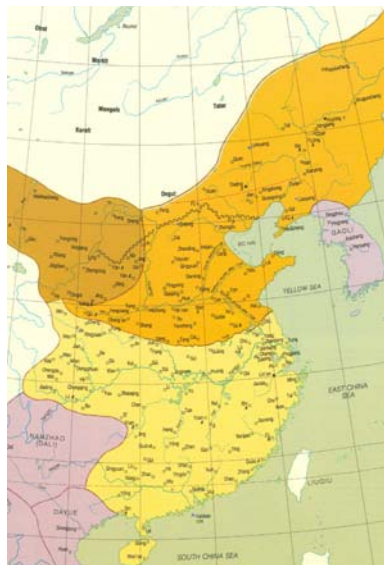


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1. Jin and Southern Song  
Blunden and Elvin (1998: 98)

<sup>1</sup> See Barfield (1989: 176-8).

<sup>2</sup> During the Tang dynasty, the Savage Ruzhen had been called the Black-Water (Hei-shui) Mohe.

<sup>3</sup> 金史 卷一 本紀第一 世紀  
金之始祖諱函普 初從高麗來 …  
兄…留高麗不肯從…始祖居完顏  
部僕幹水之涯… 招諭渤海人曰  
女直渤海本同一家 蓋其初皆勿  
吉之七部也 See also Twitchett  
and Tietze, p. 219, in Franke and  
Twitchett (1994).

<sup>4</sup> 欽定滿洲源流考  
卷七 部族 完顏 五代 金史世紀  
金之先出靺鞨氏古肅慎地也…  
金之始祖 初從高麗來 按通考及大  
金國志云 本自新羅來 姓完顏氏 考  
新羅與高麗舊地相錯 遼金史中往往  
二國互稱不為分別 以史傳按之 新

## *The Eastern Manchurian Woodsmen Replacing the Western Manchurian Nomads*

THE QIDAN LIAO REPLACED BY THE RUZHEN JIN

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THE ANCESTOR OF THE WAN-YEN CLAN HAD ORIGINALLY COME FROM KORYEO (OR KOGURYEO)

By 1034-44, the northeastern frontier kept reporting alliances among the Parhae, wild Ruzhen tribes, and Koreans, necessitating the Qidan Liao punitive expeditions.<sup>1</sup> The Qidans had incorporated some Ruzhen tribes (likely those Mohe-Ruzhen people that constituted the Parhae population) into the Liao state, who were called “tame” Ruzhen. Those who were not under Liao control were known as “wild” Ruzhen.<sup>2</sup> The frequent revolts and wars along its northeastern flank drained the Liao dynasty. The Liao state was taken over in 1125 by the wild Ruzhen tribes from eastern Manchuria.

Aguda, the founder of the Jin or “Golden” dynasty (1115-1234), was a leader of the Wan-yen tribe from the mountainous Korean borderland. He was able to expand his dominance over the other wild Ruzhens during the eleventh century. The History of Jin states, at the very beginning, that the founder of the Jin (implying the ancestor of the Wan-yen clan, by the name of Han-pu who lived sometime around the year 900) had originally come from Koryeo (or Koguryeo). Aguda is recorded to have stated that “the Ruzhen and the Parhae were originally the one and the same family.”<sup>3</sup>

The Chronicle of Great Jin states that the founder of the Jin dynasty (implying the ancestor of the Wan-yen clan), though recorded to have come from Koguryeo in the History of Jin, had originally come from Silla with the clan name of Wan-yen. Since the Silla royal surname of Kim has been transmitted from generation to generation over many dozens of generations, the Chronicle continues, the royal surname of Silla without doubt became its dynastic name.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE WOODSMEN OF EASTERN MANCHURIA

Unlike the steppe nomads, the Ruzhens relied upon farming as much as upon hunting and fishing. The Ruzhens had a mixed (say, semi-nomadic or semi-sedentary) economy that combined patchy farming with stock-raising, hunting, and fishing. They were forest tribes and yet had a fine cavalry. Their tribal organization and their archery and horsemanship perfected by hunting had produced a military tradition similar to their nomadic neighbors. The tribal families were grouped together under their hereditary commanders. The Ruzhens worked hard in the fields to earn a meager living but, once in war, they devoted themselves to fighting, as if it were a family affair, in order to capture booty.

The Ruzhens absorbed the conquered tribes, even including the surrendered Chinese and the Qidan tribes, as new military units under the command of their own native tribal leaders. The early Yan dynasties (designated either as the Former, Later, Western or Southern Yan, 349-410) had fallen victim to another Xianbei tribe, the Toubu Wei (386-534), that went on to unify North China. Seven hundred years later, the Qidan Liao also fell victim to another Manchurian tribe, the Ruzhens, who went on to conquer North China, seizing the whole Central Plain from Song.

