

 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

東亞圖書館
East Asian Library
and the *Gest Collection*

This title is provided ONLY for personal scholarly use. Any publication, reprint, or reproduction of this material is strictly forbidden, and the researcher assumes all responsibility for conforming with the laws of libel and copyright. Titles should be referred to with the following credit line:

© The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University

To request permission to use some material for scholarly publication, and to apply for higher-quality images, please contact gestcirc@princeton.edu, or

**The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection
33 Frist Campus Center, Room 317
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544
United States**

A fee may be involved (usually according to the general rules listed on <http://www.princeton.edu/~rbsc/research/rights.html>).

*Ruowei Yang, "The Liao-Dynasty Stone Inscriptions and Their Importance to the Study of Liao History", *The Gest Library Journal* 6, no. 2 (1993): 55-72, accessed May 2, 2024, http://eal-apps-prod.princeton.edu/EALJ/yang_ruowei.EALJ.v06.n02.p055.pdf*

The Liao-Dynasty Stone Inscriptions and Their Importance to the Study of Liao History

RUOWEI YANG

The Liao (916–1127) was a conquest dynasty founded by the nomadic Khitan people. It controlled a vast territory that included the northern border zone of China and much of Inner Asia, and during the Five Dynasties period (907–959) was much more powerful than the neighboring Chinese regional states. After China had been reunified under the Northern Sung dynasty (960–1127), the Liao posed a considerable military threat to the Middle Kingdom. The impact of the Liao was felt not only by its contemporary rivals, but by later Chinese conquest dynasties as well: the Chin (1115–1234), the Yüan (1271–1368), and the Ch'ing (1644–1911).

The main source for the study of the Liao dynasty is the *Liao-shih* (Standard history of the Liao), compiled during the Yüan dynasty. The quality of the *Liao-shih* is, unfortunately, the poorest among the twenty-four standard histories.¹ This is so because when the Yüan historians started compiling the *Liao-shih* in 1343, the Liao dynasty had been extinguished for over two hundred years. Largely because of deliberate Liao policy, the Yüan historians' knowledge of some aspects of Liao history was inadequate. The Liao court had strictly forbidden the spread of Liao works and other documents to other countries. During the war-ridden years before the fall of the Liao, many of these documents were destroyed, leaving only a few available to Yüan historians. The best they could do was collect the remaining Liao works and other Liao records preserved in Sung and Chin sources, and use them as the

documentary basis for the *Liao-shih*. Among the available source materials were the *Veritable Records of the Liao Emperors* (*Liao chu-ti shih-lu*) by Yeh-lü Yen; an incomplete "official Liao history" by a Chin-dynasty historian, Ch'en Ta-jen; the *Treatise on the Khitan State* (*Ch'i-tan kuo chih*) by a Sung scholar, Yeh Lung-li; and other such works. It was on the basis of these limited materials that the Yüan historians, in less than a year (from the fourth month of 1343 to the third month of 1344), rigged up a history of the Liao dynasty in 116 *chüan*. Not surprisingly, their final product is marked by omissions, duplications, mistakes, and obscure passages.²

In the *Liao-shih* many important historical events, outstanding historical figures, and government regulations are either totally omitted or treated very briefly. One example of omission can be seen in the compilers' handling of the name for the Liao dynasty, which is known to have been changed several times. In 938, Emperor T'ai-tsung (r. 928–942) named his kingdom the "Great Liao" (Ta Liao); this was changed to the "Great Khitan" (Ta Ch'i-tan) when Emperor Sheng-tsung (r. 983–1031) was enthroned. In 1066 it was changed back to the "Great Liao" by Emperor Tao-tsung (r. 1055–1101). In the *Liao-shih*, however, there is no trace of these changes. Nor, until recently, could modern scholars find any account regarding the changes in Liao reign titles.³ It is with the help of the Sung documents and the Liao stone inscriptions that modern scholars have learned about these important political events.⁴

The scanty historical data about the Liao forced the Yüan official historians deliberately to duplicate, with only minor revisions, certain historical records and use them to expand the otherwise rather slim *Liao-shih*. One example is found in the *Liao-shih*'s lengthy descriptions of the "ordo" and the "kung-wei," which give readers the impression that they are two different organizations,⁵ when in fact they refer to the same palace-guard system. These duplications have muddied our understanding of Liao history.

The *Liao-shih* contains numerous factual mistakes. The biography for Chang Chien, a famous prime minister during the reigns of Emperors Sheng-tsung and Hsing-tsung, reports that he was made "Lord of Han" (*Han-wang*) during the T'ai-p'ing period (1021–1031), and died in 1043.⁶ But the epitaph for Chang Chien discovered in 1969 indicates that these two events occurred in 1037 and 1053 respectively (see illustration 1). To make matters worse, compilers of the *Liao-shih* often misinterpreted historical data, resulting in erroneous assertions. The *Liao-shih* lists the number of cavalymen who served

each emperor as guards,⁷ and reports that during the Liao dynasty, the nine emperors altogether had one hundred thousand cavalymen. In another account, however, the compilers claimed that each of the Liao emperors controlled one hundred thousand cavalymen, and that if war broke out, any Liao emperor could immediately send one hundred thousand cavalymen to the battlefield.⁸ This is apparently not true, and even the last Liao emperor never commanded one hundred thousand guards. The compilers were including guards who would have belonged not just to the emperor in question but to his predecessors and successors as well.

