

A Study on the Fu-yü

By

H. IKÉUCHI

CHAPTER I

The Fu-Yü in the Former and Later Han Periods

In making notes on the *Fu-yü-chüan* 夫餘傳, or the account of the Fu-yü 夫餘 people, contained in the *Wei-chih* 魏志, the annotator of the history, PEI SUNG-CHIH 裴松之, of the Liu-Sung 劉宋 period, gives an interesting legend concerning the origin of the Fu-yü kingdom. He cites it from the *Wei-liao* 魏略, a historical work, now lost, by Yü HUAN 魚豢, whose time falls in the reign of Ming-ti 明帝 of the Wei 魏 dynasty, in the first half of the third century A. D. The *Wei-liao* text quoted is as follows:—

“The old chronicle’ says also:—In olden times there was in the north a country called Kao-li 曷離. Once it happened there that one of the king’s chambermaids was found with child. The king would have killed her, but she said to him, ‘Gas in the shape of a hen’s egg descended upon me, and then I found myself with child.’ By and by she gave birth to a boy. The king cast him into the pigsty; the swine would stretch out their nozzles and breathe upon him. He removed him to the stable; the horses would blow and breathe upon him. The boy did not die, and it occurred to the king that he might be a son of heaven. Therefore the king ordered the mother to take him in to bring up. He was named Tung-ming 東明 (Eastern Light), and set to herd horses. Tung-ming turned out a fine archer, and the king sought to annihilate him for fear that he might usurp his kingdom. Tung-ming ran away toward the south, and on reaching the Shih-yen-shui Stream 施掩水, took his bow and smote the water with it, and lo, the fishes and tortoises came floating up, and ranged themselves into a bridge. Tung-ming

crossed it, and the next moment the water creatures had dispersed. The soldiers who were in pursuit of him arrived, but they could not cross after him. Tung-ming took the occasion to found his own capital city, and make himself king over the land of the Fu-yü.”¹⁾

It appears that the author of the *Wei-liao*, in his turn, drew the story from what he referred to as ‘the old chronicle’, yet nothing is known about that earlier work. We find, however, the identical story also related in WANG CH’UNG’s 王充 *Lun-hêng* 論衡,²⁾ and in practically the same words, too, the only exceptions being the replacement of 藁離 by 藁離, and of 施掩水 by 掩澆水. Very probably this was also derived from the same source. As we learn from another section of the *Lun-hêng*³⁾ as well as from the biographies in the *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書⁴⁾, WANG was born in the third year of *Chien-wu* 建武 (A. D. 27) of Kuang-wu-ti 光武帝 of the Later Han dynasty and died during the *Yung-yüan* 永元 era (A. D. 89-104) of Ho-ti 和帝, and this makes us suppose that that older record which he must have had before him dated back at least to the early part of the Later Han period. It may be taken for granted, therefore, that the legend of the foundation of the Fu-yü kingdom had been in existence since the Former Han, or quite possibly since some remoter age.

Of the people who possessed such a tradition about their national origin, we meet with the earliest mention in the *Huo-chih-chüan* 貨殖傳 (Lives of Millionnaires) in the *Shih-chi* 史記, where the dominion of the State of Yen 燕 is described as being “contiguous northward with [the territory of] the Wu-huan 烏桓 and [that of] the Fu-yü, while commanding eastward the resources of [the land of] the Wei-ho 穢貉, Ch’ao-hsien 朝鮮, and Chên-fan 真番.”⁵⁾ There can be no question that Ch’ao-hsien meant that Korean territory which constituted the domain, first of the Chih 箕, and then the Wei 衛 house, and which covered the country stretching to the south of the Ya-lu and having its political

1) *Wei-chih*, chap. 30.

2) Chap. 2, *Chi-yen-pien* 吉驗篇.

3) Chap. 3, *Tzû-chih-pien* 自紀篇.

4) Chap. 79.

5) Chap. 129.

centre in Hei-jô 平壤; while Chên-fan was the abode of a barbarian people who occupied the valley of the Tung chia-chiang 佟佳江 and thus neighboured Ch'ao-hsien. Now the Fu-yü are mentioned in context with Ch'ao-hsien and Chên-fan, and this gives us reason to believe that their existence had been known to the Chinese since the pre-Ch'in period, when Liao-tung was part of Yen dominion.

Later on, towards the end of the Former Han period, when the usurper Wang Mang 王莽 commenced his own short-lived dynasty under the title of Hsin 新, he sent out, in the first year of his reign styled *Shih-chien-kuo* 始建國, (A. D. 9) his Wu Wei-chiang 五威將 (Five Demonstrating Generals), invested with insignia of authority, into as many different border regions, in order to make his supreme power felt by his barbarian neighbours. His biography in the *Han-shu* 漢書,¹⁾ narrating this event, says: "Of these generals, the one who went forth toward the east reached Hsüan-t'u 玄菟, Lo-lang 樂浪, [the country of] the Kao-chü-li 高句麗, and [that of] the Fu-yü." Here again we hear of the Fu-yü as a barbarian people of the east; and in fact, this is the only instance throughout the Former Han history in which any record of intercourse between the Middle Kingdom and this people occurs. We need not, however, suppose that at no other time during the period did the two ever come into contact, but rather that the absence of positive evidence that they did is ascribable to neglect on the part of the Chinese annalists. At all events, it is possible that the story of the origin of the Fu-yü kingdom reached the Chinese for the first time on this occasion, for that demonstrating expedition, actually visiting the country, must have had a chance to hear it told by the natives.

Further on in the same biography of Wang Mang, under date of the fourth year of *Shih-chien-kuo* (A. D. 12), we read as follows:—

"It had been Mang's design to turn out Kao-chü-li troops to fall upon the Hu 胡. But they did not like to go, and when the *chün* 郡 [local government] pressed them forcibly, they ran away in a body beyond the frontier walls. This was a trespass against the law,

1) Chap. 99.

and they were condemned as rebels. T'ien T'an 田譚, the Ta-yin 大尹 [official] of Liao-hsi 遼西 Prefecture, gave them chase, but perished at their hands. Now Yen Yu 嚴尤 addressed the throne, saying: 'Although the Ho 貉 violated the law, it was not that they revolted at the command of Tsou 騫 [the Kao-chü-li ruler]. But even granted that the latter is to be held in suspicion, still it would be advisable that the *chou* 州 and *chün* 郡 governments should be instructed to soothe and reassure him for the time being. Should imprudence be allowed so to prevail as to charge him now with serious offence, it will only end in making him openly revolt; and then it will be as certain that the Fu-yü and their allies will rise in union with him. Now the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 have not been conquered as yet, and if the Fu-yü and the Wei-ho should rise into the bargain, we shall be threatened with grave eventualities.' Mang, however, would not soothe Tsou, and the final result was the revolt of the Wei-ho. The imperial decree called upon Yen Yu to put it down. He lured the Lord¹⁾ of the Kao-chü-li, Tsou, to his place, and as soon as he arrived, destroyed him by the sword, and forwarded his head to Chang-an 長安."²⁾

Both the Ho and the Wei-mo,³⁾ in the text, referred to the Kao-chü-li as one tribe of the Wei-mo in the wider sense of the term, which covered various Tunguse tribes. The Hu meant the Hsiung-nu; and the particular prefecture which endeavoured to raise Kao-chü-li forces to be sent against them must have been either Liao-tung Prefecture (whose seat of government was located near modern Liao-yang) or Hsüan-t'u Prefecture (with its administrative centre in the neighbourhood of the later Hsing-ching 興京, on the upper course of the Hun-ho 渾河). As for the Kao-chü-li themselves who were summoned to arms, they must have been of a Kao-chü-li population at that time resident within the Chinese frontiers, seeing that they are said to have run away beyond

1) Wang Mang caused the title *Hou* 侯 (Lord) to be substituted for the title *Wang* 王 (King) which had been granted to or affected by some chiefs of the neighbouring barbarian tribes.

2) Chap. 100.

3) Wei-mo 穢貊 is equivalent to Wei-ho 穢貉.

the walls. This consideration, combined with the fact that the Kao-chü-li ruler, Tsou, was not supposed to be involved in the matter, enables us to draw the inference that the proper home of the Kao-chü-li people, including their capital city with Tsou's residence, lay in an outer region beyond the walls of Liao-tung, whose outline seems to have corresponded on the whole with that of the extant Chang-cha 長柵 (long barricade). As for the Fu-yü, whose possible alliance with the Kao-chü-li is alluded to, we may well believe that they occupied a country adjacent to that of the Kao-chü-li. As a matter of fact, however, this is the earliest instance in which the Kao-chü-li as an eastern frontager of China appear in history, and at the present point, where our knowledge of their geographical position is limited to the above inference, we cannot hope to say anything more definite about the whereabouts of the Fu-yü.

Coming down to the Later Han period, we find that the *Tung-i-chüan* 東夷傳 in the *Hou-han-shu* gives a particular account of the Fu-yü. This was plainly for the most part copied from the *Fu-yü-chüan* in the *Wei-chih* (for it was compiled earlier than the *Hou-han-shu*), but nevertheless it is not without passages possessing independent historical value, and on the whole it affords us a good deal of information as to facts of intercourse between China and the Fu-yü during the period. To extract the passages concerned in the order in which they occur in the history:—

A) “During the *Chien-wu* era, all the eastern barbarian tribes paid homage and tribute to the imperial court. In the 25th year of the era (A. D. 49), the king of the Fu-yü sent an envoy to offer tribute, and the emperor Kuang-wu-ti made him a handsome return; thenceforth his mission arrived every year.”

B) “In the 5th year of *Yung-ch'ü* 永初 of An-ti 安帝 (A. D. 111), for the first time [since the tribe had come into intercourse with China], the Fu-yü king, leading a force of 7,000 to 8,000, horse and foot, raided and plundered Lo-lang, killing and wounding officials and people there. Later on, however, he returned to allegiance.”

C) “In the 1st year of *Yung-ning* 永寧 (A. D. 120), the Fu-yü king sent his son and heir, Wei-ch'ou-t'ai 尉仇台, to offer tribute to the

court. The emperor bestowed upon him an official seal with a cordon and some gold embroidery.”

D) “In the 1st year of *Yung-ho* 永和 of Shun-ti 順帝 (A. D. 136), the Fu-yü king arrived in the Métropolis to visit the imperial court. The emperor ordered the Huang-mên 黃門 [office in charge of general court affairs] to entertain him with court music and wrestling games, and then to send him away.”

E) “In the 4th year of *Yen-hsi* 延熹 of Huan-ti 桓帝 (A. D. 161), [the Fu-yü king] sent an embassy to pay homage and tribute to the imperial court.”

