

A Study of the Su-shên

By

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CHAPTER I

The *Hu* Arrows and Stone Arrow-Heads among the Ancient Manchurian Peoples

It is of certain historical interest to know that various peoples who inhabited Manchuria in olden times, all belonging to the Tunguse race and alike backward in civilization, are noticed in Chinese chronicles of successive periods for their use of arrows of the *hu* 檣 tree fitted with stone arrow-heads, which were their chief weapon in war and chase.

Of the I-lou 挹婁 tribe in the age of the Three Kingdoms, the *Wei-chih* 魏志 gives us this information: "Their bow is four feet long and has the strength of a crossbow. Their arrow is made of the *hu*, measures a foot and eight inches, and is furnished with an arrow-head of blue stone. They are the same people as the Su-shên tribe of ancient times. They are skilled in shooting. If they shoot a man, every shaft will go home. They dip their arrows in poison; every man hit by them must perish." 其弓長四尺,力如弩。矢用檣,長尺八寸,青石爲鏃。古之肅慎氏之國也。善射。射人皆入。因矢施毒。人中皆死。¹⁾ In the next dynastic history, the *Chin-shu* 晉書, the same people appears under the name of Su-shên, "I-lou," being given as their alternative name and there we read of them: "They use *shih-nu* (stone arrow-heads) and armour of skin and bone. Their bow of *tan* wood measures three feet and five inches, and their arrow of the *hu* one foot eight." 有石弩,皮骨之甲。檀弓三尺五寸,檣矢長尺有咫。²⁾ In the epoch of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, it is the Wu-chi 勿吉 who are

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

2) *Chin-shu*, chap. 97.

described by the *Wei-shu* 魏書 as: "They are good archers and hunters. Their bow is three feet, and their arrow one foot and two inches long, with a stone arrow-head. . . . During the seventh and eighth months, every year, they prepare a poison to apply to their arrow-heads. When they shoot beasts and birds, whatever the arrow hits is killed instantly. Let the poison boil, and the deadly gas will kill a man. . . . In the 12th year of *Tai-ho* 太和 (A. D. 488), the Wu-chi sent once more a mission to the Metropolis, with a tribute of *hu* arrows and other native products." 善射獵. 弓長三尺, 箭長尺二寸, 以石爲鏃. . . . 常七八月, 造毒藥. 傅箭鏃射禽獸, 中者便死. 煮藥, 毒氣亦能殺人. . . . 太和十二年, 勿吉復遣使, 貢楛矢方物於京師¹⁾. Besides, we find in the *Dynastic Annals* in the same history, and in the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜, frequent mention of similar tributes of *hu* arrows with *shih-nu* (stone arrow-heads) as having been presented by the same people.²⁾ During the Sui to the T'ang period, there were the Mo-ho 靺鞨, of whom the *Sui-shu* 隋書 remarks: "From the Fu-nieh 拂涅 [one of the seven clans of the tribe] eastward, all of them use arrows with stone arrow-heads; for they are the people identical with the Su-shên of antiquity. . . . Shooting and hunting is a general occupation with them. Their horn bow is three feet long, and their arrow one foot two. During the seventh and eighth months, every year, they prepare a poison to dip their arrows in, and when they shoot birds and beasts with them, every hit brings instantaneous death." 自拂涅以東, 矢皆石鏃, 卽古肅慎氏也. . . . 人皆射獵爲業. 角弓長三尺, 箭長尺有二寸. 常以七八月造毒藥, 傅矢以射禽獸, 中者立死.³⁾ The *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 舊唐書 says of them that "their weapons were horn bows and *hu* arrows;" 兵器, 有角弓及楛矢⁴⁾ and the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 that "their arrow, fitted with a stone arrowhead, was one foot and two inches long, no doubt the survival of the *hu* and *nu* 弩 (stone arrow-head) type [of the Su-shên]." 其矢石鏃, 長二寸. 蓋楛弩遺法.⁵⁾ Again, the *Kua-ti-chih* 括地志, compiled by T'ai-tsung's 太宗 son

1) *Wei-shu*, chap. 100.

2) Chap. 969.

3) *Sui-shu*, chap. 81.

4) Chap. 199.

5) Chap. 219.

Wei-Wang T'ai 魏王泰 and others in the early years of the T'ang dynasty has: "The Mo-ho are the same people as the Su-shên of old. . . . They are good archers. Their bow is four feet long, and [as strong] as a crossbow, their arrow is made of the *hu*. It measures a foot and eight inches, and is furnished with an arrow-head of blue stone;" 靺鞨國, 古肅慎也. . . 善射. 弓長四尺, 如弩, 矢用楷, 長一尺八寸, 青石爲鏃.¹⁾ This we perceive to be nothing but the old *Wei-chih* passage on the I-lou tribe, repeated verbatim to apply to the contemporary Manchurian people. At the time of Emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 of the same dynasty, an annotator of the *Shih-chi* 史記, while commenting on the "arrow of the Su-shên" in the *Kung-tzū-shih chia* 孔子世家 of the history,²⁾ gives this quotation from a separate account of the people, entitled *Su-shên kuo-chi* 肅慎國記. "The Su-shên have their home to the northeast of the country of the Fu-yü 夫餘, at a distance of about sixty days' journey. Their bow is four feet long, and tough and strong [as ?] a cross-bow, having a range of four hundred paces."³⁾ This is followed by the annotator's own view: "What is now the Mei chia 靺鞨 tribe⁴⁾ has certainly this arrow." 肅慎, 其地在夫餘國東北河[可?] 六十日行. 其弓四尺, 強勁, [如]弩, 射四百步. 今之靺鞨國, 方有此矢.

Finally, it is the Nü-chên 女真 tribes of the Liao period that are connected with the use of that primitive arrow. The *Kao-li-shih* 高麗史 in its chapter *Hsien-tsung-shih chia* 顯宗世家 bears witness to the fact that a tribute of four armed boats and 117,600 *hu* arrows was presented to the Liao court by Man t'ou 曼圖 and other chieftains of the Eastern Nü-chên, in the 21st year of Hsien-tsung (i. e. the 10th year of T'ai-p'ing 太平 of Shêng-tsung 聖宗 of the Liao dynasty; A. D. 1030); that another presentation of 9 horses, 3 armed boats, and 58,600 *hu* arrows was received from another group of chieftains, Su-wu-kai 蘇勿蓋 and

1) One of the remnant passage of the *Kua-ti-chih* 括地志 quoted in the *Shih-chi-chêng-i* 史記正義 (*Shih-chi*, chap. 2, the Annals of Hsia 夏)

2) *Shih-chi*, chap. 47.

3) More will be said toward the close of Chapter III about the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* and this quotation, which is perhaps defective.

4) Obviously a variation of Mo-ho 靺鞨, which is the regular transcription of the tribe name.

others, of the same tribe, in the same year; and that still another contribution of horses, iron armour, and *hu* arrows was made by Mu-shih-a-ku 陸史阿骨 and other Eastern Nü-chên chieftains, also in the same year.¹⁾

As for the nature of the *hu* tree, the material for the arrow in question, we can also draw some information about it from Chinese literature. In the first place, Hsü SHÊN's 許慎 *Shuo-wên-chieh-tzŭ* 說文解字, that early lexicon of the Later Han age, defines the character *hu* 栝 as the name of a "tree". The T'ang annotator of the *Hou-han-shu*, 後漢書, CHANG-HUAI T'AI-TZŪ 章懷太子, says: "Nowadays in the district of Liao-tso 遼左 [*i. e.*, Liao-tung] there are found *hu* trees. They look like the *ching* 荆 [thorn], and their leaves like those of an elm 榆." 今遼左有栝木,狀如荆,葉如榆也.²⁾ The *Shêng-ching-t'ung-chih* 盛京通志 (edited in 1736) being a geographical account of Manchuria, mentions this article among the products of the region, saying: "The *hu*, also called *chih-wei-ching* 雉尾荆 [pheasant-tail thorn], is red-coloured, and fit for making arrows. What tradition calls *hu* arrows of the Su-shên were made of this." 栝一名雉尾荆,色赤,中爲弓.世傳肅慎氏栝矢,即是.³⁾ Again the Ch'ing author YEN Jo-CHŪ 閻若璩 tells us that once he enquired of a man from Ninguta 寧古塔 as to the topography of his locality, and that the answer was in part: "Six hundred *li* away to the southwest [of Ninguta] lie the Chang-pai-shan mountains. On the north of their peaks as well as in the Hêi-sung-lin [the forests of black pines], one finds everywhere *hu* trees. One may gather them to make arrows, for they are hard and straight, and not influenced by dampness or dryness." 有從寧古塔來者,詢其風土,云……西南去六百里,曰長白山.山巔之陰,及黑松林,徧生栝木,可取以爲矢.質堅面直,不爲燥濕所移.⁴⁾ This seems to indicate that the plant was quite common in Manchuria,

1) *Kao-li-shih*, chap. 5.

2) *Hou-han-shu*, chap. 100.

3) Chap. 27.

4) *Shang-shu-ku-wên-su-chêng* (Explanations and Evidences relating to the Ancient Text of the Shu-ching), chap. 5, b.

growing more abundantly in the thick-wooded mountains of the Chang-pai range.

Not that, however, it was peculiar to the Manchurian soil; it was also seen growing in China proper, and from very early times too. For we meet in the *T'a-ya* 大雅 of the *Shih-ching* 詩經 a song containing these lines: "Look at the foot of the Han Hill, How abundant grow the hazel 榛 and the *Hu* 桔" 瞻彼旱麓, 榛桔濟濟; while the *Yü-kung* 禹貢篇 of the *Shang-shu* 尚書 mentions among the tributes from the province of Ching 荊州, "*chün* 菌 and *lu* 箬 bamboos and *hu* 桔." Then the *Shan-hai-ching* 山海經 takes this notice of the mountain of Shang-shên 上申: "In its upper region, there is no vegetation, but only numerous huge rocks; in the lower, one finds hazel and *lu* in abundance." 上申之山, 上無草木, 而多硤石, 下多榛桔.¹⁾ In the age of the Three Kingdoms, Liu Chi 陸璣 under the Wu 吳 dynasty, comments on the above *Shih-ching* song, saying: "The *hu* resembles *ching* 荊 [thorn] in form, is red-coloured, and its stem looks like a *shih* 蓍 divining rod. The inhabitants of Shang-tang 上黨 [*i. e.*, the southern part of Chi-ning-tao 冀寧道, Shan-hsi] weave it into wicker boxes and also make hairpins out of it by bending it. Therefore, if a man of Shang-tang should ask a woman in joke whether she would buy ochre, she would answer that beneath the oven there was some yellow earth ready for her use; if he would ask her whether she would buy a hairpin, she would say that the mountains offered her their *hu*." 桔其形似荊而赤, 莖似蓍. 上黨人織以爲斗筲箱, 又揉以爲釵. 故上黨人調問婦人, 欲買赭否, 曰竈下自有黃土, 問買釵否, 曰山中自有桔.²⁾ In modern times, the *Shang-hsi-t'ung-chih* 山西通志, revised in 1892, makes this remark: "According to the former edition,³⁾ the *hu* is a product of Lu-an 潞安."⁴⁾ Perhaps the southern part of Chi-ning-tao 冀寧道, corresponding to Shang-tang 上黨

1. *Shan-hai-ching*, chap. 2.

2. Liu Chi, *Mao-shih-tsao-mu-niao-shou-chung-yü-su* 毛詩草木鳥獸蟲魚疏 (Explanations of the Fauna and Flora of Mao Shih 毛詩), chap. I. (*Ku-ching-chieh-hui-han* 古經解彙函, vol. 15).

3. Chap. 100, *Fêng-t'u-chi* 風土記, b.

4. Liu Mei 劉梅, *Shan-hsi-t'ung-chih* 山西通志, edited in the 21st year of K'ang-hsi (A. D. 1682).

of old, still yields the same plant. It will be well to notice here how E. BRETSCHNEIDER, in his scholarly work *Botanicon Sinicum*, sums up the results of his observation of the mentions of the object occurring in classics. "That is all we know from the ancient authors regarding the *hu* tree," says he. "Although LEGGE calls it the arrow-thorn, Chinese authors do not say that it has thorns. It seems that this tree or shrub is still known under its ancient name in China. We find the *hu* mentioned in the *Shan-si-t'ung-chi* as growing in Lu-an fu."¹ I cannot but wish his laborious study had been consummated by assigning to the plant its botanical term. As I am myself a stranger to botany, I can only look forward to some savant or scientist for more precise judgment.

Neither does it seem probable that these Manchurian tribes were unique in employing the *hu* as material for their arrows. The Eastern Chin author Kuo P'o 郭璞, making a note on the *hu* mentioned in the *Shan-hai-ching*, says: "The *hu* tree may be made into arrows," 栝木可以爲箭², and we have some reason to believe that this was said from experience obtained at home in China proper. For the *Chan-kuo-ts'ê* 戰國策 relates a story about what happened when the prince of Chao, Hsiang-tzū 趙襄子, went to inspect the fortified city of Chin-yang 晉陽 (modern Tai-yüan, Chi-ning-tao, Shan-hsi 山西省冀寧道太原) in his own domain. He summons his officer Chang Mêng-t'an, and says: "Our citadel is perfectly strengthened: the arsenals are sufficiently replete, and the granaries well-filled; but what about the want of arrows?" Chang answers: "I am told that in the days when Tung-tzū was governor of Chin-yang, the official edifices there were all hedged around with rushes, *hao* 蒿, *hu* and *ch'u* 楚. The *hu* trees now stand there to a height of more than 10 feet. You may order them to be gathered and made use of." When they were taken and tried, they proved unsurpassed in strength and toughness even by *chün* and *lu* bamboos; The lord declared, "Now we have sufficient arrows!" 召張孟談曰, 吾城郭之完,

1. E. BRETSCHNEIDER, *Botanicon Sinicum*, (Shanghai, 1892), part II, The Botany of the Chinese Classics, p. 377.

2. *Shan-hai-ching-kuang-chu*, chap. 2.

府庫足用，倉廩實矣，無矢奈何。張孟談曰，臣聞，董子之治晉陽也，公宮之垣，皆以荻，蒿，桔，楚膚之。有桔，其高至丈餘，君發而用之。於是，發而試之，其堅則箇籥之勁不能過也。君曰，矢足矣。¹⁾ Further evidence may be pointed out where the T'ang annotator YEN SHIH-KU 顏師古 explains "the arrows of the Su-shên" mentioned in the *Chien-han-shu*, as "The character sounds like *hu* 怙. The tree may make the shaft of an arrow. Nowadays all over the district from Pin 隴²⁾ northward, one may find it thus utilized. The people there call the tree *hu-tzũ*," 音怙。其木堪爲箭筈。今隴以北皆用之。土俗呼其木爲桔子也。³⁾ The specified region is a certain northern section of the present province of Shen-hsi 陝西, and so we may assume that the *hu* arrow was in common use there as late as the T'ang period, in which the commentator was writing.

Now we may turn to notice the arrow-head termed *nu* 弩, which is mentioned together with the *hu* arrow. The character makes its first appearance in the *Yü-kung* of the *Shang-shu*, in a passage [relating to the Provinces of Ching 荆 and Liang 梁, (the former roughly corresponding to the present Hu-nan and Hu-pei, and the latter to the present Shen-hsi and Ssü-ch'uan Provinces) and it is explained by the *Shuo-wên* 說文 as: "*Nu* is a kind of stone out of which may be made arrow-heads." 弩, 石可以爲矢鏃者。This "stone", however, may be interpreted in various ways. For witness, the Chin author CH'ANG CHÜ 常璩, in his *Hua-yang-kuo-chih* 華陽國志, in the passage about T'ai-têng Hsien 臺登縣, Yüeh-sui Prefecture, 越巂郡, says: "In the mountains is found *nu-shih* 弩石 [*nu* stone]. This may be turned into iron by burning, when it becomes hard and keen. The *Yü-kung* shows that the tribute due from this district was *nu*, and it must have meant this very thing." 山有弩石, 火燒成鐵, 剛利。禹貢厥賦弩, 是也。⁴⁾ In this case there can be small doubt that the *nu-shih* signified iron ore, and pro-

1) *Chan-kuo-tsê*, chap. 6, a.

2) In the 1st year of *Wu-tê* 武德 of Kao-tsu 高祖 of the T'ang dynasty, (A. D. 618) what had been the prefecture of Hsin-p'ing 新平 under the Sui dynasty was re-established as the province of Pin-chou 邠州, to be renamed as Pin 邠 in the 13th year of *K'ü-yüan* 開元 of Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 (A. D. 725).

3) *Han-shu*, chap. 27, *Wu-hang-chih*.

4) Collated edition by LIAO YIN 廖寅, 19th year of *Chia-ching* 嘉慶 (A. D. 1814). chap. 3.

bably this was also the idea of that ancient lexicographer. The same evidence is repeated, in the T'ang period, by LI CHI-FU's 李吉甫 *Yüan-ho-chün-hsien-t'u-chih* 元和郡縣圖志, in this paragraph on Tai-têng Hsien 臺登縣, Sui Prefecture 雋州: "Tieh-shih Shan [Iron-ore Hill] stands 35 li east of the country town. It yields *nu-shih*, which may be burned into iron, a kind exceedingly hard and penetrating." 鐵石山, 在縣東三十五里. 山有礬石, 火燒成鐵, 極剛利.¹ The locality referred to, by the way, was within the present limits of Mien-ning-hsien 冕寧縣, Chien-ch'ang-Tao 建昌道, in the Province of Ssü-ch'uan. Again, the Chin poet Tso Ssü 左思, in his "*Song of the Metropolis of Shu*" 蜀都賦 enumerates among the products of the country around "*pi* 碧, *nu* 礬, *mang-hsiao* 芒消 (*pi* being emerald, and *mang-hsiao* copper sulphate or sodium sulphate); and this is commented upon by the T'ang author LIU LIANG 劉良 as: "The emerald comes forth from Wu-hui Hsien of Yüeh-sui Prefecture; *nu* may be made into arrow-heads, and it is noticeable that the *Yü-kung* passage on the province of Liang says 'its tribute is *nu-shi*.' As for the *mang hsiao*, it is produced from K'ang-yang Shan, in Shu Prefecture." 碧石生越嶲郡無會縣. 礬可作箭鏃, 禹貢梁州, 厥貢礬石. 芒消出蜀郡廣陽山.² It is not improbable that in these cases, including the *Yü-kung*, the term *nu* or *nu-shih* was intended for iron ore, as raw material for manufacturing iron arrow-heads. But, it is nevertheless true that the character *nu* at times signified a stone arrow-head, the use of which the Chinese themselves must have outgrown before they began to have written history. Thus, in the Later Han period, YING SHAO 應劭 defines it as: "*Nu* is an arrow-head;" 礬鏃也³ while in the Three Kingdoms days, WEI SHAO 韋昭 under the Wu dynasty notes: "*Nu* is an arrow-head, made of stone." 礬鏃也, 以石爲之.⁴ When the Later Han annotator of the *Lü-shih Ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋, Kao Yü 高誘 explains the phrase "*shih shih*" 矢石 (arrow and stone) in the *Kuei-chih-lun* 貴直論 as being equivalent to "shafts and

1. Chap. 32.

2. *Wên-hsüan* 文選, annotated by six literati, chap. 4. (The *Ssü-pu-tsung-k'an* 四部叢刊 series).

