

Manchuria from the Fall of the Yuan to the Rise of the Manchu State (1368-1636)

Aisin Gioro Ulhicun and Jin Shi

1 peoples and cultures of Manchuria

In the non-Chinese materials, the word “Jurchen” was firstly recorded in the Aice of the Liao emperor Daozong. In the Khitai small scripts, it was pronounced as “julisen”. In the Nüzhen yiyu compiled by Siyiguan (the Bureau of Translations) of the Ming dynasty in the early fifteenth century, it was “jushen” in pronunciation. In the Yongningsi inscription inscribed in 1413, the pronunciation of the Jurchen scripts was jushe. In the Jiumanzhoudang edited in the early seventeenth century, the Manchu scripts were written as jushen or jusen. By comparison, it is evident that the second syllable in “Julsen” is only a foot consonant “l”. The fact that Nüzhen and Nüzhi were interchangeable in Chinese materials has been usually accounted for that the latter was employed as the taboo against using the name of the Liao emperor Xingzong whose name was Zongzhen. But according to julisen in Khitai small scripts and the coexistence of jushen, jushe in Jurchen scripts in the Ming era, Nüzhi was not coined for the sake of taboo, but a reflection of the uncertainty of the consonant “n” in transliteration. In the epitaphs written in Khitai small scripts, the terminal consonant “n” in the tribe names are sometimes kept and sometimes omitted. For example, the word Kithai was written both as kita-i and kita-in.

From the Jurchen stone inscription in the Jin era, it could be found dialect differences in the Jurchen language in the Jin era, which still existed in the Ming era. In the Ming era, the materials written in Jurchen language were two kinds of Nüzhen yiyu which were compiled respectively by Siyiguan, as was mentioned above, and Huitongguan (the Bureau of Interpreters). The Jurchen language in these two works varied greatly, not only in terms of sound, but also of grammar structure. In the Yongningsi inscription, the contributor was “Liaodong Nüzhen Kang’an.” Liaodong was the dwelling place of Jianzhou Jurchens in the Ming era. Since the Jurchen language in this epigraphy was similar to that of Siyiguan Nüzhen yiyu, it could be assumed that the language in the epigraphy was a kind of Jianzhou Jurchen dialect. The time when Huitongguan compiled Nüzhen yiyu was later than that of Siyiguan. The compilation purposes of the two works were also different, the former aimed to translate the Jurchens’ petition to the throne, namely Laiwen, whereas the latter intended to admonish those Jurchens who came to pay tribute. Eighty percent of the existing 79 Laiwen were submitted by the guards of Haixi Jurchens. Therefore it could safely assumed that the language in the

Huitongguan Nüzhen yiyu was Haixi Jurchen dialect, not that of Jianzhou Jurchen.

After the fall of the Jin dynasty, the legend “Three Fairies”, which was written by the Jurchens in Manchuria for the sake of restoring the Jin reign was passed from mouth to mouth among various Jurchen tribes from Heilongjiang in the north to Liaodong in the south. In the early seventeenth century, the legend was written into Manchu scripts. This fact shows that the Jurchens in the Ming era could communicate with each other despite some dialect difference. The Jiumanzhoudang in 1619 recorded that the Later Jin conquered all jushen gisun i gurun that year. It can be seen that the realm of the Jurchen language at that time extended to “the east of China to the Japan sea, the north of Korea and the south of Mongolia”. The languages used by the Jurchens in this area were somewhat different but they regarded that they used the same language.

Therefore the word “Jurchen” at that time was a general term referring to all the people of Manchu-Tungus race among which not only the ancestors of Manchus but all other peoples of Tungus were included. Similarly, the connotations of the term “Jurchen language” cover all the languages and dialects of these Tungus peoples.

The Jurchens, like Khitais, had coined characters twice in history. The characters coined in 1119 are called Jurchen large scripts; and the characters coined in 1138 are called Jurchen small scripts. Most materials of Jurchen scripts were written in large scripts, with the exception of the several gold and silver plates, which were carved with small scripts. The materials of the Jurchen large scripts had a rich supply of hand-copied books of the Jurchen textbooks, the official and civilian epitaphs recording achievements and events, inscriptions, the carved stones on which there were responding poems from men of letters and even the works of Koryo monks. But no written Jurchen works between the fall of the Jin and the founding of the Ming dynasty, a period of over one century, could be found now. Besides Zhiyuan yiyu, the Yuan dynasty once compiled works of 13 peoples’ languages including the Jurchen. By comparing the table of contents of Zhiyuan yiyu and that of Nüzhi zishu, we can clearly see the relevant inheritance. Unlike the Liao, the Jin did not pose book ban. Since some Koryo monks grasped the Jurchen language during the Jin Xuan zong period, and exiled Dong Zhens taught the Jurchen scripts at the Koryo court in the reign of the emperor Jin Ai zong, it could be safely inferred that the Yuan had compiled Nüzhen yiyu on the basis of Nüzhi zishu of Jin’s version.

In the Yuan era, the Jurchens in Manchuria, especially those living in the apanage of Temuge Otcigin (the third younger brother of Cinggis khan) who inhabited in the east of Xing’an Mountains, northern Manchuria, belonged to the Nüzhen shuidada route and kept the tradition of studying the Jurchen scripts under the Yuan’s policies of “rule according to the conventional ways”

During the over seventy years after the establishment of the Ming dynasty, the Jurchen scripts were widely used among the Jurchens in Manchuria. In 1407, for the sake of training professional translators proficient in the languages of the neighboring peoples, the Ming set up

the Siyiguan, of which there was the Jurchen language section. From this fact it could be seen that the tribute and petitions made by the Jurchens must have been written in the Jurchen scripts. In 1403, the emperor Chenzu issued an imperial edict to the tribes of Jurchens, Odoli Urianqan and Udige by means of Korea, the edict was written in the Jurchen scripts. Since the king and ministers of Korea did not understand the Jurchen script, the Jurchens had to play the role of translators. In 1413, the Yongningsi inscription, which was erected by the Ming court in Tirin for the purpose of pacifying the Yeren Jurchen, Gilemi, Kuyi in the lower reaches of the Amur river and Sakhalin, was written in Chinese, the Jurchen scripts and Mongolian respectively. In 1417, when the emperor Chengzu sent Zhang Xin, an eunuch to lead troops to refit the temples in Changbai Mountains which bordered Korea, in order not to frighten the Jurchens and Koreans on the border, the towns and villages on the line were informed in advance with the wood plates on which were written Chinese and the Jurchen scripts. In the Korean materials, we can see more evidence of the Jurchens' using the Jurchen scripts in their foreign exchanges: in 1434, the underling of Tongfanca, who was the Jianzhou left guard commander, presented the official documents in the Jurchen scripts; in 1462, Li Manzhu, the Jianzhou guard commander, wrote a letter to Korea in the "Yain(Yeren) scripts"; in 1482, Korea received one official letter in the Yeren Jurchen scripts. What the Koreans called Yain were actually the Jurchens.

The tradition that the Haixi Jurchens used the Jurchen scripts was extended to about the Zhengtong period. In 1444, Sasingha and Totomudaru, the Xuancheng guard commander of Haixi Jurchens who inhabited on the sides of Sunggari ula, submitted a written request to the emperor that the imperial edict be written in Mongolian scripts, for none of the Jurchens in the local 40 guards so could understand the Jurchen scripts. The existent 79 pieces of Laiwen recorded in the Nüzhen yiyu could illustrate this point. The time when these Laiwen were submitted covered from the Tianshun to Jiajing period (1457 ~ 1566). Although Laiwen were written bilingually in Chinese and the Jurchen scripts, the Jurchen version was made by the Chinese grammar with the use of the Jurchen scripts, which apparently meant that these documents were written by the translators of the Siyiguan, not by the real Jurchens. The reason lies in the fact that the regulations of Siyiguan required that the tributes submitted by the neighboring peoples must be supplemented with written statements. Meanwhile the Jurchens at that time had not been able to understand the Jurchen scripts, so they had to invite the translators of Siyiguan to write for them. Since these translators were not proficient in the Jurchen scripts, they had to make a word-for-word translation from the Chinese version of these written statements with the help of Nüzhen yiyu compiled in the early Ming era. As can be seen, the Jurchens in these guards so had long since no longer used the Jurchen scripts.

Until the Chenghua period, some few Jianzhou Jurchens knew the Jurchen scripts. In 1442, Li Manzhu, the Jianzhou guard commander, requested the Ming to assign Tongyu, a soldier of the Dongning guard who knew the Jurchen scripts, to act as his secretary. This proved that none of the Jurchens in the Jianzhou guard could understand the Jurchen scripts. But in 1482,

forty years after that event, still some letters sent to Korea were written in the Jurchen scripts. That shows the tradition of using the Jurchen scripts in those places still existed.

