the newly-arrived Tungus tribe; therefore, Samagers and Kiles refer to one and the same tribe, the term Kilêng was often used for the Negidals their northern neighbour, inhabiting the basin of the Amgun River and so it is possible that Ch'i-lêng 奇楞 in the *Huang-ch'ing-chib-kung-t'u* refers in this sense to the Kilêng or Negidals.

Should the above investigation prove acceptable, the real Chi-lieh-mi among the four tribes of the Chi-lieh-mi were only those who inhabited the headquarters of the Nu-êrh-kan area or the mouth of the Amur. The rest including the Nü-chi-yeh-jên 女直野人, the Pei-shan-yeh-jên 北山野人, and "still another Yeh-jên 野人" were all tribes of the Tungus stock; they were by no means of the Chi-lieh-mi 乞列迷 (Gillemi) or Gilyaks. I am sure that the word Gillemi was not applied strictly to the Gilyaks only, but generally to all tribes in the neighbourhood with more or less similar customs. According to a study of Mr. SHIROKOGOROFF, the Birarcen tribe, the Goldi's neighbour on the west is reported to call even the Goldis Gilami.⁽²⁾ When viewed in this light, the names Chi-lê-i castle 乞勒伊城 and Chi-lieh-mi post-station 乞列迷站 referred to in the Ming dynasty as Hai-hsi-tung-shui-liu-chêng-chan 海西東水陸城站 (the Land-and-water Castle Post-stations

(1) 奇楞在寧古塔東北二千餘里, 亨滾河等處, 性強悍, 以捕魚打牲爲業, 男女衣服, 皆鹿皮魚皮爲之, 無書契, 其土語謂之奇楞話, 歲進貂皮。

(2) SHIROKOGOROFF, S. M.—*Social Organization of the Northern Tungus*, p. 81.

on the Eastern Side of Hai-hsi), which might be located near Chin-tê-li 秦得力 to the west of the present Fu-yüan-hsien 撫遠縣, might be left-over names of the Chieh-mi 乞列迷 in a broad sense.⁽¹⁾ As to the term Chi-lê-mi 濟勒彌 of the Ch'ing period, namely, Chi-lieh-mi 乞列迷 of the former periods generally applied to all the tribes near the Gilyaks, I shall treat of this later.

Finally I may say a word again regarding Mr. SHIMADA's view. As already stated, Mr. SHIMADA emphasizing the passage "3,000 *li* away from the Nu-êrh-kan 去奴兒干三千里" and transferring the Nü-chi-yeh-jên 女直野人, the Pei-shan-yeh-jên 北山野人, and the others to the remotest northeastern peninsula of the Asiatic Continent, assigned the former to the Chukchee, and the latter to the Northern Tungus of the Stanovoi mountains; besides, on the ground that in the light of a recent ethnographical study, the Tungus never were cave-dwellers; so the cave-dwellers must have been a Pale-Asiatic race, namely if not the Gilyaks of Sakhalin Island, the Chukchee or the Koryaks, the dog-driving tribe of the coast of the Bering Sea, Mr. SHIMADA assigned the "still another yeh-jên 野人" in question to the Koryaks.⁽²⁾ However, both the *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書 and the *San-kuo-chih* 三國志 under the *I-lou-chuan* 挹婁傳 contain such a passage as "The climate is extremely cold; the people dig a cave and live in it. The deeper the cave, the more important the family. Sometimes a great family has nine ladders on end."⁽³⁾ *Wu-chi-chuan* 勿吉傳 in the *Wei-shu* 魏書 and the *Pei-shih* 北史 also contain such a passage as "The land is low and damp. The people build banks and live in caves. The houses look like so many grave mounds. Openings are made in the top and ladders are used for going in and out."⁽⁴⁾ Later works, the *Sui-shu* 隋書 and the *T'ang-shu* 唐書 both new and old, contain, under *Hei-shui-mo-ho-chuan* 黑水靺鞨傳, such a passage as "It is a custom there to braid their hair. They are by nature stalwart and fierce, feeling no sorrow or grief. Youth is respected, while age is despised. They

(1) WADA—*Kai-shei-no-higashi-sui-riku-jo-tan ni tsuite*, op. cit., pp. 307-8.

(2) Yoshimi SHIMADA—Op. cit.

(3) 土氣極寒，常爲穴居，以深爲貴，大家至接九梯。（後漢書卷一一五挹婁傳）

(4) 其地下濕，築城穴居，屋形似塚，開口於上，以梯出入。（魏書卷百勿吉傳。）

build no houses. Either on a mountain or by a river, they dig holes over which they pass trees and pile up dirt as covering. They look like the Chinese grave mounds. The people gather and live together. In summer, they go about after water and grass. In winter they come back and live in the caves. . . .”⁽¹⁾ These may be accounts borrowed from one another, but it is hardly probable that the description was entirely groundless. If so, it would follow that these Tungus tribes also lived in caves; and for that matter, a certain Orochi tribe in the Sikhota Alin mountains lives in caves even to this day. Generally speaking, customs evolve and change with the times; so a single custom alone could not be depended upon in determining the stock to which a certain tribe belongs. That some Samagers along the Amgun river dwelt in low earthen caves in those days would read quite reasonable, especially when it is said that this tribe lived to “the south of the Pei-hai (North Sea) 北海之南 and to the west of the Great River. (Amur) 大江之西” and “adjoining the Chi-lieh-mi 與乞列迷爲隣.” To ignore such obvious geographical descriptions and to assign the remotest Koryaks to this would surely be unacceptable. The idea of assigning the remotest northeastern Asia to this, like that of assigning the Kamchatka peninsula to the Liu-kuei 流鬼 of the T’ang dynasty, would lead to a contradiction that the extremely distant region only was known, when the intermediate ground remained unknown. Besides, should Mr. SHIMADA’s view be acceptable, how is it that when the Chukchee (女直野人) and the Koryaks (野人) only were well-known, nothing was known of the Kamchadals, the most conspicuous neighbour on the south? This is the reason why I would not readily accept Mr. SHIMADA’s view.⁽²⁾ Moreover, a scanty knowledge of this remote region on the extremity of the continent sounds only too natural, even when viewed in the light of the later knowledge of the Ch’ing dynasty.

(1) 俗皆編髮, 性凶悍無憂戚, 黃壯而賤老, 無屋宇, 並依山水, 掘地爲穴, 架木於上, 以土覆之, 狀如中國之塚墓, 相聚而居, 夏則出隨水草, 冬則入處穴中, 云々。(舊唐書卷一九九黑水靺鞨傳。)

(2) Various theories might be offered for each of these customs. As I believe, however, that customs with the change of the times shift from one tribe to another, I do not allow much space for this subject.

(e) The Kuji and the Gillemi.

Next come the Ku-wu 苦兀 living to the east of the Nu-êrh-kan Sea. The *Liao-tung-chih* goes on to say:

“The Ku-wu live to the east of the Nu-êrh-kan Sea. The people are hairy. They wear bear-skins on their heads and coloured clothes on their bodies. They use wooden bows; the arrows are more than a foot in length. As the arrow-head is smeared with poison, every animal hit dies. Their tools are strong and sharp. When a parent dies, they take out the entrails and dry the body in the sun. As they come and go, they carry the body. When they have anything to eat or drink they always first serve it to the body. In their house, they never sit beside it. When about three years pass, the body is thrown away.”⁽¹⁾

It goes without saying that the tribe living to the east of the Nu-êrh-kan Sea and is hairy refers to the Ainos of Sakhalin Island. The Ku-wu 苦兀 were the Liu-kuei 流鬼 of the T'ang dynasty, called Ku-wei 骨嵬 in the Yüan dynasty, Ku-i 苦夷 in the inscription of the Yung-ning-ssü 永寧寺 temple of the Ming dynasty, also called K'u-yeh 庫野, K'u-yeh 庫頁, or K'u-yeh 庫葉, in the Ch'ing dynasty. This is a transliteration of *Ku-ji*, the name which the Gilyaks and Goldis, their western neighbours, gave to the Ainos of Sakhalin Island. Their strange custom of worshipping a bear and drying the dead bodies of their parents was a fact well-known to the world. According to the *Yüan-shih* 元史 and the *Yüan-wên-lei* 元文類, the Ku-wei of Sakhalin Island is reported to have been attacked frequently during the reigns of the Emperors Shih-tsu 世祖, Chêng-tsung 成宗, and Wu-tsung 武宗 of the Yüan dynasty. A passage under the day *Hsin-ssü* 辛巳, November, the 1st year of *Shih-yüan* 至元 (1264 A.D.) in the Official Annals of the Emperor Shih-tsu 世祖 reads: “We attacked the Ku-wei 骨嵬. Some time ago the Chi-li-mi 吉里迷 surrendered to us. They say that the two tribes named Ku-wei and