3. *Han-shu*, chap. 27, notes on Wu-hang-chih.

4. *Kuo-yü*, chap. 5, notes on Lu-yü, B.

shih-nu 石弩 (stone arrow-heads)",¹⁾ we must recognize the same notion as being entertained of the term in question.

It need hardly be emphasized that the *nu* which those Manchurian peoples, I-lou, Wu-chi, Mo-ho, etc., are said to have used and also sent as tribute to the Middle Kingdom, must have been stone arrow-heads. Sufficient proof of this fact lies in those passages already quoted from the histories of those peoples. We have read of the I-lou, "Their arrow is made of the *hu*, measures a foot and eight inches, and is furnished with an arrow-head of blue stone";²⁾ of the Wu-chi, "Their arrow is one foot and two inches, with a stone arrow-head";³⁾ and of the Mo-ho, "From the Fu-nieh eastward, all of them use arrows fitted with stone arrow-heads."⁴⁾

The *Chin-shu* tells us, moreover, where the Su-shên, or the I-lou, obtained the raw material for their stone arrow-heads: "To the north-east of their country, there is some mountain which yields a stone so hard as to penetrate iron. Before going to collect it, they first pray to gods." 其國東北有山, 出石, 其利入鐵. 將取之, 必先祈神.⁵⁾ As it seems probable that the tribe had their home in the present district of Ninguta,⁶⁾ we may reasonably refer, regarding the production of the stone, to the lower basin of the Hurkha River 瑚爾喀河, or the basin of the Sungari River below the district of San-hsing 三姓. In the Ming period, the yield of a stone of similar description is attributed to the mouth of the Amur River 黑龍江, when the *Liao-tung-chih* 遼東志, in its article on the Shêng Nü-chên 生女真 (wild Nü-chên) tribe says: "At the estuary of the river is found a stone called *mu-hua-shih* 木化石 [petrified wood]."⁷⁾ It is hard and penetrating enough to be made into arrow-heads,

1) *Lü-shih Ch'un-ch'iu* chap. 23.

2) *Wei-chih*, loc. cit.

3) *Wei-shu*, loc. cit.

4) *Pei-shih & Sui-shu*, loc. cit.

5) *Chin-shu*, chap. 97.

6) See the author's "The Chinese Expeditions to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty" (Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, no. 4, 1929)

7) The Enlarged Edition of the *Ch'ing-wên-chien* 增訂清文鑑, chap. 2, Section of Geographical Subjects 地輿類, No. 6, has this passage: "Mu-pien-shih 木變石 [petrified wood], An-we-ho 阿安倭額阿額;" for the latter term, see next note but one.

and so is prized by the natives 江口有石, 名木化石, 堅利, 可鏃矢鏃. 土人寶之.¹⁾ Then the *Ta-ming-i-tung-chih* 大明一統志, of the same dynastic period, while mentioning the *shih-nu* 石柸 among the products of the Nü-chên's country, remarks, "It [the stone] is produced from the mouth of the Hêi-lung-chiang, and is termed 'shui 水 [? *mu* 木] -hua-shih 花石' [petrified wood]; it is so hard and piercing as to go into iron, and therefore fit for making arrow-heads. When the natives are going to collect it,²⁾ first they pray to gods." 黑龍江口出, 名水[?木]花石; 堅利入鐵, 可鏃矢鏃. 土人將取之, 必先祈神.³⁾ We are not very certain that this was the same kind of stone that the ancient I-lou used to make their arrow-heads. At any rate, it seems true that the borders of the Sung-hua-chiang River yielded a peculiar stone of fossil nature, since Wu CHÊN-CH'ÊN 吳振臣, of the early Ch'ing period, writes: "The Hun-t'ung-chiang [i. e. Sung-hua-chiang] produces *shih-nu*. As tradition goes, some pine resin which entered the water, has been so turned by the lapse of a thousand years. It has a grain resembling that of wood, is dark blue, and surpasses iron in hardness. The natives use it to sharpen their blades with, calling it *Ang-wei-ho*⁴⁾. This is to be identified with the historic tribute of the Su-shên, of *hu* and *shih-nu*." 江[混同江]中出石柸. 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. 卽古肅慎氏所貢楮矢石柸是也.⁵⁾ Another author of the same period, YEN YAO-CHÜ 閻若璩, remarks on the same subject: "I inquired of a visitor from Ninguta as to the topography of his land, and this was his answer: —One thousand *li* east of his country flows the Hun t'ung-chiang, on whose banks grow elms and pines. Their branches, when dead and dry,

1) Chap. 9.

2) The portion of the text from "the natives" onwards is traceable to the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*.

3) Chap. 89.

4) *Ang-wei-ho* 昂威赫 was transcribed from the Manchurian word "*anwehe*", which signifies Schleifstein (grindstone). (Gabelentz, *Mandschu-Deutschen Wörterbuch*)

5) Wu CHÊN-CH'ÊN 吳振臣, *Ning-ku-ta-chih-liao* 寧古塔紀略, (*Chao-tai-ts'ung-shu* 昭代叢書, Book VII chap. 28). A very similar account on the subject is to be found in WANG SHIH-CHÊN's 王士禎 *Ch'ih-pei-ou-tan*, 池北偶談, chaps. 22 and 26. It appears that the stone was shown to Wang by Wu's father, Wu Chao-ch'ien 吳兆騫, who had brought it home as they returned from their exile in Ninguta.

may drop into the water, and be tossed about in the waves for no one knows how many ages, until at last they turn into stone. This may be taken and used to make arrow-heads. The kind turned from elm is the best, and that from pine stands next.” 有從寧古塔來者。詢其風土，云，東去一千里，曰混同江。江邊有榆樹，松樹。枝既枯，墮入江，爲波浪所激盪，不知幾何年，化爲石，可取以爲箭鏃。榆化爲上，松次之。¹⁾ It is curious, however, to read the following passage of the *Liu-pien-chi-liao* 柳邊紀略, by another contemporary writer, YANG PIN 楊賓, which is remarkable for his confounding of the *shih-nu* with the *hu* tree: “The *hu* tree is three to four inches long; may be black, yellow or whitish in colour; and has some grain. Being neither iron nor stone, it can scratch iron, and always breaks through stone. The inhabitants of the place obtain it mostly from the Hu-erh-ho River. Tradition says that the arrows of the Su-shên were manufactured of this material. Lovers of curios keep it as a treasure, so much so that it is not to be had for less than one *tou* (bushel) of corn, or a *pi* (long piece) of cloth. The *hu* arrows have been brought as tribute to the Middle Kingdom about five times, from the days of the Su-shên downwards; and they have been regular weapon of the Wu-chi and Shih-i 室韋 tribes. There have been in literature references to *hu* arrows 楷矢, *shih-tsu* 石鏃 [stone arrowheads], and *hu-nü* 楷弩; and the histories of successive periods have spent endless discourse upon these terms. In my own view, however, the *hu* is the only reality, there existing no such things as *tsu*, or *nu*.” 楷木長三四寸; 色黑或黃, 或微白; 有文理。非鐵非石, 可以削鐵, 而每破於石。居人多得之虎兒哈河。相傳, 肅慎氏矢, 以此爲之。好事者, 藏之家, 非斗粟疋布不可得。楷矢, 自肅慎氏至今, 凡五貢中國; 勿吉, 室韋之俗, 皆以此爲兵器。或曰楷矢, 或曰石鏃, 或曰楷弩; 歷代史傳言之媿々。今余所見直楷耳, 無有所爲鏃與弩也。²⁾ The author, equipped with more or less knowledge of that particular stone usable as material for arrow-heads, ventuaed to falsify the interpretation of the *hu* tree, of whose real nature he was utterly ignorant.

1. *Shang-shu-ku-wên-su-chêng*, chap. 5, B.

2. *Chao-tai-ts'ung-shu*, Book IX, chap. 20.

CHAPTER II

The Su-shên People in Chinese Classics

The I-lou tribe noticed in the Three Kingdom Age as the users of arrows made of *hu* wood and fitted with stone arrowheads were the inhabitants of the Hu-êrh-ho basin, having their tribal centre in the modern district of Ninguta. It was not until this period that the Chinese began to know of that region, no doubt as an outcome of the Chinese expedition which traversed it, under the command of the Governor of Hsüan-t'ü 玄菟 Prefecture, Wang Chi 王頊, giving a finishing touch to the Wei conquest of the Kao-chü-li which the Magistrate of Yu-chou 幽州 Province, Kuan-chiu Chien 毋丘儉, had commenced. For this reason this people and their country received a comparatively detailed description in the dynastic history, *Wei-chih*, that is, in the particular section known as *I-lou-chuan*, in the chapter devoted to the eastern wild tribes in general.¹⁾

It is remarkable, however, that an antique people by the name of Su-shên is still more celebrated in history in connection with *hu* arrows, which they are said to have brought as tribute to the Middle Kingdom in Pre-Ch'in times. This celebrity had its source in the following story told by the *Lu-yü* 魯語 of the *Kuo-yü* 國語:

"Once while Chung-ni [Confucius] was in Ch'ên, it happened that a flock of hawks were found lying dead in the courtyard of the Ch'ên prince's palace. They had in them *hu* arrows, with stone arrow-heads, each measuring one foot and eight inches. The Duke Hui of Ch'ên bade his men carry the birds to Confucius' residence and ask his opinion about it. Confucius replied, 'These birds are come from afar; the arrows are of the Su-shên. In the early times, when Wu Wang [of the Chou Dynasty] had conquered the Shang Empire, he opened passages to the barbaric tribes on all sides, and made them come and each present its own local product, that

1) See the author's "*The Chinese Expeditions to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty*" (op. cit.)

it might not forget its proper industry. Now the Su-shên's tribute consisted in *hu* arrows with stone arrow-heads, which measured one foot eight. The king desired that they should be held up as a sign of the far-reaching influence of his royal virtues, and preserved as an example to all posterity. Therefore he ordered the *kua* 栝 [feathered portion of the shaft] of the arrows to be inscribed with the words: "Arrows presented by the Su-shên people." Some of those arrows he bestowed on his daughter, marrying her to Hu Kung of Wu, and appointing him to the principality of Ch'ên. In those early days, it was the custom for a kinsman of the king to receive a share of his treasures, as a mark of the family connection; while a non-kindred prince was allowed to partake of what was brought as tribute by far-off peoples, because it would serve as a reminder of his own allegiance to the sovereign. Hence the king awarded Ch'ên a portion of the Su-shên's tribute. If my lord will now have his officials search his old storehouses, they may find those ancient arrows.' Search was made accordingly, and the objects were discovered in a gold chest, just as predicted by the sage."

仲尼在陳，有隼集於陳侯之庭而死。楷矢貫之，石罍，其長尺有咫。陳惠公使人，以隼如仲尼之館，問之。仲尼曰，隼之來也遠矣；此肅慎氏之矢也。昔武王克商，通道於九夷百蠻，使各以其方賄來貢，使毋忘職業。於是肅慎氏貢楷矢，石罍，其長尺有咫。先王欲昭其令德之致遠也，以示後人，使永監焉。故銘其楷曰肅慎氏之貢矢。以分大姬，配虞胡公而封諸陳。古者分同姓以珍玉，展親也；分異姓以遠方之職貢，使無忘服也。故分陳以肅慎氏之貢。君若使有司求諸故府，其可得也。使求，得之金櫝，如之。¹⁾

The same anecdote is repeated in the Biography of Confucius 孔子世家 in the *shih-chi*,²⁾ in the LIU HSIANG's 劉向 *Shuo-yüan* 說苑³⁾, and also in the *Wu-hang-chih* 五行志 of the *Han-shu*.⁴⁾ It is to be doubted whether the *Kuo-yü*, as now surviving, which must have contributed materials to the *Shih-chi*, was identical with that *Kuo-yü* which the

1) *Kuo-yü*, chap. 5, *Lu-yü* b.

2) Chap. 47.

3) Chap. 18.

4) *Han-shu*, chap. 27.

father of Chinese history says in his autobiography (in the preface to the *Shih-chi*) was written by Tso CH'U-MING 左丘明 during the Ch'un-ch'iu epoch, but it is at any rate certain that the story of the Su-shên arrows occurs for the first time in the *Kuo-yü*, while it is undiscoverable anywhere else in pre-Ch'in literature. The later historiographers, being very familiar with this story, were naturally inclined to connect their contemporary users and presenters of *hu* arrows with the classic Su-shên. Thus the *Wei-chih* declares of the I-lou, "They are the same people as the Su-shên of old;" and the *Sui-shu* states of the Mo-ho that "they are identical with the Su-shên of old;" while the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* pronounces the arrow of the Mo-ho to be the survival of the old *hu* and *nu* type of the Su-shên." Since the I-lou in the age of the Three Kingdoms and the Mo-ho in the Sui and T'ang periods were known to be using *hu* arrows with stone arrowheads, they were simply associated with the classic Su-shên, who, as the tradition said, brought like arrows to the Chou Emperor Wu-wang, and this led to the inevitable assumption that the I-lou in one case, and the Mo-ho in the other, were the continuation of the ancient Su-shên themselves.

How did the classic Su-shên figure in the eyes of the very early Chinese? Their name occurs in the Annals of the Five Emperors in the *Shih-chi*, in the passage on the Emperor Shun 舜¹⁾ where it is related how, in consequence of the consolidation of peace and order in China through yü 禹 patient endeavours, barbaric neighbours all around came to offer tribute, according to their particular industries, the list of their names being Chiao-chih 交趾 and Pei-hu 北戶 from the south; the Hsi-jung 西戎, Ch'ai-chih 拆枝, Ch'ü-shou 渠胄, Ti 氏, and Chiang 羌 from the west; Shan-jung 山戎, Pei-fa 北發, and Hsi-shên 息慎 from the north; and the Chang-i 長夷, and Tao-i 島夷 from the east.²⁾ Similar details are given in the Wu-ti-tê 五帝德篇 of the *Ta-tai-li-chi* 大戴禮記 as from the mouth of Confucius, commenting on the reign of the

1) *Shih-chi*, chap. 1.

2) The text of the *Wu-ti-pên-chi* is impaired by a considerable number of errors, such as pointed out and rectified by the T'ang scholar SSU-MA CHÊN 司馬貞. This statement has been based on his emendation. (SSU-MA CHÊN'S *Shih-chi-su-yin* 史記索隱).

Emperor Shun in reply to his disciple Tsai-wo's 宰我 question.¹⁾ In both cases above, the name of the tribe is spelt 息慎, no doubt a transcription from the same original as of the Su-shên 肅慎. This identity indeed is thus noticed by the Later Han scholar CHÊNG HSÜAN 鄭玄: "The Hsi-shên 息慎, otherwise Su-shên, are a barbaric tribe in the northeast;" 息慎或謂之肅慎, 東北夷;²⁾ and it is further instructive to see that the *Ta-tai-li-chi*, referring elsewhere, viz. in the section of Shao-chien 少閒篇, to the same approach of the barbaric neighbours during Shun's reign, says: "Popular culture and enlightenment became so ubiquitous throughout the realm that now such foreign tribes as the *Su-shên*, Pei-fa, Ch'ü-sou, Ti, and Chiang came to offer their allegiance." 氏明教通于四海, 海之外, 肅慎, 北發, 渠搜, 氏, 羌來服.³⁾

It is hard to believe, however, that those tales of the barbaric neighbours' visits and tributes were founded on reality. The story of the Su-shên and others being drawn by the moral influences of the reigning monarch is repeated so often in the same section Shao-chien of the *Ta-tai-li-chi*, and even in the same phraseology, whether it is Yü-wang of the Hsia, T'ang-wang 湯王 of the Shang, or Wên-wang 文王 of the Chou dynasty who is the subject of homage. This suggests that it was all mere rhetoric. The same form of eulogy is even applied to later sovereigns of the Chou dynasty, where Wu-ti of the Former Han Dynasty refers to them in his decree issued in the first year of Yüan-kuang 元光 (B. C. 134): "Under Chêng-Wang and Kang-Wang of the Chou dynasty, all punishments were put aside; the influence of their royal virtues reached birds and beasts; their teaching pervaded the whole extent of the realm; and from abroad there came the Su-shên 肅慎 [the last character being the archaic form of 慎]. Pei-fa, Ch'ü-sou, Ti, and Chiang to offer their allegiance." 周之成, 康, 刑錯不用; 德及鳥獸, 教通四海, 海外肅慎, 北發, 渠搜, 氏, 羌徠服.⁴⁾

The early Chinese had a peculiar way of conceiving ideal govern-

1) *Ta-tai-li-chi*, chap. 7.

2) *Shih-chi-chi-chieh* 史記集解, quoted in the notes on the *Wu-ti-pên-chi*.

3) *Ta-tai-li-chi*, chap. 11.

4) *Han-shu*, chap. 6.

ment,—they supposed that the appearance of an all-blessed sovereign in the Middle Kingdom ought to be signalized by tribute-carrying missions from barbaric tribes on all sides, because his excellent virtues must so attract them. And all we have seen above was but a conventional expression of that idea. There is of course no knowing to what particular period before the Han belonged the original material from which the Annals of the Five Emperors and the *Ta-tai-li-chi* derived those stories of wild tribes bringing tribute, but at any rate, we need not regard their names as all fictitious. Such tribes with such names may well have existed, however fabulous their tribute-carrying might prove.

