

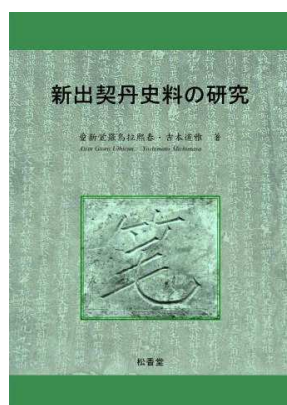
A Study of Newly Excavated Khitai Materials

by

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PREFACE

This book has been published with the assistance of a JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Publication of Scientific Research Results (Scientific Literature), 2012, as part one of a report on the research project, “A Reconstruction of the *Liaoshi*, based principally on Khitai epitaphs” funded by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (c), 2011-2013. The aim of this book is to exceed the limitations of earlier studies that depended solely on the *Liaoshi* and to establish a concrete basis for a comprehensive revision and textual reorganization of the *Liaoshi* based on Khitai and Chinese epitaphs excavated after the publication of the author’s *The Liao History as Seen from Khitai Epitaphs* (Shoukadoh, 2006). The reconstruction of Khitai-Liao history using Khitai materials to their fullest extent has great significance in reclaiming a previously untrodden domain of history. Earlier studies of Khitai-Liao history relied solely on the *Liaoshi*, edited in the 14th century. The editors of the *Liaoshi* referred to the works of Yelü Yan and Chen Daren, but judging from the contents of the *Liaoshi*, they cannot escape a charge of having been carelessness. The historians of the Yuan dynasty not only lacked an understanding of the Liao era but also access to source materials so the *Liaoshi* does not reach one-tenth the length of the *Songshi* and contains a great many mistakes. As long as the study of Khitai-Liao history relies on the *Liaoshi* alone, its comprehensive development will be difficult. On the other hand, Khitai epitaphs provide us the history of Khitais in their own words, which are not recorded in the *Liaoshi*, just as the *Secret History of Mongols* does in the study of Mongol history, Chinese epitaphs also frequently describe historical facts unrecorded in the *Liaoshi*. We can obtain a concrete basis for a comprehensive revision and textual restructuring of the *Liaoshi* based on these sources. In regard to the contents of the newly excavated Khitai epitaphs that are treated in this

book, three are related to the Guojiu Yilibizhang Bali clan, one is related to the Mengfufang Yaonian clan, and another three are related to the Hengzhang Yelü clan. Of the Chinese epitaphs, seven are related to the Guojiu Yilibizhang Bali clan, one is related to the Chute clan, which is counted among the Shenmi, and one is related to the Diela clan of the Xi royal family. In the study of Liao history, investigation of the actual conditions of the imperial family and the families of the empress are essential tasks, and the actual conditions of the Mengfufang Yaonian clan and the Guojiu Yilibizhang in particular have been elucidated for the first time by the deciphering of the newly excavated Khitai epitaphs. These rich new sources of information acquired in this way will be useful not only for the study of Khitai-Liao history, but also for broader historical studies of the Northeast Asia and China.

As mentioned above, in general contemporary studies of Khitai history are unable to use Khitai source materials and the *Liaoshi* still remains their main source. However, the *Liaoshi*, which was hurriedly edited by Yuan historians, has a great many mistakes and omissions, and the textual notes appended to the Zhonghua Shuju edition (1974) of course could not use Khitai materials. That edition was fundamentally based on the *Liaoshi* itself, the *Qidanguozhi*, which was edited from the Southern Song era to the Yuan era, and fragmentary sources written by Chinese from the Five Dynasties era to the Northern Song era, which were used for editing of the *Qidanguozhi*, and only rarely on Chinese epitaphs. It is no more than traditional textual criticism and already outdated. If the Khitai source materials are deciphered, it becomes clear that passages in the *Liaoshi*, which have been uncritically accepted and become important premises in general understanding of Khitai history, have fatal mistakes and omissions. Here, I will provide representative examples. First, regarding the Yaonian clan before the establishment of the Liao dynasty and their descendants, the *Liaoshi* contains only extremely brief descriptions, but newly excavated Khitai epitaphs contain source material rich enough to establish a “Yaonian genealogy.” Second, as regards the “Huangzibiao,” the “Gongzhubiao,” the “Huangzubiao,” and the “Waiqibiao,” there are too many mistakes that must be reconstructed comprehensively. Based on passages in the annals and biographies, the textual notes of the Zhonghua Shuju edition have already pointed out several mistakes such as omissions, duplications, and confusion of generations in the tables. However, if viewed in light of the content of the epitaphs, the number of places that should be corrected and supplemented increases several fold, and it also becomes clear the number of errors in the notes themselves is not trivial. Third, the Hengzhang and the Guojiuzhang follow unique processes of change through the Liao era, but the processes are not visible in the *Liaoshi*. The explanations in the “Baiguanzhi” and the “Yingweizhi” mix facts of different periods. On the other hand, they describe incomprehensible changes in names not seen in Khitai epitaphs even down to the Tianzuo reign. This book offers basis of study to restore the historical realities of Khitais exceeding limitations of the *Liaoshi*. It will overcome the gap between philology and history as well as that between Khitai and Chinese source materials, construct a methodology of interdisciplinary historical study, and found a new direction for historical studies suitable for the 21st century.