The cultural characteristics of the Jurchens in the Ming era could be studied by comparison with those of the Jurchens in the Jin era.

(1) Language and Scripts

The Jurchen scripts differences between the Jin and Ming eras are not only diachronic and dialect, but of cultural background.

The Jurchen scripts in the Jin era kept many traces of the ancient Tungus and were influenced by the Khitai culture. The Khitai scripts, which had been coined in the early Liao era, were not abolished until 1191. While the Jurchen scripts in the Ming era kept few traces of the ancient Tungus and were strongly influenced by Mongolian. Many loanwords from Mongolian swarmed into the Jurchen scripts and replaced some ancient Tungus-origin words. This trend even affected the grammar structure of the Jurchen scripts. During this period, the Mongolian scripts became widespread among the Jurchens. The back of the Yongningsi inscription were carved both in the Jurchen and Mongolian scripts while the front was carved in the Mongolian scripts. This shows Mongolian had become the dominant language of the Jurchens. Thirty years later, the Haixi Jurchens who lived close to the Mongolian tribes took the lead in giving up the Jurchens scripts and using the Mongolian. During the uprising of the Later Jin in the late Ming era, “the communications and exchanges among the Jurchens must be made in Mongolian.” Even after 1599 when the Manchu scripts were made, it had to coexist with the Mongolian for a long time. This situation was similar to the coexistence between the Khitai and Jurchen scripts in the 70-odd years after the appearance of the Jurchen scripts in the Jin era.

Due to these differences of cultural background between the Jurchens in the Jin and Ming eras, the former’s process of adapting the Khitai scripts into the Jurchen scripts was similar to the latter’s process of adapting the Mongolian scripts into the Manchu scripts. The Jurchen scripts in the Jin era were made under the influence the Chinese and the Khitai scripts, whereas the Manchu scripts made by the Jurchens in the Ming era were the result of the Mongolian influence.

(2) Literature

The written works of the Jurchens in the Jin era had experienced the assimilation by the Chinese literature. In the only existent Oton Liangbi Jurchen Poem Stone, we can see that the Jurchen poetry had given up the alliteration and adopted the end rhyme in imitation of the Chinese poetry. The Similar process of assimilation by the Chinese literature could be found in the versed epigraph of the Khitai small scripts. No written work of the Jurchens in the Ming era could be found now. According to the employment of alliteration in the existent songs of sacrificial rites in the Manchu villages in Heilongjiang province, and the coexistence of alliteration and end rhyme in the Manchu poetry in the early Qing era, it can be inferred that the Jurchen literature in the Ming era was not assimilated by the Chinese literature as was

done in the Later Jin era.

The Jurchen oral works in the Ming era, as are reflected in various legends about the Manchu ancestry which are wide spread in the Manchu villages in Heilongjiang province, could be traced back to the Yuan and Ming periods. Many plots of these oral works in Manchu language could be illustrated by the official history, and therefore are very valuable, among which “Three Fairies”, which was made at the founding of the Qing dynasty, was the most famous. The tale goes like this: when three fairies bathed in the Heavenly Pond, a divine magpie flew over with a red fruit held in the mouth and set it into the pond. The youngest fairy, Fegulen, ate it and became pregnant, which gave birth to Bu ku li yong shun, the forefather of the Qing. In the Jurchen scripts, “fe” means “ancient” and “gulen” means “state”, so the name Fegulen means the “ancient state”. Therefore what the tale really attempted to convey was that the forefather of the Qing came from the “ancient state”, namely the Jin dynasty. Over three centuries elapsed from the extinction of the Jin by Mongol in 1234 to the uprising of the Jianzhou left guard controlled by Nurhaci, during which the Jurchens in Manchuria still couldn't forget the Jin and passed its tales and customs from mouth to mouth, thus supported as the public voice for the Later Jin's restoration of the Jin dynasty.

(3) Name and Surname

The Jurchen's convention of using the surname and especially the Chinese name and surname was influenced by the Khitai who at first also did not have surnames and later began to imitate the Chinese. The Jurchens in the Ming era mostly used the Mongolian names, for instance Mentemu (Munge temur), Nurhaci's forefather of the sixth older generation, was a Mongolian name. That was a common thing in the whole Ming era as the result of influence of the Yuan's reign over a century. Nowadays in the stemmata of the Manchus in Heilongjiang, the names of their forefathers still bear the features of the adoption the Mongolian names and the absence of surnames. The naming system of the Jurchens in the Ming era still boasted the characteristics of the ancient Tungus. For instance, Nurhaci meant wild boar hide; his two younger brothers, šurgaci and jargaci meant two years wild boar hide and leopard hide respectively. This convention in which the children were named after what kind of hide they wore in childhood was still kept in those tribes to the east of the Baikal Lake in Siberia in the nineteenth century.

The origin of many Jurchen names in the Ming era could be traced back to the Jin era. For instance, Nurhaci whose surname was Aisin Gioro among which the Gioro came from gju in the Nüzhen Jinshi timing bei inscription which was an unknown clan. In the Ming era, with the growth and enlargement of the clan, more branches with their specific titles emerged like Irgen Gioro, Tongyan Gioro, Shushu Gioro, Aha Gioro, Chala Gioro.

The names of Ming Jurchens also included many Mongolian ones which joined them at a later time. For example, the Nala clan of the Haixi Jurchen Yehe tribe included some Mongols whose original name was Tumute. The Nala clan was from the Nalan clan in the Jin era, which changed greatly in the Ming era. The principles by which the Jurchens in the Jin dynasty were

titled with the Chinese surnames were divided into four types: (1)the extraction of one character from the Chinese version of the Jurchen surname; (2)the selection of the Chinese character which bore the similarity to the first syllable of the Jurchen surname in phonetics; (3)the translation of the meaning of the Jurchen surname; (4) the translation of the Jurchen surname into the Chinese character. The tradition of this kind of naming had continued till into the Ming dynasty. For instance, the Jurchen surname “朮虎” was rendered into the Chinese surname “董” in “The History of Jin dynasty, the language section”; in some Korea historical materials, the Jurchen surname “朱胡” , which was “朮虎” in the Jin dynasty, was also kept as “董” . “朱胡” could also be titled as “朱” which followed the first Chinese character of its transliteration. This kind of naming could only be found in the Ming dynasty. “夾谷” , which was the Jurchen name in the Jin dynasty, was titled as “仝” in “The History of Jin dynasty, the language section”. The character “仝” was further rendered into “童” or “佟” . The way that the Jurchens in the Ming dynasty was titled in Chinese characters was sometimes totally different from that of the Jin dynasty. For instance, “奧屯” one surname of the Jurchen’s in the Jin’s dynasty, was titled as “曹” in “The History of Jin dynasty, the language section” , for oton in the Jurchen scripts meant “槽” which was a homophonic word of “曹” . But in “奧屯” Korean materials, was titled as “崔” , which was different from the Jin’s principle of entitling Chinese surname. The Jurchens in the Ming dynasty were sometimes random in entitling Chinese surnames, for instance, “古倫” was rendered into “金” , whereas “擴兒牙” was also rendered into “金” .

One of the Jurchen’s naming tradition was the absence of the multiplying ceremonies in the avoidance of the names of the elder family generations as taboo, which led to the fact that the grandfather and grandson could share one name, and even the father and son also could share one name which could also be found in the Khitais in the Liao dynasty. For instance, fancha, one of the Jurchen’s common names, meant flag in the Jurchen scripts. “The Annals of the Ming dynasty” recorded that the name of Ya ru ui, jihui ce shi Fancha and the name of his son Fanca were different in Chinese character but the the same in the Jurchen scripts. Let’s take the clan of Nurhaci for another example: the grandfather and the half brother of Mentemu(munge temur) who was the forefather of the six older generation were both named as fancha ; Mentemu’s second son and Nurhaci’s first son were both named as cuyan; the Mentemu’s first son and the second son of weijun, who was the cousin of Nurhaci, were both named as cungshan. The Japanese experts in the Jurchen history attributed the above mentioned instances to the confusion of the Qing dynasty ancestors’ pedigree, and thus further attempted to deny the kinship between Mentemu and Nurhaci. In fact that is a result of the misunderstanding of the Jurchen’s naming tradition. Another tradition of the Jurchen’s naming was the seniority among the brothers. A third tradition of the Jurchen’s naming was that the names of brothers shared some common quality. For instance, the names of the six brothers of Nurhaci’s grandfather were all originated from sundries; the three brothers of Nurhaci came

from the names of beast hides; sometimes alliteration and end rhyme were employed in Jurchen's naming. The acquaintance of these traditions could account for a good understanding of the Jurchen history in the Ming dynasty.