(1) 苦兀,在奴兒干海東,身多毛,頭帶熊皮,身衣花布。持木弓,矢尺餘,塗毒於鏃,中必死,器械堅利。父母死,剝去腸胃,屍體曝乾,出入負之,飲食必祭,居處不敢對,約至三年,然後棄之。

I-li-yü to the east of their land invade their borders every year. Therefore, we sent an army to conquer them.”⁽¹⁾ This I-li-yü 亦里于 Dr. SHIRATORI has interpreted to be the *Irou* (since this word very probably mean deer in the Tungus language), namely, the forefathers of the present Orokkos in Sakhalin Island. (Orocco also means deer.) It has been found only recently that tribes other than the Ainos and Gilyaks inhabited Sakhalin Island; therefore, there is no account of them, because the *Kai-yüan-hsin-chih* 開原新志 and the *Liao-tung-chih* are both works of the Yüan and Ming dynasties.

Should the Ku-wu be the Ainos who lived in the southern half of Sakhalin Island, it would necessarily follow that the Chi-li-mi referred to at the end must be the Gilyaks who still inhabit the northern half of the island. The *Liao-tung-chih* says:

“The Chi-li-mi 吉里迷 adjoin the Ku-wu 苦兀. The land has more women than men. When girls are born, they are betrothed to men regardless of their age, first receiving a present of dogs. When the girls reach their tenth year, they are married. Some men have as many as ten wives. A Chinese if he becomes intimate with the people, is presented with a beautiful wife; and if he comes home to China, the wife is returned to the husband. When a woman is about to give birth to a child, she is carried three or four *li* away to lie in the grass. One month after her delivery of the child, she returns.”⁽²⁾

The existence of many beautiful women among the natives of Sakhalin is reported in the *Kita-yezo-dzu-setsu* 北蝦夷圖說 (Illustrated Book of Northern Yezo) (Bk. 4) by MAMIYA Rinsô 間宮倫宗, a Japanese explorer in the last days of the Tokugawa 德川 Shogunate. The *Chu-yü-chou-tzu-lu* 殊域周咨錄 (Bk. 24) by YEN Tsung-chien 嚴從簡 of the Ming dynasty gives an account relating to this: “In the 1st year of *Yung-lo* 永樂 (1403 A. D.) of our dynasty, the court sending Hsing

(1) 征骨崑,先是,吉里迷內附,言其國東有骨崑,亦里于兩部,歲來侵疆,故往征之。(元史卷五世祖本紀)

(2) 吉里迷隣苦兀。地男少女多,女始生,男不問老少,先以狗爲定,年及十歲即娶,多至十婦者有之,中國人至相交,則饋之艷妻,去則歸之。婦女將產,令出三五里草次,俟產一月方回。

Shu 邢樞, a messenger, together with Chang Pin 張斌, a magistrate, ordered them to proceed and persuade the Nu-êrh-kan. They went to several tribes of the Chi-lieh-mi 吉烈迷 and invited and pacified them."⁽¹⁾ A note on this says: "The Chi-lieh-mi offered a woman to Shu 樞, but he refused to accept her"⁽²⁾; and *Shih-fan-pien* 使範篇 in the *Shih-chih-wên-hsien-t'ung-pien* 使職文獻通編 (Bk. 37) by the same author records practically the same affair. These show that this making a present of a beautiful wife was a common practice in the land.⁽³⁾

IV Works of the Ch'ing Dynasty

(a) The Lieu-pien-chi-liao and the Huang-ch'ing-chih-kung-t'u

The Ch'ing dynasty rising in Manchuria and conquering the tribes in the neighbourhood, built up an empire; even at the time of the first Emperor T'ai-tsu 太祖

(1) 本朝永樂元年,遣行人邢樞,偕知縣張斌,往諭奴兒干,至吉烈迷諸部落招撫之。(殊域周咨錄卷二四女直.)

(2) 吉烈迷進女色於樞,樞拒之不受。(同上)

(3) Under Wu-chü 沃沮 in *Tung-i-chuan* 東夷傳 of the *San-kuo-chih* 三國志, a story is told of Wang Chi 王頡 the Wei commander who pursued the king of the Kao-chü-li 高句麗 Kingdom and conquered both North and South Wu-chü 沃沮; and as he came to the eastern border of North Wu-chü 北沃沮, he gathered aged people there and asked "Is there no more habitation beyond the Eastern Sea?" The aged people answered "Our countrymen sometime ago went out to sea fishing. A wind rising, they were carried away several dozen days until they reached an island in the east. People lived there. Their language was not understood. It was a custom with the people there to sink maids into the sea in July every year." They also said "There is a land in the sea of all women but of no man. . . ." 國人嘗乘船捕魚,遭風見吹數十日,東得一島,上有人,言語不相曉,其俗常以七月取童女沈海. 又言有一國,亦在海中,純女無男,云々(三國志卷三十東夷傳). It is guessed that as it is inferred that Wang Chi went as far as the neighbourhood of the north of the Tuman River, the island the man reached after drifting several dozen days on the sea was Sakhalin Island and the land of all women but of no man may refer to the forefather of the Chi-li-mi 吉里迷 of the *Liao-tung-chih*. From these stories there were developed the romances such as the *Wên-shên-kuo* 文身國 (Country of the Tattooed People) reported to lie 7,000 *li* northeast of *Wo-kuo* 倭國 (Japan) and *Nü-kuo* 女國 (Country of Women) recorded in the *Liang-shu* 梁書 and the *Nan-shih* 南史. As to the *Nü-kuo* 女國 (Country of Women) *Tung-i-chuan* 東夷傳 in the *Liang-shu* 梁書 (Bk 54) says "The Country of Women lies over 1,000 *li* east of *Fu-sang* 扶桑. Their faces are beautiful with a very white complexion. Their bodies are covered with hair. Their hair is so long as to drag on the ground. . . . 扶桑東千餘里,有女國,容貌端正,色甚潔白,身體有毛,髮長委地. . . ." It somehow reads like a description of the Chi-li-mi 吉里迷. If so, it may be seen that Sakhalin Island had been known from very ancient times. I must state here that these stories have been called to my attention by Mr. Kôdô TAsAKA 田坂興道 to whom my acknowledgment is due.

it had already conquered the southeast, comprising the area extending from the basin of the Hurkha 呼爾哈 River, or the Mu-tan-chiang 牡丹江 to that of the Suifun 綏芬 River; and at the time of the Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗, it opened up the further northeast, and conquered the lower courses of the Sungari and the area extending to the Amur. After this, many tribes one after another surrendered. Thus the knowledge concerning this area remarkably increased. Therefore, the *Liu-pien-chi-liao* 柳邊紀略 (Bk. 3) by YANG Pin 楊賓 at the middle of the *Kang-hsi* 康熙 period (circa 1689 A.D.) referring to this matter, says "At the end of the Ming dynasty the tribes on the northeastern frontier annexed by the Great Ch'ing dynasty number 36"⁽¹⁾ and enumeartes their names, and also says "Of all the states on the northeastern frontier, twenty-six surrendered completely to the court,"⁽²⁾ and enumerates their names. The details of the conquest will be omitted here. But the tribes described after this which lived along the Amur and paid tribute need an explanation.

"Of all the tribes on the northeastern frontier, eight pay tribute to the Ninguta 寧古塔 Office at present. Every year between April and June they all pay tribute one after another. Travelling more than 400 *li* to the northeast away from Ninguta, you will reach those living on the both banks of the Hurkha 虎爾哈 and the Sungari, who are called Nu-yeh-lê 拏耶勒, Ko-i-k'o-lê 革依克勒, and Ku-shih-ko-li 枯什喀里. All these three *bala* 喀喇 (*Hala* in the Mauchu language is family in Chinese) have been subjugated for a long time. The family-heads are all married to Manchu princesses. Some brave youths gradually move their houses to the interior of the Manchu dominion; they are admitted into the army and community. Some of them become bodyguards. They used to wear fish-skins, but now they wear the garments and head-pieces of the Great Ch'ing style. These are the so-called Wu-chi-ta-tzū 窩稽韃子. They are also called Iche-Manchu 異齊滿洲. *Iche* in the Manchu language is new in Chinese. The land produces sables.