Another example concerns the General Office for [Military] Affairs in the Northwest (Hsi-pei-lu tsung-ling ssu). In the "Treatise on Government Organizations" this office is listed as parallel to the Office of Campaign Commissioner in the Northwest (Hsi-pei-lu chao-t'ao-shih ssu). In fact, this "General Office" never existed during the Liao. Apparently the compilers of the *Liao-shih* overinterpreted a statement in the biography of Hsiao T'u-yü — "In 1001, [Hsiao] was made responsible for military affairs in the Northwest"⁹ — stretching this description of Hsiao's duty and manufacturing a new office for the Liao military. As a matter of fact, at that time Hsiao's official position was "commissioner for pacification in the northwest."¹⁰

The poor quality of the *Liao-shih* often makes its accounts of the functions of government offices and the names and locations of tribes difficult to understand. When the compilers themselves had difficulty in understanding the function of a Liao office, they simply attached the phrase "details unknown" to the name of that office,¹¹ leaving the puzzle unsolved. In some cases, however, they should perhaps not be blamed for the ambiguity in their work. The meanings of certain Khitan terms seemed to them so self-evident, and some aspects of Liao history were so familiar to them, that they felt no need for any explanation. For example, they often used Chinese characters as phonetic renderings for Khitan words without any annotation.¹² But the use of those words has puzzled many later historians, involving them in endless and fruitless discussions. Sometimes, they are even not sure whether a term is Chinese, Khitan, or Jurchen; how it should be pronounced; or what it can possibly mean.

It is crucial for historians to subject the *Liao-shih's* accounts to critical treatment, and to make efforts to collect new and reliable source materials concerning the Liao dynasty. The Ch'ing-dynasty scholars were the first to do this. Li Eh's (1692–1752) *Notes on Liao History* (*Liao-shih shih-i*) contains his

critical evaluation of the accounts in the *Liao-shih* and the related materials that he collected from Sung, Chin, and Yüan works. *Supplementary Notes on Liao History (Liao-shih shih-i-pu)* by Yang Fu-chi is a work of the same nature. Ch'ing scholars also started to collect Liao stone inscriptions as a means of supplementing Liao primary sources,¹³ thus opening a new field in the study of Liao history. Although their pioneer work deserves much credit, they were generally unsuccessful in advancing understanding of the Liao dynasty.

The real breakthrough came in the middle of the twentieth century when archaeology enjoyed a rapid development in China, bringing more Liao historical and cultural relics to light. These relics include temple notes, inscriptions carved on pagodas, religious tablets, epitaphs on tombstones, mourning inscriptions for the deceased, and other inscriptions. The discovery of these objects has greatly increased the quantity of Liao primary sources, offering modern scholars many new and reliable original materials for research.

Among the Liao cultural relics, stone inscriptions deserve special attention. They have been found in a vast area of northern China which was once under the control of the Liao dynasty: Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang, Inner Mongolia, Shansi, Hopei, and other places. Most of the inscriptions are dedicated to the Khitan and the Chinese, but some are dedicated to people from such tribes as the Hsi, the Po-hai, the Jurchen, and the Pai-hsi. Examination of the early Liao stone inscriptions makes it quite obvious that they were created mainly for the Chinese who lived in the agricultural area south of the Great Wall. At that time the Khitans still lived a nomadic or seminomadic life in the steppes north of the Great Wall, and they had not yet adopted the Chinese practice of compiling an epitaph and engraving it on a tombstone for the deceased. But the Khitan people, especially members of the ruling class, were strongly influenced by Chinese culture, and they gradually assimilated Chinese funeral customs. The discovery of Yeh-lü Yü-chih's tomb in 1992 indicates that as early as the Hui-t'ung reign period (938-946), the Khitan people had already created a tombstone for a distinguished member of their society, and the form of this tombstone is identical to that for the Chinese.

Most Liao epitaphs are written in Chinese, but some are in both Chinese and Khitan, and some in Khitan only. This is indicative of the spread of literacy among the Khitan people. They had had no written language of their own and used literary Chinese as the official language until Emperor T'ai-tsu (r. 916-926) came to the throne. The Khitan intellectuals, having

consulted Chinese and other writing systems, created two sets of Khitan characters: the major and the minor characters, which were widely used by members of the upper class.¹⁴ At this time both literary Chinese and Khitan were designated official written languages of the Khitan court. This situation is well reflected in the Liao epitaphs that are compiled in both Chinese and Khitan. The epitaph for the “Great Lord in the North” (Pei ta-wang), which was discovered in Inner Mongolia in 1975, is an exemplar of such an epitaph. On one tombstone is the epitaph written in Khitan “major characters” (see illustration 2); on another tombstone is the same epitaph in Chinese (see illustration 3).¹⁵ But there are exceptions to this general practice. The Khitan and the Chinese versions of the epitaph for Yeh-lü Yen-ning written in 986 are engraved on the same side of one tombstone, the former appearing in the upper part and the latter in the lower.

