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and Hok-Lam Chan**

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Jurchens and the
Chin Dynasty**

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the Chin Dynasty



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Hok-lam Chan

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CONTENTS

| | |
|---|---------|
| Preface | vii |
| I Chinese Texts on the Jurchen (I): a Translation of the Jurchen in the <i>San ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien Zentralasiatische Studien 9. Wiesbaden, 1975</i> | 119–186 |
| II Chinese Texts on the Jurchen (II): a Translation of Chapter One of the <i>Chin-shih Zentralasiatische Studien 12. Wiesbaden, 1978</i> | 413–452 |
| III Some Folkloristic Data in the Dynastic History of the Chin (1115–1234) <i>Legend, Lore and Religion in China: Essays in Honor of Wolfram Eberhard on his Seventieth Birthday, eds S. Allan and A.P. Cohen. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1979</i> | 135–153 |
| IV Treaties between Sung and Chin <i>Études Song in Memoriam Étienne Balazs, ser. 1, pt 1, ed. F. Aubin. Paris: Mouton & Co., 1970</i> | 55–84 |
| V Jurchen Customary Law and the Chinese Law of the Chin Dynasty <i>State and Law in East Asia, Festschrift für Karl Büniger, eds D. Eikemeier and H. Franke. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981</i> | 215–233 |
| VI The Legal System of the Chin Dynasty <i>Collected Studies on Sung Dynasty Dedicated to Professor James T.C. Liu in Celebration of his Seventieth Birthday, ed. Tsuyoshi Kinugawa. Tokyo: Dohosha, 1989</i> | 387–409 |
| VII Tea Production and Tea Trade Under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty <i>Studia Sino-Mongolica: Festschrift für Herbert Franke, ed. W. Bauer. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979</i> | 109–125 |

| | | |
|-------|---|---------|
| VIII | A Note on Wine <i>Zentralasiatische Studien 8. Wiesbaden, 1974</i> | 241–245 |
| IX | Calamities and Government Relief under the Jurchen Chin Dynasty (1115–1234) <i>Papers on Society and Culture in Early Modern China.</i> <i>Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1992</i> | 781–872 |
| X | The Organization and Utilization of Labor Service under the Jurchen Chin Dynasty <i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 52.2. Cambridge,</i> <i>MA, 1992</i> | 613–664 |
| Index | | 1–5 |

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| This volume contains xiv + 374 pages |
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE: *The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.*

Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and quoted in the index entries.

PREFACE

This selection of articles on the Jurchens and the Chin Dynasty includes studies grown out of the Chin Dynasty History Project which in turn was a part of the ambitious Chinese History Project initiated by Karl-August Wittfogel. In 1939 the Rockefeller Foundation granted substantial sums for a period of over ten years to Professor Wittfogel, who was then affiliated to Columbia University in New York as a member of the International Institute for Social Research. Work for the project started in July 1939, first in New York and later in Seattle, at the University of Washington, where the Far Eastern and Russian Institute under Professor George E. Taylor assumed the administration of the project. During the following years several prominent Chinese scholars worked in Seattle, most notably Feng Chia-sheng, who together with Wittfogel co-authored the monumental volume, *History of Chinese Society, Liao (907–1125)*, published in 1949.

The Liao dynasty was founded by the nomadic Khitan invaders. In northern China they were succeeded by the Tungusic Jurchens who established a dynastic state of their own in 1115. This dynasty took the Sinitic name Chin and existed until 1234 when it succumbed to the Mongols. Under the Chin, who like the Liao were a dynasty of conquest, many Khitan-Liao institutions were taken over or adapted by the new régime. The similarities and differences between these two alien states are evidently of great historical interest. Indeed, in 1944 Feng Chia-sheng had already begun to work on the Chin sources using the same method as for the Liao, namely, topically arranged and annotated translations of the dynastic history of the Chin (*Chin shih*). In the Liao volume many references can be found to the unpublished Chin materials such as 'See HCS, Chin, particularly VII, XIV, and XV (ms)' (note 30 on p. 3). Feng Chia-sheng however returned to China in the summer of 1948, marking an end to work on the Chin materials for a long time. No successor for Feng could be found, and the Rockefeller grants expired after 1949. In 1958 Professor Wittfogel finally handed over the existing materials to the Far Eastern and Russian Institute in Seattle.

A new start was made in 1964–65 when Herbert Franke was appointed Visiting Professor at the University of Washington. His interest in the Chinese dynasties of conquest led him to inquire about the Chin materials. After a long search in the basement of Thomson Hall, a crate was discovered which contained dozen of folders with draft translations from the *Chin shih*

and a few explanatory notes. They were arranged according to the format of the Liao volume, i.e., in fifteen topical sections from 'Administrative Geography and Population' (I) to 'Military System' (XV). The materials were in bad shape, handwritten by Feng Chia-sheng on brittle wartime paper and in some instances hardly legible. They also included a few brief signed comments and notes contributed by Karl. H. Menges (who had already contributed to the Liao volume), Professor Hellmut Wilhelm and 'V.B.' (unidentified). Herbert Franke obtained Professor Taylor's permission to work on these materials, and Professor Wittfogel too gave his consent. Franke had the existing translations revised, typed and newly annotated. From 1969 his work was supported financially by the American Council of Learned Societies (of which the Vice President was Dr Gordon B. Turner) and its Committee on the Study of Chinese Civilization. Over the years repeated grants from ACLS have been provided to pay an honorarium to persons contributing to the project. Sincere thanks are therefore due to ACLS in general and to Dr Jason H. Parker, its current executive associate in particular, who has permitted the remaining balance of a former ACLS grant to the University of Washington to be used for the production of this Variorum volume.

A brief report on the Chin Dynastic History Project was published in *Sung Studies Newsletter* no. 3 (1971). At that time it was planned to produce a volume along the same lines as the Liao volume. In 1971 Professor Hok-lam Chan (from the University of Washington) was invited to join the project. His cooperation was invaluable and has produced several learned papers, three of which are reproduced in this selection. Some relevant publications by other scholars too have grown out of the Chin Dynastic History Project. Mention should be made of Morris Rossabi, *The Jurchens in the Yüan and Ming* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University East Asia Papers no. 27, 1982), and of Susan Bush, 'Archaeological Remains of the Chin Dynasty' in *Bulletin of Sung-Yüan Studies* no. 17 (1981). H. Franke contributed the article on the Chin dynasty to the *Cambridge Encyclopaedia of China* (1982), and has published a survey of Chin society and economy in German, *Nordchina am Vorabend der mongolischen Eroberungen: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft unter der Chin Dynastie (1115-1234)*, (Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978). The chapter on the Chin in vol. 6 of the *Cambridge History of China* (1994) which also deals with the alien régimes in medieval China, is to a large extent based on previous work for the Chin Dynastic History Project. There exists also an unpublished manuscript 'Table of Main Events' where, as in the Liao volume, a chronological account from 1115 to 1234 based on entries in the *Chin shih* is given. H. Chan also published a study of the legitimation of the Chin dynasty: *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussions under the Jurchen Chin Dynasty (1115-1234)* (1984), and another about the Mongol attack on the last Chin capital in 1233-34: *The*

Fall of the Jurchen Chin: Wang E's Memoir on Ts'ai-chou under the Mongol Siege (1993).

Over the years, both Franke and Chan realized that it would not be possible to emulate the Liao volume of the Chin Dynastic History Project, which had enjoyed the cooperation of a great number of scholars and a large degree of financial foundation support. They decided therefore to be content with publishing individual studies on various topics of Chin history. A selection of these are now reproduced in this volume.

The homeland of the Jurchens where they lived as hunters, fishers and farmers was northeastern Manchuria. They spoke a Tungusic language closely related to that of the Manchus, who regarded the Jurchens as their ancestors, and ruled the whole of China from 1644 until 1911. Politically, from the 10th century onward, the Jurchens were vassals of the Khitans to whom they had to pay tribute. They did not, however, form a nation or state in the strict sense but were organized into more or less independent clans who frequently fought against each other. During the 11th century the Wan-yen clan gained prominence and united the other clans under their rule. Finally the Jurchen chieftain Wan-yen A-ku-ta succeeded in defeating their Khitan overlords due to the superior military skills and bravery of the Jurchen warriors. In 1115 A-ku-ta was proclaimed the first monarch of a new dynasty, the Chin. Thus Chinese statehood was adopted together with some elements of Chinese bureaucracy. This period of transition from a clan society to an imperial régime is the subject of articles I and II, where many details of the way of life among the early Jurchens are also represented.