(1) 明末,東北邊部落爲大清所併者三十有六。

(2) 東北邊部落舉國內附者二十有六。

“Travelling east more than 1,000 *li* from Ninguta, you will reach those living on both banks of the Ussuri River, who are called Mu-lien 穆連. Their customs resemble those of the Wu-chi 窩稽. The land produces sables.

“Travelling further eastward more than 200 *li*, you will reach those living at the source of the Iman 伊瞞 River, who are called Ch'i-ya-k'o-la 歎牙喀喇. They tattoo their faces. The land produces sables. The five cereals are unknown to them. In summer they eat fish; in winter they eat the meat of the animals whose skins they use for their garments.

“Travelling northeast 1,500 *li* from Ninguta, you will reach those living on the both banks of the Sungari and the Amur, who are called Ti-fa-hei-chin 剃髮黑金. There are about six *bala* 喀喇. Their customs resemble those of the Wu-chi. The land produces sables. All the above tribes pay tribute every year.

“Travelling further northeast 400 or 500 *li*, you will reach those living on both banks of the three rivers, the Ussuri, the Sungari, and the Amur flowing together, who are called Pu-ti-fa-hei-chin 不剃髮黑金. There are more than ten *bala* 喀喇. They wear long hair, and have gold rings thrust through the ends of their noses. They wear fish and animal skins. When they go on land (or on the ice) they ride a boat pulled by dogs. The driver stands on the boat holding a wooden pole exactly as a sailor does on a boat on the water. This is the so-called Shih-chuan-kuo 使犬國 (Dog-driving-country). Their language is different from that of the Wu-chi. They have neither letters, brushes, nor ink. They mark things on a strap of skin. Straps of various sizes are used in accordance with various requirements. The land produces sables. Travelling further northeast 700 or 800 *li*, you will reach the Fei-ya-k'o 飛牙喀. The customs and products are like those of the Pu-ti-fa-hei-chin 不剃髮黑金. They display red hips, wearing no trousers. The front of their bodies is covered with skins. Travelling northeast 3,000 *li* from Ninguta, you will reach the Ch'i-lê-êrh 歎勒爾. The land adjoins the great Eastern Sea. The customs and products are similar to those of the Ch'i-ya-k'o-la 歎牙喀喇.

All the above tribes pay tribute once every three years."⁽¹⁾

The above is the most intelligible account of the kind; therefore, the later account of the *Man-chou-yüan-liu-k'ao* 滿洲源流考 (Bk. 8) officially compiled during the *Chien-lung* 乾隆 period is nothing but a selection and reprint of this passage. From this it may readily be seen that the description is made with Ninguta as the centre, because this locality was the very headquarters of the management of Manchurian frontiers during the earlier years of the Ch'ing dynasty; and as the three tribes the Nu-yeh-lê 拏耶勒, Ko-i-k'o-lê 革依克勒, and Ku-shih-k'o-li 枯什喀里 inhabiting both the banks of the Hurkha and the Sungari constitute the origin of the modern geographical term San-hsing 三姓 (Three Tribes), and the tribes spread around this locality, it is evident that they are the so-called Shêng-nü-chi 生女直 (Wild Jurchen) during the Yüan and Ming dynasties. The names Wu-chi-ta-tzū 窩稽韃子 or Wu-chê-yeh-jên 兀者野人 surely hark back to the ancient name.

Without referring further to the Mu-lien 穆連 of the basin of the Ussuri river and the Ch'i-ya-k'o-la 欺牙喀喇 of the source of the Iman river, we may note that the Ti-fa-hei-chin 剃髮黑金 inhabiting the both banks of the two rivers Sungari and Amur, 1,500 li to the northeast of Ninguta corresponds to the K'o-mu 可木 and the natives below them; and the Pu-ti-fa-hei-chin 不剃髮黑金 inhabiting the banks of the rivers Ussuri and Amur where they meet must surely be the aforesaid natives below the A-su-chiang 阿速江 and above the San-lu-wên 散魯溫 of the Yüan and Ming periods.

The difference between the Ti-fa 剃髮 or Shaved and the Pu-ti-fa 不剃髮

(1) 東北邊部落，現在貢寧古塔者八，每年自四月至六月，俱以次入貢。自寧古塔東北行四百餘里，住虎爾哈河，松花江兩岸者，曰拏耶勒，曰革依克勒，曰枯什喀里，此三喀喇(喀喇漢言姓也)役屬久，其頭目皆尚公主，少年精悍者，漸移家內地，編甲入戶，或有為侍衛者，初服魚皮，今則服大清衣冠，所謂窩稽韃子是也。又名異齊滿洲，異齊者漢言新也，其地產貂。自寧古塔東行千餘里，住烏蘇里江兩岸者，曰穆連，俗類窩稽，產貂。又東二百餘里，住伊闐河源者，曰欺牙喀喇，其人黧面，其地產貂，無五穀，夏食魚，冬食獸，以其皮為衣，自寧古塔東北行千五百里，住松花，黑龍江兩岸者，曰剃髮黑金，喀喇凡六，俗類窩稽，產貂。以上皆每年入貢。又東北行四五百里，住烏蘇里，松花，黑龍三江匯流左右者，曰不剃髮黑金，喀喇十數，披髮，鼻端貫金環，衣魚獸皮，陸行乘舟，或行水上，駕以狗，御者持木篙立舟上，若水行欄頭者然，所謂使犬國也，其語與窩稽異，無文字筆墨，以皮條記事，小大隨之，其地產貂。又東北行七八百里，曰飛牙喀，俗產與不剃髮黑金同，而赤髻無袴，以皮蔽其前。自寧古塔東北行三千里，曰欺勒爾，濱大東海，俗產與欺牙喀喇同，以上各種皆三年一貢。

or Unshaved lies in the fact that the former were those so Manchurianized that they shaved their hair and wore queues, and the latter were those not yet conformed to the custom, but wore long hair as before. As to the custom of wearing queues among the northern tribes of Asia, Dr. SHIRATORI's elaborate study leaves nothing for me to add here.⁽¹⁾ Only the Hei-shui-mo-ho 黑水靺鞨 and others of the T'ang dynasty had their hair braided—wore queues, as has been stated. Now when this is compared with the investigation by SCHRENCK and other westerners, it is clear that the Shêng-nü-chi 生女直 in the neighbourhood of San-hsing 三姓 were the Goldis who were already Manchurianized, and the Ti-fa-hei-chin or Shaved Hejen below the K'ò-mu were only the Goldis who were not yet Manchurianized, and the Pu-ti-fa-hei-chin or Unshaved Hejen, it would seem, were really the Mangun, namely, the Olchas, their neighbour on the east. This is because the name Goldi was one given by westerners who had heard it from their neighbour on the north; the Chinese adopted the name Hejen from what the Goldis called themselves and transcribed it by Hei-chin 黑金, Hei-chin 黑斤, Hei-chin 黑津, Ho-chè 赫哲, Ho-chên 和眞, etc. The Japanese who had just heard of these tribes called the Goldis *Korutekke* コルテツケ and called the Olchas *Santan* サンタン (山丹), and called the Gilyaks *Sumerenkuru* スメレンクル—all these were the names introduced by the Ainos in the southern half of Sakhalin.