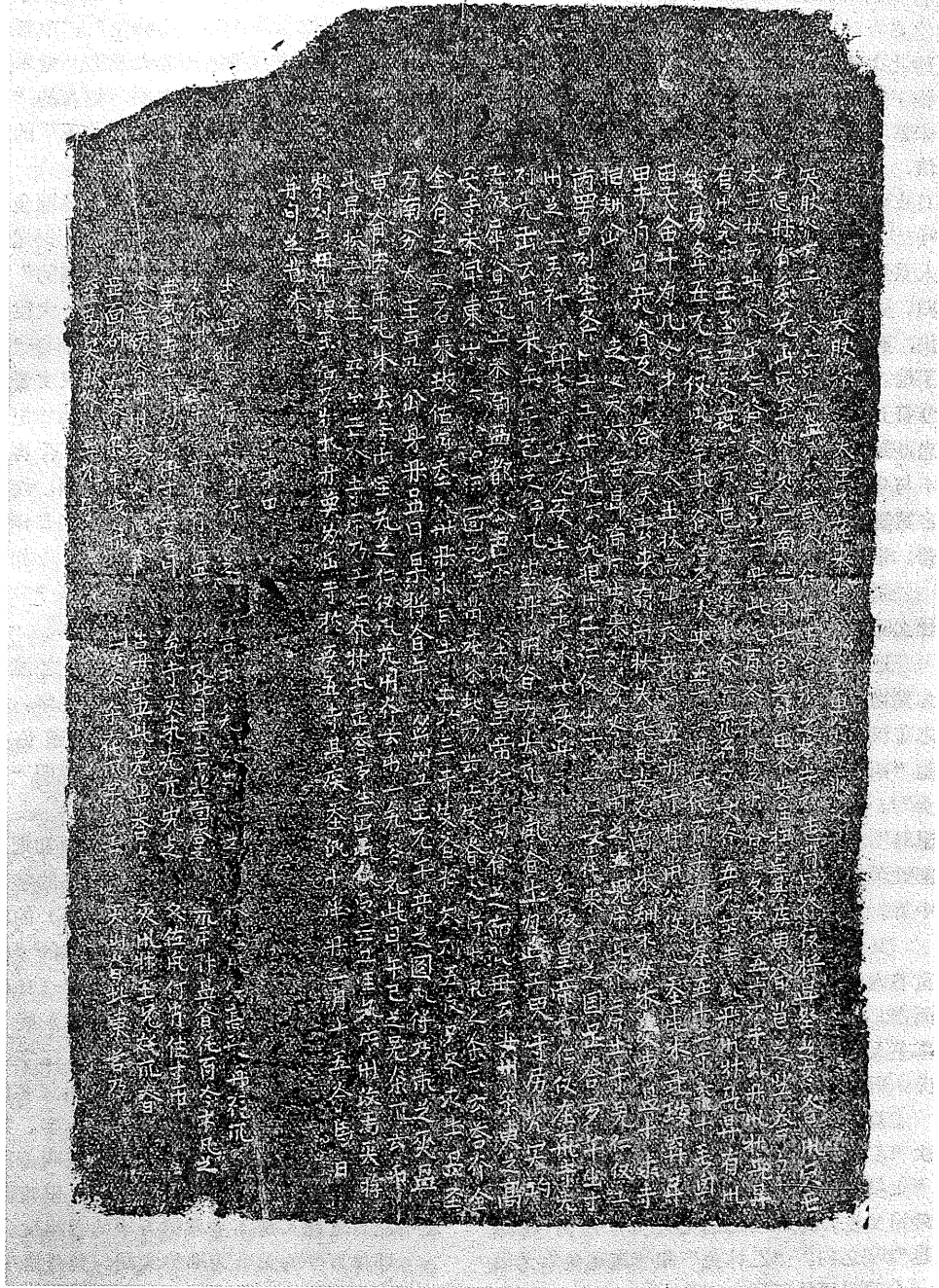
About ten years ago, Professor Hsiang Nan and I started to collect and classify Liao stone inscriptions. There are now over 450 of them, many of them having come to light during local construction projects. Some of the tombstones are exhibited in local museums and maintained in good condition; some are preserved by the cultural relics departments of local governments. During our field studies, we photographed some tombstones that remain in their original locations. We also managed to obtain from private collectors a few rubbings of stone inscriptions. Other scholars have also published photographs and brief introductions to some of the stone inscriptions,¹⁶ but the majority still await scholarly investigation.

Many inscriptions collected in our work appear in the Ch’ing-dynasty or earlier prefectural and county gazetteers, collective works, private notes, and other literary works. To facilitate the research of other scholars, we decided to gather as completely as possible any written records relating to these inscriptions. We visited many libraries and archives in northern China, examining all the relevant works. Sometimes the original tombstone has been destroyed, but its inscription appears in different versions in various primary sources. In such a case, we conducted careful textual studies of all the existing versions, corrected any mistakes in the text, and determined which version was best.

The result of our ten-year project is a manuscript entitled “Collections of the Liao Stone Inscriptions” (*Liao shih-wen pien*). This work consists of six volumes and a supplement. Each volume deals with the inscriptions discovered in one primary region. The supplement is devoted to inscriptions found



2. The epitaph for Pei ta-wang written in Khitan "major characters." Unearthed in K'un-tu Village, A-lu-k'o-erh-ch'in League, Inner Mongolia, 1975. Tombstone 96 x 62 x 6 cm.