F) “In the 1st year of *Yung-k'ang* 永康 (A. D. 167), the Fu-yü king, Fu-t'ai 夫台, led a force of 20,000 to fall upon Hsüan-t'u. The governor of the prefecture, Kung-sun Yü 公孫域, met and defeated the invasion, cutting off more than 1,000 heads of the enemy.”

G) “In the 3rd year of *Hsi-p'ing* 熹平 of Ling-ti 靈帝 (A. D. 174), [the Fu-yü king] again sent a written homage and tribute.”

H) “The Fu-yü had formerly been subject to Hsüan-t'u, but during the reign of Hsien-ti 獻帝, their king requested to be attached to Liao-tung Prefecture.”¹⁾

As may be seen from the above, the Later Han period witnessed considerably frequent dealings between the Middle Kingdom and the Fu-yü. We learn from a different source that in the first year of *Yüan-hsing* 元興 (A. D. 105), the Kao-chü-li king Kung 宮 made an inroad into Liao-tung Prefecture, conquered six districts therein, and compelled the seat of government of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture—which had occupied, ever since the 6th year of *Yüan-fêng* 元鳳 (75 B. C.) of Chao-ti 昭帝 of the Former Han dynasty, the neighbourhood of the later Hsing-ching in the upper basin of the Hun-ho—to fall back to the vicinity of modern Mukden.²⁾ This event was followed, after an interval of a few years, by the Fu-yü king's attack upon Lo-lang, as alleged in passage B above, under date of the 5th year of *Yung-ch'u* of An-ti. The Annals of An-ti

1) Chap. 115.

2) A further account will be given of this matter in the author's “*Study of the Kao-chü-li*” to be later published.

in the same history, referring evidently to the identical occurrence in the 3rd month of the same year, say: "The barbarian Fu-yü trespassed across the frontiers," without specifying the invaded prefecture, as Lo-lang or otherwise. Considering that the Fu-yü chief is said to have afterwards (A. D. 167) led another raid upon Hsüan-t'u (Passage F), and later on to have attached himself to Liao-tung Prefecture instead of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture to which he had been subject up to that time (passage H), we may draw the inference that it was Hsüan-t'u rather than Lo-lang that was visited by his first attack under review, and in consequence that, in passage B, Hsüan-t'u is wrongly referred to as Lo-lang.

Throughout these cases, Hsüan-t'u must have meant that new Hsüan-t'u Prefecture which had its seat of government about modern Mukden, and dating only from the 1st year of *Yüan-hsing*. The so-called subjection of the Fu-yü king to Hsüan-t'u signified that the particular border prefecture concerned with the matter of homage and tribute-paying by the Fu-yü tribe was Hsüan-t'u. We may refer for analogy to this passage of the *Han-chüan* 韓傳 in the *Wei-chih*, which says about the Korean Han 韓 tribe: "In the Han period, they were subject to Lo-lang Prefecture, and [their chieftains] used to come to pay court [to the prefectural authority] from season to season."¹⁾ Again a similar function of a border prefecture may be noticed where the *Kao-chü-li-chüan* in the same history remarks about the Kao-chü-li²⁾: "In the Han times, their king was honoured with an imperial gift of a band of musicians and some athletic performers. They were wont to receive their ceremonial costumes and *tsê* 幘 caps at the hands of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture."³⁾

Now the Fu-yü chief who sent tribute by his son Wei-ch'ou-t'ai (A. D. 120) (passage C) was to render the imperial dynasty a more material service in the following year. The Annals of An-ti in the *Hou-han-shu* have: "In the 1st year of *Chien-kuang* 建光 [A. D. 121], in winter, in

1) Chap. 30.

2) *Ibid.*

3) See the author's "The Establishment of *Tai-fang* Prefecture by the *Kung-sun* Family and *Lo-lang* and *Tai-fang* Prefectures under the *Wei* Dynasty," in M. T. B., No. 5.

the 12th month, Kao-chü-li, the Ma-han 馬韓, and the Wei-mo besieged the city of Hsüan-t'u. Thereupon the Fu-yü king sent to the rescue his own son, who uniting his efforts with those of the *chou* and *chün* governments, vanquished the enemy." And the *Kao-chü-li-chüan* in the same history, referring to the same fact, and dating it with the same year, says: "In autumn, Kung [the Kao-chü-li ruler], with thousands of Ma-han and Wei-mo horsemen, laid siege to Hsüan-t'u. Whereupon the Fu-yü king sent to the rescue his son Wei-ch'ou-t'ai, with over 20,000 men, who uniting his efforts with those of the *chou* and *chün* governments, beat the enemy, cutting off over 500 heads."¹⁾

The Kao-chü-li aggression thus repelled with the aid of the Fu-yü expedition was in fact a sequel to a series of wars which had been waged between China and her eastern foe. Previously, in the spring of the same year, a Chinese army, commanded by the Magistrate of Yu-chou 幽州 Province and the Governors of Hsüan-t'u and Liao-tung Prefectures, marched out across the Chinese frontier into the territory of the Kao-chü-li. To resist, the Kao-chü-li king Kung sent his son and heir Sui-ch'êng 遂成, who not only checked the invasion at an impregnable pass, but in the meanwhile secretly sent a detached force to surprise the two Chinese prefectures left unguarded. The Kao-chü-li expedition succeeded in overrunning these districts in the enemy's home, inflicting a loss of over 2,000 killed and wounded. Soon after, they withdrew, but for a short period, they advanced again in summer, and now bringing as allies a Hsien-pei 鮮卑 tribe then dwelling in Liao-tung within the walls, made an assault on Liao-sui-hsien 遼隧縣 District, near the mouth of the Hun-ho. There they were driven back by the Chinese troops and retreated for a distance, but then turning around, gave a crushing defeat to the enemy who came in pursuit. The scene of battle was Hsin-ch'ang-hsien 新昌縣 District on the left bank of the Hun-ho above its junction with the T'ai-tzū-ho 太子河, where the Chinese lost the Governor of Liao-tung and over a hundred others killed. The Kao-chü-li's siege of the city of Hsüan-t'u under review, then, came after this train of struggles. As for the discrepancy in connection with its date to be

1) Chap. p. 115.

noticed between the Annals of An-ti and the *Kao-chü-li-chüan* as above, one putting it in the 12th month, and the other in autumn, there is nothing to assist us in deciding which was right. In the Wei-mo mentioned as participating in the siege we may recognize that Wei-mo tribe who had their proper home along the eastern coast of the Kôgen Dô 江原道 in Korea.¹⁾ It is, however, hardly credible that the Ma-han, a tribe dwelling in the southwestern quarter of the peninsula, apparently out of reach of Kao-chü-li domination, also took part, and there must have been some mistake in the record. We may go further to examine, incidentally, what the Annals of An-ti report concerning the next year: "In the 1st year of *Yen-kuang* 延光 [A. D. 122], in spring, in the 2nd month, the Fu-yü king sent his son, with an army, to rescue Hsüan-t'u, whereupon they fought and defeated the Kao-chü-li, Ma-han, and Wei-mo. Then the king sent an embassy to carry tribute to the court." Surely the first sentence repeats in summary what has been recorded under the preceding year, and perhaps the author's intention in this was but to show what previous course of events brought about the renewal of the Fu-yü's tributary mission in the year in question.

Of the Kao-chü-li chief Kung, we read in the *Kao-chü-li-chüan* in the *Hou-han-shu*: "As soon as he was born, he could open his eyes and see, so that this countrymen became attached to him. Grown up, he proved brave and stout-hearted, and dared to trespass across the border time after time."²⁾ A character endowed with such uncommon powers, he may well have succeeded in exercising his influence over the neighbouring eastern dominion of China, and at last forcing the government of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture away from its ancient seat about Hsing-ching far inward to the locality of Mukden, as already noticed. With this the upper valley of the Hun-ho was absorbed into the territory of the Kao-chü-li, and after the earlier abolition of Chên-fan 眞番 Prefecture in the Chinese territory in the valley of the Tung-chia-chiang, in the 5th year of *Shih-yüan* 始元 (82 B. C.) of Chao-ti of the Former Han, this marks

1) The probability of Kung's conquest having extended to this quarter will be discussed in the author's "*Study of the Kao-chü-li*."

2) Chap. 115.

the most important point in the course of the dwindling of the Han dynasty's dominion in that direction. It was also at this time that the history of the Kao-chü-li, so far shrouded in utter obscurity, had its dawn. And when we find that the Fu-yü chief, nine years after his raid upon Hsüan-t'u (A. D. 111), sent his son and heir with tribute to the Chinese court (A. D. 120), and that in the following year, he even despatched his son and army to deliver the city of Hsüan-t'u from the siege laid by the Kao-chü-li, we can see what it signified. Certainly the Fu-yü were menaced by the ascendancy of their immediate neighbours, the Kao-chü-li; and in order to avoid the latter's encroachment and oppression, they could do nothing but to fall back upon the opposing power of the Han dynasty. So, when they hastened to the aid of the city of Hsüan-t'u they must have considered it a good opportunity to break the formidable power of the Kao-chü-li and at the same time to show loyalty to the Chinese court.

During the period of incessant warfare within the Middle Kingdom itself, extending from the end of the Later Han dynasty into the early part of the age of the Three Kingdoms, the region of Liao-tung was in the hands of the Kung-sun 公孫 house. The family had its seat at Hsiang-p'ing 襄平 (present Liao-yang), then the administrative centre of Liao-tung Prefecture, and dominated, besides Liao-tung itself, the two Chinese prefectures, Lo-lang and Tai-fang 帶方, in the Korean peninsula; and what was more, the barbarian tribes of the farther east seem to have been under its influence. This situation is suggested by the following passage of the account of P'ing-chou 平州 Province in the Book of Geography in the *Chin-shu* 晉書: "Toward the end of the Later Han period, Kung-sung Tu 公孫度 proclaimed himself Satrap of P'ing-chou 平州牧. His son K'ang 康, and K'ang's son Wên-i 文懿, alike took the liberty to possess Liao-tung, and all the barbarian tribes of the east were obedient to their rule."¹⁾ Kung-sun Tu was a man of rare ability who, starting as a petty official of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, had worked his way up to the governorship of Liao-tung Prefecture, in the 6th year of *Chung-p'ing* 中平 (A. D. 189) of Ling-ti, and at last went so far as to

1) Chap. 14.

proclaim himself the Lord of Liao-tung 遼東侯 and Satrap of P'ing-chou, in the early years of the reign of Hsien-ti (A. D. 190-219).¹⁾ His policy was to make use of the Fu-yü as a check against the advance of the Kao-chü-li on his east, and of the Hsien-pei on his north. The *Wei-chih* account of the Fu-yü says: "The Fu-yü had formerly been subject to Hsüan-t'u, but toward the end of the Han period, when Kung-sun Tu had expanded the reach of his supremacy to the East of the Sea, and brought into submission various barbarian tribes abroad, the Fu-yü king Wei-ch'ou-t'ai became attached to Liao-tung instead. By this time, the Kao-chü-li and the Hsien-pei had grown formidable, and it was out of the consideration that the Fu-yü were located between these two powers that Tu married a daughter of his house to the Fu-yü king".²⁾ It would seem that the *Hou-han-shu* passage H, above cited, was nothing but a summarization derived from this source.