Now, the *Huang-ch'ing-chib-kung-t'u* 皇清職貢圖, a unique work illustrating the various tribes which then communicated with the Chinese court, compiled by the order of the Emperor Chien-lung 乾隆 of the Ch'ing dynasty, referring to the tribes on the northeastern frontier says (Bk. 3) as follows:

“The Ch'i-hsing 七姓 (Seven Tribes) live in Wu-cha-la 烏扎拉, Hung-k'ò 洪科, etc., more than 200 *li* to the west of San-hsing 三姓 (Three Tribes). They are by nature mostly gentle and honest. The land produces buckwheat. Though they know farming, they live solely by fishing and hunting. When the ice is hard

(1) Dr. SHIRATORI—*The Queue among the Peoples of North Asia*. Mem. Toyo Bunko, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 1-69.

in winter months, they put wooden boards on their feet, and sliding on the ice, they shoot animals. The women are also clever enough to set a trap-arrow and catch martens. Their head-pieces and garments are mostly made of sables. The native language is called Wu-ti-lê 烏迪勒 (namely U-cha-la) language. Every year they present sables to the court.⁽¹⁾

“The home of the Ho-chê 赫哲 adjoins Wu-cha-la 烏扎拉 and Hung-k'ò 洪科 the district of the Ch'i-hsing 七姓 (Seven Tribes). They are by nature stalwart and fierce, and believe in demons and ghosts. The men wear head-pieces made of birch-bark. In winter they put on marten-fur head-pieces and fox-fur coats. The women wear head-pieces like helmets. Their garments are mostly of fish-skins, and hemmed with coloured cloths, and have brass-bells sewed at the edges. They are like armour and helmets. The people live by fishing and hunting. In summer they voyage in large ships. If the ice is hard in winter months, they ride on *ping-ch'uang* (ice-beds)⁽²⁾ which are pulled by dogs. Their native language is called Ho-chê 赫哲 language. Every year they present sables to the court.”⁽³⁾

Though it is written that the home of the Ch'i-hsing 七姓 (Seven Tribes) lay in Wu-cha-la 烏扎拉 and Hung-k'ò 洪科 more than 200 *li* to the west of San-hsing 三姓 (Three Tribes); a locality more than 200 *li* to the west of San-hsing would have been within the homeland of the Ch'ing dynasty; there could not have been a tribute-paying tribe. Besides, judged from the manner in which they

(1) 七姓在三姓之西二百餘里之烏扎拉, 洪科等處, 性多淳樸, 地產菽麥, 雖知耕種, 而專以漁獵爲生。遇冬月水堅, 則足踏木板, 溜冰而射。其婦女亦善伏弩捕貂。衣帽多以貂爲之。土語謂之烏迪勒話。歲進貂皮。

(2) Ping-ch'uang 冰床 (ice-bed) is the previously quoted ling-ch'uang 凌床 (ice-bed) of the *Hei-lung-chiang-wai-chi* 黑龍江外紀. Referring to the *T'zū-yüan* 辭源, we find, quoted from the *Chin-mên-tsa-chi* 津門雜記, the following passage: “The ping-ch'uang 冰床 is commonly called ping-pai-tzū 冰排子. It is shaped like a bed, and can hold three or four people. It is more than a half-foot high. A grass mat is spread on it, and the bottom is inlaid with iron rods. By means of its slippery nature, they slide and travel. The men are seated on it; as one of them plies it with a pole, it runs very fast. When it is cold and frozen, in the north, this is much used.” 冰床俗名冰排子, 形如牀, 可容三四人, 高半尺餘, 上鋪草蓆, 底嵌鐵條, 取其滑而利行, 人坐其上, 一人支篙撐之, 馳甚駛, 北方寒凍時盛行。

(3) 赫哲所居與七姓地方之烏扎拉, 洪科相接。性強悍, 信鬼怪。男以犴皮爲帽, 冬則貂帽狐裘。婦女帽如兜鍪, 衣服多用魚皮, 而緣以色布, 邊綴銅鈴, 亦與鎧甲相似。以捕魚射獵爲生。夏航大舟, 冬月水堅, 則乘冰床, 用大梃之。其土語謂之赫哲話。歲進貂皮。

adjoined the Ho-chê 赫哲, it is evident that the headquarters of the Ch'i-hsing lay to the east of San-hsing. Little is known about the localities Wu-cha-la and Hung-k'o; but this distance of 200 *li* from San-hsing being too small, these localities, as Mr. Yoshimi SHIMADA supposes⁽¹⁾, might correspond to Uchala along a river running out of Lake Bolen Odshal, and Khungari along the mouth of the Khungari river to the east of it. At any rate, I should regard the Ch'i-hsing 七姓 and the Ho-chê 赫哲 as the Hei-chin 黑斤 of both kinds: the Ti-fa 剃髮 (Shaved) and the Pu-ti-fa 不剃髮 (Unshaved). And the name Ch'i-hsing is probably related to the Ch'i-hsing-yeh-jên 七姓野人 of the Ming dynasty, who murdered Tung Môngke Temür 童猛哥帖木兒, Tu-tu 都督 of the Chien-chou-wei 建州衛, the remote ancestor of the Ch'ing dynasty.

The next tribe Fei-ya-k'o 飛牙喀 was the Chi-lieh-mi 乞列迷 of the Yüan and Ming periods and the present Gilyaks. The Fei-ya-ka is also written Fei-ya-ka 非牙哈, Fei-ya-k'o 費雅喀, or Fei-ya-k'o 斐雅喀, and Fiyatta in the Jesuit writings of the earlier part of the Ch'ing dynasty.⁽²⁾ Of the Fei-ya-k'o, the *Huang-ch'ing-chib-kung-t'u* (Bk. 3) records:

"The Fei-ya-k'o 費雅喀 are found at the extreme east of the Sungari, living scattered among the islands near the coast. They live by fishing and hunting. Both men and women wear dog-skins. In summer they use fish-skins for garments. They are by nature brave and warlike, and always carry swords as they come and go. Every year they present sables to the court."⁽³⁾

The Fei-ya-k'o were also called Chi-lê-mi 濟勒彌, namely, Chi-lieh-mi 乞列迷, but of this I shall have more to say later.

The last on the list, the Ch'i-lê-êrh 欺勒爾 or Kiler, must be the Ch'i-lêng 奇楞 or Kileng, which is, as has been pointed out, referred to in the *Chib-kung-t'u* as the

(1) Yoshimi SHIMADA—*Kindai Tôbu Manshû Minzoku Kô* 近代東部滿洲民族考 (A Study of the Modern Tribes of Eastern Manchuria), *Manshû-gakuhô*, Vol. V, pp. 79-80.

(2) Du HALDE, J. B.—*Description géographique, etc. de l'Empire de la Chine*. Tome IV, p. 37.

(3) 費雅喀在松花江極東, 沿海島散處, 以漁獵爲生, 男女俱衣犬皮, 夏日則用魚皮爲之, 性悍好鬪, 出入常持兵刃。歲進貂皮。

inhabitants of the Hêng-kun-ho 亨滾河 or the Amgun River, and which is located much to the west in the report by SCHRENCK; but as may be seen in the following section by the quotation made from the *Hsi-pi-li-tung-pien-chi-yao* 西伯利東偏紀要, the Kiler of the Ch'ing dynasty were scattered elsewhere also, and of course along the eastern coast. This is the reason why the text says "The Kiler live by the coast of the great Eastern Sea 欺勒爾濱大東海." I am of the opinion that as the name Kile or Kiler is probably a general term used in the Goldi and Olcha languages, for the newly-arrived Tungus stock⁽¹⁾, the tribe thus referred to was probably not one and the same tribe. The *Chi-lin-t'ung-chib* 吉林通志 (Bk. 12) which spells the tribe Ch'i-lê-êrh 奇勒爾 says as follows:

"We are of the opinion that the Ch'i-lê-êrh 奇勒爾 are also called Ch'i-lêng 奇楞. They live along the Hêng-kun 亨滾 River more than 2,000 *li* to the northeast of Ninguta. That is where the Ê-lun-ch'un 鄂倫春 (Oronchon) a deer-tribe live a nomadic life. They are the tribe referred to in the *Chib-kung-t'u* 職貢圖 as the Ê-lun-cho 鄂倫綽 (Oroncho). There are two tribes—the horse-tribe and the deer-tribe. The deer-tribe is beyond the horse-tribe. Though they are enrolled in the *tso-ling* 佐領 (troops) and despatched, there are not enough to make an independent detachment. And there is a deer-tribe not enrolled in the *tso-ling* as yet. There are also the Ch'i-lê-êrh 奇勒爾 and the Fei-ya-ka 費雅哈, together with the tribe on K'u-yeh 庫頁 (Sakhalin) Island in the sea, they are all beyond the Ê-lun-ch'un 鄂倫春 (Oronchon). These are what the *Hui-tien-t'u-shuo* 會典圖說 refers to as those beyond the sea to the northeast of San-hsing 三姓."⁽²⁾

Thus the Kiler were practically identical with the Oronchon, and comprised two tribes—the horse-tribe and the deer-tribe.