3. The epitaph for Pei ta-wang written in Chinese. Unearthed in K'un-tu Village, A-lu-k'o-erh-ch'in League, Inner Mongolia, 1975. This epitaph appears on the back of the tombstone cover. Cover 94 x 61 x 7 cm.

in all other regions and to additional information about the inscriptions. To preserve the inscriptions' original features, we included in our work the foreword and the postscript to each inscription. To help readers understand the text better, we wrote a brief introduction to each inscription, specifying the date of engraving, the location of the tombstone, its physical features, and its current state of preservation. Detailed annotations were also attached to the text of each inscription, since its contents often touch on complicated questions concerning other peoples of the Liao empire, names of places, the Liao bureaucratic system and government regulation, religious life, and other important historical figures and events. The work amounts to some four hundred thousand words. Unfortunately, however, because of the difficulty of reproducing the Khitan characters, the work, when in print, will contain only inscriptions in Chinese.

The Liao stone inscriptions have provided modern scholars with extensive new historical data which have enabled them to fill in many omissions in the *Liao-shih*, to verify the authenticity of certain accounts in the *Liao-shih*, to correct errors in those accounts and other related historical documents, and to solve some complicated problems concerning Liao history.

As recently as the early years of the twentieth century, scholars still knew little about the Khitan matrimonial system, religion, family structure, and social organizations. With the discovery of the Liao stone inscriptions, they have learned that the Khitan imperial elite consisted of two clans: the Yeh-lü and the Hsiao. The Khitan emperors all came from the Yeh-lü clan, the empresses from the Hsiao clan. Marriage between members of the same clan was strictly forbidden, but a member of one clan could freely marry any member of the other clan. Therefore a marriage between an aunt and her cousin, or between an uncle and his niece was not considered taboo by the Khitan people. A son was even allowed to marry his stepmother. The epitaph for Yeh-lü Shu-chi, for example, reads: "Ch'iu-k'o, the oldest son of Kuan-ning, had slept with his stepmother, and she gave birth to a girl and a boy." The epitaph for Yeh-lü Tsung-cheng, a member of the imperial family, reports that Emperor Sheng-tsung issued an imperial edict ordering him to marry his stepmother. Tsung-cheng defied the order. But after both Tsung-cheng and his stepmother had died, Emperor Tao-tsung made the two nominal husband and wife, and on her death, an imperial edict ordered Tsung-cheng's stepmother to be buried next to him in the same tomb. The Khitan people practiced sororate, levirate, and polygamy among themselves, but also married

Han Chinese, Jurchens, and people from the Hsi and the Po-hai. Information on the Khitan matrimonial system in the Liao stone inscriptions has enabled scholars to offer new interpretations of the system and to challenge the previously accepted ones.¹⁷

The creation of two sets of Khitan characters during Emperor T'ai-tsu's reign marked a new level of literacy among the Khitan people. Except for one brief record, however, the *Liao-shih* tells us little about the principles employed in using the Liao "minor script." The mystery surrounding the Khitan language was first removed in 1922 when three Khitan emperors' mausoleums, known as the Liao Ch'ing-ling, were unearthed at Pa-lin-yuch'i in Inner Mongolia. In the tombs, archaeologists found that the epitaph for each emperor and empress was written in both Chinese and Khitan, and each version of the epitaph was engraved on a separate tombstone. This discovery allowed modern scholars their first glimpse of Khitan characters. Even more exciting news came in 1951, when the tomb for Hsiao Hsiao-chung was unearthed at Chin-hsi, Liaoning Province. Scholars noticed that the Khitan characters used in Hsiao's epitaph were different in form from those known to them. At this point they realized that the Khitan people had indeed created two sets of characters, as recorded in the *Liao-shih*. Since then, more stone inscriptions in the Khitan language have come to light, offering more data about this ancient language. Some inscriptions record the pronunciation of a Khitan word by using Chinese characters to make imprecise phonetic renderings, such as "i-li-mien" (wife), "pieh-hsü" (wife or consort),¹⁸ and "meng-she" (attendants). They allow modern scholars to reconstruct the sound of certain Khitan words and to advance their philological research on a difficult problem in the *Liao-shih*: the meaning and pronunciation of the character "chü," which have puzzled scholars since the Ch'ing dynasty and generated heated debate.¹⁹ This character appears in the *Liao-shih* without any explanation of its meaning. We can also find the word written in a slightly different form in two other standard Chinese histories, the *Chin-shih* and the *Yüan-shih*,²⁰ but again with no explanation. Scholars have debated over which language, Chinese or Khitan, the word represented by this character belongs to. The appearance of this character in the stone inscriptions written in the Khitan language has made some scholars believe that it must be a Khitan word,²¹ but they have not been able to work out its meaning or pronunciation. The discovery of a large number of Liao epitaphs written in Chinese offers another plausible answer to the question. That the character "chü" also

appears in these epitaphs, coupled with the fact that it is used in three Chinese standard histories, implies that it is probably a Chinese character in either its popular or simplified form, and used as a phonetic symbol for the Khitan word "military."²² There are still many questions about this character; the tentative answers that scholars have come up with are far from satisfactory. Nevertheless, the vast amount of information in the Liao stone inscriptions has at least provided a reliable documentary basis for further research on these problems.

