

The Chinese Expeditions to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty

By

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INTRODUCTION

During the period from the closing years of the later Han dynasty to the early part of the Three Kingdom Age (corresponding to the beginning of the third century A. D.), marked with division and disorder throughout the Chinese Empire, it was the Kung-sun 公孫 family who held Liao-tung under their rule. With their headquarters at Hsiang-p'ing 襄平, *viz.* the modern Liao-yang 遼陽, they dominated not only Liao-tung itself, but also Lo-lang 樂浪 and Tai-fang 帶方 Prefectures in the Korean peninsula, and moreover had in their sphere of influence various tribes of the farther east. Presently, however, this family was overthrown by the successful expedition led against them by the famous Wei general Ssü-ma I 司馬懿 in the 2nd year of *Ching-ch'u* 景初 of the Emperor Ming Ti 明帝 (A. D. 238). Liao-tung thus came into the possession of the Wei dynasty, while the two Prefectures in Korea were also annexed by means of a separate force despatched there by sea.¹⁾ All these newly acquired territories were placed under the government of P'ing Chou Province 平州; and, besides, for the express purpose of controlling the neighbouring tribes, the Governor-General of the Eastern Barbarians 東夷校尉 or 護東夷校尉, residing at the provincial capital, Hsiang-p'ing, was appointed. The above development of the situation in Liao-tung is embodied in the following passage on P'ing Chou Province in the Book of Geography 地理志 of the *Chin-shu* 晉書:—

“Towards the close of the later Han dynasty, Kung-sun Tu 公孫度 proclaimed himself Satrap of P'ing Chou 平州牧. His son K'ang 康 and

1) See H. IKÉUCHI, “*The Establishment of Tai-fang Prefecture by the Kung-suns and Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures as under the Wei Dynasty*,” in the *Shi-en* 史苑, Vol. II, No. 6, (September, 1929).

K'ang's son Wên-i 文懿 both exercised absolute authority over Liao-tung, and all the barbarian races of the east were submissive to their rule. The Wei dynasty, however, appointed the Governor-General of the Eastern Barbarians, resident at Hsiang-p'ing; while Liao-tung, Ch'ang-li 昌黎 (being a misrepresentation of Liao-hsi 遼西), Hsüan-t'u 玄菟, Lo-lang, and Tai-fang Prefectures were set apart to form P'ing Chou Province." 後漢末,公孫度自號平州牧,其子康,康子文懿,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,玄菟,帶方,樂浪五郡,爲平州.

In the mean time, the Kao-chü-li 高句麗 had maintained their place between Liao-tung and the Korean peninsula. But in the 5-6th year of *Chêng-shih* 正始 of the deposed emperor Chih-Wang Fang 齊王芳 (A. D. 244-5), the Wei dynasty sent against them more than one expedition which succeeded not only in giving them a heavy blow, but also in bringing into subjection the several tribes occupying the eastern portion of the peninsula, such as the Wei 穢, Wu-chü 沃沮, etc. Finally the victorious army marched from northern Korea into the heart of Manchuria, and traversed the region overawing the I-lou 挹婁 and Fu-yü 夫餘 peoples inhabiting it by a demonstration of the Wei arms. It is the object of the present essay to follow the progress of the conquest of the Kao-chü-li, historically accredited to Kuan-chiu Chien 毋丘儉²⁾, Magistrate of Yu Chou Province 幽州刺史, and also to ascertain what

1) *Chün-shu*, chap. 14.

2) 毋 is a character very rarely met with in literature, and on account of this and of its resemblance in form to the character 母, the whole name is commonly read Mu-chiu Chien, or Bokyu Ken by Japanese students, as if it were 毋丘儉; but such is not the correct pronunciation. The mistake is pointed out in the topnote on the passage of the *Kao-chü-li Pên-chi* relating to the 20th year of Tung-ch'uan Wang in the *San-kaoshih-chi*, in the Historical Series edited by the Department of Literature of the Tôkyô Imperial University, as: "毋 is supposed by many readers to be the same as 母 in 父母 (father and mother), but it is a mistake. 毋丘 is a polysyllabic family name, derived from Kuan-chiu Kuo 貫丘國. 毋 is identical with 貫, and its phonetic spelling being ku-hun 沽歡, sounds like 冠 (kuan)." The *Tz'ü-yüan* 辭源 defines the character 毋 as: (1) To pin through an object for holding it; has the same sense as 貫 (pierce); (2) Family name, which was originally in the polysyllabic form 毋丘, but later on dropping 丘, became 毋. It is spelt also 貫." The same dictionary, in its article on 毋丘, explains it as: "(1) Place name, as seen in the *Shih-chi*: 'Duke Hsüan 宣公 beat the State of Wei 衛 and took 毋丘.' The *Ch'un-ch'iu* has: 'Marquis of Ch'i 齊侯, Duke of Sung 宋公, Chiang people 江人 and Huang people 黃人 met at Kuan 貫 in order to contract an alliance.' This place, now known as Mêng-tsê Ch'êng 蒙澤城 and situated to the south of Tsao District 曹縣 in Shan-tung Province, is identical with 毋丘 mentioned in the *Shih-chi*. (2) Polysyllabic family name, as borne by Kuan-chiu in the Wei period. 毋 is commonly pronounced like *mu* 毋 of *fu-mu* 父母, but it is a mistake."

we can as to the whole work of subjugation carried out as its sequel on such a vast scale.

CHAPTER I

Kuan-chiu Chien's Attack upon the Kao-chü-li

The *Kao-chü-li-chuan* 高句麗傳 of the Chinese history *Wei-chih* 魏志 tells us that in the 9th year of *Chien-an* 建安 (A.D. 204), of the Emperor Hsien Ti 獻帝 of the later Han dynasty Kung-sun Tu was succeeded by his son K'ang as the virtual king of Liao-tung; that this K'ang demolished the capital of the Kao-chü-li, then situated in the basin of the Fei-liu Shui 沸流水, or the modern Tung-chia Chiang River 佟佳江, in the beginning of the reign of the Kao-chü-li king I-i-mo 伊夷模 (*viz.* Shan-shang-Wang Yen-yu 山上王延優, as styled in the *Kao-chü-li Pên-chi* 高句麗本紀 of the Korean history *San-kuo-shih-chi* 三國史記); that this intruder aggravated the internal strife of the Kao-chü-li by aiding the king's elder brother Pa-ch'i 拔奇 (spelt 發岐 in the *Kao-chü-li Pên-chi*), once his competitor for the Korean throne; that at last the Kao-chü-li king was forced to remove his capital to Wan-tu 丸都 on the shore of the Yalu River; and that on the death of I-i-mo, his bastard son Wei-kung 位宮 ascended the throne.¹⁾ This Korean monarch figures also in the following passage: "In the 2nd year of *Ching-ch'u* (A.D. 238), Marshal Ssü-ma Hsüan-Wang 太尉司馬宣王 (*viz.* Ssü-ma I) led an army against Kung-sun Yüan 公孫淵 (*viz.* Kung-sun Wên-i), when Kung 宮 (*viz.* Wei-kung 位宮) sent his *Chu-pu* 主簿 and *Ta-chia* 大加 (both being the names of Kao-chü-li high officers) with a force of several thousands to assist the Wei expedition. In the 3rd year of *Chêng-shih* (A.D. 242), Kung invaded Hsi An-p'ing 西安平, and in the 5th year of the same era (A. D. 244), he was defeated by the Magistrate of Yu Chou, Kuan-chiu Chien." 景初二年, 太尉司馬宣王率衆討公孫淵, 宮遣主簿大加, 將數千人助軍. 正始三年, 宮寇西安平, 其五年, 爲幽州刺史毋丘儉所破.²⁾

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

2) *Ibid.*

Thus we know Wei-kung's reign witnessed the downfall of the Kung-sun house in Liao-tung. The Korean history, styling him Tung-ch'uan-Wang Yu-wei-chü 東川王憂位居, dates his accession as during the 1st year of *T'ai-ho* 太和 (A.D. 227)¹⁾ of the Emperor Ming Ti of the Wei dynasty, but this date is not trustworthy, for the historian, as will be later seen, cannot have had any authoritative source for it. We read, however, in the *Wu-shu* 吳書, quoted in the *Biography of Sun Ch'üan* 孫權傳 of the *Wu-chih* 吳志, how in the 2nd year of *Chia-ho* 嘉禾 of the Wu 吳 dynasty, corresponding to the 1st year of *Ch'ing-lung* 青龍 (A.D. 233), of the Wei emperor above mentioned, the Kao-chü-li king Kung sent home to the Wu capital at Chien-kang 建康 (*viz.* the Modern Nanking) those men whom the Wu court had despatched as envoys to Kung-sun Yüan, the master of Liao-tung, but who were imprisoned by the latter at his own capital in Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, about the modern Mukden, from where they escaped and took refuge with the Kao-chü-li.²⁾ This is the first instance in which the Kao-chü-li king Kung appears in any authentic records, and it enables us to infer at least that he had begun to reign previous to the 1st year of *Ch'ing-lung* (A.D. 233). After an interval of one year, we are told, the Wu monarch Sun Ch'üan sent an embassy to the Kao-chü-li king to invest him with the title of *Shan-yü* 單于 in return for his recent favour; but when the mission arrived, the king had already been won over to the side of the Wei dynasty, through the inducement of the Magistrate of Yu Chou; and in consequence there happened some entanglement in the Kao-chü-li court before the message of the Wu sovereign was accepted.³⁾ In the following year, that is, in the 4th year of *Ch'ing-lung* (A.D. 236), the Wu master sent another embassy to the Kao-chü-li, but what reception this party met may be seen from this passage in the *Ming-ti Pên-chi* 明帝本紀 of the *Wei-chih*, relating to the 7th month of that year: "The Kao-chü-li king Kung cut off the heads of Sun Ch'üan's envoys, Hu Wei 胡衛 and others, and sent them to Yu Chou."⁴⁾ Two years later, in the 2nd year

1) *Sun-kuo-shih-chi*, chap. 29.

2) *Wu-chih*, chap. 2.

3) *Ibid.*

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

of *Ching-ch'u* (A.D. 238), when the Kung-sun house was overthrown, the Kao-chü-li king rendered assistance to the Wei dynasty by sending several thousand of his men to the field. Too soon, however, it was his own turn to suffer the same fate. In the 3rd year of *Chêng-shih* (A. D. 242), he ventured on an incursion into the district of Hsi An-p'ing, about the present Chiu-lien-ch'êng 九連城, Fêng-t'ien Province; and presumably it was this aggression on the part of Kao-chü-li that gave motive to Kuan-chiu Chien's expedition against their headquarters at Wan-tu.

The details of the whole event may be read in the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien* 母丘儉傳 in the *Wei-chih* as follows:—

“During the era of *Chêng-shih*, Chien 儉, for the reason that the Kao-chü-li had frequently revolted and invaded, took the command of several legions, 10,000 infantry and cavalry, set out from Hsüan-t'u and marched them against the Kao-chü-li by several roads. The Kao-chü-li king Kung, leading a force of 20,000, foot and horse, came forth on the River Fei-liu Shui, and there ensued a tremendous fight at Liang-k'ou 梁口, in which Kung was repeatedly beaten and put to rout. In fine, Chien, putting aside his horses and chariots (for the steepness of the path), climbed up the hill of Wan-tu, and destroyed the place where the Kao-chü-li had their capital, the slaughtered and captured being counted by thousands. A Kao-chü-li *P'ei-chê* 沛者 (minister) by the name of Tê-lai 得來 had frequently remonstrated with Kung against his policy, but not being listened to, he mournfully sighed, ‘Very immediately one shall see this place overgrown with rank weeds,’ and finally starved himself to death. All the country esteemed his wisdom. Chien ordered his legions not to break his tomb, nor to cut the trees upon it; and when his family was captured, he set them at liberty. Kung ran away with his wife and children alone, *whereupon Chien led his army back home. In the 6th year (of the same era), another expedition was sent against the Kao-chü-li.* Kung finally fled to Mai-kou 買溝, and Chien sent the Governor of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, Wang Chi 王頌, to give him chase. (Wang Chi) marched a thousand *li* and more through (the land of the) Wu-chü 沃沮, until at last the southern border of the Su-shên tribe 肅慎氏 was reached. (There) a stone was inscribed to

memorize the achievement. (Besides), a tablet was set up on the hill of Wan-tu, and an inscription left at the city of Pu-nai 不耐. The number slaughtered and captured at various places amounted to more than 8,000.” 正始中, 儉以高句驪數侵叛, 督諸軍步騎萬人, 出玄菟, 從諸道討之。句驪王宮, 將步騎二萬人, 進軍沸流水上, 大戰梁口, 宮連破走。儉遂束馬縣車, 以登丸都, 屠句驪所都, 斬獲首虜以千數, 句驪沛者名得來, 數諫宮, 宮不從其言。得來歎曰, 立見此地將生蓬蒿, 遂不食而死。舉國賢之。儉令諸軍不壞其墓, 不伐其樹, 得其妻子, 皆放遣之。宮單將妻子逃竄。儉引軍還。〔正始〕六年復征之。宮遂奔賈溝。儉遣玄菟太守王頎追之。過沃沮千有餘里, 至肅慎氏南界。刻石紀功, 刊丸都之山, 銘不耐之城。諸所誅納八千餘口。¹⁾

The corresponding account in the *Kao-chü-li-chuan* of the *Pei-shih* 北史 runs as follows: “In the 5th year of *Chêng-shih*, the Magistrate of Yu Chou, Kuan-chiu Chien, with 10,000 men under him, set out from Hsüan-t'u to beat (the Kao-chü-li). Wei-kung 位宮 met him in a heavy battle on the River Fei-liu Shui, but was defeated, and took to flight. Chien followed him up to 靺嶨 (?Chen-hsien); put aside his horses and chariots, climbed up the hill of Wan-tu, and destroyed the place where they had their capital. Wei-kung fled far away, with his wife and children alone. In the 6th year, Chien once more attacked the Kao-chü-li. Wei-kung made a quick flight with his several *Chia* 加 (nobles) to Wu-chü, and Chien sent the general Wang Chi in pursuit of him. (Wang Chi) penetrated Wu-chü for more than a thousand *li*, until he reached the south of Su-shên. (There) a stone was inscribed to memorize the achievement. Besides, a tablet was set up on the Hill of Wan-tu, and an inscription left at the City of Pu-nai, before (the expedition) returned.” 正始五年, 幽州刺史毋丘儉, 將萬人, 出玄菟, 討位宮。大戰于沸流, 敗走。儉追至靺嶨, 懸車束馬, 登丸都山, 屠其所都, 位宮單將妻息遠竄。六年, 儉復討之。位宮輕將諸加, 奔沃沮。儉使將軍王頎追之。絕沃沮千餘里, 到肅慎南。刻石紀功。又刊丸都山, 銘不耐城而還。²⁾

It is apparent that the enterprise against the Kao-chü-li consisted of two campaigns. In the first one, Chien himself led the invasion, and having destroyed the Kao-chü-li capital at Wan-tu and put their king

1) *Wei-chih*, chap. 28.