This much is almost all that can be gathered about the history of the Fu-yü in the Later Han period, and we have still nothing to throw light on the problem of where their tribal seat lay.

CHAPTER II

The Fu-yü and their Seat in the Age of the Three Kingdoms

The Lord of Liao-tung Kung-sun Tu was succeeded by his son K'ang in the 9th year of *Chien-an* 建安 (A. D. 204), but the latter died before the 2nd year of *Huang-ch'u* 黃初 (A. D. 221) of Wên-ti 文帝 of the Wei dynasty, and as it happened that both his sons Huang 晃 and Yüan 淵 were too young to succeed him, his brother Kung 恭 was elected by public recommendation Governor of Liao-tung. But this Kung, being a sickly person, was unequal to the task of governing, and before long, in the 2nd year of *T'ai-ho* 太和 (A. D. 228), lost his position to his nephew Yüan, who thus became master of the region. In the 1st year

1) *Wei-chih*, chap. 8, Biography of Kung-sun Tu.

2) Chap. 30.

of *Ching-ch'u* 景初 (A. D. 237), however, the Wei court made the Magistrate of Yu-chou, Kuan-chiu Chien 毋丘儉, and other generals march eastwards with a large army. They encamped on the southern frontier of Liao-tung Prefecture, and summoned Yüan by a writ bearing Ming-ti's 明帝 imperial seal. Instead of submitting, Yüan gave battle to and routed the Wei army in Liao-sui-hsien District near the mouth of the Hun-ho, and when the latter had retreated homewards, he took the opportunity to establish himself king, under the title of Yen Wang 燕王. The result was that in the next, the 2nd year of *Ching-ch'u* (A. D. 238), the Wei dynasty despatched a whole-sale punitive expedition to Liao-tung. A colossal army, under the general command of Ssü-ma I 司馬懿, besieged Yüan at Hsiang-p'ing, crushed his whole force, and thus put a complete end to the rule of the Kung-sun family.¹⁾ And how did the Fu-yü fare in the meantime? The *Fu-yü-chüan* in the *Wei-chih* says: "Wei-ch'ou-t'ai having died, Chien-wei-chü 簡位居 acceded to the throne. He had no legitimate son, but a bastard by the name of Ma-yü 麻余. On the death of Chien-wei-chü, the unanimous opinion of the *Chia* 加 [official] classes placed Ma-yü on the throne. A son of an elder brother of a *Niu-chia* 牛加 [official], whose name was Wei-chü 位居, became Ta-shih 大使 [Minister], and as he cared little for his own property and gave liberally, he won the attachment of the people. Year after year [the Fu-yü-king] sent an embassy carrying tribute to the Chinese court."²⁾ Here is a glimpse of the contemporaneous internal condition of the state of Fu-yü, and a suggestion of how the fall of the Kung-sun house in Liao-tung gave it a chance to renew direct communication with the Middle Kingdom.

With the overthrow of the Kung-sun family, the Wei dynasty became absolute master of Liao-tung and also of the two Korean prefectures, Lo-lang and Tai-fang; and it was a natural consequence that a few years later, in the 5th year of *Chêng-shih* 正始 (A. D. 244), it despatched an expedition, with the Magistrate of Yu-chou, Kuan-chiu Chien as the commander-in-chief, to strike a heavy blow at the Kao-chü-li. He

1) *Ibid.*; *Wei-chih*, annals of Ming-ti.

2) Chap. 30.

returned in triumph in the 5th month of the next year, but soon afterwards sent the Governor of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, Wang Ch'i 王頎, to carry a second campaign into the home of the Kao-chü-li. As the Kao-chü-li king Wei-kung 位宮, great-grandson of King Kung mentioned before, fled to the land of Wu-chü 沃沮, the Wei governor pushed on there in pursuit of him, in the course of which he conquered North Wu-chü and South Wu-chü, to both of which the general term Wu-chü applied. In the meantime, he availed himself of the cooperation of the Governors of Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures, who led their own army southwards to subjugate the Eastern Wei 東濊 tribes who had remained in allegiance to the Kao-chü-li. At that time, the territory of the Kao-chü-li comprised the valleys of the Ya-lu and the Tung-chia-chiang; South Wu-chü occupied the valley of the Jô-sen Kô 城川江, with Kan-kô 咸興 as its natural centre, in Kan-kyô Nan-dô 咸鏡南道 in Korea; North Wu-chü the valleys of the Pu-êrh-ha-t'u 布爾哈圖 and the Hailan 海蘭, to the north of the Tumen, the district which is nowadays commonly called Chien-tao 間島; and the Eastern Wei tribes dwelt in the southern part of Kan-kyô Nan-dô as well as on the eastern coast of Kô-gen Dô in Korea. But it was not only these regions that were affected by the Chinese conquest on this occasion. For an army led by Wang Ch'i himself, having reached North Wu-chü, proceeded further inland northwards, penetrating into the countries of the I-lou 挹婁 and the Fu-yü, scarcely ever before trodden in by the Chinese, and carrying out a demonstration of the Wei arms before the barbarous inhabitants.¹⁾ We find a partial reflection of this affair in the following passage of the *Fu-yü-chüan*: "In the era of *Chêng-shih*, the Magistrate of Yu-chou, Kuan-chiu Chien, beat the Kao-chü-li. He sent the Governor of Hsüan-t'u, Wang Ch'i, to proceed to the land of the Fu-yü. Wei-chü ordered the Ch'üan-chia 犬加 [official] to meet him outside the city and to supply his army with provisions. As it happened that his youngest uncle, who was in the office of Niu-chia, proved disloyal to the Chinese cause, Wei-chü destroyed him and his son, confiscated their property, and reserving

— 1) See the author's "*Chinese Expeditions to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty*," in M. T. B., No. 4.

a trifling portion of it, submitted the rest to the [Chinese] government.”¹⁾

The *Fu-yü-chüan* in the *Wei-chih* contains a description of the country of the Fu-yü, affording us a more or less definite idea of its topography, climate, administration, manners and customs, products, etc., which knowledge was undoubtedly derived from the inland expedition of Wang Ch’i, as were also the contents of the *I-lou-chüan* 挹婁傳 in the same history. The passage concerned runs as follows:

“[The land of] the Fu-yü lies north of the Great Wall, 1,000 *li* from Hsüan-t’u, southwards bordering on [the territory of] the Kao-chü-li, eastwards on [that of] the I-lou, and westwards on [that of] the Hsien-pei, and having the Jo-shui 弱水 flowing on the north. It covers an area extending some 2,000 *li* square. The households number 80,000; the inhabitants are indigenous and have houses to live in and also warehouses and jails. The country abounds in hills and extensive marshes, and still presents the most open, flat area in all the regions inhabited by the Eastern Barbarian Tribes. The soil is good for all kinds of grain 五穀, though it does not produce any kind of fruit 五果. The people are big and coarse-looking, brave and vigorous, and yet kind and humane. They do not raid or plunder. The country is under the rule of a monarch, and all his officials are named after domestic animals 六畜²⁾, as Ma[horse]-chia 馬加, Niu[ox]-chia 牛加, Chu[pig]-chia 豬加, Kou[dog]-chia 狗加, Ch’üan[canine]-chia 犬加 Ch’üan-shih-chê 犬使者, and Shih-chê 使者. In every village there are some important common people, who are called hsia-hu 下戶 [subordinate families] and all [? belonging to the Chia classes] as servants. Besides, the Chia control the Ssü-ch’u-tao 四出道 [roads stretching out in the four directions]³⁾, the

1) *Wei-chih*. Chap. 30.

2) *Liu-ch’u* (literally, six domestic animals) properly means horse, ox, sheep, dog, pig, and domestic fowl; but here it is used in the more indefinite sense of domestic animals in general, as is evident from the list of official names which follows. Similar loose application of numerals may be also recognized in the term *wu-ku* 五穀 (literally five kinds of grain) and *wu-kuo* 五果 (literally five kinds of fruit) as used above.

3) This probably meant that the official classes in question possessed such settlements or villages as lay along the high roads which stretched out from the capital in different directions into the country.

greater [Chia] each governing thousands of households, and the lesser hundreds. For eating and drinking, all the people use *tsu* 甗 and *tou* 豆 [i. e. primitive earthen vessels such as used by the Chinese in religious services]. When they have a party, they give and take wine-cups with ceremony, and wash them in doing so. They behave politely, bowing and offering precedence to one another. They observe a heaven-worship festival in the first month of the year according to the Yin 殷 calendar, when, they feast, sing and dance, day after day, calling the festivities *Ying-ku* 迎鼓¹⁾. On this occasion they sentence their criminals and release their prisoners. Among themselves, they like white dress best, wearing broad-sleeved coats and trousers of white cloth, and they go in leather shoes. When abroad, however, they affect *ts'êng* 縞 silk, embroidery, gold brocade, and felt rugs. The upper classes wear also the furs of foxes, badgers, monkeys, and white and black sables, and decorate their headgear with gold and silver. When the interpreter [of a Chinese agent] conveys a message, they kneel down one and all, put their hands on the ground, and speak in a subdued tone. They inflict penalties with extreme severity. Homicides must die, and their families be made slaves. Thieves must pay twelve-fold for the stolen property. Men and women who commit adultery, and also jealous wives are put to death. A jealous wife is hated above everything. She is executed, and the body is left exposed to the weather on a hill in the south of the country, until it is decomposed. Only, if her own people plead to have the corpse and bring a horse and ox for carrying it, they are allowed to take it away. If an elder brother dies, his widow is married to his younger brother, the same custom as among the Hsiung-nu. The people are expert in raising domestic animals.

1) The 1st month of the year in the Yin calendar coincides with the 12th month in the Hsia 夏 calendar. The festival referred to is comparable to that mentioned in the *Kao-chü-li-chüan* in the *Wei-chih* as: "In the 10th month, they worship heaven, when all the people throng together in a large meeting, which is called *Tung-ming* 東盟;" and in the *Wei-chuan* 濊傳 in the same history as: "They customarily devote part of the 10th month to heaven worship, when they carouse, and sing and dance, calling the occasion by the name of *Wu-t'ien* 舞天.