The contents of this book are as follows.

Part 1, A historiographical study of the “Shibiao” of the *Liaoshi*: The “Shibiao” of the *Liaoshi* provide a comprehensive description of the Khitai before the establishment of the Liao dynasty. Of course, its overall credibility can not be recognized, but because of the convenience of its comprehensiveness, it has

become a fundamental starting point of study of the Khitai. As regard the Khitais before the establishment of the Liao dynasty, they were described in the Khitai treatises of the canonical histories from the Chinese side, and there are descriptions that appear to reflect traditions of the Khitais themselves in Chinese literature after the Five Dynasties era and several places in the *Liaoshi*. The editors of the “Shibiao” referred to the histories of Yelü Yan and Chen Daren, and attempted to coordinate these two sources of China and Khitai origin that were often mutually contradictory, however, as the editors had to express their guess, this attempt was not successfully completed. Thus, the “Shibiao” is a description that mixes China source materials, Khitai source materials, and the editors' explanations. Similar passages are seen in several places of the *Liaoshi* such as in a portion of the “Yingweizhi.” In this part of the book, the author addresses these passages, comprehensively analyzing original source materials and the editing of the “Shibiao.” By elucidating the editorial process of the *Liaoshi* and the original source materials of the “Shibiao,” the author indicates the fundamental direction of historical criticism of the *Liaoshi* and attempts to reconstruct the history of Khitais before the establishment of the Liao dynasty in light of the fruits of study of Khitai scripts.

Part 2, The Mengfufang Yaonian clan and the Guojiu Yilibizhang: The investigation of the actual conditions of the imperial family and the families of the empresses is the most important task for understanding the state system of the Liao dynasty. Development of deciphering of Khitai scripts has revealed omissions and mistakes of the *Liaoshi*, on which previous studies have relied completely. In this part of this book, the author, through the comprehensive use of newly excavated Khitai and Chinese epitaphs, focuses in particular on the Yaonian clan and the Guojiu Yilibizhang within the imperial family and the families of the empresses in an attempt to investigate their actual conditions. As with the case of the Hengzhang, the Guojiuzhang of the Liao dynasty was also not completed at once and fixed immutably.

Both experienced changes that could not be completely identified relying only on Chinese written sources such as the *Liaoshi*, but the Guojiuzhang went through a history of changes more drastic than the Hengzhang. In section one, the author excavates the historical facts that the descendants of the Yaonian Khan belonged to the Mengfufang after the establishment of the Liao dynasty, while at the same time taking an overview of the construction of the imperial family and the formation process of the Taoweisi Diela tribe, from which the imperial family originated, investigating certain aspects of the editing process of the *Liaoshi*, and finishing a reconstruction of the “Huangzubiao” of the *Liaoshi* on the basis of the latest perspective. In section two, the author reconstructs general historical process of the Guojiuzhang of the Liao dynasty, investigating the relation between the Guojiu Yilibizhang and the Guojiu Biebu, and thereby identifying the genealogy of the empress of the emperor Tianzuo, who belonged to the Guojiu Yilibizhang, a fact which was misidentified in Chinese source materials. Then, the author finishes a reconstruction of the “Waiqibiao” of the *Liaoshi* based on overall reconstruction of the genealogy of the Guojiu Yilibizhang.

Last, the author is compelled to point out that Wu Yingzhe plagiarized her earlier work, *The Kithais and Jurchens as Seen from the Korean Peninsula* (Kyoto University Press, 2011). In this earlier book, the author investigated that the owner of the epitaph of Waiqi Guojiuzhang Yeluwan Dilugu Fushi in Khitai small script was a grand-grand-grandson of Xiao Talin whose biography appears in the *Liaoshi* vol. 85

(p.36), and the owner of the epitaph of Kehan Hengzhang Zhongfufang Lianning Xiangwen in Khitai small script was a grandson of a brother of Yelü Xiuge whose biography appears in the *Liaoshi* vol. 83 (p.84). However, Wu maintains that both these discoveries are the “fruits” of his own efforts in his recent paper (*Altai Hakpo* vol. 22, pp.111-120, 2012). The author had previously accused Wu of a great many instances of plagiarism till 2010 in her earlier book. The fact that Wu has unashamedly continued similar acts of plagiarism within a short span of time is outrageous. Here, the author wishes to accuse Wu of a violation of academic ethics and to call for a consensus to protect intellectual property rights.

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