It is in the preface to the *Shu-ching* that we find specific mention of the Su-shên: "When Chêng-wang had smitten the wild tribes of the east, the Su-shên came to offer tribute. The king ordained the Earl Yung to write a royal instruction regarding the tribute of the Su-shên." 成王既伐東夷, 肅慎來賀. 王俾榮伯作賄肅慎之命.¹⁾ A similar account probably taken from the same source, appears in the Annals of the Chou dynasty in the *Shih-chi*, where the name of the tribe is spelt Hsi-shên 息慎 instead of Su-shên 肅慎.²⁾ The royal instruction referred to is lost with many other chapters of the *Shu-ching* which had disappeared before the Han period. We may well suspect that the tribute of the Su-shên thus specifically recorded was also mere talk of the traditional ideal, and so had no more of historical truth in it than in the other cases. When, however, we read in the *Tso-chüan*, under the 9th year of Chao Kung 昭公, this remark attributed to the Chou king Ching-wang 景王: "The Su-shên, Yen, and Po are our northern territories," 肅慎, 燕, 亳, 吾北土也,³⁾ it is not necessary to doubt that the Su-shên referred to a real tribe of that name, found on the northern border of the realm. We may even hold it as probable that the very existence of that tribe caused the story to be fabricated of their offer of

1) *Shu-ching-chu-su* 尚書注疏.

2) chap. 4; the passage runs: "The Hsi-shên came to pay their court. The emperor conferred [the tribute of the Hsi-shên] upon the Earl Yung, making him compose the royal decree concerning the tribute of the Hsi-shên." 息慎來賀. 王賜榮伯, 作賄息慎之命.

3) Chap. 22.

tribute. As regards the Ch'un-ch'iu epoch and that of the Fighting States, we cannot possibly say whether those periods saw any incident which might be called a tribute-carrying of the Su-shên people. It is true that the *I-chou-shu* 逸周書, professed to have been unearthed from the tomb of an ancient Wei monarch, reveals, in its Book of Wang-hui 王會篇, a very likely name "Chi-shên" 稷慎, as of a wild tribe living to the due north of the Middle Kingdom, which presented to the Chinese court a *ta-chéu* 大麋 [?麋 ta-chu large stag]. But, after all, this proves hardly anything, for the Wang-hui is known to be by no means a record of historical facts.

Neither in the Han period is it probable that the Su-shên people had any intercourse with China. Though its name is not undiscoverable in contemporary literature, it is no indication that the Chinese had any direct knowledge of the tribe. During the reign of Ching-ti 景帝 of the Former Han dynasty, Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 puts this remark in the mouth of Wu-yu Hsien-shêng 烏有先生, a fictitious character in his poem entitled *Tzŭ-hsü-fu* 子虛賦: "To the east of Chi, there is a vast ocean; and to the south, Lang-ya;...It borders upon Su-shên which stretches away obliquely;" 齊東有巨海, 南有琅邪, ...邪與肅慎爲鄰; while another person in the poem, Wu-shih Kung 無是公, speaks: "Nowadays Chi ranks among the eastern feudatories, while outwards, it holds possession of Su-shên." 今齊列爲東藩, 而外私肅慎.¹⁾ Then the Yüan-tao-hsün 原道訓 of the *Huai-nan-tzŭ* 淮南子 alludes to "reclaiming the country of the Naked and bringing the Su-shên to pay tribute;" 徙裸國, 納肅慎; while the Chui-hsing-hsün 墜形訓 of the same book enumerates the Su-shên among the thirty-six alien tribes. In spite of all these references to the Su-shên in the Han times, and also of this remark of Kao Yu 高誘, in the closing years of the later Han dynasty, "Su-shên is situated to the north," 肅慎在北方,²⁾ which was perhaps derived from earlier literature, there is no reason to suppose the contemporary Chinese had any immediate contact with the tribe. We may further notice with profit this passage in the Chui-hsing-hsün: "From

1) *Shih-chi*, chap. 147, biography of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如.

2) *Huai-nan-tzŭ*, 淮南子, notes on Yüan-tao-hsün 原道訓.

the northwest to the southwest, there are the peoples called the Long-legged, the Celestial, the Su-shên, the White, the Fertile, the Feminine, the Masculine, the Odd-legged, the One-armed, and the Three-bodied." 自西北至西南方, 有修股民, 天民, 肅慎民, 白民, 沃民, 女子民, 丈夫民, 奇股民, 一臂民, 三身民. It is remarkable how the Su-shên ranks with fabulous races. The *Hai-wai-hsi-ching* 海外西經 of the *Shan-hai-ching*, again, mentions the Su-shên in a group no less monstrous.

From the above it may be concluded that it was in some period or other anterior to the Ch'in that ancient Chinese began to know of the Su-shên as a northern crude tribe, and that the knowledge was of a very vague nature. As regards the story told by the *Lu-yü* of the Su-shên's present of arrows, I must say that since I refrain from recognizing as a historical fact the tribe's complimentary mission to the Chou court referred to in the preface to the *Shu-ching*, neither shall I attach to it any significance unless as a legend. Perhaps the *hu* arrow, in itself, was not uncommon within China proper, more especially in the northern portion of it, but it must have been the fact that the Su-shên or some of her neighbours in the same region were using *hu* arrows fitted with stone arrowheads that attracted the attention of the Chinese and formed an essential part of what little real knowledge they had of the Su-shên. In the meantime, we may assume that the national tradition of attributing the payment of tribute from a far-off people to the appearance of a highly virtuous ruler in the Middle Kingdom gave birth to the story of the Su-shên's mission to the Chou dynasty, and then the factors of *hu* arrows and stone arrowheads combined with it to make up another legend that the Su-shên presented those articles to court, and this again was forced into connection with reminiscences of scholarship and wisdom of Confucius, and the result was that classic anecdote we read in the *Lu-yü*.

In short, authentic knowledge available of the ancient Su-shên is very scanty, in spite of the prominent figure it cuts in early literature, and inevitably its alleged identity with the later-known I-lou is not provable. The truth must be, as already suggested, that when the I-lou tribe first entered Chinese cognizance in the Age of the Three Kingdoms,

their *hu* arrows with stone arrowheads did not fail to attract historians' notice on account of the association of the legendary Su-shên's tribute of *hu* arrows with stone arrowheads. It is not difficult to imagine how ready they were to identify the I-lou as the survival of the classic Su-shên, and hence the constant statement that Su-shên was another name for the I-lou. To my mind, it seems possible that the Su-shên, of real existence in very early days, was a different northern tribe, dwelling nearer the Chinese borders than did the I-lou themselves.

CHAPTER III

The *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu* and the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* as its Source Book

Next to the *I-lou-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, it is the the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*¹⁾ that supplies us with the earliest historical account of the I-lou people. The whole passage follows, divided into sections A, B, C, etc., with a view to facility of reference:—

[A] "The Sù-shên tribe, otherwise called I-lou, live to the north of the Pu-hsien-shan Mountains, reachable from Fu-yü by about 60 days' travel. On the east, their land borders on a vast ocean; and on the west, it adjoins the country of the K'ou-man-han; while it extends as far north as the Jo-shui stream. The area within those boundaries stretches thousands of *li*. They dwell in the heart of mountains and the depth of valleys, whose paths are too steep and rugged for horses and carriages. In summer they nest in trees, and in winter retire into caves. The chiefs are hereditary, the succession passing from father to son. The people have no system of writing, and so use spoken words in making promises. There are horses, but they do not ride them, only holding them as property. They have no cattle or sheep, but keep pigs abundantly, eating their flesh, wearing their skins, and spinning their hair to make

1) Chap. 97.

cloth. 肅慎氏, 一名挹婁, 在不咸山北, 去夫餘可六十日行. 東濱大海, 西接寇漫汗國, 北極弱水. 其土界廣袤數千里. 居深山窮谷, 其路險阻, 車馬不通. 夏則巢居, 冬則穴處. 父子世爲君長. 無文墨, 以言語爲約. 有馬不乘, 但以爲財產而已. 無牛羊, 多畜豬, 食其肉, 衣其皮, 績毛以爲布.

[B] “There is in this country a kind of tree called *lo-chang*. It grows whenever a sovereign of august virtue ascends the throne in the Middle Kingdom, and then its bark will make a material for clothing. 有樹名徠常. 若中國有聖帝代立, 則其木生皮可衣.

[C] “They have no wells or ovens, but make use of an earthen tripod which can hold 4 to 5 *shêng* [of grain] for boiling. They sit *chi-chü* fashion, [a squatting posture reminding one of the shape of a winnow], hold their meat between their feet to eat it. If they get some frozen meat, they thaw it by sitting upon it. The land yields no salt or iron. They burn wood, gather the ashes, steep them in water, and take and drink the liquid. They wear their hair in plaits. They fashion their garment with a piece of cloth, a little over one *ch'ih* in diameter, with which to cover the back and front [of the waist]. 無井竈, 作瓦鬲受四五升以食. 坐則箕踞, 以足挾肉而啖之. 得凍肉, 坐其上令暖. 土無鹽鐵, 燒木作灰. 灌取汁而食之. 俗皆編髮. 以布作襜, 徑尺餘, 以蔽前後.

[D] “If a man wants to marry, he takes a plume, and sticks it in the hair of the woman. If she consents, it is taken home. Then forms of courtesy are gone through to bring her in to wed. A married woman is chaste, but a maiden licentious. Persons in the prime of life are respected, and the old slighted. If any one dies, he is buried in the field that very day. A small coffin is framed [in the grave] by claspings logs together. A number of pigs are slaughtered and piled up over it, to be food for the dead. Evil and ferocious in disposition, they hold it honorable never to be saddened or distressed. A man must not weep over the death of his father or mother; he who does so is called unmanly. If one robs or steals from another within the tribe, he is put to death, no matter how much or little may have been taken. Therefore they

live in unwalled settlements, none ever trying to raid another. They have stone arrowheads and armour of skin and bone; their bow of *t'an* wood measures three feet five, and their arrow of the *hu*, one foot eight. To the northwest of their country, there rises a mountain, which yields a kind of stone so hard as to penetrate iron. Before going to gather it, they always pray to gods for it. 將嫁娶, 男以毛羽揮女頭, 女和則持歸. 然後致禮娉之. 婦貞而女淫. 貴壯而賤老. 死者其日即葬之於野, 交木作小椁, 殺豬積其上, 以爲死者之糧. 性凶悍, 以無憂哀相尙. 父母死, 男子不哭泣, 哭者謂之不壯. 相盜竊, 無多少皆殺之. 故雖野處, 而不相犯. 有石弩, 皮骨之甲; 檀弓三尺五寸, 楛矢長尺有咫. 其國東北有山, 出石, 其利入鐵. 將取之, 必先祈神.

[E] "At the time of Wu-wang of the Chou dynasty, they presented to court their *hu* arrows and stone arrowheads; when Chou Kung assumed his regency on behalf of Chêng-wang, once more they sent their envoy in congratulation. They never came again for the following thousand years and more, not even the glorious regimes of the Ch'in and Han being sufficient to bring them in. When, however, Wên-ti [being the posthumous title of Ssu-ma Chao] became prime minister towards the end of the *Ching-yüan* era of of the Wei dynasty [263 A. D.], they came and presented their *hu* arrows, stone arrowheads, bows, armour, sable furs, and the like. The Wei emperor [Yüan-ti] ordered those articles to be sent to the premier's office, while he bestowed on Ju-chi, the king of the I-lou, some gold brocade, *chi* [small felt-rug made of hair], and silk cloth. At the beginning of *Yüan-k'ang* of Wu-ti [of the Western Chin i. e. circa A. D. 291], they came again to offer tribute. When Yüan-ti restored the dynasty [by founding the Eastern Chin regime], they came again to Chiang-tso 江左 [or the east of the Yang-tzū Chiang, viz. the modern province of Chiang-su] and presented their stone arrow-heads. 周武王時, 獻其楛矢, 石弩, 逮于周公輔成王, 復遣使入賀. 爾後千餘年, 雖秦漢之盛, 莫之致也. 及文帝 [司馬昭] 作相, 魏景元末, 來貢楛矢, 石弩, 弓, 甲, 貂皮之屬. 魏帝 [元帝] 詔歸于相府, 賜其王儁雞錦, 劔, 縣帛. 至武帝元康初, 復來貢獻. 元帝中興, 又請江左,

貢其石罍。

[F] “At the time of Chêng-ti [of the Eastern Chin viz. A. D. 326-342], they sent tribute to Shih Chi-lung. The envoys asked the reason of their coming; replied, ‘We had been keeping our eyes on our cattle and horses, and as we saw them lie with their heads towards the south-west for three years running, we knew where your mighty country was, and so we have come.’ 至成帝時，通貢於石季龍。問之，答曰，每候牛馬，向西南眠者，三年矣，是知有大國所在，故來云。

Our endeavours now shall be to scrutinize the above text quoted from the *Su-shên-chuan*, ascertain, as far as possible, what the Chinese knew about the Su-shên, or the I-lou, since the Three Kingdom Age, and; further to consider how that knowledge was obtained.

Let us first observe the statement of the northern limit of the country, “reaching as far north as the Jo-shui.” The Jo-shui is a stream which is also mentioned in the *Wei-chih* in connection with the land of the Fu-yü people, the northwestern neighbours of the I-lou: “The Fu-yü live to the north of the Great Wall, a thousand *li* away from Hsüan-t’u [about the modern Mukden]. Their territory adjoins, on the south, that of the Kao-chü-li [in the basin of the Ya-lu]; on the east, that of the I-lou [in the valley of the Hu-êrh-ho]; and on the west, that of the Hsien-pei [in the basins of the Sira-müren and the Lao-ha-müren]; while on the north it borders upon the Jo-shui.” 夫餘在長城之北，去玄菟千里。南與高句麗；東與挹婁；西與鮮卑接；北有弱水。¹⁾ The last-mentioned name, in my opinion, referred to that portion of the Sungari River near its confluence with the A-lê-ch’u-k’o River 阿勒楚喀河，namely, to the section flowing near the present Harbin.²⁾ The same history, on the other hand, describes the country of the I-lou as: “It is situated more than a thousand *li* northeast of Fu-yü, is washed by a vast ocean, and conterminous with North Wu-chu on the south; but it is not known how far north it extends.” 挹婁在夫餘東北千餘里，

1) Chap. 30.

2) This subject will be discussed at length in the author’s treatise, “A Study on the Fu-yü,” which is to be published later on.

濱大海，南與北沃沮接；未知其北極。¹⁾ Here the northern limit of the I-lou land is left undefined, and the reason must be that although the expedition by Wang Chi, the Governor of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, in the 6th year of *Ching-shih* 正始 (A. D. 245), above referred to, brought back much knowledge about the I-lou people having their tribal centre about the modern district of Ninguta, their observation did not reach that part of the Sungari basin near the present San-hsing 三姓, where the main stream is joined by the Hurkha River. As we see, the later history *Chin-shu*, in its *Su-shên-chuan*, delimits the north of the I-lou country by the Jo-shui, and in this case the Jo-shui must refer to the Sungari River in a course lower than it did in the *Wei-chih* description of the Fu-yü land, that is to say, to the section flowing through the neighbourhood of San-hsing. We must suppose that this further information about the I-lou country was acquired during the Chin epoch, at any rate dating after the historical period covered by the *Wei-chih*. The Chin period, however, covering both the Western and Eastern dynasties, had a run of fully a century and a half, and on what particular occasion in that course of time was it that the knowledge about the I-lou came to be so far extended? We have further to remember that the history *Chin-shu* was compiled by Fang Yüan-ling 房元齡 during the reign of Tai-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, which entails the question as to whether all the information afforded us by the *Su-shên-chuan* was available in the Chin period itself.

In saying "The Su-shên tribe, otherwise called I-lou," it is plain that the *Chin-shu* followed its predecessor, the *Wei-chih*, in which we have already noticed the statement: "They [the I-lou] are the same people as the Su-shên of old." This passage is to be traced further back to the *Wei-liao* 魏略, the lost history written by Yü Huan 魚豢 in the reign of Ming-ti 明帝 of the Wei dynasty, undoubtedly the chief source to which the *Wei-chih* owed all its account of the eastern tribes. In fact, there is a *Wei-liao* passage relating to the Su-shên, which survives in the following quotation given as from the *Wei-liao* by the T'ang scholar

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

Yung Kung-jui 雍公穀 by way of commenting upon Chang Ch'ü-chin's 張楚金 *Han-yüan* 翰苑: "The country of the Fu-yü, lying to the north of the Great Wall of Hsüan-yüan [? Hsüan-t'u], more than a thousand *li* away from Hsüan-t'u, is conterminous with Chü-li [Kao-chü-li] on the south, and on the east with I-lou, that is to say, the country of the Su-shên." 夫餘國, 在玄苑[?菟]長城, 北, 去玄菟千餘里. 南接句驪, 東接挹婁, 即肅慎國也." Again, the annotator of the *Hou-han-shu*, Prince Chang-huai 章懷太子, son of Kao-tsung of the T'ang dynasty, in his notes on the biography of Kung Yu 孔融, cites this remark from the *Wei-liao*: "The I-lou, otherwise called the Su-shên." 挹婁一名肅慎氏.²⁾ We may safely say that the *Chin-shu* passage under observation had its immediate source in the *Wei-chih*, and its ulterior origin in the *Wei-liao*.

As regards section B, where is mentioned a tree called *lo-chang* 離常, which grew whenever an ideal monarch ruled in the Middle Kingdom, and whose bark was utilizable as a clothing material, its source may be traced to the *Hai-wai-hsi-ching* of the *Shan-hai-ching*, that is, its passage on the Su-shên as annotated by the eastern Chin author Kuo P'o 郭璞. The text, taken together with the notes, runs as follows: "The country of the Su-shên lies to the north of that of the White People 白民. There is a kind of tree called *Hsiung-chang* 雄常 [Kuo P'o remarks that the first character may be spelt 雉 as well]. First enters the succeeding emperor), whereupon it is taken³⁾ [Kuo P'o says that the people are usually without any costume; if an emperor of august virtue ascends the throne in the Middle Kingdom, then this tree yields a bark which is fit for wearing]." 肅慎之國在白民北. 有樹, 名曰雄[郭曰, 或作雉]常, 先入代帝, 於此取之. [郭曰, 其俗無衣服; 中國有聖帝代立者, 則此木生皮可衣也.]

The commentator on the *Han-yüan*, pointing out the source books from which the author of the text drew material as regards the Su-shên, gives quotations from them, namely, (1) the *Hou-han-shu*, (2) the

1) Ying-yin-chiu-chao-pên 景印舊抄本 (collotype Reproductions of Old Manuscripts), edited by the Department of Literature of the Kyôto Imperial University, vol. I.

2) *Hou-han-shu*, chap. 100.

3) Some characters must be wanting in this phrase.