The land yields fine horses, red jade, sables, monkeys, and beautiful pearls, which may be as big as *suan-tiao* 酸棗, [Chinese jujube]. In the way of weapons, they use bows and arrows, swords, and spears. Every family possesses armour and weapons of its own. The elders of the country say that they are descended from alien refugees of ancient times. When they build forts or barricades, they make them in circular form 員¹⁾, so that they look something like [Chinese] jails. While going the roads, whether by day or by night, everybody, old or young, sings; and all day long there is no interval in which one may not hear it. In the case of war, too, they first hold heaven-worship, kill an ox and divine their fortune of battle by its hoofs. If the hoofs are open, they betoken evil; if closed, success. Should there appear an enemy, the *Chia* 卅 themselves fight, while the *hsia-hu* 下戶 accompany them, carrying their provisions and serving them food and drink. If anybody dies, ice is always used in summer [to preserve the body]; some other people are killed to be buried together with the deceased, the number, at the highest, reaching more than a hundred. The burial is performed with every demonstration of respect. They use a coffin, but no outer coffin."²⁾

It is now time to take up the question of where to place the proper home of the Fu-yü, which we found it impossible to answer in the preceding chapter. We have learnt that when the Wei general Wang Ch'i reached their country, a cordial reception was extended to him by the Fu-yü minister Wei-chü, who ordered an official party to meet him outside the city and to supply his troops with provisions. Wei-chü was a powerful minister and the practical ruler of the state under the king Ma-yü, whose authority was thus rendered nominal. He must have resided in the city referred to, and it must have been the capital city of the Fu-yü. But where was it located? So far, it has been an idea well accepted among scholars that the Fu-yü's central seat was in the neighbourhood of the present Nung-an 農安, on the bank of the

1) The character *yüan* 員 is sometimes exchangeable for the character *yüan* 圓 in the sense of round or circular.

2) Chap. 30.

I-t'ung-ho 伊通河, north of Chang-ch'un 長春. This opinion, chiefly advocated by Mr. H. Marsui, was based on the evidence of the following passage of the *P'o-hai-chüan* 渤海傳 in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書: "The former seat of the Fu-yü constituted Fu-yü Fu [City] 扶餘府 [of the P'o-hai State], and here was constantly stationed an efficient army in opposition to the Ch'i-tan 契丹."¹⁾ The P'o-hai were an eastern nation who flourished in the 8th to the 9th century A. D.; and Fu-yü Fu was one of the strongholds and administrative centres they established, as they consolidated their newly acquired territories into a state. It was here that their successors, the Ch'i-tan, also established their own Huang-lung Fu 黃龍府, whose site, in its turn, coincided with that of the present Nung-an. At first sight this might seem to justify our author in taking the above-quoted statement as evidence that the seat of the old Fu-yü lay in the locality of Nung-an.²⁾ But there are certain circumstances which must be weighed before we can appraise his argument with fairness.

In the first place, the valley of the I-t'ung-ho was for ages a field of contest between the Tunguse tribes to the east and their western neighbours of Mongolic descent, generally called by the name of Tung-hu 東胡. Thus in the T'ang period, the P'o-hai, of the former stock, built there Fu-yü Fu as a stronghold against the Ch'i-tan, belonging to the Mongolic group; and once the latter (now assuming the title Liao 遼) took it over, it held, under the appellation Huang-lung Fu, a place of high strategical importance in the northeastern quarter of their Liao Kingdom. Such was indeed the historical feature of this region lying between the two distinct racial powers, and this consideration makes it difficult to believe that the Fu-yü, who were almost beyond dispute of Tunguse origin, had their primary seat in this borderland district.

We may now stop to examine the above-cited passage in its context, in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* account of the P'o-hai. There we find mentioned, besides Fu-yü Fu, a number of important places in their territory, as:

(A) The former seat of the Su-shên 肅慎 formed Shang-ching 上

1) Chap. 219.

2) The *Man-shü Rekishi-chiri* (Historical Geography of Manchuria), edited by the South Manchuria Railway Company, vol. II (September, 1913), p. 42.

京 [Capital City], named Lung-ch'üan Fu 龍泉府.

(B) The former seat of the Wei-mo formed Tung-ching 東京 [Eastern City], named Lung-yüan Fu 龍原府, or Cha-ch'êng Fu 柵城府.

(C) The former seat of the Wu-chü formed Nan-ching 南京 [Southern City], named Nan-hai Fu 南海府.

(D) The former seat of the Kao-[chü-]li formed Hsi-ching 西京 [Western City], named Ya-lu Fu 鴨滌府.

(E) The former seat of the I-lou constituted Ting-li Fu 定理府.

(F) The former seat of Shuai-pin 率賓 constituted Shuai-pin Fu 率賓府.¹⁾

The alleged relation, however, between the old and new is not correct in all cases. To take up and comment on each item:—

(1) Shang-ching or Lung-ch'üan Fu—This corresponds to the present Tung-ching Ch'êng 東京城, lying near the lake of Pi-êrh-t'êng 畢爾騰, southwest of Ninguta. The Su-shên, whose ancient seat the history recognizes as having been here, were really one and the same people with the I-lou mentioned later in (E), and yet we see there the latter identified with a different place, which is an obvious absurdity.

(2) Tung-ching or Lung-yüan Fu, also called Cha-ch'êng Fu, which is recognizable in the neighbourhood of the present Chü-tzü-chieh 局子街 in the valleys of the Pu-êrh-ha-t'u and the Hai-lan, must have corresponded to the former seat of the North Wu-chü, not of the Wei-mo as alleged.

(3) Nan-ching or Nan-hai Fu is to be located in the neighbourhood of Kan-kô, in the valley of Jô-sen Kô in Kan-kyô Nan-dô in Korea, and as this district formed the central seat of the South Wu-chü tribe, the history was right in defining it as the former seat of the Wu-chü.

(4) Hsi-ching or Ya-lu Fu is assignable to the vicinity of Mao-êrh-shan 帽兒山, near the first major bend of the Ya-lu. No doubt it was an important place in the territory of the Kao-chü-li, but this was not where they had their capital city, as might seem from the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* defining it as their former seat.

(5) Ting-li Fu is unidentifiable, but this has already been accounted for under (1).

1) Chap. 219.

(6) Shuai-pin Fu seems to point to Nikolisk on the bank of the Sui-fên-ho 綏芬河. Seeing that the appellation Shuai-pin undoubtedly originated from the name of the river, and that there is no historical mention before of any people or country bearing such name, it is presumable that the name was first adopted when the town was established by the P'o-hai. Then it would be meaningless to speak of "the former seat of the Shuai-pin," as the history does.

The foregoing observations give us reason equally to call in question that *Hsin-t'ang-shu* statement, "The former seat of the Fu-yü constituted Fu-yü Fu." It may easily have been the outcome of mere conjecture, perhaps as groundless as the assertion about Shuai-pin Fu just criticized. Again, even granting that the naming of Fu-yü Fu on the part of the P'o-hai had really something to do with the territory of the old Fu-yü, it will not necessarily follow that here was their central seat. We must also remember that, it was, as shall be later seen, at the end of the 5th century that the Fu-yü were superseded by the Wu-chi 勿吉, the same tribe which was known as Mo-ho 靺鞨 in the Sui and T'ang ages, and that since then there had elapsed about two centuries until the appearance of the P'o-hai Kingdom in the 8th century. And this goes further to question the conclusiveness of the argument which builds the identification of the Fu-yü's home on the sheer evidence of that *P'o-hai-chüan* passage.

Let us now turn to that *Wei-chih* account of the Fu-yü, to study in particular the topographical description of their country, whose historical value may be esteemed as fairly high considering the probability that it was derived from the intelligence brought home by the Wei expedition which actually traversed the region. In the first place, Hsüan-t'ü mentioned there referred to that prefecture which had its seat of government at that period about the present Mukden; and the Great Wall-mean that which formed the outward frontier of the prefecture, probably running on the north of the present K'ai-yüan 開原, like the extant Chang-cha 長柵 (Long Barricade). As we see, the country of the Fu-yü is assigned in a region which had the Jo-shui flowing on its north, and which constituted the most extensive level tract of land in

the whole area occupied by the Eastern Tribes. Judging from the given bearings of the country, it would not seem impossible to compare it with the district of Nung-an. But we must not be too much influenced by the alleged distance from Hsüan-t'u. The 1,000 *li* may have been given in that loose, vague manner which is so usual in Chinese statements of distances, and which is as apparent where the same history uses the same figure in locating the countries of the Kao-chü-li,¹⁾ the Wu-chü,²⁾ and the I-lou.³⁾ It is worth while, therefore, to look around to see whether we cannot find a district which will on the whole better answer the description. Certainly the most important condition to be satisfied is that it should present a considerable extent of smooth, level land, such as might well be counted foremost in the whole barbarian region of the east. It must also be characterized by fertility. Neither can we overlook the statement, "The country abounds in hills and extensive marshes." Still further consideration pertains to the Jo-shui said to be flowing on its north. To the northeast of Nung-an, we see the Sungari joined by its affluent the I-t'ung-ho and following a northwesterly course. Was this the Jo-shui? Or did it mean, instead, that lower, eastward-flowing Sungari below the junction with the Nonni? Suppose we start from Nung-an, travel northwards along the I-t'ung-ho, cross the Sungari, and then going in a northeasterly direction, cross the La-lin 拉林, proceed to Shuang-ch'êng 雙城, and then turning eastwards, reach A-lê-ch'u-k'o 阿勒楚喀, which was the birthplace of the Chin 金 dynasty, and the site of its primary capital, Shang-ching 上京. This is a place commanding what may be called the A-lê-ch'u-k'o plain, which stretches out from there far southwest towards the La-lin. True, the spacious country around Nung-an is remarkable in its own way, but this is vaster beyond comparison, and far more readily reminds us of

1) The *Kao-chü-li-chüan* in the *Wei-chih* has: "The country of the Kao-chü-li lies 1,000 *li* east of Liao-tung—The capital city is situated below Wan-tu 丸都," the last-mentioned place being recognizable in the site of T'ung-kou 通溝, the present seat of Chi-an Hsien 輯安縣, in the Province of Fêng-tien.

2) The *Wu-chü-chüan* in the *Wei-chih* says about Wu-chü: "The outline of the country narrows towards the northeast and broadens towards the southwest, extending about 1,000 *li*."

3) *Wei-chih*, chap. 30, *I-lou-chüan*.