The intrusion of Chinese cultural influences and their eventual acceptance by large parts of the ruling élite did not, however, fully displace old Jurchen customs. Throughout the Chin dynasty we can notice an antagonism between nativists and advocates of sinification. Although Buddhism played a great role, chiefly at the court, many Jurchen customs survived. Article III describes some elements of Jurchen folk religion, such as shamanism. Shamans were influential as interpreters of omens and dreams and performers of magic in warfare. Some rituals such as seasonal riding and archery contests or funeral rites inherited from the Khitans survived, whereas the Chin state introduced institutions and cults of the traditional Chinese state religion.

Article IV is a study of the relations between the Chin and the Chinese Sung state as reflected in the treaties concluded between Chin and Sung. After the Chin armies had conquered the Sung capital of K'ai-feng in 1127, harsh conditions were imposed by the victorious invaders. The Sung had to declare themselves vassals of the Chin and to pay enormous indemnities. There followed years of indecisive warfare until in 1141, both parties agreed on a new treaty that gave Sung a junior status vis-à-vis the Chin and fixed the annual payments to be paid by the Sung. Controlled border trade was

resumed and the borderline between the two states demarcated. A precarious co-existence dominated foreign politics from then on for a long time. This balance was twice temporarily interrupted, first in 1159 when the Chin ruler Hai-ling tried to invade the south, and again in 1206 when Sung started an abortive revanchist campaign against Chin. The sources for the diplomatic relations between Chin and Sung include a great wealth of details and are therefore of importance for the history of diplomacy in East Asia.

Articles V and VI are studies of Jurchen customary law and of the Chin legal system. The pre-dynastic Jurchens did not have written laws but relied on orally transmitted customs. These were quite different from Chinese legal traditions. Feuds between families or clans frequently resulted in manslaughter. Such cases led in early times to unlimited vendettas and thus tended to destabilise society. Vendettas were later prevented by payment of a compensation to the killed person's family. Violations of property by theft were punished by fines and payment of an indemnity, sometimes accompanied by harsh corporal punishment. During the 12th century the Chin gradually adopted a legal system patterned on that of the Chinese, and finally a comprehensive legal code was promulgated in 1201. This code was not a simple copy of Chinese T'ang and Sung legislation; it preserved features of traditional Jurchen law, chiefly in family and inheritance law. A general characteristic of Chin law was the recognition of ethnic differences. This was a factor intended to stabilize the multi-national society of the Chin.

Key aspects of Chin socio-economic institutions and activities are treated in Articles VI to X. In the 12th century the Chin state adopted Chinese fiscal elements, including the bureaucratized state monopolies for salt, wine, tea, and other lucrative commodities. Article VI by Chan treats the tea monopoly system in detail. It appears that whereas the Chinese population under Jurchen rule continued to drink and produce tea subject to state levies, the Jurchen ruling élite belatedly took on the habit and heightened the demand for quality tea which the north was unable to supply. The Chin state thus increasingly drained its coffers by paying the Sung people commodities and even precious metals to import tea from the south and the situation also encouraged contraband trade. It had a deleterious effect on the Chin economy. Article VIII by Franke is focused on the wine monopoly. It shows that the Chin state also adopted the Sung system of wine monopoly and discouraged private production; the revenue from wine was considerably less compared with tea, and its enforcement by the authorities, especially on the Jurchen people, was handled in a very lax and half-hearted way. This is not surprising in view of the fact that whereas the Chinese people were moderate in their drinking habits, the Jurchens, like other northerners, had a reputation for being hard drinkers, and these different customs undoubtedly affected the monopoly system.

Article XI is a survey of the natural calamities and human disasters of the

Jurchen state, and the institutions and policies of government relief from the beginning to the end of the Chin dynasty. A number of calamities and disasters and their frequency have been tabulated from the *Chin shih*, such as drought, locusts and pests, famine, earthquakes, floods, storms, bad harvests, hurricanes, extreme cold, epidemics, and so on. The economic and political impact of these calamities and disasters has been examined and the policies and forms of state relief studied in detail. It shows that by the 12th century, when the Jurchens established a sinitic state in north China, the economic impact of natural disasters on agriculture became more evident, and the Chin rulers increasingly adopted sinitic political practices in their governance. The policies and forms of state relief, both preventive and remedial, again closely followed the T'ang and Sung, including water conservation, extermination of locusts, tax remissions and loan grants, establishment of state granaries, redemption of slaves, dispensation of medical care and others. It appears that although the Chin could not par with the Sung in the administration and dispensation of state relief, it had a better record of performance than the Khitans and the Mongols.

Article X is a comprehensive study of the organization and utilization of labour service in the Chin state, an important arena of its socio-economic institutions and activities, drawing the data from the *Chin shih* and other contemporaneous accounts. It identifies three classes of labourers: compulsory labourers (i.e., statutory corvée, from which one could be exempted by paying a service remission tax), hired labourers, and exempted personnel, which included imperial nobility, ranked officials and other special social groups. The administration of labour service, such as the registration, utilization, and treatment of labourers is examined in succession, followed by a detailed account of several major labour mobilisation projects, such as the capital construction, water conservancy, grand canal transport, military-related undertakings, and others. In a nutshell, the Jurchen rulers evidently made considerable progress in harnessing the traditional Chinese labour service system to meet the timely needs of the state despite some flaws and shortcomings. By comparison, the Chin performance certainly surpassed the Liao, could rank with the Sung in some spheres, and was evidently superior to the Mongol Yüan whose system was riddled with racial and ethnic inequities and discriminatory, haphazard practices.

The authors would like to acknowledge copyright and express appreciation for permission to reproduce the articles in this volume to the following: Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden (I, II, V, VIII); The Chinese Materials Center, Taipei (III); Mme. Nicole Goulric, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris (IV); Dohosha Publishers, Tokyo (VI); Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden (VII); The Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei (IX); *The Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (X).

In addition to the ACLS and the University of Washington, we would like to express our indebtedness to Dr John Smedley for his interest in the reproduction of these papers in the Variorum Collected Studies series, and to Ms Felicia Hecker of Seattle for compiling the index for the volume.

Gauting/Hong Kong
November 1996

HERBERT FRANKE
HOK-LAM CHAN

I

Franke, Herbert

CHINESE TEXTS ON THE JURCHEN
A TRANSLATION OF THE JURCHEN MONOGRAPH IN THE
SAN-CH'AO PEI-MENG HUI-PIEN

Vorbemerkung: Die Tatsache, dass hier die Übersetzung eines chinesischen Textes über die vordynastische Geschichte der Jurchen in englischer Sprache vorgelegt wird, bedarf einer Erklärung. Die Wahl des Englischen geht nämlich darauf zurück, dass die Übersetzung als Vorarbeit für das Kapitel über die Chin-Dynastie in der Cambridge History of China entstanden ist, dessen Abfassung dem Verfasser von deren Herausgeber Prof. Denis C. TWITCHETT übertragen worden war.

The whole of chapter 3 of Hsü Meng-hsin's (1126-1207) "Collected Accounts of the Treaties with the North under Three Reigns" (San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien) is taken up by a monograph on the Jurchen people. It gives a description of their early history, their country, their customs and their relations with the Kitan state of Liao and the Sung dynasty in China proper, and is one of the best coherent accounts on the Jurchen as a people. The text is, however, a patchwork of data taken from a variety of primary sources. Whereas normally the sources from which excerpts are made have been indicated by Hsü Meng-hsin, no such information is given for chapter 3. The textual problems involved are rather complicated, and it would require labourious researches to find out the original sources or to list all the parallels with other texts. The source from which a considerable portion of the text (roughly one fifth) has been taken is Hung Hao's (1088-1155) Sung-mo chi-wen, a work in which the author, who had been kept as a semi-captive by the Jurchen for many years, describes their country and their customs. The textual study of the San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien by CH'EN Lo-su 陳樂素 in Bull. of the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica vol. 6, 2 and 3 (1936) does not clarify the textual derivation

of chapter 3 (see 6, 2, p. 258-259) except for a short reference to the Sung-mo chi-wen.

It should be noted that the account of the Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao on the Jurchen (ed. Shanghai 1901, T'u-shu chi-ch'eng chü, ch. 327, 2b-5b) contains many passages that occur also in ch. 3 of the San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien. Both texts must therefore have used the same primary source. The Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao monograph concentrates on political affairs and contains less ethnographic data than the San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien. It has been translated ably into French by Marquis d'HERVEY de SAINT-DENIS, Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine . . ., Genève 1876 (Textes Atsume Gusa 4), p. 427-461. In a few cases the Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao offers a better reading than the parallel passage in the San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien.

