

THE NECROPOLITAN ELITE OF NORTHEAST
CHINA IN THE LONG ELEVENTH CENTURY: A
SOCIAL HISTORY OF LIAO DYNASTY EPITAPHS
(907-1125)

by
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Abstract

The historiographical record of the Liao dynasty (907-1125) is limited due to the contingencies of manuscript survival, and so excavated epitaphs have come to be a vital primary source for study of Liao history. This thesis analyses the epitaphs of the Liao as a whole and considers the contingent social factors behind their production.

This is done over four thematic chapters that roughly map onto four periods in the Liao where the themes are most apparent: geography, culture and the tenth century; territorial reforms, the expansion of the imperial examinations and the early-to-mid eleventh century; genealogy, the Kitan aristocracy and the mid-to-late eleventh century; and court politics, historiography and the late Liao (1085-1125).

Taken together these themes explain the increased production of epitaphs over the course of the dynasty and in different regions of the empire. I argue that epitaphs were not a cultural signifier of ethnic categories but a medium through which people not only commemorated the dead, but also signalled their status to others. It is this function of epitaphs as texts that could influence others perceptions that explains the growing demand for them against the backdrop of the changing social structures.

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There are so many people to thank for getting me over the line. It is hard to know where to start. One of the conclusion of this thesis (spoiler alert!) is that influence ties us all together. Reflecting upon this theme, the very thesis you are reading would not have been possible without the influence and assistance of many teachers, peers, friends and family.

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Conventions

Conventions

Transcription

For transcription of Chinese terms I use Hanyu pinyin, without tonal diacritics. When I quote translations into English that originally use other transcriptions such as the Wade-Giles system I have converted the transcriptions into pinyin. For titles of published works and names I preserve the original transcription.

For Japanese I use modified Hepburn, which typically employs macrons, I make exceptions to this with names of places or words that have been adopted in English. Such as Kyoto, Tokyo, etc.

For Kitan terms, as there is no agreed transcription system for the language, or indeed agreement on phonetic reconstruction I transcribe them using the pinyin of the Chinese transcription.

English Spelling

All spellings have been changed to conform with British English spelling, with the exception of the titles of books, articles, etc.

Emperor titles

I refer to the first two emperors by their first names, Abaoji and Deguang. This is to avoid confusion because their posthumous temple titles, Taizu and Taizong, are often used as the temple names of the first two emperors in other dynasties. The third to eighth emperors are referred to consistently using their posthumous temple names. The ninth emperor was the final emperor, was not given one, and so I refer to him by the title he bore while still alive, the Tianzuo Emperor.

Official titles

Dealing with the biographies mostly of military and government careers there is a whole lexicon of official titles that come into play. Conventionally these are translated into English, and the standard has been to use Hucker's voluminous dictionary. Prior to Hucker for the Liao there was Wittfogel and Feng's work, who provide their own translations. Wittfogel and Feng's work while extensive does not provide a helpful glossary of all terms making use of their translations arduous. There is also the issue that the same English term Hucker uses as a translation of one term is sometimes used by Wittfogel and Feng to translate an entirely different term. This reveals the somewhat arbitrary nature of these translated terms, and their effect is rather lost. I have resolved to use Hucker's translations and provide in parentheses the pinyin transliteration in italics and the Chinese characters.

Kitan Fonts

For Kitan linear (large) and assembled (small) script I use the BabelStone Khitan PUA fonts, made available at <http://www.babelstone.co.uk/Fonts/Khitan.html>

Abbreviations

CTEXT	Donald Sturgeon, ed., “Chinese Text Project,” 2019, https://ctext.org/
FJL	Wang Ding 王鼎, “Fenjiao lu,” 焚椒錄, in <i>Xuxiu siku quanshu</i> 續修四庫全書, ed. Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2002), 423.505–510
Hucker	Charles O. Hucker, <i>A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China</i> . (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc., 1985)
JS	脫脫 Toqto’a, <i>Jin Shi</i> 金史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1975)
JWDS	Xue Juzheng 薛居正, <i>Jiu Wudai shi</i> 舊五代史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1976)
LS	脫脫 Toqto’a, <i>Liao Shi</i> 遼史, ed. Liu Pujiang 劉浦江 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2016)
LSBZ	Chen Shu 陳述, <i>Liao shi buzhu</i> 遼史補註 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2018)
QDGZ	Ye Longli 葉隆禮, <i>Qidanguo zhi</i> 契丹國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2014)
QDWZ	Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, ed., <i>Qidan wenzi yanjiu leibian</i> , 契丹文字研究類編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2014)
SCBMHB	Xu Mengxin 徐夢莘, <i>Sanchao beimeng huibian</i> 三朝北盟會編 (Taipei: Dahua shuju 大化書局, 1979)
WB	Xiang Nan 向南, ed., <i>Liaodai shikewen bian</i> , 遼代石刻文編 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe 河北教育出版社, 1995)
WF	Karl A. Wittfogel and Chia-Shêng Fêng, “History of Chinese Society Liao (907-1125),” <i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series</i> 36 (1946)
WXTK	Ma Duanlin (ca. 1254-ca. 1323) 馬端臨, <i>Wenxian tongkao</i> 文獻通考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986)
XB	Xiang Nan 向南, Zhang Guoqing 張國慶, and Li Yufeng 李宇峰, eds., <i>Liaodai shikewen xubian</i> , 遼代石刻文續編, vol. 31 (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe 遼寧人民出版社, 2010)
XWDS	Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, <i>Xin Wudai shi</i> 新五代史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1974)
YJ-QDGY	Yu Jing 余靖, <i>Wuxi ji</i> 武溪集 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 台灣商務印書館, 1976), 18.5b.4-8b.4 cited in Janet McCracken Novey, “Yu Ching, a northern Sung statesman, and his treatise on the Ch’i-Tan bureaucracy” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1986), 153-156
ZZTJ	Sima Guang 司馬光, <i>Zizhi tongjian</i> 資治通鑑 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1956)

Introduction

The present thesis argues that Liao dynasty epitaphs are not raw materials for historical narratives but idiosyncratic, socially contingent, ritually significant texts, which spoke to specific audiences. I reject a culturalist reading that tends to dominate studies of Liao material culture and architecture, wherein social phenomena are interpreted in terms of reified and essentialised categories of identities often characterised by 'ethnicity'. My argument stems from a functionalist understanding of epitaphs. They had multiple purposes and they were at all times one of many options for mortuary culture, social biography and commemorative texts. I avoid resorting to the explanation of the choice to commission and produce an epitaph as an expression of an ill-defined 'cultural identity'. While in some cases I do not wholly disagree with these characterisations, the problem is that such explanations are reductive and hard to refute. My interest in epitaphs in this thesis lies in their capacity as a social and ritual technology whereby the epitaph allows those connected to perform mourning for an audience of mourners, the wider society and posterity. It is essential that the ritual and technological aspects of these texts are taken into account, because they continue to be used to reconstruct Liao society without proper critical engagement that incorporates the process and context of their production. The pattern in the uptake of epitaph production at different times, in different regions, and by and for different people is symptomatic of broader social changes in the Liao dynasty that stimulated not only the capacity to produce them but more significantly the demand for them. Epitaphs not only recorded Liao society, they were a part of Liao society.

The appeal of epigraphic materials to the historian and/or archaeologist of the Liao dynasty is irresistible. Due to the contingencies of the production and survival of the historiographical record there is a dearth of textual sources for the dynasty. This is not because the Liao dy-

nasty was short-lived; the dynasty lasted over two hundred years. Nor it is because it was territorially small; the Liao court boasted political control of the northern regions of the Central China Plain, northeast to the greater Xing'an mountain range and westwards as far as the Central Mongolian Plateau.¹ Neither is it because it was politically insignificant; the Liao court was in diplomatic communication not only in the surrounding East Asian sphere, Japan, the Korean Peninsula, Song China to its south, the Western Xia to its west, and the polities of Central Asia even further west.² Nor is it because it did not have a literary elite or a literary culture, the Liao empire produced literature and histories (mostly lost) in two different languages, Chinese and Kitan, and patronised an educated elite through an imperial examination system. Rather, historiographically speaking, the Liao has been in a vicious circle. Perceptions of the Liao have been shaped by the very forces that deprioritised, disincentivised or downright dissuaded the compilation and preservation of Liao documents; over the centuries since its demise the Liao has been portrayed as the antagonist and illegitimate impostor to the line of imperial succession that subsequent dynasties have adopted to bolster their own source of legitimacy. Denied their own voice in the surviving historical record the denizens of the Liao are characterised by ethnicised stereotypes. The image of Liao has been shaped by the enduring paradigms of their eleventh to twelfth century rivals and their successors who have been either hostile, ambivalent or selective of the Liao legacy for their own ends.

Since the early twentieth century this situation has been slowly mitigated by the steady supply of archaeological materials that have lain in the ground often in chambered tombs for almost a millennia. Among such splendid but silent artefacts and assemblages of material and visual culture the voice of Liao elites has been rediscovered, commemorating kith and kin (though mostly kin) in often elegant literary epitaphs inscribed upon stone tablets. With these epitaphs come new insights into the lives and times of the Liao elite.