Wei-liao, (3) the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* 肅慎國記 (sometimes abridged to the *Su-shên-chi* 肅慎記), (4) the *Yeh-chung-chi* 鄴中記 by the Eastern Chin writer LIU HUI 陸翹,¹⁾ and (5) the *Shan-hai-ching*. The *Wei-liao* is quoted as follows:

"The Su-shên's land is to be reached by a ten days' journey northwards from the country of the Fu-yü. It borders on a vast ocean on the east, and adjoins the country of Kuan [? K'ou]-man-hang [? han] on the west, while it extends as far north as the Jo-shui. The area within the boundaries stretches thousands of li [?]. The people dwell in the heart of mountains and the depth of valleys; in summer nesting in trees, and in winter staying in caves. The succession of chiefs passes from father to son [?]. They have no system of writing [?], so that they use spoken words in making promises. They spin [?] hair to make clothes. [Some words are wanting here] clasp and eat it. If they get some frozen meat, they thaw it by sitting upon it [?]. The land yields no salt or iron; they burn wood, gather the ashes, and steeping them in water, take and drink the liquid." 魏略曰 肅慎氏 其地在夫餘國北十日行 東濱大海 西接冠[?]寇漫行[?]汗國 北極弱水 其土界廣數[?]袤[?]數千里 居深山窮谷 夏則巢居 冬則穴處 父子代爲居[?]君長 無文黑[?]墨 以言語爲約束 續[?]續毛以爲布 [?]挾而噉之 得陳內[?]凍肉 坐其止[?]上 令驕[?]溫 地土無鹽鐵 燒木作灰 灌取汁食

This passage attributed to the *Wei-liao* very nearly coincides with the text from Section A to C, less B, above quoted from the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*. Are we to suppose that the sections A and C were copied from the *Wei-liao*, with the interpolation of B, which came apparently from the *Shan-hai-ching*? They are, however, a fairly circumstantial account of the people, throwing light on such matters as the boundarise of their territory, their dwellings, clothing, diet, etc., and if such materials were available in the *Wei-liao*, it must follow that the Chinese had acquired so much information about the I-lou by the Three Kingdom age. But this would seem to contradict the conclusion

1) The original text gives the name as LIU SUI 陸識, the last character of which must be a corruption of 翹.

already reached that the northern extremity of the I-lou country, bounded by the Jo-shui, was not known to the Chinese until the Chin period.

Neither is it easy to assume that the *Chin-shu* passage, or the alleged *Wei-liao* text with which it agrees so exactly, was a record of second-hand knowledge of the I-lou, picked up either from such men of the tribe or of some of their neighbours as came carrying tribute. It reads more like an observation made by some Chinese travellers at the home of that tribe. Witness, above all, the peculiar manner of telling, in Section C, how they cooked their food, held their meat between their feet while eating it, sat on frozen meat to thaw it, etc. Yet, there is no evidence in history indicating that the Chinese had a separate opportunity, round about the time of the expedition of Wang Chi, for obtaining such rich information about the people in question. Moreover, we are constrained to wonder why, if those materials were found ready in the *Wei-liao*, they were not reproduced in the *I-lou-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, nor quoted by P'EI SUNG-CHIH 裴松之 in annotating that history.

We may now take the *Tai-p'ing-yü-lan* 太平御覽 and see its passages relating to the Su-shên.¹⁾ There is a quotation provided from the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, besides those taken from the Preface to the *Shu-ching*, the *Hou-han-shu*, the *Shan-hai-ching*, and the *Kung-tzu-chia-yü* 孔子家語. It reads, in its second half, as follows:

“Their custom of marriage is this, that the man takes a plume and sticks it in the woman's hair; if she consents, it is taken home, and then forms of couresy are gone through to bring her in to wed. Married women are chaste, but maidens licentious. Persons in the prime of life are respected, and the old slighted. Once widowed, a woman will never marry again. Evil and ferocious in natural disposition, they hold it honorable never to lament or mourn. A man must not weep over the death of his father or mother; if he does so, he will be called unmanly. If one robs or steals from another within the tribe, he is slain, no matter how much or little

1) Chap. 784, section of Ssu-i 5, Tung-i 5.

may have been taken. Living as they do in unwallled settlements, they get on safely together, without ever encroaching upon one another. If one dies, he is buried in the field that very day. A small coffin is framed [in the grave] by claspings logs together. A number of pigs are slaughtered to be piled up over the coffin, counting thousands if the family is rich, and tens if it is poor, as food for the dead. Then all is covered up with earth, while a rope is fastened to the coffin, with its tip left lying above the earth. Then they pour liquer by pour liquor over the grave hardly ceasing to do until the rope begins to decay. The rites in memory of the dead are observed at irregular intervals. Their bows of the *t'an* tree measure three feet five, and their arrows of the *hu* one foot eight; they have stone arrow-heads, armour of skin and bone. The stone-producing mountain rises to the northeast of the country. Before going to gather the stone, they always pray to gods for it. The stone is so hard as to penetrate iron." 嫁娶之法, 男以毛羽挿女頭; 女和則持歸, 然後致禮娉之. 婦貞而女淫. 貴壯賤老. 寡居終身不嫁. 性凶悍, 以無憂喪相尙. 父母死, 男子不哭; 哭者謂之不壯. 相盜賊, 物無多少盡誅殺之. 雖野處, 而並不相犯. 死者即日便葬於野. 交木作小槨. 殺猪積槨上, 富室至數百, 貧者數十, 以爲死者之糧. 以土覆之, 以繩繫於槨頭出土上. 以酒灌醕, 纔繩腐而止. 無時祭祀也. 其槨弓三尺五寸, 槨矢長尺有咫; 石柩, 皮骨甲. 石山在國東北. 取之必先祈神. 石利入鐵.

The above text approximates the sum of those passages on the *Su-shên* which are quoted by the commentator of the *Han-yüan* from the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, or the *Su-shên-chi* as he sometimes abridges the title. As remarked already, it makes the latter half of the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan's* quotation from the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, and what is most noteworthy in this respect is the fact that the first half, dealing with the boundaries of the country, the dwellings, clothing, and diet of the people, etc., so closely coincides with the alleged *Wei-liao* passage quoted before. Certainly, Dr. T. NAITO was right in pointing out that a blunder must have been committed by the annotator of the *Han-yüan* in making notes on the *Su-shên*,—that he quoted a passage of the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, under the

wrong heading; "The *Wei-liao* says,"¹⁾ no doubt by mistake. Hence the conclusion that what we read in Sections A and C in the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu* had its real source in the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, not in the *Wei-liao*. That the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* was of later date than the *Wei-liao* is sufficiently clear from the nature of its contents.

It will be easily perceived on comparison how Section D of the *Chin-shu* text, dealing with the Su-shên customs of marriage and burial and their weapons, coincides with the just-quoted *Su-shên-kuo-chi* passage in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*. Now, passing over Section E for the moment, (it will be discussed in the next chapter), we know that Section F, telling of the Su-shên paying tribute to the court of Shih Chi-lung during the reign of Chêng-ti, was derived from the *yeh-chung-chi* 鄴中記, which, as shown by the annotator of the *Han-yüan*, contained this passage: "The Su-shên live to the northeast of Yeh, 50,000 *li* from it. Their envoys, having spent four years in arriving, presented their stone arrowheads and *hu* arrows. Inquired what caused them to come, they replied, 'Our cattle and horses had slept with their heads towards southwest for three years together, and we thereby knew where your mighty country was, and so we have come. We have indeed always been on the lookout for this sign.'" 肅慎在鄴之東北, 去鄴五万里。遣使四年, 乃達, 獻石弩, 楛矢。問使者緣來此, 答六[?]云, 牛馬西南向眠三年, 則知有大國所在, 故來耳。恒以此爲候也。 To account for the *Yeh-chung-chi*, it was, as described by the *Ching-chieh-chih* 經籍志 of the *Sui-shu*, "a book of three volumes, edited by LIU HUI, Assistant Professor of the State College of Chin," 鄴中記, 三卷。晉國子助教陸翹撰,²⁾ being a record of miscellaneous facts about Shih Huo 石虎 (*i. e.*, Shih Chi-lung). This work is lost in its complete form, and what was reclaimed of it from diverse quotations scattered in the *Yung-lo-ta-tien* 永樂大典, has been preserved in a volume of the series *The Wu-ying-tien-chu-chên-pan-chüan-shu* 武英殿聚珍版全書. This does not, however, include those passages quoted by the commentator of the *Han-yüan*.

1) Dr. NAITO, closing remark on the collotype reproduction of the *Han-yüan*.

2) *Sui-shu*, chap. 33.

We have seen by this time that, so far as the Su-shên tribe is concerned, the source books utilized by the annotator of the *Han-yüan*, apart from the *Hou-han-shu*, were the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, the *Yeh-chung-chi*, and the *Shan-hai-ching*; and that the author of the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu* went scarcely beyond this scope for his materials. And, since it was only a small percentage of the whole of the *Su-shên-chuan* taken from the *Shan-hai-ching* and the *Yeh-chung-chi*, we may justly consider the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* to have been the primary authority the *Chin-shu* relied upon in providing its own account of the Su-shên.

Our attention now will be concentrated on the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, that chief source book for the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*. From what is quoted from it by the commentator on the *Han-yüan*, we can see that the time covered by it extended farther back than the age of the Three Kingdoms. We read in the *Han-yüan*: -

"The *Su-shên-kuo-chi* says: [a] In those early days, Wu-wang, having subjugated the Shang, opened passages to the barbaric tribes on all sides making each of them come and offer its own product, so that it might not forget its proper industry. Thereupon, the Su-shên presented their *hu* arrows with stone arrowheads, whose length was one foot eight. The king desired them to be held up to all posterity as a manifestation of the extent to which his august virtue affected far-off peoples, and therefore he ordained that the *kua* [featherd portion of the shaft] of the arrows should be inscribed with the words, 'The arrows presented by the Su [shên ?] tribe.' Some of those arrows he also bestowed upon the Duke Hu of Chên. [b] On the accession of Chêng-Wang, the tribe came to Court to offer their congratulations. The king ordered the Earl Yung to compose a royal instruction regarding the Su-shên's tribute.

"The *Su-shên-kuo-chi* says: [c] During the reign of Wu-ti of the Han dynasty, as the Su-shên failed to come, an imperial statement was issued indignantly deploring the impossibility of bringing them in." 肅慎記曰, [a] 昔武王克商, 通道九夷百蠻, 使各以其賄來貢, 使

無忘職業。於是肅慎貢楛矢，石砮，其長尺有咫。先王欲昭其合[?]令德之致遠也，以示後人，使永監焉。故銘其楛曰肅[慎?]氏之貢矢。王又以賜陳胡公。[b]成王時，復入賀。王使榮伯作賄肅慎之命也。肅慎記曰，[c]漢武帝時，肅慎不至，策詔慷慨，根[?]恨]不能致之也。

Very obviously Parts (a), (b), and (c) of the above text depended for their data respectively upon the *Lu-yü*, Preface to the *Shu-ching*, and Wu-ti's edict of the first year of *Yüan-k'ang* recorded in his Annals in the *Han-shu*; and it is even probable that, in the original *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, those source books were specified. The *Su-shên-kuo-chi* must have been essentially a collection of articles, extracted from various authorities, bearing upon both the classic *Su-shên* and their supposed continuation, the *I-lou* tribe. We may therefore reasonably imagine that, in its original form, the book contained, side by side with quotations from the above-named works, that passage of the *Wei-liao* which must have been equivalent to the *I-lou-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*. And if the annotator of the *Han-yüan* put his extract from the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* under the wrong heading "The *Wei-liao* says," as we have assumed was the case, it was the result of a confusion which arose perhaps because, in the original *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, the said passage lay in juxtaposition to that quotation from the *Wei-liao*, so announced, whose substance was equivalent to the *I-lou-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*.

Again, the *Tai-p'ing-yü-lan*, in giving account of the *Su-shên* tribe, affords quotations from (1) Preface to the *Shu-ching*, (2) the *Hou-han-shu*, (3) the *Shan-hai-ching*, (4) the *Kung-tzŭ-chia-yü* and (5) the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*. The *Hou-han-shu* passage reads the same as the *I-lou-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, as the author notes at the end of the quotation, and that of the *Kung-tzŭ-chia-yü* has its exact counterpart in the *Lu-yü*. As been indicated, the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* itself seems, in its original form, to have contained quotations from those books which are mentioned (1) to (4) above, and this means that, after all, of the whole work of the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, that particular passage which the *Tai-p'ing-yü-lan* gives as from it, is the only portion claiming any historical value of its own. It was, indeed, this very portion that furnished the basic materials for the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*.

Now, the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* being a book unmentioned in the *Ching-chieh-chih* of the *Sui-shu*, in the book of the same name in the *Ch'i'u-t'ang-shu*, and in the *I-wên-chih*, i. e., the corresponding chapter in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, we learn nothing whatever of its authorship or date. From the manner, however, in which the annotator of the *Han-yüan* quotes the *Yeh-chung-chi* as if to eke out the information supplied by the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, we may draw the inference that the scope of the latter did not come down into the Eastern Chin period. For the *Yeh-chung-chi* was, as noted above, a work by an Eastern Chin author LIU HUI, being a record of miscellaneous facts about Shih Hu, who governed the State of Chao 趙 early in the Eastern Chin period. We may therefore broadly say that the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* was written in the course of the Western Chin dynasty. But, if so, what occasion was there within that period on which the Chinese might acquire further knowledge of the Su-shên or the I-lou, to be embodied in that part of the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* which lent the *Su-shên-chuan* its principal data and which alone gave the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* any independent value as an account of the people in question? The solution of this problem will occupy us in the next chapter, but there are some textual details we had better stop to observe before going any further.

As remarked in Chapter I, the annotated *K'ung-tzû-chia-yü* of the *Shih-chi* quotes this passage from CHANG SHOU-CHIEH's 張守節 *Shih-chi-chêng-i*:

"The *Su-shên-kuo-chi* says that the Su-shên have their home to the northeast of the country of the Fu-yü, about sixty days distant. Their bow is four feet long, and tough and strong [as?] a cross-bow, having a range of four hundred paces. What is now the Mei-ho tribe has certainly this arrow." 肅慎國記云，肅慎，其地在夫餘國東北河 [?] 可 六十日行。其弓四尺，強勁，[力如?] 弩，射四百步。今之靺鞨國，方有此矢。)

The last sentence was, as noted above too, the author's own comment added to the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* text, Mei-chia 靺鞨 being a varied transcription for Mo-ho 靺鞨. As for the first sentence concerning the tribal location, it is quite natural that it fits so exactly with the corresponding

1) *Shih-chi*, chap. 47.

passage quoted in the *Tai-p'ing-yü-lan*. On the other hand what might seem a little strange is that the description of the tribal weapon here shows considerable divergence as compared with what the *Tai-p'ing-yü-lan* 御覽 quotes from the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, as: "Their bow of *t'an* measures three feet five, and their arrow of *hu* one foot eight." We may remember, however, that the original *Su-shên-kuo-chi* seem to have contained quotations from earlier books, over and above its own account of the Su-shên, and if so, it is quite possible that CHANG SHOU-CHIEH consulted and referred to them as passages of the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, while the author of the *Tai-p'ing-yü-lan*, being more discriminating, credited the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* with only what was original in it. When we read in the *I-lou-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, so plainly reproduced from the *Wei-liao*: "Their bow is four feet long, and has the strength of a cross-bow. Their arrow made of the *hu* tree, measures a foot and eight inches, being fitted with an arrowhead of blue [or green] stone," we may be reasonably satisfied that the passage of CHANG's quotation in question was derived from the *Wei-liao*, as he found it reproduced in the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*.

Lastly, I may draw attention to the comment Kuo P'o affords on the account of the Su-shên in the *Ta-huang-pei-ching* 大荒北經 of the *Shan-hai-ching*: "Now, the country of the Su-shên tribe is more than 3,000 *li* away from Liao-tung, [whose seat of government was in the Prefecture of Hsiang-p'ing 襄平 or the modern Liao-yang]. They dwell in caves, have no dress, only clothing themselves in pigskins. In winter, they spread grease on their bodies to the thickness of several *fên*, that they may be protected from the cold wind. They are all skilled in shooting. Their bow is four feet long, and strong and tough. Their arrow is made of the *hu*, measuring one foot five." 今肅慎國, 去遼東三千餘里。穴居, 無衣, 衣豬皮。冬以膏塗體, 厚數分, 用却風寒。其人皆工射。弓長四尺, 勁彊。箭以楛爲之, 長尺五寸。In all probability, this was derived from the *Wei-liao*. The whole account reads much like the *I-lou-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, and yet it differs from the latter in that the epithet "strong and tough 勁彊" is seen only here. It is noticeable in this connection that the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, or more strictly the *Wei-liao*,

which is quoted in the *Shih-chi-chêng-i* 史記正義, shows the phrase "strong and powerful 強勁" in the corresponding place. As for the passage above, "more than 3,000 *li* away from Liao-tung," it is comparable with the remark given by T'u Yu 杜預, the Western Chin annotator, in commenting on the 9th year of the Annals of the Chao Kung 昭公, in the *Tso-chuan*:—"The Su-shên are a northern wild tribe, living more than 3,000 *li* away to the north of Hsüan-t'u [the modern Mukden]." 肅慎北夷, 在玄菟北三千餘里.¹⁾ The one says "Liao-tung", and the other "Hsüan-tu"; but, however it may be, we can be certain that these data were acquired in the Chin period, and not earlier.

CHAPTER IV

Ssu-ma Chao's Invitation to the Su-shên

So far as the period from the Three Kingdom age to the beginning of the Western Chin dynasty is concerned, we find on record three tribute-carrying missions sent by the Su-shên tribe to the Chinese court, namely, in the following specific years:

(1) In the 4th year of *Ch'ing-lung* 青龍 (A. D. 236), of the Wei emperor M'ing-ti 明帝, *i. e.*, two years before the Wei dynasty put an end to the Kung-sung's rule in the Liao-tung.

(2) In the 3rd year of *Ching-yüan* 景元 (A. D. 262), of Ch'ên-liu-Wang 陳留王 of the Wei dynasty, *i. e.*, three years before its fall.

(3) In the 5th year of *Han-ning* 咸寧 (A. D. 279), of the Chin emperor Wu-ti 武帝, *i. e.*, fourteen years after the foundation of the Western Chin dynasty.

I propose to find in the facts of those missions the key to the solution of the problem set forth in the last part of the preceding chapter, what occasions were there in the Chin period on which the Chinese might obtain further information of the Su-shên or the I-lou people. We had better begin with observing in what relations the Middle Kingdom stood

1) *Tso-chuan*, chap. 22.

with the eastern wild tribes in general during the period in question.

