

cessor that for the first time, on January 16, 928, an embassy from the Nü-chih came to the Ch'i-tan Court (*Liao shih*, 3, 1 b; 70, 2 b). From that date, others followed in rapid succession, almost every year and sometimes twice in the same year.

If we pass from the Ch'i-tan to the purely Chinese dynasties in the south, I do not find the name of the Nü-chên in the *Chiu Wu-tai shih* (*Ancient History of the Five Dynasties*). This is not, however, a decisive proof that it never occurred in it, since the text of that book has been reconstructed and is incomplete and has moreover been tampered with by the eighteenth-century editors precisely in the passages which concerned the north-eastern tribes, out of respect for the kinship of the latter with the reigning Manchu dynasty (cf. on this point *Chang-shih ssü-tang-chai ts'ang-shu mu*, 1 B, 10 a-b). In the later *Wu-tai shih*, written by Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), the Nü-chên are mentioned in the chapter devoted to the Ch'i-tan (72, 2 b), where we read that A-pao-chi, suspicious of the Chinese to the south, « was vexed that the Nü-chên and the P'o-hai were in his rear ». But what follows only refers to the campaign against the P'o-hai, and the possibility is not to be excluded that Ou-yang Hsiu inserted the name of the Nü-chên, not from original documents transmitted from the Chinese Five Dynasties, but from information which had come from the Ch'i-tan dominions at a later date. The only certain mention I can trace of the Nü-chên in a Chinese text actually written under the Five Dynasties is that of the narrative of Hu Chiao, preserved in different works the most ancient of which is Ou-yang Hsiu's *Wu-tai shih* (73, 3 b). Hu Chiao was detained among the Ch'i-tan from 947 to 953. In his narrative a paragraph is devoted to the Nü-chên, who lived east of the Ch'i-tan (cf. CHAVANNES, in *JA*, 1897, I, 404). It seems that no embassy from the Nü-chên came to the Chinese Court during the Five Dynasties. But diplomatic intercourse began almost immediately after the Sung ascended the throne (960) : in 961, the Sung Emperor received an embassy from the Nü-chên (*Hsü tzü-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien*, 2, 13 b; *Sung shih*, 1, 4 b; the *Sung shih*, *Chin shih*, and *Liao shih* were compiled under the Mongols by the same author and always employ the form Nü-chih, though the works actually written under the Sung always give Nü-chên); and embassies then followed one another from year to year without interruption.

The conclusion is that the name of the Nü-chên does not occur before the beginning of the tenth century, and that the Chinese owe it to the Ch'i-tan. The very form « Nü-chên » favours this view, since 女 *nü* (*ni^{wo}* in middle Chinese, but this pronunciation is older than the Ch'i-tan period) is not used, as far as I remember, in the transcriptions of foreign names made under the T'ang, whereas it sometimes occurs in transcriptions made under the Ch'i-tan. Such are, for instance, 女孛 Nü-hsiang, a man's name (*Liao shih*, 116, 15 b; I have not found the corresponding passage which ought to occur in ch. 68); 女里 Nü-li, whose biography is given in the *Liao shih*, 79, 1 b-2 a; and above all 女古 Nü-ku. Nü-ku is a man's name; four different Nü-ku are listed by WANG Hui-tsu¹, 3, 1 a, to whom I think we should add the 女右 Nü-yu of *Liao shih*, 68, 4 a, probably a graphic corruption of Nü-ku. Nü-ku tribes are mentioned in the *Liao shih*, 1, 5 a; 69, 11 a. Nü-ku also occurs as the name of a river in 女古沒里 Nü-ku mu-li, where *muri* is the Ch'i-tan form of Mong. *mörän*, *mürän*, « river » (cf. SHIRATORI, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie der Mandschurei*, I, 365). The place-name 女古底 Nü-ku-ti of the *Liao shih*, 29, 1 b, and 116, 9 a, is probably a derivative form of the same word. Moreover,