1. The most generous extent of the Liao territory can be found in Tan Qixiang's historical atlas of China. Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, *Zhongguo lishi dituji: Song • Liao • Jin shiqi* 中國歷史地圖集: 宋 • 遼 • 金時期, vol. 6 (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe 中國地圖出版社, 1996), 3-11 Maps in figures A.1, A.2 and A.3 present Yu Wei's extent. See Yu Wei 余蔚, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan* 中國行政區劃通史 • 遼金卷 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe 復旦大學出版社, 2012), 26-28.

2. Based on tributes received, see Valerie Hansen, "International Gifting and the Kitan World, 907-1125," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43, no. 1 (2013): 273-302

This growing corpus of retrieved inscriptional material has been embraced by scholars with gusto, adding depth, context and sometimes conflicting accounts to events and phenomena mentioned in the received textual sources. They have also been applied to fill in the myriad historical lacunae of the tenth to twelfth century Northeast Asian past. Often they are held up against the received textual record with the assumption that it is the unearthed epigraphic sources that are the authoritative ones, the real primary source. And yet, such priority is often only given on the small detailed discrepancies between the received historical and retrieved epigraphic sources, whereas on a larger scale the history of the Liao is still framed by the structure of received historical sources, and indeed broader overarching paradigms in Chinese history. The influx of new material has not been used as a corpus to form a foundation of new learning on the Liao, but as bricks and mortar to extend and reinforce the edifice of prevailing paradigms.

This contrasts with work done on other periods and regions of Chinese history. In the early twentieth century Naitō Tōrajirō proposed the Tang-Song transition period, whereby social, political, economic and cultural shifts that took place over the periods of the Tang dynasty (616-907), Five Dynasties (907-960) and Song dynasties (960-1276) represented definitive historical transition from a purported “medieval” to “modern” period.³ This theory provided a framework for the ensuing generations of scholars in the Anglophone, Japanophone and Sino-phone fields of Chinese history to refine and/or challenge. Robert Hartwell’s 1982 demographic analysis of the years 750-1550 presented a large scale look at the period.⁴ Hartwell also initiated what became the CBDB which enabled prosopographical research.⁵ Studies by Hymes in 1986, Bossler in 1998, Lee in 2014 and Tackett in 2006 and 2014 all engage with prosopographical methodologies on specific datasets to question the underlying assumptions.⁶ With

3. A summary of the themes in the scholarship of the Tang-Song transition can be found in Nicolas Tackett, “A Tang - Song Turning Point,” in *A Companion to Chinese History*, ed. Michael Szonyi (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2017), 118–128.

4. Robert M. Hartwell, “Demographic, Political and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 2. (Dec., 1982), pp. 365-442. 42, no. 2 (1982): 365–442.

5. CBDB

6. Robert Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-Chou Chiang-Hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Beverly Jo Bossler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, & the State in Sung China (960-1279)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998); Sukhee Lee, *Negotiated Power: The State, Elites and Local Governance in Twelfth to Fourteenth Century China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014); Nicolas Olivier Tackett, “The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites

the exception of Tackett's work, these studies were based on datasets of epitaphs comprising of received epigraphic writings, that is epitaphs that had been transcribed, compiled and transmitted for posterity, i.e. from epigraphic texts for which the inscribed artefacts, the epitaph stones, are rarely extant. Tackett analysed a large set of excavated epitaphs and considered the spatial distribution of these based on the location of discovery. Otherwise excavated epitaphs when studied are often not approached as a dataset but as individual case studies.⁷

While elsewhere in Chinese history epigraphic sources, received and/or retrieved have been applied and mobilised on a large scale as a corpus to reveal social changes in the middle period. These methods and theories have not been applied to the Liao. This is a glaring omission considering that the Liao was an equally powerful political formation of the post Tang world. However, as explained the challenge of incorporating the Liao into the multi-faceted framework of Tang-Song transition scholarship is exacerbated by the dearth of sources. Unlike most of the prosopographical studies mentioned above the study of the Liao society cannot use transmitted, received epitaphs, and must rely solely upon excavated ones. And with that comes considerations of how to incorporate factors such as archaeological contexts, material dimensions and object histories into the analysis and methodology.

Research is also frustrated by the uneven availability of information on the epitaphs. While the majority of epitaphs available have been compiled and published in three volumes,⁸ most Liao epitaphs have not been not digitised in searchable text format. Furthermore information about their provenance is patchy, in some cases the original artefact is long lost and only rubbings, or sometimes only transcriptions have survived. This places limits as to how epitaphs can be compared with regard to their archaeological context. There is also the other issue of the extent to which the epitaph text interacts with the assemblage of material and visual culture present in the tomb environment and ways that these different media can be analysed meaningfully together on a large scale. I will touch on this briefly in the first chapter though this is a ques-

(850-1000 CE)" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2006); Nicolas Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014).

7. There are too many of these to mention, especially in Chinese.

8. WB, XB and QDWZ, an inventory of those not compiled in these two volumes is presented in tables D.1 and D.2

tion for an entirely different thesis to this one. Provenance and archaeological contexts aside the texts themselves also posed challenges in interpretation that complicate a straightforward appraisal of the significance of the epitaphs contents to the study of Liao society.

With this in mind the present study originally set out to consider Liao epigraphy as a whole, forming a dataset to which prosopographical and GIS methods would be applied. At first appearance the corpus of Liao epigraphy seemed the ideal size to carry out digitisation and analysis. Table C.1 shows that almost 600 inscriptions have been discovered. Inscriptions can vary in context and genre and I was aware early on that these differences meant caution needed to be exercised not to treat every inscription as a repository of data but as a document and text that had its own social purpose. With this in mind I limited my study to one type or genre of epigraphic writing, entombed epitaphs. These represent a significant proportion, nearly half (see table C.1) of epigraphic materials from the Liao. They are loosely formulaic which made comparisons between them easier. Entombed epitaphs predate and postdate the Liao and have been found in regions further south. Their application in the scholarship of the Tang-Song transition also opens up the possibility of future comparative research that is beyond the scope of the present study.

However, the ambition and enormity of the task of working with a set of over two hundred undigitized epitaphs soon dawned on me. First and foremost I was faced with the reality that the sources were not produced in ways conducive for the wholesale incorporation into simple spreadsheets. The construction of a database requires interpretation of material and categorisation into entities (that represent concrete or abstract objects), their attributes and the relationships between entities. Epitaphs often presented phenomena from the Liao that were not present in the received sources and therefore proved hard to interpret. In other cases epitaphs represented phenomena in ways that conflict their representation in received sources. The more I tried to account for these issues the more it exposed the large gaps in the current understanding of the Liao.

I have provided an account of the structure and construction of my database in appendix E, and also the ways in which it has contributed to the research in this thesis. The rationale for the re-

search question of the current thesis derives in part from an example of the difficulties in rendering historical data legible while also preserving the complexities of the historical record and avoiding the ‘flattening’ of said data that I was confronted with in the design of the database - the problems with names. One person could go by several different names in Chinese history, and indeed in texts such as epitaphs they may also be referred to by their titles. This problem is well known and has been accommodated for in the design of the CBDB. However, one person may hold several titles, and indeed hold different titles at different periods of their lives. During the course of the Liao different people may hold a certain title at different times. So the appearance of a person referred to by their title requires some detective work to pin down who that person actually was. The problem of ambiguity with names is exacerbated with Liao dynasty Chinese epitaphs where a person may have a Chinese name, but also a non-Chinese name - this may be Kitan, Xi, Bohai, Jurchen.⁹ This raises the question of which name should be the one used to define them and which names are subsidiary names. There is currently very little research done on the social contexts in which these different names were used and indeed in which social contexts different languages were used in the Liao. The design of the CBDB being concerned primarily with Chinese history does not accommodate for the question and ambiguity of different linguistic social contexts.

Another problem with names in sources is not only the multitude of names people had but also the multitude of ways that those names appear transcribed in texts. Non-Chinese names are found transcribed phonetically into Chinese characters, but this was clearly not standardised and depended on the writer transcribing the name at the time. The same name could have multiple transcriptions across epigraphic sources. There is also the problem that the transcribers may not have understood fully the culture of Kitan naming conventions. In the case of these Northern names in Kitan culture, there are many very common names. Fathers also took the names of their male heirs, differentiated with a slight inflection that could be lost in the process of phonetic transcription into Chinese characters.¹⁰ The work of tying different

9. Not enough is known about Turko-Mongolic and Tungusic names in the middle period to identify the differences between these.

10. Kitan naming customs are discussed in detail in Liu Pujiang 劉浦江 and Kang Peng 康鵬, “Qidan ming, zi chushi - wenhua renleixue shiye xia de fu zi liangming zhi” 契丹名, 字初釋——文化人類學視野下的父子連名制, *Wenshi* 文史 3 (2005)

names to the same person across sources has already generated substantial, detailed scholarship and disputes. These discrepancies in interpretation would also have to be accounted for in a database. Subsequently a gulf starts to appear between presenting the data in the inscriptions as it is found and the input of extensive overlapping exegesis in order to render this data comprehensive and exploitable.

