

A SURVEY OF JAPANESE CONTRIBUTIONS TO MANCHURIAN STUDIES

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PREFACE

In his useful article "Introduction aux études mandjouses" (*T'oung Pao* XLII 1-2 (1953), pp. 70-100), D. Sinor wrote (p. 74):

"Les japonais portent un intérêt considérable à la langue mandjouse et nous leur sommes redevables de travaux importants. Il m'a semblé cependant pouvoir me limiter aux plus indispensables. Le présent travail ne veut servir que d'*introduction* à l'étude du mandjou et, pour un Européen, la route ne commence certes pas par ces publications d'un accès si difficile."

Japanese scholarly work on Manchurian subjects is, however, so extensive and fundamental that it cannot be safely left out of consideration; furthermore, the main Japanese publications are now accessible¹ in European and American libraries; and a knowledge of Japanese is by no means a rarity among those concerned with Manchurian subjects. For these reasons it occurred to me when I read the above article that it might be useful to prepare a survey of Japanese contributions to Manchurian studies, which would serve as a supplement to Mr. Sinor's bibliography of European works on Manchu language and literature and would also provide information about some other important branches of Manchurian studies, especially Manchurian history, to which Japanese scholars have made outstanding contributions. I therefore started collecting material, and was preparing to write a short outline of such Japanese work on Manchuria as was known to me when the arrival of Mr. Honda Minobu in Cambridge fortunately made possible a much more comprehensive compilation. We agreed, however, that before publishing this it would be preferable to present a general account of recent Japanese research on Far Eastern subjects, an account which appeared under the title "Post-War Japanese Research on the Far

¹ About two-thirds of the articles and books quoted in this article are in the University Library, Cambridge, and the references given here have been checked with the originals. For the remaining one-third, reliance has been placed mainly upon the works quoted in B. Bibliography, below.

East (excluding Japan)" in *Asia Major*, N.S., IV 1 (1954), pp. 103-48. That is now followed by the present survey of Japanese research on Manchuria, for which, as in the previous article, the main credit for the assembly and evaluation of the material belongs to Mr. Honda, my own part again being the English translation, the general presentation, and assistance in the checking and description of works.

To avoid the necessity of repeating here all the passages dealing with Manchuria in our previous article, it is assumed that the reader will use this article in close conjunction with the former, which is henceforward designated by abbreviation as JR. Attention is drawn, however, to the fact that references are given in footnotes to many of the works previously quoted: thus "See JR 125/1" will mean "See the work of which the title is translated in JR, p. 125, n.1". To save frequent repetitions of the names of periodicals and other works, abbreviations are used for these also: the key will be found in section H below, Works Quoted. Chinese characters for names and places are not again inserted if they have already been provided in JR.

A difficulty has been felt concerning the form in which Manchurian and other names should be presented, on account of the uncertainty surrounding their original pronunciation: the practice has therefore been usually followed by quoting them in the Chinese form.

It may be mentioned that there is very little overlapping between this article and:

Peter A. Berton, *Manchuria, an annotated bibliography*, Library of Congress, Reference Department, Washington, 1951,

because the latter, although making extensive use of works in Japanese, is almost entirely confined to Manchuria of the twentieth century and is compiled with a different purpose: its author wrote (p. vii):

"The subject scope of the bibliography has been made as broad as possible, while an emphasis has been maintained on the economic conditions and developments in Manchuria. This will explain the restricted coverage of cultural subjects and the exclusion of references to works on the Manchu language and literature."

There is very little other bibliographical material in Western languages on Japanese work on Manchurian subjects, except for a few references in:

W. Fuchs, *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur*, Tokyo, 1936.

E. O. Reischauer, "Japanese archaeological work on the Asiatic Continent in 1937 and 1938", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 4 (1939), pp. 87-98.

Richard K. Beardsley, with John B. Cornell and Edward Norbeck, *Bibliographic Materials in the Japanese Language on Far Eastern Archaeology and Ethnology*, Ann Arbor, 1950.

Mr. Honda wishes to express his thanks to Mr. Shimada Jōhei for reading his original Japanese draft and making many useful suggestions, and to Professor Kanda Nobuo and Mr. Matsumura Jun for supplying details about books and articles not available in Cambridge.

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A. INTRODUCTION

This survey seeks to describe the most important Japanese contributions to the main Manchurian cultural subjects. These contributions cover not only research, based upon the study of texts, on Manchurian history and linguistics, but also field work in such branches as Manchurian archaeology, architecture, customs and Shamanism. Some references to Manchurian art are to be found in works dealing primarily with Manchurian history and archaeology. Works on Manchurian economics, however, and Japanese accounts of travel in Manchuria are not included.

Japan has come into contact with Manchuria since ancient times as a result of her geographical position, as is shown, for instance, by the tribute sent to her between 727 and 930 A.D. by Po-hai. But it was only in the Tokugawa period (1603-1868) that the attention of scholars was turned to Manchuria, special interest being displayed in it as the area in which the Ch'ing dynasty had arisen. The book *Dattan hyōryūki*¹ 韃靼漂流記, which is an account of the experiences of some Japanese fishermen who after being shipwrecked near Hun-ch'un 璦琿春 were taken to Mukden and Peking (1644-6), was read in Japan with great attention, especially as their travels happened to coincide with the entry by the Ch'ing army into Peking. After this, more and more *kangakusha* took account of Manchurian matters; thus Ogyū Hokkei 荻生北溪 (1673-1744), brother of Ogyū Sorai, was the first Japanese to write² about the history of the early Ch'ing period. Interest in Manchuria was soon reinforced by the interest in

¹ Printed in *Zoku teikoku bunko*, vol. 22, *Kōtei Hyōryūkidan zenshū*, Tokyo, 1900. See also Sonoda Kazuki, *Dattan hyōryūki no kenkyū*, Mukden, 1939, and Hashikawa Tokio 橋川時雄, *Ikoku monogatari*, Tokyo, 1935.

² His writings are listed in *WT*, p. 242.

Russia which had been aroused by Japan's first contacts with that country at the end of the eighteenth century: thus Mamiya Rinzo 間宮林蔵 (1780-1844) explored Sakhalin and the lower reaches of the Amur river, giving his results in *Tōdatsu kikō*¹ 東遼紀行 (1807). The first Japanese to study the Manchu language was Takahashi Kageyasu² 高橋景保 (1785-1829) who learnt it self-taught in order to be able to read, on behalf of the Japanese Government, certain diplomatic letters from Russia in Manchu. He later wrote a number of books about the Manchu language. A number of dictionaries of Manchu were compiled at about the same time by the interpreters at Nagasaki.³

Much use was made in Japan of *Shin sanchō jitsuroku saiyō* 清三朝實錄探要, 16 volumes, published in 1807, a good set of extracts by Murayama I 村山緯 and Nagane Gen⁴ 永根鉞 from the *Ch'ing sanch'ao shih-lu*, the official records of the first three Ch'ing emperors, T'ai-tsu (Nurhaci), T'ai-tsung and Shih-tsu, a copy of which had reached Japan.⁵

In the Meiji period (1868-1912), Japanese research did not, for the most part, extend beyond Korea, but after the Sino-Japanese (1894-5) and Russo-Japanese wars (1904-5) interest in Manchuria revived and expanded. Naitō Torajirō (1866-1934) several times went to the Court Libraries at Mukden after the Russo-Japanese war and studied rare books and manuscripts there,⁶ taking photographs of some⁷ of the most valuable of them, as for example, the *Man-wên lao-tang*,⁸ *Wu-t'i ch'ing-wên*

¹ Printed in *Hokuto* 北斗 sōsho, vol. 1, Tokyo, 1911, and separately edited by Shimada Yoshimi 島田好, 1938. See also Shiratori Kurakichi, "Tōdatsu kikō no Santan 山丹 ni tsuite", in *JR*.

² A list of his works is given by Fuchs, *Beiträge*, pp. 4-5. See Shimmura Izuru 新村出, *Tōhō gengoshi sōkō* 通考, Tokyo, 1927, especially the sections "Takahashi Kageyasu no manshū gogaku", "Manshū gogaku shiryō hoi" and "Hompo manshū gogaku shiryō dampen".

³ See the section "Nagasaki tōtsūji no manshū gogaku", in Shimmura, *op. cit.*, and Haneda Tōru, "Shimbunkan 清文鑑 wage, Mango sampen 纂編 kaisetsu", *TK* I 6.

⁴ See the entry *Shin sanchō jitsuroku saiyō* in *Tōyō rekishi daijiten*, vol. 4, p. 527. The work also appeared later under the title *Shinkan ichiroku* 清鑑易知錄.

⁵ Japanese studies on Manchuria in the Tokugawa period are described by Naitō Torajirō, "Mukashi no manshū kenkyū", in *TBK*.

⁶ Naitō Torajirō, "Shōshitsu seru mōmambun zōkyō", in *TSR*, is a description of a copy of a Tripitaka in Mongol and Manchu brought to Tokyo from Mukden but lost by fire in the Tokyo earthquake of September 1923.

⁷ See Naitō Torajirō, "Hōten kyūden nite mitaru tosho", *Waseda bungaku* 6 (June 1906), pp. 61-73, and "Shinchō kaikokuki no shiryō" in *TSR*. The former contains details of some texts of which he had obtained photographs up to 1906.

⁸ See *JR* 130. A set of photographs of this text, made from the negatives taken by Naitō Torajirō at the Mukden Court Palace (Ch'ung-mo-ko 崇謨閣) in 1912 (see *Shinagaku* VII 3, pp. 526-7, Kyoto, 1934), is now in the University Library, Cambridge, having been purchased by the Faculty of Oriental Languages in the University of Cambridge through the good offices of Professor Tamura Jitsuzō and Mr. Honda Minobu. E.B.C.

*chien*¹ 五體清文鑑, the *Mêng-ku yüan-liu*² in Mongol and Manchu and the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih* (see *JR* 134/2). He also brought about the publication of important Chinese texts dealing with Manchuria and Mongolia in the series *Mammō sōsho*, Tokyo, 1919-22, which, however, was not completed, as only volumes 1-5, 9 and 17 were issued.³

Shiratori Kurakichi (1865-1942) established an Historical research section (*Rekishi chōsashitsu*) in the South Manchuria Railway Company (Minami manshū tetsudō kabushiki kaisha). *Manshū rekishi chiri*, 2 volumes with maps, Tokyo, 1913, which was an outcome of this section's activities, was compiled by Shiratori, Yanai Watari 箭内互 (1875-1926), Matsui Hitoshi 松井等 (1877-1937), and Inaba Iwakichi 稲葉岩吉 (1876-1940), and formed the basis of subsequent studies on Manchurian history. It was also issued at the same time in a two-volume German translation, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie der Mandschurei*. The work of this section was later taken over by Tokyo Imperial University, whose periodical publication *Mansen chiri rekishi kenkyū hōkoku*, 16 volumes, Tokyo, 1915-41, contained contributions mainly on the history and geography of eastern Mongolia, Manchuria and Korea, by Tsuda Sōkichi, Ikeuchi Hiroshi (1878-1952) and Wada Sei as well as by Yanai and Matsui.

In 1926 the Tōa kōkogakkai was founded by archaeologists of Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities, and excavations were undertaken in southern Manchuria by Mizuno Seiichi, Shimada Sadahiko 島田貞彦, Komai Kazuchika, and others, under the leadership of Hamada Kōsaku (1881-1938) and Harada Yoshito, the results being published in the series *Tōhō kōkogaku sōkan* (*Archaeologia Orientalis*).

The field studies on Manchurian economics and ancient customs carried out by the Research department (*chōsabu*) of the South Manchuria Railway Company must not be overlooked. In addition, Japanese scholars resident in Manchuria formed societies such as the *Manshū gakkai* (1931) and undertook not only textual research, but also the field investigation of archaeological sites and ancient remains and the collection of historical materials.⁴

In this way by about the year 1935 Manchurian studies had reached a high level of activity, many research missions being sent out and many

¹ A facsimile reproduction in phototype taken from the negatives made by Naitō at the same time as he photographed the *Man-wên lao-tang* was published in 36 volumes in 1943 in limited edition as volume C9 of the series *Tōyō bunko sōkan*.

² See *JR* 133. A handwritten copy of the Manchu text photographed by Naitō in 1906 in Mukden Palace was reproduced by photolithography by Gō Minoru in *Mōko genryū*, Kyoto, 1940. See also Oshibuchi Hajime in *SR* XIX 4, pp. 738-55 and Yamamoto Mamoru in *SR* XX 2, pp. 405-10.

³ Another series, the *Liao-hai* 遼海 ts'ung-shu, 100 volumes, Dairen, 1934-6, contains important Chinese texts on Manchuria.

⁴ As for example, Sonoda Kazuki, *Manshū kinsei shikō* 志稿, 3 volumes, Dairen, 1936-9.

scholars making visits. A typical sign of this high level was the fact that some pupils of Haneda Tōru, Ikeuchi Hiroshi and Wada Sei and some scholars living in Manchuria and Korea became recognized as specialists in various individual branches of Manchurian history.

Post-war Japanese research on Manchurian subjects is described in JR 118, 127-31, 139-40.

In conclusion it may be noted that Kao-kou-li is mentioned only briefly as being more appropriate to a treatment of Japanese research on Korea: on the other hand the Khitan tribes are included under Manchuria.

B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

There is unfortunately no complete and up-to-date Japanese bibliography of work on Manchurian studies by Japanese scholars, but in default of this reference may be made to the following:

- (a) "Manshūshi sankō bunken mokuroku",¹ RK 26, Tokyo, 1935.
- (b) *Manshū kankei shiryō shūsei*.² Ed. by Manshū jijō annaijo, Hsinking, 1939.
- (c) *Dairen toshokan wakan tosho bunrui mokuroku*; vol. 8, Manshū, mōko³; Dairen, 1934.
- (d) "Waga kuni ni okeru mammōshi kenkyū no hattatsu",⁴ in WT.
- (e) Yamamoto Kengo, "Manshū gogaku shōshomoku",⁵ *Atomi gakuen* 跡見學園 *kiyō* 1, Tokyo, 1954. This article also lists a number of uncatalogued Manchu texts in the Tōyō bunko, Tokyo.
- (f) Tokoro Kurazō 所倉藏, *Hompō shuppan mammō kankei shomoku*,⁶ Tokyo, 1937.

Apart from the general bibliographical works listed in JR 105-7, the undermentioned also contain material on Manchuria:

- (g) *Shokō* 書香, a periodical published by Dairen toshokan.

¹ "A list of references on Manchurian history". As in JR, translations within quotation marks are those given in the original publications: those within brackets are supplied here to assist the reader.

² (Collected materials concerning Manchuria.)

³ (Classified catalogue of Chinese and Japanese books in Dairen library; Manchuria and Mongolia.)

⁴ (The development of the study of Manchurian and Mongolian history in Japan.)

⁵ (A short bibliography on the Manchu language.)

⁶ (A list of books published in Japan from 1931 to 1935 concerning Manchuria and Mongolia.) Reference may also be made to Watanabe Kuntarō, "Zōtei Manshūgo tosho mokuroku", *Ajia kenkyū* 3, Osaka, 1932 (an annotated catalogue of 128 Manchu books) and to *Mambun shoseki shū* (*Zempon shashin shū*, volume 6), Tenri, 1955 (a brief catalogue of some of the 300 and more Manchu books and manuscripts in the fine collection in Tenri University Library).

- (h) *Hōbun* 邦文 *rekishigaku kankei shozasshi, tōyōshi rombun yōmoku* (*kaitei zōho*)¹. Ed. by Ōtsuka shigakkai, Tokyo, 1936.
- (i) "Saikin shigaku kankei bunken mokuroku",² SC V 2 and in each successive number. This is a continuation of (h).
- (j) "Rekishigaku nempō",³ RK 25, 76, 88, 99, 111.
- (k) K.B.S. *Bibliographical register of important works written in Japanese on Japan and the Far East*. Ed. by Kokusai bunka shin-kōkai, Tokyo. Section on "Mongolia, Manchuria and Siberia" in the annual volumes for the years 1932 to 1937, published from 1937-43 respectively.
- (l) Aoki Tomitarō 青木富太郎, *Tōyōgaku no seiritsu to sono hatten*,⁴ Tokyo, 1940.
- (m) *Kōkogaku nempō*,⁵ Nos. 1-5 (Tokyo, 1932-6).
- (n) *Tōyō bijutsu bunken mokuroku, teiki kankōbutsu shosai kobijutsu bunken*.⁶ Ed. by Bijutsu kenkyūjo, Tokyo, 1941.
- (o) *Tōyō kobijutsu bunken mokuroku, teiki kankōbutsu shosai kobijutsu bunken, zokuhen, Shōwa jūichinen yori shōwa nijūnen ni itaru*.⁷ Ed. by Bijutsu kenkyūjo, Tokyo, 1948.
- (p) *Tōyō kobijutsu bunken mokuroku, Shōwa 21-5 nen*.⁸ Publ. by Tōkyō kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, Tokyo, 1954.
- (q) *Daitōa kenchiku rombun sakuin*.⁹ Ed. by Kyōto teikoku daigaku kōgakubu kenchikugaku kyōshitsu, Kyoto, 1944.