Then the Ch'i-ya-k'o-la 欺牙喀喇 next to the foregoing were of the same tribe

(1) Yoshimi SHIMADA—Op. cit. p. 78. GRUBE, W.—*Goldisch-Deutsches Wörterverzeichnis*, s. 27.

(2) 謹案, 奇勒爾亦曰奇楞, 在寧古塔東北二千餘里亨滾河等處, 即使鹿鄂倫春遊牧處所, 職貢圖所謂鄂倫綽者是也, 有使馬使鹿二部, 使鹿在使馬之外, 雖編佐領供調遣, 而丁不建額, 又有不編佐領之使鹿部, 亦曰奇勒爾, 曰費雅哈, 與海中之庫頁島, 皆更在鄂倫春之外, 會典圖說所謂三姓東北海以外地者是也。

as the Ch'i-ya-k'o-la 欺牙喀喇 living along the source of the Iman 伊滿 River, which has been omitted in a previous section, and were written Ch'i-ya-k'o-la 奇雅喀喇, Ch'ia-k'o-la 恰喀拉, and Ch'ia-k'o-êrh 恰喀爾. They were nothing but the Orochi or Udehe tribe in the Sikhota Alin mountains, previously assigned to the so-called Nü-chi-yeh-jên 女直野人 of the Yüan period. The Ch'ia-k'o-la 恰喀拉 are referred to in the *Huang-ch'ing-chih-kung-t'u* (Bk. 3) as follows:

“The Ch'ia-k'o-la 恰喀拉 live scattered along the eastern sea of Hun-ch'un 渾春 and also along the Fu-ch'in 富沁, the Yo-sê 岳色 and other rivers. Both men and women have rings thrust through the sides of their noses, and silver or brass dolls of about one inch are hung from the rings for decoration. The men make head-pieces with deer-skins. They wear cotton garments and go barefooted. The women wear long hair, and use no ornamental hair-pins; but have embroidered figures on the collars of their garments. For their huts and boats they use birch-bark. A fish-net is unknown to the populace. They live by catching fish with forks and by hunting animals. They are by nature lazy and never save anything. Their language is called Ch'ia-k'o-la language. Every year they send sables to the court.”⁽¹⁾

Hun-ch'un 渾春 is of course the present Hun-ch'un 琿春, and the Fu-ch'in 富沁 River probably the Fu-ch'i 富七, the upper course of the Ussuri. From this it may be considered that the so-called Ch'i-ya-k'o-la 欺牙喀喇 who lived along the source of the Iman River 伊滿河 were another tribe of their neighbour on the north; and this Ch'ia-k'o-la 恰喀拉 of the K'u-êrh-k'o 庫爾喀 region is mentioned in a sequence of the previous account in the *Liu-pien-chi-liao* as follows:

“A tribe on the eastern frontier paying tribute to Shêng-ching 盛京 (or Mukden) is called K'u-ya-la 庫牙喇. Their customs are like those of the Wu-chi 窩稽. The land produces furs of seal and otter. The land is located on the northern side of the Tuman 土門 confronting the Ching-yüan 慶遠 (correctly Ching-yüan 慶源) fu-

(1) 恰喀拉, 散處於渾春沿東海及富沁岳色等河, 男女俱於鼻傍穿環, 綴寸許銀銅人為飾, 男以鹿皮為冠, 布衣跣足, 婦女則披髮不笄, 而襟袵間多刺繡紋, 其屋廬舟船, 俱用樺皮, 俗不知網罟, 以叉魚射獵為生, 性游惰無蓄積, 土語謂之恰喀拉話. 歲進貂皮.

ch'êng of Chao-hsien (Korea) which stands on the southern bank of the river. It is 500 *li* from Ninguta. Once every year they pay tribute."⁽¹⁾

A note on this passage says "In the light of the *Hui-tien* 會典, the number of otters presented by the K'u-êrh-k'ò 庫爾喀 region is checked and sent to the Home Affairs Department and a feast is held at the Ceremony Department. The reward for the present is bestowed after written orders are sent to both Home Affairs and Industry Departments."⁽²⁾ K'u-êrh-k'ò 庫爾喀 is in the Hun-ch'un district along the north bank of the Tu-mên-chiang 土門江, that is, Tuman River 圖們江 of Chosen; and it is probable that this name of K'u-êrh-k'ò 庫爾喀 is also transcribed Ku-êrh-kan-wu-ti-ha 濶兒看兀狄哈 in Chosen, as Mr. Y. SHIMADA has pointed out.⁽³⁾ Ku-êrh-kan-wu-ti-ha 濶兒看兀狄哈 is also written Kol-eul-kan 骨乙看, and Kol-kan 骨看, and because of their living on the shores, sometimes are called Shui-wu-ti-ha 水兀狄哈 or Water Wu-ti-ha and were a large tribe on the southern sea-shores as well-known as the Höm-chin-wu-ti-ha 嫌進兀狄哈 or the Hei-chin 黑斤 (Hejen) of the North. They are referred to in the *Lung-fei-yü-t'ien-ko* 龍飛御天歌 (the note on Bk. 53) as follows: "The Ku-êrh-kan-wu-ti-ha 濶兒看兀狄哈 is the name of a tribe. They live on the water by catching fish," and are recorded to have inhabited Yen-ch'un 眼春 or the northern shore of Possiet Bay. Wu-ti-ha 兀狄哈 originally meant, like Wu-ti-kai 兀的改 of the *Chin-shih* 金史, Wu-chê-yeh-jên 兀者野人, but in Chosen it was generally used for any yeh-jên 野人. The *Man-chou-yüan-liu-k'ao* 滿洲源流考 (Bk. 8) explains the K'u-ya-la 庫雅喇 of the Yen-ch'u 延楚 or Yen-ch'un 眼春 region, and a note on it says "This is another name for K'u-êrh-k'ò 庫爾喀 located on the northern shore of the Tuman 圖們 and confronts Ching-yüan 慶源 of Chao-hsien (Chosen). It is 500 *li* from Ninguta." As this Yen-ch'u 延楚 or Yen-ch'un 眼春 probably was near the Yen-ch'u 顏楚 River to the west of the present Vladivostok, the location of K'u-ya-la is

(1) 東邊部落貢盛京者, 曰庫牙喇, 俗與窩稽同。產海豹, 江獺皮。其地在土門江北岸, 與南岸朝鮮慶遠(慶源)府城相對, 去寧古塔五百里。歲一貢。

(2) 按會典, 庫爾喀地方所進江獺, 驗數交送戶部, 筵宴禮部。備辦賞賜, 行文戶工二部支給。

(3) SHIMADA—Op. cit.,

so much the clearer. The *Chi-lin-t'ung-chih* (Bk. 12) also says⁽¹⁾

“The K'u-êrh-k'ò 庫爾喀 Tribe: In the humble opinion of the compilers, the *Man-chou-yüan-liu-k'ao* 滿洲源流考 says that ‘the K'u-êrh-k'ò 庫爾喀 lived on the northern side of the Tu-mên-chiang 圖們江 confronting Ching-yüan 慶遠 of Chao-hsien (Chosen). They are also called K'u-ya-la 庫雅喇. The *Huang-chao-wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* 皇朝文獻通考 says that ‘both banks of the Hun-ch'un 琿春 River are the domain of the K'u-ya-la 庫雅喇 people.’ This refers to them. It is said that in July (Autumn), the 2nd year of T'ien-tsung 天聰 (1628 A. D.), they first paid tribute.”

The *Tótatsu-keikô* 東韃紀行 (Travels in Eastern Tartary) by Rinsô MAMUYA, the Japanese explorer, calls Ch'i-lêng 奇楞 *Kii-ren* キーレン and calls this Ch'ia-k'ò-la 恰喀拉 *Kyakkara* キヤツカラ with a note: “This is the name of a locality near the border of Chosen.”