This is not to say that the digitisation of both the information provided in the sources, such as the names used, and metadata such as divergent interpretations of the sources would not be in and of itself a valuable exercise. But it quickly became apparent it was beyond the scope and resources of a doctoral research project. This realisation however inspired the present thesis. For while frustrating for the database compiler, the inconsistency of the transcription of names is an incredibly important and instructive piece of information. It alerts us to a key feature of the epitaphs: the transcription of northern names was at best loose and at worse arbitrary. If the representation of the names of the deceased or the mourners was not a priority in the production of the epitaph it raises all kinds of questions concerning what and who these epitaphs were for and what socio-cultural function they served. For the Tang and Song period, and even the early medieval period, this question has received some attention.¹¹ There are explicit accounts on the production of epigraphy and its role in society, and even more can be elicited indirectly from the sources. Furthermore, what we know about the epitaphs of the pre-Tang, Tang and Song is that the functions of epitaphs were not static and homogenous within each block of dynastic time. The Song dynasty, who were contemporaries of the Liao, witnessed a shift in the meaning and evaluation of epitaph writing in the mid eleventh century with the rise of the social and intellectual movement of *Daoxue*.¹² Though the epitaphs of the Liao largely conform to the genre of its predecessors and contemporaries, their socio-cultural context is

11. Timothy M Davis, *Entombed Epigraphy and Commemorative Culture in Early Medieval China: A Brief History of Early Muzhiming* (Boston: Brill, 2015); Angela Schottenhammer, "The Characteristics of Song Time Epitaphs," in *Burial in Song China* (Edition Forum, 1994), 253–306; Alexei Ditter, "The Commerce of Commemoration: Commissioned Muzhiming in the Mid-to Late Tang," *Tang Studies* 32, no. 1 (2014): 21–46; David McMullen, "Boats Moored and Unmoored: Reflections on the Dunhuang Manuscripts of Gao Shi's Verse," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 73, no. 1 (2013): 83–145; Angela Schottenhammer, "A Buried Past: The Tomb Inscription (Muzhiming) and Official Biographies of Wang Chuzhi (863-923)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52, no. 1 (2009): 14–56 to name a few.

12. This is discussed in detail in Liu Jingzhen 劉靜貞, "Beisong qianqi muzhi shuxie huodong chutan" 北宋前期墓誌書寫活動初探, *Dongwu lishi xuebao* 東吳歷史學報, no. 11 (2004): 59–82.

undocumented in received historical sources and by and large presumed or overlooked in secondary literature. So too the historical pattern of epitaph production has so far not received scholarly attention. Something that the present thesis wishes to address.

However, unlike with other periods and regimes the intellectual history of the Liao is not as well documented, for reasons that will be discussed in the following chapter. A more thorough and comprehensive understanding of the extant documents of the Liao, both transmitted and archaeologically retrieved precludes a concerted attempt to remedy this. In this thesis I have declined to engage with Song epigraphy, or with a comparison of Liao and Song epigraphy. This is firstly done in the spirit of studies of Tang and Song epigraphy, that do not include the Liao as a comparative point. Secondly (and more importantly) because there is so much more writing and intellectual history for the Song, comparisons between the Liao and the Song run the risk of positioning the Song as normative, and therefore evaluating the Liao on the basis of its conformity or deviation from the Song. It is with this in mind that the Liao is treated as *sui generis* for much of this thesis.

I should make clear here however that the Liao did not exist in a cultural vacuum. Despite variably enforced bans on the circulation of texts between the two polities there was some degree of clandestine literary exchange. It could not be ruled out that literary forms from the Song found their way into the Liao.¹³ Indeed, both Liao and Song literary figures who we know to have authored epitaphs, interacted on the diplomatic stage.¹⁴ However, such an investigation into interstate literary interaction and influence goes beyond the scope of the current thesis which is primarily focused on the social conditions on epitaph production.

Admittedly, this focus primarily on the metadata surrounding epitaph production comes at the

13. Hilde De Weerdts has argued that though there was evidence that Liao officials that the Song envoys met were knowledgeable of and demonstrated to have read current literary works by Song figures, there is no evidence that Song visitors saw any printed or manuscript works by Song authors in circulation. Hilde de Weerdts, "What Did Su Che See in the North? Publishing Regulations, State Security, and Political Culture in Song China," *T'oung Pao* 92 (2006): 473-478

14. The envoy to the Liao from Song, Yu Jing (1000-1064) for example, was fluent in Kitan and wrote the report QDGY, in chapter (*juan* 卷) 19 of his collected works there are several epitaphs he wrote for peers and family members. Liu, "Beisong qianqi muzhi shuxie huodong chutan," 9-11 From the Liao side, for example Wang Shiru (1052-1113), who composed the 1090 *Epitaph of Xiao Paolu*, is recorded to have had many interactions and cultural exchanges with visiting Song envoys. WB 646.

expense of a comprehensive analysis of the structure, rhetoric and content of Liao epitaphs. This is because before deeper analysis of these elements of epitaph writing, or indeed comparisons between Liao epitaph writing and that of other regions and periods can be considered the phenomenon of Liao epitaph writing and the reasons for its uneven regional and diachronic pattern need to be addressed. At the same time, this thesis is also not whole-heartedly directed towards an exposition of Liao society using the content of epitaphs. After all, before these sources can be used in such a way, it is vital to understand how and why they were produced in the first place and to stop treating them as inert two-dimensional repositories of potential data. Epitaphs were media in their time and place, with intentions, expectations and implications.

First, I present a chapter to introduce and establish the historical processes which shaped the received sources of the Liao and how they informed and reinforced understandings of the Liao that prevail until today. Following that I outline what an epitaph is and considerations in reading an epitaph, i.e. the hermeneutics of using epitaphs as historical sources. With these established the rest of the thesis is divided into four chapters which are framed both thematically and loosely chronologically. Together they provide four angles from which the epitaphic production of the Liao can be understood, and conversely, to which the epitaphic record of the Liao contributes a deeper understanding of Liao society.

In the chapter 2, which is primarily focused on roughly the first century of the Liao 907-1012, I argue that the distribution of the epitaphs suggests that they were initially a regional mortuary custom, which later became more widespread and trans-regional. I dispense with the prevailing geographical frameworks of the Liao which have been based on the administrative geography in the 1344 LS and focus instead on discrete regions that reveal different temporal patterns of epitaph production. I then consider factors that may have stimulated or stymied the demand for epitaphs, contrasting socio-cultural arguments with geopolitical and demographic explanations based on territorial administration. Throughout I emphatically argue against seeing epitaph production as culturally or ethnically normative and propose instead a functionalist reading behind their appeal, i.e. what needs did they fulfil or not fulfil.

Chapter 3 considers social changes from the early to mid eleventh century (1012-1055). This period witnessed the construction of the Central Capital, an event that serves as a backdrop to consider broader reforms not only to systems of governance but also to symbols of status in society. The pattern of epitaph production reflects this but also poses some problems. What is clear is that the authorship of epitaphs changes, shifting from being produced by the staff or followers of aristocratic patrons to being the product of those that benefited from the prestige and authority of the imperial examination system.

The function of epitaphs and the boundaries of the elite in the Liao are the focus of chapter 4. In the mid to late eleventh century (1055-1085) more members of the imperial houses of Yelü and Xiao commissioned epitaphs. I use this as my focus to explore the extent to which epitaphs began to be used to assert an aristocratic identity. This becomes particularly apparent in the adaptation of the epitaph format for epitaphs written in the Kitan language and script. Furthermore, I consider how genealogical writings were used to assert aristocratic identity and the extent to which they both stimulated and hindered the production of epitaphs.

Chapter 5, the final chapter, considers the impact that factional politics had on the production and preservation of epitaphs. From the late eleventh century to the end of the Liao (1085-1125) we observe unprecedented imperial involvement not only with epitaph production but more broadly with the production of the historical record. This chapter comes full circle to the first chapter on Liao historiography, arguing that while epitaphs are sources in Liao history, we should always bear in mind whose Liao history each individual epitaph represents.

From this overview it should be apparent that this thesis has not one but two topics of focus, Liao epitaphs and Liao society. This is because the two topics are mutually dependent in the study of Liao history - no study of the Liao society can elide the contributions of epitaphs to our understanding, nor can a study of epitaphs as a dataset not consider the social factors of their production. The resulting study presented here maps the spatial and diachronic pattern of Liao epitaphs to what we understand of the patterns of Liao history built up through both the received historical sources discussed in chapter 1 and the narratives of Liao found in secondary literature. I show how trends in the epitaphic record confirm such narratives, but in

other places question or add nuance to prevailing assumptions regarding the Liao. The findings here demonstrate the strength of the methodology of looking at the epitaphs - a collection of discrete documents which have varied provenance, object histories, and attested contexts and intentions of production - as an aggregate dataset. Using them as a dataset allows us to conduct queries and reveal patterns that reflect epitaphs not merely as textual objects for the commemoration of deceased individuals but as nodes in a nexus of social interactions.

There are two important caveats to this thesis that I must pre-emptively address here. The first is that the spatial and diachronic pattern of epitaphs that I identify suffers from an obvious availability bias. This problem is insurmountable. The epitaphs that are available to a historian working remotely are those that have been made available through publication. There is no way of knowing how many have been lost to damage or still lie in the ground undisturbed. An account of the various archaeological surveys and operations of different local and national institutions in the PRC, and the un-displayed collections of museums would be needed to understand the particular spatial pattern of epitaph retrieval as a result of state-run, official extraction. And even with this, there would be no way to fully account for the clandestine excavation, removal and transfer of epitaphs into private hands. This thesis works with what is available, with the necessary assumption that, pending new data, this sample is as representative as possible.