2) *Pei-shih*, chap. 94.

to flight, he returned with his army. As for the date of this first event, the *Wei-chih*, as above seen, says "during the *Chêng-shih* era" rather indefinitely; but in spite of that, the *Kao-chü-li-chuan* of the same history specifies the particular year as: "In the 5th year of the era, (the Kao-chü-li) were defeated by the Magistrate of Yu Chou, Kuan-chiu Chien; the account of which is provided in the *Biography of Chien* [referring, of course, to the above-cited one]." 其五年, 爲幽州刺史毋丘儉所破, 語在儉傳¹⁾. This date (A.D. 244) is also corroborated by the *Pei-shih*, as quoted above. It seems to me as if there had existed some original record of the event, out of which the writer of the *Wei-chih* produced those separate accounts in the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien* and the *Kao-chü-li-chuan*; while that of the *Pei-shih* copied the whole original as it was.

In this connection, I can not well omit to refer to the mutilated monument discovered at the mountain pass of Pan-shih-Ling 板石嶺 (or Hsiao-pan-ch'a-Ling 小板岔嶺), in Chi-an District 輯安縣, in Tung-pien Circuit 東邊道, in the Province of Fêng-t'ien, in 1905, which has been identified with the tablet which the history says was erected on the hill of Wan-tu. It has the following lines of characters, — all that is legible upon it:—²⁾

(1) 正始三年高勾驪 [=? 寇] (In the 3rd year of *Chêng-shih* the Kao-kou-li [?invaded])

(2) 督七牙門討高勾驪五[?年]³⁾ (Commanded the seven legions, and attacked the Kao-kou-li. In the 5th [? year])

(3) 復遺寇六年五月旋[?師]⁴⁾ (? Again the remaining enemies. In the 6th year, the 5th month, he led back [? his army])

(4) 討寇將軍魏烏丸單于⁵⁾ (Invader-Punishing General, Wu-wan Shan-yü of Wei)

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

2) The *Chosen Koseki Dzufu*, vol. I, plate 184, the rubbing of the fragment of Kuan-chiu Chien's monument.

3) This is suggested by the Chinese scholar WANG KUO-WEI 王國維. See his *Kuan-t'ang Chi-lin* 觀堂集林, chap. 16, A Note on the Monument of Kuan-chiu Chien of the Wei dynasty on the Hill of Wan-tu.

4) *Ibid.*

5) This person is to be identified, as remarked by WANG, with K'ou lou tun 寇婁

- (5) 威寇將軍都亭侯¹⁾ (Invader-Intimidating General, Tu-t'ing-hou)
(6) 行裨將軍領 [?] (Expeditionary Lieutenant General possessing [?])
(7) [?] 裨將軍 ([?] Lieutenant General)

Although the remains are so fragmentary and hard to decipher, yet we may safely assume that the first line referred to the Kao-chü-li's invasion of Hsi An-p'ing, the second line to the first expedition against the Kao-chü-li, and the third to the end of the campaign and Chien's return in triumph. This must mean that the first war began in the 5th year, and ended in the 5th month of the 6th year, of *Chêng-shih*.

Within the same year that the first expedition returned, a second one was despatched against the same enemy. From the *Pei-shih* passage "In the 6th year Chien once more attacked them," it might be supposed that the second campaign was also conducted by Chien himself; but on the reading of the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien*, it seems more reasonable to infer that it was not Chien, but his general Wang Chi who led the second expedition. So, the above phrase of the *Pei-shih*, as well as that of the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien*, "In the 6th year another expedition was sent against the Kao-chü-li," may be interpreted as implying that Chien, after having returned from the first campaign, repeated the attack on the Kao-chü-li, but this time by sending his subordinate Wang Chi in lieu of himself. No wonder the discovered tablet says nothing whatever of the second war; for, being the monument of Kuan-chiu Chien, it concerned only the first. In the second war, the fresh assault led by Wang Chi upon the Kao-chü-li capital sent the king flying to the land of Wu-chü, whither the Wei general pursued him, and as he fled farther north, the chase was continued until the southern border of the territory of the Su-shên people was reached. Here was erected a memorial tablet, says the history; and no doubt this act of commemoration is attributable to Wang Chi.

敦, of whom the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien* of the *Wei-chih* relates that during *Ch'ing-lung* (A.D. 233-6), when Kuan-chiu Chien carried an expedition into Liao-tung by order of the Emperor Ming Ti, K'ou lou tun, who was Wu-wan Shan-yü of Yu Pei-p'ing 右北平, submitted with others.

1) This person is unidentifiable.

It is strange to notice a different account of the same Wei conquest in the peninsula, given as follows in the *Ch'i-Wang Pên-chi* 齊王本紀 of the *Wei-chih*: "In the 7th year of *Chêng-shih*, in the 2nd month in spring, the Magistrate of Yu Chou, Kuan-chiu Chien, attacked the Kao-chü-li; and in the 5th month in summer, the Wei-mo (濊貊); vanquishing the enemy in both cases. The Na-hsi 那奚 and other Han 韓 tribes, scores in number, each led by its chief, submitted. 正始七年春二月, 幽州刺史毋丘儉討高句驪. 夏五月, 討濊貊, 皆破之. 韓那奚等數十國, 各率種落降.¹⁾ This seems remarkable in ascribing another date to the attack on the Kao-chü-li; but we are aware that the whole passage is of doubtful authenticity. It is true, as will be explained hereafter, that the defeat of the Kao-chü-li was followed up with the subjugation of certain Wei-mo tribes; but the said submission of Na-hsi and other tribes was quite another affair, which occurred in the 7th year of the era, at the end of the rebellion of the various Ch'ên Han 辰韓 peoples. Nevertheless the historian contorted and forced these independent facts together, dating them by the same year. This subject, however, I have discussed at length in another essay of mine, and I shall not dwell upon it now.²⁾ The conquest of the Kao-chü-li will be more fully observed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

Expedition Conducted by Kuan-chiu Chien against the Kao-chü-li, and the Activities of Wang Chi in the Second Campaign.

In the first war of the 5th year of *Chêng-shih*, Chien with his army started from Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, and marched on until he encountered on the Fei-liu Shui Stream the Kao-chü-li force led by their king himself. There was fought a decisive battle in which the king was disastrously defeated. Now, the seat of government of Hsüan-

1) *Wei-chih*, chap. 4.

2) See H. IKÉUCHI, "The Establishment of Tai-fang Prefecture by the Kung-suns and Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures as under the Wei Dynasty," in Shi-en, *op. cit.*

t'u Prefecture was located, from the middle of the later Han dynasty on, in the neighbourhood of the modern Mukden,¹⁾ and starting from there, the expedition must have thus advanced: first it went up the valley of Su-tzū Ho 蘇子河, a tributary of the Hun Ho 渾河; reached Hsing-ching Lao-ch'êng 興京老城, the capital of the second, viz. the immediately preceding, Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, (for the location of the administrative division so named shifted three times); and then crossing the watershed eastwards, entered the valley of the Tung-chia Chiang, whose identity with the historical Fei-liu Shui is already established. There the Kao-chü-li king came forth from his capital at Wan-tu to give battle to the advancing enemy, but being routed, retired to Wan-tu again.

The site of this ancient city, which was identical with the famous Kuo-nei Ch'êng 國內城, as will be later explained, is to be pointed out in the T'ung-kou 通溝 Plain on the shore of the Yalu River. Now, the line of travel from this district to that of Hsing-ching, extends steadily northwards through the several valleys, — first up the Ma-hsien-kou 麻線溝 flowing into the Yalu at the western edge of the plain; then across the watershed and down the Hsin-k'ai Ho 新開河 to the Tung-chia Chiang; and lastly up the Fu-êrh Chiang 富爾江. The last-named river joins the Tung-chia Chiang at a place called Fu-êrh Chiang-k'ou 富爾江口, which intervenes between T'ung-hua 通化 and Huai-jên 懷仁, cities lying on its shore.²⁾ This spot is most reasonably identified with Liang-k'ou 梁口, the battlefield on the Fei-liu Shui as recorded in history. The watershed between the Hsin-k'ai Ho and the Ma-hsien-kou is crossed by a mountain pass called Hsiao-pan-ch'a Ling 小板岔嶺, and, advancing from Fu-êrh-chiang-k'ou, one must needs traverse it before entering the Ma-hsien-kou valley.³⁾ This mountain pass calls to

1) See *The Man-shû Rekishi Chiri* 滿洲歷史地理, edited by the South Manchuria Railway Company, vol. I, pp. 93-99.

2) See appended maps.

3) Dr. T. SEKINO thus describes this route: "Starting from Fu-êrh-chiang-k'ou, cross the Hun Chiang 渾江, i.e. Tung-chia Chiang, go on southeast along the valley of the Hsin-k'ai-kou, and cross the mountain pass of Hsiao-pan-ch'a Ling 小板岔嶺, you will reach the Ma-hsien-kou stream and presently enter the plain of T'ung-kou, which is the most extensive and most fertile district in the whole basin of the Yalu River."

mind Ch'en-hsien 規峴, where, as the *Pei-shih* tells us, the Wei army followed up the Kao-chü-li king, after routing him at the battle of Liang-k'ou. This name, however, is not mentioned in the account of the war in the *Wei-chih*, which is otherwise more circumstantial in relating the event. On the other hand, it occurs in the corresponding accounts in the *T'ung-tien* 通典¹⁾ and the *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考²⁾, though in these works the first character of the name is spelt 頽 instead of 規. As the character 規 is not discoverable in any Chinese lexicon, we may adjudge it to be a misspelling of what should have been 頽, of which 頽 is a popular variation. Attention may be here again called to the probability that there had existed an earlier but now extinct record of the event, perhaps in the *Wei-liao* 魏略, the lost history by the Wei author Yü HUAN 魚豢; and those later works,—the *Wei-chih* by CHÊN SHOU 陳壽 of the Western Chin Dynasty 西晉, the *Pei-shih* by LI YEN-SHOU 李延壽 of the T'ang age, the *T'ung-tien* by TU YÜ 杜祐 of the same age, and the *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* by MA TUAN-LIN 馬端臨 of the Sung dynasty—must have drawn from the same original source, but varied in their adaptations; so that in the present case the *Wei-chih* may easily have omitted what the others did not. Now the name 頽峴, as correctly spelt and pronounced Chen-hsien, signifies “red mountain pass”, and as it is evident that Chien crossed over it in pursuing the Kao-chü-li king from Liang-k'ou and pressing upon his headquarters at Wan-tu, no mountain pass known at present fits it better than that of Hsiao-pan-ch'a Ling. According to the actual measurement by Dr. SEKINO, this spot is 6 *Japanese ri* as the crow flies to the northwest of T'ung-kou, where is the site of Wan-tu. It is also noteworthy that Kuan-chiu Chien's monument was discovered there.³⁾

This is indeed the shortest and most natural passage for reaching the plain of T'ung-kou from the valley of the Fu-êrh Chiang. (*The Report of the Committee on Antiquities of the Government-General of Chôsen*, 1917, p. 562).

1) Chap. 186, Kao-chü-li.

2) Chap. 325, Kao-chü-li.