The *Liu-pien-chih-liao* 柳邊紀略 contains nothing on the subject, but I may take this opportunity to say a word about the Ku-wu 苦兀 and other natives of Sakhalin Island during the Ch'ing dynasty. The work which deals with this rather in detail is again the *Huang-ch'ing-chih-kung-t'u* 皇清職貢圖 (Bk. 3). Spelling K'u-yeh 庫野 for Ku-wu 苦兀, it says:

“The K'u-yeh 庫野 live in Ya-tan 雅丹, Ta-li-kan 達里堪, etc., of the Eastern Sea Island. The men shave the centre of the head; and the hair on the forehead is gathered back. When it reaches the shoulders, it is cut off. They wear grass-hats and cotton garments; which are decorated with red cloths marked with 卍 between the shoulders and the back. Some wear fish-skins. They are by nature warlike; whenever they go out, they take sharp weapons with them. The women, while young, thrust needles through their lips and dye them with soot. Their language is called K'u-yeh language. Every year they present sables to the court.”⁽²⁾

(1) 庫爾喀部，謹案，滿洲源流考，庫爾喀在圖們江北岸，與朝鮮慶遠相對，一曰庫雅喇，皇朝文獻通考所云，琿春河左右皆庫雅喇人等所居，即其地也，天聰二年秋七月始來朝貢云。（吉林通志卷一二）

(2) 庫野居東海島之雅丹，達里堪等處。男則薙頂心，以前之髮，而蓄其後，長至肩，即截去。草笠布衣，綴紅布卍字於肩背間，亦有衣魚皮者。性好鬪，出必懷利刃。婦女幼時即以針刺唇，用烟煤塗之。土語謂之庫野話。歲進貂皮。

The exact position of Ya-tan or Ta-li-kan is not clear, but the names appear in the *Ch'ing-wei-fu-i-tung-yü-ti-pi-t'u* 清內府一統輿地秘圖 and the *Ta-ch'ing-i-tung-yü-t'u* 大清一統輿圖. Thrusting needles through the lips refers to the tattooing of the lips of Aino women. The tribute to the Ch'ing court paid by the Ainos of Sakhalin is recorded in other works; for instance, the *Chi-lin-t'ung-chib* 吉林通志 (Bk. 20), after the above quoted passage on the Ch'i-lê-êrh 奇勒爾 says regarding the K'u-yeh 庫頁 tribe as follows:

“According to WEI Yüan 魏源, ‘As to the K'u-yeh 庫頁 tribe, the size of the island is equal to that of T'ai-wan 臺灣 (Formosa), and is located near the mouth of the Hun-tung-chiang 混同江 (that is the Amur). That island has a mixed population of the Ho-chê 赫哲 (Hejen or Goldis), the Fei-ya-k'a 費雅哈 (Gilyaks), and the Ê-lun-ch'un 鄂倫春 (Oronchons), but the K'u-yeh 庫頁 (Ainos) are the greatest of them all. It is said that, at the beginning of our dynasty, our forefathers carved ships and sent soldiers across the sea, and occupied the island.’ They are also called K'u-yeh 庫野. This is the tribe referred to in the *Chih-kung-t'u* 職貢圖 in the passage: ‘The K'u-yeh 庫野 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 P'u-lu 普祿 district after travelling 3,000 li. They collect tribute and also divide the presents from the court.”⁽¹⁾

The description of WEI Yüan 魏源 above-quoted was adopted from his work *Shêng-wu-chi* 聖武記 (Bk. 1), which is the first book that asserted the existence of the Ê-lun-ch'un 鄂倫春 (Oronchon), and the Ho-chê 赫哲 (Goldis) in addition to the K'u-yeh 庫頁 (Ainos) and the Fei-ya-k'a 費雅哈 (Gilyaks) in Sakhalin.

(1) 謹案魏源云「庫頁部,海島廣袤埒臺灣,近混同江(黑龍江)口,其島襟有赫哲,費雅哈,鄂倫春之人,而庫頁爲大,即國初剋舟濟師往取者」一曰庫野,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,不能至寧古塔,每年六月,遣官至離寧古塔三千里之普祿鄉,收貢頒賜焉。(吉林通志卷一二)

According to the *Tôtatsu-keikô* 東韃紀行 by Rinsô MAMIYA, the Japanese explorer, when he travelled there in the 6th year of *Bunkwa* 文化 of the Japanese Calendar, that is, the 14th year of *Chia-ching* 嘉慶 (1809) of the Ch'ing dynasty, the so-called Man-shû-ka-fu 滿洲假府, the Temporary Office of the Manchu court, where the officers sent out by the Ch'ing court collected the tribute and divided the presents from the court, was at Deren デレン (德楞) 4 Japanese *li* 里 above Urugai ウルガ - near the eastern boundary of the Goldis, but it seems to have been at P'u-lu 普祿 district further downstream. I am convinced that the so-called P'u-lu district is a transcription of *Pulu gashan* which was located to the north of the Olchas and to the south of the Gilyaks. The *Tôtatsu-keikô* also has the following passage on *Kataká* カタカ - probably a place on the shore of the present Lake Kada: "This place is the former site of the Man-shû-ka-fu 滿洲假府 like Deren デレン (The date unknown). Since there were fightings with various savages, the offic ehas been abolished." It is possible that the office was first at Pulu, and then was moved to Lake Kada, and again to Deren. Concerning this affair, the following account occurs in the *Chi-lin-wai-chi* 吉林外記 (Bk. 8) by Sa-ying-ê 薩英額 of the Ch'ing dynastys:

"The Ch'ia-k'o-êrh 恰喀爾 come once every other year to the Mang-niu 莽牛 River of the Ussuri district; and the San-hsing 三姓 office sends officers there to receive the tribute consisting of 90 furs and bestow upon them the gifts sent from the Chinese court. The tribes living above Chi-chi 齊集 (Kizi) proceed together to the San-hsing to present their tributary furs and to receive the gifts from the court. The tribes living below Chi-chi gather at Tê-lê-ên 德勒恩 (Deren) 3,000 *li* northeast of the San-hsing-ch'êng, and the San-hsing office sends officers there to collect the tributary furs and distribute the gifts from the court. The Hei-chin 黑津 (or the Hejen) of the three groups referred to in the foregoing every year pay more than 2,600 sables in total. The Imperial prizes consisted of gowns decorated with dragon figures, Damask silks, brocades, and other fabrics. As a rule, the San-hsing 三姓 office every year sends officers to Shêng-ching 盛京 (Mukden) to

receive the Imperial gifts and when they come back, the gifts are distributed.”⁽¹⁾

At any rate, the Ch'ing court gathering all the chiefs of the Eastern Sea, appointed them *Gashan-da* (District heads) and *Hala-da* (Tribe heads). The story of Yang Chung-chên 楊忠貞 an Aino of Nayoro in South Sakhalin who received such an Imperial message from the court is told in the *Henyô-bunkai-dzûkô* 邊要分界圖考 (Bk. 2) by Morishige KONDÔ 近藤守重 and also in the *Karafuto-nikki* 唐太日記 (Second Volume) by Shigenao SUZUKI 鈴木重尙 and Hiroshi MATSUURA 松浦弘. This story is very well-known. Moreover, the *So-fang-pei-chêng* 朔方備乘 (Bk. 22) by Ho Chiu-tao 何秋濤 of the Ch'ing dynasty, providing a section entitled “*K'u-yeh-fu-chin-chu-tao-k'ao* 庫葉附近諸島考 (A Study of the Various Islands near K'u-yeh), reproduces all historical material on the Chinese side concerning Sakhalin Island, which, however, treating of the subject chiefly geographically, contains little material on the natives.

(b) The Hsi-pi-li-tung-pien-chi-yao

The foregoing references were all from more or less old works, but here is a rather recent and most detailed account of the natives in the basin of the Amur, namely, the *Hsi-pi-li-tung-pien-chi-yao* 西伯利東徧紀要 or a Description of Far Eastern Siberia by TSAO Ting-chieh 曹廷杰 of the Ch'ing dynasty. This book also called *Ê-chieh-ch'ing-hsing* 俄界情形 or Circumstances of the Russian territory is a report by the author who explored Far Eastern Russia at the Imperial request in the 11th year of *Kuang-bsü* 光緒 (1885) towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. In detail and minuteness, no Chinese work rivals this one; The brilliance of the book lies in the description of the manners and customs of the natives. However, I can refer to the most important points only, omitting all the details.