We also find valuable information about the religious life of the Liao people in these stone inscriptions. They describe, among other things, the operation of the theocracy, the landed properties possessed by Buddhist temples, the flourishing and decline of Buddhism and Taoism, and the activities of folk religions. They even shed some light on the dissemination of Nestorian Christianity in East Asia. We find that a Taoist temple is reported to have been converted to a Buddhist temple. We also find Christian crosses in several Liao tombs. One is engraved at the top of a tablet erected for a Buddhist temple, which was later renamed the "Cross Temple" (Shih-tzu ssu).

Some epitaphs and religious tablets are dedicated to important Liao figures who do not have biographical entries in the *Liao-shih*. They furnish modern scholars with much needed primary sources about such important historical figures as Yeh-lü Tsung-cheng; the lord of Wei (Wei-wang); Yeh-lü Tsung-yun; the lord of Cheng (Cheng-wang); Consort Ch'in-chin (Ch'in-chin kuo-fei);²³ the princess of Ch'en (Ch'en-kuo kung-chu; see illustration 4);²⁴ members of the Khitan imperial house on the maternal side;²⁵ and Prime Minister Liang Yüan.²⁶ The epitaphs for the early Liao figures Liu Shou-ch'i, his son Liu Ch'eng-ssu, and other members of the Liu family, are particularly valuable for the study of Liao history, since little information about this early period has been preserved in other primary sources.²⁷ In general, however, most stone inscriptions concern figures in the later Liao period. They can best be used to answer questions about Liao politics, the economy, the composition of the ruling class, external relations, and military affairs. For example, scholars long assumed that the Liao Censorate (Yü-shih-t'ai) had a permanent location. Thanks to the information in the epitaphs for Chang Chien and Liang Yüan,²⁸ it is now clear that the Censorate was located in the emperor's tent city (*wo-lu-to*), and was therefore mobile.

The Liao stone inscriptions also make it possible for modern scholars to correct errors. In the *Liao-shih*, Office for Campaign Commissioner in the



4. The epitaph for the princess of Ch'en. Unearthed near the Ch'ing-lung shan garrison, Nai-man League, Inner Mongolia, 1986. Tombstone 89.5 x 89.5 x 12 cm; cover 89.5 x 89.5 x 16 cm.

Southwest (Hsi-nan-mien tu-chao-t'ao ssu), Office for Military Commissioner in the Southwest (Hsi-nan-mien an-fu-shih ssu), and Office for Pacification Commissioner in Fei-hu, I-chou Prefecture (I-chou Fei-hu chao-an-shih ssu) are listed as three separate offices.²⁹ But a paragraph from the epitaph for Keng Yen-i reads: "In 997, the [Liao] state sent an expeditionary force against Sung. [Keng] was appointed campaign commissioner in the southwest. His office was at Fei-hu, and his assistant was stationed at Ling-ch'iu." This paragraph points out that the location of Keng's office was at Fei-hu, and thus makes it clear that the three individual offices mentioned in the *Liao-shih* are in fact the same office under variant names.

A similar example is found in the records in the *Liao-shih* concerning (a) the General Office for Administrative Affairs at Wo-lu-to (Chu hsing-kung tu-pu-shu yüan), (b) the Office for Administrative Affairs at Wo-lu-to (Hsing-kung tu-pu-shu), and (c) the Office for Han Administrative Affairs at Wo-lu-to (Han-erh hsing-kung tu-pu-shu).³⁰ On the basis of these records, Tsuda Sökichi suggested that (a) was the highest administrative organ in the Liao court, which controlled two subordinate offices: (c) and (d), the Office for Khitan Administrative Affairs at Wo-lu-to (Ch'i-tan hsing-kung tu-pu-shu).³¹ His interpretation has been widely accepted by other scholars since it was first advanced in the 1920s. But the Liao stone inscriptions and other related documents point to the fact that (a) and (b) are merely slightly abbreviated versions of (c). Therefore (a) is not an office higher than (d) in the Liao administrative hierarchy. Rather, the two have equal status and are parallel to each other. There are other examples in the *Liao-shih* showing that its compilers often mistakenly regarded different versions of the title for one office as titles for several individual offices.³²

Prior to the discovery of the Liao stone inscriptions, the insufficient primary sources about the Liao made it difficult to verify the reliability of the *Liao-shih*. Now such verification is possible. Comparisons between the epitaphs for Chang Chien, a Han prime minister; Hsiao I, a northern prime minister;³³ Yeh-lü Jen-hsien, an army commander; and Yeh-lü Chung, a famous Khitan minister, and their respective biographical entries in the *Liao-shih* indicate that their epitaphs not only contain more accurate and detailed information about these people, they also touch on a variety of other historical figures and events. These epitaphs therefore can be used to confirm, correct, or enrich the biographies in the *Liao-shih* as well as other works concerning the Liao dynasty.