3) Dr. T. SEKINO, who visited, with his colleagues on the Committee on Antiquities of the Government-General of Chôsen, late in 1913, the spot where the broken tablet had been discovered, published the following report, based on the notes of Mr. S. YATUI and Mr. R. IMANISHI, who were engaged in the field survey: “Following up

The location of Wan-tu and its identical relation with Kuo-nei Ch'êng has been a much disputed matter. There are many opinions about it, but I must attach the greatest importance to Dr. SHIRATORI's. His "*Study of Wan-tu and Kuo-nei Ch'êng*" made it clear, both on linguistic bases and on recorded evidences, that Wan-tu and Kuo-nei were but alternative names for one and the same place, the latter being the Chinese translation of the former, which was the vernacular. Then the results of the field investigations by Dr. SEKINO and Dr. TORII were justly taken advantage of by our author to explain that the site of Wan-tu, or of Kuo-nei, was to be sought nowhere else than in the neighbourhood of the present T'ung-kou, where its old foundation could be detected.¹⁾ Dr. SEKINO, however, opposed this decision by immediately publishing an essay treating of the location of those two places;²⁾ and his later article, "*Study of Wan-tu*", claimed that the site of Wan-tu, as distinguished from that of Kuo-nei Ch'êng identified at T'ung-kou, could be fixed at 20 *ri* southwest of T'ung-kou, in the vicinity of Yu-shu-lin-tzŭ 榆樹林子, where ancient tombs of the Kao-chŭ-li style were discovered in groups.³⁾ At the same time, he admitted that his personal

the mountain stream of Ma-hsien-kou for about 2 *ri*, we came to a point where the road branched. Taking the right-hand road for some 10 *cho*, you would come to another fork—the right-hand branch being the highway to T'ung-hua, and the other leading to Ta-pan-ch'a Ling 大板岔嶺. We, however, took the left-hand road at the first-mentioned fork, and as we advanced, the defile grew narrower and the path more difficult. After going some *ri*, we reached the foot of Hsiao-pan-ch'a Ling 小板岔嶺, and then worked our way up the severe slope to the summit of the hill. At a distance of about 2 *cho* to the right of his hill-top, there ran an old road. It was on the side of this mountain pass that labourers at work repairing the road discovered in a heap of stones a mutilated tablet and forwarded it to the Magistrate Wu Kuang-kuo 吳光國 of the Chi-an District,—the famous memorial stone of Kuan-chiu Chien. It is said that the magistrate thereupon sent some 10 men to search the heap of stones for more relics, but in vain. The spot is about 6 *ri* in a crow line northwest of T'ung-kou. It is highly elevated above the sea level, and commands a very broad and open prospect, the Korean mountains of Rô-rin-san 狼林山 being visible in the distance." (Shigaku Zasshi, vol. XXV, no 11, p. 1383 f.) The brief account of the above discovery is found also in the Explanations of the *Chôsen Koseki Dzûfu*, vol. 1. The exact date of the discovery is the 6th month, the 31st year of Kuan hsü 光緒, viz. 1905. (See *Chôsen Koseki Dzûfu*, vol. I, plate 184.)

1) Shigaku Zasshi, vol. XXV, nos. 4-5.

2) T. SEKINO, "*The Location of Kuo-nei Ch'êng and Wan-tu*," in the Shigaku Zasshi, vol. XXV, no. 11.

3) T. SEKINO, "*A Study of Wan-tu Ch'êng*," in the Report of the Committee on Antiquities of the Government-General of Chôsen, 1917.

inspection of the place revealed nothing to be recognized as traces of some ancient wall;¹⁾ and without doubt this is a serious weakness in his assertion. We may take it for granted, therefore, that Dr. SHIRATORI's theory is the final solution of the problem.

In the neighbourhood of T'ung-kou, there are two points where sites of ancient castles are recognizable: one is T'ung-kou Ch'êng itself, the seat of government of Chi-an District 輯安縣 nowadays, situated near the left bank of the lower course of the T'ung-kou Stream 洞溝河, running parallel with the Ma-hsien-kou into the Yalu River; and the other is a spot called Shan-ch'êng-tzŭ Ch'êng 山城子城, about 30 *cho* (approximately 2 English miles) above T'ung-kou Ch'êng in the valley of the same rivulet. The following are the descriptions of the two places given by Dr. SEKINO after his actual visit there:—

“T'ung-kou Ch'êng, the seat of government of Chi-an District, is surrounded with a stone wall, measuring about 7 *cho* (ab. 760 metres) east and west, and about 5 *cho* (ab. 540 metres) north and south. On the east side may be seen the ancient foundation of a gate, and on the west side, of two, each accompanied with the outline of an outer entrance. The wall is some 20 feet in height, and surmounted with turrets at certain intervals. Within the walls, one may find numerous fragments of ancient tiles, mostly the red-coloured kind thirteen centuries old, but sometimes the dark-grey kind fifteen centuries old mingled with them. These tiles, as well as a foundation stone I happened to discover at the northwestern corner of the enclosure, are apparently ascribable to the Kao-chŭ-li age from their style of manufacture. Moreover, the stones of the wall are laid in a very antique mode, which may be reasonably attributed to the same period, allowing for more or less repairs of later dates.

Shan-ch'êng-tzŭ Ch'êng, as the site of the ancient castle is called, is located at Shan-ch'êng-tzŭ about 30 *cho* (ab. 2 English miles) north of T'ung-kou. The place, shut up on all sides by steep mountains, forms an amphitheatre, and from this a small stream issues running southward into the T'ung-kou Stream. The surrounding ridges are lined

1) *Ibid.*

with a stretch of stone wall, which runs down in front towards the rivulet, with a gate opening on its bank. Within, there is a slightly elevated ground with a comparatively flat surface; and the foundation stones remaining there suggest that here once stood some store houses. Besides, all the place is strewn with antique red-coloured tiles apparently of 13 centuries or so ago."¹⁾

Dr. SEKINO, while claiming distinction between Wan-tu and Kuo-nei Ch'êng, and proposing to assign Wan-tu at a distance of 6 *ri* from T'ung-kou, as we have seen, regards the above couple of sites lying so close together to have been integral parts of what was called Kuo-nei Ch'êng. The two places, he remarks, are physically so inseparably connected that they are comparable to those twin relics of the Kao-chü-li dynasty found northwest of Hei-jo (Ping-yang), the sites known as the An-kaku Palace 安鶴宮 and the Dai-jo-san Castle 大城山城. The one must have been the main part of the city with royal palaces and government offices, and the other its arsenal, granary, and stronghold; the two constituting thus a whole capital.²⁾

This is a highly acceptable view, and adapting it to the identity of Wan-tu with Kuo-nei Ch'êng, we arrive at the conclusion that the present T'ung-kou agrees with Wan-tu as the capital itself, while Shan-ch'êng-tzū Ch'êng marks the site of the mountain fortress attached to it. This notion works well also in the interpretation of literature. The *Kao-chü-li-chuan* of the *Wei-chih* says of the people, "They had their capital under Wan-tu," 都與丸都之下, and it suggests the city itself as lying low in the plain. On the other and, that passage of the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien*, "putting aside his horses and chariots, he climbed up Wan-tu," 東馬縣車登丸都 points to Wan-tu as a mountain fastness.

If I am not mistaken in the above observations, then that particular stage of the first war will appear as follows: Kuan-chiu Chien, chasing the routed king from Liang-k'ou, viz. the neighbourhood of the present Fu-êrh-chiang-k'ou, marched down the valley of the modern

1) T. SEKINO, "The Location of Kuo-nei Ch'êng and Wan-tu," *op. cit.*, p. 1368 f.

2) *Ibid.*

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

Hsin-k'ai Ho, crossed the mountain pass of Ch'en-hsien, viz. the present Hsiao-pan-ch'a Ling, and pressing closer on the enemy's headquarters, first took the mountain fortress of Wan-tu at the present Shan-ch'êng-tzŭ, and then fell upon and destroyed the main part of Wan-tu, corresponding to the present T'ung-kou Ch'êng. Most likely it was this final stroke in particular that was meant by the phrase above seen: "He destroyed the place where the Kao-chŭ-li had their capital," 屠句驪所都. The first campaign being thus closed, Chien returned home with his army. There can be no doubt he passed again Hsiao-pan-ch'a Ling on his way back, and it must have been on this occasion that he chose it for erecting his monument, obviously because it was a point of remarkable scenic view, commanding a wide prospect of the country around.

We may pass a brief comment, by the way, upon another opinion about the locations of Wan-tu and Ch'en-hsien. "To the east of the T'ung-chia Chiang, stand the two hills now called Wai-t'ou-ting-tzŭ 歪頭頂子 and Hung-shih-ting-tzŭ 紅石頂子; and very probably it was at the summit of the latter eminence that the so-called Wan-tu stood," 今修家江之東, 有歪頭頂子, 紅石頂子二山. 所謂丸都疑在紅石之山頂也, says TYÖNG YAK-YONG 丁若鏞, in his "*Study of Wan-tu*" included in his work *Wo-pang Ching-yŭ-kao* 我邦疆域考. Then commenting on the place name C'hen-hsien, he quotes the *Pei-shih* passage concerned, and remarks: "Ch'en-hsien was identical with what is now called Hung-shih-ting-tzŭ. For Wan-tu was a well-protected place, with the Ya Shui 鴨水 (Yalu River) on the left hand and the P'o-chu 婆猪 (viz. Tung-chia Chiang) on the right; backed by lofty mountains, and wound about with waters," 頗峴者, 今之紅石頂子也. 蓋丸都左據鴨水, 右阻婆猪, 背負太山. 二水交衿, 誠四塞之地也.¹⁾ This author treated Wan-tu and Ch'en-hsien as one and the same place,—a mistake no doubt engendered by a careless reading of the *Pei-shih* passage without perceiving the interval of space implied between the two points. Now, Hung-shih-ting-tzŭ, which was thus confounded with Wan-tu is a hill known at present as Hung-shih-la-tzŭ 紅石砬子, standing about 5 *ri* northwest of Yu-shu-lin-tzŭ, and about 6 *ri* north of Wai-fên-kou-mên 外盆溝門.

1) *Wo-pang Ching-yŭ Kao*, chap. 3.

In other words, one may go some 6 *ri* from Wai-fên-kou-mên up a stream which joins the Yalu near it, and as he crosses the watershed so as to gain the head waters of a certain tributary of the Hsin-k'ai Ho, he may see to the left of the pass that hill in question; while exactly opposite, on the righthand side, there stands the hill of Wai-t'ou-ting-tzū; seeming as if they were two pillars of a natural gate. So goes the actual observation by Dr. SEKINO and his collaborators who visited the region.¹⁾ Dr. SEKINO being himself inclined to fix the site of Wan-tu in the vicinity of Yu-shu-lin-tzū, as we have seen, thinks the above explanation of T'YONG's partly correct, even recognizing an admirable insight in his connecting C'hen-hsien with Hung-shih-la-tzū.²⁾ My view on the subject, however, being as stated above, it is impossible for me to give much credit to the Korean investigator.

Now turning our observation to the second war, I may extract from the already quoted passages those portions particularly concerned. "In the 6th year, another expedition was sent against the Kao-chū-li," says the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien* in the *Wei-chih*. "Kung finally fled to Mai-kou 買溝, and Chien sent the Governor of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, Wang Chi, to give him chase. (Wang Chi) marched a thousand *li* and more through (the land of the) Wu-chū 沃沮, until at last the southern border of the Su-shên tribe 肅慎氏南界 was reached." The *Pei-shih* passage runs thus: "In the 6th year, Chien once more attacked the Kao-chū-li. Wei-kung made a quick flight with his several Chia (nobles) to Wu-chū, and Chien sent the general Wang Chi in pursuit of him. (Wang Chi) penetrated Wu-chū for more than a thousand *li*, until he reached the south of Su-shên."

Then the *Wu-chū-chuan* of the *Wei-chih* has this, which is worth quoting for the fuller details as: "Kuan-chiu Chien attacked the Kao-chū-li, and as their king Kung fled to (the territory of the) Wu-chū, he led his army against the latter. All the Wu-chū tribes were vanquished, with 3,000 killed and captured. Kung now fled to North Wu-chū 北沃沮. This North Wu-chū, otherwise called Chih Kou-lou 置溝

1) T. SEKINO, "A Study of Wan-tu Ch'êng," *op. cit.*, pp. 580-593.

2) *Ibid.*

婆, lies more than 800 *li* away from *South Wu-chü* 南沃沮.” 毋丘儉討句麗. 句麗王宮, 奔沃沮. 遂進師擊之, 沃沮邑落, 皆破之, 斬獲首虜三千餘級. 宮奔北沃沮. 北沃沮, 一名置溝瀆, 去南沃沮八百餘里.¹⁾

When the first expedition took Wan-tu and its mountain fort, the king ran away with his family alone, but we are not told where. Later the Wei invaders departed homeward, and then it seems he returned to his abandoned capital. But it had been so much ravaged and rendered so defenceless that when it was attacked a second time by the Wei force led by Wang Chi, the king had to quit it in haste and run away with his several *Chia*, that is, nobles of several ranks, to the land of the Wu-chü people.

Where was the abode of the Wu-chü people, and by what route was it reached? To speak according to the modern map, starting from T'ung-kou and crossing the Yalu to its eastern shore, one may follow up its Korean tributary To-ro Kô 禿魯江 as far as Kô-kai 江界; and here he may take the Nan-sen River 南川, the tributary of the latter river, and going up its valley and crossing the pass of Ga-toku Rei 牙得嶺 and then advancing a little beyond Chô-shin 長津, reach the shore of the Chô-shin Kô River 長津江, which flows northwards from its source in the Kô-sô Rei 黃草嶺. Or from Kô-kai, he may continue up the main stream of the To-ro Kô, and crossing the pass of Sekkan Rei 雪寒嶺 (spelt also 薛罕嶺), gain the Chô-shin Kô at the town of Kyû-chin 舊鎭, or the former Chô-shin. This Chô-shin Kô followed up to its head, and the mountain pass of Kô-sô Rei crossed over, he will find himself in the valley of the Koku-rin-sen River 黑林川. This basin stretches down to the vicinity of Kan-kô (Ham-heung) City, where it develops into a plain, of such fertility and vastness as is rarely met with in the whole peninsula.²⁾ It forms the most valuable portion of the province of Kan-kyô Nan Dô (South Ham-gyong Do), and compares in this respect with the plain of T'ung-kou, whose extensive area and rich soil make it the most important district in the whole basin of the

1) *Wei-chih*, chap. 33.