From the close of the Later Han dynasty to the early years of the Three Kingdom age, while the whole of China was rent with war and division, it was the Kung-sung family that ruled the region of Liao-tung, with their headquarters at Hsiang-p'ing 襄平, or the modern Liao-yang. They dominated, in addition, the two Chinese prefectures in the Korean peninsula, Lo-lang 樂浪 and Tai-fang 帶方, and even exercised influence over various tribes farther in the east. This family, however, was overthrown by the Wei expedition sent against them in the 2nd year of *Ching-ch'u* 景初 (A. D. 238) of M'ing-ti. Consequently, their former domain gave place to the Wei province of P'ing-Chou 平州, and at the seat of government, Hsiang-p'ing, resided the Tung-i-chiao-wei 東夷校尉 (Controller of the Eastern Tribes), whose duty it was to watch and restrain all the wild tribes in the eastern region. These things are what we can gather from the following account of P'ing-Chou found in the *Ti-li-chih* (Book of Geography) of the *Chin-shu*: "Towards the close of the Later Han dynasty, Kung-sung Tu declared himself Governor of P'ing-Chou. He was succeeded by his son Kang and this Kang by his own son Wên-i [*i. e.*, Yüan]. Both ruled as absolute masters of Liao-tung and made themselves obeyed by all the barbaric tribes of the east. The Wei dynasty appointed the Tung-i-chiao-wei resident at Hsiang-p'ing, while the five prefectures of Liao-tung, Chang-li 昌黎 [being a misrepresentation of Liao-hsi 遼西], Hsüan-t'u, Tai-fang, and [Lo-lang] were incorporated as the Province of P'ing-Chou." 後漢末, 公孫度自號平州牧。其子康, 康子文懿 [=淵], 並擅據遼東, 東夷九種皆服事焉。魏置東夷校尉居襄平, 而分遼東, 昌黎 [遼西], 玄菟, 帶方, 樂浪五郡, 爲平州。¹⁾ The same fact is found repeated in an adjacent passage in the same account, as: "After Wên-i was overthrown, there was created the office of Hu-tung-i-chiao-wei 護東夷校尉 Controller of the Eastern Tribes resident at Hsiang-p'ing." 及文懿滅後, 有護東夷校尉, 居襄平。²⁾ Not long after, however, the province of P'ing-Chou as an administrative division

1) *Chin-shu*, chap. 14.

2) See *Man-shû-rekishi-chiri* 滿洲歷史地理 (The Historical and Geographical Studies of Manchuria), edited by the South Manchuria Railway Company, vol. 1, pp. 206-207.

was abolished, and its component prefectures, Liao-tung and others, were annexed to the Province of Yu-Chou 幽州. This explains why it was the Magistrate of Yu-Chou, Kuan-chiu Chien who undertook and led the punitive expedition against the border tribe, Kao-chü-li, in the 5th year of *Chêng-shih* 正始 (A. D. 244). Later on, however, in the 10th year of *T'ai-shih* 泰始 (A. D. 274) of the founder of the Western Chin dynasty Wu-ti (*i. e.*, Ssu-ma Yen 司馬炎), the former system was restored in the administration of the region; the group of five prefectures was again set apart to constitute the Province of P'ing-chou,¹⁾ and there was likewise the Tung-i-chiao-wei residing at its seat of government, Hsiang p'ing.²⁾ His rôle was, now as before, to bridle and rein in the wild inhabitants of the east in general, including both Manchuria and the Korean peninsula. How such was the case may be seen from the following passage of the *Tung-i-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*, relating to the Fu-yü tribe: "During the reign of Wu-ti, they repeatedly paid respects and tribute. In the 6th year of *Tai-kang* [A. D. 285] they were attacked and beaten by Mu-jung Huai, until their King I-lü killed himself, and his sons and brothers fled to Wu-chü and held it.... Thereupon the Minister thus advised the Emperor, 'Our Hu-tung-i-chiao-wei, *Hsien-yü Ying* did not save the *Fu-yü*; he failed to act with necessary promptitude'. The emperor, therefore, dismissed *Hsien-yü Ying* from his post, and appointed Ho Kán instead." 武帝時, 頻來貢. 至太康六年, 爲慕容廆所襲破, 其王依慮自殺, 子弟走保沃沮, ……有司奏, 護東夷校尉鮮于嬰不救夫餘, 失於機略. 詔免嬰, 以何龕代之.³⁾ Then another passage of the history

1) The *Chin-shu*, chap. 3, the Annals of Wu-ti, the passage under the 2nd month of the 10th year of *Tai-shih* 泰始 says: "Five of the prefectures in the Province of Yu-Chou were set apart to form the Province of P'ing-Chou." 分幽州五郡, 置平州. The *Ti-li-chih*, on the other hand, thus remarks on P'ing-Chou; "In the 10th month of the 2nd year of *Han-ning* [A. D. 275], the prefectures of *Chang-li* 昌黎, Liao-tung, Hsüan-t'u, Tai-fang, and Lo-lang were set aside to create P'ing-Chou." 咸寧二年十月, 分昌黎, 遼東, 玄菟, 帶方, 樂浪等郡國, 置平州. Here, it seems, the change in the 10th year of *Tai-shih* is confounded with that in the 2nd year of *Ching-ch'u* and moreover attached to a wrong date, the 2nd year of *Han-ning*.

2) The *Ti-li-chih* of the *Chin-shu* mentions Hsiang-p'ing as the foremost department in the prefecture of Liao-tung, while in its original notes, the place is explained as "where the Tung-i-chiao-wei is resident." 東夷校尉所居.

3) *Chin-shu*, chap. 97.

referring to the Ma-han 馬韓 tribe says: "In the 1st year and again in the 2nd year of *T'ai-kang* [A. D. 280] of Wu-ti, their chief sent envoys to tender a tribute of native products, and this was repeated in the 7th, 8th, and 10th years. In the 1st year of *T'ai-hsi* [A. D. 290], the tribe came to *Tung-i-chiao-wei* Ho K'an and offered presents." 武帝太康元年, 二年, 其主頻遣使, 入貢方物。七年, 八年, 十年, 又頻至。太熙元年, 詣東夷校尉何龕上獻。¹⁾

That the reign of Wu-ti saw a considerable spread of Western Chin influence among the wild tribes of the east is indicated in the Annals of Wu-ti in the *Chin-shu*. Year after year during the period from the 2nd year of *Han-ning* to the 1st year of *T'ai-hsi* (A. D. 276-290), we see recurrent accounts of submission, adhesion, missions and tributes declared and sent by various eastern tribes, in groups of several, of more than ten, or of several tens, as the case might be. On one occasion, "the Su-shên came to present *hu* arrows and stone *nu* [arrowheads]," 肅慎來獻楛矢, 石弩,²⁾ in the 5th year of *Han-ning* (A. D. 289). The last of the series appears under the 1st year of *Yung-p'ing* 永平 (A. D. 291) of Hui-ti 惠帝, or the next after the 1st year of *T'ai-hsi*, when "17 eastern tribes...came to [Tung-i-] Chiao-wei to declare adhesion." 東夷十七國, ...詣[東夷]校尉內附。³⁾ In every case except for the Su-shên, however, those barbaric vassals are mentioned as "so and so many tribes," without giving their specific names. Probably it was not that the tribe names were unknown, but that the annalist preferred to omit them. (But more about this hereafter).

In the *Tung-i-chuan* of the same history, on the other hand, we meet with a number of tribes specified. There is a passage which opens with the heading, "Ten tribes—Pei-li and others." 稗離等十國⁴⁾ Its first part vaguely describes the locations of four of the ten tribes, also referring to their payment of tribute, as:

"The Pei-li tribe lives to the northwest of the Su-shên, about

1) *Chin-shu*, chap. 97.

2) *Ibid.*, chap. 3.

3) *Ibid.*, chap. 4.

4) *Ibid.*, chap. 97.

200 days on horseback from the latter country, and comprises 20,000 families. The Yang-yün tribe, reached in 50 days on horseback from Pei-li, comprises 20,000 families; and the K'ou-mo-han tribe, 100 days away from the Yang-yün, consists of over 50,000 families. The I-ch'ün tribe is located about 150 days from [K'ou]-mo-han, and more than 50,000 *li* away from the Su-shên. Nothing is ascertained of their folk customs or the soil of their country. During the 3rd year of *T'ai-shih* [A. D. 267], each tribe sent a small clan to present its native products." 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[國]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。Next on record come the six other tribes, —Mou-nu 牟奴, Wei-li-mo-lu 惟離模盧, Yü-li-mo-li 于離末利, P'u-tu 蒲都, Shêng-yü 繩余; and Sha-lou 沙樓, of which it is said that in the early years of the *T'ai-hsi* era their chiefs so and so each sent a senior and a junior envoy to the Tung-i-chiao-wei, Ho K'an, to show his submission and adhesion. The *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, on the other hand, contains the following passage with the heading "The seven tribes—Mou-nu and others":—"They are the Mou-nu, Mo-lu, Mo-li, Pei-li, Man-tu, Shan-yü and Sha-lou. The *Chin-chi-chü-chu* [court record of the Emperor's daily life, conduct and speech] says that in the 1st month of the 1st year of *T'ai-hsi*, the Mou-nu and other tribes, whose populations, large and small, totalled more than 179,000, each sent a senior and a junior envoy to visit the Hu-tung-i-chiao-wei Ho K'an, and present its native products." 牟奴國, 模盧國, 末利國, 卑離國, 滿都國, 繩余國, 沙樓國。晉起居注曰, 太熙元年正月, 牟奴等國, 大小口十七萬九千餘人, 各遣正副使, 詣東夷校尉何龕, 上獻方物。¹⁾ As we see, this group of seven coincides that group of six which the *Chin-shu* mentions as having arrived early in the *T'ai-hsi* era, and Pei-li, one of the four tribes which the history groups separately. There can be little doubt that the same event is referred to, when the

1) *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, chap. 787; 模盧 corresponds to 惟離模盧, 末利 to 于離末利, 滿都 to 蒲都, and 繩余 to 繩余, it being assumed that of 滿 and 蒲, and of 繩 and 繩, one is a corruption of the other.

Annals of Wu-ti states under the 2nd month of the 1st year of *T'ai-hsi*: "Seven eastern tribes brought tribute;" 東夷七國朝貢;¹⁾ although the date differs by one month as between two accounts. The Annals of Wu-ti tells us nothing, however, of the four tribes including Pei-li, who came in the 3rd year of *T'ai-shih*; and though the *Tung-i-chuan* makes mention of them, it leaves us unable to guess how such remote peoples as were reachable from the Su-shên's place by travelling 200 to 500 days on horseback, should have ever approached the Chinese court with tribute. Then something more may be noticed of the Kou-mo-han tribe. Take that opening passage of the *Su-shên-chuan*: "The Su-shên tribe, otherwise called I-lou, live to the north of the P'u-han-shan Mountains, about 60 days' journey from Fu-yü. Their territory is washed by a vast ocean on the east, borders on the land of the K'ou-man-han 寇漫汗 on the west, and extends as far north as the Jo-shui. The area within the boundaries stretches several thousands of li."²⁾ This was certainly a quotation from the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, and it has been already pointed out that the commentator of the *Han-yüan* made a mistake in attributing it to the *Wei-liao*.³⁾ Now, the Kuo-man-han tribe,⁴⁾ mentioned as the western neighbour of the Su-shên, was almost certainly one and the same with the Kou-mo-han 寇摸汗, one of those four tribes who came during the 3rd year of *T'ai-shih*. And this particular mention of the K'ou-man-han, taken together with the comparatively well-informed account the book provides of the location and manners of life of the Su-shên people, is what deserves our special attention. We may also notice that, in the reign of Wu-ti, marked with the arrivals of so many foreign missions, it was not until the 5th year of *Han-ning* (A. D. 279) that the Su-shên paid their court. This means that they were 12 years behind those four remoter tribes, who came forth in

1) *Chin-shu*, chap. 3.

2) *Ibid.*, chap. 97.

3) The *Su-shên-kuo-chi* as quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* lacks the words: "It adjoins the country of Kou-man-han on the west," so on.

4) In the alleged quotation from the *Wei-liao* in the notes on the *Han yüan*, is mentioned the country of "寇漫行." The first character must be a misspelling for 寇, and the third for 汗.

the 3rd year of *T'ai-shih* (A. D. 267). Yet, this comparison is not so strange as it might seem at first sight. For the Su-shên had already appeared at court more than once before that reign, and in one case in the 3rd year of *Ching-yüan* (A. D. 262) of the deposed Wei emperor, Ch'ên-liu-Wang 陳留王. And this takes us back to an observation of their tribute-carrying in the Three Kingdom Age.

We have already seen what small probability of truth there is in that old story of the Su-shên's visit in very early times, made so famous by its presence in pre-Ch'in literature. The first reliable record, then, of their appearance at court for the periods following the Han dynasty is found in the Annals of M'ing-ti in the *Wei-chih*, in this passage relating to the 5th month of the 4th year of *Ch'ing-lung* 青龍 (A. D. 236): "The Su-shên tribe presented *hu* arrows." 肅慎氏獻楛矢.¹⁾ This was at a time when the rule of the Kung-sung family in Liao-tung was trembling before the ascendancy of the Wei dynasty, and it is quite possible that they took an opportunity to propitiate their powerful neighbour by acting as intermediary to bring the Su-shên to the dynastic court. The Chinese in Liao-tung at least must have learned more or less of the tribe by that time. Their name, as then known, was I-lou, not Su-shên. Neither was Su-shên an alternative name the tribe had to call themselves by. But as soon as they had brought their tribute of *hu* arrows to the Wei court, they were designated Su-shên, because they were assumed to be the people identical with the traditional Su-shên, celebrated from antiquity for their tribute of *hu* arrows. The dynastic history *Wei-chih*, while giving an account of them under the name of I-lou, remarks: "They are the Su-shên of old" 古之肅慎氏之國也,²⁾ and this assists the above inference. Further on in the *I-lou-chuan* we see the political situation of the tribe described as follows: "Since the Han times, they had been subject to the Fu-yü. But as the Fu-yü were exorbitant and taxed them very heavily, they revolted during the *Huang-chu* era [A. D. 220-226]. Again and again, the Fu-yü tried to

1) *Wei-chih*, chap. 3.

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

chastise them, but the I-lou people, though small in number, were securely placed among steep mountains, while their bows and arrows were dreaded by neighbouring tribes. So the Fu-yü never succeeded in subjugating them.” 自漢以來, 臣屬夫餘. 夫餘責其租賦重, 以黃初中叛之. 夫餘數伐之, 其人雖少, 所在山險, 鄰國人畏其弓矢. 卒不能服也.¹⁾ Having been delivered from the yoke of the Fu-yü early in the Three Kingdom age, *i. e.*, during the reign of Wên-ti of the Wei house, they had freedom to enter into intercourse with China, and this will partly account for their visit on that occasion.

When the Su-shên made their next appearance at court, it was 17 years after Wang Chi's expedition of the 6th year of *Chêng-shih* 正始 (A. D. 245), and 3 years before the last emperor of the Wei house, Ch'en-liu-Wang, ceded his sceptre to Wu-ti, the founder of the Chin dynasty. The Annals of Ch'en-liu Wang of the *Wei-chih*, under the 4th month of the 3rd year of *Ching-yüan* (A. D. 262) says: "It was reported by the Prefecture of Liao-tung that the Su-shên tribe sent an envoy, who, having arrived by dint of using en route repeated interpretations, presented their native products, which consisted of—30 bows, 3 feet 5 long; a number of *hu* arrows, 1 foot 8; 300 stone arrow-heads; 20 miscellaneous armours of skin, horn and iron; and 400 sable furs." 遼東郡言, 肅慎國遣使, 重譯入貢, 獻其國弓三十張, 長三尺五寸; 楛矢, 長一尺八寸; 石矰三百枚; 皮, 骨, 鐵雜鎧二十領; 貂皮四百枚.²⁾ The Annals of Wên-ti of the *Chin-shu* refers to the same event under the identical date: "The Su-shên came and presented *hu* arrows, stone arrow-heads, bows, armour, sable furs, etc. The emperor [viz. Ch'en-liu-Wang] ordered these articles to be sent to the office of the Generalissimo." 肅慎來獻楛矢, 石矰, 弓甲, 貂皮等. 天子命歸大將軍府.³⁾ The "Generalissimo" meant Ssu-ma Chao 司馬昭, then the prime minister to the declining Wei dynasty. (He was father to Ssu-ma Yen 司馬炎, who was later to become Wu-ti, the founder of the Chin dynasty, and then Chao was posthumously entitled Wên-ti). By that time Chao had gained

1) *Wei-chih*.

2) *Ibid*, chap. 4.

3) *Chin-shu*, chap. 2.

overwhelming power at court and taken absolute control of state affairs into his own hands. Now the Su-shên brought their characteristic tribute to court, and it was forwarded to him by order of the emperor. The intention was, no doubt, to shift the honour to where the true merit lay. This incident will not easily fail to remind one of an old story pertaining to the remote Chou dynasty, which we read in the Preface to the *Shu-ching* as follows: "T'ang-shu 唐叔 [younger brother of Ch'êng-wang 成王] once found some stalks of grain, which, growing severally on different ridges, still had a single common ear, and he presented them to the sovereign. The king ordered T'ang-shu to take them to Chou-kung 周公, who was staying away in the east. This caused 'The Sending of the Grain' to be written. Chou-kung, having received the 'conferred grain', expatiated on the order of the sovereign, thus giving rise to 'The Auspicious Grain.' 唐叔得禾異畝同穎, 獻諸天子. 王命唐叔歸周公于東. 作歸禾. 周公既得命禾, 旅天子之命. 作嘉禾." The Annals of the Chou dynasty in the *Süih-chi* relates the same story as: "T'ang-shu, finding an auspicious growth of grain, presented it to Ch'êng-wang. The king had it forwarded to Chou-kung in his military camp. Chou-kung received the grain in the eastern district, and wrote a discourse on the sovereign's order." 晉唐叔得嘉穀, 獻之成王. 成王以歸周公于兵所. 周公受禾東土, 魯天子命.¹⁾ Now, the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*, in narrating the Su-shên's tribute on the occasion under view, connects it with the memory of the golden age of the Chou dynasty under the regency of Chou-kung. "At the time of Wu-wang of the Chou dynasty, they [Su-shên] presented to court their *hu* arrows and stone arrow-heads; when Chou-kung assumed regency in behalf of Ch'êng-wang, once more they sent their envoy in congratulation. They never came again for the following thousand years and more, not even the glorious regimes of the Ch'in and Han being sufficient to bring them in. When, however, Wên-ti [viz. Ssu-ma Chao] became prime minister towards the end of the *Ching-yüan* era of the Wei dynasty [263 A. D.], they came and offered their *hu* arrows, stone

1) Chap. 4.

arrowheads, bows, armour, sable furs, and the like. The Wei emperor [Yüan-ti] ordered those articles to be forwarded to the premier's office, while he bestowed upon Ju-chi 僀雞, the king of I-lou, some gold brocade, *ch'i* [felt rug], and silk cloth."¹⁾ The above is the main portion of Section E of the Su-shên-chuan text, quoted without explanation in the previous chapter, but the trend of the passage is clear enough. Here Ssu-ma Chao is implicitly compared to Chou-kung, the blessed model of chancellorship and character, for the reason of the Su-shên's tributary visit. They came again now, after an interval of a millenium following the time of Chou-kung, whereas the most flourishing days the Ch'in and Han dynasties had not seen them; and this was attributed of to the virtue of Ssu-ma Chao's personality and administration. Moreover, there is evidence that this glorification of Ssu-ma Chao by the Su-shên's tribute was exhibited before the neighbouring states. In the 4th year of *Ching-yüan*, that is, that next after the above-mentioned year, the Wei general Chung Hui 鍾會, who was leading the Western Expedition against the rival state of Shu 蜀, despatched a message to the enemy, which is remarkable for this passage: "Now our sovereign, endowed with sacred virtues and felicitous illumination, has inherited and elevated the dynastic prestige. His prime minister, devoutly loyal and of serene wisdom, is serving the royal house with untiring efforts, and providing the people with orderly and benign administration. So much so that all the communities are united in co-operation and harmony, and the beneficent influence is even affecting hundreds of wild tribes; and even the Su-shên have brought tribute." 今主上聖德欽明, 紹隆前緒. 宰輔忠肅明允, 劬勞王室, 布政垂恩, 而萬邦協和, 施德百蠻; 而肅慎致貢.²⁾ There can be no doubt that all these things had their motive in Ssu-ma Chao's design to turn the Su-shên tribute to account for advertising his own merit and heightening his popularity. But does this mean that he merely availed himself of the good opportunity which turned up by chance?