A second caveat concerns my attempts to map the pattern of epitaphs to the patterns of Liao history. The epitaphs appear to increase in number, appeal and spatial spread from the start of the eleventh century onwards. This coincides with the beginning of peaceful relations between the Liao and Song and the middle to late part of the Liao dynasty. The question then becomes, were there more epitaphs simply because there was more of everything in an era of political stability and prosperity? Through the four thematic chapters of this thesis I demonstrate that there were more factors at play and that various social shifts were occurring that stimulated both the supply and the demand for this specific form of commemoration. Patterns in epitaph production reflect responses to various dynamic social contexts and fluctuations, rather than customs of particular, statically defined cultural or ethnic group. In the body of this thesis I show how epitaph production in the Liao was contingent on geographical, institutional, socio-

cultural and political factors.

Chapter 1

Reading Liao history, reading Liao epitaphs

In the following chapter I outline the prevailing historiographical issues with the Liao and the contingencies of manuscript survival that produced the image of the Liao that recent epigraphical sources have come to consolidate, complicate or disrupt. I then go on to present the different dimensions of the object of study, the epitaph, its historical precedent and its material and textual dimensions.

1.1 The historiographical problems with the Liao

As the present thesis already stated the Liao dynasty or Great Kitan state¹ (907-1125)² lasted over two hundred years, boasted political control of a large area of Northeast Asia and an even greater political reach. And yet the dynasty's combination of Turko-Mongolic and Chinese practices and institutions has placed it in a tenuous position in Chinese historiography. This position is exacerbated by the dearth of sources, that is both the result and continued cause of historiographical marginalisation. While recognised as a Chinese dynasty, it is also portrayed as a marginal, a conquest dynasty, a non-han regime. Historiographically it is both integrated and separated in mainstream Chinese history. This is exemplified in a passage from the turn of the twentieth century. In 1901, the late Qing scholar-official Ye Changchi 葉昌熾 (1849-1917) completed his work *Yushi*. Twenty Years in the making, this large volume not only catalogued and provided transcriptions of over eight thousand historic epigraphic writings from across the territory of the Qing empire, it also presented Ye's erudite commentaries on such inscriptions. In his first chapter he summarised the epigraphic output for each of the dynasties stretching back to the ancient times. On the subject of Liao inscriptions he had the following comments (emphasis my own):

Liao stele inscriptions, are all by Buddhist followers or low level local scholars, **they**

1. The name of the state underwent official changes over its two plus centuries of rule. From 916-936 it was called the Great Kitan (大契丹), and then following the addition of the sixteen prefectures of Yan and Yun the second emperor changed the name. In the territories south of the Yan mountains it was Great Liao 大遼, while north of the Yan mountains it was Great Kitan. The fifth emperor Shengzong reverted the name back to Great Kitan for all territories in 983. This lasted until 1066 when the eighth emperor Daozong changed the name to Great Liao for all territories. In the Kitan language the name also changed along these lines. Discussions of this process and the meaning of the name Liao can be found in Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, "Liaochao guohao kaoshi" 遼朝國號考釋, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究, no. 6 (2001): 30-44; Daniel Kane, "The Great Central Liao Kitan State," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43, no. 1 (2013): 27-50; Chen Xiaowei 陳曉偉, "Liaochao guohao zai kaoshi" 遼朝國號再考釋, *Wenshi* 文史, no. 4 (2016): 95-106 and Lin Hu 林鵠, *Nan wang: Liao qianqi zhengzhi shi* 南望——遼前期政治史 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian 三聯書店, 2018), 89-99. All scholars recognise however that the primary source materials do not strictly adhere to these changes, showing that there was overlap in the use of these names despite official changes. For the sake of convenience and consistency with the prevailing scholarship I will refer the dynasty as Liao for the whole period of 907-1125 and all regions.

2. While the Liao dynasty did not technically begin until 916 with the adoption of the title and role of emperor and the establishment of imperial reign eras the Liao is typically periodised as starting in 907. The reason for this is in part historiographical, 907 was the official end of the Tang dynasty, and so tracing it back to this year avoided gaps in dynastic periodisation. Given that years were defined by reign eras and not by a universal calendar. 907 was also the year that Abaoji gained supremacy over the Kitan tribes and purportedly began in earnest his expansionist ambitions.

make for an unremarkable heritage. Among them there are texts that record ‘Great Liao’ and others that record ‘Great Kitan’, which resembles how the Tuoba clan would write Dai and Wei interchangeably, showing that **they never forgot their roots. Before the Tongzhi reign (1861 – 1875), very few had been unearthed.** ... The majority of them contain both Tang and Fan writing,³ only the two pillars of Mr Bai of Liulihe are structurally impressive. Aside from this, there are some that present neat and tidy lines of characters, like the Song font used in woodblock prints today. There are also ones with messy writing, which like the ledgers you see in the market places consist almost entirely of names, so-and-so’s son, so-and-so’s husband or wife. **From this you can see the shabby and inferior style of Northerners.**⁴

In part Ye’s evaluation was based on the extant examples of Liao epigraphy that were available to him in his day, and as he points out many of these had only surfaced in his lifetime. These were largely in Buddhist contexts, and were inscriptions of local temple organisations and monasteries, presumably in the region around modern day Beijing. In the almost 120 years since he wrote those words so much has been unearthed that has led to a re-evaluation of the aesthetic and cultural achievements of the Liao dynasty: splendid and intricate metalwork treasures in golds and silvers, sumptuous tomb murals, and in Ye’s field of interest epitaphs revealing a rich epigraphic tradition, many with elegant calligraphy. Also unseen by Ye, who only mentions inscriptions in Chinese and Sanskrit, were epigraphs in two kinds of Kitan script that hitherto had only been hinted at in the histories.

To explain Ye’s comments as guided only by his appraisal of available epigraphic materials however would be disingenuous. He clearly brings to his observations prior considerations of the Liao and its place in Chinese history. First of all he reifies the dynasty; the “they” of “they never forgot their roots” equates the dynasty - a temporal, spatial and political configuration

3. By this he means Chinese characters and Sanskrit, the reference to Chinese characters as Tang is noteworthy.

4. 遼碑文字，皆出自釋子及村學究，絕無佳蹟。閑有不書大遼書大契丹者，猶之拓跋氏代魏兼書，示不忘本之義也。同治以前，出土尚少... 其中多唐梵兩體，惟劉李河白氏兩幢，結構尚可觀。此外行列整齊者，如今刻書之宋體字。潦草者，如市中計簿，滿幅題名，皆某兒某郎婦之類。北僮喬野之風，於此可見。Ye Changchi 葉昌熾, “Yushi,” 語石, in *Yushi - Yushi yitong ping* 語石 • 語石異同評, ed. Chen Gongrou 陳公柔 and Zhang Mingshan 張明善 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1994), pp. 49-54 The ellipses detail various collectors and what they had.

- with its ruling house, the Kitan aristocracy of the Yelü and Xiao clan. We can see this by his claim that the political practice of the Liao of naming their state derived from a previous northern polity the Northern Wei (386-534), to whom they had roots. This suggests supposed continuities between northern peoples. The Kitan imperial clan claimed heritage from the Tagbach (*Tuoba* 拓跋) of the Northern Wei, but that claim cannot be substantiated.⁵ He connects the ‘northern’ identities of the ruling house to the actions of the populace of the southern parts of the empire, the names listed on Buddhist temple inscriptions were donors from the local community, many were low in status. Ye’s comments not only erase the ethnic and geographical diversity of the Liao, but also the social stratification represented in the epigraphic record. An empire spanning two hundred years and consisting of a linguistically and culturally diverse population (that included many that would conventionally be considered “Chinese” people) are dismissed as homogenous ‘northerners’. And for Ye the “inferior style of the northerners” is exemplified by their “unremarkable heritage”.

Ye’s prejudices about the Liao were informed by the received historical record, which was then as it is now. A dedicated dynastic history in the form of the 1344 *Liao shi* 遼史 (Hereafter 1344 LS.) forms the blueprint text of inquiries, and even in English language scholarship the ‘bible’ of Liao studies is the 1946 extensive research based on translated passages of this history by Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chi-sheng.⁶ Historians supplement the 1344 LS with a contentious thirteenth century work, the *Record of the Kitan state* (*Qidan guozhi* 契丹國志, hereafter QDGZ), that has turned out to be largely compiled from passages in other extant Song sources, and passages scattered in various works from the Song and Yuan periods. Even the modest antiquarian and archaeological discoveries of the first few decades of the twentieth century were enough to benefit Wittfogel and Feng, and much more has been discovered since then. But, even though these discoveries incrementally inspired a re-evaluation of the Liao’s historical prominence and its cultural heritage, the asymmetry with which historical and archaeological sources are to be treated, with archaeology oft characterised as “handmaiden” to history, has meant that the received transmitted textual legacy of the Liao has consistently been used as the base text

5. Such as in the 941 *Epitaph of Yelü Yuzhi* XB 3-6.

6. WF

upon which scattered archaeological finds are contextualised. It is therefore imperative for my discussion of Liao epigraphy to first outline the historiographical legacy of the Liao.