(4) Customs and Habits

The customs and habits of the Jurchens in the Ming era were recorded in detail in the Korean historical materials.

a. The Ming era Jurchens awed dogs, abstained from killing and eating dogs and clothing the dog skin. They regarded the Koreans' holding the dog skin as the utmost evil. According to the historical documents, the Mohes did not awe the dogs, which indicated that dog-awing was a subsequent custom which is still kept in Manchus.

b. The Jurchens in the Ming era followed the custom of "marrying the late father's concubine and marrying the late brother's wife". For instance, Wuyeju, the mother of Fancha, first married Hoiho (the father of Munge Temur), then married Hoiho's half brother Baoqi. According to the Chinese materials, the Jurchens in the Jin era had been recorded "marrying mother when father died; marrying sister-in-law when brother died; marrying aunt when the uncle died". In the epitaphs of Khitai small scripts, we can find similar custom in the Khitais. The Secret History of the Yuan dynasty also recorded the similar practice adopted by the Mongols. From the mention above, we can conclude that this marital behavior is the common tradition of the ancient northern peoples.

c. According to the Jurchen's marital process from engagement to the matrimony written in the Korean materials, we can see the following characteristics of the Jurchen's wedding ceremony: (1) a marriage quest was proposed to a girl below ten years old by the bridegroom's side; (2) three banquets would be held in each of the following years; (3) betrothal gifts were delivered twice (gifts included armor, bows and arrows, horses and cattle, clothes and maids.); (4) the wedding ceremony would be held at the age of 17 or 18 years old. At the wedding, both sides of the bridegroom and bride would held banquets. In 1615, Nuhaci issued the rules on slaying domestic animals at the wedding ceremony and ordered that the bridegroom's side need not hold a banquet in return.

d. The institution of burying the living as the funeral object was originally the Shamanism's custom and was immediately forbidden when the Lamaism was introduced. But this custom still prevailed in the Jurchens. When Nuhaci died, one of his empress and two concubines were buried with him; when Xiaoci empress of Nuhachi died, four maids were buried with her; when Hongtaiji died, two Janggin were buried with him. After the establishment of the Qing dynasty, the living persons as the funeral objects were replaced by the paper persons.

e. The Jurchens in the Ming era was accustomed to dancing at the interval of banquets. When Jianzhou Jurchens treated the envoys of Korea, they danced to the music. This custom was not only held by the Jurchens in the Liao and Jin dynasties, but could be traced to the Mohes in the Sui and Tang dynasties. According to the relevant historical materials, the custom of playing music and dancing at banquets were also held by Xianbei at the period of the Northern Wei.

(5) religion

At earlier times, the Jurchens embraced the Shamanism, and in the Jin era under the influence of the Chinese, their religions converted to the Buddhism and Taoism. In the Yuan era, when the Mongols moved to Manchuria, the Lamaism was introduced to Jurchen regions. In the Ming era, the Ming court requested Karma, the fifth hierarch of Karma-pa, which belonged to the Sa-skyapa of Lamaism, to go to Nanjing to perform the Buddhist service for the late emperor Taizu and his empress. In 1407, Karma was offered the title of Dabaofawang in Beijing, which was an honorable title, one given to the great Tibetan sages in the Yuan era. From this, we can see that the Ming court attached great importance to the Sa-skyapa. In 1417, the Ming court set up the prefectural Buddhist registry (senggangs) in the Jianzhou guard and assigned the Jurchens to be. During the Xuande period, the Jurchen monks paid several tributes to the Ming court, indicating the widespread of Buddhism among the Jurchens and the appearance of Jurchen monks. In the Later Jin, the spread of the dGe-lugs-pa was initially limited, and then out of controlling the Mongols, the Lamaism was allowed to be worshipped.

With the prospering of Lamaism, the Shamanism began to decline. The Jurchens in the Ming era created various versions of folklore about the combats between Shamanism and Lamaism in which the Shamanism always stood for the righteous side, to give vent to their dissatisfaction with the oppression of Shamanism. The most famous folklore of this type was Nishan saman (Nüdan saman), which spread in the regions from Heilongjiang to Primorsky. It's interesting to point out that the folklore spread among the Tungus region occurred in the "reign of Ming emperor" while the folklore among the villages and towns of Manchu occurred in the "reign of Manchu emperor", which indicated the different historical background of the folklore.

The Shamanism that the Jurchens worshipped was a kind of primitive polytheism, some character of which could be found in Manchu sacrificial songs and folklore which still existed in some Manchu villages in modern Manchuria. The Manchu sacrificial activities were divided into two types: indoor sacrificial activities and outdoor ones. The outdoor sacrificial activities were mainly for abka mafa, which were held under the solon. The Jiumanzhoudang which recorded the history of the Later Jin reported many of these outdoor activities. Besides abka mafa, boihon mafa, alin mafa and ari mafa were also worshipped. The indoor sacrificial activities were mainly for tuibun which was guardian god of darkness and the protector of clan, which subsequently evolved into Fosin mama. The so-called Fosin mama was a concubine of Li Chengliang, the regional commander of Liaodong of the Ming. It was said that Nurhaci in his childhood was once a servant in Li's family from which he escaped with the help of Li's concubine. This legend was coincided with the record of the Ming and the Qingshigao. From this we can see that the object of worship in turban changed in the Later Jin period.

(6) Cultural History

With the help of Koryo (wherein Bohai as the transferring place), the Jurchens in the Jin era learned the cultivation of fruits and vegetations and Buddhism, just as the Jurchens in the

Ming era did under the influence of the Chinese. In *Nüzhezishu* compiled in the early Jin era, the word “pudur” had no equivalence in the Manchu-Tungus phylum but was similar to the word “pudur” in ancient Korean language. In the *Huitongguan Nüzhenyiyu* that recorded the Haixi Jurchen dialect in the Ming era, the character yuan (field) was written into yafa, the origin of which could be traced to yuanin Chinese.

The word “Tairan” in the epitaph in the early Jin era was also not found in the Manchu-Tungus phylum, but was similar to “ter” in the Korean language. The *Huitongguan Nüzhenyiyu* also did not record this word. The word “miao” in Manchu language was originated from miao (shrine) in Chinese. “miao” initially appeared in the Jurchen language at the end of Ming era. In 1627, the Later Jin conquered the Korea. Liu Xingzuo, the vice commander, was dispatched to meet the Korean king at the Kanghwa island. When he saw the king silent and motionless, he scolded him “si ai boihon i araha miao?”(are you a Buddhist statue of earth?) From this example we can see that “miao” could also refer to Buddhist statue.

2 Relations with Korea, China and Mongolia

(1) Jurchen's Relations with Korea

The Jurchens in the Ming era called Korea solgo, the word initially appeared in the Jurchen's stone-carved epigraph in Jin era, referring to Koryo.

In the late Yuan and early Ming era, the influence of Koryo spread to the Jurchen region. In 1387, the Ming dynasty conquered the North Yuan forces which occupied Liaodong, but could not be strong enough to control the vast Jurchen region. During this period, the force of Koryo has spread to Tur'u (Tokroor, present Tanchon of Korea). Out of political and economic considerations, the Jurchens, who had lost the support of the Yuan dynasty, submitted to the rule of Koryo. The Koryo offered some positions like regimental or battalion commander to the obedient Jurchens, and the latter could also gain some benefits in materials by means of tribute and exchanging market. By 1392, the Jurchens under the rule of Haran fu (present Hamhung in Korea) in the Yuan had submitted to Korea. King T'aejo of the Yi dynasty entitled Koron turan thomur, the Chamsan miq'an with “Yi” as their surname as a kind of credit in imitation of the Chinese emperors, and listed him among the “founding generals” of the Yi dynasty. In this way, the Yi dynasty assigned him to persuade other Jurchen tribes to submit to the court. Chamsan was present Pukcheong in Korea, belonging to Halan oran in the Jin where the Yuan set up a battalion. In 1403, the Ming emperor Chengzu strengthened their efforts to bring all tribes of the Jurchens under his rule. Wang Keren, the Ming's battalion commander of the Dongning guard in charge of the Jurchens, proposed to Chengzu, “the territory north of Xianzhou belonged to the Liao and Jin dynasties in ancient times.” So Chengzu dispatched him to depart for the Jurchen areas via Korea to do the persuading job for 11 Jurchen tribes like Chamsan and Tokroor.(According to the Korean material, the 11 cheonho were

Kyekwan, Chamsan, Tokroor, Hapran, Taesin, Topusirri, Haetong, Asa, Arhap and Atoka.) On learning this, Korea immediately sent envoy to the Ming court, and claimed the sovereignty for these regions by making use of some errors in the Dilizhi chapters of the Liaoshi and Jinshi. Since not being able to give evidence on the owning of the Liao and Jin dynasties for these regions, the Ming court had to give up the claim for them. However, the Jurchens' stone-carved epigraphs in Jin era proved that these areas had been under the rule of the Jin. In "Korea Pukcheong Jurchen Scripts Stone-carved Epigraphs", the first two lines went like this: "From Koryo, the monk went to reach the Gopa mij'an". From this we can see that the Chamsan in the Ming era (namely Gopa under the rule of the Jin) was actually the mij'an in the charge of halan oran, not under the rule of Koryo. "The Korea Kyeongwonkun Jurchen Scripts Epitaphs" recorded that Orka mij'an, Holdon mij'an, and Edugen momko all belonged to Halan oran in the Jin. Orka was Arhap, Holdon was Haetong, Edugen was Atoka. The Nüzhen Jinshi timing bei inscription recorded Halan oran taishin mij'an. Taishin was Taesin. These names remained unchanged till the Ming era except for Gopa. In spite of the abandonment of the above-mentioned 11 mij'ans, the Ming still held claim for the ownership of the Jurchen tribes in the valley of Tumun giyang. This gave rise to long-standing contradiction on the ownership of the Jurchen tribes like Urianqan, Odoli and Udige with Korea which was enlarging its influence towards .