2) See the *Map of Chôsen*, scale 1 : 200,000, edited by the Government-General of Chôsen.

Yalu River; and the one place is reachable from the other by the above-described route which is the only direct and natural one too. I think it is quite reasonable to assume that here was the home of the Wu-chü people, to whom the king had recourse after fleeing from his capital at T'ung-kou. "In the 2nd year of *Yüan-fêng* 元封 of Han Wu (the Han emperor Wu Ti), an expedition was sent against the kingdom of Chao-hsien 朝鮮," says the *Wu-chü-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, "when, the Yu-ch'u 右渠 (the King of Chao-hsien), who was grandson of Man 滿 (*viz.* Wei Man 衛滿) being put to death, his territory was divided into four prefectures; and *Wu-chü City* 沃沮城 was made the seat of government of (the first) Hsüan-t'u Prefecture."¹⁾ Thus Wu-chü City had previously been the political centre of the earliest Hsüan-t'u, as first established by Wu Ti, and this supreme position is just what the present Kan-kô holds in that region. Further on in the same history of Wu-chü we read: "The land is rich and beautiful, backed with mountains and open to the sea. It is good for all sorts of grain, and favours farming."²⁾ There is small doubt that this was said of the rich Kan-kô plain as the home of the Wu-chü people. We may therefore take it for granted that the Kao-chü-li king sought this district to fall back upon after his being driven from Wan-tu, and reached it by the route above suggested. His pursuer Wang Chi must have taken the same line of march, and it was when his army forced their entrance into the home of the Wu-chü, that "all the Wu-chü tribes were vanquished, with 3,000 killed and captured," as read above.

The Wei force pressing upon Wu-chü, the king fled further to North Wu-chü, which was, the *Wu-chü-chuan* says, "800 *li* away from South Wu-chü." It is beyond question that "South Wu-chü", marking the first stage of the king's flight, was identical with Wu-chü itself, in the district of Kan-kô. As for North Wu-chü, we have read that it was alternatively called Chih Kou-lou 置溝瀆, and this name is closely associated with Mai-Kou 買溝, where the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien* says the king took his final flight. The latter history goes on to state that

1) *Wei-chih*, chap. 30, *Wu-chü-chuan*.

2) *Ibid.*

Wang Chi, pursuing him, "marched 1,000 *li* and more through Wu-chü, until at last the southern border of Su-shên was reached." This must have referred to the progress from South Wu-chü to North Wu-chü; and if the alleged march of 1,000 *li* seems to be at variance with the distance of 800 *li* recorded elsewhere as between the two places, we may remember that these figures were always very rough and variable estimates. On reading the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien* alone, it might seem that the king had fled to North Wu-chü before Wang Chi began to chase him at all at the command of his superior Kuan-chiu Chien; but here the sequence is falsified, as revealed by the other accounts above observed, and this passage is furthermore defective in saying nothing of what Wang Chi did with the South Wu-chü people.¹⁾ Now we come to the question, where was North Wu-chü? We may reasonably look for it in the direction north of the Kan-kô district, and perhaps on or near the coast of the Japan Sea, in a district having a comparatively vast area of fertile soil, sufficient for the settlement of a tribe, and ranking with South Wu-chü, *i.e.* the Kan-kô district, in importance. And such a place we find only in the basin of the Pu-êrh-ha-t'u 布爾哈圖 and Hai-lan 海蘭 Rivers, having as its centre Chü-tzû-chieh 局子街, the capital of Yen-chi District 延吉縣, that is — the general region known nowadays as Chien-tao 間島; and I think this is the most likely district for us to assign as the home of the North Wu-chü tribe. As regards the other names of North Wu-chü, Chih Kou-lou and Mai Kou, they have been conclusively explained by Dr. SHIRATORI. In his study of the boundaries of the four Korean Prefectures as first inaugurated by Wu Ti, we read this valuable remark: "Mai Kou 買溝 being an abbreviation of Mai Kou-lou 買溝樓, signifies 'City on the Water,' while the other name Chih Kou-lou 置溝樓 is a corruption of it, resulting from a careless copying of the character 買 into 置. It is plain that Mai Kou-lou, expressive of such idea, did not originate as the name of the

1) Presumably the original source book of the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien* contained some account of the expedition led into Wu-chü by WANG CHI, which, however, the compiler of the *Wei-chih* set apart so as to include it in the *Wu-chü-chuan*, in a somewhat modified text.

general district, but as of its capital exclusively." Then follows this commentary of his own: "We know that among the place names mentioned in the *San-kuo-shih-chi* there are many reading 'So and So Mai 買,' and Mai always seems to mean a stream or water. (This is illustrated by some examples, which are not quoted here.) The Korean word for water or stream is 'mul', and the character *Mai* 買 may reasonably be regarded as the phonetic equivalent for it. Now the Language of the Wu-chü was, according to the *Wu-chü-chuan*, 'similar to that of the Kao-chü-li in the main, with slight differences'; and so we may recognize the same significance as above also for the 'mai' contained in Mai Kou and Mai Kou-lou (as reclaimed from Chih-kou-lou). As for the remaining part of the latter name, viz. *Kou-lou* 溝濠, we learn from the *Kao-chü-li-chuan* of the *Wei-chih* that it was a word denoting 'city', and in consequence we may conclude that Mai Kou-lou was equivalent to Mai City, or interpretable as City on the water or a stream."¹⁾ This goes to confirm the inference that the place so named was located on the shore of the Pu-êrh-ha-t'u River, in the neighbourhood corresponding to the present Chü-tzū-chieh.

This is as much as can be gathered from the historical text of the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien* and of the *Wu-chü-chuan*, as regards the second Wei expedition, in which the chief task of Wang Chi seems to have been to pursue the fugitive Kao-chü-li. There is no knowing how it fared with the king after he fled to North Wu-chü. It is presumable, at any rate, that when he resorted first to the South Wu-chü and then to the North Wu-chü tribe, it was because both had thitherto been subject to Kao-chü-li control.

CHAPTER II

Subjugation of the Wei 濊 Tribes by the Governors of Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures

The *Wu-chü-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, immediately after the statement that North Wu-chü was 800 *li* away from South Wu-chü, speaks

1) *Manshu Rekishi Chiri*, vol. I, p. 20.

as follows of the North Wu-chü people:—

“Their manners and customs are the same as those of the South Wu-chü. (Their territory) borders on (that of the) I-lou 挹婁. The I-lou are fond of going about in boats to raid and plunder. The North Wu-chü are afraid of it: in summer they always lurk in deep caves among mountain rocks to safeguard themselves; while in winter, when channels are frozen and unavailable for vessels, they come down to dwell in villages.”¹⁾ And directly following this we read; “*Wang Chi expressly despatched some officers*²⁾ (charged with the work) of subjugation. (They) went through the whole length of the region lying to its east. They inquired of the elders of the place as to whether on the sea to the east there lived any people. The elders replied: “Once some of our men set out in boats for fishing, when they encountered a hurricane and after drifting about for scores of days, they made out an island to the east. It was inhabited by a people speaking a strange language. They had a custom of taking some small girls and sinking them into the sea in the seventh month every year.” 其俗南北皆同, 與挹婁接. 挹婁喜乘船寇鈔. 北沃沮畏之, 夏月恒在山巖深穴中, 爲守備. 冬月冰凍, 船道不通, 乃下居村落. 王頗別遣追討官〔?官〕, 盡其東界. 問其耆老, 海東復有人不. 耆老言, 國人嘗乘船捕魚, 遭風見吹數十日, 東得一島. 上有人, 言語不相曉, 其俗, 常以七月, 取童女沈海.”³⁾

It is from the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien* that we know the Wei general who pursued the Kao-chü-li king to have been Wang Chi; the *Wu-chü-chuan* makes no mention of his name even while speaking of the king's flight to Wu-chü and the Wei army falling upon the Wu-chü tribes. So it might seem a little odd that the name of Wang Chi should first occur in that precise place in the *Wu-chü-chuan*, but this textual preposterousness is a matter to be easily accounted for by the consideration that the whole account was a patchwork of materials taken from different sources. At all events, we are given to understand that

1) *Wei-chih*, chap. 30, *Wu-chü-chuan*.

2) The corresponding original character is 官, but obviously it is an error for what should have been 官.

3) *Wei-chih*, chap. 30, *Wu-chü-chuan*.

the Wei general Wang Chi, who had been pursuing the Kao-chü-li king, sent out a detached force to subjugate some hostile tribes in the east. This, however, requires explanation.

“They went through the whole length of the region lying to *its east*,” and it would seem from the context that “its” referred to the country of the I-lou. The home of that people, so far as the *Wu-chü-chuan* is concerned, (for the *I-lou-chuan* treats of another kind of I-lou, as will be seen hereafter), may be assumed to have lain in the basin of the Sui-fên Ho 綏芬河, in the district whose centre was the present Nikolisk or Shuang-ch'êng-tzū 雙城子. This quarter is connected by water, via the Amur, the Possjet Bay, and the lower course of the Tumên River in turn, with the basin of the Pu-êrh-ha-t'u and the Hailan, then inhabited by the North Wu-chü; while the overland route via Hun-ch'un 琿春 is also available between the two. This geographical condition well agrees with the report that the land of the North Wu-chü bordered on that of the I-lou, and that the latter were in the habit of inflicting piratic raids upon the former. So, if it is true that the detached army went through the region east of the country of the I-lou, it must follow that they marched beyond the basin of the Sui-fên River and went even farther in the modern Coast Province of Russia. Yet we cannot be sure that the Wei expedition set foot even in the home of the I-lou about Nikolisk, not to speak of the region beyond. For, though the information about the I-lou occurring in the *Wu-chü-chuan* may well have been derived from the expedition, it seems obvious it was obtained through the Wu-chü, since, in this case the I-lou and their country are only talked of from the point of view of the Wu-chü people. Moreover, in our attempt to interpret the passage in question, we must be warned against sticking too closely to the reference of “its”. Textual incoherence is quite common in those passages, for the reason above suggested. We may, therefore, seek to identify the region in some other quarter.

On reaching the extremity of the said region, the leader or leaders of the detached force learned of an inhabited island lying off the sea coast there. We may inquire what island it was. On the Japan Sea side,

the only island, except Sakhalien, which is at once sufficiently near the continent or the peninsula and comparatively large and habitable, is Utsu-ryô Tô 鬱陵島, having a circumference of nearly 11 *ri* and lying about 90 nautical miles off the coast of Ut-chin 蔚珍, in Kô-gen Dô (Kang-won Do). It was known by the name of Yü-ling 甌陵, spelt also 芋陵, 羽陵, and 互陵, from the Hsin-lo period to the middle of the Kao-li, its inhabitants figuring in history as an independent people styled Yü-shan Kuo 于山國. And as I have pointed out in another study of mine, there is every chance that the unnamed island so occurring in the *Wu-chü-chuan* became known by those names in later periods. And its inhabitants, thus noticed as early as the Three Kingdom Age, were presumably emigrants from among the Wei tribes then occupying the district of the present Kô-gen Dô.¹⁾ And if this identification is justified, it must follow that the region, at whose farther end the conquerors were told of the island, was not in the quarter of the Tu-mên River, which was too far removed, but somewhere far southwest on the Japan Sea coast, at least farther south than Kan-kô. Now, this quarter was where there existed in the Han times the "Seven Districts of Ling-tung" 嶺東七縣, subject to the administration of Lo-lang Prefecture; their individual names being Tung-i 東曉, the seat of government of the former Lin-tun Prefecture 臨屯郡; Pu-érh 不而 (also spelt Pu-nai 不耐), the residence of the Governor of the Eastern Section 東部都尉 of Lo-lang Prefecture; Ts'an-tai 蠶台; Hua-li 華麗; Ya-t'ou-mei 邪頭昧; Chien-mo 前莫; and Wu-tzŭ 天租 (identical with Wu-chü). In the later Han period, when these Districts were detached from the jurisdiction of Lo-lang Prefecture, the chieftains of the Wei tribes therein were each created Prince of So and So District 縣侯, according to the name of his own district.²⁾

Bearing this circumstance in mind, we may now turn to the *Wei-chuan* of the *Wei-chih* and read: "In the 6th year of *Chêng-shih*, the

1) H. IKÉUCHI, "The Sea Raids by the Eastern Nü-chên 東女眞 on Korea during the Kao-li Period," in the Report of Historical and Geographical Researches in Manchuria and Korea, edited by the Department of Literature of the Tokyo Imperial University, vol. VIII, pp. 214-221.

2) *Wei-chih*, chap. 30, *Wu-chü-chuan*.