“the most open, flat area in all the regions inhabited by the Eastern Barbarian Tribes.” That portion of eastern Asia which was occupied from very early times by various Tunguse peoples, comprising the valleys of the Ya-lu, Tumen, and Sungari, is so extremely complicated in physical formation that there is to be found in its whole extent scarcely any plain properly deserving the name. One may, however, point out comparatively large open areas around T'ung-hua 通化 and Huai-jên 懷仁 on the bank of the Tung-chia-chiang, around T'ung-kou 通溝 on the Ya-lu, and around Chū-tzū-chieh on the Pū-êrh-ha-t'u; but surely none of them can nearly match the plain of A-lê-ch'u-k'ò. It is not only its vast area, but also its fertility which makes it celebrated as the granary of north Manchuria. And here our primary condition is more than satisfied. We may also notice the uplands ranging along the eastern bank of the A-lê-ch'u-k'ò river and the numerous swamps scattered over the strip of land on either side of the La-lin, —features which fairly account for the country “abounding in hills and extensive marshes.” Again, the general district under our present observation is bounded on the north by the easterly course of the Sungari, and here “the Jo-shui flowing on its north” will apply better than it would in the locality of Nung-an. All these considerations lead us to the belief that although the central seat of the Fu-yü has so far been generally placed in the neighbourhood of Nung-an, for the simple reason that latter corresponded to the site of Fu-yü Fu of the P'ò-hai, it is far more reasonable to recognize the Fu-yü's home in the stretch of land between A-lê-ch'u-k'ò and Shuang-ch'êng, on the evidently more reliable authority of the special account of the people afforded by the *Wei-chih*.

There is evidence coming from another direction which confirms the above inference. A-lê-ch'u-k'ò is nowadays also called A-shih-ho 阿什河. This name, dating from the period round about the foundation of the Chin 金 Dynasty, finds mention in the form of A-shu-huo 阿朮火 in the *Ch'i-tan-kuo-chih* 契丹國志¹⁾, A-ch'u-hu 阿觸胡 in the Sung author MIAO YAO's 苗耀 *Shên-lü-chi* 神麓記 (quoted in the *San-chao*-

1) Chap. 10.

pei-mêng-hui-pien 三朝北盟會編)¹⁾, and A-chih-ku [Village] 阿之古[村] in the *Kao-li-shih* 高麗史, in its Annals of Jui-tsung 睿宗. These, as well as the following names applied to the A-le-ch'u-k'o river—An-ch'u-hu [-shui] 按出虎[水] and A-shu-hu [-ho] 阿朮澗[河] in the Geography in the *Chin-shih* 金史,²⁾ and A-chu-hu [-shui] 阿注澗[水] on the monument of Wan-yen Lou-shih 完顏婁室³⁾—were translations of the Nü-chên term, current in the Chin age, which signified gold. In the Geography in the Chin history we read: "The Shang-ching 上京 District, or the country lying along the Hai-ku 海古, is the former territory of the Chin 金. Now in the native [Nü-chên] language gold is denoted by *an-ch'u-hu* 按出虎, and the country was called *Chin-yüan* 金源 [Source of the Chin] because the river An-ch'u-ku took its rise there. Here is the origin of the title under which the state was established."⁴⁾ And so in the *Ming-i-t'ung-chih* 明一統志⁵⁾ and the *Liao-tung-chih* 遼東志⁶⁾ we find the translation "Chin-shui-ho 金水河 [Goldwater River]" invariably substituted for the vernacular name of the river in question, and accompanied by this note: "It is identical with the An-ch'u-hu [-shui] of the Chin people." We know that the river owed this peculiar name An-ch'u-hu or Gold Water to the fact that it produced gold. For witness, LI HSIN-CHÜAN 李心傳, in his commentaries on the *Chien-yen-i-lai-chi-nien-yao-lu* 建炎以來繫年要錄, remarks: "According to CHANG HUI's 張滙 *Chieh-yao* 節要, when A-ku-ta 阿古達 [or A-ku-ta 阿骨打, the founder of the Chin dynasty] became emperor, he adopted as his dynastic title the vernacular name of his native country, Ai-hsin 愛新, which signified gold in Nü-chên speech. It obtained that name from the fact that the water [river] there produced gold, just as the country of Liao derived its name from the Liao-shui 遼水."⁷⁾ This evidence may be corroborated by observing how the *Pei-fêng-yang-sha-lu* 北風揚沙錄,

1) Chap. 8.

2) Chap. 24.

3) *Liu-pien-chih-liao* 柳邊記略, in the *Chao-tai-ts'ung-shu* 昭代叢書, Book 9, chap. 20.

4) *Chin-shih*, chap. 24.

5) Chap. 89.

6) Chap. 1.

7) Chap. 1, passage relating to the 1st month of the 1st year of *Chien-yen*.

written by a Sung author, mentioning the products of the Shêng-nü-chên 生女眞 (i. e. that part of the Nü-chên which gave birth to the dynasty), says: "It produces fine horses, gold, and big pearls."¹⁾ And also what the Annals of Jui-tsung in the *Kao-li-shih* tells us about the tribute which had been paid to the Korean court by the Wan-yen 完顏 family before the latter's ascendancy culminated in the foundation of the Chin dynasty: "Formerly it was in vassalage to the Ch'i-tan and to our [Kao-li] country, and used to send envoys to our court from time to time, making presents of *fu-chin* 𤄎金 [gold dust], sable furs, and fine pearls, and to receive in return a handsome donation in silver ingots. This was customary from year to year."²⁾ It is now clear that the An-ch'u-hu or A-le-ch'u-k'o rivers yielded gold, and that, in the form of gold dust.

The *Kao-chü-li-chüan* in the *Wei-shu* 魏書 has a passage concerning the tribute-paying by the Kao-chü-li during the reign of Hsüan-wu-ti 宣武帝 of the Later Wei dynasty, which deserves our particular attention and may be quoted: "During the *Chêng-shih* era [A. D. 504-7], Shih-tsu 世祖 [obviously an error for what should have been Shih-tsung 世宗] gave audience in the Eastern Hall to the Kao-chü-li envoy Jui-hsi-fu 芮悉弗, who came forward and addressed the throne in these words: 'The Kao-chü-li have pledged loyalty by heaven, and generation after generation continued sincerely faithful [to the Wei court]. Nor have they ever failed in bringing tribute so far as it was procurable at all in their own land. Only, gold originates from the Fu-yü, and *k'o* 珂 [white agate] is yielded by Shê-la 涉羅."³⁾ Nowadays, however, the Fu-yü have

1) Quoted in the *Liao-shih-shih-i* 遼史拾遺, chap. 18.

2) Passage referring to the 1st month of the 10th year.

3) Shê-la, accredited with the production of *k'o* stone, must have been some region contended for between the Kao-chü-li and the Pai-chi, but it has yet to be identified. The Geography in the *San-kuo-shih-chi* (chap. 36) tells us that in the period of the united rule of the Korean peninsula under the Hsin-lo dynasty (8th-9th cent.) one of the Hsien (localities) belonging to Chieh-ch'êng Chün 潔城郡 (whose seat of government is recognizable in the present Ketsu-jô 結城 in Kô-jô Gun 洪城郡 in Chu-sei Nan-dô 忠清南道) was Hsin-liang 新良縣. This place had been called Sha-shih-liang 沙尸良 in the Pai-chi period (—7th cent.), and was subsequently renamed Li-yang 黎陽 in the Kao-li period (10th cent.—). Now the *Tung-kuo-yü-ti-shêng-lan* 東國輿地勝覽 (chap. 19), in its article on Ancient Sites, in Hung-chou 洪州 District, says: "The former seat of Li-yang Hsien 驪陽縣, now abolished, lies 37 *li* south of Hung-chou. In this name, *Li*

been driven away by the Wu-chi 勿吉, and Shê-la annexed by the Pai-chi 百濟. The [Kao-chü-li] king, the emperor's vassal Yün 雲 [i. e. Wên-tzū Ming-wang Lo-yün 文咨明王羅雲], moved by the sense of justice to aid the outraged, took all [the banished Fu-yü] into his own territory. It is indeed those two lawless peoples who are to blame for interrupting the arrival of the two commodities [gold and k'o] at the [Korean] royal court, [so that it can no longer present them to the Wei emperor]."¹⁾ Here is an evidence that the land of the Fu-yü was productive of gold. The phrase "the gold originates from the Fu-yü" we may be justified in interpreting as referring to the proper home of the people rather than a mere outlying region falling within their sphere of influence. For the displacement of the Fu-yü by the aggressive Wu-chi, alluded to by the Kao-chü-li messenger in accounting for the stoppage of gold supply to the Kao-chü-li court, links itself with the following fact recorded in the Annals of the Kao-chü-li in the *San-kuo-shih-chi* 三國史記, under date of the 3rd year of Wên-tzū Ming-wang (corresponding to the 18th year of *Tai-ho* 太和 of the Wei, A. D. 494): "The Fu-yü king, with his family, came [to the Kao-chü-li] to submit his state." This passage, brief as it is, is sufficient to show that the Fu-yü were driven out of their primary home by the Wu-chi's invasion. This goes far to connect the central seat of the Fu-yü during the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties with the valley of the A-lê-ch'u-k'o, the stream then so noticeable for its alluvial gold; and we may safely rely on this identity to clinch the inference already reached regarding the age of the Three Kingdoms.

驪 is also spelt 黎. Originally the place was called Sha-shih-liang by the Pai-chi, but renamed Hsin-liang by the Hsin-lo." Consulting the map, *Ta-tung-yu-ti-t'u* 大東輿地圖, we can find this spot in the present village of San-jô-ri 山城里, in Chô-koku Men 長谷面 in Kô-jô Gun. It is quite possible that Shê-la in question was identical with Sha-shih-liang or Sha-la, there having been ample chance for the character sha 沙 to be corrupted into the character shê 涉. The remains of an old mountain fort, extant in the village of San-jô-ri, near the frontier of the neighbouring district Sei-yô Gun 青陽郡, perhaps belong to ancient Shê-la. What goes to assist by analogy the above identification in point of etymology is the knowledge that An-la 安羅 (also represented as An-hsieh 安邪 or A-na-chia-ya 阿那加耶), which was one of the Chia-la 加羅 (=Chia-ya 伽耶) communities in southern Korea was also mentioned in the form of A-shih-liang, 阿尸良.

1) Chap. 100.