C. GENERAL WORKS

General treatments of Manchurian history are to be found in:

Inaba Iwakichi, *Manshū hattatsushi (zōtei)*,¹⁰ Tokyo, 1937.

Inaba Iwakichi, *Manshū kokushi tsūron*,¹¹ Tokyo, 1940.

Oikawa Giemon 及川儀右衛門, *Manshū tsūshi*,¹² Tokyo, 1935.

¹ (A summary list of articles on Far Eastern history in Japanese historical periodicals, revised and enlarged.)

² "Bibliography of recent publications on history."

³ (Annual report on historical studies)

⁴ (The origins and development of Far Eastern studies.)

⁵ (Annual report on archaeology.)

⁶ (Catalogue of works on Far Eastern art [from the Meiji period up to 1935], articles and items on ancient art appearing in periodicals and series.)

⁷ (Catalogue of works on ancient Far Eastern art, articles and items on ancient art appearing in periodicals and series; continuation from 1936-45.)

⁸ (Catalogue of works on ancient Far Eastern art, from 1946-50.)

⁹ (Index of articles on Far Eastern architecture.)

¹⁰ (History of Manchuria, revised edition.)

¹¹ (General history of Manchuria.)

Oshibuchi Hajime, *Hōten to Ryōyō*,¹ Tokyo, 1940.

Ogawa Hiroto, "Manshū minzoku no iwayuru 'kangensei 還元性' to sono hatten ni tsuite",² *MR* 2.

Mikami Tsugio, "Manshū minzoku no teitaisei",³ *TR* 3.

Yano Jinichi 矢野仁一, *Manshū kindaiishi*,⁴ Tokyo, 1941.

Naitō Torajirō, *Manshū shashinchō (zōho)*,⁵ Kyoto, 1935.

Aritaka Iwao, *Mammōshi kōwa*,⁶ Dairen, 1932.

Harada Yoshito, "Mammō no bunka",⁷ in *TS* 11.

Mammō zensho, 7 volumes, Dairen, 1922-3.

Sections on Manchurian history are contained in:

Sekai rekishi taikei, vols. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11; Tokyo, 1934-5.

Tōyō bunkashi taikei, vols. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; Tokyo, 1938-9.

Shina chiri rekishi taikei, vols. 2, 5, 6; Tokyo, 1940-3.

Sekai rekishi, vols. 2, 5; Tokyo, 1941.

For Manchurian geography, topography, place-name dictionaries, see:

Nihon chiri taikei, manshū nanyō hen,⁸ Tokyo, 1930.

Sekai chiri fūzoku taikei, manshū teikoku hen,⁹ Tokyo, 1937.

*Manshū shi*¹⁰ 誌. Ed. by Kantō totokufu, 16 volumes, 1911.

Tanaka Shūsaku 田中秀作, *Manshū chishi kenkyū*,¹¹ Tokyo, 1930.

Yamazaki Sōyo 山崎惣興, *Manshūkoku chimei daijiten*,¹² Tokyo, 1937.

Okano Ichirō 岡野一朗, *Manshū chimei jiten*,¹² Tokyo, 1933.

In addition it may be mentioned that a series of maps of the whole of Manchuria on scales 1 : 50,000, 1 : 100,000 and 1 : 500,000 was published by the Land Survey section of the Japanese army general staff.

A set of maps under the title 盛京吉林黑龍江等處標注戰蹟輿圖 published in about 1778, giving both Chinese and Manchu names of places, was reproduced in 1935 by the Manshū bunka kyōkai with explanatory notes¹³ by Wada Sei (which are reprinted in *WT*).

¹ (Mukden and Liao-yang.)

² "Sur le prétendu 'réductibilité' ou retour perpétuel à la barbarie des peuples mandchous et leurs progrès réels au cours de l'histoire."

³ (The stagnation of the Manchurian people.)

⁴ (The history of Manchuria in recent centuries.)

⁵ (Photographic album of historical sites in Manchuria, enlarged edition.) This work contains 180 plates and is of much importance.

⁶ (Lectures on Manchurian and Mongolian history.)

⁷ (Manchurian and Mongolian culture.)

⁸ (Japan geographical series; volume on Manchuria and the Southern Seas.)

⁹ (World geography and customs series, volume on Manchuria.)

¹⁰ (Manchurian gazetteer.)

¹¹ (Study of Manchurian topography.)

¹² (Dictionary of Manchurian place names.)

¹³ See also W. Fuchs, "Ueber einige Landkarten mit Mandjurischer Beschriftung",

D. MANCHURIAN HISTORY

(i) *The Chinese control of Liao-tung, and the ancient states of Manchuria (Fu-yü, Kao-kou-li, Po-hai)*

After the area of the lower Liao river had been entered by the Chinese at the end of the Warring States and had been divided into administrative districts (郡) by Chao-wang (295-275 B.C.) of Yen 燕, it soon became a Chinese settlement. The following articles deal mainly with the Chinese provinces in Manchuria from the Han period up to the Southern and Northern Dynasties.

Inaba Iwakichi, "Kandai no manshū",¹ in *MRC* 1.

Tsuda Sōkichi, "Ryōtō zokkoku no seishitsu ni tsukite",² *SZ* XXV 10.

Yanai Watari, "Sangoku jidai no manshū",³ in *MRC* 1.

Yanai Watari, "Shindai no manshū",⁴ in *MRC* 1.

Yanai Watari, "Nambokuchō jidai no manshū",⁵ in *MRC* 1.

The first non-Chinese state to be formed in Manchuria was set up, under the influence of Chinese civilization, in about the first century B.C., in northern Manchuria. This was the Fu-yü state, located near the present Chang-ch'un (= Hsinking):

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Fuyo kō",⁶ in *MSK* 1 (= *MTB* 6).

Shiratori Kurakichi, "Fuyokoku no shiso Tōmei ō no densetsu ni tsuite",⁷ in *HKR* (= *MTB* 10).

Kao-kou-li, which arose subsequently in the area of the middle reaches of the Yalu river, developed remarkably and in the fourth century A.D. became an important power controlling eastern Manchuria and northern Korea. Its history has not yet been fully clarified because of the lack of documentary records, but its fortresses are of a size that is almost without parallel elsewhere. Kao-kou-li was destroyed in 668 by the T'ang army, but T'ang China could not hold Manchuria, and some surviving leaders of Kao-kou-li formed a state in eastern Manchuria. This state was Po-hai, known in Chinese sources as Hai-tung shêng-kuo 海東盛國, with its capital at Shang-ching lung-ch'üan-fu 上京龍泉府, the present Tung-ching-ch'êng 東京城 near Ninguta, in the upper reaches of the Hurka or Mu-tan 牡丹 river. As already mentioned, Po-hai even had contacts with Japan:

Naitō Torajirō, "Nihon manshū kōtsū ryakusetsu",⁸ in *TBK*.

¹ (Manchuria in the Han period.)

² (On the nature of the Chinese settlements in Liao-tung.)

³ (Manchuria in the Three Kingdoms period.)

⁴ (Manchuria in the Chin dynasty.)

⁵ (Manchuria in the Southern and Northern dynasties period.)

⁶ "A study on the Fu-yü". See also *JR* 129/8.

⁷ "The legend of king Tung-ming, the founder of Fu-yü state."

⁸ (Short history of contacts between Japan and Manchuria.)

Numata Yorisuke 沼田頼輔, *Nichiman no kodai kokkō*¹, Tokyo, 1933.
Nakamura Motojirō 中村元次郎, "Nihon chōtei to bokkaikoku to no kōshō"², RC XX 3.

Japanese scholars have paid much attention to the study of Po-hai, and especially its local administrative divisions modelled on the T'ang system:

Matsui Namihachi 松井浪八, "Bokkai gokyō kō",³ *Shigakkai* I 7, Tokyo, 1899.

Matsui Hitoshi, "Bokkaikoku no kyōiki",⁴ in *MRC* 1.

Toriyama Kiichi, "Hokuman no nidai kotoshi",⁵ *Keijō teikoku daigaku mammo bunka kenkyūkai hōkoku* 2, Tokyo, 1935.

Toriyama Kiichi, "Bokkai Jōkyō ryūsenfu ni tsuite",⁶ in *Mansen bunka shikan*, Tokyo, 1935.

Toriyama Kiichi, "Bokkai Chūkyō 中京 kō",⁷ KZ XXXIV 1.

Toriyama Kiichi, "Bokkai Tōkyō kō",⁸ *Keijō teikoku daigaku bungakkai ronsan* 7, Tokyo, 1938.

Shimada Yoshimi, "Bokkai Chūkyō Kentokufu 顯德府 sunawachi Ryōyō setsu",⁹ *MG* 2.

Shimada Yoshimi, "Tōmatsu no Ryōtō",¹⁰ *MG* 3.

Harada Yoshito, "Tōkyōjō meigi kō",¹¹ in *IR*.

Hino Kaisaburō, "Bokkai no Fuyo fu to Kittan no Ryūshū ōryūfu 龍州黃龍府",¹² *SE* 49, 51, 52.

Recently Wada Sei has published a very important article "Bokkaikoku chiri kō",¹³ in *TG* XXXV 14, a minute examination of the identification of the 五京十五府六十二州¹⁴ which are to be found in the section on Po-hai in the *Hsin T'ang shu*. By these identifications he sought to define the frontiers of Po-hai, and, further, by a study of the earlier names of places which were renamed under Po-hai, he sought to correlate the fragmentary references to the peoples of this part of north-eastern Asia which occur in Chinese sources.

¹ (Ancient contacts between Japan and Manchuria.)

² (Contacts between the Japanese court and the Po-hai state.)

³ (A study of the five capitals of Po-hai.)

⁴ (The territory of the Po-hai state.)

⁵ (Two ancient great capitals in northern Manchuria, Tung-ching-ch'êng and Pai-ch'êng.)

⁶ (On Shang-ching lung-ch'üan-fu in Po-hai.)

⁷ (A study of Chung-ching in Po-hai.)

⁸ (A study of Tung-ching in Po-hai.)

⁹ (A theory that Chung-ching hsien-tê-fu was the same as Liao-yang.)

¹⁰ "The Liao-tung district at the end of the T'ang dynasty."

¹¹ (On the meaning of the place-name Tung-ching-ch'êng.)

¹² (The identification of Fu-yü district of the Po-hai state with Lung-chou huang-fu in the Liao period.)

¹³ "The historical geography of the Po-hai kingdom."

¹⁴ Five capitals, fifteen superior prefectures and sixty-two prefectures.

Other work on Po-hai includes:

Toriyama Kiichi, *Bokkai shikō* 史考,¹ Tokyo, 1915.

Toriyama Kiichi, "Bokkaikoku kansei hosetsu² 補説", in *HKR*.

Tsuda Sōkichi, "Bokkai kō",³ *MCR* 1.

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Bokkai no kenkokusha ni tsuite",⁴ in *MSK* 2.

Harada Yoshito, "Bokkai no butsu-zō",⁵ in *Tōa kobunka kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1940.

Toyama Gunji, "Bokkaishi kenkyū no kaiko",⁶ *TK* I 5.

(ii) *The Su-shên, I-lou, Wu-chi and Mo-ho tribes*

The peoples of Fu-yü, Kao-kou-li and Po-hai lived in the area extending from the upper reaches of the Sungari river to the north-east of Korea, but there was, still further to the north-east, a tribe known in the Chinese classical texts as the Su-shên 肅慎. As a result of the attack on Kao-kou-li by the Wei army in 244-5 A.D. and its devastation of the farthest parts of Manchuria and Korea, a knowledge of this part of north-eastern Asia was gained by the Chinese for the first time, and a section devoted to the Tung-i 東夷, which is not to be found in the earlier Chinese histories, was included in the *Wei chih*: see:

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Sōgi 曹魏 no tōhō keiryaku",⁷ in *MSK* 1 (=MTB 4).

The *Wei chih* states that there was a tribe called the I-lou 挹婁 living around the middle and lower reaches of the Sungari river: this tribe is discussed by:

Mikami Tsugio, "Kodai hokutō ajia no shominzoku, tokuni Yūrō ni tsuite",⁸ *Teikoku gakushūin tōa shominzoku chōsashitsu hōkokukai kiroku* 6, Tokyo, 1943.

For the Su-shên tribe see:

Shiratori Kurakichi, "Shukushin kō",⁹ *RC* XVII 1.

Tsuda Sōkichi, "Shukushin kō", in *Nihon jōdaishi kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1930.

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Shukushin kō", in *MSK* 1 (=MTB 5).

Ikeuchi argues that the section on the Su-shên in the *Chin shu* does not in reality refer to the Su-shên but to the I-lou tribe.

¹ (A study of the history of Po-hai.) See also JR 130/1, 2.

² (Further views on the administration of the Po-hai state.)

³ (A study of Po-hai.)

⁴ "Who was the founder of Po-hai?" For *MSK* see JR 128/2, 3.

⁵ (Buddhist statues in Po-hai.)

⁶ (A survey of research upon the history of Po-hai.)

⁷ "The Chinese expeditions to Manchuria under the Wei dynasty." See also JR 129/6.

⁸ (On ancient tribes of the Amur river area, especially the I-lou.) See also JR 127/15 and 128/1.

⁹ (A study of the Su-shên.)

After the period of the I-lou, what was probably the same tribe was known in the fifth and sixth centuries as the Wu-chi 勿吉, and in the Sui and T'ang periods as the Mo-ho 靺鞨:

Tsuda Sōkichi, "Mokkitsu kō",¹ MCR 1.

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Mokkitsu kō", in MSK 1.

Ogawa Hiroto, "Gisho ni okeru Kittan Mokkitsu kan no shobuzoku ni tsuite",² SR XXIII 1.

Ogawa Hiroto, "Makkatsu shi kenkyū ni kansuru shomondai",³ TK II 5.

Ogawa Hiroto, "Iwayuru Bokkai Makkatsu ni tsuite",⁴ SR XXIV 1.

The T'ieh-li 鐵利, a branch of the Mo-ho, thought to have lived in the area of the Hurka or Mu-tan river, are described in:

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Tetsuri kō",⁵ in MSK 2.

Ogawa Hiroto, "Tetsuri no jūchi ni tsuite",⁶ SR XXII 2.

The native tribes in the lower reaches of the Amur river and in Sakhalin are the subject of:

Shiratori Kurakichi, "Kokuryūkō no imei ni tsuite",⁷ RC VII 1.

Shiratori Kurakichi, "Tō jidai no Karafuto tō ni tsuite",⁸ RC IX 5, 6, X 2, 4, 6.

Wada Sei, "Shina no kisai ni arawaretaru Kokuryūkō karyūiki no genjūmin",⁹ in WT (=MTB 10).

Wada Sei, "Tōdai no tōhoku ajia shokoku",¹⁰ TH 8.

The last-mentioned article disagrees with Mikami Tsugio's view that the I-lou, Wu-chi and Hei-shui 黑水 Mo-ho were not Manchurian in race.

(iii) The Liao state and Manchuria in the Liao (Khitan) period

The Khitan tribe, which from the fourth century A.D. onwards had led a nomadic existence around the Shira Muren river, gradually grew in power. At the beginning of the tenth century one of their chiefs, Yeh-lü A-pao-chi 耶律阿保機, formed them into an independent state, the state of Liao (916-1125):

Matsui Hitoshi, "Kittan bokkōshi",¹¹ MCR 1.

¹ (A study of the Wu-chi.) See also JR 129/9.

² "Concerning certain tribes which settled between the Khitan and the Wu-chi in the early years of the Wei dynasty."

³ (Problems in the study of the history of the Mo-ho.)

⁴ "On the so-called Po-hai Mo-ho." See also JR 129/7.

⁵ (A study of the T'ieh-li.)

⁶ "On the settlements of the T'ieh-li tribe."

⁷ (On the different names for the Amur river.)

⁸ (On Sakhalin in the T'ang dynasty.)

⁹ "The natives of the lower reaches of the Amur river as represented in Chinese records."

¹⁰ "On the north-east Asian tribes during the T'ang period."

¹¹ (A history of the rise of the Khitans.)

Ogawa Hiroto, "Yōren 遼 遼 shi densetsu seiritsu ni kansuru shiteiki kōsatsu",¹ MR 3.

Tamura Jitsuzō, "Tōdai ni okeru Kittanzoku no kenkyū",² MR 1.

Matsui Hitoshi, "Godai no yo ni okeru Kittan",³ MCR 3.

Ogawa Hiroto, "Ryōshitsu kunshu ken 權 no seiritsu ni kansuru ichikōsatsu",⁴ TK III 5, 6, IV 1, 2.

Ogawa Hiroto, "Ryō no kenkoku ni tsuite",⁵ TK II 3.

Hashimoto Masukichi, "Ryō no kenkokunen ni tsuite",⁶ SC VI 1.

Hashimoto Masukichi, "Kyū godaishi Kittan den ni tsuite",⁷ TK II 1.