Governor of the Lo-lang Prefecture, Liu Mao 劉茂 and the Governor of Tai-fang Prefecture, Kung Tsun 弓遵, raised a force and went to beat the Wei 濊 tribes in Ling-tung, because they were subjects of Kao-chü-li. Prince of Pu-nai and others submitted with all their tribesmen.” 正始六年, 樂浪太守劉茂, 帶方太守弓遵, 以領東濊屬句麗, 興師伐之。不耐侯等舉邑降。¹⁾ Here is the key to our problem. In this event, with this date, we have the explanation of what was in actuality the detached force sent out by Wang Chi. The “officers of subjugation” were none other than those Prefectural Governors. Wang Chi, who had been defeating the Wu-chü and driving the Kao-chü-li king to North Wu-chü, in the 6th year of *Chêng-shih*, entrusted those local governors with a detached force to carry out the work of conquest in Ling-tung, which corresponds to “the region lying east”, and they succeeded in conquering the chieftains of the Wei race in the several districts of Pu-nai, Hua-li, etc., who were still owing allegiance to the Kao-chü-li master. It may be pointed out as a possible objection that those Ling-tung districts did not lie east, but rather south, of South Wu-chü, whose centre was Wu-chü City or the modern Kan-kô. This will be best answered by observing the use of the term “East Wu-chü” 東沃沮 in the same history. As this name heads the whole passage on the Wu-chü, *i.e.* the *Wu-chü-chuan*,²⁾ it may seem at first sight to include North Wu-chü as well as South. But on a closer study we know that it referred exclusively to South Wu-chü, as distinguished from North Wu-chü. Thus the history had a way of calling South Wu-chü “East Wu-chü” and then it would be only natural that the region lying south of it should be represented as *east of it*. Now, Ling-tung was a narrow strip of country extending along the coast of the Japan Sea from about the modern Kan-kô down south in the modern Ut-chin in Kô-gen Dô. “They went through the whole length of the region,” and this must mean that the detached force, starting from South Wu-chü, marched on conquering the six districts occupied by those princes of Pu-nai, Hua-li, etc., excepting that of Wu-chü. Perhaps they reached the

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

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

southern end of the present Kô-gen Dô, as far as where is Ut-chin Town now. From this point, the island of Utsu-ryô To is nearest and quite visible too,¹⁾ and very probably it was when they came in sight of it that they heard from the elders about it.

We may take the *Wei-chuan* passage, "the Prince of Pu-nai and others submitted," and question why that particular prince is alone specified. It was probably because his district was most important in the whole region. In fact, Pu-nai City had once been selected as the residence of the Governor of the Eastern Section of Lo-lang Prefecture, under whose control stood all the Seven Districts of Ling-tung; and in consequence its prince was typical of all the Wei chieftains.²⁾

The continuation of the above-quoted passage gives us a glimpse of the state of submission of the Wei tribes after the conquest under observation, as follows: "In the 8th year of the era (A.D. 247), he [the Prince of Pu-nai] visited the Court to pay his tribute, when the Emperor ordered him to be invested anew with the title of Wei King of Pu-nai 不耐濊王. This King lived with and among the populace, but came to pay a ceremonial visit to the Prefectural government every season of the year. The two Prefectures, [Lo-lang and Tai-fang], whenever they went to war, would make requisitions on his people and press

1) The *Tong-kuk Yô-ti-seung-ram* 東國輿地勝覽, chap. 45, in a passage on the geography of Ut-chin 蔚珍 District, says: "Utsu-ryô Tô 鬱陵島 is otherwise called Bu-ryô 武陵 or Wu-ryô 羽陵. It lies in the sea due east of the city of Ut-chin 蔚珍. It has three lofty peaks towering into the sky, the southernmost one being comparatively low. In fair and clear weather, one can distinctly see the trees on its hill-tops and the sandy shores at their base. With a favourable wind, one can reach it in a couple of days' sail."

2) The *Wu-chü-chuan* of the *Wei-chih* states that the Emperor Kuang-wu Ti of the Later Han Dynasty terminated the administration of the Seven Eastern Districts by the Governor of the Eastern Section, and on the other hand appointed the tribal chiefs therein the Princes of Districts, thus making feudalities of Pu-nai 不耐, Hua-li 華麗, Wu-chü 沃沮, etc. The history goes on to say: "The Wei 濊 prince of Pu-nai alone still preserved the offices of *Kung-ts'ao* 功曹, *Chu-p'u* 主簿, and several other *ts'ao* 諸曹, all to be occupied by Wei men. On the other hand, the chiefs 渠帥 of the Wu-chü tribes styled themselves *San-lao* 三老 (Three Elders) in accordance with the former system of Districts (*viz.* of the Later Han)." This helps to show how the Prince of Pu-nai was pre-eminent.

The remains of earthworks ascribable to the Han period, found on the southern bank of the Ryû-kô Kô 龍興江, one Japanese *ri* east of Ei-kô 永興, Kan-kyô Dô, seems to be identifiable with the ancient Pu-nai City.

them also into transport service, thus treating them like their direct subjects.”¹⁾ We may also notice in the *Chên-liu-Wang Pên-chi* 陳留王本紀 of the *Wei-chih* this passage relating to the 2nd year of *Ching-yüan* 景元 (A.D. 261): “The chieftains of the Han 韓 and Wei-mo 微貊 tribes, who were barbarian dependents of Lo-lang, visited the Court to pay their tributes each followed by his tribesmen.”²⁾ It is almost certain that here “Wei-mo” meant those Wei tribes in Ling-tung.³⁾

CHAPTER III

Wang Chi's March through the Territories of the I-lou and Fu-yü Peoples

It is quite unknowable, as already remarked, how it fared with the Kao-chü-li monarch after he ran to the North Wu-chü, but what did Wang Chi do, who had come so far in pursuit of him? Did he turn round from there and take his army home by the same way they had come? That passage of the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien*, “He marched a thousand *li* and more through Wu-chü until at last the southern border of the Su-shên tribe was reached. Here a stone was inscribed to memorize the achievement,” gives no answer to our question, even while telling us that the land of the North Wu-chü was bounded on the north by that of the Su-shên. And if the above text is continued as, “A tablet was set up on the hill of Wan-tu, and an inscription left at the city of Pu-nai,” this has nothing to do with Wang Chi's expedition itself. The former monument, being the very one discovered at the top of Hsiao-pan-ch'a Ling, must have been erected by Kuan-chiu Chien on his way back from Wan-tu; and if a similar commemoration was performed at Pu-nai City, what we have seen in

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

2) *Wei-chih*, chap. 4.

3) The fact of the Wei tribes being called also Wei-mo is evident from this passage of the *Wu-chü-chuan*: “It [Wu-chu] adjoins on the south [the territory of] the Wei-mo.” When the *Ch'i-Wang Pên-chi* remarks about the expedition of the Governors of the two Prefectures: “They attacked the Wei-mo and defeated them,” though the date is amiss by one year, it may be taken as further evidence of the fact. (See p. 12).

the last chapter will assure us that it was done by the Governors of Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures who led their expedition in that region. Wang Chi, thus lost sight of at North Wu-chü, however, comes again to our notice in an unexpected quarter, namely, in the land of the Fu-yü 夫餘 race. "During the era of *Chêng shih*," says the *Fu-yü-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, "the Magistrate of Yu Chou, Kuan-chiu Chien defeated the Kao-chü-li; and the Governor of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, Wang Chi, was sent to the country of the Fu-yü, when Wei-chü 位居 [an important Fu-yü personage, as will be seen] despatched some *Chuan-chia* 犬加 [Fu-yü officials] to give him a formal reception outside of the city, and also to supply him with provisions." 正始中, 幽州刺史毋丘儉討句麗, 遣玄菟太守王頊, 詣夫餘. 位居遣犬加郊迎, 供軍糧.¹⁾ This must mean that Wang Chi extended his march from North Wu-chü to the home of the Fu-yü people; and if so, it is inevitable to suppose that, in doing so, he passed the land of the I-lou people, that is, the I-lou as described in the *I-lou-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, and what might be called the I-lou proper. The passage concerned will be examined later on, but it may be remarked in anticipation that they were different from those I-lou we have already observed in the *Wu-chü-chuan*. The latter's home is assignable to the district of Nikolisk: the former's to the region having its centre at Ninguta. It seems probable that Wang Chi, advancing from North Wu-chü, passed this intervening quarter known by the name of I-lou and also that of Su-shên, and then shifting his course to the west, reached the home of the Fu-yü race. Such is a natural inference to be drawn from the relative geographical positions of the three peoples apparent in history. For the *I-lou-chuan* says: "On its south, I-lou is conterminous with North Wu-chü.... It is the ancient country of the Su-shên;"²⁾ while, according to the *Wu-chü-chuan*, the north of the Wu-chü was adjacent both to I-lou and Fu-yü;³⁾ and as the *Fu-yü-chuan* goes, the east of Fu-yü was contiguous with I-lou.⁴⁾

1) *Wei-chih*, chap. 30, *Fu-yü-chuan*.

2) *Ibid.*, *I-lou-chuan*.

3) *Ibid.*, *Wu-chü-chuan*.

4) *Ibid.*, *Fu-yü-chuan*.

Wei-chü, who welcome to Wang Chi accorded and found provisions for his troops, was a Fu-yü minister of great power, then holding the reigns of the government under the nominal king Ma-yü 麻余.¹⁾ No doubt this reception was made at the capital of the Fu-yü country, and this was located about the present A-lê-ch'u-k'o 阿勒楚喀 in North Manchuria.²⁾ To reach it from the country of the North Wu-chü, in the modern Chien-tao district, Wang Chi must have marched first through the basin of the Hu-êrh-k'o River, and then crossing the Hsiao-pai Mountains 小白山 ranging to its northwest, entered the plain of A-lê-ch'u-k'o. At present there are two principal routes available for going from Chü-tzū-chieh (Yen-chi), the centre of the Chien-tao district, where the North Wu-chü had their capital Mai Kou-lou, to A-lê-ch'u-k'o, the old home of the Fu-yü people, — the northern route which passes Ninguta 寧古塔, the centre of the basin of the Hu-êrh-k'o, and the southern one which traverses Tun-hua and O-mu-so 額木索 (or 鄂默和索羅 at it was formerly called) on the upper course of the same stream. If one is to depart from Chü-tzū-chieh and follow the former course, he will go up the valley of the Ka-ya Ho 嘎呀河 (or Ka-ha-li Ho 噶哈里河) in its section north of Pai-tsao-kou 百草溝 (Wang-ch'ing-hsien 汪清縣), cross the Chang-ling-tzū 長嶺子 Range, and reach Ninguta. Then he will proceed northwest crossing the Hai-lan Ho flowing by the former Ninguta city, get over the watershed of the Hsiao-pai Mountains by the pass of Pi-chan Wo-chi Ling 畢展窩集嶺 with its dense primitive woods, follow down the Ma-yen Ho 瑪延河 issuing therefrom, until it bends to the north at I-mien-p'o 一面坡. There he will part with the river, and marching on without changing his

1) The *Fu-yü-chuan* of the *Wei-chih* says: "Wei Ch'ou-t'ai 尉仇台 died, and Chien Wei-chü 簡位居 ascended the throne. He had no legitimate heir, but a bastard son Ma-yü 麻余. On the death of (Chien) Wei-chü, all the *chia* [=Fu-yü nobles] set up Ma-yü as his successor. Now the elder brother of the *Niu-chia* 牛加 [=Fu-yü high officer] had a son by the name of Wei-chü 位居. This man became the *Ta-shih* 大使 [=another high officer], and as he spent his fortune most freely for the benefit of others, the people became attached to him. Year after year, the country sent an embassy to the Wei capital to pay its tribute to the Court. During the *Chêng-shih* era, the Magistrate of Yu-chou Province, Kuan-chiu Chien, went to attack the Kao-chü-li,...."

2) This subject will be discussed at length in the author's "*Study of the Fu-yü*," which is to be later published.

course for a while, at last attain the basin of the A-lê-ch'ü-k'ò River. To take the other route, he will begin with following up the Pu-êrh-ha-t'ü 布爾哈圖 River from Chü-tzü-chieh, and then cross the Ha-êrh-pa 哈爾巴 Mountains (ranging southwest of the Chang-ling-tzü Mountains), in a westerly direction into the plateau drained by the Lê-fu-ch'êng 勒福成, or the upper stream of the Hu-êrh-k'ò. Its centre is Tun-hua city; and passing it, he will go north down the river until he gains O-mu-so, where his road crosses the highway stretching from Ninguta to Chi-lin 吉林. To the northwest of O-mu-so lies a mountain range, running southwest of Pi-chan Wo-chi Ling. This is the Chang-kuang-ts'ai Ling 張廣才嶺, which separates the plateau of Tun-hua from the basin of the Sungari River 松花江, whose centre is Chi-lin. The pass which crosses over this range so as to lead to Wo-kê Tien 窩瓜站 (and further on to Chi-lin) is remarkable for its vast and dense forest, the famous arboreous sea known as Na-mu Wo-chi 那木窩集, *wo-chi* being the transcription of the Manchu word *weji*, which means a forest. At Wo-kê Tien, he will shift his course to the north, and toiling along among threatening peaks and dangerous precipices, gain the head of the La-lin 拉林 stream, and then following down its valley past Wu-chang 五常, La-lin Chên 拉林鎮 and other stages, come to his journey's end at A-lê-ch'ü-k'ò. Both lines are commonly resorted to nowadays, and as there is no need to suppose that time has wrought much change in this matter, we may take it for granted that the Wei expedition also followed either one or the other of them.