#### MAINTAINING THE DUAL ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The Ruzhens Jin had inherited the dual administrative structure of the Qidan Liao dynasty. Twitchett and Tietze states that “the basic feature of their government and administrative system was the complex interplay between native Ruzhen traditions, features inherited from the Liao state and the Chinese (Song) influence,” and that the socio-military

羅王金姓 相傳數十世 則金之自新羅來 無疑建國之名 亦應取此 金史地理誌 乃云以國有金水源為名 史家附會之詞未足憑耳 居完顏部

卷七 部族 完顏 遼 祥符三年 契丹征高麗道由女真女真復與高麗合兵拒之 契丹大敗而還 自天聖後屬契丹世襲節度使兄弟相傳 其帥本新羅人 號完顏氏 女真服其練事以首領推之自哈富...哈富生... 生...次太祖次太宗 ...國號大金

卷七 部族 元 ... 金始祖 本從新羅來 號完顏氏 所部稱完顏部 新羅王金姓則金之遠派出

The Geography Section of the History of Jin, however, states that the dynastic name Jin (implying Golden in Chinese and Alchun in Tungusic) might have been based on the Ruzhen name of the river Ashi, a southern tributary of the Lower Song-hua. On this minor local river, the Ruzhen established their Supreme Capital. See Janhunen (1996: 155).

The Qing emperors clearly believed that the founders of the Jin dynasty were their direct ancestors.

欽定滿洲源流考 卷首諭旨 上諭 頃閱金史世紀云 金始祖居完顏部 其地有白山黑水...本朝肇興 .. 與大金正同 史又稱金之先出靺鞨部古肅慎地...我朝得姓曰愛新覺羅氏 國語為金曰愛新 可為金源同派之證

<sup>5</sup> Twitchett and Tietze note that “the contacts with the Liao state and the resulting acquaintance with the ways of a more organized and structured type of government led to a growing awareness that the traditional tribal organization would be insufficient if the Ruzhens wanted to match the Qidans.” See Franke and Twitchett (1994: 220). Fairbank and Goldman (1992: 115) note: “Like the Liao, the Sino-nomadic Jin empire could combine the horses of the grasslands and the grain of North China to mount military assaults and force the Song southward.”

<sup>6</sup> Jagchid and Symons (1989: 134-5) note that: “two hundred and fifty thousand *taels* of silver and two hundred fifty thousand rolls of silk were to be presented annually,” and “the Southern Song were also to declare themselves vassals of the Jin.” The Song emperor called the Ruzhen ruler as “Uncle Emperor.”

金史 卷六 本紀第六 世宗上 五年正月 宋…以國書來…稱姪宋皇帝 稱名 再拜奉書于叔 大金皇帝

<sup>7</sup> According to Hsiao (1978: 6-7), “the mercenary army that had begun to replace the conscript army since around the turn of the eighth century became full-fledged under the Song.” The ranks of the mercenary army, numbering over one million soldiers and

organization of the Ruzhen Jin was “a precursor of the Manchu banner system” (see Franke and Twitchett, 1994, pp. 265 and 273).<sup>5</sup>

The Ruzhens occupied all of North China by 1126, including the Song capital of Kaifeng. In Chinese history, the year 1126 marks the second time the Han Chinese were driven out of the Central Plain by a Manchurian conquest dynasty. A new Song capital was established at Hang-zhou south of the Yangzi River. In 1141 the Song court formally ceded the whole area north of the Huai River and agreed to vassalage and payment of tributes to the Jin.<sup>6</sup> The Song dynasty prior to the loss of North China is called the Northern Song (960-1126), and after its loss, the Southern Song (1127-1279).

The founders of the Sui and Tang dynasties, who were born of the ruling aristocratic clans of the Xianbei conquest dynasties, could demonstrate expansionism and assertiveness. The Song, the self-claimed heir to the Tang dynasty, had picked up the pieces of the shattered Tang state, but was completely pushed out of the Central Plain by the Ruzhen Jin, as did the (Eastern) Jin court with its flight southward in 317. The Southern Song lost control over many regions in the south including Ta-li and Vietnam long before it was annihilated by the Mongols.<sup>7</sup>

The Ruzhen court had moved its capital from Ha'erbin to Beijing in 1153, and then to Kaifeng in 1161. The Jin rulers resettled many of the Ruzhen people into the conquered land of North China to perform garrison duties. Many Ruzhens had still remained in Manchuria during the Jin period, and continued to live in the old traditional manner.