Munge temur, Nurhaci's forefather of six generations older, mounted the historical stage at this critical moment when the Korea and the Ming contended for the submission of the Jurchen tribes. After conquering the Jin, the Yuan set up in Manchuria Liaoyang province, which covered the field headquarters (zongguanfu) of Kaiyuanlu, Helanfu Shuidadadenglu and Xiguan (Kyekwan), which included several regiments . The father of Munge temur, Hoiho was the Odoli regiment commander. In 1384, Munge temur inherited his father's position of the regimental commander. During this period, Munge temur submitted to Koryo. In 1372, in order to avoid the assaults of Eurmajeok who was the leader of the Orjeokhap (Udige) tribe, Munge temur led his people to move southward to Tumun giyang (present Hoenyeong in Korea). Munge temur was a prestigious leader among the Jurchen tribes and ruled Kyeongseong, Kyeongwon and Oeumhae. Thus he became the key figure for both the Korea and the Ming. In 1403, Ahachu, the Hwaaa (Hor'a) regiment commander, submitted to the Ming and paid tribute. Accordingly, the Ming established the Jianzhou military and civilian guard and order Ahachu to act as the commander. The Korea regarded the Ming's establishment of the Jianzhou guard as "holding my throat tightly and handicapping my right arm" and obstructed its expanding plan towards the north. Therefore Korea responded to it by building Kyeongseong, Kapseong and others on the northeast front (1403) on the one hand, and by closing the Kyeongwon market (1409) to exert the economic blockade on the other hand. These acts further trigger the Jurchens' anger. Under the Jurchens' pressure of constant plunder, Korea had to reopen the market in Kyeongseong and Kyeongwon. During this period, the Jurchen regiment commanders with Munge temur as the representative hesitated between Korea and the Ming

for the reason that they lived near the border region and feared Korea would imprison their wives once they submitted to the Ming. Another reason is that the Jurchens relied heavily on Korea economically. So not until 1406 did Munge temur decided to submit to the Ming and awarded the position of the Jianzhou guard commander. The year before 1406, P'aason, the Urianqan regiment commander, submitted to the Ming and was entitled the Maolin guard commander. With the establishment of Jianzhou and Maolin guards, more Jurchen tribes succumbed to the Ming. The trend stirred Korea and began to put pressure on the Jurchen tribes. In 1410, Korea sent troops to attack Orjeokhap (Udige) and trapped to kill P'aason. These events worsened the relations between the Jurchens and Korea. In 1411, Munge temur led his tribe westward to Fengzhou near Liaodong (the upper reach of Hoifa ho) and merged with the Udige tribe at the Jianzhou guard where they had inhabited there. In 1412, the Ming set up the Jianzhou left guard and order Munge temur to be the commander. In 1422, in order to avoid the assaults of the Mongols, Munge temur led his tribes to move to Amuho. During this period, the Jurchens' slaves and maidens constantly fled to Korea, which worsened the tension between the two sides. These slaves and maidens were mainly the Chinese from Liaodong and Koreans in the border regions. Korea usually sent the Chinese back to Liaodong and kept the Koreans. These acts resulted in the Jurchens frequent attacks on Korea border areas. In 1433, the Korea staged a significant counterattack and took a sudden offensive on Jianzhou from seven different directions, which made the bilateral relations from bad to worse. According Munge temur decided to lead the Jianzhou left guard to join with the Jianzhou guard at Pozhu giyang (the present Hunjiang). But before his departure, Munge temur was killed by the seven clan yeren (Yang muda'u). Korea took the chance of this incident and extended northward by immigrating to Amuho. Under the leadership of Fanca, Munge temur's brother, and Cunshan, the second son of Munge temur, the Jianzhou left guard moved to settle at Suziho and merged with Li Manzhu, the grandson of Ahachu, the Jianzhou right guard commander. Thus the Jianzhou Jurchens became stronger. In 1442, the Ming separated the Jianzhou right guard from the Jianzhou left guard and called them, together with the Jianzhou guard, the three Jianzhou guards. After the Tumu Incident, Korea adopted the pacification policy towards the Jurchens, aimed at the control of the Jurchen tribes bordering Korea. After encountering the containment of the Ming, Korea resorted to military actions which resulted in the killing of Langborhan, the Maolin guard assistant commander-in-chief. Against Korea's military and political provocations, the Jurchens arranged all the tribes "to fix the forces and invade from every direction". This kind of hostility between the two sides ascended to the summit when Korea and the Ming allied to attack the Giyan jeo Jurchen in 1467 and 1479. In 1486, Korea set out to build the Great Wall at Euiju, P'yeonganto against the Jurchens' constant invasions.

After the establishment of the Later Jin, Nurhaci launched attack on the Ming in 1618. Korea, under the threats of both the Later Jin and Ming, was in the dilemma of attempting to please both its two powerful neighbors. In the Battle of Sarhu, Korea accepted the Ming's request to sent troops but surrendered to the Jurchens before the battle started. After the

battle, Nurhaci sent envoys to persuade Korea to separate from the submission to the Ming. With the quick development of the Ming-Jurchen war, the Ming's failure became clear. During the war, the Ming asked support for Korea many times but was refused. After some time, the pro-Ming faction in the Korean court prevailed and allied with the Ming once again. After Hongtaiji came into power, he launched campaigns towards Korea twice and in 1637 the king of Korea submitted to the Qing completely by devoting the imperial edict and seal issued by the Ming.

(2) Jurchen's Relations with the Ming dynasty

In the Ming era, the Jurchens called the Chinese *nikan*, which originated *nan-gia*, as the Jurchens in the Jin era called the Chinese in the Song dynasty. In the thirteenth century, the Mongols addressed the Chinese as *nankias* (the last letter "s" was the suffix indicating the plural form)

In 1368, the Yuan emperor Shundi led 60,000 households to move northward by giving up Yanjing, the capital of the Yuan dynasty. Shundi and his descendants set up the North-Yuan dynasty and confronted with the Ming in the south. Meanwhile, Nahacu, the Liaoyang province left prime minister, commanded a large army at Liaodong to pose a threat to the Ming, whose aim was to restore the reign of the Yuan and many Jurchens turned to him. Concerning this situation, the Ming started to pay more attention on Liaodong. The turning point came when Liu Yi, the Liaoyang province chief administrator (*pingzhang*) surrendered to the Ming. Then in 1371, the Ming set up the Dingliao chief guard, an organization in charge of all the troops at Liaodong. In 1374, King Kongmin of Koryo was exiled and Sin U assumed power. He changed his predecessor's pro-Ming policy and announced the title of his reign as North Yuan *Xuanzhuang* by abandoning *Hongwu*, which followed that of Ming. Nahacu attempted to ally with Koryo to attack the Dingliao chief guard. The alliance between the North Yuan and Koryo endangered the Ming armies at Liaodong on the north and south. In order to break the encirclement, the Ming decided to improve the Dingliao chief guard into the Liaodong regional military commission, for the purpose of strengthening the forces in Liaodong. Meanwhile the Ming placated the Jurchen tribes with the aim of cutting off the link between the North Yuan and Koryo. The relations between the Ming and the Jurchens began to develop under this historical background. At the initial stages, the contacts between the two sides were limited to Liaodong near the Ming's border. During this period, the Ming had not been strong enough to infiltrate the depth of Manchuria. One incident could prove this point. In 1387, after Nahacu surrendered to the Ming troops, the Ming court planned to set up the Tieling guard on the sides of *Tumun giyang* and *Yalu giyang*, and the Sanwan guard on the sides of *Sunggari ula* and the Amur river. These acts were strongly rejected by Koryo. As a result of compromise, the Ming court had to move the Tieling guard to the northeast of Liaoyang, and move the Sanwan guard to Kaiyuan in Liaodong because of "the hard supply of the army provisions." At the same time, the Ming court also had the intention of placating the Jurchen tribes at the lower reaches of the Amur river, "the mission was sent, but the relation was not concluded". So only a few Jurchens

appeared in the materials of the Ming in the capacity being placated and they usually inhabited near guards on the Ming borders. Another thing was that those placated the Jurchens were not reliable and often revolted again. In 1395, Zhang Neng, the Liaodong guard judge, reported to the court that the placated Jurchens in the Sanwan guard often “stirred the troubles in the name of hunting”. During the same period, there were quite a few instances of Ming’s suppressing the Jurchens: in 1395, the Ming troops attacked the Jurchens at the Sanwan guard; in the same year, a similar attack occurred; the court issued the edict that all imprisoned military officers should be dispatched to Liaodong to combat with the Jurchens. These incidents proved that a great part of Jurchens did not succumb to the Ming court and held a hostile attitude towards them.