I propose to demonstrate that these routes passed through the territory of the I-lou people, and therefore that it was touched by Wang Chi's march; but let us first examine the description of the people and their country read in the *I-lou-chuan* of the *Wei-chih* as follows:—

"I-lou lies more than 1,000 *li* northeast of Fu-yü. It is washed by a great ocean; its south is contiguous with North Wu-chü; but it is not known where its north terminates. The land is crowded with steep and rugged mountains. The physique of the people is like that of the Fu-yü, but their language unlike that of the Fu-yü and the [Kao-] Chü-li. They have several kinds of grain, oxen and horses, and

hempen cloth. Many of the people excel in courage and strength. There are no great chieftains, but every community has its superiors. They live among mountain forests, always dwelling in caves. Great homes have a depth of nine rungs [of a ladder]. The more rungs they have, the more pleased they are. The climate is cold, and even severer than in Fu-yü. They are inclined to keep pigs, eat their flesh and wear their skins. In winter they spread the grease of pigs on their bodies and then wrap themselves up. In summer, they go naked only concealing their fore and hind parts [=their waists] with a one-foot strip of cloth by way of garment. They are filthy people, building pig sties in the middle and dwelling around them. Their bows are four feet long, and as strong as crossbows. Their arrows are made of *hu* trees 楛, and measure one foot eight inches. The arrowheads are of green stone. Their country is that of the ancient Su-shên people. They are good archers. If they shoot a man, every shaft goes home. The arrow is poisoned, and every man hit is killed. Their country produces red jewels and fine sables, nowadays noted as I-lou sables. Since the Han period they had been subject to the Fu-yü, but the Fu-yü exacted heavy taxes from them, and therefore, during the era of *Huang-ch'u* 黃初 [in the beginning of the Wei dynasty, A.D. 220-226], they revolted. The Fu-yü attacked them over and over again, but in vain. Though small in population, they had their homes in wild mountains; their bows and arrows were a dread of the neighbouring peoples; and so they could never again be subjugated. The people easily go about in boats raiding and robbing, and the neighbouring countries are aggrieved. Almost all the barbarians of the east use, for the purpose of eating and drinking, vessels of the *tsu-tou* 俎豆 style, but the I-lou alone do not follow this custom; they are indeed so lawless a people.” 挹婁在夫餘東北千餘里，濱大海。南與北沃沮接，未知其北所極。其土地多山險。其人形似夫餘。言語不與夫餘，句麗同。有五穀牛馬麻布。人多勇力。無大君長，邑落各有大人。處山林之間。常穴居，大家深九梯，以多爲好。土氣寒，劇於夫餘。其俗好養豬，食其肉，衣其皮。冬以豬膏塗身，厚數分，以禦風寒。夏則裸袒，以尺布隱其前後，以蔽形體。其人不潔，作溷在中央，人圍其表居。其弓長四尺，力如弩，矢用楛，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。出赤玉好貂，今所謂挹婁貂是也。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。其人衆雖少，所在山險，鄰國人畏其弓矢，卒不能服也。其國便乘船寇盜，鄰國患之。東夷飲食，類皆用俎豆，唯挹婁不法，俗最無綱紀也。¹⁾

The *Hou-han-shu* has also an *I-lou-chuan* of its own,²⁾ but evidently it is an abridgment of this *Wei-chih* text, and claims no independent value as historical material. Therefore the above is the earliest account of the I-lou people to be found in authentic Chinese history. There is small doubt that it was mainly adopted from the *Wei-liao* 魏略 written by Yü HUAN 魚豢 in the Wei times, like the rest of the histories of the eastern barbarians in the *Wei-chih*, namely, those of the Fu-yü, Kao-chü-li, Wu-chü, Wei 濊, Han 韓, Wo-jên 倭人 (Japanese), etc. It means that a comparatively detailed description of the I-lou first appeared in literature during the Three Kingdom Age, and this was no accident, seeing that the land of the I-lou so intervened between those of the North Wu-chü and the Fu-yü as to make it necessary for Wang Chi to pass through it before entering the home of the Fu-yü. It was an unprecedented expedition as far as that region was concerned and brought to direct Chinese cognizance the topography, climate, population, language, manners and customs in Manchuria which had been hardly known except at second hand. The new knowledge was reported and must have supplied materials for the original accounts in the lost *Wei-liao*. In fact, we can positively ascribe to the same history the origin of that statement in the above quotation about the identity of the country of the I-lou with that of the ancient Su-shên. For the T'ang author YUNG KUNG-JUI 雍公叡, commenting on the passage on Fu-yü in CHANG CH'U-CHIN's 張楚金 work *Han-yüan* 翰苑, quotes the *Wei-liao* as: "The country of the Fu-yü lies to the north of the great wall of Hsüan-yüan 玄苑 [? Hsüan-t'u 玄菟]. It is more than 1,000 *li* from Hsüan-t'u. On the south it borders on [Kao-] Chü-li; and on the east on I-lou, that is, what is known as the country of the Su-shên; 夫餘國在玄苑長城北。去玄菟千餘里。南接句麗，東接挹婁。即

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

2) *Hou-han-shu*, chap. 115.

肅慎國者也,¹⁾ and Prince Chang-huai 章懷太子, annotating on the *Bio-graphy of Kung Yu* 孔融傳 of the *Hou-han-shu* says: "According to the *Wei-liao*, I-lou was Su-shên by another name." 魏略曰, 挹婁一名肅慎氏.²⁾ It must not be supposed, however, that the people in question had been quite unheard of before the time of Wang Chi's expedition (A.D. 245), for it is chronicled in the *Wei-chih*, under the date of the 5th month, the 4th year of *Ch'ing-lung* of Ming Ti (A.D. 236), that "the Su-shên sent a tribute of *hu* arrows;"³⁾ and very apparently this was said of the I-lou people. Nevertheless the relation, in race and name, between the Su-shên as recorded in the earliest literature and the I-lou as in the Three Kingdom Age is a matter for special observation, but as I am going to devote my "*Study of the Su-shên*"⁴⁾ to this purpose, I shall not dwell on it now.

Judging from the routes of travel above traced between Ch'ü-tz'ü-chieh and A-lê-ch'u-k'ò, it seems inevitable that the Wang Chi's expedition passed through either the upper or the middle section of the basin of the Hu-êrh-k'ò River. Now, in all this region, the most important locality, with a comparatively large area of level and arable land of sufficient fertility, is no doubt that of Ninguta, and certainly it must have been here that the I-lou people had their main abode and territorial centre. "They have several sorts of grain, oxen and horses, and hempen cloth" runs the passage, and here the observation may be said to be focussed on this particular neighbourhood. The basin of the Hu-êrh-k'ò River, however, taken as a whole, is unmistakably a mountainous region, where ranges run in every direction and peaks rise one above another, leaving very few valleys spacious enough for the settling of any community; and the uplands are covered with thick woods too. This feature reflects itself in the passage, "The land is crowded with steep and rugged mountains;" and also in that "There are no great chieftains, but every community has its superiors. The people

1) *Han-yüan*, vol. I, edited by the Department of Literature of the Kyôto Imperial University.

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

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

4) This will be printed in the next issue of the Memoirs.

live among mountain forests, always dwelling in caves." We may notice what marked contrast there is between this country and the district round about A-lê-ch'ü-k'ö and Shuang-ch'êng 雙城, which was contemporaneously occupied by the Fu-yü race. Alluvial in formation, the latter place is low and dampish, level and open, and so fertile and well-watered as to yield rich agricultural products. The *Fu-yü-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, therefore, properly describes it as: "Of the whole area occupied by the eastern barbarians, it is the most level and open section, the soil being favourable for many kinds of grain." 於東夷之域最平敞土地宜五穀.¹⁾ This information must have originated from Wang Chi's expedition, as well as the rest of the detailed accounts the same history affords of nature and life in the country of the Fu-yü. To return to the *I-lou-chuan*, the passage, "It is unknown where its north terminates," of course bears witness to the ignorance of the contemporary Chinese as to the northern boundary of the territory of the I-lou. We may read, on the other hand, in the *Tung-i-chuan* of the *Chin-shu* 晉書東夷傳 as: "The Su-shên, or I-lou by another name, situated to the north of Pu-han Mountain is a 60 days' journey or so from Fu-yü. On the east it edges on a great ocean; its west adjoins the country of K'ou-man-han and its north extends up to the Jo Shui, 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."²⁾ The Jo Shui, also found mentioned in the following passage of the *Fu-yü-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*: "To its [Fu-yü] north is the Jo Shui,"³⁾ meant the Sungari River, as it flows eastwards after receiving the Nonni River. But it was only during the *Ching-yüan* 景元 era (A.D. 260-263) of the Emperor Yüan Ti 元帝, just preceding the fall of the Wei dynasty, that such knowledge of the northern limit of the country became available⁴⁾; and we may safely assume that at the time of Wang Chi's expedition, Chinese observation did not extend to the district of the present San-hsing 三姓, where Sungari

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

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

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

4) This fact will be fully explained in the author's "*Study of the Su-shên*," to be later published.

River takes in the Hu-êrh-k'ô.

The climate of the land of the I-lou mentioned as being even severer than that of Fu-yü exactly fits the district of Ninguta, for its rigorous cold is even as detailed by the Ch'ing 清 author WU CHÊN-CH'EN 吳樞臣 in his *Ning-ku-ta Chih-liao* 寧古塔紀略,¹⁾ as: "During the eighth month, there are great falls of snow; in the ninth month, the streams are all frozen over; in the tenth month, the ground splits and gapes full one foot wide. Then there falls just a little snow, and the ground is iced over so hard that the sun, though shining broad and bright, does not melt it. One who arrives there for the first time must put on three fur coats; after a long residence, he may keep out the cold by just doubling his fur coat. At the end of the third month, the ice begins to thaw, but plants and grass do not sprout as yet."

If the assignment of the central part of the I-lou's country at the Ninguta district is accepted, then the geographical relation with the home of the Fu-yü will make quite natural and intelligible the following circumstance given there: "Since the Han period they had been subject to the Fu-yü, but the Fu-yü exacted heavy taxes from them, and therefore, during the era of *Huang-ch'ü*, they revolted. The Fu-yü attacked them over and over again, but in vain. Though small in population, they had their homes in wild mountains; their bows and arrows were a dread of the neighbouring peoples; and so they could never again be subjugated." It is a little different, however, as regards the passage which comes next, "The people easily go about in boats raiding and robbing, and the neighbouring countries are aggrieved." We can easily see how nearly this tallies with the statement above read in the *Wu-chü-chuan*: "The I-lou are fond of going about in boats to raid and plunder. The North Wu-chü are afraid of it." The I-lou, thus figuring in the *Wu-chü-chuan* as a piratic menace to the North Wu-chü people in the Chien-tao district, are most likely, as already remarked, to have been a tribe living along the Sui-fên River about Nikolisk; and therefore by no means identifiable with that I-lou people

1) The *Chao-Tai Ts'ung-shu* 昭代叢書, Book VII, chap. 28.

which has been the subject of description so far in the *I-lou-chuan*. Thus we must recognize that there were two separate sections of the I-lou race, the one occupying the district of Nikolisk, and the other having its centre of population in that of Ninguta. And this is not the least curious, seeing that the basins of the Sui-fên and the Hu-êrh-k'ô are divided only by the watershed of Mu-ling-wo-chi Ling 穆稜窩集嶺 and Lao-sung Ling 老松嶺, and that intercourse between them was quite feasible by the mountain pass.

It may be repeated here, however, that the above knowledge of the piratic I-lou was probably gathered from the North Wu-chü, so that it is no indication to show that Wang Chi's expedition actually stepped into their country. And if the *I-lou-chuan* describes the boundaries of their territory saying, "It is washed by a great ocean," we need not suppose this was based on any ascertained recognition of the eastern extremity of the country. Perhaps it was only that the story of the sea-faring I-lou ravaging the North Wu-chü now and then led the writer of the history, or that of its source book, to that hypothesis. We may also understand that the historian had no better authority in declaring that "I-lou lay more than 1,000 *li* northeast of Fu-yü," for evidently the distance is overstated and the direction misrepresented.

After these reflections on the origin of the information embodied in the *I-lou-chuan*, together with analytical studies of the text, there seems to be small doubt that, having conquered the North Wu-chü in the present Chien-tao district, the Wei army marched into the country of the I-lou, whose centre is assignable to the neighbourhood of Ninguta. Only, it remains a question whether, in doing so, they took the northern route running across the Chang-ling-tzû range towards the north, or the southern one passing through Tun-hua. We can say, however, that if they marched through the neighbourhood of Ninguta their further course must have agreed, on the whole, with the present Chinese Eastern Railway line. Then the abode of the Fu-yü having been attained at about the present A-lê-ch'u-k'ô, we may safely draw their line of progress past the present Nung-an 農安 and K'ai-yüan 開原, until we see them reach home at the capital of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture,

which was about the present Mukden. They had completed a circular trip traversing Liao-tung, North Korea, and Manchuria.