In spite of its unequal character the San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien monograph on the Jurchen is an excellent and in some respects unrivalled source for the life of the Jurchen and their predynastic period prior to 1115. A full translation seems therefore justified. Our annotation has been kept at a minimum. Works frequently quoted are abbreviated as follows:

- BHGM Beiträge zur historischen Geographie der Mandschurei, herausg. von Dr. K. SHIRATORI. 2 Bde., Tokyo 1912-1914.
- CH'EN SHU 陳述. Chin-shih shih-pu wu-chung 金史拾補五種. Peking 1960.
- CP LI T'AO 李燾 (1115-1184), Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien 續資治通鑑長編 Reprint of the 1881 edition, Taipei 1961.
- CS Chin-shih 金史, Po-na edition.
- CTKC Ch'i-tan kuo-chih 契丹國志. Wan-yu wen-k'u edition, Shanghai 1937.
- GCR Otto FRANKE, Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, 5 vols. Berlin 1930-1952.
- GIBERT Lucien GIBERT, Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie. Hongkong 1934.
- GRUBE Wilhelm GRUBE, Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen. Leipzig 1896.

- ISHIDA ISHIDA Mikinosuke 石田幹之助 "Joshingo Kenkyū no Shinshiryō 女真語研究の新資料(New Materials for the Study of the Jurchen Language" in: Kuwabara Hakase Kanreki Kinen Tōyōshi Ronsō 桑原博士還歴記念東洋史論叢 (Kuwabara-Festschrift). Kyoto 1931, p.1271-1323.
- LS Liao-shih 遼史, Po-na edition.
- PFYSL Pei-feng yang-sha lu 北風揚沙錄 in Shuo-fu 說郛. Commercial Press. Reprint Taipei 1962, ch.25, 44a-46a.
- SC HSÜ MENG-HSIN 徐夢莘 (1126-1207), San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien 三朝北盟會編. Reprint of the 1878 edition, Taipei 1962.
- SMCW HUNG HAO 洪皓 (1088-1155), Sung-mo chi-wen 松漠紀聞. Yü-chang ts'ung-shu edition, Nan-ch'ang 1915.
- TCKC Ta-Chin kuo-chih 大金國志. Basic Sinological Series edition Shanghai 1936.
- WF Karl A. WITTFOGEL and FENG Chia-sheng, History of Chinese Society. Liao (907-1125). New York 1949.
- ZAS Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität Bonn.

References to Chinese dynastic histories are made to the Po-na edition throughout.

The monograph on the Jurchen people in SC ch.3 is inserted after the entry which states that a Chin embassy arrived at the Sung court. The Chin envoy was a Po-hai man by the name of Li Shan-ch'ing 李善慶 who arrived together with a "civilized" Jurchen named Hsiao San-to 小散多 and a "wild" Jurchen named Po-ta 渤海 (SC 2, 12b). These three persons arrived on the second day chi-mao of the XIIth month of the first year of Ch'ung-ho (January 14, 1119). They brought a state-letter and presented gifts of Northern pearls, raw gold, sable furs and pine seeds. The envoys came in the company of Ma Cheng 馬政, a Chinese official of Sung who was instrumental in establishing diplomatic contacts between Sung and Chin (for the general political situation and the expecta-

tions which the Sung had for recovering the territories lost to the Kitan in the 10th century see the detailed study by Dagmar THIELE, Der Abschluss eines Vertrages : Diplomatie zwischen Sung- und Chin-Dynastie 1117-1123 (Wiesbaden 1971) = Münchener Ostasiatische Studien vol.6).

Chapter 3 of the SC begins with an entry dated eleventh day ting-ssu of the first month of the second year of Ch'ung-ho, a date corresponding to February 21st (day ting-ssu) or February 22nd (eleventh day of the first month) - the Chinese date for the day is ambiguous. The entry itself says that the envoys were given honorary ranks and emoluments and that they were accomodated in the Pao-hsiang yüan 寶相院, a building which, to judge from the name, may have been a Buddhist temple. Immediately after this entry and without even a break in the line the monograph on the Jurchen begins (ch.3, 1a line 8):

The Jurchen are the former state of Su-shen 肅慎. Their original name was Chu-li-chen 朱理真 which in the foreign language became Nü-chen 女真 through corruption. They were originally the descendants of Chu-meng 朱蒙 in Korea. Some think they are of Black Water Mo-ho stock and thus a separate tribe of the Po-hai, or the Ch'en Han of the (Korean) Three Han. In fact all these were petty states of the Eastern Barbarians. They lived for generations East of the Hun-t'ung-chiang 混同江 and the Ch'ang-pai shan 長白山 which is the source of the Ya-lu shui 鴨綠水. Another name (for this region) is A-chu-huo 阿朮火 which is taken from the name of that river. It is also called A-chih ch'uan 阿芝川 and Lai-liu ho 濼流河. When A-ku-ta established his dynastic title the (name of the place) was changed to "Fortress of the Emperor" (Huang-ti sai 皇帝寨), and under (Wan-yen) T'an (emperor Hsi-tsung, regn. 1135-1149) it was changed to Supreme Capital of Hui-ning Administration (Hui-ning fu Shang-ching 會寧府上京).

The beginning of this account of the Jurchen has also been translated by Paul PELLIOT, Notes on Marco Polo vol.I (Paris 1959) p.373. Chu-meng is Kao Chu-meng 高朱蒙, the legendary founder of the Korean state Koguryo.

Ch'en-Han was one of the three states on the Korean peninsula, and became later the kingdom of Silla.

Hun-t'ung Chiang ("Rivers which flow jointly") is the old name of the Sungari since the Liao dynasty (1024). For details see GIBERT, p.327-328.

The Yalu River has still the same name today, and also the "Long White Mountains" (Ch'ang-pai shan, a name which could also be translated as "Ever - white Mountain"). The mountain was a holy place for the Jurchen.

For A-chu-huo the SC text has the misprint A-mu 木-huo. This river, the modern Chinese name of which is A-shih ho 阿什河, is a right tributary of the Sungari. A-chu-huo is just another Chinese orthography for the old Jurchen name of the river, An-ch'ü-hu 按出虎 (cf. CS 24, 3a where the orthography is A-chu-hu 阿朮許). For other forms see GIBERT, p. 72. They all go back to the old Jurchen word for "gold", *alčun (cf. also H. FRANKE, in ZAS 3 (1969) p. 33). The modern Manchurian name is Alcuka. The modern county town of A-ch'eng 阿城 is situated a few li from the ruins of Hui-ning, the former Jurchen Supreme Capital. The problem of the localisation of Hui-ning is discussed in BHGB vol. 2, p. 116-121.

The Lai-liu River (modern Chinese name La-lin ho 拉林河) is another tributary of the Sungari. The region of the ancient capital of the Jurchen is situated between the "Gold River" and the "Swift River" (see also GIBERT, p. 526-527 for La-lin ho). lalin is "swift" in Manchu.

In the East they border on the ocean, in the South they are neighbours of Korea, in the West they extend to the Po-hai and T'ieh-li and in the North they are close to the Shih-wei. Those who in the San-kuo chih were called I-lou, and under the Yüan-Wei (the Toba) Wu-chi, under the Sui Black Water tribe, and under the T'ang Black Water Mo-ho - this is their region. They had 72 tribes (pu) but no great overlord. Each of their settlements was ruled separately by a chieftain. In the K'ai-huang period of Sui (581-600) they sent envoys who presented tribute, and emperor Wen therefore rewarded them with a banquet. The envoys and their followers rose and performed a dance in the presence of the emperor. The turns and movements all represented fighting attitudes. Emperor Wen said to his court officials: "That in the world there exist such beings - they always have fighting in mind!"

In the Chen-kuan period of T'ang (628-649) when emperor T'ai-tsung made war against Korea the Mo-ho assisted (the Koreans) and fought very hard. When they were defeated at Chu-pi, Kao-Yen-shou 高延壽 and Kao Hui-chen 高惠眞 surrendered with their troops and also with over 100,000 Mo-ho warriors. T'ai-tsung set them all free, and only exterminated (k'eng 坑) three thousand Mo-ho people.

In the K'ai-yüan period (713-741) their chieftain came to the court and was promoted to be magistrate (tz'u-shih) of Po-li 勃利. Later a Black Water Administration (Hei-shui fu) was established and their tribal chief became Supervising Magistrate (tu-tu 都督 tz'u-shih). Throughout the succeeding reigns of T'ang their audiences and presentations (of tribute) were never interrupted.

In the Wu-tai period (907-960) they were for the first time called Nü-chen. In the time of Ming-tsung of the Later T'ang Dynasty (926-933) they regularly raided Teng 登 Prefecture; Po-hai defeated and routed them.