The Liao state employed for its agriculture captives from China and Po-hai:

Tamura Jitsuzō, "Ryōdai ni okeru shimin 徙民 seisaku to toshi shūkensei no seiritsu",⁸ MR 3.

Shimada Masao, "Ryō no shimin seisaku ni tsuite no ichi shiken",⁹ SZ LIII 2.

The whole subject population of Chinese and Po-hai was controlled by an administration separate from that which governed the ruling Khitan nomads, with the result that the central and local administrative systems each operated in two separate parts:

Tsuda Sōkichi, "Ryō no seido no nijū taikai",¹⁰ MCR 5.

Wakagi Kyūjirō 若城久治郎, "Ryō no sūmitsuin ni tsuite",¹¹ MR 2.

Wakagi Kyūjirō, "Ryōdai ni okeru kanjin to keihō ni kansuru ichikōsatsu",¹² MR 1.

For Liao tribal organization and the army system, see:

Hashiguchi Kaneo 橋口兼夫, "Ryōdai no kokushūchō 國舅帳 ni tsuite",¹³ SZ L 2, 3.

Shimada Masao, "Ryō no kōzokuchō ni tsuite",¹⁴ RK 91.

Matsui Hitoshi, "Kittan no kokugun hensei oyobi senjutsu",¹⁵ MCR 4.

¹ "Études historiques sur l'élaboration des légendes de la famille Yao-nien."

² (A study of the Khitan tribe in the T'ang period.)

³ (The Khitans in the Five Dynasties period.)

⁴ "L'établissement de la souveraineté des empereurs de Leao."

⁵ "Mémoire relatif à l'établissement de la dynastie Leao."

⁶ "On the date of the foundation of the Liao dynasty."

⁷ "À propos du chapitre sur le peuple de Kitan dans le *Kiu-wou-tai-che* (l'ancienne histoire des Cinq dynasties)."

⁸ "La politique de peuplement et la formation du système de villes centrales et régionales aux temps des Leao." See also JR 118/5.

⁹ (An opinion on the Liao policy regarding settlements.)

¹⁰ (The double system of Liao administration.)

¹¹ "À propos du Shu-mi-yuan des Leao."

¹² (A study of the Chinese in the Liao period and of the criminal law applied to them.)

¹³ (On the Liao empresses' clan.)

¹⁴ (On the Liao emperors' clan.)

¹⁵ (Khitan army organization and tactics.) See also JR 118/4.

An attempt is made at reconstructing the Liao legal system by:

Takikawa Masajirō 瀧川政次郎, Shimada Masao, *Ryōritsu no kenkyū*,¹ Tokyo, 1944.

Shimada Masao, *Ryōsei no kenkyū*,² Ueda and Tokyo, 1954.

Much has been written about Liao Buddhist culture:

Sekino Tadashi 關野貞, Takeshima Takuichi 竹島卓一, *Ryōkin jidai no kenchiku to sono butsuzō*,³ 3 volumes, Tokyo, 1934-44.

Kamio Kazuharu 神尾弋春, *Kittan bukkyō bunka shikō*,⁴ 1937.

Nogami Shunjō, *Ryōkin no bukkyō*,⁵ Kyoto, 1953.

Tsumaki Tadayoshi 妻木直良, "Kittan ni okeru daizōkyō chōzō 彫造 no jijitsu wo ronzu",⁶ *TG* II 3.

Tamura Jitsuzō, "Kittan bukkyō no shakai shiteki kōsatsu",⁷ *Ōtani gakuho* XVIII 1, Kyoto, 1937.

The everyday life of the Khitans is discussed by:

Matsui Hitoshi, "Kittanjin no ishokujū",⁸ *MCR* 9.

Matsui Hitoshi, "Kittanjin no shinkō",⁹ *MCR* 8.

Tamura Jitsuzō, "Ryōryō hekiga wo tsūjite mitaru Kittanjin seikatsu no ichimen",¹⁰ *SR* XXVII 1.

Tamura Jitsuzō, "Kittanzoku no fukushoku ni tsuite",¹¹ *KZ* XXXIII 12, XXXIV 7.

A comparative table of dates between the *Liao shih* and the *Ch'i-tan kuo-chih* is provided by:

Matsui Hitoshi, "Ryōdai kinen kō",¹² *MCR* 3,

and a most useful index of the proper names and main items in the *Liao shih* is:

Wakagi Kyūjirō, *Ryōshi sakuin*,¹³ Kyoto, 1937.

As a result of the conquest of Po-hai by Yeh-lü A-pao-chi in 926, and of the removal of almost all its prominent people to Khitan territory, eastern Manchuria was left in the hands of the Jurčens tribes. Representative among these tribes were the Ting-an state located in the upper reaches of

¹ (A study of Liao law.)

² "A study on the Constitution of Liao." See also JR 118/3.

³ (Architecture and Buddhist statues in the Liao and Chin periods.)

⁴ (A history of Khitan Buddhist culture.)

⁵ (Liao and Chin Buddhism.)

⁶ (An essay on the engraving of the blocks of the Chinese Tripitaka in the Khitan period.)

⁷ (A study of Khitan Buddhism from the view point of social history.)

⁸ (The clothes, food and dwellings of the Khitans.)

⁹ (The beliefs of the Khitans.)

¹⁰ "An aspect of the life of the Khitans on the frescoes of the Imperial Mausoleums of the Liao dynasty."

¹¹ "The personal ornaments of the Khitans."

¹² (A study of the dates in the Liao period.)

¹³ (Index to the *Liao shih*.)

the Yalu river and the San-shih-hsing 三十姓 Jurčens who lived in the area of Hamgyōngdo 咸鏡道:

Hino Kaisaburō, "Kō 後 Bokkai no kenkoku",¹ *Teikoku gakushūin kiji* II 3, Tokyo, 1943.

Wada Sei, "Teiankoku ni tsuite",² *TG* VI 1.

Mikami Tsugio, "Kōrai to Teiankoku",³ *TGT* XI 1.

Ogawa Hiroto, "Sanjūbu 部 Joshin ni tsuite",⁴ *TG* XXIV 4.

By the time of Shēng-tsung (983-1031) the suppression of the Jurčens tribes had been completed and the power of Liao extended over not only southern but also northern Manchuria:

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Ryō no Seisō no Jochoku seibatsu",⁵ in *MSK* 2.

Tsuda Sōkichi, "Ryō no Ryōtō keiryaku",⁶ *MCR* 3.

Hino Kaisaburō, "Kittan no Kaibatsubu 回跋部 Jochoku keiryaku ni tsuite",⁷ *SE* 46, 47, 48.

Hino Kaisaburō, "Ujakubu 兀惹部 no hatten",⁸ *SE* 29, 30-1, 32, 33.

The following additional articles on Manchuria in the Liao period may be mentioned:

Matsui Hitoshi, "Manshū ni okeru Ryō no kyōiki",⁹ in *MRC* 2.

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Ryōdai Kondōkō 混同江 kō",¹⁰ in *MSK* 2.

Sonoda Kazuki, "Ryōdai no manshū kōtsūro",¹¹ *TG* XXXV 2.

Sonoda Kazuki, "Tōtānkoku 東丹國 Jinnō 人皇 ō nampon no gyōseki¹² 行迹", *MM* XVI 9.

(iv) *Manchuria in the Chin and Yüan periods*

After the Liao had conquered the Jurčens they divided them into two, called the "Shou Nü-chih 熟女直" ("civilized" Jurčens) and "Shēng 生 Nü-chih" ("wild" Jurčens), the former name being applied to those whom they transported to the area south-west of the Sungari river and entered on the Liao census registers, the latter name being given to those remaining on the east side of that river whom they ruled by local administrative headquarters.

¹ (The formation of the "later" Po-hai state.) See also JR 120/10.

² "On Ting-an-kuo."

³ "Political relations between the Kao-li and the Ting-an kingdoms."

⁴ "A re-examination of the Thirty Tribes of the Jurčens in the Liao period."

⁵ (The suppression of the Jurčens by Shēng-tsung of Liao.)

⁶ (The conquest of Liao-tung by the Liao.)

⁷ "The domination of the Khitans over the Hui-pa tribes of the Jurčens."

⁸ (The expansion of the Wu-jé tribe.)

⁹ (The territory of Liao in Manchuria.)

¹⁰ "On the river known as Hun-t'ung-chiang in the Liao period."

¹¹ "On the routes in Manchuria under the Liao dynasty."

¹² (An account of the escape to the south by Jēn-huang wang of Tung-tan-kuo.) Tung-tan-kuo was the name of the state established by Liao in Po-hai after the Po-hai state had been conquered.

Among the "wild" Jurčens there arose a chieftain Akuta 阿骨打 in the Wan-yen 完顏 tribe near A-ch'êng 阿城 to the east of Harbin, who gained independence from Liao and proclaimed himself emperor. He was T'ai-tsu of the Chin dynasty (1115-1234). Ikeuchi Hiroshi in "*Kinshi seiki* 金史世紀 no kenkyū",¹ in *MSK* 2, studies how several generations of chieftains before Akuta had unified, under the control of the Wan-yen tribe, those Jurčen tribes which lived between Ninguta and the Tumen river, and Mikami Tsugio in "*Kinshitsu* 金室 Kanganshi no shiso setsuwa ni tsuite",² *SZ* LII 11, states that the legends appearing in the *Shih-chi* section of the *Chin shih* concerning the origins of the Chin royal family derived from the political necessity for that family to claim descent from Kao-kou-li. Other studies on the Jurčens before Akuta include:

Mikami Tsugio, "Keiryōseki 係遼籍 Jochoku no taiwan 太彎 ni tsuite",³ *TG* XXIV 1.

Ogawa Hiroto, "Sei Joshin bokkō katei ni kansuru ichikōsatsu",⁴ *MR* 1.

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Kanganshi no Katsuraidei 曷懶甸 keiryaku to Inkan 尹璦 no kyūjō 九城 no eki",⁵ in *MSK* 3.

Mikami Tsugio, "Ryōmatsu ni okeru kinshitsu Kanganke no tsūkon 通婚 keitai",⁶ *TG* XXVII 4.

Tasaka Kōdō, "Kanganshi no sanso densetsu ni tsuite",⁷ *RK* 54.

Toriyama Kiichi, "*Kinshi seiki* no iwayuru taishi 太師 to kokushō 國相 to",⁸ *SG* 6.

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Kin no kenkoku izen ni okeru Kanganshi no kunchō 君長 no shōgō ni tsuite",⁹ in *MSK* 2.

In 1114 Akuta reformed the tribal military system, and all the Jurčen tribesmen were enrolled in the organization called "mêng-an mou-k'o" 猛安謀克, for which see:

Yanai Watari, "Kin no heisei ni kansuru kenkyū",¹⁰ in *YMK*.

¹ (A study of the *Shih-chi* section of the *Chin shih*.)

² (On the legends about the ancestry of the Chin royal family, the Wan-yen family.)

³ "On the official title 'T'ai-wan' among the Jurčens in the age of Liao."

⁴ (A study of the rise of the "wild" Jurčens.)

⁵ (The capture of Ho-lan-tien by the Wan-yen family and the "nine-fortresses campaign" of Yun Kwan.)

⁶ "A study of the marriage system of the Wan-yen family, the royal family of Chin, at the end of the Liao dynasty."

⁷ "On the 'three ancestors' legend of the Wan-yen family."

⁸ (The so-called "T'ai-shih" and "Kuo-hsiang" titles in the *Shih-chi* section of the *Chin shih*.)

⁹ "On the royal titles of the Wan-yen family before the foundation of the Chin dynasty."

¹⁰ (Studies on the Chin military system.)

Toriyama Kiichi, "Mōan bōkoku to kin no kokusei",¹ *Keijō teikoku daigaku hōbun gakkai dainibu ronsan* 1, Tokyo, 1929.

Mikami Tsugio, "Kindai chūki ni okeru mōan bōkoku ko 戶",² *SZ* XLVII 9, 10.

Mikami Tsugio, *Kindai joshin no kenkyū*,³ Tokyo and Hsinking, 1937. The last mentioned is especially noteworthy for its assessment of Akuta's achievements and the "mêng-an mou-k'o" system.

In 1115 a governmental body of ministers, or cabinet, called Po-chi-lieh 勃極烈 was established, but in consequence of the gradual sinicization of Chin and of the adoption of T'ang administrative systems this was completely abolished in 1156, and was replaced by the Shang-shu-shêng 尚書省. Mikami Tsugio examines the Po-chi-lieh in:

"Kinsho no bokkyokuretsu ni tsuite",⁴ *SZ* XLVII 8.

"Kinchō bokkyokuretsu seido kō",⁵ *TGT* XIV 2, 3,

and deals with the division of the Chin territory into provinces known as "lu" 路 and with the establishment of frontier headquarters known as "chao-t'ao-szū 招討司" in:

"Kinchō shoki no rosei ni tsuite",⁶ *KG* 2.

"Kin no Hoyo 藩典 ro ni tsuite",⁷ *TGT* XIII 2.

"Kinsho no totōshi 都統司 oyobi gunsuishu 軍帥司",⁸ *MS* II 3.

"Kinsho no seshū banko 萬戶 ni tsuite",⁹ *TG* XXIV 4.

"Kinsho no bokin 李璣 ni tsuite",¹⁰ in *IMR*.

The Khitan units known as 紇里 軍 which were under the control of some of the "chao-t'ao-szū" have been investigated by:

Yanai Watari, "Ryōkin jidai ni iwayuru 紇里 軍 ni tsuite",¹¹ in *YMK*.

Haneda Tōru, "Ryōkin jidai no 紇里 軍 ni tsuite", *GM* VI 9.

Fujita Toyohachi 藤田 豊八, "Shaka to sai 塞 to shakatsu 緒緒 to 紇里 軍", in *Tōzai kōshōshi no kenkyū*, vol. 2, Tokyo, 1943.

Much attention has been paid to Manchurian place-names in this period. The *Ti-li-chih* 地理志 section of the *Chin shih* is examined by:

¹ (The "mêng-an mou-k'o" and the power of Chin.)

² (The household in the "mêng-an mou-k'o" in the middle of the Chin dynasty.)

³ (A study of the Jurčens in the Chin period.)

⁴ (On the Po-chi-lieh at the beginning of Chin.)

⁵ "Studies on the *Bogile*, the central administrative organ of the Chin dynasty."

⁶ "Über das Lu-System in Anfang von Tschin Dynastie."

⁷ "On the P'u-yü province under the Chin dynasty."

⁸ (The tu-t'ung-szū and chün-shuai-szū in the early Chin period.)

⁹ (On the hereditary post of "Wan-hu", local military governor, at the beginning of the Chin dynasty.)

¹⁰ (On the Po-chin at the beginning of Chin.)

¹¹ (On the so-called 紇里 軍 in the Liao and Chin periods.)

Matsui Hitoshi, "Manshū ni okeru Kin no kyōiki",¹ in *MRC* 2.

Tsuda Sōkichi, "Kindai hokuhō kō",² *MCR* 4.

An account of the *Hsüan-ho i-szū fêng-shih hsing-ch'êng chi* 宣和乙巳奉使行程記, by Hsü K'ang-tung 許亢宗, who was sent by the Sung court on an embassy to the Chin capital in 1125, is given by:

Matsui Hitoshi, "Kyo Kōsō no kōteiroku ni miyuru Ryōkin jidai no manshū kōtsūro",³ in *MRC* 2, and the diary of Wang-chi 王寂 of Chin, who in 1190 travelled through southern Manchuria, is studied by:

Shimada Yoshimi, "Ryōtō kōbushū 遼東行部志 kenkyū",⁴ *MG* 1.

The native way of life of the Jurčen tribesmen at the beginning of Chin is examined by:

Toriyama Kiichi, "Kinsho ni okeru Joshinzoku no seikatsu keitai",⁵ *Oda sensei shōju kinen chōsen ronshū*, Seoul, 1934.

The Chin court tried hard to preserve its national characteristics, but in 1153 its capital was changed from Shang-ching hui-ning-fu 上京會甯府 (the present Pai-ch'êng 白城 near Harbin) to Yen-ching (the present Peking); gradually it was influenced by Chinese civilization and the old Jurčen way of life was forgotten:

Mikami Tsugio, "Kindai chūki ni okeru Joshin bunka no sakkō 作興 undō",⁶ *SZ* XLIX 9.

Tamura Jitsuzō, "Kin no Kairyō ō 海陵王 enkyō sento no ichikō-satsu",⁷ in *KSR*.

Toyama Gunji, "Kin Seisō 世宗 sokui jijō no ichikōsatsu",⁸ in *KSR*. A comparison between T'ang laws and the Chin laws promulgated in the T'ai-ho period (1201-8) is made by:

Niida Noboru, "Kindai keihō kō",⁹ *TK* IX (=N.S. I) 1, 2.

Relations between Chin and the Mongol tribes are investigated by Toyama Gunji in:

"Kin Kisō 熙宗 chō ni okeru mōko no shinkō",¹⁰ *Mōkogaku* 2, Tokyo, 1938.