The Liao stone inscriptions have also helped solve other problems that

would otherwise remain puzzles for modern scholars. One of these puzzles is the location of the Liao imperial tent city, known as *ordo* in the Khitan language. *Ordo* was the place where the emperor, members of the imperial family, and courtiers lived and worked. Almost all their daily activities, official or personal, were conducted there. In the *Liao-shih*, eleven *ordo* are reported to have been established by the successive Liao emperors in eleven different locations.³⁴ In the 1930s, Japanese scholars attempted to locate these *ordo*. They came to the conclusion that the *ordo* for each emperor was located in the same place as the mausoleum for the emperor, just like the Mongol *ordo* during the Yüan dynasty, which all had fixed locations, an opinion widely accepted by other historians.³⁵ The Liao stone inscriptions, however, indicate that the Liao *ordo* was mobile. It suited perfectly the nomadic lifestyle of the Liao emperors. The eleven different locations for the *ordo* specified in the *Liao-shih* are therefore fabrications by its compilers, who had apparently interpreted the Liao *ordo* in the light of the Yüan *ordo* system. That the Liao *ordo* had never been set up permanently at one place also helps clarify another contentious problem among modern scholars: whether in the latter half of the Liao, the court had ever moved to its “central capital” (*chung-ching*).³⁶ It is clear from the Liao stone inscriptions that the idea of “moving” the central court and settling it down in one fixed place had never crossed the Khitan rulers’ minds. The court was constantly on the move with the emperor.³⁷

The Liao stone inscriptions are a rich mine of information invaluable for the study of Liao history. We hope that more scholars will pay attention to and make full use of these inscriptions in their research.

NOTES

My work on the Liao stone inscriptions has been generously supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. As this article goes to press, I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professors Stevan Harrell, Hok-lam Chan, Jack L. Dull, and David H. Spain of the University of Washington for their guidance. I am also heartily grateful to Professor Xiang Nan, who assisted in acquiring photographs and bibliographical information in China, to Dr. Zhenping

Wang for his editing, and to my patient and helpful husband, Dr. Bennan Zhang, whose encouragement made the completion of this article possible.

1. The most important study of the Liao period in a Western language—Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao 906–1125* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949) — consists of lengthy translations from the *Liao-shih* with extensive analysis and commentary.
2. For discussions of the problems in the

- Liao-shih*, see Feng Chia-sheng, *Liao-shih cheng-wu san-chung* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), pp. 5–61; Lo Chi-tsu, *Liao-shih chiao-k'an chi* (Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1958), pp. 3–8; K'uang Yu-ming, "Liao-shih ping-wei chih 'yü-chang ch'in-chün' 'ta-shou-ling pu-ts'u chün' liang shih-mu k'ao-yüan pien-wu, *Pei-ching ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao* (*jen-wen k'o-hsüeh*), no. 2 (1956), pp. 69–80; Hok-lam Chan, "Chinese Official Historiography at the Yüan Court: The Composition of the Liao, Chin, and Sung Histories," in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 56–106. The first two works have been collected in *Liao-shih hui-pien*, ed. Yang Chia-lo (Taipei: Ting-wen shu-chü, 1973), vol. 11.
3. For instance, one of the reign titles for Emperor Hsing-tsung was "Ch'ung-hsi." But when Emperor T'ien-tso Ti was enthroned, that reign title was changed to "Ch'ung-ho," because the pronunciation of Emperor T'ien-tso Ti's first name was similar to "hsi," and the use of the word "hsi" was therefore taboo.
 4. Lo Chi-tsu, *Liao-shih chiao-k'an chi*, p. 7.
 5. *Liao-shih*, 31, pp. 362–371; 25, pp. 402–409.
 6. *Ibid.*, 80, p. 1277.
 7. *Ibid.*, 35, pp. 402–406.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 402.
 9. *Ibid.*, 93, p. 1378.
 10. *Ibid.*, 45, p. 715. Another example of the same nature can be found in the *Liao-shih*, 46, p. 746. This record concerns the establishment of the "Chü-ma-ho hsü-chang ssu." In fact, the record is also a fabrication based on an overinterpretation of an account in *ibid.*, 17, p. 202, the second month, 1028.
 11. *Ibid.*, 45, p. 715.
 12. An example is the use of the Chinese character "chü" to record the pronunciation of the Khitan word "military." For more examples, see *ibid.*, 31, p. 31.
 13. See, for example, Chu I-tsun, *P'u-shu t'ing chi* (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an edn.), 51; Wang Ch'ang, *Chin-shih ts'ui-pien* (Shih-k'o shih-liao hsü-pien edn.; Taipei: Hsin wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1977), 115; Ch'ien Ta-hsin, *Ch'ien-yen t'ang wen-chi* (1806 edn.), 18; Miao Ch'üan-sun, *Liao-wen ts'un* (I-feng-t'ang hui-k'an edn.); Wang Jen-chün, *Liao wen-ts'ui* (Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u ch'i-pien edn., 1933); and Luo Fu-i, *Man-chou chin-shih lu* (Jih-man wen-hua hsieh-hui, 1937), vols. 1–2.
 14. An epitaph written in "minor characters" was discovered in 1991 in Hait'ang shan, Fu-hsin County, Liaoning Province. The epitaph, however, remains unpublished.
 15. Similar examples can also be found on the tombstones for Empress Hsing-tsung Jen-i, Emperor Tao-tsung, and Empress Tao-tsung Hsüan-i. See Ch'en Shu, *Ch'üan Liao wen* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1982), vol. 9, p. 213; vol. 10, pp. 273, 275.
 16. See, for example, Liaoning sheng po-wu-kuan wen-wu kung-tso-tui, "Liaotai Yeh-lü Yen-ning mu fa-chüeh chien-pao," *Wen-wu*, no. 7 (1980), pp. 18–22; Cheng Shao-tsung, "Yeh-lü Chia-i-li fei mu-chih ming," *K'ao-ku*, no. 5 (1981), pp. 469–470; Feng Yung-ch'ien, "Fa-k'u ch'ien-shan Liao Hsiao P'ao-lu mu," *K'ao-ku*, no. 7 (1983), pp. 624–635.
 17. Yang Ruowei and Hsiang Nan, "Lun Ch'i-tan tsu te hun-yin chih-tu," *Li-shih yen-chiu*, no. 5 (1980), pp. 141–160.
 18. For "i-li-mien," see Liu Feng-ch'u, "Shih Ch'i-tan yü i-li-mien ho yi-lin-mien,"