This account is a patchwork of miscellaneous information on the Mo-ho taken from T'ang sources. For a coherent account of the Mo-ho see GIBERT, p. 645-648. The same data occur also in other texts such as the TCKC, see PELLIOT, *op.cit.* 371-372. PELLIOT (p.374) also states that of the several accounts on the Jurchen and their early history that of the SC is the "most sober and accurate".

The dance of the Mo-ho at the Sui court is mentioned in Sui-shu ch. 81, 9b.

The victory of T'ang T'ai-tsung over the Koreans took place in 645. A detailed description (based on the T'ang-shu) is given in T'ang hui-yao (ed. Basic Sinological Series) ch. 95, p.1705-1709. The total strength of the Mo-ho armies is given as 150,000 men, that of the executed Mo-ho as 3,300. Chu-pi 駙驎 "Imperial Sojourn" was the name given to the mountain where T'ai-tsung had set up his camp.

The exact location of Po-li under the T'ang is not known; the present county town of Po-li is in Kirin province. The T'ang prefecture of Po-li was established in 722 for the Mo-ho chieftain (GIBERT, p.764).

The prefecture of Teng is on the Northern coast of the Shantung peninsula. This port was the place where the Jurchen envoys went ashore when they travelled to the Chinese court in K'ai-feng. The raids mentioned in our text must therefore have been made by sea. The modern name is P'eng-lai 蓬萊.

When A-pao-chi of the Kitans profited from the decay and disorder of the T'ang and founded his state in the northern regions, he annexed the 36 barbarian (tribes) and the Nü-chen were one of them. A-pao-chi was afraid that the Nü-chen would cause trouble and so he induced their powerful clans and great families with several thousand

households to move and settle south of Liao-yang in order to divide up their strength so that they could no more communicate with (the other Jurchen). Those who were transferred to Liao-yang and registered there were called Ho-su-k'uan. These are the ones called Civilized Jurchen.

Those living northeast of Hsien 咸 Prefecture delimited by the region where one enters the mountains and valleys and up to the Shu-mo 束沫 River (the Sungari) were subject to the Military Controller of Hsien Prefecture and were allowed to communicate with their home-country. They were neither Civilized nor Uncivilized Jurchen.

North of the Shu-mo River and Northeast of Ning-chiang 寧江 there are in a territory of over one thousand square li over one hundred thousand families and individuals who live as of old scattered in the mountains and valleys in a wilderness beyond the frontier. They elect on their own valiant and powerful persons as chieftains, the smaller ones with one thousand households, the great one with several thousand households. These are called Uncivilized Jurchen.

Those at the farthest borders close to the Eastern Sea are called the Eastern Sea Jurchen. They frequently have yellow hair. All those who have yellow eyes and green pupils are called Yellow-Head Jurchen.

Ho-su-k'uan 合蘇款 is an ethnic designation which occurs also in other orthographies (Ho-su-kun 合蘇袞, Ho-su-kuan 曷蘇館). The word seems to be related to Manchu hashan "fence, palisade" or to Manchu hashū "left" (WF p.101).

Hsien Prefecture is in Central Manchuria north of Mukden; the modern name is K'ai-yüan 開原, see GIBERT, p.241.

Ning-chiang was, like Hsien, a Liao Prefecture, which played an important role as a frontier town bordering on Jurchen territory (GIBERT, p.668-669, WF p.75). The location seems to have been some 70 li north of Kirin where some ruins are still extant (GIBERT 1.c.).

The semi-civilized Jurchen under the jurisdiction of Hsien Prefecture are called Hui-pa 隄霸 in the parallel text Chin-kuo chih in the Shuo-fu (ed. Comm.Press ch.86,10b). In Liao sources the name is written Hui-pa 隄跋 (WF p.92). See also BHGM vol. 2, p.46-47 for a short account of this Jurchen tribe. The name of the tribe is certainly derived from the name of the Hui-fa 輝發

River, a left tributary of the Sungari (GIBERT, p.315 and 322, where more orthographies of the name are recorded).

The "Yellow-head Jurchen" with yellow hair and green eyes seem to indicate that perhaps some groups with Europoid anthropological elements may have lived in Manchuria. "Yellow-head" Shih-wei are also mentioned in T'ang sources (BHGM vol.1, p.363 and GIBERT, p.312-313). The Shih-wei tribes were absorbed into the Kitan empire of Liao, and it has been a matter of debate whether they were of Mongol stock or not (cf. the recent excellent study by Paul RATCHNEVSKY, "Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols?", in Mélanges sinologiques offerts à Monsieur Paul DEMIÉVILLE (Paris 1966). The Hsin-T'ang shu (RATCHNEVSKY op.cit.p.231) states that the Shih-wei language was the same as that of the Mo-ho (the ancestors of the Jurchen). This would point to the fact that at least a part of the Shih-wei federation was of Tungus stock. Also the Yellow-head Jurchen may have been related with the Yellow-head (or Yellow-skin, cf. WF p. 99) Shih-wei, or at least have had a common ancestor in a Europoid ethnic group displaced into Manchuria. Another link between Shih-wei and Jurchen is the fact that in T'ang times the Shih-wei federation comprised, in addition to the Yellow-head Shih-wei, also the Great and Small Ju-che 如者 Shih-wei (RATCHNEVSKY p.235). The name Ju-che has tentatively been regarded as an early form of the name of the Jurchen by PELLIOT (Notes I, p.386). If this could be ascertained, the ethnic name of the Jurchen could be traced as far back as 748, the year when the Ju-che sent an embassy to the T'ang court. In any case the data furnished by the Chinese sources indicate a definite Tungus element among the Shih-wei federation and at the same time a survival of non-Mongoloid anthropological elements in the Far East. On yellow-haired Mongols in more recent times from the 16th century on see also Henry SERRUYS, Yellow Hairs and Red Hats in Mongolia, Central Asiatic Journal 15 (1971-72) p.131-155.

These people are stupid, rustic, daring and violent, and unable to distinguish between life and death. Whenever the Jurchen go to battle they are all covered by heavy armour and ordered to rush forward. This is called "hard army" (ying-chün 硬軍). Although they all belong to one race their dwelling-places are scattered and distant. They do not suffer control amongst each other but destroy and kill each other because everybody tries to become the strongest.

This description must refer to a time when the unification of the Jurchen clans under the Wan-yen tribe had not yet begun, that is, to the 10th and early 11th century. On the early judicial system of the Jurchen see also below p.142-144.

Their territory: It extends from the Kitan to the Northeast. This country has many forests and trees; the fields are suited for hemp and grain. They (the Jurchen) make agriculture their livelihood but do not practice sericulture. The country produces excellent horses, raw gold, big pearls, ginseng and bees-wax, fine linen, pine-seeds and white wolfs-bane (aconite).

As to birds there are falcons, sparrow-hawks and grey falcons from East of the Sea.

As to quadrupeds there are many oxen, sheep, tailed deer, wild dogs, white pigs, grey squirrels and sables.

As to flowers and fruit there are white peonies and watermelons.

In the ocean there are many big fishes and crabs.

"White wolfs-bane", pai-fu-tzu 白附子 is *Aconitum koreanum* R.RAYMOND. It was used as a drug in China.

"White peony" pai-shao-yao 白芍藥 is probably *Paeonia abovata* M. The roots were used as a drug. Its buds were eaten as a vegetable, boiled together with flour, SMCW hsü p.4a -b. The water-melons of Manchuria are described ib.p.4b.

ying 鷹 has been translated as falcons. The sparrow-hawk, a swift bird of prey, is Chin.chan 鷓. Hai-tung-ch'ing 海東青 "the grey (birds) from East of the Sea" were raised and tamed in Northeastern Manchuria and had been an important export good for a long time. See below p. 152.

"White pig" pai-chih 白彘 refers to the skin colour. Chinese pigs are frequently of the black variety. "Grey squirrel": ch'ing-shu 青鼠 .

The winters are extremely cold so that they (the Jurchen) mostly wear furs. Even if they catch one single mouse they strip off its skin and keep it. They all have thick furs for dress which they never take off unless they enter a house. If (their dresses) would be too thin, their fingers would fall off and their skin rupture (because of the cold). Full summer there is like the tenth month in China.

In the Northwest from Yün-chung unto Yen-shan the whole country is for several hundred li rocky and steep and extremely high so that it is very close to the sky.

In the East there are the Prefectures of Su, Fu and others. There are directly opposite Ch'ing Prefecture in China and separated from it by the ocean. There are frequently heavy storms. If the wind blows from there, one can hear faintly the sound of chicken and dogs.