After the emperor Chengzu ascended the throne, the bilateral relations between the Ming and the Jurchens substantially developed. In 1403, when Ahachu, the leader of the Jurchen tribe Hor’a paid tribute to the court, the Ming seized this opportunity to establish the Jianzhou guard near present Jilin. In the same year, it also set up Uje guards at present Harbin by taking the chance of Hulun and other Jurchen leaders coming to the court. From 1403 to 1409, the Ming had already established 115 guards in Manchuria. These guards so covered a vast land, extending southward to tumun giyang, northward to the Stanovoy mountains, westward to Chitah valley, eastward to the seashore of the Japan sea. In order to command an effective control of these guard so, the Ming court established the Nurgun regional military commission at Tirin on the eastern shore of the lower reaches of the Amur river in 1409, taking the advantage of Huladongnu, the chief of the Nurgun Tatar, coming to pay tribute to the court. Tirin was a place that belonged to the Dongjing circuit in the Liao, and to the Shangjing circuit in the Jin, and to the Invade the East regional military command in the Yuan when it started to be called Nurgun. When the Yuan emperor Shizu crusaded against Japan, Nurgun was the dock for the military vessels. From the collapse of the Yuan to 1408, Nurgun was controlled by the Mongolian officials. Nurgun’s original inhabitants were Jurchens and Gilemi, and after the establishment of Invade the East regional military command, the Mongolian inhabitants, officials and Lama moved to dwell here. They spread the Mongolian scripts, which was adapted from Uyghur scripts, and shaped the Mongolian culture. With the order the Ming court, Isika and other officials led troops to reach the place ten times, and built Yongningsi inscription in 1411 with the carving of the inscription of “The Erection of Nurgun Yongning Temple under the Imperial Edict” (in three languages of Chinese, Mongolian and Jurchen); in 1433, the court repaired the Yongning Temple and carved the inscription of “The Repairing of Nurgun Yongning Temple” in Chinese. By this series of acts, the Ming court attempted to placate not only the local Jurchens, Gilemi, but the Ku Yi on the Sakhalin Island. By combining the benevolence and severity, the Ming court achieved its goal: the Jurchens of various tribes came to pay tribute and the court awarded them positions like the commissioner-in-chief, chief-guard commander, guard commander, battalion commander, company commander and judge, granted them the imperial edict and seal, and prescribed their obligations for paying tributes regularly. In

consequence, the Jurchens in this region were all under the rule of the Ming court.

But during the end of the Xuande period, the economic situation of the Ming worsened. In 1445, the military action posed by Esen made it impossible for the great enterprise of expanding the frontiers, a movement launched by the emperor Chengzu who imitated the Han emperor Gaozu, to continue. The Ming's rule of the Jurchen areas gradually diminished and the Grant-Tribute system became a heavy burden. So the Ming changed the policy of encouraging tribute to limiting it. The Ming court also restricted the Jurchens' buying iron wares and farm cattle. These policies led to the strong rebellions of the Jurchens. Therefore, in 1467 and 1479, the Ming armies cracked down the revolted Jianzhou Jurchen brutally.

The Jianzhou Jurchen moved southward to the Pozhu giyang valley near the Ming border in the middle Ming era, where there were fertile soil. So the agriculture of the Jianzhou Jurchens quickly prospered. Usually the Jurchens plundered livestock and people of other nations to develop agriculture, which was often directed to the inhabitants in Liaodong and the Koreans. Li Manzhu (the grandson of Ahachu), the leader of Jianzhou guard, and Chungshan (the second son of Munge temur) had been assaulting the Ming border since 1449, looting the livestock and people. During the Chenghua period, their such as saults turned more frequent, as many as 97 times one year. The Ming decided to ally with Korea to combat the Jianzhou Jurchens. In 1467, the Ming court kept Chungshan and other Jurchen leaders at Guangning when they returned from a visit to Beijing for apologizing their offences. Then the Ming armies attacked the Jianzhou guard. After a mass killing, they sent Chungshan back to Beijing and executed him. After receiving the Ming's imperial edict, Korea launched a massive attack on the Jianzhou guard and killed Li Manzhu and his relatives. These battles were called "the Campaign of the Third Year of Cheng hua". Afterwards, the Ming began to consolidate and extend the border wall at Liaodong for fear of the revenges of the Jurchens.

The border wall was at first started in 1442, in defense of the assaults of Urianqan-led Mongols and Haixi Jurchens. The extended section of the border wall built in 1469 was mainly aimed for the Jianzhou Jurchens, which became the demarcation line between inland and the Jianzhou Jurchen. The erection of the border wall was the symbol of the decline of the Ming's national power, indicating its foreign policy degenerating to be conservative and passive. Since the border wall was not as powerful as the Great Wall, the Jianzhou Jurchens were still able to assault the border by crossing the line. So in 1479, the Ming court once again staged a campaign allied with Korea for raiding the Jianzhou Jurchens. The Jianzhou Jurchens suffered a heavy strike by the join forces of Ming and Korean armies, and began to decline ever since.

The seventy pieces of Laiwen in the Nüzhen yiyu reflected the historical background between this period and the end of the Jiaping period, only seven pieces of which were concerned with the Jianzhou Jurchens (three about the Jianzhou guard , two about the Jianzhou left guard and two about the Maolin guard). What's worth mentioning was a piece from Usinha, the Jianzhou left guard commander, who was Fuman, the forefather of three generations older of Nurhaci and posthumously rewarded as the emperor Xingzu,zhi. In 1467, Chungshan, the forefather of fifth

generations older of Nurhaci, was executed by the Ming and the leaders of the Jianzhou Jurchens were all degraded one level. Since the rank one level lower than commissioner-in-chief was chief-guard commander, so Usinha, in the capacity of the chief-guard commander, "petitioned the court for his one level promotion". The Qingshilu recorded Fuman as the commissioner-in-chief, which meant that the Ming court resumed Usinha's position as the Jianzhou left guard commissioner-in-chief.

After this incident, the Haixi Jurchens replaced the Jianzhou Jurchens' position. Haixi Jurchens inhabited near the three Urianqan guards of Mongolia. In the Dengdanbijiu compiled in 1599, the word Haixi in the Mongolian language meant Jurchet, equivalent to Jurchens. The sixty-sixth pieces of Laiwen in the Nüzhe nyiyu was presented by Jukungge, the Tamulu guards chief-guard assistant commander of the Haixi. He was the forefather of four generations older of Yehe tribe, which moved to Yehe valley. In the mid of Chenghua period, the Haixi Jurchens moved southward and Jukungge-led Haixi Jurchens frequently assaulted the Ming borders, blocking the tribute journeys of other tribes. The Ming court built a guard seventy miles north of Kaiyuan, which was the necessary route for the Haixi Jurchens to make a tribute journey. At the earlier years of Jiajing, Suhete, the Jurchen leader at the Sunggari ula valley turned powerful and since he ensured the security of the Jurchen tribute route by trapping and killing Mengke, the bandit outside Kaiyuan, he was awarded the position of the left commissioner-in-chief. Suhete was the forefather of four generations older of the Hada tribe, which moved and dwelled in the valley of Hada. Since the place where Yehe tribe inhabited was close to Zhenbeiguan, which belonged to horse market of Kaiyuan, it was called Beiguan (North Pass). The place Hada inhabited was near to Guangshunguan, another horse market of Ming and opposite to Beiguan, so it was called Nanguan (South Pass). Besides them, there were also other Jurchen tribes like Ula and Hoifa. The former belonged to the same clan origin with Hada tribe, both from the Tashan front guard in the early Ming era, and later moved southward to Ula valley; the latter originated from the Nimaca tribe of the Amur river and later shifted to Hoifa valley.