The answer to the above question will have much bearing upon the

1) Chap. 97.

2) *Wei-chih*, chap. 28, biography of Chung Hui 鍾會.

outstanding problem—how to account for the increased information about the I-lou people, apparently resulting from actual observation of them at their home. First of all, however, we had better understand that it was no novelty invented by Ssu-ma Chao to snatch a means to his ambitious end in the arrival of tribute from a far-off tribe. He had before him an example set by Wang Mang 王莽, the usurper of the Han dynasty. The explanation of this must go back to an antique story told in the *Shang-shu-ta-chuan* 尚書大傳 written by Fu Shêng 伏生: "Once in the days of Chêng Wang, some one found several stalks of grain growing together into one common ear. It was nearly large enough to fill up a cart, and tall enough to reach the eaves. Some one presented it to the court, and as the king called upon Chou-kung to interpret the phenomenon, he replied, 'Now the three stalks have grown into one ear, and we may well hope that the world will harmonize and be one.' And in truth there came a mission from a tribe by the name of Yuêh-shang 越裳, who arrived by using repeated interpretations." 成王時, 有苗異莖而生, 同爲一穗, 大幾盈車, 長充廂。人有上之者, 王召周公而問之。公曰, 三苗爲一穗, 抑天下其和爲一乎。果有越裳氏, 重譯而來。¹⁾ More is told of this foreign visitor in another passage of the book: "To the south of Chiao-chih 交趾, there is the home of the Yüeh-shang tribe. It was during the 6th year of Chou kung's regency, when the code of decorum had been established and standard music formulated, and peace and tranquility reigned all over the country, that the envoys of this Yüeh-shang tribe came travelling on the backs of three elephants, using repeated interpretations, and presented the court with some white pheasants. Thus they spoke, 'It is a long, long journey; there are mountains and rivers that obstructed our progress; and for fear we might fail to transmit our message, we have been employing repeated interpretations all the way, and now at last we have come to your court.' The king had those gifts transferred to the Chou kung." 交趾之南有越裳國。周公居攝六年, 制禮作樂, 天下和平。越裳以三象重譯而獻白雉。曰, 道路悠遠, 山川阻深, 恐使不通, 故重譯而朝。成王以歸周公。²⁾ This

1) *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, chap. 839.

2) *Ibid.*, chap. 785.

story, which, by the way, is found likewise in the *Shuo-yüan* 說苑¹⁾ written by LIU HSIANG 劉向 towards the end of the former Han period, plainly belongs to the same category of legend as that of "the conferred grain" 歸禾, and of "the royal decree concerning the Su-shên's tribute" 賄肅慎之命, above referred to. With this idea in mind, we may now look at this passage of the Annals of P'ing-ti 平帝 in the *Han-shu*, as relating to the 1st month, in the spring of the 1st year of *Yüan-shih* 元始 (A. D. 1): "The Yüeh-shang tribe came by using repeated interpretations; to present to court one white, and two black, pheasants. The emperor ordered the San-kung 三公 [the three chief ministers] to offer them to the Royal Mausoleum. Then the whole court and government offered to the throne the opinion that Ta-ssü-ma [Generalissimo] Wang Mang equaled Chou-kung in meritorious service and brilliant virtues. The result was that he was granted the title of An-han Kung 安漢公 while T'ai-shih Kung Kuang 太師孔光 and others were rewarded with additions to their fiefs." 越裳氏重譯, 獻白雉一, 黑雉二. 詔使三公以薦宗廟. 羣臣奏言, 大司馬莽, 功德比周公. 賜號安漢公, 及太師孔光等皆益封.²⁾ There appeared again that Yüeh-shang tribe, the story of whose visit in the far past was always reminiscent of the great Chou Kung, and Wang Mang was never slow to take advantage of the incident for his self-advertisement and promotion. And his example was to be followed, centuries later, by Ssu-ma Chao, who walked the same path of ambition, this time it being the Su-shên that served his purpose. But was it by mere chance that the Yüeh-shang tribe paid tribute so opportunely for Wang Mang? The answer is clearly suggested by history, as we shall see. His biography in the *Han-shu* shows Wang Mang addressing the throne, in the 5th year of *Yüan-shih* 元始 [A. D. 5], in these words:—"It is several years that the Empress Dowager [mother of Ch'êng-ti] has been reigning, and now the world is flooded with heavenly grace and benevolence, and wrapped in the atmosphere of peace. There are no remote or alien peoples but approach us with longing for righteousness. Thus the Yüeh-shang tribe came a long

1) Chap. 18.

2) Chap. 12.

way, by using repeated interpretations, and presented white pheasants; and the country of Huang-chih sent envoys for a distance of 30,000 *li*, and offered a living rhinoceros.” 太后秉統數年，恩澤洋溢，和氣四塞，絕域殊俗，靡不慕義。越裳比重譯，獻白雉；黃支自三萬里貢生犀。¹⁾ The latter people's bringing of this animal was an occurrence three years before, the Annals of P'ing-ti recording it as in the spring of the 2nd year of the same era.²⁾ But it is the *Ti-li-chih* of the same history that seems to disclose the truth about it. “During the *Yüan-shih* era of P'ing-ti,” it says, “Wang Mang, the highest chancellor, who desired to aggrandize his prestige, sent a rich gift to the king of Huang-chih and thereby caused him to despatch an envoy with the present of a living rhinoceros.” 平帝元始中，王莽輔政，欲耀威德，厚遺黃支王，令遣使獻生犀牛。³⁾ The same must it have been the case with his dealing with the other tribe Yüeh-shang. The future usurper beckoned them, with the design of benefitting himself by the auspicious character of their tribute, —white pheasants. “His first step was to give a suggestion to the magistrates of I-chou that the tribe beyond the borders should be caused to present white pheasants,” says his biography in the *Han-shu*. “In the 1st month of the 1st year of *Yüan-shih*, Mang advised the Empress Dowager to give orders that the white pheasants should be offered to the royal mausoleum. . . . Thereupon the whole court and government extolled Mang's virtue, declaring that the auspicious tribute of white pheasants was an exact counterpart of what had happened a thousand years before, in the blessed times of Ch'êng Wang of the Chou dynasty.” 始風益州，令塞外蠻夷獻白雉。元始元年正月，莽白太后下詔，以白雉薦宗廟. . . .於是，羣臣乃盛陳莽功德，致周成白雉之瑞，千載同符。⁴⁾

The Huang-chi is mentioned in the *Ti-li-chih* as the remotest country to be found on the south-western seas. It seems that the Chinese contact with it began at the time of Wu-ti, when, after conquering the Nan Yüeh 南越 race, he sent out his agents to trade with several peoples on the ocean. The same book names also a series of countries in the

1) *Han-shu*, chap. 99., Biography of Wang Mang, a.

2) *Han-shu*, chap. 12.

3) Chap. 23, b, Yüeh.

4) *Han-shu*, chap. 99., Biography of Wang Mang, a.

order of proximity:—Hsü-wên 徐聞 (*i. e.*, the modern Hsü-wên Hsien 徐聞縣, Kao-lei Tao 高雷道, in the Province of Kuang-tung), Ho-p'u 合浦 (*i. e.*, the modern Ho-p'u Hsien 合浦縣, Chin-lien Tao 欽廉道, in the same Province), and so on to Huang-chi; giving besides, a brief description of the return route from Huang-chi. This information probably owed its main part to the report of later Chinese agents, despatched by Wang Mang.¹⁾ The location of the Huang-chih tribe has been identified

1) The *Ti-li-chih* of the *Han-shu*, in its account of the land of Yüeh, describes the several countries lying on the south-western seas as follows:

"[1]—Starting from Hsü-wên and Ho-p'u, which mark the farther boundaries of [the prefecture of] Jih-nan, and sailing about five months, one reaches the country of Tu-yüan. Sailing further about four months, one gains the country of I-lu; and sailing further again about twenty days, the country of Shên-li. Thence travelling on foot for ten days odd, one reaches the country of Fu-kan-tu-lu. From the country of Fu-kan-tu-lu, a sailing of two months or so takes one to the country of Huang-chih. The manners of life therein are similar to those in [the island of] Chu-ai. The country covers a vast area, has a large population, and abounds in strange products. [2]—From the reign of Wu-ti onwards, all [these countries] have been paying tribute. There was [in Wu-ti's court] a chief interpreter attached to the Department of Huang-mên. He went to sea in company with those men who had answered the call to go with him. The object being to trade for pearls, beryl, curious stones, and other rare things, they carried away with them gold and several *tsêng* silk. In every country they reached, they were supplied with provisions, and joined by more fellow-travellers. Merchantships of the barbarian tribes guided them on from port to port. Sometimes, their merchandise attracted marauders, and some suffered at their plundering and murderous hands. Again there were some who were overtaken by heavy storms and drowned. The rest came home, after many years. The biggest pearls they brought home measured nearly two inches round. [3] During the era of Yüan-shih of P'ing-ti, Wang Mang became Prime Minister. As he wanted to give a glittering display to his personal influence, he sent handsome gift to the king of Huang-chih, to persuade him to present the Court with a living rhinoceros. It was reported that, sailing about eight months from Huang-chih, one reached P'i-tsung, and again sailing about two months, the borders of [the prefectures of] Jih-nan and Hsiang-lin. South of the country of the Huang-chih, there was the country of Ssu-ch'êng-pu. The Han interpreters and messengers returned by way of their country. [1] 自日南障塞徐聞,合浦,船行可五月,有都元國.又船行可四月,有邑盧沒國.又船行可二十餘日,有婁離國.步行可十餘日,有夫甘都盧國.自夫甘都盧國,船行可二月餘,有黃支國,民俗略與珠厓相類.其州廣大,戶口多,多異物. [2] 自武帝以來,皆獻見.有譯長屬黃門.與應募者俱入海.市明珠,璧流離,奇石,異物,寶黃金,雜繒而往.所至國,皆稟食爲糒.蠻夷賈船,轉送致之.亦利交易,剽殺人.又苦逢風波溺死,不者數年來還.大珠至圍二寸以下. [3] 平帝元始中,王莽輔政,欲耀威德,厚遺黃支王,令遣獻生犀牛.自黃支船行可八月,到皮宗,船行可二月,到日南,象林界云,黃支之南,有已程不國,漢之譯使,自此還矣. The text divides itself into three sections, as numbered (1) (2) and (3) above. The first section mentions the various countries passed beyond Hsü-wên and Ho-p'u, until that of Huang-chih was reached; the second relates how Wu-ti

by our late Dr. T. Fujita. In his "*Study on the Records of Communications on the South-Western Seas in the Former Han Period*," he examined the above passage of the geography and ascertained "Huang-chih" to be identical with Chien-chih 建志 in the *Ta-t'ang-hsi-yü-chi* 大唐西域記, and accordingly placed it at the present Conjeeveram, on the eastern coast of South India.¹⁾

It is a natural expectation that what Wang Mang did with the Huang-chih and the Yüeh-shang, Ssu-ma Chao also did with the I-lou, or the Su-shên as they had been assumed to be since the 4th year of *Ch'ing-lung* (A. D. 236). He did not only avail himself of their tributary visit as it occurred, but also caused it to occur, probably by sending out some agents to persuade them for this purpose. This view is supported by what we have noticed about the nature of the information provided by the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*,—that it must have come from some actual Chinese observation at the tribe's own home. We have seen that the book mentions the Kou-man-han, a western neighbour of the I-lou, and that this was one of the four tribes who brought tribute in the 3rd year of *T'ai-shih* (A. D. 267), two years after the accession of Ssu-ma Chao's son Yen, as Wu-ti, the founder of the Western Chin dynasty to succeed the deposed Wei emperor Chên-liu-wang. If that farther-off group, so vaguely placed at 200 to 500 days' distance on horseback from the land of the Su-shên, anticipated the latter in carrying tribute to Wu-ti's court, it is really no matter for surprise. For we may easily suppose that that Su-shên's arrival before Wu-ti's reign, in the 3rd year of *Ching-yüan* (A. D. 262), that is to say, five years earlier, paved the way for their neighbours' approach to China. At any rate, the Su-shên brought their characteristic tribute just when Ssu-ma Chao was rising to supremacy, and it was so cleverly made to contribute to his fame and

sent out a party of volunteer adventurers on a mercantile mission to the south sea countries; and the third alludes to the fact of Wang Mang despatching his messengers to the king of Huang-chih, and also to certain countries they called at on their way home. Perhaps the information about the outward route in section 1, and that of the homeward journey in section 3, were originally consecutive parts of the report of Wang Mang's messengers, but separated by the interpolation of section 2, when they were adopted for the *Ti-li-chih*.

1) Geibun, vol. 5, no. 11 (Nov. 1914), pp. 41-45.

glory; and behind this fact we perceive his ambitious plot, that he invited the Su-shên purposely, to serve his own interest; and it involves the supposition that he sent some agents to the tribe to persuade them. (Perhaps the execution of the measure was actually managed by the Tung-i-chiao-wei, resident in Liao-tung). We may take it for granted that it was on this occasion, and by those agents that the first-hand knowledge of the country and life of that people, including the name of their neighbours, Kou-man-han, was brought back and added a considerable amount of detail to what had been acquired through Wang Chi's expedition seventeen years before.

The year next before the Su-shên came, or the 2nd year of *Ching-yüan* (A. D. 261) is marked by the record of several Korean tribes paying compliments to China. The Annals of Ch'ên-liu-wang in the *Wei-chih* reads under the date of the 7th month of that year: "The chiefs of the Han and Wei-mo tribes on the borders of the Lo-lang Prefecture, each followed by his tribesmen, presented themselves and offered tributes." 樂浪外夷韓濊貊, 各率其屬來朝貢.¹⁾ Very presumably here also was Ssu-ma Chao's policy taking its course. Going further back to the time of Chao's father, I 懿, who was also prime minister to the Wei emperor and posthumously entitled Hsüan-ti 宣帝, the Annals of Hsüan-ti in the *Chin-shu* has this passage: "In the 1st month, in the spring of the 1st year of *Chêng-shih* of the Wei dynasty [A. D. 240], the wild tribe of the east, Wo [viz. Japanese] sent envoys, who came by using repeated interpretations to offer tribute. The Yen-chi, Wei-hsü, and the eminent chiefs of the Hsien-pei, to the south of the Jo-shui, sent envoys and offered presents. The Sovereign [viz. the dethroned Wei emperor Chi-wang Fang 齊王芳] attributed the glory of the event to his prime minister." 魏正始元年春正月, 東倭重譯納貢. 焉耆, 危須諸國, 弱水以南, 鮮卑名王, 皆遣使來獻. 天子歸美宰輔.²⁾ From the Wei dynastic chronicles, however, it does not appear that there occurred in the said year any visit from the Wo or from any other tribe whatever; and we may reasonably suspect that the above account was but a later

1) Chap. 4.

2) Chap. 1.

fabrication by the Chin annalist, intended to embellish the history of Ssu-ma I, so that it might match the better his son's brilliant record. To identify the proper names above, the Yen-chi were the inhabitants of Karashar in Chinese Turkestan, and the Wei-hsü one of their neighbours; while the Jo-shui, we remember, was that eastward-flowing section of the Sungri River by which the *Su-shên-kuo-chi* marked the northern extremity of the Su-shên's country.

The foregoing observations, I hope, have sufficiently explained the character of the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, the chief source of the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*. It drew its basic material from what was noted down or reported about the I-lou people by those men whom Ssu-ma Chao sent out to their home, round about the 2nd and 3rd years of *Ching-yüan* of the Wei dynasty; and this was woven together with some narratives about the antique Su-shên found in classics older than the Three Kingdom period, resulting in the volume which, as the title indicates, was "The Account of the Su-shên Tribe." So we may well assume that it was to this book that the *Chin-shu* owed the stuff reproduced in that Section E of its *Su-shên-chuan*, beginning, as we have seen, with the story of the ancient Su-shên presenting the Chou court with their *hu* arrows and stone arrowheads; and, then, after a reference to the long interval which passed without their ever returning, relating their revived visits in the days of Ssu-ma Chao's premiership and in the reign of Wu-ti his son. The date of its compilation we may set down to the Western Chin period, but the bulk of the contents relates to the times extending down from the closing years of the Wei to the early part of the Chin dynasty.