YÜN-chung 雲中 was under the Liao a residence (Ta-t'ung 大同, Northern Shansi) (WF p.81). Yen-shan 燕山 refers to the mountains near Peking and was in Sung times also the name for the territorial subdivision in the Peking region.

Su 蘇 Prefecture was in Liao times on the Liaotung peninsula north of Talien (mod. Chin 金) (WF p.75).

Fu : The text has 扶 but this must be a mistake for the homophone Fu 復. This prefecture was situated, like Su, on the Liao-tung peninsula near its North-western coast (WF p.75).

Ch'ing 青 Prefecture corresponds to modern I-tu 益都 in Shantung. The prefectural town was quite far inland from the seashore and it is hard to imagine that noises from the Liaotung peninsula should have reached this region in Shantung over a distance of some 250 miles.

The people: They can bear cold, endure hunger and do not shrink back from hardships. They eat things raw. Brave and violent, they are not afraid to die. Their character is deceitful, covetous and cruel. They honour the strong and despise the old. They are excellent riders who go up and down steep cliffs as if they would fly. When they cross a river they do not use boats and oars but get across on their swimming horses. They are fine archers and hunters. Whenever they notice the tracks of a dodging animal they are able to pursue and localise it. After they have found out its hiding-place they blow a horn made of birch-bark which gives off a sound yu-yu. Thus they lure on the deer, shoot and eat it, so that only bones and skin are left over.

The method of luring deer by imitating their call was a special practice among the Jurchen for which they were famous. Also the Kitan knew this trick (WF p.

133 and 337). In 991 the Jurchen offered professional deer-callers to the Kitan as "tribute" (WF p.353).

They are very fond of wine and become then murderous. When drunk they are fettered until they become sober again. If this would not be done they would kill, and not even father and mother would make a difference to them.

The version of the Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao ch.327, 3a (d'HERVEY de SAINT-DENIS, Ethnographie p.429) is fuller. It reads "When they are drunk with wine they sometimes are not able to recognise their father or mother. The other crowd then fetters them and do not release them until they are sober again. Then the (drinker) thanks those who have fettered him and says 'If you would not have fettered me nobody would have been left of my clan' ".

The fondness of the Jurchen for hard drinking was not an ethnographic topos of Chinese authors but a fact which is borne out by many passages in the contemporary sources. Cf. also Herbert FRANKE, "A Note on Wine under the Chin", ZAS 8 (1974) p.241 ff.

It is their custom to dwell in the mountains and valleys. By joining wood together they build fences. Their houses are several feet high and have no tiles but are covered with wooden planks (shingles). Sometimes they take birch-bark or use straw twined together. Walls and fences have normally wooden doors which invariably face the East. The room is surrounded by a couch of clay. Underneath they make a fire. They sleep, eat, work and rest upon it. It is called k'ang and they use it because of its warmth.

The heatable brick-bed k'ang 炕 is typical for Northern China and Korea and seems to have been unknown to the Sung author of our passage. According to the references quoted in MOROHASHI's Dai Kanwa Jiten vol. 7, p.385 I our text is the earliest text mentioning the word k'ang with this particular meaning. The monograph on Kao-li (Korea) in the Chiu T'ang-shu (ch.199A, 1b) and the Hsin T'ang-shu (ch.220, 1b) says that the poor people in Korea have a pit (k'ang 坑) in their houses where they light a fire in order to keep warm. This must also refer to the brick-bed as described in our text. See also W. EBERHARD, Randvölker (Leiden 1942) p.19.

Originally the Jurchen dwelt in dug-outs covered with wood which in turn

was covered with earth. It is related that houses above the ground were introduced under Hsien-tsu, the grand-father of Ching-tsu (Wu-ku-nai, 1021-1074) (CS 1, 3a). This must have been somewhere in the 10th century. The Goldi even today have houses dug into the earth, see V.N.JERNAKOV, Goldi in Northeast China, ZDMG 122 (1972) p.177-178 and photos following p.176. The underground dwellings were a cultural characteristic of the primitive populations in Manchuria. For the Mo-ho see for example Chiu T'ang-shu 149 B, 10b and Hsin T'ang-shu 219, 10b. The Sui-shu 81, 9a says that ladders were used in order to climb down into these dugouts. For the earlier periods (Su-shen, I-lou etc.) compare also EBERHARD, Randvölker p.29-32.

They worship the Buddha with great assiduity. They use oxen as pack-animals or they put on a saddle and ride them. If it rains they frequently spread out a cow-hide for protection.

Buddhism among the Jurchen resulted perhaps from their long contact with the state of Po-hai where Buddhism flourished. Already one of the earliest ancestors of the royal Wan-yen clan had been a pious Buddhist (CS 1, 1b).

Rules for ceremonial do not exist. Ruler and subjects bathe together in the same river and rub shoulders on the streets. If a man of the people has killed nothing more than a chicken he may invite his ruler for a meal. When the father dies (the son) takes the mother as his wife and if an elder brother dies the (younger brother) takes his sister-in-law as wife. If an elder or younger uncle dies the nephews act accordingly. Therefore everybody, whether noble or lowly, has several wives. When there is a banquet with drinks the guests come all bringing their relatives and friends along. Also the families living close by all come without having been invited. The guests sit down and eat but the host remains standing and waits upon them. Only when the meal is finished all the guests ask the host to come and take his seat. The toasts with wine are innumerable and there is only an end to it when they are drunk and then totter home.

The custom of levirate as described in our text was also common among the Kitan and Mongols. For the Kitan see WF p.202 and 211. Levirate was practised among the Jurchen for a long time after the establishment of the Chin state, and it seems that only Po-hai and Chinese widows were exempted (CS 6, 22b, edict of 1169).

Their dress: They dress in linen and prefer white as a colour. Their garment is short and fastened on the left side. The married women plait their hair into a round top-knot. The men plait the hair into a queue which dangles down their back. From their ears hang gold and silver (earrings). The remaining hair on the back of the head is interwoven with coloured silk. The rich use pearls and jade for ornaments and are clad in garments of black fur, fine linen, sable, grey squirrel, fox and badger. The poor are clad in skins of cows, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, snakes, dogs and fish.

To fasten a garment on the left was considered as barbarian by the Chinese since antiquity, cf. for example the (spurious) chapter Pi-ming of the Shu-ching (LEGGE p.577) and the Lun-yü XIV, 18 (WALEY, Analects (London 1949) p.185). A detailed description of the dress of upper-class Jurchen is also given in CS 43, 15a-b. This refers to noble dress. Formal dress for ladies is described in CS 43, 16a with the comment that it had been inherited from the Liao. The description in CS is, of course, valid only for a much later period than the one to which our text refers. Illustrations showing Jurchen garments are given in MIKAMI Tsugio 三上次男 Kinshi Kenkyū 金史研究 vol.3 (Tokyo 1973), plate after p.384.

The queue hair-style was frequent among the Northern neighbours of China. For a comprehensive study see K.SHIRATORI, The Queue among the Peoples of North Asia in Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko No.4 (1929).

The queue was so much regarded as typical for the Jurchen that in the 12th century Chinese insurgents masqueraded as Jurchen by wearing pig-tails (Shou-ch'eng lu 守城錄 ed. Shou-shan ko ts'ung-shu 3, 8b). This passage shows also how much the Jurchen were feared by the Chinese.

White was also the auspicious colour of the Mongols (Cho-keng lu 輟耕錄 ed. Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, ch.1 p.32), whereas it was a mourning colour in China where red was (and is) regarded as lucky. Also in Korea white dress has been traditional for a long time.

The Jurchen custom to wear ear-rings is frequently mentioned in Chinese sources. For example Yüeh Fei reported that during a battle in 1130 there were killed 155 Jurchen wearing gold and silver earrings and over 3.000 with simple earrings (Chin-t'ò ts'ui-pien 金陀萃編 ed.1883 ch.5, 3a).

Their food: they ferment wine from mashed grain and soy-sauce from beans. They take half-cooked grain for food and sprinkle it with things like fresh dogs' blood, onions and leek; then this is mixed and eaten. As vegetables they have turnips (?).

Turnips: the text has fu-i 蕪蕒 which is the name of a tree growing in Northern China (Dai Kanwa Jiten vol. 9, p. 914 III-IV). Because mao 茼 means "vegetables, greens" one would expect that fu-i in the sentence mao i fu-i 茼以蕪蕒 would refer to a vegetable. It is not impossible that the text is corrupt and that we have to read for fu-i fu-ch'ing 蕪菁 "turnip, rape".