(3) Jurchen's Relations with Mongols

The history of Mongolia in the Ming era covered 267 years, from 1368 when the Yuan emperor Shundi migrated northward to Mongolia, to 1635 when all the inner Mongolian tribes surrendered to the Qing dynasty. During this period, the first tribe that contacted with the Jurchens was the three Urianqan guards, and then was Arughtai tribe. Since the place where the Haixi Jurchens dwell was near to the three Urianqan guards, the contacts and exchanges between them had already lasted for a long time. At the early of fifteenth century, Singgen darhan, the forefather of Yehe tribe in the Haixi Jurchen, led a part of Mongolian Tumet to attack the Hulun Jurchen-controlled area and engulf the Nara Jurchen tribe at Jang. Thereafter, this tribe was called Nara. At the early of sixteenth century, The Nara tribe at Jang started to shift southward and dwell on the bank of the Yehe river north of Kaiyuan. Then its tribe name was named after the river and called Haixi Jurchen Yehe tribe. After the fall of the

Yehe tribe, those Mongols fled back to Tumet. According to some materials, the Hada tribe of Haixi Jurchens shared the same origin with Ula tribe. From this, it could be assumed that the forebears of the Ula tribe also came from the Mongolia. The three Urianqan guards and the Haixi Jurchen tribes sometimes allied to assault the Ming's borders and sometimes attacked mutually. With the invasion of Oyirad, the contradictions and conflicts between them became less important. During the Zhengtong period, the Oyirad of West Mongolia became strong and invaded eastward the three Urianqan guards. Then it engulfed the Haixi Jurchen tribes in which many of eminent Jurchen chiefs were killed. According to the Ming's materials, as many as 40,000 to 50,000 Jurchens were taken captive. Pursuing Esen, Mongolia chief Toghto Bukha continued the expansion towards the Jurchen areas. In 1450-1451, Toghto Bukha led an army of 30,000 soldiers to attack the Haixi Jurchens, then the Jianzhou Jurchens. Later, due to the Mongolian faction, the Jianzhou Jurchen were spared the disaster of being engulfed. The three Urianqan guards moved to Haixi to avoid the assaults of Mongols, which resulted in the southward movement of the Haixi and Jianzhou Jurchens. Since the end of the Hongzhi period, Ming broke its tribute market with Mongolia and adopted the close-door policy, leading to Chahar-led left-wing Mongols southward movement. The Mongols invaded into Liaodong area. On the other hand, the Ming court pursued conservative military strategy, the Mongolia devoured the three Urianqan guards at Ming border between 1546-1548. The close of the tribute market forced the Korcin tribe of Mongolia, which dwelled in the valley of NunJiang, to trade with Yehe tribe in the west and Nurhaci in the north. The place the Yehe tribe inhabited was the North Pass of Ming, separating Mongolia and the Jianzhou Jurchens. In 1619, Nurhaci defeated the Ming troops completely at Sarhu, and conquered the Yehe tribe, thus unified all Jurchen tribes. After the perdition of Yehe, the relations between Mongolia and the Jianzhou Jurchen became tense. The last generation of Mongolian Khan, Ligdan Khan ascended the throne in 1604, and he harbored the ambition to resume the splendor of Mongolia Khan. The struggles between Mongol and the Later Jin concentrated on the fact that both sides inclined to ally with Korcin tribe and Kalka tribe. The advantages they presented for alliance were two types. The first was the traditional intermarriage. The second was kind treatment of the surrendered Mongolian tribes whose possessions like cattle were under protection and awarded with land, houses and livestock. If the Mongols joined their army, they could keep their booties while the Jurchens should confiscate their capture. The Jurchens even order their people to spare houses and land to those surrendered Mongols. As the historian Meng Sen who majored in the history of the Qing dynasty pointed out, "If the Jurchens did not do that with one heart, it would be difficult to achieve that." While Ligdan Khan did the other wise. He captured the whole profit of the market with the Ming, which caused his subordinates to betray him. Hongtaiji seized the opportunity and drove the Ligdan Khan to south of the Mongolia Plateau. The largest political benefit the Later Jin obtained in the victory over Ligdan Khan was acquiring the imperial jade seal of the Yuan dynasty, for all the Mongolian tribes assumed that it was God's proposal that the Later Jin would inherit the Mongolian Khan title and reigned

the whole country. In 1793, Lord Macartney, the British special envoy, wrote down a legend at that time in his journal during his first embassy to China, it went like this: “The Mongols, who then fled into the country of the Manchu, intermarried and mixed with them, and from one of these alliances sprung the Bogdoi Khans, who invaded China in 1640, and have reigned over it ever since”. Bogdoi was from the Hongtaiji’s title “Bogda qecen Khan”. The conclusion of the legend focused the shared blood origin of the Manchu and Mongol, for the purpose of obtaining support from the Mongols. As could be seen, the Later Jin had made much effort, even including in public voice, to consolidate the alliance with the Mongols before it entered Shanhaiguan. In 1644, as the occasion permitted, with the Korcin Badali guarding the rear, the Later Jin broke through Shanhaiguan and established its reign instead of the Ming dynasty.

3 Economy

According to the Dilizhi chapter of the Yuanshi, the Jurchens in the Yuan dynasty “had neither markets nor walls, pursued water and grass, lived by hunting”, the Jurchens in the Ming dynasty lived mixed life of farming, hunting and herd.

(1) Herd, Hunting and Collection

The Nüzhezishu, compiled in the early Jin era, was the first Jurchen etymology collection, among which the birds and beasts section possessed the largest vocabularies. 40 percent of the vocabularies of this section was on livestock, which meant that livestock had always played a critical role in Jurchen family life. In the Siyiguan Nüzhen yiyu in the early Ming era, did not put emphasis on the Jurchen economic conditions due to the limit of its scale and length. According to the Laiwen which recorded the tribute of the Jurchens, it could be seen that horses was always on the top of the tribute list. The Huitongguan Nüzhen yiyu collected one of the allocutions to the Jurchens, among which there was one item “from now on bring in good horses”. Moreover, the Jurchens presenting horses as tributes was also recorded in both the Ming and Korea materials. Horses were an important kind of tool used in hunting and plundering which, for Jurchens was also an economic means. Horses and hunting preys were both presented as tribute or traded in market exchanges. The Ming and Korea founded the horses market for the Jurchens, which could serve as an illustration of the Jurchens’ prospering herding economy. Therefore horses played an important part in Jurchen life. The Manchus set May 13th as the festival of sacrificing for Morin mafa, when people slaughtered the swine and set up the altar, known as “Gan Ma hui”. The horses which the Manchus sacrificed for were two horses, Daqing and Xiaoqing, which carried Nurhaci away from Li Chengliang’s. The stone statue of the two horses were still erected on both sides of the passages of the Fuling at Shenyang. The Jurchens judged the amount of their wealth according to the quantity of their livestock. They accumulated wealth by increasing the livestock. The betrothal gifts among the Jurchens were mainly livestock. Next to horses, the beast hides (mainly marten) and ginseng

were most important tribute gifts and best-selling goods in the market. Those facts mentioned above reflected the characteristics of the Jurchens economic life.

(2) Agriculture

The Jurchen's agriculture developed on the basis of the stock raising. The Jurchens bartered horses for farm tools and cattle, or even maids and slaves as labor force. The Jurchen's agriculture, to a large extent, was undertaken by the slaves who they captured from wars. The maids and slaves were mostly the border inhabitants of the Ming and Korea. As the Jurchen agriculture grew, the slave-hunting turned more and more frequent, resulting in the conflicts between the Jurchens and the Ming and Korea. In the two versions of *Nüzhen yiyu*, the section of tools and implements rarely recorded the names of farming tools. The Jurchen word "u(l)tu", which was equivalent to the Chinese character "qiao", referred to the wooden digging tool. It was a kind of crude farming tools that could only used in some simple activities in hunting, stock raising and collection. According to the Korean material, when the Jurchens lacked in the hays and fodders for feeding the horses, they used deer meat and fish instead. This showed that the Jurchens was still relying on the fishing and hunting. The Jurchens life conditions varied from place to place. The archaeological findings in the 1980s showed that the articles in the tombs of the Jurchens in the valley of Tumun giyang were mostly iron arrowheads, bone arrowheads or iron spears, and rarely agricultural tools. This proved that the farming economy did not formed among the local Jurchens community.