"Kin Shōsō 章宗 jidai ni okeru hoppō keiryaku to Sō to no kōsen",¹ *MR* 3,

and together with Mikami Tsugio he discusses the rebellions of the Khitans in the area of the Shira Muren river in the middle of the twelfth century in:

"Kin shōryū taitei 正隆, 大定 nenkan ni okeru Kittanjin no hanran",² *TG* XXVI 3, 4.

The power of the Chin was weaker than that of the Liao who controlled Mongolia, with the result that it was not difficult for Gengis Khan to capture Yen-ching in 1215. Taking advantage of the consequent serious confusion in Manchuria, a certain P'u-hsien Wan-nu 蒲鮮萬奴 temporarily seized power in eastern and southern Manchuria:

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Kimmatsu no manshū",³ in *MSK* 2.

Yanai Watari, "Tōshin 東真 koku no kyōiki",⁴ in *MRC* 2.

Yanai Watari, "Chingisu kan no manshū keiryaku ni kansuru nisan no kenkyū",⁵ in *YMK*.

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Hosen Bando no kokugō ni tsuite",⁶ *TG* XII 4, XX 4.

Iwai Hirosato, "Hosen Bando kokugō kō",⁷ *TG* XIX 4, XX 3 (= *MTB* 9).

The Yüan court soon gained a very firm grip on Manchuria and consolidated its lines of communication there by the establishment of the so-called jamchi 站赤. The main roads which they built continued in use right into Ming times without change, as Yanai Watari has shown from the evidence of the *Liao-tung-chih*:

"Genmin jidai no manshū kōtsūro",⁸ in *MRC* 2.

The same subject is examined in even greater detail by:

Wada Sei, "Kaisei tō suiriku jōtan 海西東水陸城站 ni tsuite",⁹ *MCR* 15.

Sonoda Kazuki, "Gendai minami manshū ni okeru kōtsūro ni tsuite",¹⁰ *TG* XXXII 2,

both of whom made use of the section on jamchi in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* (19416-26). The former of these articles is concerned with the roads along

¹ (The territory of Chin in Manchuria.)

² (A study of the northern frontier of Manchuria in the Chin period.)

³ (The roads in Manchuria in the Liao and Chin periods, as given in the record of Hsü K'ang-tung's travels.)

⁴ "Geographical and historical studies on the *Liao-tung hsing-pu-chih*."

⁵ (The way of life of the Jurčen tribe at the beginning of Chin.)

⁶ (The movement for the revival of Jurčen culture in the middle of the Chin period.)

⁷ (A study of the Chin king Hai-ling's change of capital to Yen-ching.)

⁸ (A study of the enthronement of Shih-tung of Chin.)

⁹ (A study of the criminal law of the Chin dynasty.)

¹⁰ "L'invasion mongole à l'époque de la Dynastie de Kin sous le règne de l'Empereur Hsi-tsong."

¹ "Conquête du nord et conflits avec les Song sous le règne de Tch'ang-tsong des Kin."

² "Rebellions of the Khitans during the periods Ch'eng-lung and Ta-ting in the Chin dynasty."

³ (Manchuria at the end of Chin.)

⁴ (The territory of the Tung-chên state.)

⁵ (Some studies on Gengis Khan's conquest of Manchuria.)

⁶ "On the official name of P'u-hsien Wan-nu's kingdom."

⁷ "A study of the name of the country founded by P'u-hsien Wan-nu in the Liao-tung district."

⁸ (The roads in Manchuria in the Yüan and Ming dynasties.)

⁹ (On the location of the post-houses on the land and water routes east of Hai-hsi.)

¹⁰ "Traffic routes in southern Manchuria during the Yüan dynasty."

the Sungari and Amur rivers, the latter with those in southern and western Manchuria and northern Korea.

A general survey of the *Ti-li-chih* section of the *Yüan shih* is:

Yanai Watari, "Manshū ni okeru gen no kyōiki",¹ in *MRC* 2.

The area under the control of the district K'ai-yüan-lu 開元路 (which is described in that section) is the point at issue in:

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Gendai no chimei Kaigen no enkaku",² *TG* XII 3.

Yanai Watari, "Ikeuchi hakushi no 'Gendai no chimei Kaigen no enkaku' wo yomu", *TG* XIII 1.

Wada Sei, "Gendai no Kaigenro ni tsuite",³ *TG* XVII 3.

The last-mentioned reached the conclusion that the area which the district controlled was centred on T'ieh-ling 鐵嶺, K'ai-yüan 開原 and Ch'ang-t'u 昌圖; and in:

"Kaigen Koshū 古州 oyobi Mōrin 毛憐",⁴ *KG* 3.

he identified K'ai-yüan with the modern Tung-ning 東甯, and Ku-chou 庫倫 with the modern Tung-ching-ch'êng, and concluded that Mao-lien was located near Hun-ch'un.

(v) Manchuria in the Ming period

The Yüan power was swept out of Manchuria as a result of the conquest of that area by the Ming emperors Hung-wu and Yung-lo. The latter, in particular, set up numerous garrisons with local chieftains in command of them, thereby securing control of the Jurčén tribes.

Wada Sei, "Minsho no manshū keiryaku",⁵ *MCR* 14, 15, examines in detail the administration of Manchuria by Ming China from the end of the Yüan period to the middle of the fifteenth century, the garrisons known as Chien-chou 建州 and Nu-erh-kan tu-szū 奴兒干都司, and the political relationships between China, Manchuria, Mongolia and Korea at that time.

The Nu-erh-kan tu-szū garrison, the headquarters of the tribes of the lower reaches of the Amur river, established in 1407 near that river's estuary, is the subject of:

Naitō Torajirō, "Min tōhoku kyōiki bengo 辨誤",⁶ in *TSR*.

Torii Ryūzō 鳥居龍藏, "Nu-erh-kan tu-szū k'ao",⁷ *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 33, Peking, 1947.

¹ (The Yüan territory in Manchuria.)

² "On the district name K'ai-yüan during the Yüan dynasty."

³ "A study on K'ai-yüan-lu, Manchurian province in the Yüan dynasty."

⁴ (On the location of K'ai-yüan, Ku-chou and Mao-lien.)

⁵ (The conquest of Manchuria by the early Ming.)

⁶ (Correction of some errors in place names in the north-eastern area of Manchuria in the Ming period.)

⁷ "Study of the ruins of Nu-erh-kan tu-szū."

Ejima Hisao, "Ishiha 亦失哈 no nurukan shōbu 招撫 ni tsuite",¹ *NNS* 13.

Ejima Hisao, "Taikan 太監 Ishiha ni tsuite",² *SE* 50.

For the native inhabitants of Primorskaya and Sakhalin in the Ming period and later, see:

Wada Sei, "Mindai no kiroku ni arawaretaru Kokuryūkō karyūiki no dojin",³ *MCR* 15.

Shimada Yoshimi, "Kindai tōbu manshū minzoku kō",⁴ *MG* 5.

Shimada Yoshimi, "Shinsho Saharen bu 薩哈連部 kō",⁵ *MG* 8-9.

After emperor Yung-lo, the Ming policy towards the Jurčén tribes became one of inaction, and the latter gained what in reality amounted to independence. After the middle of the Ming period it became clear that they had split into three groups—the Chien-chou Jurčén, who occupied the mountainous area to the east of Mukden and Liao-yang, the Hai-hsi 海西 Jurčén who lived around Chang-ch'un and Harbin, and the Yeh-jên 野人 Jurčén who were even further to the north-east.

The name Chien-chou Jurčén came from the Chien-chou garrison (set up in 1403), from which two other garrisons known as the Tso-wei 左衛 and the Yu-wei 右衛 were later derived. For the movements of these three garrisons, their chronology and their relations with China and Korea, consult:

Inaba Iwakichi, "Kenshū Jochoku no genchi oyobi senjūchi 遷住地", in *MRC* 2.

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Sensho 鮮初 no tōhokukyō to Joshin to no kankei",⁷ *MCR* 2, 4, 5, 7.

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Kenshū saei no setsuritsu nendai ni tsuite",⁸ *RTC* XXVI 6.

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Kenshū saei no senjūchi ni tsuite",⁹ in *KR*.

Sonoda Kazuki, "Kenshū sanei no ichi ni tsuite",¹⁰ *SZ* LX 4.

Wada Sei, "Kenshū honei no idō ni tsuite",¹¹ *MCR* 15.

¹ "On the administration of the Nu-erh-kan district by I-shih-ka."

² "On the T'ai-chien, I-shih-ka."

³ (The natives of the lower reaches of the Amur river as mentioned in the Ming dynasty records.)

⁴ (A study of the tribes in eastern Manchuria in recent centuries.)

⁵ (A study of Sakhalin tribes at the beginning of Ch'ing.)

⁶ (The original home and subsequent settlements of the Chien-chou Jurčéns.)

⁷ (The north-eastern frontiers of the early Korean kingdom and its relations with the Jurčéns.)

⁸ (On the date of the establishment of the Chien-chou Tso-wei.)

⁹ (On the settlements of the Chien-chou Tso-wei.)

¹⁰ (On the location of the three Chien-chou garrisons.)

¹¹ (On the movements of the original garrison of the Chien-chou Jurčéns.)

Sonoda Kazuki, "Min Banreki shoki ni okeru Ryōtō Jochoku no shōchō",¹ *MG* 3.

Hatada Takashi, "Kenshū sanei no kokō ni tsuite",² in *IR*, but it should be stated that Sonoda Kazuki's work quoted in *JR* 130/3 is the most up-to-date contribution and can be regarded as a continuation of Wada Sei's "Minsho no manshū keiryaku".

In the middle of the fifteenth century the Ming Government, which treated the lower reaches of the Liao river as being a part of China, set up barriers along the frontiers with the Mongols on the west and with the Jurčens on the east, to keep out their incursions, but traded with them at markets at K'ai-yüan and Fu-shun 撫順:

Inaba Iwakichi, "Mindai Ryōtō no henshō"³ 邊牆, in *MRC* 2.

Inaba Iwakichi, "Mindai Ryōtō no bashi"⁴ 馬市, *SZ* XXIV 1, 2.

Ejima Hisao, "Ryōtō bashi kigen",⁵ *Tōyō shigaku* 9, Fukuoka, 1954.

For other work on Manchuria in the Ming period see:

Ichimura Sanjirō, "Mindai no manshū",⁶ in *SSK*.

Wada Sei, "Mimmatsu ni okeru Ōryōkkō 鴨綠江 hōmen no kaitaku",⁷ *SZ* XXX 9, 10, 11, 12.

Hatada Takashi, "Mindai Joshinjin no tekki ni tsuite",⁸ *TGT* XI 1.

Hatada Takashi, "Odori 吾都里 zoku no buraku kōsei",⁹ *RK* 26.

(vi) *The rise of the Ch'ing dynasty*

Nurhači (T'ai-tsu, 1559-1626) of the Ch'ing dynasty (1616-1911) was a minor chieftain of the Tso-wei garrison of the Ch'ien-chou Jurčens.

For his ancestry according to the legends and for his ancestors' genealogy, see:

Inaba Iwakichi, "Shinchō kaikoku setsuwa no rekishiteki kōsatsu",¹⁰ *SG* 5, 6.

Mitamura Taisuke, "Shinchō no kaikoku densetsu to sono seikei 世系 ni tsuite",¹¹ in *Ritsumeikan sōritsu gojishūnen kinen rom bunshū, bungakuken*, Kyoto, 1951.

¹ (The rise and fall of the Jurčens in Liao-tung at the beginning of the Wan-li year-period in the Ming dynasty.)

² (On the households in the three Chien-chou garrisons.)

³ (The Liao-tung frontier barriers in the Ming dynasty.)

⁴ (The Liao-tung horse markets in the Ming dynasty.)

⁵ (The origin of the Liao-tung horse markets.)

⁶ (Manchuria in the Ming period.)

⁷ (The opening up of the area of the Yalu river at the end of the Ming period.)

⁸ "The development of the use and manufacture of ironware by the Jurčens during the Ming period."

⁹ (The village organization of the Odoli tribe.)

¹⁰ (An historical study of the legends concerning the ancestors of the Ch'ing dynasty.)

¹¹ (On the legends concerning the ancestors of the Ch'ing dynasty and their genealogy.)

and for his family name, Aisin Gioro 愛新覺羅, see:

Naitō Torajirō, "Shinchō seishi kō",¹ in *TSR*.

Imanishi Shunjū, "Shinchō seishi kō", *SK* XV 10.

In 1583 Nurhači raised an army near Hsing-ching 興京 to the east of Fu-shun and, while pretending loyalty to the Ming, conquered the neighbouring tribes. The place in which he raised the army is discussed in:

Wada Sei, "Shinso hasshō no chūki ni tsuite",² in *IR*.

Toda Shigeki 戸田茂喜, "Hetoara 赫圖阿拉 jō kōsei no sobyō",³ in *YR*.

Takahashi Kyōshirō 高橋匡四郎, "Soshiga 蘇子河 ryūiki ni okeru Kōkuri to kō 後 Joshin no iseki",⁴ *Kenkoku daigaku kenkyūin kenkyū kihō* 2, Hsinking, 1942.

Inaba Iwakichi, "Shin Chūitsu 申忠一 shokei oyobi zuki",⁵ *SG* 29.

Inaba Iwakichi, "Kōkyō Nidōkashi 二道河子 Kyūrōjō 舊老城",⁶ *Kenkoku daigaku kenkyūin rekishi hōkoku* 1, Hsinking, 1939.

The last two items are studies of the report and maps of Sin Ch'ungil who was sent as an envoy in 1595-6 from Korea to Nurhači.

Wada Sei, "Manshū shobu 諸部 no ichi ni tsuite",⁷ *TR* 1, identifies the location of five Chien-chou Jurčen tribes living between the Hun 渾 and T'ung-chia 佟家 rivers at the time when Nurhači raised his army, and contains corrections of some points in:

Inaba Iwakichi, "Shinsho no kyōiki",⁸ in *MRC* 2.

For the period from the rise of Nurhači to his establishment of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1616, see:

Wada Sei, "Shin no Taiso to Ri Seiryō 李成梁 to no kankei",⁹ in *WT*.

Sonoda Kazuki, "Shin Taiso bōkkō shoki no gyōseki",¹⁰ *MG* 4.

Oshibuchi Hajime, Toda Shigeki, "Shin no Taiso no shichisō nōkon 七宗惱恨 ni tsuite",¹¹ *SGK* VI 3.

Imanishi Shunjū, "Nuruhachi shichidaikon 七大恨 ron",¹² *TKI* 4.

¹ (A study of the family of the ancestors of the Ch'ing dynasty.)

² (On the area from which Nurhači, the founder of the Ch'ing dynasty, arose.)

³ (A description of the construction of Hsing-ching fortress.)

⁴ (Sites of Kao-kou-li and of the "later" Jurčens along the Su-tzu river.)

⁵ (The report and maps of Sin Ch'ungil.)

⁶ (Chiu-lao-ch'eng near Erh-tao-ho-tzu near Hsing-ching.)

⁷ (On the location of some Manchurian tribes.)

⁸ (Ch'ing territory before 1616.)

⁹ (The relationship between Nurhači, the founder of the Ch'ing dynasty, and Li Ch'eng-liang.) See also *JR* 130/4, 5.

¹⁰ (An account of the early period of the rise of Nurhači, the founder of the Ch'ing dynasty.)

¹¹ (On the "seven great complaints" of Nurhači, the founder of the Ch'ing dynasty, against Ming China.)

Mitamura Taisuke, "Temmei 天命 kengen 建元 no nenji 年次 ni tsuite",¹ *TK* I 2, 3.

Mitamura Taisuke, "Manju 滿珠 koku seiritsu katei no ichikōsatsu",² *TK* II 2.

Toda Shigeki, "Shin Taiso no tojō 都城 seni 遷移 mondai",³ *SGK* VIII 3, IX 2, X 1, 2.

Nurhači's relations with the Mongols are treated by:

Tanaka Katsumi 田中克己, "Shin no Taiso Nuruhachi to tōbu naimōko",⁴ *Mōko* 103, Tokyo, 1940.

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Shin Taiso shoki ni okeru mōko to no kankei no ichimen kan",⁵ *MM* XVI 9.

Sonoda Kazuki, "Shin Taiso Nuruhachi hōso 崩殂 kō",⁶ *MG* 2.

The writer of the last article emphasizes that Nurhači did not die of wounds incurred in fighting the Chinese but from an illness.

Nurhači's condemnation to death of his younger brother and eldest son, and the struggles in the Ch'ing court at the time when T'ai-tsung succeeded him, are the subject of:

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Shuruhachi 舒爾哈齊 no shi",⁷ *SR* XVII 3.

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Choei 褚英 no shi ni tsuite",⁸ *SR* XVIII 2.

Naitō Torajirō, "Shinchō shoki no keishi mondai",⁹ in *TSR*.

Imanishi Shunjū, "Shin no Taisō no rittai shi mondai",¹⁰ *SGK* VII 1, 2.