The above recognition of the Fu-yü's proper home during the Three Kingdom Age in the neighbourhood of the present A-lê-ch'u-k'ò makes us naturally expect that the description of their country in the *Wei-chih* was largely focussed on that particular district. As for the bearings and limits of the whole territory to which their tribal name broadly applied, we can only form a very vague notion of them from this statement in the passage already quoted: "Southward bordering on [the territory of] the Kao-chü-li, eastward on [that of] the I-lou, westward on [that of] the Hsien-pei; and having the Jo-shui flowing on its north." The northern frontier appears comparatively definite, for it was formed by the Jo-shui, as identified with the Sungari from its junction with the Nonni eastward. We know that the southern neighbours Kao-chü-li occupied the valleys of the Tung-chia-chiang and the Ya-lu, and that the eastern neighbours I-lou were a population distributed over the area along the narrow valley of the Hu-êrh-k'ò and having its tribal centre in the locality of Ninguta, while the Hsien-pei were a nomadic people occupying the valleys of the Sira-müren and Lao-ha 老哈, upper tributaries of the Liao-ho. The *I-lou-chüan* in the *Wei-chih* gives us a glimpse of an aspect of the political relations between the Fu-yü and the I-lou, saying: "They [I-lou] had been subject to the Fu-yü since the Han period, but the latter's exorbitant levy of taxes made them revolt at last in the *Huang-ch'u* era [A. D. 220-226]. Again and again, the Fu-yü attempted to chastize them, but the I-lou, though small in number, were well defended by the mountain fastnesses of their home, while their bows and arrows were dreaded by their neighbours. So the Fu-yü never succeeded in subduing them."¹⁾ This state of things would seem quite natural when we consider how the valleys of the A-lê-ch'u-k'ò and the La-lin, forming the home of the Fu-yü, were separated from the basin of the Hu-êrh-k'ò, which was the abode of the I-lou, only by the watershed running from the Hsiao-pai mountains 小白山 to the Chang-kuang-ts'ai-ling range 張廣才嶺. The dividing line between the Fu-yü and the Kao-chü-li territories may be assumed to have run along the narrow valley of the Hui-fa-ho 輝發河, one head stream of the Sungari, but very little

1) Chap. 30.

is known as to what sort of intercourse was carried on across this boundary in the age of the Three Kingdoms. As regards the western frontier, all we learn about it is that the Fu-yü's territory was contiguous on that side with that of the Hsien-pei, and so it remains to be asked which people owned the valley of the I-t'ung-ho, that is, the tract of country about Nung-an. Nung-an occupies a position of vital importance on the highway of communication between the district of A-lê-ch'u-k'ô and that of Liao-tung, and it will follow that if this place was in the hands of the Hsien-pei, and if at the same period the Fu-yü had their tribal centre and royal capital in the neighbourhood of A-lê-ch'u-k'ô, the intercourse between their home and Liao-tung must needs have been interrupted. But there is historical indication that the Fu-yü had had their capital in the district of A-lê-ch'u-k'ô ever since the Han period, and that their passage to the south was always open. The *Fu-yü-chüan* in the *Wei-chih* says: "In the Han times, it was customary with the King of the Fu-yü to have a jewelled coffin made and kept in reserve for his own burial. While he was alive, it was usually left in the custody of the Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, and on his demise, it was sent for to be used in the funeral. When Kung-sun Yüan [the self-appointed governor of Hsüan-t'u and other eastern prefectures] was destroyed, there was discovered in one official store-house of the prefecture one jewelled coffin of this kind. Nowadays, in the storehouses of the Fu-yü [king, in his own capital] there are found numbers of jade discs and libation cups and jem tokens 玉璧, 珪, 璜, which have accumulated and been handed down as treasures through generations. The elders say that these objects were received as gifts from the bygone [i. e. Han] dynasty."¹⁾ So it seems most likely that the royal capital of the Fu-yü had been maintained on the same site from the Han to the Three Kingdom Age, and affirming this view is this passage of the *Wei-liao*, found quoted in the note appended to the above text: "The country [of the Fu-yü] is wealthy and prosperous, and has never been destroyed since the last dynastic [i. e. Han] period." We may take it for granted, therefore, that in the Han period as well, the Fu-yü had their central seat about A-lê-ch'u-

1) Chap. 30.

k'ò. As for the history of intercourse between the Fu-yü and the Liao-tung district, we have already seen how little is known about it so far as the Former Han period is concerned; but in the Later Han, they are known to have now and then trespassed into Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, not less frequently to have offered tribute to the imperial court through the intermediary of that prefecture, and at one time to have sent an army to help lift the siege of the prefectural capital laid by the Kao-chü-li invaders. Towards the end of that dynastic period, we remember how the ruler of Liao-tung, Kung-sun Yüan married a daughter of his house to the Fu-yü king, as a means of to secure the latter's alliance in opposing the Kao-chü-li and the Hsien-pei, who had grown formidable neighbours by that time. I believe, all these circumstances combine to suggest that Nung-an, where the P'ò-hai were later on to set up a stronghold named after the Fu-yü, together with the I-t'ung-ho basin around it, formed part of the territory of the Fu-yü, at least from the Later Han to the Three Kingdom period.

To what extent were the Fu-yü indigenous to their country? We may recall that remark made in the *Fu-yü-chüan*: "The elders of the country say that they are descended from alien refugees of ancient times." Notice further this comment which closes the same Fu-yü account: "The inscription on the royal seal reads 'Seal of the King of the Wei 魏王之印,' and there is in the country an ancient fort called Wei-ch'êng 魏城. In all probability, this means that the land had been previously occupied by the Wei-mo, among whom the Fu-yü later arrived to dominate. Then there is good reason in the saying that they were descended from alien refugees."¹⁾ The Wei-mo, mentioned here, must have been the Tunguse aborigines of the region of A-lê-ch'u-k'ò. The Fu-yü's alleged descent from ancient alien refugees is readily associated with the legend about the origin of their kingdom recounted early in this study, and both concur in pointing to the alien origin of their ruling classes, although there is no clue to the discovery of the primitive abode from which these had started.

1) *Wei-chih*, chap. 30.

CHAPTER III

The Fu-yü in the Western and Eastern Chin, and in
the Southern and Northern Dynastic, Periods

The emperor Wu-ti, or Ssü-ma Yen 司馬炎, who founded his Western Chin 西晉 dynasty in succession to the Wei, caused to be established the Province of P'ing-chou 平州, in the 10th year of his reign, i. e. the 10th year of *T'ai-shih* 泰始 (A. D. 274), in order to exercise general control over the five eastern prefectures, namely, Liao-tung, Liao-hsi, Hsüan-t'u, Tai-fang, and Lo-lang. On the same occasion, and also following the example of the past regime, he appointed the Tung-i-chiao-wei 東夷校尉 resident in the seat of government of P'ing-chou, that is, Hsiang-p'ing 襄平 (present Liao-yang), with the function of curbing the eastern barbarian tribes generally, or the contemporaneous inhabitants of Manchuria and the Korean peninsula.¹⁾ In consequence, the second half of his reign saw frequent arrival at the imperial court of embassies and tributes from various eastern tribes; among whom the Fu-yü are thus mentioned in the *Tung-i-chüan* in the *Chin-shu* 晉書, the dynastic history: "During the reign of Wu-ti, they presented tribute time after time."²⁾

At this period, however, circumstances were fast maturing for the swarming in of the Five Barbarian Races, as they are historically termed, which was eventually to transform the destiny of all north China. At the close of the reign, in the 10th year of *T'ai-k'ang* 太康 (A. D. 289), the Mu-yung 慕容 tribe of the Hsien-pei race, pushed southward from their primitive abode to the north of the Liao-hsi Prefecture to settle down within the boundaries of Chang-li 昌黎 Prefecture, in the lower basin of the Ta-ling Ho 大凌河, but this was not until they had trampled upon their eastern neighbours, the Fu-yü. So the *Tsai-chi* 載記 in the *Chin-shu*, telling of their chief Mu-yung Kuei 廆, remarks: "He also led his multitudes eastward against the Fu-yü. The Fu-yü

1) See the author's "*Study of the Su-shên*," chap. 4, in M. T. B., No. 5.

2) Chap. 97.

king committed suicide; Kuei destroyed his royal capital, and then returned driving before him tens of thousands of Fu-yü prisoners. The Tung-i-chiao-wei, Ho K'an 何龕, despatched the Tu-hu 督護 [officer subordinate to the Chiao-wei], by the name of Chia Ch'ên 賈沉, to send for the son of I-lü 依慮 [the last Fu-yü king] and make him king. Now Kuei sent his general Sun Ting 孫丁 with cavalry to intercept the Chinese expedition. Ch'ên, however, fought vigorously, killed Ting, and succeeded at length in resuscitating the kingdom of Fu-yü."¹⁾ This event, belonging to the 6th and the 7th years of *T'ai-k'ang* (A. D. 285-6) of Wu-ti, is also related as follows in the article on the Fu-yü, which forms part of the *Tung-i-chüan* in the *Chin-shu*: "In the 6th year of *T'ai-k'ang*, they were attacked and crushed by Mu-yung Kuei. The king I-lü killed himself, and his sons and brothers fled to Wu-chü. Then the Emperor issued this decree for their sake: 'The Fu-yü have proved loyal and dutiful generation after generation, and now they are overthrown by the villainous barbarians, a matter calling forth our profound pity and regret. Should there be any survivors of the royal family worthy of the task of restoration, we order appropriate measures to be taken so that such might be helped to recover and maintain the throne.' The ministers replied saying: 'It was the fault of the Hu-tung-i-chiao-wei 護東夷校尉, Hsien-yü Ying 鮮于嬰, who failed to rescue the Fu-yü in time, and thus lost control of the situation.' Whereupon the imperial decree relieved Ying of his post in favour of Ho K'an. In the following year, the succeeding king of the Fu-yü, I-lo 依羅, sent a messenger to K'an asking leave and aid to restore the old kingdom with his remaining people. The emperor sent the Tu-yu 督郵 [officer subordinate to the Governor], by the name of Chia Ch'ên, with troops to the aid of the Fu-yü. The expedition, however, was encountered on the way by Kuei; but Ch'ên fought and routed the intruder, and compelled his multitudes to retreat. I-lo was thus enabled to restore his kingdom. Very often afterwards, however, it suffered raids from Kuei, who carried away Fu-yü tribesmen as prisoners to sell them in the Middle Kingdom. The Emperor took compassion on them, and by another decree ordered

1) Chap. 108.

them to be redeemed with government property, and sent to live in the Provinces of Ssü 司 and Chi 冀; while prohibiting trading in Fu-yü tribesmen.”¹⁾

So it was the fate of the Fu-yü, in the early years of the Western Chin period, to suffer a deadly blow from an overwhelming invasion by the Hsien-pei chieftain Mu-yung Kuei, and we learn it was only through the benevolence exerted for their sake by the founder of the Western Chin dynasty that they were still enabled to maintain bare existence as a nation. The land of the Wu-chü in which the sons and brothers of the self-destroyed king took refuge was probably North Wu-chü, as distinguished from South Wu-chü, and which is to be recognized in the present district of Chien-tao. But more hereafter about the rule established there by those royal refugees.