(3) Handicraft

In the *Huitongguan Nüzhen yiyu*, there were quite a few words on the specific professions of craftsman, like silversmith, bronzesmith, tinsmith, dyer, hat-maker, carpenter, tanner, armorer, launderer, plasterer, maker of belts. This kind of vocabulary reflected the Jurchens' development of craftsmanship in the fields of tool-making, weapon-making and household articles. Especially the metallurgy related to war and hunting grew quickly. The weapons that the Jurchens employed were initially wooden and bony, and with the massive input of the iron agricultural tools, the Jurchens transformed the iron tools into weapons. In the *Huitongguan Nüzhen yiyu*, words like *sele saca* (iron helmet), *sele uksi* (iron armor) had been included. Since the mid 15th century, iron arrowhead and cooker had been widely used among the Jurchens. These tools were potentially prepared for the weapons and called *upu halang* (spade) in the *Huitongguan Nüzhen yiyu*. The Ming and Korea had realized the danger of these iron agricultural tools for potential military use but could not banned it completely. Not until 1599, did the Jurchens mined the iron ore.

(4) Trade

Trade activities appeared relatively late among the Jurchens, which could be seen in the origin and conversion of the trade-related vocabulary. According to the *Siyiguan Nüzhen yiyu*, "buy" was *aiwandu-mei* in the Jurchen scripts, "sell" was *hudasha-mai* in the Jurchen. Compared with the paronym like *alban* and *albatu* in the Mongolian, the etyma "aiwan-" was initially meant to refer to tribute. The Jurchen paid tribute to the Ming with local products and

specialties, and in return the Ming grant them various items, and allowed to open a trade market in the Huitongguan for three days. So tribute brought to the Jurchens economic advantages. Thus these activities were called *aiwan-*. As could be seen, the Jurchens at first viewed the trade as something equivalent to duty, or more specifically tribute. *Hudasha-* came from the Mongolian “*hudaldu-*”, meaning “sell”. These loanwords exhibited that the trade of the Jurchens originally appeared under the influence of the Mongols. This kind of trade with the mark of tribute had become the dominant economic form among the Jurchens. In the Haixi Jurchen’s language, the appearance of *uda-*(buy) and *uncha*(sell) proved the deepening of the Jurchen’s understanding of the nature of trade. These two words were still kept in Manchu.

The Jurchen’s trade developed under on the basis of hunting, collection and herd. “horses of Shuaibin” in the historical materials were actually bred in the Jurchen areas. The main purpose of opening market for the Yuan dynasty and Korea was to buy horses. In 1406, the Ming began to open horse market at Kaiyuan. In 1464, another horse market was opened at Fushun. In the early Wanli period, Qinghe, Aiyang and Kuandian were added. The trade channels increased from one in the early Ming era to five. The frequency of exchange market also increased from once a month to three days. The Jurchen’s trade with the Ming was hinged at Kaiyuan and led to two different routes. One route started from the low reaches of the Amur River, and then extended southwestward to Sunggari Ula and finally reached Kaiyuan. The other route started from Hamkyeongnamto in Korea, the followed the Tumen river northeastward and ran along the Changbai Mountain southwestward to Kaiyuan. The Jurchen’s trade with Korea had also two routes. The first went upward the Amur River and Sunggari Ula, past Ningguta, Dongjing and finally extended southward to Hamkyeongnamto. The other one stretched northward past Jilin and Xinbin and reached Manp’o. Hamkyeongnamto and Dongjing were two hinge places where the Jurchens traded with Korea and the Ming, thus forming a vast net of economy and transportation, with west on Mongolia, south on the Ming, south east on Korea. By this broad net, the Jurchens barter horses and hunting preys for iron tools, cattle, salt, silk textiles and cloth. Then there appeared the group of the Jurchen merchants who specialized in trade and made profit by selling the silk textiles they bought from the Ming to Mongolia and Korea at a higher price. The Huitongguan Nüzhen *iyu* included the word “*hudasha niama*” which meant merchant in its personage section.

Imperial edict was another major form of trade for the Jurchens in the Ming era. The imperial edict was originally the appointment letter issued by the Ming court to the Jurchen chiefs, which was not only politically important for the exercise of jurisdiction, but economically significant for its function as testimonial access to tribute, favor and trade. Therefore ever since the middle Ming era, all the tribes of the Jurchens severely struggled for obtaining more imperial edicts. The more imperial edicts, the more powerful the tribe was. During the Jiajing period, the court manipulated that the Haixi Jurchens were entitled with 1,000 edicts, the Jianzhou Jurchens entitled with 500 edicts, and the chiefs of tribes could pay tribute by edicts. When Nurhaci emerged, he only held 30 imperial edicts inherited from his grandfather and

father. In 1588, he had already grabbed all the edicts of the Jianzhou Jurchens as many as 500. That laid a sound foundation for his subsequent founding of the Later Jin.

4 Manchu Tribes in the Ming Era

The Jurchen tribes in Manchuria, to some extent, were all nomadic. After the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, Manchuria was in the chaos of anarchy and shifts and moves of tribes frequently occurred. The Jurchens in the Ming era had their own scripts but did not recorded their history with them. So the study on the distribution and motion of the Jurchen tribes had to be rely on the materials of Korea and the Ming. But the records of the foreign nations had inevitably their limits, which inclined to give more detailed description of those bordering tribes and neglected remote ones. For example, the word “Jurchen” had broad and narrow senses. The Korean materials called those Jurchen tribes near it Jurchen, Urianqan and Udige and etc. So the “Jurchen” used here was in its narrow sense.

The Ming court divided the Jurchens into three parts, namely Jianzhou Jurchens, Haixi Jurchens and Yeren Jurchens according to their location. But the names of these three areas possessed different geographical implications. The name “Jianzhou” came from Shuaibin Prefecture located in the valley of Subin bira (present Suifunhe) where, in the early Ming era, some Jurchens at the junction of Hurgai giyang (present Mudanjiang) and Sunggari ula moved to and the Ming court established the Jianzhou guard in 1403. Haixi was another name for Sunggari ula and the Yuan dynasty founded the Haisi circuit in the valley of Sunggari ula. So the local Jurchens were called Haixi Jurchens by the Ming court. The Haxii guard founded in the early Ming era just followed the call of the Yuan dynasty. Since most Haixi Jurchens inhabited in the valley of Hulun giyang (Hulanhe), they were sometimes addressed as Hulun Jurchens and in 1403, the Ming court set up there the Uje guard and subsequently established the Feihe, Ouhanche and other guard. The names like Jianzhou and Haixi thus converted from geographical nouns to the titles of specific Jurchen tribes as the Jurchens constantly moved from place to place. In the Jurchen scripts, Jianzhou and Haixi were transliterated while Yeren was paraphrased. This word in the Jurchen script was written as “udigen”, with the denotation as “field”. This word was different from “uje” which in Manchus meant weji (old forest) (the various transliteration versions of the two words “udigen” and “uje” in Chinese coexisted in the dynasties of Liao, Jin and Yuan without the same form.). Yeren was a kind of scornful calling addressed to the barbarous tribes without the implication of specific location. In 1413, in order to control the Jurchens and Gilemi at Nurgan in the lower reaches of the Amur river, the Ming court erected the Yongning Temple Stele, in which the local Jurchens were called udigen (Yeren) while the writers of the stele inscriptions were addressed as jushe (Liaodong Nüzhen Kang’an). This distinction between udigen and jushe reflected the extent of cultural maturity and naturalization. Yeren Jurchens, as a kind of calling for Jurchens like Jianzhou and Haixi,

firstly appeared in the revised edition of the *Daminghuidian* in 1587. Before that, there were only Jianzhou and Haixi while the occasional use of Yeren was a general disdainful address to all Jurchens. The Yain frequently seen in the Korean materials bore the same meaning. In the *Mingshilu*, the records of Yeren Jurchens went as the following: “they live at uttermost eastern places far from China and rarely paid tribute.” In the existent 79 pieces of *Laiwen*, none of them was indicated as belonging to the Yeren Jurchens. In fact, the concept Haixi in the Ming era was an obscure one covering a vast territory outside the Jianzhou. Those Jurchens living at the uttermost eastern places had to go past Haixi to pay tribute or participate the exchange market. So they were usually included in the Haixi Jurchens.