Mitamura Taisuke, "Shin no Taisō no sokui jijō to sono kunshu ken kakuritsu",¹¹ *TK* VI 2, VII 1.

The name Ch'ing had not been used prior to 1636, when T'ai-tsung introduced it: the dynasty had formerly been known as Hou-chin "the Later Chin", the title given by Nurhači in 1616:

Ichimura Sanjirō, "Shinchō kokugō kō",¹² in *SSK*.

Maejima Mataji 前島又次, "Shin to iu kokugō ni tsuite",¹³ *SGK* XII 1.

¹ (On the dating of the first year of the T'ien-ming period.)

² "Considérations sur la formation de Man-tcheu-kuo (1599-1619)."

³ "Nurhači, the founder of the Ch'ing dynasty, and his various capitals." See also *JR* 130/6, 7, 8.

⁴ (Nurhači, the founder of the Ch'ing dynasty, and eastern Inner Mongolia.)

⁵ (An aspect of the relations between Nurhači, the founder of the Ch'ing dynasty, and the Mongols at the beginning of his rule.)

⁶ "On the cause and place of the death of Nurhači, the founder of the Ch'ing dynasty."

⁷ "The death of Prince Šurhači."

⁸ "On the death of Prince Ché-ying."

⁹ (The succession problem in the early Ch'ing dynasty.)

¹⁰ (The question whether T'ai-tsung of Ch'ing would become Crown Prince.)

¹¹ "Circonstances de l'avènement au trône de T'ai-tsong des Tching et son établissement de la souveraineté."

¹² (A study of the name of the Ch'ing dynasty.)

¹³ (On the name of the Ch'ing state.)

T'ai-tsung's son Shih-tsu entered Peking in 1644 assisted by his uncle Dorgun 多爾袞:

Sonoda Kazuki, "Ei 睿 shinnō Dorugun kyūō 九王 no igi",¹ *MG* 5.

Sonoda Kazuki, "Ei shinnō Dorugun no seiseiro 征西路 kō",² *MG* 8-9.

The Manchurian "Eight banners" system which was completed by Nurhači in 1614 was the basis of Ch'ing power. The establishment and organization of this system are outlined in:

Nakayama Hachirō, "Mimmatsu Jochoku to hakkiteki tōsei ni kansuru sobyō",³ *RK* 26.

Hatada Takashi, "Manshū hakki no seiritsu katei ni kansuru ichikōsatsu, tokuni niru no seiritsu ni tsuite",⁴ *TR* 2.

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Shinsho no hachi gūsa 固山 ejen 額真 ni tsuite",⁵ in *YR*.

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Shinchō no bayara 擺牙喇 ni tsuite",⁶ in *IMR*.

Sudō Yoshiyuki, "Shinchō ni okeru manshū chūbō 駐防 no tokushusei ni kansuru ichikōsatsu",⁷ *TGT* XI 1.

The lands given as fiefs to the members of the "Eight banners" organization are described in:

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Shinsho no kichi 旗地 ni kansuru mambun rōtō no kiji",⁸ *SR* XXIII 1, 2.

Sudō Yoshiyuki, "Shinchō no nyūkan 入關 zen ni okeru kichi no hatten katei",⁹ *TGT* XII 2.

Sudō Yoshiyuki, *Shindai manshū tochi seisaku no kenkyū*,¹⁰ Tokyo, 1944, of which the last-mentioned is an excellent and detailed account of these fiefs in Manchuria.

For the position of the Chinese living under Ch'ing rule in southern Manchuria at the beginning of the dynasty, see:

¹ "On the reason why Dorgun, Prince Jui, was called the 'Ninth Prince'."

² (A study of Dorgun, Prince Jui's march to Peking.)

³ (A sketch of the Jurchens at the end of Ming, and of their organization by the "eight banners" system.)

⁴ (A study of the establishment of the Manchurian "eight banners" and especially of the establishment of the *niru*.)

⁵ (On the chieftains of the "eight banners" at the beginning of Ch'ing.)

⁶ (On the "bayara" (bodyguards) in the Ch'ing dynasty.)

⁷ "A study of the characteristics of the bannerman garrisons in Manchuria during the Ch'ing dynasty." See also *JR* 130/10, 11, 12.

⁸ "Concerning the territory given to members of the 'eight banners' organization in the early years of Ch'ing, as seen in the *Man-wên lao-tang*."

⁹ "The Manchu institution of bannermen's estates prior to the occupation of China, and its subsequent development."

¹⁰ (A study of land policy in Manchuria in the Ch'ing period.)

Toda Shigeki, "Shinsho ni okeru nikan irugen no hassei to sono igi",¹ TK VI 4.

Kitamura Hironao 北村敬直, "Shinsho ni okeru seiji to shakai",² TK X 4.

and a description is given of the units of Chinese conscripts equipped with firearms in:

Ura Renichi, "Kangun (ujen cooha 烏真超哈) ni tsuite",³ in KR. Other related subjects are treated in:

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Shin Taiso jidai keisei 刑政 考",⁴ in HR.

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Shin Taisō jidai keisei kō",⁵ *Jimbun kenkyū* II 11, Osaka, 1951.

Oshibuchi Hajime, Toda Shigeki, "Jusen no ichikōsatsu",⁶ TK V 1.

Mizuhara Shigemitsu 水原重光, "Taisō Huntaiji 皇太極 no minzoku seisaku",⁷ in *Tōyō shigaku ronshū*, published by Tōkyō kyōiku daigaku tōyō shigaku kenkyūshitsu, Tokyo, 1953.

Historical source material for the rise of the Ch'ing⁸ is abundant, consisting not only of Ch'ing texts but also Ming and Korean texts as well. Among the Ch'ing historical sources the oldest is the so-called *Man-wên lao-tang* which is a history, in the Manchu language, of the period of Nurhači and T'ai-tsung:

Fujioka Katsuji 藤岡勝二, *Mambun rōtō*, 3 volumes, Tokyo, 1939.

Imanishi Shunjū, "Manwa taiyaku *Mambun rōtō*",⁹ SK XV 11, 12, XVI 1, 2, 4, 5.

Oshibuchi Hajime, Toda Shigeki, "*Mambun rōtō hōbun yakukō*",¹⁰ SGK IX 1,

and a later chronicle, concerning the period Shun-chih (1644-62), was reprinted in Hsinking in 1942 under the title:

Kyū Seikyō 舊盛京 *naimufu junchi nenkan tō*¹¹ 檔.

See also:

¹ "Sur la formation du 'nikan irgen' au commencement des Tching et son sens historique."

² "Government and society in the early Ch'ing period before 1644."

³ (On the Chinese army (ujen cooha).)

⁴ "Criminal law at the time of Nurhači, founder of the Ch'ing dynasty."

⁵ "Criminal law at the time of T'ai-tsung of Ch'ing."

⁶ "Réflexions sur le mot mandchou 'Jusen'."

⁷ "The racial policy of Hong Taiji (T'ai-tsung), the second emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty."

⁸ See Hsieh Kuo-chên 謝國楨, *Ch'ing k'ai-kuo shih-liao-k'ao* 清開國史料考, Peking, 1931.

⁹ (The first part of the *Man-wên lao-tang* with parallel Japanese translation.)

¹⁰ (A draft of a Japanese translation of parts of the *Man-wên lao-tang*). See also JR 131/1.

¹¹ (A document of the Shun-chih period preserved in the Imperial Household Ministry in Mukden.) See also SGK 54.

Oshibuchi Hajime, Toda Shigeki, "Ra 羅 shi shozō no sōhon 草本 nikki tō 檔 ni tsuite",¹ MG 8-9.

The *Man-chou shih-lu*, of which Manchu, Mongol and Chinese versions are extant, is an account of the reign of Nurhači:

Imanishi Shunjū, *Manwa taiyaku Manshū jitsuroku*,² Hsinking and Kyoto, 1938.

Yamazaki Tadashi, "Mōkōbun yori mitaru *Manshū jitsuroku* no kenkyū",³ *Yamato bunka* 27, 28, Tenri, 1949-50.

Yamazaki Tadashi, "*Manshū jitsuroku moji kō*",⁴ *Tenri daigaku gakuhō* I 4, Tenri, 1950.

Yamamoto Mamoru, "Mankan nitai no *Manshū jitsuroku* ni tsuite",⁵ MS I 2.

Uehara Hisashi 上原久, "*Manshū jitsuroku* no mambun kōtei 校定",⁶ *Ajia gengo kenkyū* 3, Tenri, 1952.

The official records (*shih-lu*) of the reigns of Nurhači, T'ai-tsung and Shih-tsu, were compiled in Chinese and several times revised:

Inaba Iwakichi, "Tokaihon 塗改本 *Shin Taiso jitsuroku* zankan oyobi sono nendai",⁷ SG 10.

Imanishi Shunjū, "*Shin Taisō jitsuroku* no shoshū 初修 kaishi nendai to sesshō ō chokuyū",⁸ TK II 1.

Imanishi Shunjū, "*Shin san-chō jitsuroku* no sanshū 纂修",⁹ SR XX 3, 4.

The *Ta-ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu*,¹⁰ in 1210 vols., published in Manchoukuo in 1936, is a compilation consisting of the *Man-chou shih-lu* (in Manchu, Mongol and Chinese), followed by the *shih-lu* of each of the Ch'ing emperors, from Nurhači, T'ai-tsung and Shih-tsu onwards (in Chinese).

A complete genealogy of the Ch'ing emperors and their families is to be found in the following, published at Mukden in 1938:

Ai-hsin ch'ieh-lo tsung-p'u 愛新覺羅宗譜,¹¹ (with Manchu title *Aisin Gioro da sekiyen mafa ejere bithe*), 8 volumes.

¹ (Concerning a manuscript diary in the possession of Mr Lo.)

² (The *Man-chou shih-lu* with parallel Japanese translation.) The book also has the Manchu title "Manju i yargiyan kooli".

³ "A study of the *Man-chou shih-lu* from the standpoint of its Mongolian version."

⁴ (A study of the Manchu script used in the *Man-chou shih-lu*.)

⁵ (On the bilingual *Man-chou shih-lu* in Chinese and Manchu.)

⁶ (Variant readings in the Manchu text of the *Man-chou shih-lu*.)

⁷ (The surviving chapters of the Revised *Ch'ing T'ai-tsu shih-lu*, and its date.)

⁸ "Date de la première compilation de *T'ai-tsong-ch'ie-lou*."

⁹ "The compilation of the *Ch'ing san-ch'ao shih-lu*, authentic records of the first three emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty."

¹⁰ A copy of this rare work is in the University Library, Cambridge.

¹¹ A copy of this very rare work is to be found in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

(vii) *Manchuria after the entry of the Ch'ing army into Peking*

After the entry into Peking the Ch'ing government transferred to China great numbers of Manchurians in order to administer the vast areas under its control, leaving the Manchu homeland almost deserted.¹ At first the immigration of Chinese into Manchuria was prohibited but in spite of this Chinese settlers gradually made their way in, even as far as the north-eastern areas, and later on in the dynasty, their immigration was actually encouraged to counteract the southward movement of Russian political influence: Chinese at that time swarmed in from Hopei and Shantung, making Manchuria into a Chinese settlement.

Shiba Mikuo 柴三九男, "Shindai chūyō ni okeru manshū hōkin 封禁 no rekishiteki igi",² *Shikan* 26-7, Tokyo, 1941.

Aritaka Iwao, "Shindai manshū ryūjin 流人 kō",³ in *Miyake hakushi koki shukuga kinen rombunshū*, Tokyo, 1929.

Aritaka Iwao, "Kokuryūkō shō Huran 呼蘭 heiya no kaiatsu ni tsukite",⁴ in *Naitō hakushi kanreki kinen shinagaku ronsō*, Kyoto, 1926.

Aritaka Iwao, "Manshū ni okeru keiki 京旗 no tonkon 屯墾 ni tsuite",⁵ *SC* IV 3.

Kitayama Yasuo 北山康夫, "Shinchō jidai ni okeru Kokuryūkō shō no kaiatsu ni tsuite",⁶ *SK* XV 10.

Mizuhara Shigemitsu, "Shinchō no Kokuryūkō shō keiei",⁷ *NNS* 3.

Kawakubo Teirō 川久保悌郎, "Shimmatsu ni okeru Kitsurin 吉林 shō seihokubu no kaiatsu",⁸ *RK* 26.

Kawakubo Teirō, "Shindai manshū no ijō 園場",⁹ *SZ* L 9, 10, 11.

Ura Renichi, "Shinchō no *muran* kōi ni tsuite", in *YR*.

Sudō Yoshiyuki, "Shindai no manshū ni okeru ryōmai 糧米 no sōun ni tsuite, tokuni manshū shokumin shi no ichimen to shite",¹⁰ *TR* 3.

Katō Shigeshi, chapters 51 and 56 of *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, vol. 2, Tokyo, 1953.

¹ See Kanda Nobuo, "Manshū minzoku no suibō", in *Kindai chūgoku kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1948 (JR 124/10).

² (The historical significance of the prohibition against Chinese entering Manchuria in the middle of the Ch'ing dynasty.)

³ (A study of the Chinese immigrants into Manchuria in the Ch'ing dynasty.)

⁴ (On the opening up of the Hu-lan plain in the Hei-lung-chiang province.)

⁵ (On the settlement in Manchuria of bannermen from Peking.)

⁶ (The opening up of the Hei-lung-chiang province in the Ch'ing dynasty.)

⁷ "The management of the Hei-lung-chiang province by the Ch'ing dynasty."

⁸ "The exploitation of the north-western part of Chi-lin province at the end of the Ch'ing period."

⁹ (Enclosures in Manchuria in the Ch'ing dynasty.)

¹⁰ (On the transport of rice in Manchuria in the Ch'ing dynasty, especially as an aspect of the history of the settlement of Manchuria by the Chinese.)

The contacts between the Ch'ing and Russia are dealt with in:

Miyazaki Masayoshi 宮崎正義, *Kindai roshi kankei no kenkyū*,¹ Dairen, 1922.

Yano Jinichi, "Shōkakō no kōkōken",² *Gaikō jihō* XXIV 3, 4, Tokyo, 1916.

Ishida Mikinosuke, "Roshin kankei no daiikki",³ *Gaikō jihō* XXIX 1, 2, 3, 4, Tokyo, 1919.

Shimoda Reisuke 下田禮佐, "Roshin kankei no kenkyū",⁴ in *Ogawa hakushi kanreki kinen shigaku chirigaku ronsō*, Kyoto, 1930.

Otagi Matsuo, "Neruchinsuku 尼布楚 jōyaku wo tsūjite mitaru shoki no roshin kankei",⁵ *Tōa kenkyūjō hō* 24, Tokyo, 1943.

Wada Sei, "Kōtō 江東 rokujūyon ton' no mondai ni tsuite",⁶ in *WT*.

E. THE LANGUAGES OF MANCHURIA

(1) *Introduction*

It has not been possible to identify what language was spoken in the Fu-yü and Po-hai states in eastern Manchuria or by the Su-shên,⁷ I-lou and Mo-ho tribes which are thought to have lived in the area of the Sungari and Amur rivers: this is because no written records have been left behind by these peoples and because the relevant references in Chinese historical texts are too fragmentary to give any definite information. The lineage of these peoples has not been established, but it is believed that the I-lou and Mo-ho were the ancestors of the Jurčens, whose language and script are known. The Manchu language was the language of the Jurčens' descendants who formed the state of Ch'ing. On the other hand the Khitan tribes, who were at one time mistakenly considered as of Tungus lineage, spoke a language which cannot yet be firmly identified because their script has not been deciphered, but which is thought to be connected with Mongol on account of some of its words which are quoted phonetically in Chinese sources.⁸

(2) *The Khitan language and script*

The Khitan script was devised not long after the formation of the Liao state. According to the *Liao shih* the so-called "Khitan large script"

¹ (A study of the relations between Russia and China in recent centuries.)

² (Navigation rights on the Sungari river.)

³ (The first period of Russo-Chinese relations.)

⁴ (A study of Russo-Chinese relations.)

⁵ (Early Russo-Chinese relations, seen through the Nerchinsk treaty.)

⁶ (On the problem of "the 64 villages in the Amur river opposite Ai-hun".)

⁷ Shiratori Kurakichi in *TS* 12 suggested that the Su-shên, I-lou and Mo-ho tribes all spoke a Tungus language.

⁸ See Shiratori Kurakichi, *SZ* XXIV 1 and 7, Murayama Shichirō, *GK* 17-18, and Karl H. Menges, "Titles and organizational terms of the Qytañ (Liao) and Qara-Qytañ (Si-Liao)", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, XVII, Krakow, 1953.

契丹大字 dates from 920, and another form, the so-called "Khitan small script" 契丹小字, was the invention (probably in 924 or 925) of the emperor Yeh-liü A-pao-chi's younger brother Tieh-la 迭剌, who, it is said, had learned the Uighur language and script from some Uighur messengers. The relationship between the two forms is obscure, and it has not been determined whether the surviving texts employ the one or the other, or both. The Khitan script was used not only in the Liao period but also in the Chin period up to 1191 (when its use for official purposes came to an end) and is thought to have been the pattern from which the Hsi Hsia and Jurčén scripts were derived.