Coming down to the Eastern Chin 東晉 epoch, we find in its early period the Mu-yung tribe occupying both Liao-hsi and Liao-tung districts. Kuei's death in the 8th year of *Han-ho* 咸和 of Ch'êng-ti 成帝 (A. D. 333) brought his son Kuang 皝 to accede as Lord of Liao-tung; and a few years later, in the 3rd year of *Han-k'ang* 咸康 (A. D. 337), he proclaimed himself Yen Wang 燕王. He made repeated attacks on the Kao-chü-li, and succeeded in the 2nd year of *Chien-yüan* 建元 (A. D. 344) of K'ang-ti 康帝 in destroying the Yü-wên 宇文, a rival and kindred Hsien-pei tribe, who had dominated the valley of the Sira-müren beyond the frontier of Liao-tung, as did the Mu-yung themselves on the inner side. Then it was the turn of the Fu-yü to be visited with his expedition. His biography in the *Tsai-chi* in the *Chin-shu* says: “In the 3rd year, he sent his [third] son and heir Tsun 儁 with [the fourth son] K'o 恪, to lead a cavalry force of 17,000 eastward against the Fu-yü. They conquered the Fu-yü, took prisoner over 50,000 of the Fu-yü king's multitude, and returned therewith.”²⁾ This affair is related a little more at length in the *Chin-chih* 晉紀 in the *Tzû-chih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 under date of the 1st month of the 2nd year of *Yung-ho* 永和 (A. D. 346) of Mu-ti 穆帝, which says: “At first the Fu-yü inhabited

1) Chap. 97.

2) Chap. 109.

Lu-shan 鹿山, but they were invaded by the Pai-chi 百濟, and as their tribesmen became weakened and scattered, the community moved westward and settled down close to the territory of Yen, but without providing anything for defence. So it came to pass that the King of Yen, Kuang, sent his son and heir Tsun, in supreme command over the three generals, namely, Mu-yung Chün 軍, Mu-yung K'ò 恪, and Mu-yü Kên 慕輿根, with 17,000 horsemen, to make an attack upon the Fu-yü. Süi, however, did not go to the front himself, but directed affairs at home, while entrusting every military operation to K'ò. At last the expedition seized the Fu-yü capital, took prisoner the king Hsüan 玄 and over 50,000 tribesmen, and thereupon returned. Kuang appointed Hsüan to the office of Chên-chün Chiang-chün 鎮軍將軍 [honorary general], and married to him one of his daughters."¹⁾ In the former account in the *Tsai-chi*, we find the event dated simply as of the 3rd year, but reading on in the context, we immediately discover the death of Kuang reported under the 4th year of *Yung-ho*, and this gives us to understand that the 3rd year of *Yung-ho* was the more complete date that should have been given. It will be noticed, however, that the date attached to the same affair by the *Tzû-chih-t'ung-chien* is the 2nd year of *Yung-ho*, differing by one year from that of the *Tsai-chi*. We do not know how to decide between these alternatives, but the higher authenticity generally attributed to the *Tzû-chih-t'ung-chien* inclines us in favour of the earlier date.

Lu-shan, mentioned in the last-named history as the former seat of the Fu-yü, perhaps referred to some mountain and its neighbourhood in the district of A-lê-ch'u-ko; the proper home of the tribe. As for the Pai-chi, alleged as the invaders of this tribal seat, there is no interpreting the term unless we take it as a misrepresentation of the Kao-chü-li. When the Fu-yü moved westward in consequence, their new abode must have been some locality of importance in that direction, and at the same time liable to the aggression by the Yen state, now their western neighbour. This consideration preeminently points to the district of Nung-an in the I-t'ung-ho valley, noticeable later as the site of Fu-yü Fu on the P'ò-hai Kingdom. When the Yen king Kuang fell upon

1) *Tzû-chih-t'ung-chien*, chap. 97, *Chin-chih*, chap. 19.

the Fu-yü king Hsüan's capital, therefore, we may be sure that he found it in the region of Nung-an, not in that of A-lê-ch'u-k'o.

Let us now go back to the time when Mu-yung Kuei's ruthless attack upon the Fu-yü capital, in the 6th year of *T'ai-k'ang* (A. D. 285), made the king I-lü commit suicide and his sons and brothers flee to the land of Wu-chü. As already pointed out, Wu-chü here must have meant North Wu-chü exclusively, for it is clear that it could not have been South Wu-chü for the reason to be seen. Departing from the demolished capital in the district of A-le-ch'u-k'o, they must have passed through the territory of their eastern neighbours, the I-lou, before reaching their destination in the valleys of the Pu-êrh-ha-t'u and the Hai-lan, nowadays called Chien-tao. In this country, it seems that the noble refugees stayed, and in course of time brought under their sway the native inhabitants, who were of lower culture, until they gave rise to a new Fu-yü Kingdom there. And this presupposes that this region lay at that period beyond the sphere of influence of the Kao-chü-li. As regards the other, South Wu-chü, with its centre in Kan-kô in the present Kan-kyô Nandô in Korea, it was then certainly dominated by the Kao-chü-li, and, in my opinion, its conquest by the latter dated back to the reign of the king Kung, which extended from some unknown date prior to the 1st year of *Yüan-hsing* 元興 (A. D. 105) of Ho-ti 和帝 of the Later Han dynasty to the 1st year of *Chien-kuang* 建光 (A. D. 121) of An-ti; and that aggressive expansion must have been carried on from the neighbourhood of T'ung-kou on the middle course of the Ya-lu over that mountain-range which forms the backbone of northern Korea, dividing Heian Dô 平安道 from Kan-kyô Dô.¹⁾ Later on, in the 6th year of *Chêng-shih* (A. D. 245), when the Governor of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture Wang Ch'i, as noticed before, marched into South Wu-chü in chase of the Kao-chü-li king Kung, who had sought shelter there, we know again for certain that that district was under the sway of the Kao-chü-li.²⁾

Between the time of Wang Ch'i's victorious expedition, as above,

1) This subject will be treated at length in the author's future essay, "*A Study of the Kao-chü-li.*"

2) See the author's "*Chinese Expedition to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty.*"

and that of the overthrow of Lo-lang Prefecture by the Kao-chü-li king I-fu-li 乙弗利 in the 1st year of *Chien-hsing* 建興 (A. D. 313) of Min-ti 愍帝, toward the close of the Western Chin, there is a period of sixty-eight years during which Chinese history says nothing whatever of the Kao-chü-li;¹⁾ but from the Korean chronicles, *San-kuo-shih-chi*, we learn that at the beginning of the Western Chin period, the Kao-chü-li throne was occupied by Hsi-ch'uan-wang Yao-lu 西川王藥盧, who was a grandson of Tung-ch'uan-wang Yu-wei-chü 東川王憂位居 (i. e. Wei-kung) mentioned before. I-fu-li, as he is called in Chinese history, who lived from the end of the Western Chin into the early Eastern Chin period, was identical with Mei-ch'uan-wang I-fu 美川王乙弗 in the *San-kuo-shih-chi*, and his son and successor was Ku-kuo-yüan-wang Ssü-yü 故國原王斯由, according to the Korean appellation. In Chinese records he appears under the name of Chao 釗, and it was during his reign that his country suffered frequent attacks from the Hsien-pei leader Mu-yung Kuang, and also that the Fu-yü king Hsüan's capital, presumably about the present Nung-an, was overthrown by the same hand. These chronological considerations also lead to the inference that it was Mei-ch'uan-wang I-fu or his successor Ku-kuo-yüan-wang Ssü-yü who was responsible for the Kao-chü-li encroachment upon the former country of the Fu-yü, in the region of A-lê-ch'u-k'o, which drove the Fu-yü king and his subjects westward to settle in a locality near the territory of Yen, as observed before in the passage from the *Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien*.

After Ku-kuo-yüan-wang, the Kao-chü-li dynasty descended through Hsiao-shou-lin-wang Ch'iu-fu 小獸林王丘夫 and Ku-kuo-jang-wang I-lien 故國壤王伊連 to Kuang-k'ai-t'u-wang T'an-tê 廣開土王談德, or, as he is commonly called, Hao-t'ai-wang 好太王; and the inscription on the famous monument of Kao-chü-li antiquity, dedicated to the commemoration of his achievements, preserves the fact of his conquest of "the Eastern Fu-yü," and of his winning over of five towns in their district. The monumental passage concerned runs: "In the 20th year of *Yung-lo* 永樂, kêng ksü 庚戌 [cyclical signs], the king, finding that the Tung-fu-yü 東扶餘 [Eastern Fu-yü], a people formerly subject to Tsou-mou-

1) See the author's "*Study of the Su-shên*."

wang 鄒牟王, had in course of time become delinquent and ceased to pay tribute, took personal lead of several legions and marched against their city. . . . where the royal benevolence was universally distributed. Whereupon he returned with his army. Besides, the communities which longed for his moral government and came following his officials were Wei-ch'ou-lou Ya-lu 味仇婁鴨盧, Pei-ssü-ma Ya-lu 卑斯麻鴨盧, [? Ch'iu]-li-lou Ya-lu [? 球] 立婁鴨盧, Su-ssü-han [Ya-lu] 肅斯含 [鴨盧], and . . . [Ya-] lu . . . [鴨盧]."¹⁾

By way of interpretation, it may be remarked that *Yung-lo* was an era name adopted by the king, Hao-t'ai-wang, and the 20th year of that era being identical with the 20th year of his reign, the date corresponds to the 6th year of *I-hsi* 義熙 (A. D. 410) of An-ti of the Eastern Chin. Tsou-mou-wang, also represented as Chu-mêng-wang 朱蒙王 in history, is an imaginary character to whom the foundation of the Kao-chü-li kingdom is attributed; and the alleged former dependence of the Eastern Fu-yü on this king was nothing but a fiction intended to justify the expedition referred to. Then, in the names of the communities mentioned as new followers of the Kao-chü-li government, we may notice the common ending "*Ya-lu*." This is comparable to the term *Kou-lu* 溝婁, met with not infrequently in Chinese accounts of the eastern countries, and which has been recognized as a native word denoting city, fort, or castle.²⁾

And what about the Eastern Fu-yü? Dr. S. Tsuda, in a criticism on Korean history, admits the difficulty of tracing the relation between the country whose people were called Eastern Fu-yü and the proper home