For food-vessels they do not have calabashes or pottery, and they do not have rice-bowls or chopsticks because they always use wood for making vessels. In spring and summer they only use a wooden pot into which they pour ... (here a character is missing in the text) and gruel. This pot is filled according to the number of people. Several small wooden ladles with a long handle are handed around. As additional food to help down the gruel they do not have many kinds of meat dishes, only raw fish and raw deer-meat. Occasionally they use roast meat. Even in winter they have cold drinks. They fill a wooden plate with cooked rice and a wooden pot with soup; the additional dishes for helping down the rice are the same as those eaten with gruel. When they drink wine they do not count (how much each person drinks); they just use one wooden ladle which is passed around from the high to the low for pouring out (the wine). When they have roast legs or boiled dried meat they take the remaining meat and pound it together with vegetables in a mortar until it is mashed; then they serve it. This is their standard procedure.

Jurchen food must have appeared very rustic to the Chinese with their sophisticated cuisine. Nevertheless Jurchen dishes figure in Chinese cooking-books of the 15th century. For a translation of Jurchen recipes see Appendix II.

Their ceremonies: they salute with folded hands and then step back with their body in order to express assent. They kneel down on their right knee and bend the left one on the floor, then fold their hands in salute and shake their elbows, but stop this movement after the third time. This is their salute.

A slightly different description of the national way of saluting is given in CS 35, 10b-11a: "With hands folded in the sleeves a slight bow with the body is made, then a short step backwards taken. Kneeling on the left knee both the right and the left elbows are swung as in a dance. When kneeling the sleeves are swung so as to touch the knees below and then raised so that they reach the shoulder, four times altogether. In this way they kneel down four times. Then the ceremony is brought to an end, with the hands resting on the right knee, kneeling on the left knee only." It should be remembered that this passage is found in the CS chapters on rituals, so that this way of saluting must be regarded as a later elaboration of the simpler way described in the SC. The polite Jurchen salute was very similar to that of the Kitan (cf. R. STEIN in TP 35 (1939) p.149-150). The Mongols saluted by kneeling on their left knee (Hei-ta shih-lüeh ed. WANG Kuo-wei 1927 p.6a). In ZAS 3 (1969) p.40-41 I have suggested a possible Tungus/Jurchen etymology of the Kitan word for "to kneel" nie-ku-ti 捏骨地. Here ti is perhaps Chinese and nieh-ku a phonetic rendering of the native word.

Their language: for "good" (hao 好) they say kan or sai-hen; for "not good" (pu-hao) they say la-sa. For "wine" they say po-su, for "to kill by drawing (a bow?" la-sha 拉殺) they say meng-shan pu-ch'ü hua-pu-la, for "to beat to death" (ch'iao-sha 敲殺) they say meng-shuang t'e-ku or chan-po-la-hai. A husband calls his wife sa-na-han, and a wife her husband ai-ken.

The Jurchen words in this passage are taken from the SMCW, without, however, exhausting the Jurchen words transcribed and explained in the text.

kan 感 had, in the 12th century, a final -m (kam) so that *gam has to be reconstructed for the Jurchen word. It is, however, not certain that the character kan is correct. The PFYSL has tsang 臧 (Shuo-fu, ed. Comm. Press ch.25, 25a) which could perhaps be related to Manchu (and Mongol) sain "good". sain is attested in Late Jurchen (GRUBE no.696).

sai-hen 寒痕 (SMCW 13a has the same reading). This is probably related to Manchu saikan "pretty, good-looking, beautiful". The word is attested for Late Jurchen in ISHIDA p.1314, transcribed as sai-ha 寒哈 (the final -n is frequently not noted in this vocabulary). The Chinese equivalent is hao-sheng 好生. For the same Chinese word we have also loc.cit. another transcription, sai-k'an 寒看. GRUBE no. 730 has for Chin. hao-sheng the aberrant form sai-

shu 朮舒 where shu is perhaps a Jurchen grammatical suffix or a simple misprint. A form like saihan/saikan points to a Mongol origin of the word (Mo. saigan).

The word sai-hen "good" occurs twice in the SMCW p.13a and 16a. The first passage is a description of the marriage customs. The bridegroom offers a great number of horses to the father-in-law and then a selection is made by somebody who knows about horses. "He takes a look at them, and if sai-hen then he keeps them and if la-la (for this word see below) he rejects them". The second passage concerns a gruesome case where a monk was brought to death through the trickery of a corrupt interpreter. The monk had sued some people for a huge sum of money which they owed him. The debtors bribed the interpreter who, when the monk wanted to present his loan-receipt to the court as evidence, exchanged this for another piece of paper which stated that he wished to commit ritual suicide for the benefit of the people. The Jurchen judge laughed and said sai-hen "Fine!". The monk was seized by police-soldiers and pushed into a pile of burning wood.

la-sa 辣撒. This is the reading of our text and also that of the parallel passage in PFYSL 25a. The SMCW however reads la-la 喇喇. It is impossible to decide which reading is the correct one, nor can I suggest at present a plausible reconstruction. If la-la is taken as the original reading one might perhaps think of Manchu words like lalaha "soft, weak, feeble", lalahun "somewhat soft, etc.", lalanji "soft, pulpy, broken, spent", all of which point to a root lala- with the basic meaning "soft, weak". If we read la-sa, one might connect the word with Manchu labsa "thin, rare".

po-su 勃蘇 "wine". This is also the reading of the parallel text in PFYSL. In Manchu, "wine" is nure, and also in late Jurchen the word is nu-lieh (GRUBE no. 52o) or nu-le (ISHIDA p.13o8). Both forms correspond exactly to the Manchu word. po-su (or p'o-su, an alternative Chinese reading) seems to be a completely different word, *bosu or *posu. Could it be related to the Turkish word boza "a kind of beer made from grains" (see Gerhard DOERFER, Türk.und mong. Elemente im Neupersischen vol. II no. 788) ?

meng-shan pu-ch'ü hua-pu-la 蒙山不屈花不辣 "to kill by drawing (a bow?)". The PFYSL loc. cit. gives as Chinese meaning "to kill by mistake" (誤殺). I cannot explain this Old Jurchen idiom. Is perhaps the Manchu root

gabta- "to shoot with arrows" hidden in the three last syllables of the Chinese transcription?

meng-shuang t'e-ku 蒙霜特姑 "to beat to death". Here the syllables meng-shuang may be a rendering of the Jurchen word which in Manchu is mukšan "stick, cudgel". It remains a question whether also meng-shan in the preceding idiom is basically the same word "stick, cudgel". t'e-ku is perhaps related to Manchu toko- "to prick, to stick, to stab".

chan-po-la-hai 霏勃粹駭 "to beat to death". The passage comes from SMCW 15a where the first character is wa 窪 instead of chan. The same reading wa is given in the parallel passage TCKC ch.27, p.199. The context says that P'u-lu-hu, the second son of Chin T'ai-tsu, had been forbidden to drink wine because he had frequently overindulged. A Buddhist monk who apparently did not know this offered him a bowl for drinking wine and P'u-lu-hu "ordered his followers to wa-po-la-hai". The reading wa seems to be preferable because there can be hardly any doubt that the Old Jurchen word is related to Manchu wabu- "to kill, to cause to die". For "to kill" Late Jurchen has wa-tu-la (GRUBE no. 459). hai may be related to Manchu kai, an emphatic final particle.

sa-na-han 薩那罕 "wife" corresponds to Manchu sargan "wife" (see also PELLIIOT, Notes vol.1 p.374-375). The Late Jurchen form is sa-li-an (GRUBE no.293); ISHIDA p.1311 has the defective form sa-la.

ai-ken 愛根 "husband". This corresponds to Manchu eigen "husband" (cf. PELLIIOT, loc.cit.). Late Jurchen has ê-i-ê (GRUBE no.292) and ê-? (character illegible) -ê, which both seem to be defective forms or bad transcriptions.

Their festivals: On the first day of the New Year they pray to the sun and congratulate each other. On the Double Fifth they shoot at willows in order to worship Heaven. These people do not know about chronology. If one asks them they answer: "I have seen so and so many times the green grass". For them each greening of the grass counts as one year.

The custom of shooting at willow-trees was originally a Kitan custom for obtaining abundant rain-fall (WF p.216, 257, 267 and 350). The Jurchen inherited this from the Liao (CS 35, 9b-10b, with a detailed description of the ceremony); the same ritual was also performed on the 15th day of the seventh, and the ninth of the ninth month (CS ib.). The ceremony took place in the open air with

a huge crowd present. The festival on the Double Fifth was also an occasion for sports like polo, even in the imperial state of Chin (see CS 11,2a for 1198 and 11,9b for 1201). On the festival see also R.A.STEIN in T'oung Pao vol.35 (1939) p.86-87, and Appendix III below, p.180.