1.1.1 The Liao in the Jin, Song and Kara Kitan

During and after the Jin invasion of the Liao, official documents and unofficial writings from the Liao were lost, destroyed or scattered. The capitals were occupied and the remnants of the moving court had been captured by Jin forces. Part of the Liao army had rallied under the general Yelü Dashi and headed West into Central Asia founding the Kara-Kitan or Western Liao dynasty. Many Liao ministers defected either to the Jin or fled to the Song.

Efforts to compile a history of the Liao started as early as 1148 with a *Liao shi* submitted to the throne by Xiao Yongqi.⁷ Xiao Yongqi had been the disciple of Yelü Gu, a senior academician of the Liao court who had lectured and educated the last emperor of the Liao. Yelü Gu had started the project, probably privately,⁸ meaning the compilation had started even earlier than 1148. The 1148 *Liao shi* was deemed unsatisfactory by court standards and decades later another Liao history was commissioned under the supervision of Dang Huaiying in 1189 and completed under Chen Daren in 1207.⁹ This too was inadequate in the eyes of the Jin court. Chan Hok-Lam argues that around the time of the compilation of this second *Liao shi*, there were debates at court concerning theories of legitimacy, i.e. how did the Jin dynasty legitimately succeed the previous dynasty, and which of the previous dynasties that the Jin conquered was the legitimate one. The result was that they established themselves as successors to the Song, demoting the status of the Liao in their historical and ideological framework.¹⁰ The effect of this

7. 蕭永祺，字景純，本名蒲烈。少好學，通契丹大小字。廣寧尹耶律固奉詔譯書，時置門下，因盡傳其業。固卒，永祺率門弟子服齊衰喪。固作《遼史》未成，永祺繼之，作紀三十卷、志五卷、傳四十卷，上之。JS 125.2720.

8. 廣寧尹耶律固奉詔譯書 The passage only states that he was ordered by the Jin court to translate documents, not to compile a history of the Liao. JS 125.2720.

9. 大定二十九年，與鳳翔府治中郝俛充《遼史》刊修官，應奉翰林文字移刺益、趙淵等七人為編修官。JS 125.2726-2727. On Dang Huaiying and Jin compilation of the LS see Jesse D Sloane, "Rebuilding Confucian Ideology: Ethnicity and Biography in the Appropriation of Tradition.," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 14, no. 2 (2014): 247 and Niu Runzhen 牛潤珍 and Lu Pengcheng 盧鵬程, "Jindai xiushi jigou yu shizhu zuanji" 金代修史機構與史注纂輯, *Shixueshi yanjiu* 史學史研究, no. 1 (2017): 18-32

10. Hok-lam Chan, *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussions under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty (1115-1234)* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), 75-77.

was that further efforts to improve on the previous Liao histories were abandoned, or fell down in the list of priorities.

This also coincided with language reforms in the Jin, in 1191 the Kitan scripts were abolished by the Jin emperor.¹¹ The two Kitan scripts had been devised within five years of each other in the early tenth century, in the years following Abaoji declaring himself emperor. The 1344 LS records how in 920 Yelü Tulübu and Yelü Lubugu, members of the imperial clan were appointed to create a script for the Kitan language.¹² A few years later Diela, emperor Abaoji's younger brother created an alternative script for the same language.¹³ The two scripts survive primarily in epigraphic documents discovered from the late nineteenth century onwards.¹⁴ The first script, the "linear script" of the "Kitan large script", is logo-syllabic, using logograms like Chinese characters to represent both concepts and syllables, written in a simple linear succession.¹⁵ Linear script materials are the rarest of the two, to this date less than twenty have been unearthed. The second script is the "assembled script" or the "Kitan small script", which is also logo-syllabic, but uses different graphemes to the linear script and presents these in compounds, less than fifty of these materials have been unearthed.

Kitan script was used in court documents, both for administration and for literature, as can be seen by official seals in Kitan¹⁶ and the presence of verse in the elegiac writing on Kitan script epitaphs. It was popular among Jurchen nobles and those in the Jin court.¹⁷ And the Jurchen script that was devised for the Jurchen language - a Tungusic language- was based on the graphemes of the Kitan linear script.¹⁸ The effect of the decision to abolish the Kitan script

11. 詔罷契丹字 JS 9.220

12. 五年春正月乙丑，始制契丹大字。LS 2.18. 初，太祖制契丹國字，魯不古以贊成功，授林牙、監修國史。LS 76.1375. 突呂不，字鐸衰，幼聰敏嗜學。事太祖見器重。及制契丹大字，突呂不贊成為多。未幾，為文班林牙，領國子博士、知制誥。LS 75.1368.

13. 回鶻使至，無能通其語者，太后謂太祖曰：「迭刺聰敏可使。」遣迓之。相從二旬，能習其言與書，因制契丹小字，數少而該貫。LS 64.1070-1071.

14. Daniel Kane, *The Kitan Language and Script* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1-2.

15. Wu Yingzhe and Juha Janhunen suggests that the linear script derived from an earlier Northeast Asian script, possibly a variant on Chinese used by the Tagbagh or Bohai states in the early medieval period. There has yet to be evidence unearthed to support this theory. Yingzhe Wu and Juha Janhunen, *New materials on the Khitan small script: a critical edition of Xiao Dilu & Yelü Xiangwen* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 19-20

16. Xin Wei 辛蔚, *Liaodai xiyin yanjiu* 遼代璽印研究 (Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe 暨南大學出版社, 2009), 43-74.

17. Kane, *The Kitan Language and Script*, 3-4.

18. Kane, *The Kitan Language and Script*, xi.

can be seen in the life of Yelü Chucai who was born a year before the ban. He was descended from Abaoji's eldest son Yelü Bei and became a statesman and literary figure in the Jin and early Mongol Empire. However he had not been raised to read Kitan and as adult learnt from a noble of the former Kara-Kitan state in the Central Asia.¹⁹

This diminishing of the Liao status and the abolition of the Kitan scripts had a noticeable effect on the manuscript legacy of the Liao. The 1346 History of the Jin (*Jin shi* 金史, hereafter 1346 JS) states that in 1189 when Dang Huaixiang and his team were tasked with compiling a Liao history there were still many resources in circulation.²⁰ However, less than fifty years later, writing in 1232 in an epitaph for a descendant of the Liao imperial house, Yelü Zhen 耶律貞, Yuan Haowen commented on a series of events that exacerbated the loss of Liao materials:

...The Liao dominated for some two hundred years, and many things were recorded about them, like how the Southern administration did not govern military affairs, while the Northern administration did not govern the civilians, and how literary clerks were specifically used to serve as county leaders. In the Taihe era (1201-1208), the emperor issued an edict ordering the compilation of the Liao Shi, shortly after completion the court moved the capital to Kaifeng, and the many parts of the document were scattered and lost, never to be seen again. When people today talk of the Liao they do not even know when it started or ended or how many rulers there were, let alone about anything below the rulers. The *Comprehensive Mirror* as well as works like the *Wang Liao Lu* and the *Bei Gu Bei Wen*, discuss the Liao, but they are mostly the slanderous talk of a rival state, so there are limits to their reliability. At the start of the Zhengda era (1224-1232) I was a compilation official in the historiographical bureau, at that time the *Veritable Records of the Nine Reigns* was complete, the authoritative version was housed in the Palace Library (mige 秘閣),

19. Miao Runbo 苗潤博, "Menggu xizheng shiye xia de xinxi liutong yu wenben shengcheng: <Liao shi> suo ji Xi Liao shiji tanyuan" 蒙古西征視野下的信息流通與文本生成——《遼史》所記西遼事跡探源, *Wenshi* 文史, no. 3 (2019): 213–235.