“Travelling northeast from Po-li 伯利 more than 1,200 *li*, you reach the great

(1) 恰喀爾，隔年一次，至烏蘇哩莽牛河，三姓派員收納貢皮九十張，頒給賞物。齊集以上者，俱赴三姓城，交納貢皮，頒收賞物。齊集以下者，俱在三姓城東北三千里德勒恩地方，三姓派員收納貢皮，頒給賞物。此三項黑津，每年共納貂皮二千六百餘張，所有賞資蟒袍妝緞絨緞，布疋諸物，例由三姓，每年派員赴盛京，頒來分賞。(吉林外記卷八)

A-chi 阿吉 mountains. All those living up to this point along both banks of the Sungari are generally called the Hei-chin 黑斤 (Hejen), also called Tuan-mao-tzŭ 短毛子. They number about 5,000 or 6,000. All the men have their hair cut. The unmarried women put up their hair in two top-knots, while the married have it braided and let down in two bundles. They have gold rings thrust into the ends of their noses. Their speech considerably resembles the Manchu language. Their customs also conform to our conventions. . . .

“Travelling from the great A-chi 阿吉 mountains first northeast and then northwest over 800 *li* along the Sungari, the Hei-lê-êrh 黑勒爾 (Heler) region is reached. Those living along the banks up to this point are generally called Chang-mao-tzŭ 長毛子; they are about 2,000 or 3,000 in number. Their manners and customs are like the Ti-fa-hei-chin 薙髮黑斤; only their speech is different. The men do not shave their hair, but have queues. They are influenced by the customs of the Chi-lê-mi 濟勒彌. This accounts for their pastime in playing with a bear of the Hei-chin. They have finally developed into the two groups.

“Going from the Hei-lê-êrh 黑勒爾 down the river, first northwest and then east and turning to the south, the estuary is reached. The distance altogether is over 600 *li*. Both banks of the Sungari were formerly occupied by the Fei-ya-k'ò 費雅喀 (Gilyaks), but now the two tribes the Ê-lun-ch'un 俄倫春 (Oronchons) and the Ch'i-lê-êrh 奇勒爾 (Kilers) live with the Fei-ya-ka. All those who emigrate to the banks of the Amur are generally called Chi-lê-mi 濟勒彌 (Gillemi). They are about 4,000 or 5,000 in number. The men do not shave their hair. The unmarried women braid their hair and hang it down the back as if it were a mallet. When married, the women combine the two top-knots and bundle it sidewise on the back of the head. Their speech differs from that of the Pu-ti-fa-hei-chin 不薙髮黑斤. Both the Oronchon and the Kiler talk their own languages. They differ from the Gillemi. They have no knowledge of letters or medicine. They do not know years, seasons, the first day or the middle day of the month. As to their life and customs, they are half like the Hei-chin 黑斤 (Hejen). In summer they always

ply a small boat to the islands of the sea and various river-forks, and in winter they ride the *pa-li* 扒里 (sleighs), and go to the Oronchon and the Kiler, and other regions south of the Solon 索倫 River, for trade”⁽¹⁾

Now, Po-li 伯利 is the Chinese name of Khabarovsk; the region west of Po-li is not discussed in this text, because it being the territory of the Ch'ing court and our text being aimed at the information regarding Russian territory, it had nothing to do with it. The great A-chi mountains reached by travelling 1,200 *li* northeast from Po-li according to the text, must refer to the neighbourhood of Nijine-Tambovskoe on the right bank below the point at which the Gorin 格林 River joins the Amur. According to the *Cb'ing-nei-fu-i-tung-yü-ti-pi-t'u* 清內府一統輿地秘圖 and the *Ta-ch'ing-i-tung-yü-t'u* 大清一統輿圖, a very likely point is marked Aji-gashan 阿集曠珊, namely, the Aji village, and it is also marked Adi in SCHRENCK's map. The region of the Hei-lê-êrh 黑勒爾 reached by going first northeast and then northwest further downstream over 800 *li* from Aji corresponds to the neighbourhood of the present Bogorodoskoe or Mikhailovskoe beyond the point at which the river changes its course after passing Lakes Kizi and Kada. According to the *Cb'ing-nei-fu-i-tung-yü-ti-pi-t'u* and D'ANVILLE's map, at the most probable point is found Heler-pira, namely, the Hei-lê-êrh river; and in the *Sbui-tao-ti-kang* 水道提綱 (Bk. 24) by CHI Chao-nan 齊召南 or the *Lung-sha-chi-liao* 龍沙紀略 by FA Shih-chi 法式濟 of the Ch'ing period, this is spelt Ho-lê-li 赫勒里 River; here was the Hei-lê-li-chan 黑勒里站 or the K'o-liêh-êrh-chan 可烈兒站 as a postal road during the Yüan and Ming

(1) 伯利東北行一千二百餘里,至阿吉大山。以上沿松花江兩岸居者,通稱黑斤,亦呼短毛子,共約五六千人,其男皆薙髮,女未字則作雙髻,已字則垂雙辮,鼻端貫金環,語言多與國語(滿洲語)同,衣服亦悉如制度。自阿吉大山順松花江,東北行又西北行,共約八百餘里,至黑勒爾地方,以上沿兩岸居者,通呼長毛子,共約二三千人,風俗習尚,與薙髮黑斤同,惟語言各異,男不薙髮垂辮,染濟勒彌俗,以弄熊爲樂,遂分兩類.....

自黑勒爾以下西北行又東行,南折至海口,共約六百餘里,松花江兩岸舊爲費雅喀人所居,今則合俄倫春,奇勒爾二族,凡遷居江沿者,統稱濟勒彌,凡四五千人,男不薙髮,女未嫁則束髮垂背如椎,出嫁則合雙辮,橫束腦後,語言又與不薙髮黑斤異。俄倫春,奇勒爾二族,又能各爲本部語言,與濟勒彌異,亦無文字醫藥,不知歲時朔望,生計習尚,半與黑斤同,常夏乘小舟,至海島及各處河汊,冬乘扒里,至索倫河以南俄倫春,奇勒爾諸地貿易.....

dynasties.⁽¹⁾ There is little doubt as to the position of the great A-chi 阿吉 mountains and the Hei-lê-êrh 黑勒爾 region.

Coming back to the text, despite the fact that this is TSAO Ting-chieh's report based on his actual survey, his reference to his predecessor's masterpiece—the *Liu-pien-chi-liao* 柳邊紀略 by YANG Pin 楊賓 is evident, even confirmed everywhere in the text. So there is no doubt that the tribe he calls the Tuan-mao-tzū 短毛子 corresponds to the Ti-fa-hei-chin 剃髮黑金 of the *Liu-pien-chi-liao* and the Chang-mao-tzū 長毛子 of the former corresponds to the Pu-ti-fa-hei-chin 不剃髮黑金 of the latter. But by careful consideration one will notice a considerable difference here. The former home of the ancient Ti-fa-hei-chin was K'ò-mu 可木 and below, extending from the mouth of the Sungari to that of the Ussuri, while the home of the Pu-ti-fa-hei-chin 不剃髮黑金 was the A-su-chiang 阿速江 and below, San-lu-wên 散魯溫 and above, and was to the east of the mouth of the present Ussuri River. The present home of the Tuan-mao-tzū 短毛子 extends east from Po-li, that is, the mouth of the Ussuri to the great A-chi mountain, while the home of the Chang-mao-tzū 長毛子 extends from the great A-chi mountain down to the Hei-lê-êrh. I should regard this as a fundamental difference. Was TSAO Ting-chieh's survey accurate and YANG Pin's information false? This was hardly the case; I should rather regard this only as a migration of the tribes with the change of the times.