The shift trend of the Jurchen tribes in the Ming era was moving southward, which was determined by various factors. In the early Ming era, the Aluhui, who was the Haixi right assistant administrator (*you cheng*) of the Yuan and controlled the Haixi area, and Nahacu, the left prime minister of the Liaoyang province, surrendered to the Ming court successively, which led to the absence of Mongolian powers at the Haixi area and the emergence of the Hulun Jurchens. Since the emperor Chengzu attached great importance to Manchuria and pacificated the Jurchen tribes, the Hulun Jurchen tribes was forced to move southward. As a result, the five regiments at the junction of Hurgai giyang and Sunggari ula disintegrated and compelled the Jianzhou Jurchens to move southward in a chain action for avoiding their oppression. In 1438, the Jianzhou guard moved southward to the valley of Pozhu giyang bordering the Ming while the Jianzhou left guard shifted down to northeast bordering Korea. These things proved that at that time a large number of the Hulun Jurchens had moved to the second Sunggari ula valley. This move was largely influenced by Mongolia. In 1378, the Yuan emperor Zhaozong died, his son Töghüs Temür ascended the throne and still hold the dynastic title “Yuan”, confronting the Ming court. In 1388, Töghüs Temür was killed and the Yuan authority collapsed. Instead, more smaller authorities appeared. In 1408, Arughtai recruited Bunyashiri and united the Mongolian tribes. For the sake of controlling the Mongolian tribes, the Ming court granted the titles of the King Shunning, King Xianyi and King Anle to Mahmud, Taiping, Batu Bolod respectively. Subsequently in 1413 the Ming court granted King Hening to Arghtai comparing him to Huhaxe, the chief of the Hun who was loyal to the Han court. During the Xuande period, Arghtai had to attack the three Urianqan guards after being defeated repeatedly by Oyirad. The mass of the three Urianqan guards had to escape towards Liaodong bordering the Ming or Haixi. Then, shifted to attack Haixi which resulted in massive southward movement of the Hulun Jurchens. In 1434, Toghon, the son of King Shunning of Oyirad, killed and appointed Toghto Bukha as the Khan and himself the Grand Preceptor (*Taishi*) to reign the whole Mongolia. In 1439, Esen, the son of Toghon succeeded him as the Grand Preceptor. After the Tumu Incident, he led the troops to assault Liaodong, covering the valley of Sunggari ula, and finally reached Non giyang area (present Nengjiang). In spite of such catastrophes, the tribes of Haixi Jurchens continued its southward expansion and merged into larger ones. By the Jiajing period(1522-1566), the Haixi Jurchen tribes had combined into four

large ones: Hada, Yehe, Huifa and Ula, which were altogether called the four Hulun tribes. These four tribes were all named after the rivers by which they lived, among which the Yehe tribe was named after the Talumu guard, Huifa after the Feihe and Ouhanche guards, Ula after Uje front guard. All these guards were established in the early Ming era. Hada tribe and Ula were of the same origin, both from the Uje front guard in the period of Suhete (the forefather of four generations older) and later merged with Tashan front guard. In the Korean materials, the Jurchens of the Feihe, Ouhanche and Uje front guards were all called Horraron Orjeokhap (Hulun Udige), or Horraron Yin.

Since the mid of Ming era, the Hada tribe was the most powerful among the four Hulun tribes. In 1575, its leader Hada Wanhan was entitled as Dragon-and-Tiger general, controlling a vast area from Hoifa giyang and Jilin on the east to upper reaches of Taiziho and Yenden hoton on the west, altogether 20-odd cities. In 1582, after the death of Wanhan, its power diminished and only controlled 5 cities. In 1589, Nurhaci was entitled by the Ming court as the commander-in-chief and replaced the position of Hada. In 1593, the allied troops of nine tribes, namely Yehe, Hada, Ula, Hoifa, Korcin, Sibe, Guwalca, Jusheri, Neyen attacked Nurhaci but was completely defeated at Gure. In 1595, the Ming court accordingly entitled Nurhaci as the Dragon-and-Tiger general, who virtually became the leader of all Jurchen tribes. Then among the four Hulun tribes, only Yehe was still recommended while the other three tribes had already declined. Nurhaci adopted the nibbling policy and put out Hada in 1599 and finally extinguished it in 1601. Then Nurhaci conquered Hoifa in 1607, Ula in 1613 and Yehe in 1619, during which Nurhaci defeated the Ming army led by Yang Hao to boost Yehe at Sarhu. Since the defeat of the nine allied armies in 1593, the four Hulun tribes were conquered by Nurhaci in less than 30 years. Ever since then, Manchuria exhibited a brand new national canvas featured by the dominance of Jianzhou Jurchens.

Bibliography

- Aisin Gioro Ulhicun, 2002, *Nüzhen Yuyan Wenzhi Xin Yanjiu* [A New Study on Jurchen Language and Script] (Ôsaka) .
- Bai Cuiqin, 1983, "Mindai qianqi Menggu yu Nüzhen guanxi shulüe" [A general survey of the relations between Mongols and Jurchens in the early Ming era] , *Zhongguo Menggushi Xuehui Lunwen Xuanji* [the Selected Works of China Mongolian History Society] (Hohhot) pp.208-215.
- Daniel Kane, 1989, *The Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters*, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, (Bloomington) .
- Diao Shuren, 1989, "Chenghua nianjian Ming yu Chaoxian liangci zhengtao Jianzhou Nüzhen " [Ming and Korea's two wars against Jianzhou Jurchens in the period of Chenghua] , *Shixuejikan* 1989,2,pp.35-39.
- 2001a, "Lun Sarhu zhi zhan qianhou Houjin yu Chaoxian de guanxi" [The relations between the Late Jin and Korea before and after the Battle of Sarhu] , *Qinshiyuanjiu*, 2001,4,pp.43-50.
- 2001b, "Yuanmo Mingchu Chaoxian bandao de Nüzhenzu yu Ming, Chaoxian de guanxi " [The relations among Jurchen, Ming and Korea in the Korean peninsula in the late Yuan and the early Ming era] , *Shixuejikan* 2001,3, pp.65-69.
- Diao Shuren and Wang Jian, 2001, "Mingchu Maolianwei yu Chanxian de guanxi" [The relations

- between the Maolin guard and Korea in the early Ming era] , Mingshiyanjiu vol.7, pp.252-268.
- Jin Guangping, Jin Qizong, 1980, Nüzhen Yuyan Wenzi Yanjiu [A Study on Jurchen Language and Script] (BeiJing).
- Jin Guangping, Jin Qizong, and Ulhicun, 1996, Aixinjueluoshi Sandai Manxue Lunji [The Collected Works of Manchu Studies by Three Generations of Aisin Gioro],] (Huhhot).
- Jin Guangping, Jin Qizong, Yoshimoto michimasa, and Ulhicun, 2002, Aixinjueluoshi Sandai Artai Lunji [The Collected Works of Altaic Studies by Three Generations of Aisin Gioro] (Ôsaka) .
- Jin Qizong, 1992, Shenshuiji (Huhhot).
 2000, Qindai Menggushi Zhaji [Notes on the History of Mongolia in the Qing Era] (Huhhot).
 2003, Meiyuanji (Harbin).
- Jin Qizong and Ulhicun, 2003a, Nüzhenwen Dacidian [The Jurchen Script Dictionary] (Ôsaka) .
 2003b, Nüzhenyu, Manzhou-Tonggusizhuyi Bijiao Cidian [The Comparative Dictionary of Jurchen, Manchu-Tungus] (Ôsaka) .
- Kawachi yoshihiro, 1992, Mindai Joshinshi no Kenkyû [A Study of the History of Jurchens in the Ming Era] (Kyôto).
 2000, “Chôsen koku no Joshin tsuji” [Jurchen Translators of Korea] , Tôhôgaku vol.99, pp.1-15.
- Li Shan hong, 1999, “Menggetiemuer yu Chaoxian de guanxi shulue” [A general survey of the relations between Mentemu and Korea] , Shixuejikan, 1999,3,pp.10-15.
- Luan Fan, 2000, “Mindai Nüzhenzu de maoyi guanxiwang ji shehui xiaoying ” [Jurchen’s trade network and its social effects in the Ming era] , Beifangwenwu, 2000, 1, pp.73-76.
- Masui Kanya, 1996-97, “Mindai no Yajin Jochoku to Kaisei Jochoku” [Yeren Jurchens and Haixi Jurchens in the Ming Era] , Ôgakijoshitankidaigakukiyô vol.36, pp.55-66, vol.37, pp.37-49.
 2003, “Minmatsu no Kaisei Jochoku to koushusei” [Haixi Jurchens and the tribute system in the late Ming era] , Ritsumeikanbungaku vol.579. pp.37-74
- Sun Jinji et al., 1987, Nüzhenshi [History of Jurchen] (Changchun) .
- Zhang Yongjiang and Ye Xuedong, 1989, “Shilun Yehebu de zushu yu lishi fenqi wenti” [An essay on the nationality and periodization of the Yehe tribe] , Neimenggudaxuexuebao, 1989,2,pp.28-36.
- Xie Zhaohua, 2005, “Langborhan shijian yu Nüzhen, Manzu minzu jingshen de juexing ” [the Langborhan Incident and the Awakening of Jurchen, Manchu National Spirit] , the Memorable Essays on the First Anniversary of the Death of Jin Qizong (Kyôto), pp.165-171.

Aisin Gioro Ulhicun

College of Asia Pacific Studies, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University

Jin Shi

College of Resources and Environmental Sciences, China Agricultural University