Now that Wang Chi's expedition in the East has been brought to light from under the shadow of the historical text of the Three Kingdom Age, and its significance in Chinese history duly acknowledged, our attention is called by natural association to a later occurrence of a very similar nature, — I mean Ho-shuo-nu's 和朔奴 expedition, which took place in the 13th year of *Tung-ho* 統和 (A.D. 995) of Shêng Tsung 聖宗 of the Liao dynasty 遼. "In the 13th year of *Tung-ho*," says his biography in the *Liao-shih* 遼史, "[Ho-shuo-nu] was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army sent against the Wu-jo [a tribe of the Nü-chên 女真 race]. *He stopped at the land of the Tieh-li* wherein he pastured his horses for months, and *then advanced upon Wu-jo Ch'êng*. From the notion that it was more profitable to obtain captives and booty, he would not accept the surrender which the enemy offered, but, instead, set his army to storm the city. The inhabitants, greatly frightened, fought with desperate courage, and so Ho-shuo-nu was unable to conquer them. Then he adopted the proposal of his Lieutenant-general, Hsiao Hêng-tê and *went to plunder the southeastern district. He traversed the northern border of Kao-li to return home*. However, the way was long and the provisions failed, resulting in a great loss of men and horses. Therefore he had his rank and fief reduced by imperial order." 統和十三年秋, 遷都部署, 伐兀惹. 駐于鐵驪, 秣馬數月, 進至兀惹城. 利其俘掠, 請降不許, 令急攻之. 城中大恐, 皆殊死戰, 和朔奴知不能克, 從副部署蕭恆德議, 掠地東南, 循高麗北界而還. 以地遠糧絕, 士馬死傷. 詔降封爵.¹⁾ The same history, in the separate passage dealing with the life of the general Hsiao Hêng-tê, recounts the same event in these words: "He accompanied Commander-in-Chief Ho-shuo-nu on the expedition against the Wu-jo tribe. Before there was any fighting, the Wu-jo offered to surrender, but Hêng-tê would not accept it because it was more profitable to acquire captives and booty. The Wu-jo thereupon fought desperately, and their city

1) *Liao-shih*, chap. 85.

could not be taken. Ho-shuo-nu took counsel. He himself wanted to lead back the army, but Hêng-tê spoke: 'Our enemy are tough and rebellious, and therefore we came to beat them by imperial command; and yet we are returning home now without scoring any success. What will other tribes say of us? If, however, we should march farther on and gain plenty of spoil, it will be better than to return empty-handed.' *Ho-shuo-nu, seeing that it was unavoidable to consent to this, proceeded to attack the tribes of the southeast. Thus he skirted the northern border of Kao-li.* But when he turned homeward, the way was long and the provisions failed, resulting in a heavy loss of warriors and horses. Called to account for this, he forfeited the title of honour which had been previously granted him for distinguished services. In the 14th year, he was appointed Expeditionary Commander-in-Chief and came home after defeating the P'u-lu-mao-to tribe." 從都部署和朔奴，討兀惹。未戰，兀惹請降。恆德利其俘獲，不許。兀惹死戰，城不能拔。和朔奴議欲引退。恆德曰，以彼偏疆，吾奉詔來討。無功而還，諸部謂我何。若深入多獲，猶勝徒返。和朔奴不得已，進擊東南諸部，至高麗北鄙。比還，道遠糧絕，士馬死傷甚衆。坐是削功臣號。〔統和〕十四年，爲行軍都部署，伐蒲盧毛朵部還。¹⁾

It would appear from the latter quotation that Ho-shuo-nu, having returned to the Liao capital from his unsuccessful expedition against the Wu-jo tribe of the Nü-chên stock, was sent out anew, in the following year, to beat the P'u-lu-mao-to tribe. The truth was, however, as I have endeavoured to prove elsewhere, that he used force upon that last-named people while he was coming home from the place of the Wu-jo by way of the northern border of Korea,²⁾ and that the sentence, "He proceeded to attack the tribes of the southeast", meant nothing more nor less than the raid inflicted upon the same tribe on that occasion. It must be that the historian was treating of the single expedition, lasting from the 13th to the 14th of the era, by two different sources of material.

1) *Ibid.* chap. 88.

2) H. IKÉUCHI, "A Study of T'ieh-li 鐵利," in the Report of the Historical and Geographical Researches in Manchuria and Korea, vol. III, p. 101.

The land of the T'ieh-li where the army stayed for months before advancing on the Wu-jo is identifiable with the present plain of A-lê-ch'ü-k'o.¹⁾ Wu-jo Ch'êng itself was what had been in the T'ang period the capital of the Po-hai Kingdom 渤海國, Hu-han Ch'êng 忽汗城; and agrees with the present Tung-ching Ch'êng 東京城, which is situated 60 Chinese *li* southwest of Ninguta.²⁾ "P'u-lu-mao-to" was the generic name for all the tribes of the Nü-chên stock then occupying the Kan-kô district in Northeastern Korea.³⁾ That "they traversed the northern border of Kao-li to return home" must mean this:—after departing from the Kan-kô district, they crossed the mountain pass of Kô-sô Rei into the upper basin of the Chô-shin Kô River; next crossed the watershed separating Chô-shin from Kô-kai District, either by the pass of Sekkan Rei or by that of Ga-toku Rei further north; and then followed down the To-ro Kô Stream so as to reach T'ung-kou City, which had once been the Kao-chü-li capital Wan-tu, and was known as Huan-ch'ou 桓州 in the contemporary period; and from there directly returned to the Liao capital on the Sira-muren.⁴⁾ It is also assumable that, at the very outset, when they marched out to the land of the T'ieh-li, they must have reached it by way of the present Nung-an on the I-t'ung River 伊通河; for in those days here was Huang-lung Fu 黃龍府, which marked a vital point of border defence against the Nü-chên tribes then occupying the basin of the A-lê-ch'ü-k'o. Therefore we may say that the route of this Liao expedition was the reverse of what had been taken by the Wei army seven centuries before. It is also interesting to note that the places of the T'ieh-li, Wu-jo, and P'u-lu-mao-to peoples corresponded respectively to what had been the homes of the Fu-yü, I-lou, and South Wu-chü in the Three Kingdom Age.

1) *Ibid.*, pp. 43-51.

2) *Ibid.*, pp. 70-82.

3) H. IKÉUCHI, "About the P'u-lu-mao-to Tribe," appended to his study, "The Conquest of Ho-lun 曷懶 by the Wan-yen 完顏 family and the campaign of the Nine Fortresses 九城 led by Yin Kuan 尹瓘," in the Report of the Historical and Geographical Researches in Manchuria and Korea, vol. IX, pp. 235-6.

4) *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240.

CONCLUSION

What we have seen in the foregoing chapters may be summed up: in the first place, the Wei dynasty annexed Liao-tung and the two Prefectures in the Korean peninsula by overthrowing the Kung-sun family, the former masters of Liao-tung, in the 2nd year of *Ching-ch'u* (A.D. 238); a few years later, in the 5th year of *Chéng-shih* (A. D. 244), the dynasty sent forth an expedition to attack the Kao-chü-li, under the command of the Magistrate of Yu Chou, who succeeded in giving the latter a heavy blow. He returned in triumph in the 5th month of the 6th year, and within the same year, he sent the Governor of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture, Wang Chi, to renew the attack on the same enemy, when, the Kao-chü-li king Kung fleeing to the land of the Wu-chü people, the Wei general marched in pursuit of him; and while doing so, he brought into subjugation first the South and then the North Wu-chü tribe. In the meantime, the Governors of Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures ordered out by Wang Chi to lead a detached force, marched south subduing those tribal chiefs of the Eastern Wei 東魏 race who had been subservient to the Kao-chü-li regime. And moreover, Wang Chi's army went forward to penetrate the homes of I-lou and Fu-yü peoples in Manchuria, hardly ever before visited by the Chinese, — carrying out no doubt an effectual demonstration of the power of the dynasty before those barbarians. Certainly it is owing to this expedition that we have in the pages of the *Wei-chih* any knowledge of the state of things in ancient Manchuria, of which nothing is known further back than the Three Kingdom period.

APPENDIX

The *San-kuo-shih-chi* on Kuan-chiu Chien's Expedition

The fact of Kuan-chiu Chien's attack on the Kao-chü-li appears also in the latter's own history, the *Kao-chü-li Pên-chi* 高句麗本紀 (to be abbreviated to *Li-chi* for our present purpose) of the *San-kuo-shih-chi* 三國史記, in the passage of the dynastic annals relating to the 20th year of the reign of Tung-chuan-Wang Yu-wei-chü 東川王憂位居, the identical king that is named Wei-kung 位宮 in the *Kao-chü-li-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*.¹⁾ We are aware, however, that this Yu-wei-chü was only the second Korean king that the later Kao-chü-li generations recognized as a historical character,²⁾ and it is fairly obvious that the vernacular history cannot be trustworthy about this early period. Therefore in carrying out the preceding researches, I refrained from paying attention to the Korean source, but drew exclusively from Chinese literature. Nevertheless, it is a matter of independent interest and importance to examine the details of the account of the *Li-chi* and comment on their historical value.

According to the chronological system of the *San-kuo-shih-chi*, the said 20th year of Tung-chuan-Wang agrees with the 7th year of *Chêng-shih* of the Wei dynasty (A.D. 246). This is the same date to which the *Ch'i-Wang Pên-chi* of the *Wei-chih* ascribes the expedition, saying: "In the 7th year of *Chêng-shih*, in the 2nd month in spring, the Magistrate of Yu Chou, Kuan-chiu Chien, attacked the Kao-chü-li; and in the 5th month in summer, the Wei-mo 濊貊; vanquishing the enemy in both cases. The Na-hsi 那奚 and other Han 韓 tribes, scores in number, each led by its chieftain, submitted." 春二月, 幽州刺史毋丘儉討高句驪, 夏五月, 討濊貊, 皆破之. 韓那奚等數十國, 各率種落降.³⁾ We have already seen how this passage was the result of confusing the campaigns of the 5th and the 6th year with the conclusion

1) *San-kuo-shih-chi*, chap. 17.

2) This subject will be fully discussed in the author's "*Study on the Kao-chü-li*," to be later published.

3) *Wei-chih*, chap. 4.

of the revolt of the Ch'ên Han 辰韓 tribes which occurred in the 7th year.¹⁾ In reality, it was in the 5th year that Kuan-chiu Chien himself led an army against the Kao-chü-li; and in the following, 6th year that the Governors of Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures used force upon the Wei-mo, or the Wei tribes in Ling-tung 嶺東, to contribute to Wang Chi's conquest of northern Korea. It is plain, therefore, that in dating Kuan-chiu Chien's invasion as in the 20th year of Tung-chuan Wang, the historian had no authoritative base of his own, but merely copied the *Ch'i-Wang Pên-chi* and repeated its error.

It is convenient to observe the *Li-chi* account of the Wei invasion in three sections, the first of which runs:—

"In the 8th month in autumn, the Wei sent out the Magistrate of Yu Chou, Kuan-chiu Chien, with an army of 10,000, which started from Hsüan-t'u and came on, invading our country. Our king, leading a force of 20,000, foot and horse, met and defeated the enemy on the *Fei-liu Shui* and beheaded 3,000 of them. Then he conducted his army to fight another battle at the *Dale of Liang-mo* and again defeated the enemy, slaughtering and capturing 3,000 of them. 'The Wei army, so enormous, cannot match a small force of ours,' remarked the king to his generals. 'Kuan-chiu Chien is a great general of the Wei, and to-day his life is in my hands!' With this, he took away an iron[clad] horsemen 5,000 strong and advanced to the charge. Chien put his troops in square formation and fought desperately, until our army completely collapsed, and had more than 18,000 killed. The king fled to the *Plain of Ya-lu* with a little more than 1,000 horsemen." 秋八月, 魏遣幽州刺史毋丘儉, 將萬人, 出玄菟來侵。王將步騎二萬人, 逆戰於沸流水上敗之, 斬首三千餘級。又引兵再戰於梁貊之谷, 又敗之, 斬獲三千餘人。王謂諸將曰, 魏之大兵, 反不如我之小兵。毋丘儉者魏之名將, 今日命在我掌握之中乎。乃領鐵騎五千, 進而擊之。儉爲方陣, 決死而戰。我軍大潰, 死者一萬八千餘人。王以一千餘騎, 奔鴨渌原。²⁾

1) H. IKÉUCHI, "The Establishment of Tai-fang Prefecture by the Kung-suns and Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures as under the Tsao Wei Dynasty," in the Shi-en, loc. cit.

2) *San-kuo-shih-chi*, chap. 17.

This on the whole agrees with the corresponding part of the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien* in the *Wei-chih*, though it is remarkable that here is mentioned a battle at the Dale of Liang-mo in addition to that on the Fei-liu Shui, the Kao-chü-li figuring victorious in both; and finally added still another engagement, resulting in the king's flight to the Plain of Ya-lu.

The second section begins: "In the 10th month in winter, Chien attacked and captured Wan-tu City and completely devastated the place. He then sent out his general Wang Chi to give chase to the king. The king [sought to] run to South Wu-chü but on reaching *Chu Ling* he found all his troop had scattered but a last handful." 冬十月, 儉攻陷丸都城屠之. 乃遣將軍王順追王. 王奔南沃沮. 至于竹嶺. 軍士分散殆盡. This is continued by recounting how, to save the king from this extremity, a man of the Eastern Department 東部 by the name of Mi-yu 密友, who was in attendance, fought at the risk of his life, so that his master could finally reach his destination by a by-road; how, in South Wu-chü, another man of the Eastern Department named Ch'ou-yu 紐由, feigned to surrender to the Wei army, stabbed the Wei general and was on the same instant stabbed by his victim, both falling dead together; how this heroic deed turned the tables in favour of the Kao-chü-li side, for "seeing the Wei army thrown into disorder, the king set his troops on three separate lines of march, and thus inflicted a sudden heavy attack on the enemy. The Wei army fell into utter confusion, unable to array themselves, and at last retired from Lo-lang;" 魏軍遂亂. 王分軍爲三道, 急擊之. 魏軍擾亂, 不能陳, 遂自樂浪而退; and how, after the war, when the king appraised the meritorious services of his warriors in the campaign, the highest distinction was given to those of Mi-yu and Ch'ou-yu.¹⁾ It is to be noted that those stories of the two heroes are also told, and in exactly the same words, in their biographies in the *San-kuo-shih-chi*.²⁾

The third section concludes the account as follows: "In this war

1) *Ibid.*

2) *San-kuo-shih-chi*, chap. 45, *Lieh-chuan* 5.

the Wei general reached the southern border of Su-shên. [There] a stone was inscribed to memorize the achievement. Besides, a tablet was set up on the hill of Wan-tu and an inscription left at Pu-nai City before [the expedition] returned.”¹⁾ We may perceive at once that this is an exact copy of what we have read in the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien*. And the same thing must be said of the following remark which last: “Previously, his minister Tê-lai 得來 had frequently remonstrated with the king because he trespassed on the Middle Kingdom, but, not being listened to, he mournfully sighed: ‘Very immediately one shall see this place overgrown with rank weeds,’ and finally starved himself to death. Chien ordered his legions not to break his tomb, nor to cut the trees upon it; and when his family were captured, he set them at liberty.”²⁾

It need hardly be pointed out that the whole account, except for the stories of the heroic warriors, was reproduced from the *Wei-chih*, only with modifications and alterations very freely practiced in favour of the Kao-chü-li side. According to the above-quoted passage, the Korean king, at the head of 20,000 infantry and cavalry, routed the Wei invasion first on the Fei-liu Shui and then at the Dale of Liang-mo. Surely, this is a transformation from the passage of the *Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien*: “The Kao-chü-li king Kung, leading a force of 20,000, foot and horse, came forth on the Fei-liu Shui, and there ensued a tremendous fight at Liang-k’ou 梁口, in which Kung was repeatedly beaten and put to rout.” So far, the fortune of battle is completely reversed, of course with the aim to save the face of the Kao-chü-li, and it is to be easily supposed that the author responsible for this was a Kao-chü-li man, of a later period. As regards “Dale of Liang-mo”, we may imagine it was a name more or less related with “Liang-k’ou.” It is a question, however, whether it was a real place at all. The same name we find mentioned again in the *Li-chi*, where, relating to the 12th year of Chung-chuan Wang 中川王 (*viz.* the 4th year of *Kan-lu* 甘露 A.D. 259, of the Wei dynasty);—15 years later

1) *San-kuo-shih-chi*, chap. 17.