It may be that the administration of the Yüan and Ming dynasties prompted the tribes in these districts to emigrate, but that did not change the situation very much. However, as the Ch'ing dynasty which rose in Manchuria did its utmost in developing these remote districts and especially as the advance of the Russians caused changes in the situation, the unrest of the tribes became quite serious. The natives below Po-li 伯利 had queer customs during the previous dynasty, but is it

(1) The *Liao-tung-chih* 遼東志 and the *Ta-ming-i-tung-chih* 大明一統志 give it as the Hei-lê-li-chan 黑勒里站; the *Ching-shih-ta-tein* 經世大典 as the Ko-lieh-êrh-chan 可烈兒站. Vide WADA—*Kaisei-no-higashi-sui-riku-jō-ten ni tsuite* 海西東水陸城站到就いて (On the Land-and-water Castle Post-stations on the Eastern Side of Hai-hsi 海西.)

not written "Their speech considerably resembles the Manchu language. Their garments also conform to our conventions"? A remarkable evidence is the description of the Hei-lê-êrh 黑勒爾 and others below them along the Amur down to its mouth. This region had been the headquarters of the Chi-lieh-mi 乞列迷 until the previous dynasty, with hardly any other living with them, but is it not written that now the Oronchon 俄倫春 and the Kiler 奇勒爾 lived together with them and the comings and goings of these tribes were quite frequent? The survey of TSAO Ting-chieh 曹廷杰 took place towards the end of the 19th century, but the *Tôtsu-kikô* 東韃紀行 by Rinsô MAMIYA, who surveyed those districts before the middle of the century, and the report of SCHRENCK, the Russian scholar, say that the neighbourhood of the present Lake Kizi was the boundary between the Gilyaks and the Goldis⁽¹⁾: and the *Chi-lin-wai-chi* 吉林外紀 (Bk. 8) written in the 1st year of *Tao-kuang* 道光 (1821 A. D.) by SA YING-ê 薩英額, though a Manchu of the same dynasty, says as follows:

"The names of the Hei-chin 黑津 are not quite unified. Those living along the southern sea southeast of Hun-ch'un are called Ch'ia-k'ô-êrh 恰喀爾 (Kiakla). Those living over 3,000 *li* northeast of San-hsing 三姓, along both banks, east and west, of the lower course of the Sungari extending from the Chi-chi 齊集 (Kizi) up to the Ussuri River are called Ho-chê 赫哲 (Hejen). Those living from Chi-chi 齊集 down to the northeastern sea-islands are called Fei-ya-k'ô 費雅喀 (the Gilyaks); and those living far southeast are called K'u-yeh 庫葉 (the Ainos). Chi-chi 齊集 is the name of a place."⁽²⁾

This shows that until that time the Fei-ya-k'ô 費雅喀 or the Gilyaks had

(1) According to the *Tôtsu-kikô* 東韃紀行 by Rinsô MAMIYA, the district Aore アオレー (Aur) and Poru ポル (Pul) to the north of Kataka カタカ (Kada Lake) were the southern frontiers of the Sumerenkuru スメンクル (Gilyaks). The district above this point was occupied by the Santan サンタン tribe or the Olchas, and the district reached by going up over 10 Japanese *li* 里 from Lake Kizi to Wuruge ウルゲー was occupied by the Korutekke コルテツケ (Goldis). The conclusion reached by SCHRENCK and others are clearly expressed on his map accompanying this present paper.

(2) 黑津名目不一, 琿春東南, 濱臨南海一帶者, 謂之恰喀爾, 三姓城東北三千餘里, 松花江下游齊集以上至烏蘇里江, 東西兩岸者, 謂之赫哲, 齊集以下至東北海島者, 謂之費雅喀, 又東南謂之庫葉, 齊集地名也. (吉林外記卷八)

inhabited as far as Chi-chi 齊集 or Kizi.

If so, it may be seen that the Chi-lê-mi 濟勒彌 whose home had dwindled as far as the Heler region even at the time of TSAO Ting-chieh's survey, had occupied even the shores of Lake Kizi a few decades before. If so, it would not be too much to suppose that, in the Yüan and Ming dynasties several centuries before that time, the west boundary of the Chi-lieh-mi 乞烈迷 or Chi-lê-mi 濟勒彌 verged on the neighbourhood of San-lu-wên 散魯溫 or the present Lake Sargu. Simply because of this immense power of the ancient Chi-lieh-mi, the name suddenly came to be so outstanding in history that Esen 也先 of Wa-la 瓦剌 (Oirat) at the middle of the Ming dynasty, as soon as he conquered Manchuria, he came to know of the Chi-li-wei 其里未, namely Chi-lieh-mi 乞烈迷⁽¹⁾; and for the same reason, the *Chin-shih-ti-li-chih* 金史地理志, referring to the east boundary of the Chin dynasty, says: "The territories and boundaries on the extreme east verge on the Chi-li-mi 吉里迷, the Wu-ti-kai 兀的改, and other savages. . . ."⁽²⁾

It may be that the Chi-lê-mi 濟勒彌 of the Ch'ing dynasty included other tribes as TSAO Ting-chieh says "Now the two tribes Oronchon 俄倫春 and Kiler 奇勒爾 live with the Fei-ya-k'ò 費雅喀 or Gilyaks. All those who emigrate to the banks of the Amur are generally called Chi-lê-mi 濟勒彌."⁽³⁾ It is possible, therefore, that the Chi-li-mi 吉里迷, the Chi-lieh-mi 乞烈迷 of former times were not exclusively Gilyaks, but included some other tribes. At any rate, we could suppose that the ancient tribes of Far Eastern Asia who had occupied a vast area in the earlier days, retreated, under pressure, to the remoter corners of the extreme frontier. To-day these tribes are almost extinct.

(1) Under *kêng-ch'ên* 庚辰 April (summer) in the 30th year of Sei-sô 世宗 (the 13th of *Chêng-t'ung* 正統 or 1448 A. D.), the *Richô-jitsuroku* 李朝實錄 says "The forces under Yeh-hsien 也先 attacked the San-wei-ta-tan 三衛韃靼 and also attacked the tribes occupying the Lao-wên-chiang 老溫江 and Ch'i-li-wei 其里未. The savages resisted hard, and they having been defeated, retreated and went home." 也先軍擊三衛韃靼,又擊老溫江,其里未等野人,野人同力拒戰,不利退還. The San-wei-ta-tan refers to Urianghai 兀良哈 San-wei 三衛 east of the Hsing-an mountains 興安嶺 and the Lao-wên-chiang 老溫江 is Nao-wên-chiang 腦溫江, or the Nonni 嫩江, and the Ch'i-li-wei 其里未 to the Gilyaks.

(2) 金之壤地封疆,東極吉里迷,兀的改諸野人之境,云々。(金史卷二四地理志)

(3) 今則合俄倫春,奇勒爾二族,凡遷居江沿者,統稱濟勒彌。

Another work of the Ch'ing dynasty in which these tribes are described is the well-known *Ning-ku-ta-chi-liao* 寧古塔紀略 by Wu Chên-chên 吳振臣, a passage from which is cited here :

“The I-lang-ha-la 衣朗哈喇 now have built an earthen castle, and the government officers reside there. It is near the Wu-kuo-ch'êng 五國城 of the Chin period. Only the ruins mark the site. Going further northeast 500 or 600 *li*, you will reach the Hu-êrh-k'ò 呼兒喀. 600 *li* further, you will reach the Hei-chin 黑斤. 600 *li* still further, you will reach the Fei-ya-k'a 非牙哈. These are generally called Wu-chi 烏稽, and also called Yü-pi 魚皮. They wear fish-skins and live on fish-meat. Hence the name. . . .”⁽¹⁾

I-lang-ha-la 衣朗哈喇 is a transcription of the Manchu word *Ilan-bala* referring to the present San-hsing 三姓. At that time of the Ch'ing dynasty, there were certainly an earthen castle and Government officials, and they were located near the Wu-kuo-tou-ch'êng 五國頭城 of the Chin 金 dynasty. Wu Chên-chên 吳振臣, almost a contemporary of the YANG Pin 楊賓 the author of the *Liu-pien-chi-liao* 柳邊紀略, being a fairly well-known writer, and this description being exceedingly concise and lucid, therefore the famous *Shêng-wu-chi* 聖武記 a later work by WEI Yüan 魏源 forms an opinion solely depending upon this description. However, he seems to be rather inaccurate and incredible when he allots only 600 *li* northeast of the Hu-êrh-k'ò 呼兒喀 for the Hei-chin 黑斤, makes no distinction between the Ti-fa 剃髮 and the Pu-ti-fa 不剃髮, and extends the general term Wéji 烏稽 for the Hu-êrh-k'ò 呼兒喀 to include the Hei-chin, even the Fei-ya-ka. This accounts for my omitting a discussion of his work.

(1) 衣朗哈喇,今設土城,有官守,與金時五國城相近,略存其形而已,又東北五六百里爲呼兒喀,又六百里爲黑斤,又六百里爲非牙哈,總名烏稽,又名魚皮,因其衣魚皮食魚肉爲生,故名:.....