Before leaving the present chapter, it will be well to make a passing comment on the mountains by the name of Pu-han-shan, which are thus mentioned in the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*: "The Su-shên tribe, also called I-lou, live to the north of Pu-han-shan." 肅慎氏一名挹婁, 在不咸山北. It has been generally supposed on the basis of the above statement that Pu-han (shan) was the earliest vernacular name known

of the mountains, and that it corresponded to T'u-t'ai-shan 徒太山, which is mentioned in the *Wu-chi-chuan* 勿吉傳 of the *Wei-shu* 魏書 as: "To the south of the country rise the T'u-t'ai-shan Mountains." 國南有徒太山,¹⁾ Now, the *Mo-ho-chuan* of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書靺鞨傳 says, "The T'ai-pai Mountains [Chang-pai-shan] are also called T'ut'ai-shan," 太白山亦曰徒太山;²⁾ and on the assumption that Pu-hanshan was another name for T'u-t'ai-shan, it naturally has been identified with the modern Chang-pai-shan Mountains. There has been also proposed a philological explanation of the name Pu-han, that it was a transcription from the Tunguse word *bukan*, which signified heaven. It is indeed very remarkable, however, that the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*, that chief source of the *Su-shên-chuan*, says nothing whatever of the Pu-hanshan in describing the country of the Su-shên, and this is the case wherever the book survives in quotations, whether in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, in the commentaries on the *Han-yüan*, in the *Shih-chi-chêng-i*, or in the annotation on the Biography of Kung Yung in the *Hou-han-shu*. Neither is the name found in the *Hai-wai-hsi-ching* 海外西經 of the *Shan-hai-ching*, which, together with Kuo Po's 郭璞 commentaries upon it, must have contributed some material to the *Su-shên-chuan*. But it is in another chapter of the *Shan-hai-ching*, namely, *Ta-huang-pei-ching* 大荒北經, that we find it mentioned as: "In the remotest region there are certain mountains by the name of Pu-han. They are within the country of the Su-shên tribe." 大荒之中有山,名曰不咸,有肅慎氏之國.³⁾ This is the only probable origin to which the mention of the Pu-han mountains in the *Su-shên-chuan* might be traced, though it must be granted that the historian was abusing his material in assigning them to the south of the country. The question is, however, what credibility there is in this mention of Pu-han-shan by the *Shan-hai-ching*? From what we know of the general character of the book, it is hard to believe it was based on any definite geographical fact. After all, the existence

1) Chap. 100; the corresponding name is spelt 徒太 (ts'ung-t'ai) in the *Wu-chi-chuan* of the *Pei-shih* 北史勿吉傳.

2) Chap. 219.

3) *Shan-hai-ching*, chap. 17.

of the Pu-han-shan Mountains is open to question, and so long as it is, it would be futile to attempt to identify them with the Chang-pai-shan, on the strength of that passage in the *Su-shên-chuan*.

There is another part of the *Su-shên-chuan* text which requires further comment. Below the passage just above discussed, we read: "It lies about 60 days' journey from Fu-yü," and this was obviously taken from the *Su-shên-kuo-chi*. Seeing that the Su-shên or the I-lou were immediate neighbours of the Fu-yü, and that the latter are provable, as I hold, to have had their home in the modern district of A-lê-ch'u-k'o 阿勒楚喀¹⁾, we must needs admit that the journey, as alleged, was absurdly long. Behind this overstatement there was perhaps this circumstance that those who went on Ssu-ma Chao's mission to the Su-shên tribe found it to their interest, for some reason or other, to exaggerate the distance they had travelled.

CHAPTER V

The Su-shên's tributary missions in the Chin and Succeeding Periods, and the Circumstances in Which They were Sent.

The tribute-carrying mission from the Su-shên to be noticed for the early part of the Western Chin period agrees with the last one in the list of their missions given at the beginning of the preceding chapter. It occurred in the 5th year of *Han-ning* (A. D. 279), and is thus recorded in the Annals of Wu-ti in the *Chin-shu*, under the 12th month of the year: "The Su-shên came and presented *hu* arrows and stone arrow-heads."²⁾ Then we meet this passage in the account of the Su-shên people in the same history: "*In the beginning of Yüan-k'ang* of Wu-ti, they came again with tribute." (See Section E of the quotation from the *Su-shên-chuan* in Chapter III). But this record is open to question. We know the 1st year of *Yüan-k'ang* (A. D. 291) was not included in

1) This will be fully discussed in the author's "*Study of the Fu-yü*", to be published subsequently.

2) *Chin-shu*, chap. 3.

the reign of Wu-ti, but coincided with the 2nd year of that of his successor Hui-ti 惠帝. And it is only until, and no later than, the 1st year of Hui-ti that frequent tributes from various eastern tribes appear in the Dynastic Annals in the history. Perhaps "the 1st year of *Yüan-k'ang*" 元康 was an error for what should have been "the 1st year of *T'ai-k'ang*" 太康, the year following the 5th year of *Han-ning* in the reign of Wu-ti. At any rate, we can be certain, on the authority of the Dynastic Annals, that the Su-shên paid their first tribute to the Western Chin dynasty in the 5th year of *Han-ning*, that is to say, after the dynasty had been for more than ten years in existence.

The next record of the tribe's tribute is that which occurs in the Annals of Yüan-ti 元帝, under the 8th month of the 2nd year of *T'ai-hsing* 太興 (A. D. 319): "The Su-shên presented *hu* arrows and stone arrowheads."¹⁾ This was the same occasion to which the *Su-shên-chuan* refers, saying: "On the restoration of the dynasty by Yüan-ti, they came again to Chiang-tso 江左, [the region east of the Yang-tzū-chiang] and presented stone arrowheads." (See Section E of the above quotation from the book). The said 2nd year of *T'ai-hsing* was the year next but one after that in which Yüan-ti ascended the throne at Chien-k'ang 建康, modern Nanking, as the first emperor of the Eastern Chin dynasty. Kuo P'ü, writing in that dynastic period, provides a note on "the country of Su-shên" mentioned in the *Ta-huang-pei-ching* in the *Shan-hai-ching*: "In the 3rd year of *T'ai-hsing* of Chin, the Magistrate of the Province of P'ing-chou, Tsai Pi, sent his secretary, named Kao Hui, to present the court with the bows, arrows, and arrowheads brought to him by the Su-shên. They [the arrowheads] looked much like those made of copper or bone. On enquiry, [the Su-shên messenger] replied that the article originated from the land within the seas [viz. China proper], the intercourse with which had enabled them to use it." 晉太興三年, 平州刺史崔毖, 遣別駕高會使來, 獻肅慎氏之弓矢, 箭鏃. 有似銅骨作者. 問云, 轉與海內國通, 得用此.²⁾ And the annotator goes on: "Now the country is called I-lou, which yields fine sables and red jewels.

1) *Chin-shu*, chap. 6.

2) *Shan-hai-ching-kuang-chu*, chap. 17.

How could it be that the article in question originated in China, to be introduced there? This is what the *Hou-han-shu* speaks of as I-lou." 今名之爲挹婁國。出好貂, 赤玉。豈從海內轉而至此乎。後漢書所挹婁者是也。¹⁾ No doubt these commentaries of Kuo P'ü relate to the same occasion of the Su-shên's mission under consideration, although we must admit that, here, the 2nd year of *T'ai-hsing* is mistaken for the 3rd.

Eleven years later, in the 5th year of *Han-ho* 咸和 of the Eastern Chin emperor Chêng-ti 成帝 (A. D. 330), when Shih Lei 石勒 proclaimed himself emperor of the Later Chao 後趙 dynasty at Hsiang-kuo 襄國 (the modern Shun-tê Hsien 順德縣, Ta-ming Tao 大名道, in the province of Chili), and opened his own era under the name of Chien-p'ing 建平, his court received from the Su-shên a tribute of *hu* arrows. Various other tribes, far and near, sent in their tribute on the same occasion. All this is clear from the biography of Shih Lei, contained in the *Tsai-chi* 載記 of the *Chin-shu*, which will be quoted hereafter.

A few years later in the same reign of Chêng-ti, the Su-shên seem to have carried tribute to the court of another self-proclaimed emperor, Shih Hu 石虎, (or Shih Chi-lung 石季龍), at the city of Yeh 鄴 (the modern Chang-tê Hsien 彰德縣, Ho-pei-Tao 河北道, in the Province of Ho-nan). "In the reign of Chêng-ti, they tendered tribute to Shih Chi-lung," is the passage relating to this event discoverable in the *Su-shên-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*, and this was apparently taken from Liu Hui's 陸詡 work, *Yeh-chung-chi* 鄴中記. As has been remarked, the notes on the *Han-yüan* enable us to infer that the original *Yeh-chung-chi* contained that passage, although it is absent from the text reclaimed from the *Yung-lo-ta-tien* 永樂大典 and published in one volume of the series *Wu-ying-tien-chu-chên-pan-tsung-shu* 武英殿聚珍版全書. The above account, however, does not give precise date of the event. Nor do the notes on the *Han-yüan* furnish us any more information about it, even while saying: "The Su-shên live to the north-west of Yeh, 50,000 *li* from Yeh. They sent a mission [to the court at Yeh], which arrived after four years, and presented stone arrowheads and *hu* arrows." But, in the *Tzû-chih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 we read an episode told of Shih

1) *Ibid.*

Hu, which seems to throw light on the question of the date. This upstart monarch, eager to aggrandise himself, followed the advice of his chief secretary named Wang Po 王波, to send to the King of Shu-han 蜀漢, Li Shou 李壽, the *hu* arrows and stone arrowheads brought by the Su-shên. The idea was to display to his Shu-han rival how his moral influence was drawing a far-off people. On receiving the gift, however, the Shu-han lord simply turned it into a vehicle for laughing at the boaster, declaring, "The envoys of the Chieh 羯 have come to our court, and offered us tribute of *hu* arrows!"¹⁾ For Shih Hu was a man of the Chieh tribe, which was a branch of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 race. Now, this incident is placed in the 6th year of *Han-k'ang* 咸康 of Chêng-ti (A. D. 340), it was probably in the same year in which the Su-shên brought tribute to Yeh. According to the era of the Later Chao dynasty, it was in the 6th year of *Chien-wu* 建武. A similar account of the same event may be read in the biography of Shih Chi-lung, in the *Tsai-chi* of the *Chin-shu*,²⁾ but there it is not indicated that the *hu* arrows he sent to the Shu-han court were taken from what he had received from the I-lou or the Su-shên.

The foregoing four are all the instances of tribute from the Su-shên which fall within the Chin period. In the following epoch of the "Southern and Northern Dynasties," the Su-shên mission seems to have arrived twice. The first case occurs in the Annals of Hsiao-wu-ti 孝武帝 in the *Sung-shu*, in the following passage relating to the 11th month of the 3rd year of *Tai-ming* (A. D. 459): "The Kao-chü-li people sent a mission to present their native products. The Su-shên, coming by using repeated interpretations, offered *hu* arrows and stone arrowheads.¹⁾ The Western Region sent dancing [circus] horses." 高麗國遣使獻方物. 肅慎國重譯獻楛矢, 石弩[?弩], 西域獻舞馬.⁴⁾ The other case is that mentioned in the Annals of Wên-hsüan-ti 文宣帝, in the *Pei-ch'i-shu* 北齊書, under the 7th month of the 5th year of *Tien-pao* 天保 (A. D. 554): "The Su-shên sent an envoy to pay tribute." 肅慎遣使朝貢.⁵⁾

1) *Tzu-chih-i'ung-chien*, caphap. 96, Chiü-chih, 18.

2) Chap. 106.

3) The original characters are 石弩 (stone crossbows), which evidently should have read 石弩.

4) Chap. 6.

5) Chap. 4.

The six tributary missions from the Su-shên thus enumerated for the Chin and succeeding periods may be shown in a list as follows, in the order in which they occurred:—

(Date)	(The mission arrived at)
The 5th year of <i>Han-ning</i> , under Wu-ti of the Western Chin dynasty (A. D. 279).....	Lo-yang.
The 2nd year of <i>T'ai-hsing</i> , under Yüan-ti of the Eastern Chin dynasty (A. D. 319).....	-Chien-k'ang.
The 1st year of <i>Chien-p'ing</i> , under Shih Lei of the Later Chao dynasty, viz. the 5th year of <i>Han-ho</i> , under Chêng-ti of the Eastern Chin dynasty (A. D. 330).. <td>Hsiang-kuo.</td>	Hsiang-kuo.
The 6th year of <i>Chien-wu</i> , under Shih Hu of the Later Chao dynasty, viz. the 6th year of <i>Han-k'ang</i> , under Chêng-ti of the Eastern Chin dynasty (A. D. 340).. <td>Yeh.</td>	Yeh.
The 3rd year of <i>Tai-ming</i> , under Hsiao-wu-ti of the Sung dynasty (A. D. 459).....	-Chien-k'ang.
The 5th year of <i>T'ien-pao</i> , und Wên-hsüan-ti of the Northern Ch'i dynasty (A. D. 554)	Yeh.

Now let us proceed to inquire:—In what circumstances was the tribute brought on each occasion?

In the first place, we must notice that in the Western Chin period, the latter half of the reign of Wu-ti is especially remarkable for the number of missions and presentations the chinese court received from various wild tribes of the east. To quote historical accounts of them from the Annals of Wu-ti in the *Chin-shu* under the successive dates:¹⁾—

The 2nd year of *Han-ning* (A. D. 276), the 7th month—"17 tribes of the east came to tender their allegiance."

The 3rd year of the same era (A. D. 277)—"During the year, [the chiefs of] the promiscuous tribes of the northwest, the wild tribes of the Hsien-pei, Hsiung-nu, and Wu-hsi 五溪 stocks, and 3 eastern tribes, totalling over one thousand for the whole year, each followed by his kinsfolk and tribesmen, presented themselves to declare adhesion."

1) Chap. 3.

The 4th year of the same era (A. D. 278), the 3rd month—"6 eastern tribes brought tribute. During the year, 9 eastern tribes manifested adhesion."

The 5th year of the same era (A. D. 279), the 12th month—"The Su-shên came and presented *hu* arrows and stone arrowheads."

The 1st year of *T'ai-k'ang* (A. D. 280), the 6th month—"10 eastern tribes came to tender submission. In autumn, in the 7th month, 20 eastern tribes brought tribute."

The 2nd year of the same era (A. D. 281), the 3rd month—"5 eastern tribes brought tribute. In summer, in the 6th month, 5 eastern tribes tendered their allegiance."

The 3rd year of the same era (A. D. 282), in the 9th month—"29 eastern tribes manifested submission, and presented their local products."

The 7th year of the same era (A. D. 286), the 8th month—"11 eastern tribes declared adhesion. During the year, the Fu-nan 扶南 and other tribes numbering 21, and the Ma-han 馬韓 and others numbering 11, sent envoys to carry tribute to court."

The 8th year of the same era (A. D. 287)—"2 eastern tribes tendered submission."

The 9th year of the same era (A. D. 288), the 9th month—"7 eastern tribes came to [Tung-i] Chiao-wei to declare adhesion.

The 10th year of the same era (A. D. 289), the 5th month—"11 eastern tribes tendered their allegiance. During the year, more than 30 eastern tribes from remote distances, and more than 20 southwestern tribes, brought tribute."

The 1st year of *T'ai-his* (A. D. 290), the 2nd month—"7 eastern tribes came to offer presents."

Passing from the Annals of Wu-ti to those of Hui-ti, his successor, we read there, relating to

The 1st year of *Yüan-k'ang* 元康 (A. D. 291), *i. e.*, the year following the accession of Hui-ti: "During the year, 17 eastern tribes, and 24 tribes of the southern region came to the Chiao-wei to tender

their allegiance.”¹⁾

And this is the last instance in which we meet with any account of this kind in the Chin dynastic chronicles.

We may now take up the chapter of *Tung-i-chuan* in the *Chin-shu*.²⁾ There the facts of submission and presentation are mentioned separately for each eastern people or each group of eastern peoples in the account provided for each. Thus, we read about the Fu-yü tribe:

“During the reign of Wu-ti, they came and presented tribute in repetition, until they were attacked and beaten by Mu-yung Kuei in the 6th year of *T'ai-k'ang* [A. D. 285].” 武帝時, 頻來朝貢. 至太康六年, 爲慕容廆所襲破.

About the Ma-han tribe:

“In the 1st year [A. D. 280], and again in the 2nd year, of *T'ai-k'ang* of Wu-ti, their chief sent envoys with a tribute of local products, and this was repeated in the 7th, 8th, and 10th years. In the 1st year of *T'ai-hsi* [A. D. 290], they came to the Tung-i-chiao-wei, Ho K'an 何龕, to offer presents. In the 3rd year of *Han-ning* [A. D. 277], they made their appearance again; in the following year, they renewed their allegiance.” 武帝太康元年, 二年, 其主頻遣使, 入貢方物. 七年, 八年, 十年, 又頻至. 太熙元年, 詣東夷校尉何龕上獻. 咸寧三年復來. 明年, 又請內附.

Then about the Ch'ên-han 辰韓 tribe:

“In the 1st year of *T'ai-k'ang* [A. D. 280], their king sent envoys to present their local products. In the 2nd year, sent another mission to pay tribute. In the 7th year, they appeared once more.” 武帝太康元年, 其王遣使獻方物. 二年復來朝貢. 七年, 又來.

Next comes that passage on the Su-shên tribe, with references to the payments of tribute by the I-lou people, which has been already examined and need not be quoted again.

Then follows the passage on the Wo-jên 倭人, the ancient Japanese, who “sent envoys in the beginning of *T'ai-shih* [A. D. 265?]. They arrived

1) Chap. 4.

2) Chap. 97.

by using repeated interpretation, and presented tribute.” 泰始初，遣使重譯入貢。

Finally comes the passage under the heading “Ten tribes, Pei-li and so forth” 裨離等十國. Here, as has been remarked, the 4 tribes including Pei-li are said each to have sent a small clan to present their native products in the 3rd year of *T'ai-shih* (A. D. 267); and the other 6 tribes including Mou-nu 牟奴, each to have sent a mission to the Tung-i-chiao-wei, Ho K'an, in order to manifest their allegiance, in the beginning of *T'ai-hsi* (A. D. 290).

It is almost certain that both the Dynastic Annals and the *Tung-i-chuan* drew information from a common source, so far as regards the contact into which those eastern tribes came with the Chinese government. The former history, however, has this peculiarity that it invariably mentions those adhering peoples just as “so and so many tribes,” without specifying their tribe names. This was, if I may repeat the view above offered, not because the historiographers could not obtain their specific names, but because they saw fit to omit them for brevity's sake. And, if we read under the 7th year of *T'ai-k'ang*, the phrases “Fu-nan and other tribes,” and “Ma-han and other tribes”, I think these can scarcely be called exceptions. For the former term may easily have been intended as a rhetorical variation for “Nan-man 南蠻” (southern wild tribes), and the latter for “Tung-i 東夷 (eastern tribes).” It will be further noticed that the passage in question mentions, as in the same year, first the submission of “11 eastern tribes”, and then that of “11 tribes, Ma-han and so forth.” But the probability is that those seemingly different facts were really one and the same. Very likely it was a case where reports of one occurrence were obtained from two different sources, and the failure to recognize this resulted in the duplication.