- Shen-yang shih-fan hsüeh-yüan hsüeh-pao*, no. 1 (1980), pp. 14–22. This interpretation is tentative, and further research into the real meaning of this term is needed. For a discussion of the general characteristics of the Khitan language, see his “Lüeh-lun Ch’i-t’an-yü te yü-hsi kuei-shu yü t’e-tien,” *Talu tsa-chih* 84.5 (1992), pp. 19–26. For “pieh-hsü,” see Ch’en Shu, *Ch’üan Liao wen*, vol. 10, p. 310.
19. See Yü Cheng-hsieh, “Shu Chin-shih kuo-yü-chieh hou,” in *Kuei-ssu ts’un-kao* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1963), 3, p. 83; Ch’ien Ta-hsin, “San-ta Yüan Chien-chai shu,” in *Ch’ien-yen t’ang wen-chi* (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts’ung-shu edn.; Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1968), 34, pp. 536–538; Wang Kuo-wei, “Chih T’eng-t’ien po-shih shu erh,” in *Kuan-t’ang chi-lin* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1963), 16, pp. 15b–16b; Haneda Tōru, “‘Futatabi Ryōkin jidai no kyūgun ni tsuite’ o yomu,” *Shigaku zasshi* 27.1 (1916), pp. 64–89; Fujita Toyohachi, “Mondai no nigo,” *Shigaku zasshi* 37.9 (1926), pp. 41–45; Ch’en Shu, “Chiu-chün k’ao-shih ch’u-kao,” *Kuo-li chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k’an*, no. 20b (1949), pp. 251–300; Liu Feng-ch’u, “Kuan-yü hun-ju hantzu chung te Ch’i-tan ta-tzu chiu te tu-yin,” *Min-tsu yü-wen*, no. 4 (1979), pp. 103–128; Chia Ching-Yen, “Chiu-chün wen-t’i ch’u-i,” *Chung-yang min-tsu hsüeh-yüan hsüeh-pao*, no. 1 (1980), pp. 3–20; Ts’ai Mei-piao, “Chiu chi chiu-chün chih yen-pien,” *Yüan-shih lun-ts’ung*, no. 2 (1983), pp. 1–22.
 20. *Chin-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 44, p. 998; *Yüan-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1976), 98, p. 2509.
 21. Liu Feng-ch’u, “Kuan-yü hun-ju hantzu chung te Ch’i-tan ta-tzu chiu te tu-yin,” pp. 103–128.
 22. My argument here is preliminary. During the Liao dynasty both Chinese and the Khitan language were used by the Khitan nobility. As a result, many words in the Khitan language were borrowed from Chinese. The word “*chiu*” is one example. I propose that it originates from the Chinese word “*chün*” (military). When the Khitan people borrowed and pronounced this word, they dropped the final nasal sound “n,” which resulted in a sound similar to “*chiu*,” with the result that they then wrote it with one or another of the Chinese characters that are pronounced *chiu*.
 23. The epitaphs for these five people were discovered in 1967.
 24. Her epitaph was found in 1986.
 25. Epitaphs were discovered in 1976 at the Yeh-mao-t’ai in Liaoning Province.
 26. His epitaph was found in 1979.
 27. The epitaphs for the Liu family members were discovered in 1979. Liu Shou-ch’i came to serve the Liao in 907. After a few years, he left Liao to return to the Later T’ang (923–935). Liu Ch’eng-ssu was born in the Liao and served the Liao court during the reigns of Emperors T’ai-tsung, Shih-tsung, and Mu-tsung.
 28. Chang Chien’s epitaph reads: “During the T’ung-ho reign period (983–1012), . . . [Chang Chien] was made censor to serve the emperor in the Wo-lu-to.” Liang Yüan’s reads: “In 1069, Liang Yüan accompanied the emperor during a spring hunt. In the Wo-lu-to, he concurrently held an office in the Censorate.”
 29. *Liao-shih*, 46, p. 747; 48, p. 828;
 30. *Ibid.*, 45, pp. 716–717; 47, p. 796.