The Ruzhen Jin maintained border garrisons equipped with a cavalry equal to the nomads' own. The hereditary Ruzhen military families were allocated slaves and farmland confiscated from the Han Chinese farmers, and they were kept separate from the Chinese population. It was, however, difficult for the Ruzhen soldiers to adjust fully to the settled farming-garrison life.<sup>8</sup>

A group of Qidan nobility who escaped the Jin conquest of the Liao moved westwards, and established the Western Liao dynasty (Black Qidan, 1124-1211).<sup>9</sup> The arrival of these rather Mongolic Qidan tribes to subjugate Turkic nomads

presaged, by a hundred years, the arrival of the pure blooded Chenggis Khanite Mongols themselves.

Like the Qidan, the Ruzhens also tried to maintain their ethnic identity, using its own script and setting up Ruzhen language schools at Keifeng.<sup>10</sup> The Jin emperor Shi-zong (r.1161-89) instituted a program to train Ruzhen elites in warfare and hunting. Aristocrats were compelled to leave Kaifeng and set up camp in Inner Mongolia or Manchuria to toughen them up by experiencing a harsher life and to develop their skills in riding and shooting. Crossley (1997: 23) notes that the Shi-zong's "experiment, which was not a success, was considered both a model and a warning by the Manchu emperors who later ruled China." Being immersed in the Chinese population, the resettled Ruzhens could not effectively resist sinification.

#### KORYEO AND JIN CLAIMING THE SUCCESSOR TO KOGURYEO

After conquering the Qidan Liao and Northern Song (960-1127), the Jin rulers demanded the Koryeo court to enter into a suzerain-subject relationship. The Koryeo had no alternative but to assent to Jin's demand as the price of its territorial integrity. Ledyard (1983: 324) notes: "Koryeo managed to hold on to what it had and still add the cis-Yalu area. And while Song lost all of northern China to the Ruzhens, Koryeo managed to settle its affairs diplomatically and thus warded off a Ruzhen invasion."

Amazingly enough, the Koryeo dynasty (918-1392) survived and outlived the Qidan Liao (916-1125), the Ruzhen Jin (1125-1234) and the Mongol Yuan (1206-1368), while the Song dynasty (960-1127-1279) was pushed further and further down to south only to be completely wiped out.

The founders of both the Koryeo and Jin dynasties, in quest for their origins, claimed the successor to ancient Koguryeo: the former by naming his new state Koryeo, a shortened form of Koguryeo, though its rule barely extended to the Yalu River, and the latter, having occupied vast Manchurian domains but, facing Wang Keon's prior claim, by asserting that the founder originally came from Koryeo (or Koguryeo).<sup>11</sup> Parhae had referred to itself as Koryeo in official communications with the Yamato kingdom, and the state-

costing more than 80 percent of government revenues throughout most of the two Song dynasties, were mainly filled with starving vagabonds, idlers, and criminals.

<sup>8</sup> According to Hsiao (1978: 29), "the Ruzhen soldiers of the Jin were reluctant to cultivate land; first they leased the land allocated to them by the government to Chinese tenants, and eventually they sold it *in toto*." According to Hsiao (1978: 9), about one-seventh of the 45 million people registered in the 1187 census were members of these hereditary Ruzhen military families. According to Fairbank and Goldman (1992: 115), the Ruzhens of the Jin dynasty totaled about 6 million [including slaves], the Qidans remaining from the Liao dynasty about 4 million, and the Han Chinese subjects in North China about 35 million.

<sup>9</sup> Grousset (1970: 186) It was located in Muslim Turkestan south of the Lake Balkhash, extending from Hami to the Aral Sea and including Kashigar, Talas, and Tashkent. It shared a common boundary with the Muslim Turkic empire of Khwarizm in the west that ruled Transoxiana and Iran. Several Qidan clans are believed to have made a further westward migration to the Ural and Volga regions, joining the ruling class of Kipchak Turks, the masters of the

Russian steppe, by the middle of the eleventh century.

<sup>10</sup> See Fairbank and Goldman (1992: 115). Crossley (1997: 21) notes that the Ruzhens had adapted Qidan script for the writing of their own language.

<sup>11</sup> In *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* as well as in the *History of Jin*, Koguryeo is written simply as Koryeo.

<sup>12</sup> See Rogers (1983: 159).

<sup>13</sup> Ledyard (1983: 152) notes that the military leaders of the new state badly needed the expertise in administrative affairs which the aristocracy of the defunct Silla state could offer, and the Silla ethos quickly gained the ascendancy in Kae-seong.