Of the surviving texts in the Khitan script the most important are the four bilingual (Chinese-Khitan) epitaphs, discovered at Ch'ing-ling in Jehol province, of emperor Hsing-tsung¹ (1031-54) and his empress Jên-i 仁懿, and of his son Tao-tsung (1055-1100) and his empress Hsüan-i 宣懿 respectively. Each epitaph consisted of two stones, one with the title and the other with the text. Of the Khitan texts of the epitaphs of Hsing-tsung and Jên-i there is preserved a hand-drawn copy, of the text stones only, made by a Chinese in 1922 at the request of L. Kervyn² who excavated the site; the epitaphs themselves are probably still at Ch'ing-ling. Of the Khitan texts of the epitaphs of Tao-tsung and Hsüan-i, photographs and rubbings, as well as engravings, are available of both the text and title stones; the epitaphs themselves are probably preserved in the Mukden Museum together with other Chinese inscriptions³ excavated at Ch'ing-ling.

Apart from these epitaphs the following Khitan texts survive:

1. The *Ta-chin huang-ti tu-t'ung ching-liao-lang chün hsing-chi* 大金皇弟都統經略郎君行記 inscription.
2. Khitan script on wall paintings in the East Mausoleum at Ch'ing-ling.
3. Khitan script on a yellow-glazed plate from a tomb at Szü-fang-ch'êng 四方城 in Jehol.
4. An octagonal mirror with Khitan inscription (formerly in Chōsen sōtokufu hakubutsukan).
5. A round mirror with Khitan inscription (formerly in Riōshoku 李王職 hakubutsukan).
6. A copper vessel with Khitan inscription.
7. An official seal with Khitan inscription.
8. A jade goblet with Khitan inscription.
9. A fish-shaped tally with Khitan inscription.
10. The *Ch'êng-chi-szū huang-ti shêng-chih* 成吉思皇帝聖旨 tablet (in Kyoto university).

¹ The Chinese epitaph of Hsing-tsung has not, however, been discovered.

² See *Le Bulletin catholique de Pékin*, 118 (1923), pp. 236-43.

³ See Tamura Jitsuzō, *Keiryō*, I, pp. 191-4.

11. Some words in Wang I 王易, *Yen-pei-lu* 燕北錄 (Ming edition).
 12. Some words in T'ao Tsung-i 陶宗儀, *Shu-shih hui-yao* 書史會要.
- It is not, however, certain that the script in Nos. 11 and 12 is, in fact, Khitan.

The texts of the epitaphs and of all the above sources except Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 are reproduced in:

Tamura Jitsuzō, *Keiryō*,¹ I, figs. 230-43; II, plates 139-41.

The texts of the epitaphs and of Nos. 4, 5, 7-9 are in:

Chin Yü-fu 金毓黻 (ed.), *Liao-ling shih-k'o chi-lu* 遼陵石刻集錄, 2 volumes, Mukden, 1934.

In addition there are the following reproductions:

Nos. 4, 5 *Chōsen koseki zufu*, vol. 9, and Lo Chên-yü 羅振玉, *Ku-ching t'u-lu* 古鏡圖錄, 1916.

No. 9 Lo Chên-yü, *Tsêng-ting Li-tai fu-p'ai t'u-lu* 增訂歷代符牌圖錄, 3 volumes, 1925.

No. 1 SZ XXI 5.

No. 6 Torii Ryūzō, *Kōkogakujō yori mitaru Ryō no bunka zufu*, Tokyo, 1946, plate 336. For a suggestion that this is not genuine, see Tamura Jitsuzō, *MK XVI* 1, p. 48.

J. Mullie in *T'oung Pao* XXX (1933) gives the Chinese texts of the epitaph inscriptions and also the following reproductions of the Khitan texts of epitaphs:

(1) a photograph of a handwritten copy of the epitaph for empress Jên-i (wrongly described as that for emperor Shêng-tsung, father of Hsing-tsung).

(2) a photograph of a handwritten copy of the epitaph for Hsing-tsung (wrongly described as that for emperor Shêng-tsung).

(3) a photograph of a rubbing of the epitaph for empress Hsüan-i.

There is what is apparently a Khitan inscription on the *Ching-an-szū* 靜安寺碑, reproduced in Lo Fu-i 羅福頤, *Man-chow chin-shih chih* 滿洲金石志, 1937, but the text is so damaged as to be of doubtful use. See also:

Yamashita Taizō 山下泰藏, "Dairyō Daiōchō Ranryōgun fujin ken Seianji hi 大遼大橫帳蘭陵郡夫人建靜安寺碑", *MM XVI* 10.

Shimada Yoshimi, *SK* 83.

Attempts at the decipherment of the Khitan script have been made by

¹ See JR 140/3 and *Japan Quarterly* I 1 (1954), pp. 34-45. Some of the reproductions are also to be found in K. A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng, *History of Chinese Society, Liao (907-1125)*, New York, 1949, pp. 241-52.

Chinese¹ and Japanese scholars from the evidence of these epitaphs: the Chinese have conjectured the meanings of several Khitan characters by a comparison of the Chinese and Khitan parallel texts, but the Japanese on the other hand have studied the make-up of the Khitan characters and have sought, from their knowledge of Altaic languages, to establish the phonetic value of each individual character: this process too has not yet yielded definite results. Murayama Shichirō has conjectured the phonetic value of several Khitan characters on the assumptions that the language is a dialect of Mongolian and that the script is derived from the Orkhon runic script.²

The Khitan script has approximately three hundred characters, which are thought to include not only phonetic characters but also ideographs possibly based on Chinese characters; for this reason the decipherment of the script can be recognized as an extremely difficult task.

Japanese research on this subject includes:

Shiratori Kurakichi, "Kittan Joshin Seika moji kō",³ SZ IX 11, 12.

Haneda Tōru, "Kittan moji no shin shiryō",⁴ SR X 1.

Haneda Tōru, "Chingisu kōtei seishi hai",⁵ RTC XXXIV 4-5.

Tamura Jitsuzō, *Keiryō*, I, pp. 256-70, and two loose sheets analysing the Khitan characters used as suffixes.

Tamura Jitsuzō, *Tōyō rekishi daijiten*, VIII, pp. 465-7.

Tamura Jitsuzō, *Sekai rekishi jiten*, V, pp. 62-4.

Sin T'achyōn 辛兌鉉, "Kittan bun aisaku ni tsuite",⁶ SG 28.

Yamaji Hiroaki 山路廣明, "Kittango no kenkyū",⁷ *Gengo shūroku* 1, 2, 3, Tokyo, 1952.

Yamaji Hiroaki, "Kittan daiji kō",⁸ in *Ukita Kazutami hakushi kinen shigaku rombunshū*, Tokyo, 1943.

¹ Work by Chinese scholars on the Khitan script includes the following articles (only the authors and references to periodicals are given):

Pien Hung-ju 卞鴻儒, *Tung-pei ts'ung-k'an* 東北叢刊, 14, 1931.

Mêng Sên 孟森, *Kuo-hsüeh chi-k'an* 國學季刊, III 3, 1932.

Li Ting-k'uei 厲鼎燧, *ib.*, III 4, 1932.

Lo Fu-ch'eng 羅福成, *MG* 2.

Wang Ching-ju 王靜如, *Academia Sinica* III 4, 1934, and V 4, 1935.

Hsieh Kuo-chên, *Tu-shu chi-k'an* II 3, 1936.

Lo Fu-i, *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 37, 1949.

Fêng Chia-shêng, "The Ch'i-tan script", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXVIII, 1948.

² Murayama believes that the Uighur script which the *Liao shih* states that T'ieh-la learned from the Uighur messengers was the old Orkhon runic script, not the later Uighur script (JR 118/8).

³ (A study of the Khitan, Jurč'en and Hsi Hsia scripts.)

⁴ (New material on the Khitan script.)

⁵ (The *Ch'êng-chi-szu huang-ti shêng-chih* tablet.)

⁶ (On the epitaphs in Khitan script.)

⁷ (Studies on the Khitan language.)

⁸ (A study of the Khitan "large script".)

Osada Natsuki 長田夏樹, "Kittan moji kaidoku no kanōsei",¹ *Kōbe gaidai ronsō*, II 4, Kobe, 1951.

(3) The Jurč'en language and script

The Jurč'en tribes who formed the Chin state were the first of the eastern Manchurian tribes to have their own records written in their own script, the so-called "Jurč'en large script" 女真大字 being devised in 1119 and the so-called "Jurč'en small script" 女真小字 being developed in 1138. It is not yet clear exactly what the former script was, but the latter is probably what is normally referred to as the Jurč'en script.

The Jurč'en script was used by the Jurč'en people for about five hundred years, from the Chin dynasty to the end of the Ming dynasty. Surviving texts are few, consisting only of some inscriptions and the sections *Nü-chih-kuan i-yü* 女直館譯語 and *Nü-chih-kuan lai-wên* 女直館來文 of the *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語. W. Grube, in his *Die Sprache und Schrift der Juč'en*, Leipzig, 1896, gave a romanized transliteration of these sections of the *Hua-i i-yü*, but many problems remain unsolved concerning the Jurč'en language and script.

Tamura Jitsuzō, "Daikin Tokushōda 得勝陀 shōhi 碩碑 no kenkyū",² TK II 5, 6

is an attempt at the decipherment of a bilingual inscription on a stone tablet (Chinese on the face and Jurč'en on the obverse) set up in 1185 on the southern bank of the La-lin 拉林 river, tributary of the Sungari river, to commemorate Akuta's victory over the Liao.

Amma Yaichirō 安馬彌一郎, *Joshin bun kinsekishi kō*³ 稿, Kyoto, 1943,

contains attempted translations of eight Jurč'en inscriptions (including the 1185 stone tablet and a 1413 inscription in the Yung-ning 永甯 temple at the mouth of the Amur river), and has in an appendix an outline of Jurč'en grammar and a bibliography of the Jurč'en language, listing not only all surviving Jurč'en texts but also works relating to them. Other work on Jurč'en inscriptions includes:

Shimada Yoshimi, "Joshin moji Ōton Ryōhitsu senin 奥屯良弼饒飲 hi",⁴ SK 59.

Yamashita Taizō, "Shin Jochoku kokusho hi ni tsuite",⁵ MM XV 9.

¹ (The possibility of deciphering the Khitan script.)

² (A study of a Chinese-Jurč'en bilingual inscription on a Chin dynasty commemorative tablet at T'ê-shêng-t'ò.) See also TK III 6 and Sōnoda Kazuki, "Daikin Tokushōda shōhi ni tsuite", MM XIV 12.

³ (Notes on inscriptions in Jurč'en script.)

⁴ (The *Ao-t'un liang-pi chien-yin* tablet with Jurč'en inscription.)

⁵ (On a new tablet with a Jurč'en inscription.)

Inaba Iwakichi, "Hokuseijō 北青城 Kanzan chō 串山頂 Joshinji magai 摩崖 kōshaku",¹ SG 2.

The following deal with the two sections of the *Hua-i i-yü*:

Ishida Mikinosuke, "Joshingo kenkyū no shinshiryō",² in KR. (This article contains a list of surviving Jurčēn inscriptions.)

Ishida Mikinosuke, "Jurčica", in IR.

Yamamoto Mamoru, "Joshin yakugo no kenkyū",³ *Kōbe gaidai ronsō* II 2, Kobe, 1951.

Yamamoto Mamoru, "Seikadō 靜嘉堂 bon Joshin yakugo kōi 考異",⁴ SK XV 10.

Watanabe Kuntarō 渡部薫太郎, "Joshinkan raibun tsūkai",⁵ *Ajia kenkyū* 11, Osaka, 1933.

See also:⁶

Murayama Shichirō, "Azuma kagami ni mieru Joshingo ni tsuite",⁷ TG XXXIII 3-4.

Watanabe Kuntarō, "Joshingo no shin kenkyū",⁸ *Ajia kenkyū* 12, Osaka, 1935.

Watanabe Kuntarō, *Shimpen kinshi meijikai* 名辭解, Osaka, 1931, which is a study of the Jurčēn words in the section *Chin-kuo-yü-chieh* 全國語解 at the end of the *Chin shih*.

It may be added that in the *Chin shih* and other Chinese historical texts there is a fairly large number of Jurčēn words indicated by Chinese characters used phonetically, but no systematic study has yet been made of these.

¹ (Notes on the Jurčēn inscription cut in the rock face at the summit of Kwansan near Pukch'ōngsōng.)

² (New materials for the study of the Jurčēn language.) In this article, p. 13, Ishida refers to the MS. of the *Hua-i i-yü* in the Wade collection, in the University Library, Cambridge, which is stated in Giles' *Catalogue of Chinese and Manchu books*, Cambridge, 1898, p. 147, to contain a section in Manchu script. Ishida suggests that this may be Jurčēn script; actually, however, "Manchu" is an error for "Uighur".

³ (A study of the *Nü-chih-kuan i-yü*.)

⁴ (Variants in the Seikadō text of the *Nü-chih-kuan i-yü*.)

⁵ (An interpretation of the *Nü-chih-kuan lai-wên*.)

⁶ Work by Chinese scholars on the Jurčēn script includes the following articles (only the authors and references to periodicals are given):

Mao Wên 毛汶, *Kuo-hsüeh lun-hêng* 國學論衡, 3, 1929.

Lo Fu-ch'êng, *Tung-pai ts'ung-k'an* 17, 1931: *Kuo-hsüeh chi-k'an* I 4, 1923 (a photograph of the same inscription appears as a frontispiece to SZ XXI 6: see Kuwabarā Jitsuzō, RC XVI 3); *K'ao-ku* 考古 5.

Wang Ching-ju, *Shih-hsüeh chi-k'an* 史學集刊 3, 1937.

Liu Shih-lu 劉師陸, *K'ao-ku* 5.

Lo Fu-ch'êng, *Shinagaku* V 4, Kyoto, 1929; *Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan yüeh-k'an* (Bulletin of the National Library of Peking) III 4, 1929; MG 5.

Lo Fu-i, MG 5; *Kokuritsu chiō hakubutsukan jūhō* 13.

Liu Hou-tzu 劉厚滋, *Wên-hsüeh nien-pao* 文學年報 7.

In addition, Lo Fu-ch'êng has published *Nü-chih i-yü*, 2 volumes, 1933.

⁷ "A decipherment of the Jurčēn inscriptions recorded in the *Azuma kagami*."

⁸ (A new study of the Jurčēn language.)

(4) The Manchu language and script

Attention may now be turned to the Manchu script. After the beginning of the Yüan period, south-western Manchuria came strongly under Mongol influence, and it became inevitable that the Mongol language and script were used there: by the Ming period the Mongol language had spread gradually even as far as the Jurčēns in eastern Manchuria, which is the reason why the greater part of the *Ta-ta-kuan lai-wên* 韃靼館來文 of the *Hua-i i-yü* consists of official letters not from Tartars but from Jurčēns¹. In 1599, Nurhači is said to have suggested² the adaptation of Mongol script into Manchu script, to which diacritical marks were first added in 1632.

(a) General works

Watanabe Kuntarō, "Manshūgo Joshingo to kanjion to no kankei", *Ajia kenkyū* 2, Osaka, 1925.

Watanabe Kuntarō, *The Manchu tribe and its language*, Osaka, 1929.

Watanabe Kuntarō, "Manshūgo tsuzuriji zensho", *Ajia kenkyū* 9, Osaka, 1930.

Imanishi Ryū 今西龍, *Manshūgo no hanashi*,³ 1931.

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Manshūgo", in *Ajia mondai kōza* 8, Tokyo, 1939.

Ishihama Juntarō 石濱純太郎, "Mammō gengo no keitō",⁴ in TS 5.

(b) Romanization

Shibata Takeshi, "Manshūji tenji 轉字 shian",⁵ *Tōyōgo kenkyū* 2, Tokyo, 1947.

Ikegami Jirō, "Manshūji no rōmaji tenshahō shikō 試考",⁶ *Tōyōgo kenkyū* 2, Tokyo, 1947.

(c) Grammar

Watanabe Kuntarō, *Manshūgo buntan (teiseiban)*, Osaka, 1926.

Kojima Takeo 小島武男, "Manshūgo buntan", *Yamato bunka* 9, 10, Tenri, 1937.

Ikegami Jirō, "Manshūgo no dōshi gobi -ci oyobi -cibe ni tsuite",⁷ *Kindaichi hakushi koki kinen gengo minzoku ronsō*, Tokyo, 1953.

Yamamoto Kengo, "Igiso 意義素 no katei, manshū bungo no ichi fukudōshi ni tsuite",⁸ GK 25.

¹ See TG XXXV 1, pp. 40, 49.

² See Yamamoto Kengo, "Manshū gogaku shōshomoku", pp. 83-4.

³ (Lecture on the Manchu language.)

⁴ (The lineage of the Manchu and Mongol languages.)