The uncertainty about chronology among the early Jurchen is also mentioned in CS ch.1, 3b-4a: "They did not know about years and months and the first and last days of months so that the age (of a person) could not be determined". Hung Hao reports in SMCW 13b that in the 1130s even leading Jurchen generals did not know their birthdays and that they chose Chinese festivals for their alleged birthday. The birth-years of A-ku-ta's immediate ancestors (father, grandfather and uncles) are, however, recorded.

Their marriages: The rich ones give oxen and horses as betrothal presents. The daughters of the poor, when they have reached the age to marry, walk singing on the streets. In these songs they tell themselves of their family ancestry, their skill in female work and their beauty in order to show their intention to obtain a partner. If there is among the audience somebody not yet married who wishes to marry her, he just takes her by the hand and leads her to his home. Only afterwards a ceremony is arranged; in company of the girl he goes to her family and informs her parents.

Noble young elegants and the sons of rich families use to drink day and night; then they ride around with bottles in their hand, sporting and drinking. When the local women and girls hear them approaching, many of them come together to watch them. After a while (the men) order them to stand by or sit down, and when wine is offered, the (girls) drink. It also occurs that they stand up, dance and sing; they encourage each other to drink; improvised rendezvous are pledged, and suggestive jokes go to and fro. Then (the girls) are carried to their (the men's) homes. Those (girls) who did not find attention even run in the horses' tracks for as much as a couple of miles (li). When the girls who have been taken on as wives pay a visit to their family this is called "to pay homage at the gate" (pai-men 拜門), and at that occasion the rites for presenting the new husband are performed.

These marriage customs must have appeared strange and even objectionable to the Chinese where the arranged marriage through go-betweens has been

customary. Marriage by elopement ("Raubehe") was common among the Jurchen and the Po-hai people. From the above passage it becomes clear that the future brides did not mind being taken off and that there existed a considerable amount of sexual freedom among the Jurchen. For marriage by elopement see also CS 68, 1a-b (referring to the early 11th century) and WF p.18, 219, 224 and 277 note 197. A formal prohibition of "stealing women" was issued to the Po-hai people in 1177 (CS 7, 14a).

Their music: They only have drums and flutes, and as to songs they only have the partridge melody. Whether high or low, long or short, there are only the two sounds che-ku and that is all.

che-ku 鷓鴣 is the Chinese name for the partridge. It is onomatopoeic. According to this passage Jurchen songs must have been monotonous. The Chinese partridge or francolin is also a symbol for mutual attachment in Chinese lyrical poetry (Alfred HOFFMANN, Die Lieder des Li Yü (Köln) 1950 p.239).

In cases of illness they do not have physicians or drugs but prefer shamans and prayers. When somebody is ill a shaman kills a pig or dog as a sacrifice. Sometimes they also transport the ill person on a cart into the deep mountains and huge valleys and abandon him there.

If somebody dies they gash their forehead with a knife so that blood and tears stream down and mingle. They call this "to take leave with bloody tears". They bury their dead but do not have inner and outer coffins. If a nobleman dies they burn alive his favourite slaves and the saddles and horses which he had used for riding as company after death. Also all the food and drink used for sacrifice is burned without exception. This they call "to burn the food".

The custom to gash the forehead or the face with a knife was common among the Inner Asian neighbours of China. It is reported already of the Hsiung-nu (Hou-Han-shu ch.49, 13b). The Uighurs had the same custom. When their khaghan died in 759, his Chinese wife was asked to have herself buried with him. She refused this but followed Uighur custom in gashing her face (Chiu T'ang-shu ch.2, 17a). The Jurchen also used to gash their faces at occasions other than funerals. For example, the Jurchen ruler A-ku-ta gashed his forehead and wept to Heaven when he was about to fight the Liao (ch.28, 2a). Jur-

chen chieftains gashed their foreheads and cried after they had captured the Sung capital in 1127 (Ching-k'ang chi-wen 靖康紀聞 by Ting T'e-ch'i 丁特起 ed. Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng (vol.3893) p.26). It seems that some rituals for worshipping heaven implied gashing the forehead because Wan-yen Tsung-pi did this when he attacked Nanking in 1130 and prayed to Heaven after having sacrificed a white horse and a woman (Chung-hsing hsiao-chi 中興小紀 by Hsiung K'o 熊克, ed. Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng (vol.3858) ch.8 p.94). See also Appendix III below p.184.

The custom to burn the food offerings and funeral gifts (shao-fan 燒飯) is also attested for the Kitans and the Mongols (WF p.284 note 219). The Manchus inherited this custom from their Jurchen ancestors. There is even a special Manchu word for this, koyorholo- "to kill and skin the horse of a deceased man - after the offering at the grave the horse's skin and saddle are burnt together with paper money" (Jerry NORMAN, A Manchu-English Dictionary, Taipei 1967, p.256, following E. HAUER, Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache, Wiesbaden-Tokyo 1952, p.597).

When K'ang-tsung, A-ku-ta's brother, died in 1113 the Liao envoy looked over the funeral gifts and wanted to take a horse for himself. This enraged A-ku-ta so much that he wanted the envoy to be killed but was eventually dissuaded (CS 2, 4a-b).

Under emperor Shih-tsung prohibitions to kill animals for sacrificial purposes were issued repeatedly (1168: CS 6, 2ob; 1170: CS 89, 6a). The distribution of the deceased's property is also reported as an old Korean custom (Sui-shu 81, 2b). The Mo-ho used to destroy the horses on which the deceased used to ride (Chiu T'ang-shu 199B, 1ob; Hsien T'ang-shu 219, 11a).

According to the above text the Jurchen did not use coffins. Another text, however, says that the Jurchen placed the corpse into a wooden coffin and buried it in the mountains or forests, without building a tomb or planting a tree (see below Appendix III p. 183). Cremation is also mentioned (WF p.283 note 215) and certainly due to Buddhist influence. This variety of funeral customs may reflect different degrees of acculturation.

On their roads there are no inns. The travellers rest in the houses of the people. The host at first turns them away, and when (the traveller) after having been rejected does not leave, then the host prepares drink and food and keeps him. If the rejected (traveller) goes away

then all the other households too will not take him.

Their markets: Only goods are exchanged and no coins are used.

There is no sericulture, and there are no artisans, so that they build houses, carts and tents frequently with their own skill.

For a long time even after the founding of the Chin state the coins of Sung and of the puppet state of Ch'i were used. As late as 1157 the first Chin coins were cast (CS 48, 1a-b). — The expression "carts and tents" may also mean "covered wagons".

Their clans: Wan-yen which they call Wang, Ch'ih-chan which they call Chang, Na-lan which they call Kao, P'ai-mo-shen, Tu-chin, Aotun, Ho-shih-lieh, T'u-tan, Po-yu-man, Niang-wan, Meng-wan, T'o-man, Wen-ti-hsien (or -hen), Cho-so, Yao-wu-chü, Ni-man-ku, Chochio, A-fan, Po-chu-lu, Wu-t'an Po-chu-lu, Po-chu-lu, Yü-yü-lung, Huang-wu, Tu-ting, A-tieh, Wu-ling, P'u-ch'a, Wu-yen, T'u-tan, P'u-san, Wen-tun and P'ang-ku.

Gloss: In T'ang times they first called their clan Na. Towards the end of T'ang the number of tribes increased and there were altogether thirty chieftains. Each chieftain had a clan-name of his own so that there were altogether thirty clans.

In spite of the gloss this list of Jurchen clan names has 31 names. There are also other problems. It seems that T'u-tan 禿丹 and T'u-tan 徒單 are but different orthographies of the same clan name. It also seems questionable that there are three Po-chu-lu clans, the Po-chu-lu proper in addition to the A-fan and the Wu-t'an Po-chu-lu. In some cases the Chinese orthography in our list differs from the normal transcription used in the CS text or in other contemporary sources. An excellent survey of Jurchen clan names with their different spellings is given in Ch'en Shu to which reference should be made. It should however be borne in mind that even seemingly aberrant orthographies can be of value for establishing the original Jurchen sounds. Some examples for variant readings may follow here:

SC

Ch'ih-chan 赤盞
Na-lan 那懶
P'ai-mo-shen 排磨申

other forms

Shih 石 -chan
Na-lan 納蘭
P'ei-man 裴滿

| | | | |
|------------|-----|------------|-----|
| Tu-chin | 獨斤 | Tu-chi | 獨吉 |
| Wen-ti-hen | 溫迪掀 | Wen-ti-han | 溫迪罕 |

The last name of the SC list, P'ang-ku 龐古 seems to be an aberrant and mistaken duplicate of the name Ni-man-ku 尼漫古 (according to Ch'en Shu, p.121). For an explanation of the name see H. FRANKE in T'oung Pao vol. 60 (1974) p. 184. The Po-yu-man 婆由滿 of the list might be another orthography for P'ei-man (Ch'en Shu, p.83). Huang-ku 晃古 is perhaps the same name as Huang-kuo 黃擱 which is several times attested in CS as a clan name. Ch'en Shu p.113 identifies the Huang-kuo with the Turkic Önggüt tribe and says that a branch of the Önggüt was transferred by the Chin to Liao-tung. According to CS 55,11b, the Huang-kuo were however mostly enfeoffed in Lung-hsi, that is, the Kansu region which sounds more plausible in terms of geography — if the equation Huang-kuo/Önggüt is at all correct.