But the one real exception is the Su-shên. Their name alone is specified, and moreover, their tribute alone is particularized,—as *hu* arrows and stone arrowheads. And the annalist, in giving this people such special treatment, was no doubt influenced by the tradition pertaining to the classic Su-shên. As for the tribe's appearance on this

occasion itself, it does not seem there were any remarkable circumstances about it, such as had been witnessed in the previous case. This took place in the 5th year of *Han-ning*, that is to say, 15 years after the rise of the Western Chin dynasty, and we need not imagine that Wu-ti would have had any special inducement to invite them, as his father once had done. We shall remember, too, that that period of his reign was particularly alive with the declarations of submission and the offerings of tribute which the eastern tribes in general were performing through the intermediary of the Tung-i-chiao-wei, residing at Liao-tung. In all probability the Su-shên brought tribute in just the same way as their neighbours.

I hope it will not be too much of a digression to call attention to our lack of knowledge as to what intercourse China was having with Kao-chü-li in the early years of the Chin dynasty. Until the 1st year of *Yüan-k'ang* of Hui-ti, so many neighbouring peoples had been communicating with China,—from the north of Manchuria, the Fu-yü and the Su-shên or the I-lou; from the unknown region even beyond their borders, those ten tribes, Pei-li and the allied peoples; from the south of the Korean peninsula, the Ma-han and the Ch'ên-han; and from the southeastern seas, still farther, the Wo, or the Japanese. Yet we hear nothing of the Kao-chü-li people, and it is not a little strange, seeing that they were living nearer than any of the above-mentioned peoples, their country stretching from the south of Manchuria to Northern Korea, so as to intervene between China and the homes of those eastern and southeastern tribes. It is not only that the *Tung-i-chuan* of the *Chin-shu*, lacking a heading for the Kao-chü-li, is silent about them; but as we read the Annals of the Dynasty, it seems even impossible to suppose it was even implied that they were among "so and so many eastern tribes" who paid tribute. There seems no reason, however, to assume that the Kao-chü-li alone kept aloof from the general tendency. If the *Tung-i-chuan* provides no account of them, may we not suppose that it was because the original records of contemporary knowledge of them, which might have been used by the historian, had been lost, from some

cause or other, before the compilation of the book which belonged to a later period? The same thing may be said of the treatment of this people by the *Liang-shu* 梁書, the work produced in the T'ang period as well as the *Chin-shu*. Indeed it has a *Kao-chü-li-chuan* of its own, which provides a narrative, evidently taken from the *Wei-chih*, or direct from its source book *Wei-liao*, of their conquest by the Wei general Kuan-chiu Chien, adding this remark: "Afterwards they again communicated with the Middle Kingdom." 其後復通中夏. And later on it says: "During the disturbance of *Yung-chia* [at the close of the Western Chin dynasty], the chief of the Hsien-pei, Mu-yung Kuei, occupied Ta-chi-chêng in Ch'ang-li, and upon him Yüan-ti [of the Eastern Chin] conferred the office of Magistrate of P'ing-chou Province. The king of the Kao-chü-li, I-fu-li, encroached upon Liao-tung again and again, but Kuei could not restrain him." 晉永嘉亂, 鮮卑慕容廆, 據昌黎大棘城, 元帝授平州刺史. 句驪王乙弗利, 頻寇遼東, 廆不能制." But it tells us nothing at all about how the Kao-chü-li behaved during the Western Chin period. Otherwise, the *Kao-chü-li-chuan* is a fairly comprehensive account, with a considerable amount of detail about the people, going as far back as the Han and Wei times; and this consideration precludes the idea that any available data should have been purposely neglected. So in this case too the historical gap must be ascribed to the same cause, —that the record of the people as regards the period under observation had vanished before the history was compiled.

The Kao-chü-li king I-fu-li, it may be noted by the way, who is said to have troubled Liao-tung with repeated raids at the beginning of the Eastern Chin period, coincides, in the Annals of the Kao-chü-li dynasty 高句麗本紀, in the Korean history *San-kuo-shih-chi* 三國史記, with "Mei-chuan-wang I-fu 美川王乙弗." The genealogy of these chronicles shows him to have been a great-great-grandson of Tung-chuan-wang Yu-wei-chü 東川王憂位居. On the Chinese side also, the *Kao-chü-li-chuan*, both of the *Wei-shu* 魏書 and of the *Pei-shih* 北史, puts him in the same relation to Wei-kung 位宮, that is, Yu-wei-chü 憂位居 himself.

To return to the Chin Dynastic Annals, it is noticeable that the frequent payment of tribute by the eastern tribes came to an end early in the reign of Hui-ti. This must have been due to the "War of the Eight Princes" 八王之亂, which kept the whole empire in a ferment for 16 long years (A. D. 291-306). It was during this period that the famous inroad of the "Five Hu Races" 五胡 took place on all sides, and one of its many scenes was enacted where various outstanding families of the Hsien-pei origin established their tenacious influence along the north-western coast of the modern Gulf of Chi-li. The Tuan 段 seized the prefecture of Liao-hsi 遼西, which lay west of Shan-hai-kuan 山海關, about the lower course of the Luan-ho 灤河; and the Mu-yung made themselves masters of the prefecture of Ch'ang-li 昌黎, embracing the lower basin of the Ta-ling-ho 大凌河; while on the outside of the prefecture of Liao-tung, the Yü-wên 宇文 asserted a power no less formidable. By and by, Liao-tung itself became a scene of internal strife. In the 3rd year of *Yung-chia* 永嘉 of Huai-ti 懷帝 (A. D. 309), the governor of the prefecture named P'ANG PÊN 龐本 murdered the Tung-i-chiao-wei resident there Li Chên 李臻 to satisfy personal vengeance, and this gave occasion to the Hsien-pei inhabitants inside the Great Wall to rise in revolt. Many districts of the prefecture were taken by the rebels, the population scattered, and nearly all the region thrown into anarchy for a couple of years. A new governor and a new Chiao-wei were appointed and proceeded to their posts, but they could do little to repair the situation, for the greater storm raging in the middle of China would not allow them to employ anything like an adequate force in that outlying quarter. At this juncture, it was Mu-yung Kuei who stepped forward to the rescue. He sent his army into Liao-tung for the declared reason of serving the dynastic cause, subdued the Hsien-pei rebels, and deported them into his own territory. Liao-tung was thus barely saved for China; but thenceforward, the Chinese authority represented there by the Governor of Liao-tung Prefecture, the Magistrate of P'ing-Chou Province, and the Tung-i-chiao-wei, greatly declined, and was scarcely allowed to go beyond the domestic administration of the prefecture.¹⁾

1) *Tzû-chih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, chap. 87, Chin-chi, 9, passages on the 1st and

I am not going to dwell on the contemporary situation in North China in general, but cannot afford to omit the most important development, which was brought about by the advance of the Hsiung-nu power. They had occupied the Shan-hsi district since the days of Hui-ti, and had been gathering influence very swiftly, until at last in the 5th year of *Yung-chia* (A. D. 311), their chief Liu Ts'ung 劉聰 captured Lo-yang 洛陽, and again five years later, in the 4th year of *Chien-hsing* 建興 (A. D. 316), Chang-an 長安. In the first instance he seized Huai-ti, and in the next, Min-ti 愍帝; and thus put an end to the Western Chin dynasty. True, the line was picked up again in the following year by Lang-yeh-wang Jui 瑯琊王睿, the great-grand-nephew of Ssu-ma Chao, who ascended the restored throne at Chien-k'ang, but North China had been utterly and forever lost to the Chin house. This revolution left Liao-tung helpless. Still a domain of the Chin dynasty, it was now shut away from the dynastic seat and from the main dynastic sphere so confined to the far south, and in the meanwhile it had to struggle to maintain itself between the various Hsien-pei powers on one hand and the Kao-chü-li nation on the other. Thereupon, the head of the government of Liao-tung, Ts'ui Pi 崔毖, who was both the Magistrate of P'ing-chou Province and the Tung-i-chiao-wei, made exertion to give a favourable turn to the situation. He manoeuvred to incite the Kao-chü-li, the Tuan 段, and the Yü-wên rulers to combine their forces against their common rival Mu-yung Kuei. All went well until their armies closed upon Kuei's capital at Chi-chêng 棘城 (the modern Chin Hsien 錦縣, in the province of Liao-ning 遼寧省), but then Kuei showed himself a superior strategist by sowing dissension among his allied enemies, and finally compelling them to entreat for peace. The plot of Ts'ui Pi was disclosed, and he had to take refuge with the Kao-chü-li people, and after all, Liao-tung went to join the absolute possessions of Mu-yung Kuei. This happened three years after the fall of the Western Chin rule, in the 12th month of the 2nd year of *T'aihsing* of Yüan-ti, the founder of the Eastern Chin dynasty.¹⁾

3rd years of *Yung-chia*; *Chin-shu*, chap. 108, Tsai-chi, 8, Biography of Mu-yung Kuei.

1) *Ibid.*, chap. 91, Chin-chi, 13, passage on the 12th month of the 2nd year of *Taihsing*; *Chin-shu*, Tsai-chi, Biography of Mu-yung Kuei.

The foregoing observation will give us some insight into the circumstances which brought about that tribute of the Su-shên, recorded at the beginning of the Eastern Chin period. "The Su-shên presented *hu* arrows and 'stone arrow-heads,'" is what we have already read in the Annals of Yüan-ti, under the 8th month of the 2nd year of *Ta'i-hsing*. It is the same event of which Kuo P'ü gives a more detailed account in his notes on the *Shan-hai-ching*: "The Magistrate of P'ing-chu, Ts'ui Pi, sent his secretary named Kao Hui to present the court with the bows, arrows, and arrowheads brought to him by the Su-shên. The stone arrow-heads looked very much like those made of copper or bone." And it is apparent that this act of Ts'ui Pi preceded by only a few months the unsuccessful issue of his desperate struggle in Liao-tung. It might seem rather curious, however, that the Su-shên should have returned after an absence of some duration, to renew their respects to the Chinese authority at Liao-tung, at the very time when its influence was at its lowest ebb. Still, it is not necessary to regard the *Chin-shu* and Kuo P'ü as incredible in this matter. I suppose it is quite imaginable that the Su-shên's tribute on this occasion was invited by Ts'ui Pi. For aught we know, this man may have been laying out an ambitious plan in his own interest and so exerted himself, like Ssu-ma Chao, to draw the Su-shên with their auspicious tribute by which to glorify himself. Then he transferred the gift to the Chin court in the south, and we may say that he was turning it to further account, making it a means to bestow his blessing and congratulations on the restoration of the Chin dynasty. Moreover, there is a negative proof to support the above theory in the fact that never subsequently did the court in the south receive any tribute from the Su-shên or the I-lou people,—from the time Liao-tung was possessed by the Mu-yung down the end of the dynasty.

Liu Ts'ung, the destroyer of the Western Chin and the founder of his own Han rule, died in the 1st year of *T'ai-hsing* (A. D. 318), and the throne vacated by his death was seized by one of his generals, Liu Yao 劉曜, while one of his former colleagues Shih Lei 石勒 he appointed the Duke of Chao 趙公. In the following year he selected Chang-

an as his new capital, giving his Kingdom the title of Chao. But Shih Lei was not to be content with his subordinate position; he asserted himself as another king, at the city of Hsiang-kuo 襄國, assuming the royal title of Chao-wang 趙王. What had been the realm of Han was thus partitioned into Ch'ien (former) Chao 前趙 and Hou (later) Chao 後趙, and for a time thereafter the two rivals divided the rule of North China. Nine years later, in the 3rd year of *Han-ho* of Ch'êng-ti of the Eastern Chin (A. D. 328), however, the king of the Former Chao led a large army into the country of the later Chao, and laid a siege to its capital Lo-yang. But luck was on the side of the attacked, Shih Lei, who gave battle to the aggressor, and won an overwhelming victory. Liu Yao was captured and executed, and his kingdom of the former Chao extinguished. Shih Lei was now the unrivalled master of North China. On the recommendation of all his ministers and officials, he assumed the supreme title of Huang-ti, ascending the imperial throne in the 5th year of *Han-ho* (A. D. 330).

From the biography of Shih Lei provided in the book of Tsai-chi of the *Chin-shu*, it appears that at the time of his accession there arrived numerous messengers and tributes from various tribes far and near. Among the list we again discover the name of Su-shên. This makes the third of the previously enumerated instances of their coming with tribute. And there can be no doubt this was another case in which they were expressly called on to perform their traditional rôle, and it was indeed a detail of a larger plot laid out to gain popularity for the new regime. Witness this passage from the Tsai-chi:—

“Thereupon Lei assumed the title, and ascended the throne, of Emperor. He proclaimed general amnesty, and commenced a new era styled Chien-p'ing. . . . On this occasion, the Kao-chü-li and the Su-shên offered their *hu* arrows, Yü-wên Wu-ku also presented Lei with superb horses. The Satrap of Liang-chou Province, Chang Chün, sent his chief secretary, named Ma Hsien, to offer to the throne the map of his jurisdiction. He [Chang] also sent word to Kao-chang [Karakhojo], Yü-t'ien [Khotan], Shan-shan [about Lob-nôr], and Ta-yüan [Fergana], causing them to present to court their

own native products. The Satrap of Ching-chou Province of the Chin [empire], Tao K'an, sent an official, by the name of Wang Fû, to pay respects to Lei and present him with rare treasures and curious animals of the region south of the River. Ch'in-chou sent white animals, including white antelopes; Ching-chou, white pheasants and white hares. There grew Mu-lien-li 木連理 [mysteriously united branches of trees] at Chi-yin; sweet dew rained in Wan-hsiang. In this way Lei saw happy omens appear on all sides, and far-off peoples come longing for righteousness, and for this reason he gave orders that all the criminals sentenced to less than three years should be pardoned, and that the taxes in arrears from the preceding year remitted for all the people." 勒乃僭即皇帝位。大赦境內，改元曰建平。……時高句麗，肅慎致其楛矢，宇文屋孤並獻名馬于勒。涼州牧張駿，遣長史馬詵奉圖送。高昌，于寘，鄯善，大宛使，獻其方物。晉荊州牧陶侃，遣兼長史王敷聘于勒，致江南之珍寶，奇獸。秦州送白獸，白鹿，荊州送白雉，白兔。濟陰木連理，甘露降苑鄉。勒以休瑞並臻，遐方慕義，赦三歲刑已下，均百姓去年逋調。¹⁾

On the death of Shih Lei, his sceptre, which should have passed to his son and rightful heir, Hung 弘, was snatched by Shih Hu (viz. Shih Chi-lung), a nephew of Shih Lei and one of his veteran generals. This new master of the Later Chao removed his capital to Yeh, in the 1st year of *Han-k'ang* 咸康 (A. D. 335) of Ch'êng-ti of the Eastern Chin; and a little later, in the 6th year of the same era (viz. the 6th year of the Later Chao era of Chien-wu, A. D. 340), the Su-shên brought tribute to his court. In the previous list of the Su-shên's tributary missions, this stands next after that sent to Shih Lei's court at Hsiang-kuo. It must have been on this occasion, indeed, that Shih Hu took some of the tribute of *hu* arrows and sent them boastfully to the monarch of Shu-han as seen before. Once more we must suspect that there was at work the old policy of inviting the indispensable tribe. In this matter Shih Hu had only to imitate his former master, with whose so recent example he must have been quite intimate. We may remember that the *Yeh-chung-chi* makes the Su-shên messengers then speak as follows:

1) *Chin-shu*, chap. 105.

"We saw our cattle and horses sleep with their heads towards the south-west for three years running, and thus we knew where lay your mighty country. This is why we came. We had always been looking for this sign." But the fictitious nature of this story is so apparent that it does not affect the above view.

In the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties which followed, history records two missions from the Su-shên. The first occurred in the 3rd year of *Ta-ming* 大明 of Hsiao-wu-ti 孝武帝 of the Sung House (A. D. 459), the dynastic annals of the *Sung-shu* relating that, in the 11th month of the year, "the Kao-chü-li sent a mission to present their native products. The Su-shên arrived by using repeated translations, and offered their *hu* arrows and stone arrowheads."¹⁾ This does not quite agree with the corresponding account provided by the *Kao-chü-li-chuan* in the same history, which runs: "In the 3rd year of *Ta-ming*, they [Kao-chü-li] again presented the *hu* arrows and stone arrowheads of the Su-shên." 大明三年, 又獻肅慎氏楛矢, 石弩.²⁾ Both evidences taken together, however, may suggest that the Su-shên mission at that time came in company with that of the Kao-chü-li. Is it probable, then, that the two peoples were in direct mutual intercourse at that period? I should answer it is, for the said 3rd year of *Ta-ming* synchronizes with the 47th year of Chang-shou-wang 長壽王, the king of the Kao-chü-li, and it is probable that prior to that point in the Korean reign, the nation had extended her sphere of influence as far north as the land of Fu-yü, that is, the modern district of A-lê-ch'u-k'o'.³⁾

1) *Sung-shu*, chap. 6.

2) *Ibid.*, chap. 97.

3) Tai-wu-ti of the Later-Wei dynasty, sent his envoy Li Ao 李敖 to the Kao-chü-li king Chang-shou-wang 長壽王 to appoint him by writ a vassal king. It was as in the 23rd year of the reign of the king (A. D. 435), and the *Kao-chü-li-chuan* of the *Wei-shu* (chap. 100), referring to this occasion, says: "Ao arrived at the city of P'ing-jang, where the king resided. He inquired about the size of the country, and was informed that it lay more than 1,000 *li* south of Liao-tung, extending eastwards to Cha-chêng [viz. the modern district of Chü-tzû-chieh 局子街 in Chien-tao 間島], southwards to the Hsiao-Hai [minor ocean], and northward to the former Fu-yü." 敖, 至其所居平壤城, 訪其方事。云, 遼東南一千餘里, 東至柵城, 南至小海, 北至舊夫餘。

The Su-shên paid their last tribute to China after a long interval of one century, in the 5th year of *T'ien-pao* (A. D. 559) of the Northern Chi 北齊 regime, or 4 years after Wên-hsüan-ti Kao Yang 文宣帝高洋 deposed Hsiao-ching-ti 孝靜帝 of the Eastern Wei 東魏 line and proclaimed himself emperor. In this case, there is nothing to hint that the tribe was expressly invited. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that one of their neighbours, Shih-wei 室韋, too, had paid tribute in the 2nd and the 3rd years of the same era.

Now we have seen the last of the Su-shên. Their name never occurs again in later chronicles, and the reason must be that they were soon after absorbed into the population of the newly rising country of the Wu-chi 勿吉.