20. "All stelae, inscriptions and epitaphs as well as the belle-lettres of the many writers of the Liao, indeed any records of life in the Liao that were circulating among the populace, were all submitted to these officials." 大定二十九年, 與鳳翔府治中郝俱充《遼史》刊修官, 應奉翰林文字移剌益、趙淵等七人為編修官。凡民間遼時碑銘墓志及諸家文集, 或記憶遼舊事, 悉上送官。JS 126.2726-2727.

while copies were kept in the historiographical bureau, after the Renchen Year Massacre (1232), this work went the way of all of those books from the Liao, it is such a pity!²¹

Yuan Haowen observed that Song historical materials were better preserved but these were not reliable, they were “slandorous talk of a rival state”. This characterisation is not entirely unwarranted. For the Song the Liao had been a real part of their world and the geopolitical order. It was also part of the Five Dynasties world from which the Song emerged. What is characterised as the Five Dynasties period began with the forced abdication of the last Tang emperor in 907 by the warlord Zhu Wen, who then declared himself emperor of a new dynasty, the Later Liang. Prior to this however Tang political authority had already been severely weakened by endemic rebellion and upheavals; several other warlords had already broken off from the Tang and declared independence. For over half a century onwards several regimes successively contended for control of the Central Plains and their leaders declared themselves emperor. The Liao had been key players and power brokers in the geopolitics and dynastic struggles in North China during this period. The period ended with another dynasty that emerged from this world, the Song, which through conquest and alliances claimed the Central plains and southern territories that had once been the Tang's, and through reforms subdued the powers of the military and the autonomy of the regional governors. They established a dynasty that would last until the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century, though they had suffered a significant loss of northern territory to the Jin invasions of the 1120s. When it came to writers in the Song assessing this period and producing histories how to deal with the Liao became a real issue. Changes in the historical treatment of the Liao during the Northern Song period are observable in three historical works, the 974 *Old History of the Five Dynasties* (*Jiu wudai shi* 舊五代史, hereafter JWDS), the 1073 *New History of the Five Dynasties* (*Xin wudai shi* 新五代史, hereafter XWDS) and the 1084 *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* (*Zi zhi tong jian* 資治通鑒, hereafter

21. 世無史氏久矣！遼人主盟將二百年，至如南衙不主兵，北司不理民，縣長官專用文吏，其間可記之事多矣！泰和中，詔脩遼史，書成尋有南遷之變，簡冊散失，世復不見。今人語遼事，至不知起滅凡主，下者不論也。《通鑑長編》所附見及《亡遼錄》、《北顧備問》等書多敵國誹謗之辭，可盡信耶！正大初，予為史院編脩官，當時《九朝實錄》已具，正書藏秘閣，副在史院，壬辰喋血之後，又復與遼書等矣，可不惜哉！Yuan Haowen 元好問 *Epitaph for Mr Yelü Marquis of Qishui Province of the Jin* 故金漆水郡侯耶律公墓誌銘 in Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 *Wenlei* 文類 available on CTEXT, also cited and discussed in Qiu Jingjia 邱靖嘉, <*Jin shi*> *zuanxiu kao* 《金史》纂修考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017), 64-65.

ZZTJ). The JWDS, compiled only 14 years after the founding of the Song and the end of the era that it recounted was written in the dynastic history format that presupposes the legitimacy of the dynasty it portrays. However it manages to integrate the Liao into its accounts of the politics of the multicultural borderland of the north Central China Plain. Similarly, the chronicle format of Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019-1086) ZZTJ, which Yuan Haowen would go on two centuries later to characterise as "slandorous talk of a rival state" included much on the Liao in its accounts of the Five Dynasties as well as in some cases discussions of the Liao in its own right. Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 (1007 - 72) XWDS, on the other hand, used the format of the dynastic history to all but eliminate the Liao from the historical record, relegating the dynasty to the appendices in chapters labelled "the Four Barbarians".²²

The Liao was not only a historical player in the Five Dynasties that needed to be dealt with by historians, it was also a political contemporary, neighbour and rival to the Song. Following the treaty of Chanyuan in 1105, the Song and Liao dispatched envoys to each other to deliver routine diplomatic missives and to negotiate terms in the event of diplomatic disputes.²³ They produced reports that were edited and submitted to the throne, a few of which survive.²⁴ Envoys were officials who were highly educated and often literary figures. As well as envoy reports they often privately produced poetry of their experiences which are also scattered across collected works. These give us almost first hand observations of places, people, customs and court culture in the Liao. While illuminating in terms of Song perspectives, they are not necessarily unmediated accounts of Liao society. The role of envoy as intelligence gatherer for the Song

22. For a more in depth comparison of these works and their portrayals of the Liao see Naomi Standen, "Integration and Separation: The Framing of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125) in Chinese Sources," *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 24, no. 3 (2011)

23. Such as the crisis of the mid-tenth century. See David Curtis Wright, *From War to Diplomatic Parity in Eleventh-Century China : Sung's Foreign Relations with Kitan Liao* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 198-228 and Christian Lamouroux, "Geography and Politics: The Song-Liao Border Dispute of 1074/75," in *China and Her Neighbors: Borders, Visions of the Other, Foreign Policy 10th to 19th Century*, ed. Sabine Dabringhaus, Roderich Ptak, and Richard Teschke (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997), 1-28

24. Tackett presents a table of these in Nicolas Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 250-251 A detailed discussion of these can be found in Wright, *From War to Diplomatic Parity in Eleventh-Century China : Sung's Foreign Relations with Kitan Liao*, 175-197 and David Curtis Wright, "Sung-Liao diplomatic practices" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1993). The primary materials for these are collected and annotated in Jia Jingyan 賈敬顏, ed., *Wu-dai Song Jin Yuan ren bianjiang xingji shisan zhong shuzheng gao*, 五代宋金元人邊疆行記十三種疏證稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2004) and Zhao Yongchun 趙永春, ed., *Fengshi Liao Jin xingcheng lu (zengding ben)*, 奉使遼金行程錄 (增訂本) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, 2017)

was well established and preliminary research has shown that envoy itineraries were carefully considered and the routes envoys were taken on took detours to avoid certain locations.²⁵ The observations of Song envoys in the Liao were also mediated by their own horizons. Tackett has argued that the textual output of this socially interconnected group of envoy officials reinforced notions of the alterity of the Liao and its ruling house in the interests of irredentist claims of the Song to the sixteen prefectures that formed the southern part of the Liao territory.²⁶

Aside from texts, Song painting was also a medium in which the anxieties about the Liao played out. Irene Leung has pointed out how Song pictorial depictions of the Liao and the Kitan reinforced the sense of otherness to the Song. This however was not necessarily derogatory, Song painters based pictorial presentations of idyllic nomadic scenes from court painters of the early Liao. While aesthetically sympathetic to the Liao these also served to characterise the Liao as a nomadic, northern and other society. As Leung summarises:

"The fact that the Liao was still not part of the Chinese political orbit was apparent, and yet it was able to incorporate and maintain both Chinese and Kidan cultural traditions.... It is precisely because there was extensive contact between the peoples of the Song and the Liao that the Chinese [i.e. Song] insistence on an ecological and ethnic divide seeing the north as eternally pastoral and archaic, framed inside a picturesque landscape."²⁷

This can be seen in a Ming dynasty reproduction of a hand-scroll from the Song dynasty, *Eighteen Songs from a Nomad Flute*,²⁸ which illustrates Tang poet Liu Shang's 劉商 retelling of the

25. Gwen Bennett, "» I Spy with my Little Eye «: GIS and Archaeological Perspectives on Eleventh Century Song Envoy Routes in the Liao Empire (Kitan-Liao Archaeological Survey and History KLASH)," *Medieval Worlds*, 1 2015, Gwen P. Bennett, "The Archaeological Study of an Inner Asian Empire: Using New Perspectives and Methods to Study the Medieval Liao Polity," *International journal of historical archaeology*, 2016, 873–887.

26. Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order*, 31–73, 246–275.

27. Irene S Leung, "'Felt yurts neatly arrayed, large tents huddle close': Visualizing the frontier in the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127)," in *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries and Human Geographies in Chinese History*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo and Don J. Wyatt (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 209–210.

28. Dating based on comparisons with fragments from an earlier hand-scroll kept in the Boston Museum of Art that appear structurally almost identical. Robert A Rorex and Wen Fong, *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute: the Story of Lady Wen-chi: A Fourteenth-century Handscroll in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974); Robert A Rorex, "Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute: The Story of Ts' ai Wen-chi" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1975) Irene Leung argues that the scroll must have been produced in the later decades of the 11th century, and very cautiously attributes it to a particular artist. Irene S Leung, "The frontier imaginary

story of the Han dynasty widow Cai Yan 蔡琰, who c. 195 CE was abducted from her home in Chenliu, modern Henan and taken North of the Han-Xiongnu frontier.²⁹ The nomads in the image however are not the Xiongnu of the 2nd and 3rd century CE, but the Kitan. This equation of the nomadic northern captors of Cai Yan and the nomadic northerners of the Song's day and age sustains the message that northerners were timeless, ahistorical, and perpetually the antagonists of the societies and cultures of the central plains. These depictions reinforced the dichotomy of steppe and sown, north and south at a time when those they were caricaturing were complicating and blurring the boundaries between the two.

The end of the Liao and the occupation of the northern part of the Song by the Jin created a new world and new anxieties for writers in the Song. Of the works characterised by Yuan Haowen as “slandorous talk of a rival state” was also the *Record of the End of the Liao* (*Wang Liao Lu* 亡遼錄) which was a work attributed to someone from the Liao who likely fled to the Song. It recounts the end of the Liao. The text is no longer extant in its original form, but extensive citations of it are transcribed in the *Sanchao Beimeng Huibian* 三朝北盟會編 (hereafter SCBMHB), a private historical work by Xu Mengxin (1124-1207) which recounts the relations between the Song and the Jin between the years 1117 and 1061, and written to make sense of what had happened.³⁰ Alongside the *Wang Liao lu* the SCBMHB cites many other texts attributed to figures involved in the Song-Jin alliance. These passages appear verbatim but without the citation in other Song historical works, such as the QDGZ.

The QDGZ is not a straightforward text, though dated to 1247, it is uncertain when it was written and for what purpose. Recent scholarship has revealed it to be a composite of passages from various Song works, including the aforementioned *Wang Liao Lu*, but also extant historical works like the JWDS and the ZZTJ and its later supplement the XZZTJ.³¹ However, some

in the Song dynasty (960-1279): revisiting Cai Yan's” Barbarian captivity” and return” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2001), 149-159.