<sup>14</sup> See *Samguk-Yusa* written by the Monk Il-Yeon in ca. 1281-3, "Ode to King Tong-myung" in *Dong-guk Yi-sang-guk Jip* written by Yi Kyu-bo in 1193, *Zhe-wang Ungi* (Rhymed Record of Theocrats and Kings) by Yi Seoung-hiu (1224-1300), and *Parhae-Ko* completed in 1784 by Yu Deuk-gong (1748-1807).

<sup>15</sup> 柳得恭 渤海考  
高麗不修渤海史 知高麗之不振也  
昔者高氏居于北 曰高句麗 夫餘氏居于西南 曰百濟 朴昔金氏居于東南 曰新羅 是爲三國 宜其有三國史 而高麗修之 是矣 及夫餘氏亡高氏亡 金氏有其南

founding ideology of the ruling Wan-yen clan was to perceive the wild Ruzhens as the remnant people of Parhae with Koguryeo ancestry.<sup>12</sup>

In Koryeo, the faction adhering to the legacy of Koguryeo, represented by the irredentist ideology (or the ideology of Western Capital, the modern Pyung-yang) of the monk Myo-cheong, lost their battle in 1136 against the Silla-successionist Confucian faction represented by Kim Busik of royal Silla descent who were satisfied with the peninsular status.<sup>13</sup> The triumph of the Confucianist faction inaugurated dominance by the civil officialdom until the military coup in 1170. In compiling *Samguk-sagi* (completed in 1145), Kim Busik accepted the Serve-the-Greater ideology, postulated Koryeo as the heir of Silla with peninsular setting, and added the 258-year history of "Unified" Silla (677-935) ignoring the history of its contemporary, Parhae (689-926).

#### PARHAE AND SILLA AS THE NORTHERN DYNASTY AND THE SOUTHERN DYNASTY

The writings by Il-Yeon, Yi Kyubo, Yi Seung-hiu, and Yu Deuk-gong represent the efforts of the spiritual heirs of Koguryeo to redress the Kim Busik's distortions and give a historical foundation for a *de jure* claim to Koguryeo's Manchurian domains including the Liao-dong area.<sup>14</sup> Yu Deuk-gong deplored the Koryeo's failure to compile "the History of Northern Dynasty and the History of Southern Dynasty" dealing, respectively, with Parhae and Silla.

Yu Deuk-gong wrote the preface for his study on the Parhae History as follows.<sup>15</sup> The Koryeo did not compile the History of Parhae, and so we understand the limited growth of its national power. In old days, the Ko clan resided in the north calling their nation Koguryeo, the Puyeo clan resided in the southwest calling their nation Paekche, and the Pak-Seok-Kim clans resided in southeast calling their nation Silla. These were the Three States whose histories should be duly compiled, and the Koryeo rightly obliged with their compilation. With the fall of the Puyeo clan and the Ko clan, the Kim clan occupied the south, and the Tae clan occupied the north calling their nation Parhae. Silla and Parhae should, respectively, be called the southern and northern states with the southern and northern

dynastic histories, and yet the Koryeo compiled only the history of (unified) Silla. This was wrong. After all, who were the Tae clan? They were precisely the Koguryeo people. Whose territory did the Tae clan occupy? It was precisely the Koguryeo territory, and they could expand it further to the east, west and north. With the fall of the Kim clan and the Tae clan, the Wang clan unified the nation and called their nation Koryeo. They could occupy the whole of the Kim clan's territory in the south, but could not occupy the whole of the Tae clan's territory in the north. A portion of the northern territory was lost to the Ruzhen, and a portion of it to the Qidan. ... Even though the Parhae was destroyed by the Liao, ... when its capital was captured, the Crown Prince and 100 thousand Parhae people escaped to Koryeo. ... Zhang Keon-zang (806-66) was a Tang person, and yet he had compiled the History of the Parhae State. How come, the Koryeo people could not compile the history of Parhae?

大氏有其北 曰渤海 是爲南北國  
宜其有南北國史 而高麗不修之  
非矣 夫大氏者何人也 乃高句麗  
之人也 其所有之地何地也 乃高  
句麗之地也 而斥其東斥其西斥  
其北而大之耳 及夫金氏亡大氏  
亡 王氏統而有之 曰高麗 其南  
有金氏之地則全 而其北有大氏  
之地則不全 或入於女真 或入於  
契丹 ... 渤海爲遼所滅 ... 其忽  
汗城之破也 世子以下奔高麗者  
十餘萬人 無其官則必其書矣 ...  
張建章唐人也 尙著渤海國記 以  
高麗之人 而獨不可修渤海之史  
乎

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