For some clan names Chinese equivalents are given. A list of 31 Jurchen clan names with their Chinese equivalents is in CS 135, 12b. There, too, Wang 王 appears as equivalent for Wan-yen. But the Jurchen original for Chinese Chang 張 is said to be Yen-chan 顏盞 (on this clan see Ch'en Shu p.120), a name that certainly must be distinguished from Ch'ih-chan/Shih-chan. Also the Chinese equivalent given by SC for Jurchen Na-lan differs from the Chin-shih equation. SC gives Kao 高, whereas Na-la 納刺 in CS 135, 12b (certainly the same as Na-lan, see Ch'en Shu p.95) has the equivalent K'ang 康. Kao, in turn, appears in the CS list as equivalent for Ho-shih-lieh (Ch'i 乞 in this passage must be a misprint for Ho 紇).

There exists as yet no study of Jurchen personal and clan names, not even one of Manchu names. Much remains to be done in this field. It will, in any case, be clear from the short remarks made above that the list of clan names in SC is unreliable because of its doublets, whereas some of the orthographies may be of value for a reconstruction of the Jurchen originals.

The titles of their officials: These are named according to the "Nine Luminaries" and the "Twenty-eight Mansions". They are called an-pan po-chi-lieh "great official" (ta kuan jen 大官人 po-chi-lieh "official" (kuan-jen). The officers are t'e-mu "myriarch", meng-yen "chiliarch", mao-mao-k'o "chief of one hundred", and p'u-li-yen "head of a group (of five)". All the po-chi-lieh are chiu officers;

This is the same as in Chinese language "commander" (tsung-kuan 總管). From the po-chi-lieh of five households up to the po-chi-lieh of a myriarchy they all command the soldiers on their own. In peaceful times they practise archery and hunting, in times of crisis they march into battle. Their imperial clan members are all called "lord" (lang-chün 郎君) and everybody, whether high or low, has to regard them as their chief. Even ministers and chancellors all have to bow before their horses, and the "lords" do not greet them but treat them like slaves. There is also a a-lu-li a-lai po-chi-lieh. Nien-han after having been appointed as generalissimo and although he was of high rank also inherited that office from his father and did not change his title.

The naming of offices after astronomical terms such as "Nine Luminaries" (chiu-yao 九曜) and the star mansions or zodiacal constellations (hsiu 宿) remains a mystery. None of the linguistically identifiable Jurchen official titles shows a connection with astronomy.

The po-chi-lieh 孛極烈 system of higher administration and control belongs to an early phase of Jurchen political structure. It was gradually replaced by a Chinese-type official hierarchy. For a detailed study see MIKAMI Tsugio, Kinshi Kenkyū vol.2 (Tokyo 1970), esp.p.73-162. po-chi-lieh can be reconstructed as bogile. This term has been studied by Karl H.MENGES in his article Problematata Etymologica in Studia Sino-Altaica (HAENISCH Festschrift, Wiesbaden 1961, p.130-140). an-pan 諳版 was the Old Jurchen word for "great" (cf. Manchu amban, id.). The different bogile names are also studied in H.FRANKE, Review of Mikami, T'oung Pao vol.57 (1971) p.322-325. i-lai in the title a-lu-li i-lai po-chi-lieh 阿盧里移喪孛極烈 means "third" (cf. Manchu ilan "three"; -i is a Manchu suffix for ordinal numbers). a-lu-li may be related to the Manchu word yarū- "to lead, to guide".

Nien-han 粘罕 whose Chinese name was Tsung-han 宗翰 was a member of the imperial clan who distinguished himself as a military leader (d.1136). His biography is in CS 74, 1a-7b. See also GIBERT, p.941-942 and O.FRANKE, GCR vol. IV p.200 ff. and V, 110f.

The names of offices within the military colony system of the Jurchen are transcribed in our text differently from the normal orthography for these

terms in CS and other standard sources. This system was called meng-an mou-k'o 猛安謀克 (for a detailed description see now MIKAMI, Kinshi Kenkyū vol.1 (Tokyo 1972), esp. p.109-417). meng-an corresponds to Manchu minggan, Mongol mingyan "one thousand", mou-k'o is related to Manchu mukūn "clan, herd, extended family". Our text has meng-yen 萌眼 for meng-an; mao-mao-k'o 毛毛可 seems to be a mistake for mao-k'o - mou-k'o. The name for a myriarch is given as t'e-mu 忒母, a word that is perhaps related to Manchu tumen "ten thousand" (Mongol tūmen). p'u-li-yen 蒲里佶 as the name of the next lower unit after mou-k'o is a word that occurs in many different orthographies (p'u-nien, pei-nien, hu-lu-yen) which I think all point to an old Jurchen word related to Manchu feniyen "herd, flock, swarm, crowd". For a discussion of the word see now H. FRANKE in T'oung Pao vol.59 (1973) p.313 (Review of MIKAMI vol.1). chiu 糾 (also written 紉) was a military term of the Kitans where it designates a special kind of army (for details see WF p.137 note 2o).

Their laws and administration: They do not have a script but notch a piece of wood to serve as document. They call this "to notch characters" (k'o-tzu 刻字). For collecting taxes and their calculation they always notch arrows in order to count. If the matter is urgent they notch three times.

The character pieh 別 after li-chih 吏治 "administration" seems to be a misprint for tse 則.

A message carved in wood (mu-k'o) was also presented by the Jurchen chieftain Po-hai-na 渤海那 in 972 according to the Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao ch.327, 3a (d'HERVEY de SAINT-DENIS, Ethnographie p.434).

Those who had killed a person or committed robbery were killed by bashing their head in and their family members were enslaved. If their relatives wished to have him back they could redeem him by giving oxen, horses or other goods. Of the stolen goods, taken as ten tenths, six went to the victim and four were confiscated. Lighter offenses were punished by flogging with willow-twigs. If somebody's life was redeemed by paying goods, his ears and nose were cut off in order to identify him. As to the gaols they were dug several ten feet deep into the ground and the prisoners were kept therein.

The parallel passage in CS 45, 2a-b is slightly different. According to

the CS forty percent of the personal property of the criminal went to the officials and sixty percent to the victim. The parallel text in TCKC ch.36, p.276 agrees partially with our text. According to SMCW 13b the thief or robber had, apart from being punished, to compensate the owner with an amount seven times that of the stolen goods.

In the earliest times the Jurchen seem to have practised vendetta ("Blut-rache") between clans as the only means to inflict retribution on those who had killed or wounded. The introduction of regularized payments ("Wergeld") and the abolition of vendetta is attributed by CS 1, 2a-b to the legendary first ancestor of the Jurchen. When he came to the Wan-yen clan he was approached to act as mediator. He suggested to kill only the person who was responsible for disorder and to settle feuds within the tribe by paying Wergeld. "Everybody who has killed our wounded a person shall give one person from his family, ten pairs of horses, ten cows and six ounces of gold to the family of the man who has been killed or wounded. Afterwards the two parties shall no more engage in private fighting ... The Jurchen custom of compensating the killing of a person with the payment of thirty horses and oxen dated from then".

In levying taxes they have no fixed procedure but collect according to the amount needed in each situation.

This sentence does not belong here and has been transferred by mistake into the section of the text dealing with criminal law.

Their laws and regulations are severe. To kill a person or to take money in heavy quantity from the people is punishable by death. As to other offences they do not distinguish between lighter or heavier ones; in every case they flog the back (of the criminal) with willow-twigs but do not beat his buttocks because they fear that this would prevent him from riding a horse. As the heaviest punishment they beat with a sand-bag. When they control a prefecture, the officials of this prefecture are allowed to pass sentence on their own, and when they control a county, the county officials too are allowed to pass sentence on their own.

This was different from the Chinese judicial system where most of the sentences for heavy crimes had to be referred to the higher authorities. The text repeats partly what the SC has stated earlier and thereby shows that the