29. Her brief biography provided in the 445 *Houhanshu* 後漢書 recounts how she was then wed to a Xiongnu elite, the *Zuoxianwang* 左賢王, and had two children. Word of her fate found its way southward and after living there for twelve years she was eventually ransomed back to the Central Plains by the warlord Cao Cao. She left her children behind in the steppe and started a new life back home, she also remarried. CTEXT

30. A period that stretched over the reign of three Song emperors, hence the “San chao” or ‘three courts’ of the title. SCBMHB

31. Passage by passage comparison can be found in Yoshimoto Michimasa 吉本道雅, “Kittan kokusatsu sosei” 契丹國志疏證, *Kyōto daigaku bungakubu kenkū kiyō* 京都大学文学部研究紀要 51 (2012): 1-69

of its contents can be found nowhere else. This was the first known work that had the Liao as its topic and covered the whole of the Liao. The QDGZ may well have served as the precedent for advocates for the compilation of a dynastic history of the Liao later in the Yuan. While it extracted a lot of material from chronical-formatted works like the ZZTJ and XZZTJ it was organised in a way that in parts resembles a dynastic history, though with many divergences. The overall text presents mixed messages and its goal is ambiguous and not identified. While not a faithful account of the Liao the QDGZ allows us to grasp how the Southern Song, who were faced with the threats and opportunities of the expanding Mongol Empire to their north, understood the Liao.³²

If there was to have been a history of the Liao from the perspective of the Liao it may have been compiled by the Kara Kitan, the regime that Yelü Dashi established in Central Asia after the fall of the Liao in Northeast China. However, there are no received historical sources compiled by the Kara-Kitan themselves, and very limited ones compiled by their vassals, let alone a history of the Liao from the perspective of the Kara-Kitan. In her monograph on their history Michal Biran relies on sources written by outsiders to the dynasty in Chinese, Persian, and Arabic.³³ In the last decade, however, there have been two suggestions that they did have their own written records. The 1344 LS contains an passage accounting for Yelü Dashi's journey west, his establishment of the Kara Kitan and the subsequent emperors until the Mongol conquest of Central Asia. Miao Runbo points out that this could not have been part of the two key source texts for the 1344 LS, Yelü Yan's *Veritable Record* and Chen Daren's 1208 LS. Rather they must have come from materials or information collected by officials of the Mongol Empire after they conquered the Kara Kitan. As mentioned above Yelü Chucai travelled the regions of the former Kara-Kitan and learnt to read the Kitan scripts from a noble there, suggesting that Kitan literacy, and by extension documentation, was alive in this region right up until the Mongol Empire.³⁴ In addition there has also been the identification of a codex in the Library of Oriental Manuscripts in

32. Standen, "Integration and Separation: The Framing of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125) in Chinese Sources," 181-189.

33. Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2-10.

34. Miao, "Menggu xizheng shiye xia de xinxi liutong yu wenben shengcheng: <Liao shi> suo ji Xi Liao shiji tanyuan."

St Petersburg written in cursive Kitan linear script. The origins of this manuscript are vague, it was submitted to the library in the 1950s from the Kirghiz branch of the academy in the Soviet Union. Decipherment of the codex is still preliminary; however its sole researcher speculates that it is a historical work that originates from the Kara Kitan.³⁵ Nevertheless, suffice to say, the received Chinese language historical record of the Liao was not shaped by the manuscript legacy of the Kara Kitan.

1.1.2 The Liao in the Yuan

The history of Liao that we use today was completed in 1344 as part of the same project that produced the 1346 *History of the Song* (*Song shi* 宋史) and the 1346 JS. This was over 130 years after the production of Chen Daren's 1207 LS and seventy years since the declaration of the Yuan dynasty in 1271. While traditionally, a new dynasty would commission the history of the dynasty that it succeeded, the Yuan faced certain political conditions that interrupted and complicated the compilation of the histories for the Song and Jin that it conquered. One factor that complicated the process was the issue of whether to produce a history for the Liao at all.

Yuan restoration of official historiography began as early as 1260 (before the formal declaration of the Yuan dynasty) when ex-Jin official Wang E 王鶚 (1190-1273) sent a lengthy memorial to the new Mongol Emperor Kubilai Khan. The memorial advocated not only a history of the Jin but also of the early Mongol conquerors and the Liao.³⁶ This led to the establishment of the National History Office which from 1264 onwards was based in Dadu (modern day, Beijing) and was tasked with the compilation of the Mongol reign-chronicle, the histories of the Liao

35. Only one page of this book has been published and digitised. V. P. Zaitsev, "Rukopisnaja kniga bol'shogo kidan'skogo pis'ma iz kollektsii Instituta vostochnykh rukopisej RAN" Рукописная книга большого киданьского письма из коллекции Института восточных рукописей РАН, *Pismennye pamyatniki Vostoka Письменные памятники Востока* 15, no. 2 (2011): 130–150; V. P. Zaitsev, "Identifikacija kidan'skogo istoricheskogo sochinenija v sostave rukopisnoj knigi-kodeksa Nova N 176 iz kollektsii IVR RAN i soputstvujushhie problemy" Идентификация киданьского исторического сочинения в составе рукописной книги-кодекса Nova N 176 из коллекции ИВР РАН и сопутствующие проблемы, *Trudy instituta lingvистических issledovanij Труды института лингвистических исследований [Acta Linguistica Petropolitana]* 11, no. 3 (2015): 167–208

36. 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. Jr. John D. Langlois (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 62.

and Jin were an integral part of this project. This however was complicated with the conquest of the Southern Song in 1279. Following the capture of their capital, Lin'an, the Song imperial historical archives were transferred to Dadu and the compilation of a history of the Song was added to the Offices remit. The following 50 years however saw little discernible progress on any of these three histories. This was in part due to political upheavals in the Yuan court. The Yuan went through nine emperors, of varying degrees of interest and patronage of the histories project, and it was only revived in earnest in the reign of the final emperor of the Yuan. Political upheavals were not the only problem for the Three Histories Project. Since the addition of the Song history, the project had been beset by competing debates regarding the concept of *zhengtong* 正統, or legitimate/orthodox succession.

Legitimate succession was an issue that the Jin were concerned with, their adoption of the five agents theory from the Northern Song led them to reject the legitimacy of the Liao. Meanwhile further to the south in the Southern Song the ascendant Neo-Confucian ideas of legitimacy based on notions of moral righteousness and political unification were gaining popularity and currency. These ideas had been formulated by Ouyang Xiu in the Northern Song, but revised and expanded by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), who went through all of the regimes in Chinese history and sorted them into legitimate and illegitimate. Writings about legitimate succession became popular in the Yuan, and while many were theoretical several were directly applied to the question of the appropriateness of the Three Histories Project. The problematic dynasty of the three being the Liao. The real question however for the Yuan compilers was which narrative of legitimate succession best ensured the legitimacy of the Mongol conquerors and the Yuan dynasty.

While the debates about the presentation and format of the three histories went away, the eventual resolution of this was to compile three separate histories for the Liao, Jin and Song.³⁷ The Three Histories Project of the 1344 was proposed by a scholar Naonao and backed by the Chancellor Toqto'a who saw in it an opportunity to rally the Chinese literati in the court. It was Toqto'a's clout and ambition that saw this to a rushed completion, though at the cost of the

37. Chan, "Chinese Official Historiography at the Yüan Court: The Composition of the Liao, Chin and Sung Histories," 68-79.

original editorial principles, internal consistency, coverage and accuracy.³⁸ The 1344 LS, the slimmest of the three histories was completed in the space of two years.

The 1344 LS makes references both to Yelü Yan's *Veritable Record* and Chen Daren's 1208 LS, so it is clear that it was compiled by much material from there. But it is also evident that not all documents available to compilers were included in the final version of the dynastic history. Compilers were selective. This can be seen in the case of whose biographies were included in the history, and also what details about their life were recorded. As Twitchett notes biographies "made no attempt at a full portrait of their subject, or even at a rounded account of all his [sic] activities. They described an individual's performance of a specific function or role."³⁹ While it might seem strange that material was omitted, given how sparse the 1344 LS is compared to its cousins the 1346 JS and the 1346 Song shi, there is evidence of content that may have been in Chen Daren's 1208 LS that did not make the final cut.⁴⁰ The editorial rationale for the Three Histories Project also did not make any claims to be comprehensive, and displayed an interest primarily in accounting the lives of "Empresses and Ladies-in-waiting, Royal Family Members, Imperial Relatives, Ministers" with special preference given to "Meritorious Officials", while those that did not fit their categories could be given a group biography or classified under "Miscellaneous Biographies".⁴¹ The 1344 LS while also preserving various information and accounts of the Liao also acted as yet another filter through which the historical record was curated, and significant resources together with their manuscript and philological contexts were lost.