2) *Ibid.*

than Chien's expedition, it is stated that the king gave a crushing defeat at the Dale of Liang-mo to a Wei incursion led by a general named Wei-ch'ih K'ai 尉遲楷.¹⁾ But all these accounts in the early period of Korean history claim very little credit; and moreover, in this case, the anachronism of the family name of the Wei general is tell-tale in itself, as has been pointed out by Dr. TSUDA.²⁾ For that this family name dated only from the later Wei period (from A.D. 386) is evident from what the *Pei-shih* 北史 says about a person named Wei-ch'ih Hui 尉遲迴: "His ancestors were a detached clan issuing from the House of Wei, and styling themselves *Wei-ch'ih Clan* 尉遲部; and hence he adopted it as his family name."³⁾ Still another proof of the fact comes from the *Kuan-shih-chih* 官氏志 (Book of Official Designations and Family Names) of the *Wei-shu* 魏書, where the Wei-ch'ih family of the West is mentioned, as a name which was afterwards reduced to Wei 尉.⁴⁾ The term Liang-mo occurs often enough in the Korean history as a tribe name. There we read that, in the 33rd year of Liu-li Wang 琉璃王 (*i.e.* the 1st year of *T'ien-fêng* 天鳳 of the Usurper Wang Mang 王莽, *viz.* A.D. 14), the king beat the Liang-mo in the West, and put an end to their dominion⁵⁾; that Hsin Ta-Wang 新大王, in his 2nd year (*i.e.* the 9th year of *Yen hsi* 延熹 of the later Han dynasty, *viz.* A.D. 166), placed his minister Ming-lin Ta-fu 明臨答夫 at the head of both the central and local armies, and at the same time appointed him as lord over the Liang-mo tribe;⁶⁾ and that Hsi-chuan Wang 西川王, in his 11th year (*i.e.* the 1st year of *T'ai-k'ang* 太康 of the West Chin dynasty, *viz.* A.D. 280), marked by the invasion of the Su-shên 肅慎, appointed his younger brother Ta-chia 達賈 Generalissimo of the central and local armies, and also Governor of the various Liang-mo and Su-shên tribes.⁷⁾ In spite of their plausible appearance, the fictitious

1) *San-kuo-shih-chi*, chap. 17.

2) S. TSUDA, "The Criticism on the *Kao-chü-li-chi* of the *San-kuo-shih-chi*," in the Report of the Historical and Geographical Researches in Manchuria and Korea, vol. IX, p. 58 f.

3) *Pei-shih*, chap. 62, *Wei-ch'ih-Hui-chuan*.

4) *Wei-shu*, chap. 131.

5) *San-kuo-shih-chi*, chap. 13.

6) *Ibid.*, chap. 16.

7) *Ibid.*, chap. 17.

character of these records is as apparent as in the preceding cases; while on the other hand there is ample reason to suspect that the tribe name Liang-mo, and also the place name Dale of Liang-mo, were terms manufactured upon the desk of the historian. "There is also the Hsiao-shui Mo 小水貊 [Mo tribe on the Small River]," says the *Kao-chü-li-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, "the Kao-chü-li themselves have their country along the Great River. To the north of Hsi An-p'ing there is a small stream, which flows south towards the sea. A branch of the Kao-chü-li abides along this small stream, and are therefore called Hsiao-shui Mo. They produce excellent bows, noted as Mo bows." 又有小水貊。句麗作國，依大水而居。西安平縣北有小水，南流入海。句麗別種依小水作國，因名之爲小水貊。出好弓，所謂貊弓是也。¹⁾ This shows that during the Three Kingdom Age, a kindred of the Kao-chü-li race, occupying the valley of a small river in the neighbourhood of Hsi An-p'ing, was called Hsiao-shui Mo by the Chinese; while the Kao-chü-li themselves were spoken of as Mo in the Han and Wei periods, as we learn from other authorities. Now, Hsi An-p'ing corresponds to the neighbourhood of the present Chiu-lien Ch'êng 九連城, and the small river which gave that tribe their name, flowing southwards from the north of it, must be identified with the present P'u-shih Ho 蒲石河; while the Great River mentioned as the abode of the Kao-chü-li was undoubtedly the Ya-lu River itself, flowing past their headquarters at Wan-tu. If, however, one happened to suppose the Small River to be identical with the Fei-liu Shui and therefore place the Hsiao-shui Mo on its shore, he might naturally come to associate the tribe with Liang-k'ou, that historical place on the river. And then, if he were in a mood to write fiction, he might as easily be led to merge Liang-k'ou and Mo into the form Liang-mo, thus giving rise to another tribe name, and in turn to the name of the tribal place. I venture to suggest that such was the origin of "Dale of Liang-mo"; it was a fabrication of the Kao-chü-li historian who was freely distorting facts from the *Wei-chih*. And if this is so, neither is it hard to see that the detail of the king's flight to the Plain of Ya-lu found alone

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

in the *Li-chi*, was but an idle insertion by the same romancing pen.

Then the second section, being the exact replica of the *Biographies* so far as the stories of the two heroes are concerned, as remarked above, chiefly deals, in all but its opening part, with facts not found in the *Wei-chih*. The king's flight to South Wu-chü before the march of Wang Chi is a matter traceable to the *Wu-chü-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*; but as for the statement that the Wei army fell into utter confusion, unable to array themselves, and at last retired from Lo-lang, it has nothing to answer to it in any Chinese history. No doubt it was another concoction of the author of those biographies, too ready to depart from historical truth. It is also apparent from the above text that he regarded South Wu-chü as identical with the district of Lo-lang, and we may well suspect that he was a man but poorly informed of the history and geography of the peninsula of the Three Kingdom Age, and therefore a man far removed from the period he treated of. Nevertheless, he must have been a writer neither of the Kao-li dynasty nor of the Hsin-lo period of consolidation, but one of the Kao-chü-li dynasty, seeing that he took trouble to give reverses to the Wei expedition and conclude the war honourably for the Kao-chü-li side.

We may notice the mention of Chu Ling made in connection with the royal flight. This mountain pass, together with that of Chi-li Ling 鷄立嶺, were the most famous one within the boundaries of Hsin-lo; but it was not alone the Hsin-lo people who were familiar with them. All that portion of the basin of the North and South Kan Kô 漢江 lying west of Chu Ling had been in the possession of the Kao-chü-li, until it was absorbed into the territory of the Hsin-lo as a result of the task of expansion accomplished by the Hsin-lo king Chên-hsing Wang 眞興王 in the 12th year of his reign, or in the 7th year of the Kao-chü-li king Yang-yüan Wang 陽原王 (A.D. 551). It seems, however, the Kao-chü-li long remembered their loss with a strong hankering to retrieve it. The *Wên-ta-chuan* 溫達傳 of the *San-kuo-shih-chi* tells us that the Kao-chü-li general Wên-ta, asking royal permission of Yang-kang Wang 陽岡王 (=Ying-yang Wang 嬰陽王, A.D. 590-618) to make an

attack on the Hsin-lo, vowed to himself, "I shall never return until the west of Chi-li Ling and Chu Ling has been restored."¹⁾ Again, according to the *Hsin-lo Pên-chi* of the same history, under the date of the 11th year of Shan-tê Wang 善德王, corresponding to the 1st year of the Kao-chü-li king Pao-tsang Wang 寶藏王 (A.D. 642), the latter monarch, when asked by the Hsin-lo envoy Chin Ch'un-ch'iu 金春秋 to promise aid to the Hsin-lo in their war against the Po-chi 百濟, thus replied: "Chu Ling was once our own. If you would return to us the country northwest of it, we might send our army for you."²⁾ Such being the traditional Kao-chü-li sentiment towards Chu Ling, the insertion of its name in that passage may be properly ascribed to a writer of that nation. I may now generally suggest that those biographies as we read them now in the *San-kuo-shih-chi*, were probably taken from a certain earlier record, which was itself a work of a Kao-chü-li writer of a comparatively late period, having the *Wei-chih* at his disposal.

Another circumstance noticeable in those stories of the brave warriors is that their names are preceded by the terms denoting the administrative division to which each belonged as: "The Eastern Department 東部, Mi-yu," and "the Eastern Department man 東部人, Ch'ou-yu;" while another person is mentioned in this connection as "Lower Department 下部, Liu-wu-chü 劉屋句."³⁾ And some similar designations are discernible in other parts of the *Li-chi* concerning the period including the reign of Tung-chuan Wang. As a matter of fact, it was customary with the Kao-chü-li to divide the area of their capital and the rest of the country each into five units of administration, which were: Eastern, Western, Northern, Southern, and Middle Departments, for the latter; and Front, Back, Upper, Lower, and Central Departments, for the former. This system, however, only dated from the middle of the Kao-chü-li dynasty, that is, far later than the time of Tung-chuan Wang.⁴⁾ Viewed in this light, it becomes more

1) *San-kuo-shih-chi*, chap. 45.

2) *Ibid.*, chap. 5.

3) *Ibid.*, chap. 45.

4) H. IKÉUCHI, "Notes on the Five-tsu 五族 and the Five-pu 五部 of the Kao-chü-li," in the *Tôyô Gakuhô*, vol. XVI, no. 1 (October, 1926).

evident that the chivalrous stories of the two warriors were not true history. Not to say that they were inventions of the Kao-chü-li author, we may be sure they were mere legends, perhaps current in those days.

The foregoing observations are sufficient to explain why we can draw nothing authentic from the Korean history concerning the expedition of Kuan-chiu Chien. This is certainly a strange situation, but nevertheless natural when we consider that the period in question lay at the very dawn of the Kao-chü-li's own history. For the earliest Kao-chü-li monarch to be definitely recognized by the later generations was Shan-shang-Wang Yen-yu 山上王延優, or I-i-mo as mentioned in the *Kao-chü-li-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*; and Tung-chuan-Wang Yu-wei-chü, or Wei-kung or Kung according to the Chinese history, came only next in the order of time; while Ku-kuo-chuan-Wang Nan-wu 故國川王男武, represented as the predecessor of Shan-shang-Wang, was really an empty name employed to head the royal pedigree when it was manufactured.¹⁾

"The Doctor of Literature, Li Wên-chên was appointed by royal decree to summarize ancient chronicles into five volumes newly compiled," says the *Li-chi*, relating to the 11th year of Ying-yang Wang 嬰陽王 (A.D. 600). "In the beginning of the country, when the system of writing first became available, there was somebody who recorded facts and occurrences to the amount of 100 volumes, giving them the title of Liu-chi 留記 [Reminiscences]. Now these were subjected to revision and emendation." 詔大學博士李文真, 約古史爲新集五卷. 國初始用文字時, 有人記事一百卷, 名曰留記. 至是刪修.²⁾ The beginning of the country is a very vague idea, but at any rate we may assume that the Kao-chü-li in the period of Tung-chuan Wang had not reached the stage of civilization where the art of recording takes its start. Therefore, when we read in the *Li-chi*, under the date of the 8th year of the same king (*i. e.* the 1st year of *Ch'ing-lung* of the Wei dynasty (*viz.* A.D. 233), that "the Wei sent an embassy [to the Kao-chü-li court] to reassure friendly relations between the dynasties"

1) The subject will be discussed at length in the author's "*Study of the Kao-chü-li*."

2) *San-kuo-shih-chi*, chap. 20.

魏遣使和親;¹⁾ or, as relating to the 11th year of the same reign, that “[the Kao-chü-li] sent an embassy to the Wei court to express their congratulation on the opening of a new era, the current year being the 1st of *Ching-ch’u* ;” 遣使如魏, 賀改年號, 是景初元年也²⁾; we cannot but regard these as episodes fabricated by a Kao-chü-li author of a later period, so long as no corresponding facts are discoverable in the dynastic history of the Wei. And to the same category must be relegated this plausible passage in the *Li-chi*, dated the 21st year of the same king, viz. the 8th year of *Chêng-shih* (A.D. 247): “The king, finding Wan-tu City, after the ravages of war, no longer fit to be his capital, built Ping-jang City and transferred thither his people and sacred shrines.” 王以丸都城經亂, 不可復都, 築平壤城, 移民及廟社.³⁾

1) *Ibid.* chap. 17.

2) *Ibid.*

3) *Ibid.*



A fragment of the memorial tablet of Kuan-ch'iu Chien.

(Reproduced from the *Chôsen Koseki Dzufu*).