⁵ (A scheme for the transliteration of the Manchu script.)

⁶ (A scheme for the romanization of the Manchu script.)

⁷ (On the -ci and -cibe verb suffixes in Manchu.)

⁸ (On a subordinate verb form in the Manchu literary language.) See also JR 131/2, and the section (pp. 491-536) on Manchu grammar by the same writer in *Sekai gengo gaisetsu*, volume 2, Tokyo, 1955.

Yamamoto Mamoru, "Manshūgo kyoji 虚字 no kenkyū",¹ *MM* XVIII 8.

Uehara Hisashi, "Mambun Manshū jitsuroku ni arawareta kaku 格 joshi ni tsuite",² *Saitama daigaku kiyō* 2, Urawa, 1952.

Uehara Hisashi, "Manshū jitsuroku ni okeru taigen sōgo no ichisei ni tsuite",³ *Kokugo* II 2-4, Tokyo, 1953.

Demura Ryōichi 出村良一, "Manshūgo oyobi tsungūsu 通古斯 go ni okeru dōshi tenka 轉化 no setsubigo ni tsuite",⁴ *TG* XVIII 3, 4.

Ikegami Jirō, "Manshūgo no ommon bunken ni kansuru ichi hōkoku",⁵ *TG* XXXIII 2, XXXVI 4.

Ikegami Jirō, "Manshūgo no jakkan no bungokei chū no ū no arawasu boin ni tsuite",⁶ *Tōyōgo kenkyū* 1, Tokyo, 1946.

The two last-mentioned are studies of the pronunciation of the early Manchu language from the evidence of Manchu texts written in the Korean ōnmun script.

(d) Dictionary

Haneda Tōru (ed.), *Manwa jiten*, Kyoto, 1937.

This includes all the Manchu words in the *Tsêng-ting*⁷ 增訂, *Szū-t'i* 四體 and *Wu-t'i ch'ing-wên-chien* and the *Ch'ing-wên hui-shu* 清文彙書, but does not include those in the *Ch'ing-wên pu-hui* 清文補彙.

It may be mentioned that the new Manchu-German dictionary in romanization, by the late Erich Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschu-sprache*, Tokyo, 1952-5, was printed in Japan although published in Germany. All the three volumes have now appeared.

(e) Manchu documents and inscriptions

Watanabe Kuntarō, "Ryūkyūoku shinkōhyō to seiiki Shōa 莊阿 koku kōhyō 降表 ni tsuite",⁸ *Naitō hakushi shōju kinen shigaku ronsō*, Kyoto, 1930.

Oshibuchi Hajime, "Ryōyō ramafun hibun no kaisetsu",⁹ *Naitō hakushi kanreki shukuga shinagaku ronsō*, Kyoto, 1926, and *SR* XXII 4.

Oshibuchi Hajime, *Manshū hiki* 碑記 *kō*,¹⁰ Tokyo, 1943.

(f) Manchu literature

Ura Renichi, Itō Takao 伊東隆夫, "Emu tanggū orin sakda i gisun no kenkyū",¹ *SGK* 52.

Hashikawa Tokio, *Manshū bungaku kōhai kō*,² Peking, 1932.

(g) Spoken Manchu

Hattori Shirō, "Manshūgo oninshi no tame no ichi shiryō",³ *Onsei no kenkyū* 6, Tokyo, 1937.

Hattori Shirō, "Kitsurin shō ni manshūgo wo saguru",⁴ *GK* 7-8. Kōno Rokurō, "Manshūkoku Kokka 黑河 chihō ni okeru manshūgo no ichi tokushoku",⁵ *Gakusō* 3, Seoul, 1944.

Kobori Iwao 小堀巖, "Aigun fukin no manshūzoku no gengo ni tsuite",⁶ *MK* XIV 2.

In the first of these articles the author states that he learned from a Manchurian born in Hsin-chiang (Sinkiang) 新疆 province the interesting fact that several hundred thousand Manchurians living in the I-li 伊犁, Hui-yüan 惠遠, Ti-hua 迪化 and T'a-ch'eng 塔城 areas still continue to use Manchu as their native language, writing it in a romanized transcription.

A word of warning may here be offered for those using Japanese reference works, that the word "manshūgo" is sometimes used to indicate the Manchu dialect of Chinese, and not the Manchu language.

(5) The Tungus languages

Hattori Shirō, "Daikōanrei hokubu ni okeru iwayuru Yakūto zoku ni tsuite",⁷ *Onsei no kenkyū* 6, Tokyo, 1937; see also *MK* V 2.

Kamimaki Raisaburō 上牧瀬三郎, *Soron zoku no shakai*,⁸ Tokyo, 1940.

Nakanome Akira 中目覺, *Orokko buntan*,⁹ Tokyo, 1917.

Nakanome Akira, *Grammatik der Orokko Sprache*, Osaka, 1928.

Ikegami Jirō, "Tsungūsu go Orokko hōgen no sono kinrin hōgen kan ni okeru ichi",¹⁰ *MK* XIV 2.

Ikegami Jirō, "Tsungūsu go Orokko hōgen no boin onso 音素 ō ni tsuite",¹¹ *GK* 22-3.

¹ See also an article by Inaba Iwakichi in *HKR*.

² (A study of the history of Manchu literature written in Chinese.)

³ (Some material for a history of the pronunciation of Manchu.)

⁴ "Searching for the Manchu language in Chi-lin province."

⁵ (A special feature of the Manchu spoken in the Hei-ho area of Manchuria.)

⁶ "On the language of the Manchus near Ai-hun."

⁷ (On the so-called Yakut tribe in northern Ta-hsing-an-ling.)

⁸ (Social life in the Solon tribe.)

⁹ (Orokko grammar.) The following item is a German translation by W. Othmer in *Asia kenkyū* 8.

¹⁰ "The position of the Orokko among the neighbouring Tungus dialects."

¹¹ "On the vowel phoneme 'ō' in the Orokko dialect of Tungus." See also the section (pp. 443-88) on the Tungus languages by the same writer in *Sekai gengo gaisetsu*, volume 2, Tokyo, 1955.

¹ (A study of the Manchu particles.)

² (On case-endings in the Manchu text of the *Man-chou shih-lu*.)

³ (On the relative position of nouns in the *Man-chou shih-lu*.)

⁴ "Derivative suffixes of the verb in the Manchu and Tungus languages."

⁵ "A report on Manchu ōn-mun materials."

⁶ (On the vowels representing "ū" in some Manchu literary style forms.)

⁷ See Imanishi Shunji, *SR* XXIII 4.

⁸ (On a tribute document from Liu-ch'iu and a submission document from Chuang-a state in Chinese Turkestan.)

⁹ "An interpretation of the inscriptions on a Lama tomb at Liao-yang."

¹⁰ (Studies on Manchu tomb inscriptions.)

Yamamoto Kengo, "Tsungūsu mōko shōgo ni okeru meishi gōkan
語幹 keisei gōbi -ri ni tsuite",¹ GK 14.

It may be added that the late S. M. Shirokogoroff's manuscript of a Tungus dictionary was published in Japan:

A Tungus dictionary, *Tungus-Russian and Russian-Tungus*, photo-gravured from the Manuscripts, Tokyo, 1944.

(6) Other languages

Palaeo-Siberian languages spoken in north Manchuria are described in: Takahashi Moritaka 高橋盛孝, *Hoppō shōgengo gaisetsu*,² Tokyo, 1943.

Nakanome Akira, *Nikubun buntan*,³ Tokyo, 1917.

Takahashi Moritaka, "Giriyaku zoku ni okeru gairai go oyobi gairai bunka ni tsuite",⁴ in *Tōyōgaku sōhen*, Osaka, 1934.

F. MANCHURIAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE

Japanese work on the archaeology of Manchuria started after the Russo-Japanese war with the investigation of ancient sites in southern Manchuria by Torii Ryūzō and Hamada Kōsaku.

Torii Ryūzō, *Minami manshū chōsa hōkoku*,⁵ Tokyo, 1910.

Hamada Kōsaku, "Minami manshū ni okeru kōkogakuteki kenkyū",⁶ in *Tōa kōkogaku kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1930,

and similar work has been continued subsequently:

Yagi Shōzaburō 八木 三郎, *Manshū kyūsekishi*⁷ 志, 3 volumes, Dairen, 1924-9.

Yagi Shōzaburō, *Manshū kōkogaku (kaitei zōho)*,⁸ Tokyo, 1944.

In 1926 the Tōa kōkogakkai was formed. In 1927 its first excavation, carried out in co-operation with the archaeological society of Peking University, was at P'i-tzū-wo 貔子窩 in the Kwantung peninsula under the leadership of Hamada Kōsaku, and showed that the remains belonged to two strata, the late stone age and the early bronze age, in both of which the extent of Chinese influence was clearly demonstrated. In the following year, under the leadership of Harada Yoshito, Mu-yang-ch'êng 牧羊城 in the same peninsula was excavated, and the discoveries gave definite

information about the origin, development and chronology of bronze implements in the Far East. The third excavation, in 1929, led by Hamada Kōsaku and Kiyono Kenji 清野謙次 investigated Han-dynasty tombs at Nan-shan-li 南山裡, again in the same peninsula. In 1931 Mori Osamu 森修 and Naitō Hiroshi 内藤寛 investigated two Han brick-tombs at Ying-ch'êng-tzū 營城子 and discovered Han wall-paintings in them. In 1933 and 1934 under the leadership of Harada Yoshito an excavation was carried out at the present Tung-ching-ch'êng, the site of the old capital of Po-hai, which yielded much evidence about Po-hai culture and enabled the layout of the town in the T'ang style to be deduced. In the next year Hamada Kōsaku opened some prehistoric stone cist tombs at Hung-shan-hou 紅山後 in Jehol province and found two cultural strata represented there, one being the painted pottery culture belonging to the new stone age, and the other the bronze culture connected with the so-called Sui-yüan 綏遠 bronze culture. In 1933 also there was an excavation at Yang-t'ou-wa 羊頭窪, again in the Kwantung peninsula, under the leadership of Mizuno Seiichi.

All these reports were published in the impressive series *Tōhō kōkogaku sōkan* (*Archaeologia Orientalis*):

Series A. (Kōshu)

1. *Hishika* 貔子窩, *minami manshū Hekiryū kahan no senshi jidai iseki*,¹ Tokyo and Kyoto, 1929.
2. *Bokuyōjō* 牧羊城, *minami manshū Rōtetsu* 老鐵 *sanroku* 山麓 *Kan oyobi Kan izen iseki*,² Tokyo and Kyoto, 1931.
3. *Nanzanri* 南山裡, *minami manshū Rōtetsu sanroku no Kandai sembo*³ 顯墓, Tokyo and Kyoto, 1933.
4. *Eijōshi* 營城子, *Zembokujōeki* 前牧城驛 *fukin no Kandai hekiga sembo*,⁴ Tokyo and Kyoto, 1934.
5. *Tōkyōjō* 東京城, *Bokkaioku Jōkyō ryūsenfu shi* 址 *no hakkutsu chōsa*,⁵ Tokyo, 1939.
6. *Sekihō* 赤峰 *Kōsango* 紅山後, *manshūkoku Nekka shō Sekihō Kōsango senshi iseki*,⁶ Tokyo, 1938.

¹ "On the suffix -ri in some Tungus and Mongolian languages."

² (An introduction to the languages of the North.)

³ (A grammar of the Gilyak language.) A German translation, *Grammatik der Nibun-Sprache (des Gilyakischen)*, by W. Othmer, appeared in *Ajia kenkyū* 5, Osaka, 1927. See also the section (pp. 753-75) on the Gilyak language by Hattori Takeshi in *Sekai gengo gaisetsu*, volume 2, Tokyo, 1955.

⁴ (On foreign words and foreign culture in the Gilyak tribe.)

⁵ (Reports on field investigations in southern Manchuria.)

⁶ "An archaeological investigation in southern Manchuria."

⁷ (A description of ancient Manchurian remains.)

⁸ (Manchurian archaeology, corrected and revised edition.) See also JR 139/10.

¹ "P'i-tzū-wo, prehistoric sites by the river Pi-liu-ho, South Manchuria."

² "Mu-yang-ch'êng, Han and pre-Han sites at the foot of mount Lao-T'ieh in South Manchuria."

³ "Nan-shan-li, brick tombs of the Han dynasty at the foot of mount Lao-T'ieh, South Manchuria."

⁴ "Ying-ch'êng-tzū, the Han brick-tombs with fresco-paintings, etc., near Chien-mu-ch'êng-i, South Manchuria."

⁵ "Tung-ching-ch'êng, report on the excavation of the site of the capital of Po-hai."

⁶ "Hung-shan-hou, Ch'ih-fêng, prehistoric sites at Hung-shan-hou, Ch'ih-fêng, in the province of Jehol, Manchuria."

Series B (Otsushu)

3. Yōtōwa 羊頭窩, *Kantōshū Ryojun Hato 鳩 wannai ni okeru senshi iseki*,¹ Tokyo, 1942.

From 1935 onwards, the Tōa kōkogakkai turned its attention to excavations in Inner Mongolia and North China, but archaeological work in Manchuria nevertheless became increasingly active, with the investigation of Kao-kou-li mountain fortresses in the east, prehistoric sites in the Kwantung peninsula, dolmens in the south, sites and Liao tombs in Jehol, and even sites in the north. The reports of some excavations completed towards the end of the war have not yet been published.

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Bujun no shiseki",² in *MSK* 1.

Kuhara Ichiji 久原市次, Yamamoto Tadashi 山本正, "Minami manshū no dorumen to sono hōi",³ *RTC* XXVIII, 2.

Kuhara Ichiji, "Minami manshū no dorumen ni kansuru ichikōsatsu",⁴ *Mammō chiri rekishi* 3, Mukden, 1933.

Mikami Tsugio, "Manshū ni okeru shisekibo no arikata",⁵ *KZ* XXXVIII 4.

Kishida Hideto 岸田日出刀, Tsuchiura Kijō 土浦龜城, *Nekka iseki*,⁶ Tokyo, 1940.

Yawata Ichirō 八幡一郎, "Nekka shō nambu no senshi jidai iseki oyobi ibutsu",⁷ 2 volumes, Tokyo, 1935-40.

Shimada Masao, *Rintō 林東 no enkaku*,⁸ 1944.

Tokunaga Shigeyasu 徳永重康, Naora Nobuo 直良信夫, *Manshū teikoku Kitsurin shō Kokyōton 顧郷屯 dai ikkai hakkutsu butsu kenkyū hōbun*,⁹ Tokyo, 1934.

Mizuno Seiichi, Komai Kazuchika, Mikami Tsugio, *Hokuman fudo zakki*,¹⁰ Tokyo, 1938.

The following works by Torii Ryūzō, who for many years carried out excavations in Manchuria and Mongolia, deal with Liao remains:

Kōkogakujō yori mitaru Ryō no bunka zufu,¹¹ 4 volumes, Tokyo, 1946.

"Ryō no Jōkyō 上京 to sono ihin",¹² *Kokka* XXI 248, 253, Tokyo, 1911.

¹ "Yang-t'eu-wa, fouille d'un site préhistorique dans la baie de Hatowan, près de Rioziun, en mandchourie méridionale."

² (Historical sites at Fu-shun.)

³ (The dolmens in southern Manchuria and the direction in which they face.)

⁴ (A study of the dolmens of southern Manchuria.)

⁵ "The dolmens in Manchuria."

⁶ (Remains in Jehol.)

⁷ (Prehistoric sites and remains in southern Jehol.)

⁸ (The history of Lin-tung.)

⁹ (Report on the finds of the first excavation at Ku-hsiang-t'un in Chi-lin province, Manchuria.)

¹⁰ (Notes on sites in northern Manchuria.)

¹¹ (Illustrations of the culture of Liao, from the viewpoint of archaeology.)

¹² (Shang-ching of Liao and its remains.)

"Ryōdai no hekiga ni tsuite",¹ *Kokka* XLI 490, 491, 492, 493, Tokyo, 1931.

Ryojun hakubutsukan zuroku,² Tokyo, 1943, is an illustrated list of Manchurian archaeological exhibits and exhibits from the Ōtani mission to Chinese Turkestan.

Apart from the work done by archaeologists making visits from Japan, the following reports were published by Japanese archaeologists resident in Manchuria:

Murata Jirō, *Manshū no shiseki*,³ Tokyo, 1944.

Manshūkoku koseki kobutsu chōsa hōkokusho:

1. Yagi Shōzaburō, *Kinshū 錦州 shō no koseki*,⁴ Hsinking, 1936.
2. Shimada Sadahiko, *Kōkogakujō yori mitaru Nekka*,⁵ Hsinking, 1940.
3. Toriyama Kiichi, Fujita Ryōsaku, *Kantō 間島 shō koseki chōsa hōkoku*,⁶ Hsinking, 1941.
4. Sonoda Kazuki, *Kitsurin Hinkō 濱江 ryōshō ni okeru Kindai no shiseki*,⁷ Hsinking, 1941.