31. For this office, see *ibid.*, 45, p. 716. For Tsuda Sōkichi's discussion, see his *Tsuda Sōkichi zenshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1964), vol. 12, p. 374.
32. For example, "X X kung-shih" is an alternative title for "X X kung tu-pu shu." But in the *Liao-shih*, 45, pp. 716-718, they were listed as two different posts.
33. He is known as Hsiao Ch'ang-ko in the *Liao-shih*, 82, pp. 1294-1295.
34. *Ibid.*, 31, pp. 326-369.
35. See, for example, Shimada Masao, *Ryōdai shakaishi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Sanwa shobō, 1952), pp. 145-167; Fei Kuo-ch'ing, "Liao-tai wo-lu-to t'an-so," *Li-shih hsüeh*, no. 3 (1979), pp. 77-92.
36. T'an Ch'i-hsiang, "Liao hou-ch'i ch'ien-tu chung-ching k'ao-shih," *Chung-hua wen-shih lun-ts'ung*, no. 2 (1980), pp. 43-54.
37. See my *Ch'i-tan wang-ch'ao cheng-chih chiün-shih chih-tu yen-chiu* (Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1991), pp. 119-127.

GLOSSARY

- | | |
|--|--|
| Chang Chien 張儉 | Han-wang 漢王 |
| Ch'en Ta-jen 陳大任 | Heilungkiang 黑龍江 |
| Cheng-wang 鄭王 | Hopei 河北 |
| Ch'en-kuo kung-chu 陳國公主 | Hsi 奚 |
| Chin 金 | Hsiang Nan 向南 |
| Ch'in-chin kuo-fei 秦晉國妃 | Hsiao 蕭 |
| Ch'ing 清 | Hsiao Hsiao-chung 蕭孝忠 |
| Chin-hsi 錦西 | Hsiao I 蕭義 |
| Chin-shih 金史 | Hsiao T'u-yü 蕭圖玉 |
| Ch'i-tan hsing-kung tu-pu-shu
契丹行宮都部署 | Hsi-nan-mien an-fu-shih ssu
西南面安撫使司 |
| <i>Ch'i-tan kuo-chih</i> 契丹國志 | Hsi-nan-mien tu-chao-t'ao ssu
西南面都招討司 |
| chiu 糾 | Hsing-kung tu-pu-shu 行宮都部署 |
| Ch'iu-k'o 求哥 | Hsing-tsung 興宗 |
| Chu hsing-kung tu-pu-shu yüan
諸行宮都部署院 | Hsi-pei-lu chao-t'ao-shih ssu
西北路招討使司 |
| chung-ching 中京 | Hsi-pei-lu tsung-ling ssu 西北路總領司 |
| Fei-hu 飛狐 | Hui-t'ung 會同 |
| Han 漢 | I-chou Fei-hu chao-an-shih ssu
易州飛狐招安使司 |
| Han-erh hsing-kung tu-pu-shu
漢兒行宮都部署 | |

- i-li-mien 迤麗免
 Keng Yen-i 耿延毅
 Kirin 吉林
 Kuan-ning 慣寧
 kung-wei 宮衛
 Li Eh 厲鶚
 Liang Yüan 梁援
 Liao 遼
 Liao ch'ing-ling 遼慶陵
 Liao chu-ti shih-lu 遼諸帝實錄
 Liao shih-wen pien 遼石文編
 Liaoning 遼寧
 Liao-shih 遼史
 Liao-shih shih-i 遼史拾遺
 Liao-shih shih-i pu 遼史拾遺補
 lieh-chuan 列傳
 Ling-ch'iu 靈丘
 Liu Ch'eng-ssu 劉承嗣
 Liu Shou-ch'i 劉守奇
 meng-she 蒙舍
 ordo (wo-lu-to) 斡魯朵
 Pai-hsi 白霽
 Pai-kuan chih 百官志
 Pa-lin-yu-ch'i 巴林右旗
 Pei ta-wang 北大王
 piao 表
 pieh-hsü 別胥
 Po-hai 渤海
 Shansi 山西
 Sheng-tsung 聖宗
 Shih-tzu ssu 十字寺
 Sung 宋
 Ta Ch'i-tan 大契丹
 Ta Liao 大遼
 T'ai-p'ing 太平
 T'ai-tsu 太祖
 T'ai-tsung 太宗
 Tao-tsung 道宗
 ti-chi 帝紀
 Tsuda Sökichi 津田左右吉
 Wei-wang 魏王
 wo-lu-to (ordo) 斡魯朵
 Yang Fu-chi 楊復吉
 Yang Hsi 楊皙
 Yeh Lung-li 葉隆禮
 Yeh-lü 耶律
 Yeh-lü Chung 耶律忠
 Yeh-lü Jen-hsien 耶律仁先
 Yeh-lü Shu-chi 耶律庶幾
 Yeh-lü Tsung-cheng 耶律宗政
 Yeh-lü Tsung-yun 耶律宗允
 Yeh-lü Yen 耶律儼
 Yeh-lü Yen-ning 耶律延寧
 Yeh-lü Yü-chih 耶律羽之
 Yüan 元
 Yüan-shih 元史
 Yü-shih-t'ai 御史臺