1) The original text runs, obliterated characters, unidentifiable, being represented by squares: "永樂廿年庚戌,東扶餘舊是鄒牟王屬民,中叛不貢,王躬率往諸軍,到餘城,而餘城國駢□□□□□□□□王思普處,於是旋還,又其慕化隨官來者,味仇婁鴨盧,卑斯麻鴨盧,[?球]立婁鴨盧,肅斯含[鴨盧]□□□□[鴨盧]。"

2) The *Wu-chü-chüan* in the *Wei-chih*, chap. 3, has: "North Wu-chü, also called Mai-kou-lu 買溝婁 [as restored from the corruption 置溝婁] is over 800 li from South Wu-chü." (See the author's "*Chinese Expeditions to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty*," chap. II) And the *Kao-chü-li-chüan* in the same history: "It was customary with the Kao-chü-li to receive their ceremonial costumes and *tsê* caps at the hand of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture. . . . The Prefectural authorities built a small fort on the eastern frontier of the prefecture, and laid therein the ceremonial costumes and *tsê* caps. The Kao-chü-li came and took them away from season to season. Nowadays the Hu 胡 [Kao-chü-li] call that fort Tsê-kou-lu 曷溝婁, and '*Kou-lu*' means fort in Kao-chü-li speech.

of the recognized Fu-yü, but thinks it probable that the former was a district which had once formed an eastern section of the Fu-yü's territory, more particularly the quarter lying near the proper country of the Kao-chü-li.¹⁾ After what we have observed, however, of the Fu-yü state which must have been organized in the land of North Wu-chü by the fugitive sons and brothers of the vanquished Fu-yü king I-lü, we have no reason to hesitate to recognize in it the Eastern Fu-yü in question. Now we see that this country was absorbed into the Kao-chü-li dominion in the 6th year of *I-hsi* in the late Eastern Chin period, and this makes its duration a matter of a century and a quarter since the 6th year *T'ai-k'ang* (A. D. 285) of Wu-ti of the Western Chin.²⁾

The Kao-chü-li king Chang-shou-wang Chü-lien 長壽王巨連, successor to Kuang-k'ai-t'u-wang, was visited, in the 23rd year of his reign, or the 1st year of *T'ai-yen* 大延 of the Later Wei dynasty (A. D. 435), by the Wei envoy Li Ao 李敖, who was sent by the Emperor T'ai-wu-ti 太武帝 to give him a formal acknowledgment as vassal king. The *Kao-chü-li-chüan* of the *Wei-shu* has this passage relating to this occasion: "Arriving at the city of P'ing-jang 平壤 [the seat of the Kao-chü-li king], he [Li Ao] made an inquiry as to the bearings of the country. The reply was that it [the city] was over 1,000 li south of Liao-tung; that it [the territory] reached Cha-ch'êng 柵城 on the east, the Hsiao-hai 小海 [Small Sea] on the south, and the Former Fu-yü 舊扶餘 on the north; and that the population had trebled since the Former Wei [i. e. Tsao Wei 曹魏] period."³⁾ The names Cha-ch'êng and the Former Fu-yü call for our particular attention. The first name also occurs in that fragment of CHIA TAN's 賈耽 *Ku-chin-chün-kuo-chih* 古今郡國志, quoted toward the close of the Geography in the *San-kuo-shih-chi* as:

1) "Criticism on the *Kao-chü-li-chih* in the *San-kuo-shih-chi*," in the Reports of the Historical and Geographical Researches Relating to Manchuria and Korea," edited by the Department of Literature in the Tokyo Imperial University, vol. IV (March 1923), p. 20.

2) The mention of the Eastern Fu-yü in the account of the origin of the Kao-chü-li Kingdom which opens the Annals of the Kao-chü-li in the *San-kuo-shih-chi*, and which is apparently an embellished adaptation of its counterpart found in the *Kao-chü-li-chüan* in the *Wei-shu*, helps to prove that it was a Kao-chü-li author who was at the task, and at the same time affords us a clue to a rough estimate of his age.

3) Chap. 100.

“The four Fu units, namely Nan-hai, Ya-lu, Fu-yü, and Cha-ch'êng, in the P'ò-hai Kingdom are, all of them, part of the former territory of the Kao-chü-li. Between Ch'üan-ching Chün 泉井郡 District in Hsin-lo 新羅 and Cha-ch'êng, there are 39 stations in all.”¹⁾ And also in the *P'ò-hai-chüan* in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* as: “The former seat of the Wei-mo was established as the Eastern City, and named Lung-yüan Fu or otherwise Cha-ch'êng Fu. . . . Lung-yüan borders eastward on the sea, and lies on the route to Jih-pên 日本 [Japan].”²⁾ We know that the Nan-hai Fu, mentioned together with Cha-ch'êng Fu in CHIA TAN'S Geography, was one of the five centres of defence and administration in the P'ò-hai Kingdom (namely, the capital city Lung-ch'üan Fu, the middle city Hsien-tê Fu 顯德府, the eastern city Lung-yüan Fu or Cha-ch'êng Fu; the southern city Nan-hai Fu, and the western city Ya-lu Fu); and it is thus described in the same *P'ò-hai-chüan*: “The former seat of the Wu-chü was made the southern city and designated Nan-hai Fu. . . . Nan-hai Fu lies on the route to Hsin-lo.” So we may safely place the southern city in the neighbourhood of Kan-kô, which is one of the most important localities on the Japan Sea coast of Korea.³⁾ Further consider the relative positions of those five centres, and it will seem almost certain that Cha-ch'êng, the eastern city, falls in the district of Chü-tzü-chieh, on the bank of the Pu-êrh-ha-t'u, whose importance as a centre in the Tumen region cannot well be overlooked. Now it will be safe to assume that Cha-ch'êng (the name literally meaning barricade-city), which came into Chinese cognizance, when the Wei envoy visited the Kao-chü-li capital in the 23rd year of Chang-shou-wang, as the eastern border station in the Kao-chü-li territory, was a stronghold built by the Kao-chü-li in the former country of the Eastern Fu-yü, in consequence of the last king Kuan-k'ai-t'u-wang's conquest of the region. And this leads to the opinion that the Former Fu-yü, correlatively

1) Chap. 37.

2) Chap. 219.

3) See the author's study “*About the P'u-lu-mao-to Tribe 蒲盧毛朶部*,” appended to his treatise, *The Conquest of Ho-lan-tien 曷懶甸 by the Wan-yen Family and the Campaign of the Nine Fortresses 九城 Led by Yin Kuan 尹瓘*,” in the Reports of the Historical and Geographical Researches Relating to Manchuria and Korea, vol. IX.

assigned to the northern border of the Kao-chü-li dominion, must have referred to the former home of the Fu-yü in the region of A-lê-ch'u-k'o, which had been taken over through the earlier conquest accomplished by either Mei-ch'uan-wang or his successor Ku-kuo-yüan-wang.¹⁾

To follow later traces of the Fu-yü people in history, we find in the Annals of Kao-tsung 高宗 in the *Wei-shu* this statement referring to the 3rd year of *T'ai-an* 太安 (A. D. 457); "Yü-t'ien 于闐, Fu-yü, and other countries totalling over 50, sent each an embassy to pay homage and tribute,"²⁾ and the year falls in Korean history upon the 45th year of the reign of Chang-shou-wang. Next comes this entry in the Annals of the Kao-chü-li in the *San-kuo-shih-chi*, under the 2nd month of the 3rd year of Wên-tzû Ming-wang, which corresponds on the Chinese side to the 18th year of *T'ai-ho* (A. D. 494) of Hsiao-wên-ti 孝文帝 of the Later Wei: "The Fu-yü king, together with his family, came [to the Kao-chü-li] to submit his state." Comparing this with that passage already noticed in the *Kao-chü-li-chüan* in the *Wei-shu*, recounting what the Korean envoy, arriving in the *Chêng-shih* era (A. D. 504-7), told the Wei emperor about the fate of the Fu-yü, it will be easily seen that this submission of the Fu-yü king to the Kao-chü-li court had behind it the fact that the tribe had been driven away by the invading Wu-chi 勿吉 from their proper home in the A-lê-ch'u-k'o region. If we are to go back for a space in reviewing the vicissitudes of the race, it seems to have lost, as early as the beginning of the Eastern Chin period, its

1) The *Wei-shu*, chap. 100, has: "The country of Tou-mo-lou 豆莫婁 lies 1,000 *li* north that of the Wu-chi, and 6,000 *li* away from Lo-yang 洛陽. It is the former land of the North Fu-yü 北扶餘." Dr. S. Tsuda thinks Tou-mo-lou assignable to the tract of country lying over against Harbin across the Sungari. (See his "Study of the *Shih-wei* 室韋," in the Reports of the Historical and Geographical Researches Relating to Manchuria and Korea, vol. I, p. 59). The most eminent place in the quarter referred to is Hu-lan 呼蘭 in the basin of the Hu-lan; and there is every probability that a Fu-yü population which occupied this region in the prosperous days of the race, was called North Fu-yü. It must be noted, however, that the same name occurs on the monument of the Kao-chü-li king Kuang-k'ai-t'u-wang as: "In the ancient times, when Chou-mou 鄒牟, the founder of the dynasty, first established the kingdom, he had originated from the North Fu-yü," and in this instance it will be more appropriate to interpret the term as referring to the Fu-yü population in the A-lê-ch'u-k'o district, as opposed to the Eastern Fu-yü, who were conquered by that Korean king.

2) Chap. 5.

main home and domain about A-lê-ch'u-k'ò, which went to increase the territory of the Kao-chü-li. In consequence, the Fu-yü shifted their abode westward to the neighbourhood of the present Nung-an, but very soon their new settlement was demolished by the king of Yen, Mu-yung Kuang, who followed up his victory over his kindred and rival, the Yü-wên, with attacking the Fu-yü's capital and carrying the king Hsüan away as prisoner of war. And then it is quite possible that the Kao-chü-li, the great enemy of Yen, showing a more favourable attitude to the latter's victims, suffered the remnants of the Fu-yü king's family to drift into their old tribal home in the A-lê-ch'u-k'ò region, now a Kao-chü-li domain. Here they may have been allowed to settle and preserve their national existence and title down into the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, remaining all the while dependent on the Kao-chü-li supremacy, and such was perhaps the condition in which the ruling house of the Fu-yü found itself when the final stroke dealt by the Wu-chi drove it away for ever from its traditional abode. This marks the point at which the Fu-yü vanish from history, and it belongs to a separate study of mine to discuss under the proper title the rise and advance of the Wu-chi, their supplanters.