Manshū koseki kobutsu meisshō tennen kinembutsu hozon kyōkai kaishi 會誌:

1. Takikawa Masajirō, *Ryōkin no kojō*,⁸ 1941.
2. Endō Ryūji 遠藤隆次, *Kokyōton*, 1942.

As will have been seen, the majority of the works quoted above are reports of field work, but there are also many publications, especially *KZ*, dealing with Manchurian archaeology in general, and with various branches of it:

(a) *Manchurian archaeology in general*

Miyake Toshinari 三宅俊成, *Manshū kōkogaku gaisetsu*,⁹ 1944.

Shimada Sadahiko, "Manshū kōkogaku hattatsu shōshi",¹⁰ *Dorumen* II 4, Tokyo, 1933.

Egami Namio, "Tōa kōkogaku",¹¹ *Rekishi kyōiku* VII 9, Tokyo, 1932.

(b) *Prehistoric period*

Naora Nobuo, "Manshū no kyū sekki jidai",¹² *Dorumen* IV 6, Tokyo, 1935.

¹ "On the wall-paintings of the Liao dynasty."

² (Illustrated catalogue of the Ryojun hakubutsukan (Port Arthur Museum).)

³ (Historical sites of Manchuria.)

⁴ (Ancient sites in Chin-chou province.)

⁵ (Jehol from the viewpoint of archaeology.)

⁶ (Report of an investigation of ancient sites in Chien-tao province.)

⁷ (Historical sites of the Chin period in Chi-lin and Pin-chiang provinces.)

⁸ (The ancient fortresses of Liao and Chin.)

⁹ (An outline of Manchurian archaeology.)

¹⁰ (A short history of the development of Manchurian archaeology.)

¹¹ (Far Eastern archaeology.)

¹² (The palaeolithic age in Manchuria.)

Mizuno Seichi, "Mammō shin sekki jidai yōron",¹ *Kōkōgaku* V 8, Osaka, 1935.

Umehara Sueji, "Kantō shū shizen bunka shoken",² in *Tōa kōkōgaku ronkō* 1, Kyoto, 1944.

Umehara Sueji, "Minami manshū tokuni Kantō shū no shizen bum-butsu ni kansuru shin kenkai",³ in *Tōa kōkōgaku gaikan*, Kyoto, 1950.

Manchurian architecture may perhaps be added here after archaeology, as it largely involves the study of ancient temples and palaces.

(a) *Temple architecture*

Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, "Manshū no butsuji kenchiku",⁴ *Tōyō kyōkai chōsabu gakujutsu hōkoku* 1, Tokyo, 1909.

Murata Jirō, "Manshū no buttō gaisetsu",⁵ *Kenchikugaku kenkyū* 113, Kyoto, 1942.

Murata Jirō, "Manshū no Kōshi byō 廟 kenchiku",⁶ *MG* 1.

Murata Jirō, "Manshū ni okeru kaikyōji kenchikushi no kenkyū",⁷ *Manshū kenchiku kyōkai zasshi* X 7, 1930.

Murata Jirō, *Hōten Shōryō 昭陵 chōsa hōkoku*,⁸ Dairen, 1929.

Murata Jirō, *Hōten Shōryō zufu*,⁹ Dairen, 1927.

Igarashi Makita 五十嵐牧太, *Nekka koseki to chibetto geijutsu*,¹⁰ 1942.

(b) *Palace architecture*

Murata Jirō, "Hōten kyūden kenchikushi kō",¹¹ *MG* 2.

Itō Seizō 伊藤清造, *Hōten kyūden kenchiku no kenkyū*,¹² Tokyo, 1929.

Itō Seizō, *Hōten kyūden kenchiku zushū*,¹³ Tokyo, 1929.

A collection of photographs of the Summer Palace in Jehol is to be found in:

Sekino Tadashi, Takeshima Takuichi, *Nekka*,¹⁴ 5 volumes, Tokyo, 1934-7.

¹ (Summary of the neolithic age in Manchuria and Mongolia.)

² (A view of prehistoric culture in Kwantung province.)

³ (A new view of prehistoric remains in Southern Manchuria and especially in Kwantung province.)

⁴ (Buddhist temple architecture in Manchuria.)

⁵ (A description of Buddhist pagodas in Manchuria.)

⁶ "Confucian temples in Manchuria."

⁷ (A study of the history of the architecture of Islamic temples in Manchuria.)

⁸ (A report on an investigation of the mausoleum of T'ai-tsung in Mukden.)

⁹ (Do., plates.)

¹⁰ (The remains at Jehol and Lamaist art.)

¹¹ "An architectural history of the Palace of the early Ch'ing dynasty at Mukden."

¹² (A study of the architecture of the Royal Palace at Mukden.)

¹³ (Do. plates.)

¹⁴ (Jehol.)

G. MANCHURIAN CUSTOMS, AND SHAMANISM

The field investigation on old Manchurian customs (Manshū kyūkan chōsa) carried out by the Research section (chōsaka¹) of the South Manchuria Railway Company was confined, in fact, to an investigation of customs and practices concerning ownership and sale of land. The published results contain valuable information:

Manshū kyūkan chōsa hōkoku

Naimufu kanshō 官莊,² Dairen, 1914.

Kōsan 皇產,³ Dairen, 1915.

Mōchi 蒙地,⁴ Dairen, 1914.

Ippan minchi 民地,⁵ 3 volumes, Dairen, 1914-15.

Ten 典 *no kanshū*,⁶ Dairen, 1913.

Ō 押 *no kanshū*,⁷ Dairen, 1913.

Soken 租權,⁸ Dairen, 1914.

Other work on related subjects includes:

Minami manshū tetsudō kabushiki kaisha chōsaka, *Kantōshū tochi kyūkan ippan*⁹ 一斑, Dairen, 1914.

Ishida Bunjirō 石田文次郎, Shimizu Kinjirō 清水金二郎, "Manshū ni okeru kei 契 no kenkyū",¹⁰ *Tōa jimbun gaku* I 1, Kyoto, 1941.

Shimizu Kinjirō, *Kei no kenkyū, manshi tochi kankō kihan ni tsuite*,¹¹ Kyoto, 1945.

Shimizu Kinjirō, *Manshū chicken seido no kenkyū*,¹² Tokyo, 1946.

Manshūkoku shihōbu, *Manshū kazoku seido kanshū chōsa*: vol. 1, *Harubin oyobi Enkitsu* 延吉 *chihō*,¹³ Tokyo, 1944.

Field investigation of Shamanism has also been undertaken:

Akamatsu Chijō 赤松智城, Akiba Takashi, *Mammō no minzoku to shūkyō*,¹⁴ Tokyo, 1941.

¹ The name of this section was later altered to "chōsabu" (see p. 63).

² (Feudal estates belonging to the Royal Family in Manchuria.)

³ (Royal estates.)

⁴ (The land system of eastern Inner Mongolia and western Manchuria.)

⁵ (The land system in Manchuria.)

⁶ (Mortgage practices.)

⁷ (Pledging practices.)

⁸ (Rental rights.)

⁹ (A summary of ancient practices regarding the land system in Kwantung province.)

¹⁰ (A study of contract in Manchuria.)

¹¹ (A study of contract, on the regulations governing the land system in Manchuria and China.)

¹² (A study of the title-deed system in Manchuria.)

¹³ (An investigation into customs in the Manchurian family system: districts of Harbin and Yen-chi.)

¹⁴ (The peoples and religious beliefs of Manchuria and Mongolia.)

Akiba Takashi, "Sama 薩瑪 no fusai 巫祭 to taisen 大仙 no fujutsu 巫術",¹ MK I 2.

Akiba Takashi, "Manshū shamankyō no kasai 家祭",² *Shūkyō kenkyū* XI 1, Tokyo, 1934.

Akamatsu Chijō, "Manshū kijin 旗人 no kasai",³ MK I 2.

Oyama Hikoichi 大山彦一, "Shamankyō to manshūzoku no kazoku seido",⁴ MK VII 2.

Kobori Iwao, "Manshūzoku shaman no saishi wo mite",⁵ MK XIV 1.

Ishibashi Ushio 石橋丑雄, *Peipin no shamankyō ni tsuite*,⁶ Tokyo, 1934.

The first in the above list is a report of a field survey of the religious customs of the Orocco, Goldi⁷ and Manchurian tribes and of the Mongols living in the Hsing-an-ling area of Manchuria.

A Shaman festival in the Peking Imperial Palace in the Ch'ing dynasty is described by

Inoue Ichii 井上以智爲, "Shinchō kyūtei shamankyō shiden 祠殿 ni tsuite",⁸ in *HR*.

H. WORKS QUOTED

The following books and Festschrifts have been indicated by abbreviations (for *HR* see JR 106):

- HKR Hattori sensei koki shukuga kinen rombunshū, Tokyo, 1936.
 IMR Inaba hakushi kanreki kinen mansenshi ronsō, Seoul, 1938.
 IR Ikeuchi hakushi kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō, Tokyo, 1940.
 KR Kuwabara hakushi kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō, Kyoto, 1931.
 KSR Kigen nisen roppyakunen kinen shigaku rombunshū, Kyoto, 1941.
 MRC Manshū rekishi chiri, 2 volumes and maps, Tokyo, 1913.
 MSK 1 Ikeuchi Hiroshi, *Mansenshi kenkyū, jōsei hen*, Kyoto, 1951.
 MSK 2-3 Ikeuchi Hiroshi, *Mansenshi kenkyū, chūsei hen*, 2 volumes, Tokyo, 1933-7.
 SSK Ichimura Sanjirō, *Shinashi kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1939.
 TBK Naitō Torajirō, *Tōyō bunkashi kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1936.
 TS Tōyō shichō (Iwanami kōza), Tokyo, 1934-6.
 TSR Naitō Torajirō, *Tokushi sōroku*, Tokyo, 1929.
 WT Wada Sei, *Tōashi ronsō*, Tokyo, 1942.

¹ "Notes on Manchurian Shamanism: Shamanistic ceremonies and performances".

² (The domestic festivals of Shamanism in Manchuria.)

³ "Religious ceremonies among the Manchu nobles formerly belonging to the 'Banners'."

⁴ "Shamanism and the family system of the Manchus."

⁵ "Religious rites and ceremonies of Manchu Shamans."

⁶ (On Shamanism in Peking.)

⁷ See also *Academia Sinica Monographs*, Series A, No. 14.

⁸ "The Shamanistic Sanctuaries in the Peking Palace."

YMK Yanai Watari, *Mōkoshi kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1930.

YR Yamashita sensei kanreki kinen tōyōshi rombunshū, Tokyo, 1938.

The following abbreviations have been used for the periodicals of which details were given in JR 144-7 (additional information is added in brackets about the dates of some issues):

- GK *Gengo kenkyū* (7-8, 1941; 14, 1949; 22-3, 1953; 25, 1954).
 KZ *Kōkōgaku zasshi* (XXX, 1940; XXXVIII, 1952).
 MK *Minzokugakū kenkyū* (V, 1939; VII, 1941; XVI, 1951).
 NNS *Nishi Nihon shigaku* (3, 1950; 13, 1953).
 RK *Rekishigaku kenkyū* (25, 26, 1935; 54, 1938; 76, 1940; 88, 91, 1941; 99, 1942; 111, 1943).
 SC *Shichō* (IV 3 = 11, 1934; V 2 = 14, 1935; VI 1 = 16, 1936).
 SE *Shien* (29, 1943; 46-50, 1951; 51, 52, 1952).
 SGK *Shigaku kenkyū* (VII 1 = 19, 1935; VIII 3 = 24, 1937; IX 2 = 26, 1937; X 1 = 28, 1938; XII 1 = 33, 1940; 52, 1953; 54, 1954).
 SR *Shirin* (X, 1925; XVII, 1932; XXII, 1937; XXVII, 1942).
 SZ *Shigaku zasshi* (IX, 1898; XXI, 1910; XXIV, 1913; L, 1939; LX, 1951).
 TG *Tōyō gakukō* (II, 1912; VI, 1916; XII, 1922; XVII, 1928; XX, 1933; XXVI, 1939).
 TH *Tōhōgaku* (8, 1954).
 TK *Tōyōshi kenkyū* (I, 1935-6; II, 1936-7; VI, 1940-2; VII, 1942).
 TR *Tōa ronsō* (2, 3, 1940).

The following are the other periodicals for which abbreviations have been used:

- GM GEIMON, publ. by Kyōto bungakkai, Kyoto.
 I (1910)-XXII 3 (1931). (VI, 1915; XV, 1924).
 KG KITA AJIA GAKUHŌ, "Mitteilungen über Nordasiatische Kultur", publ. by Minami ajia bunka kenkyūjo, Tokyo.
 I (1942)-3 (1944).
 MCR MANSSEN CHIRI REKISHI KENKYŌ HŌKOKU, publ. by Tōkyō teikoku daigaku bungakubu, Tokyo.
 I (1915)-16 (1941). (5, 1918; 8, 1921; 9, 1922; 15, 1937).
 MG MANSHŪ GAKUHŌ, "Memoirs of the Society of Manchuology", publ. by Manshū gakkai, Dairen.
 I (1932)-8-9 (1944). (2, 1933; 3, 1934; 4, 1936; 5, 1937).
 MM MAMMŌ, publ. by Manshū bunka kyōkai, Dairen.
 I (1920)-XXIV 10 (1943). (XIV, 1934; XVI, 1935; XVIII, 1937).
 MR MAMMŌSHI RONSŌ, "Bulletin de l'histoire Mandchou-mongolienne", publ. by Nichiman bunka kyōkai, Hsinking.
 I (1938)-4(1943). (2, 1939; 3, 1940).

- MS* MANSHŪ SHIGAKU, publ. by Manshū shigakkai, Mukden.
I (1937)–II 3 (1938).
- MTB* MEMOIRS OF THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF THE TŌYŌ BUNKO
(ORIENTAL LIBRARY).
I (1926)– . (4, 1929; 5, 1930; 6, 1932; 9, 1937; 10, 1938.)
- RC* REKISHI CHIRI, publ. by Nihon rekishi chiri gakkai, Tokyo.
I (1899)– . (VII, 1905; IX, X, 1907; XVII, 1911; XX, 1912.)
- RTC* REKISHI TO CHIRI, publ. by Shigaku chirigaku dōkōkai, Kyoto.
I (1917)–XXXIV 4–5 (1934). (XXVI, 1930; XXVIII, 1931.)
- SG* SEIKYŪ GAKUSŌ, publ. by Seikyū gakkai, Seoul.
I (1930)–30 (1938). (6, 1931; 10, 1932; 28, 1937.)
- SK* SHOKŌ, publ. by Mantetsu Dairen toshokan, Dairen.
I (1916)–XVI 5 (=158) (1944). (59–64, 1934; XV, 1943; XVI, 1944).
- TGT* TŌHŌ GAKUHŌ, TŌKYŌ, "Journal of Oriental Studies, Tokyo",
publ. by Tōhō bunka gakuin, Tokyo.
I (1931)–XV 2 (1944). (XI, 1940; XII, 1941; XIII, 1942;
XIV, 1943).

I. CONCLUSION

Japanese work upon Manchurian studies, which developed, in the case of history, from the publication of *Mansen chiri rekishi kenkyū hōkoku*, in the case of research upon ancient customs, from the investigations carried out by the South Manchuria Railway Company, and in the case of archaeology, from the excavations in South Manchuria by the Tōa kōkogakkai, was extremely active between about 1935 and 1945, mainly in these three fields: such branches as ethnology, anthropology, language and social conditions received some attention, but not on the same scale.

Perhaps the most effective of all this work has been the research on Manchurian history, in the identification of places and tribes mentioned in the Chinese sources,¹ and in the establishment of their chronology. This has been made possible by a thorough study of the Chinese historical sources, supported by field investigations of actual remains in the areas concerned, enabling theories based on texts to be checked and verified archaeologically. In this way, for example, the history of Po-hai and of Liao has been greatly clarified by a combination of continuous textual study and archaeological evidence. Similarly, the history of the Jurchens in the Ming period is being defined by close examination of the Ming and Korean

source materials. Nevertheless much remains to be done in Manchurian history, especially in the fields of social and cultural history: thus there is as yet no comprehensive general treatment of the "eight banner system" which formed the basis of Ch'ing power.

The Japanese excavations in South Manchuria were the first large-scale systematic excavations to be carried out in the Far East, and it was in the light of experience gained there that later excavations in Inner Mongolia, North China and Japan itself were undertaken.

It may be specially noted that at the present time there are two or three well-qualified Japanese scholars of Manchu linguistics producing results of much value. This is a field in which more research is now in progress than in the pre-war period.

In conclusion, the hope may be expressed that, on account of the sinicization of the Manchu people and their almost complete obliteration as a separate race, urgent efforts will be made, by those in a position to do so, to study their language and customs before they finally disappear.

¹ Useful explanatory notes on the Chinese sources for Manchurian studies are given in:

"Inyō shomoku kaisetsu", in *MRC* 1.

"Shiryō mokuroku", *RC* 26.

Shimada Yoshimi, "Manshū kankei kanseki kaidai", *SK* 61–4.