38. Chan, "Chinese Official Historiography at the Yüan Court: The Composition of the Liao, Chin and Sung Histories," 79.

39. Denis Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 63.

40. The biography of Yelü Bei says he had five children, Shizong, Louguo, Shao, Longxian and Daoyin, each with their own biography 五子：長世宗，次婁國、稍、隆先、道隱，各有傳。LS 72.1211 and note2 on LS 72.1217. As the note states Longxian and Daoyin's biographies follow on from Bei's. Shizong, who became the third emperor did not need a biography as the annals provided an account of his reign, Louguo had a biography in LS 112. Only Shao has no biography, which suggests this passage was reproduced verbatim from Yelü Yan or Chen Daren's histories, whereas the original biography for Shao was deleted.

41. "The biographies are to be classified into Empresses and Ladies-in-waiting, Royal Family Members, Imperial Relatives, Ministers, and Miscellaneous Biographies. Each meritorious official will have a separate biography, even when his father or son already has one. Group biographies are warranted." 三史凡例 Ls 1557 in appendix 列傳后妃，宗室，外戚，群臣，雜傳。人臣有大功者，雖父子各傳。餘以類相從，或數人共一傳。Translated by Chan Hok-lam. Chan, "Chinese Official Historiography at the Yüan Court: The Composition of the Liao, Chin and Sung Histories," 78

1.1.3 The Material Legacy of the Liao

Much like the manuscript legacy of the Liao, the material legacy of the Liao also went through several filter events that reduced the traces of the Liao not only from the archives and private libraries of East Asia but also from the landscape of Northeast Asia upon which so much had been built. The material legacy is the domain more of art history and archaeological enquiries. Before considering the archaeological record for the Liao a consideration of recorded or archaeologically discernable instances of site destruction is necessary.

The first of these filter events on the material legacy of the Liao came towards the end of the Liao dynasty due to political upheavals. The late tenth century Liao court was riven with a factional struggle between the high ranking but low born official Yelü Yixin, and the imperial heir. Yelü Yixin had implicated the Empress in a scandal which ended in her execution, and he turned the Emperor Daozong against his own son, the imperial heir. It was only when Yelü Yixin moved to endanger the grandson of the emperor that the alarm was raised and he was demoted, and later implicated in treason and executed. Upon ascending the throne the last emperor of the Liao, the Tianzuo Emperor, avenged the disgrace and death of his father and grandmother by ordering the destruction of the tombs of Yelü Yixin, his main accomplice Yelü Xiaojie and their partisans in 1102.⁴² The scale of destruction is unclear, though the only positive appearance in the epigraphic record of the Yelü Xiaojie is in the epitaph he wrote for Empress Renyi in 1076 which being an imperial epitaph and the epitaph of Tianzuo's great grandmother would have been exempt from destruction.⁴³ This politically driven selective destruction differs from what was to come in less than twenty years.

In 1119 Jin forces swept down from the Northeast attacking the Liao heartlands of the Eastern, Supreme and Central capital circuits. The *Wang Liao Lu* records that in their wake the standing structures of the imperial mausoleums of every Liao emperor were ransacked and destroyed.⁴⁴

42. 夏四月辛亥，詔誅乙辛黨，徙其子孫於邊；發乙辛、得裡特之墓，剖棺。戮尸；以其家屬分賜被殺之家。LS 27.357

43. WB 375-377.

44. "In the summer [of Tianqing 9], the Jin captured the Supreme Capital route, and burnt down the Tianshan Hall of Taizu in Zuzhou, the Chongyuan Shrine of Taizong in Huaizhou, the Wangqian, Qangsheng and Shenyi Shrines in Qingzhou and razed the ancestral halls for the emperors, their wives and concubines, their offspring

According to the 1346 JS, in 1124 an edict was issued stating that robbing or digging up the mausoleums of the Liao carried the death penalty.⁴⁵ If both of these accounts were true there was a five year period of occupation where the elite tombs of the Liao were fair game, and the edict issued protected only the imperial mausoleums and not the other potentially sumptuous tombs of the many aristocrats and high-ranking ministers. Archaeological evidence of this period of destruction has been uncovered; in the Zuling mausoleum of Abaoji fragments of smashed inscriptions, and signs of intense fire have been identified;⁴⁶ in Fuxin, Liaoning, the tomb of Xiao He, father of the Qin'ai Empress and several key ministers sustained both robbing and arson.⁴⁷ Xiao He's tomb was not near the capitals of the Liao, it was closer to smaller settlements that formed the powerbase of one lineage of the Xiao clan. The looting and destruction of these tombs by Jin forces reveals not only that such destruction had a large geographical scope, but also that it may have been targeted.⁴⁸

These two destructive campaigns would have severely impacted above-ground structures, buildings and pavilions, and artefacts, such as standing stone inscriptions. After all, even subterranean structures were not safe. How much was damaged in the regions North of the Yan mountains is unknown. South of Yan mountains in the region of Yanjing heritage may have been better preserved. While the Supreme Capital of the Liao became a place where criminals were sent.⁴⁹ The Jin made the Liao Southern Capital (modern Beijing) their capital from 1153 – 1214, naming it “Central Capital” (*Zhongdu* 中都). Many of the wealthy and influential

and their siblings such as the Ningshen shrine and Anyuan Shrine for the emperor's mother in Qianzhou and Xi'an Zhou, the Shizu Shrine at Muyeshan and many other mausoleums, from them they also dug up gold, silver, gems and jade.” (天慶九年) 夏，金人攻陷上京路，祖州則太祖之天膳堂，懷州則太宗德光之崇元殿，慶州則望僊、望聖、神儀三殿，並先破乾、顯等州如凝神殿、安元聖母殿、木葉山之世祖殿、諸陵並皇妃子弟影堂，焚燒略盡，發掘金銀珠玉。所司即以聞，蕭奉先皆抑而不奏。後天祚雖知，問及陵寢事，奉先對以初雖侵犯元宮，劫掠諸物，尚懼列聖威靈，不敢毀壞靈柩，已經指揮有司，修葺巡護。SCBMHB 21.198 also repeated verbatim in the QDGZ 11.133

45. (天會二年) 詔有盜發遼諸陵者，罪死。JS 2.49.

46. Wang Ying 汪盈 and Dong Xinlin 董新林, “Cong kaogu xin faxian kan Liao Zuling Guifushan jizhi de xingzhi yu yingzao” 從考古新發現看遼祖陵龜趺山基址的形制與營造, *Kaogu* 考古, no. 10 (2016): 24–33.

47. Wan Xiongfei 萬雄飛 et al., “Fuxin Liao Xiao He mu fajue jianbao” 阜新遼蕭和墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物, no. 1 (2005): 49–50.

48. I do not mean centrally mandated from the court, this may have been opportunistic by troops and companies, or even an example in the Jin of “letting the troops loose” to pillage as reward. Cf Shao-yun Yang, “Letting the Troops Loose: Pillage, Massacres, and Enslavement in Early Tang Warfare,” *Journal of Chinese Military History* 6, no. 1 (2017): 1–52

49. Dong Xinlin 董新林, “Liao Shangjing chengzhi de faxian he yanjiu shulun” 遼上京城址的發現和研究述論, *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物 3 (2006): Note 13

families had lived there since the Liao or earlier and had ancestral burial sites that were likely preserved and protected. The 1346 JS records how in 1189 when Dang Huaixiang and his team, based in the Historiographical Office in the capital were initially compiling what became the 1208 Liaoshi, they consulted “stelae, inscriptions and epitaphs”, the majority likely from the families of the capital region.⁵⁰

Many of these records however were soon to be lost as the quote from Yuan Haowen shows earlier.⁵¹ The Jin city of Zhongdu was destroyed by the armies of Chinggis Khan in 1215. Construction of a new city several kilometres northeast of the Jin site was started in the 1260s under Khubilai Khan who named it Dadu 大都 and declared it the capital of the Yuan dynasty in 1271. The compilation of the three histories, which included the 1344 LS was carried out in the historiographical office based in this city. The memorial on the Three Histories Project stated that:

The veritable records, unofficial histories, chronicles, inscriptions, records of conduct of the three kingdoms [Liao, Song and Jin] are scattered in the four directions, Branch Secretariat and appointed officials from everywhere were called upon to acquire them, many of these had to be bought, but many people also presented them, ...these were then delivered to the offices of historiography, where they were used as materials.⁵²

It is not clear however how many of these were for the Liao, and not the Jin and Song that were also included in the project. Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 (1294-1352) reviewed and commented on the Three Histories Project and lamented the paucity of sources in the imperial libraries and in general circulation,⁵³ but then went on to recommend a similar approach to that of Dang

50. All stelae, inscriptions and epitaphs as well as the belle-lettres of the many writers of the Liao, indeed any records of life in the Liao that were circulating among the populous, were all submitted to these officials.” 大定二十九年，與鳳翔府治中郝俱充《遼史》刊修官，應奉翰林文字移刺益、趙淵等七人為編修官。凡民間遼時碑銘墓志及諸家文集，或記憶遼舊事，悉上送官。JS 125.2726-2727.

51. “In the Taihe era (1201-1208), the emperor issued an edict ordering the compilation of the Liao Shi, shortly after completion the court moved the capital to Kaifeng, and the many parts of the document were scattered and lost, never to be seen again.”

52. 修三史詔：這三國實錄、野史、傳記、碑文、行實，多散在四方，交行省及各處正官提調，多方購求，許諸人呈獻，量給價直，咨達省每，送付史館，以備采擇。LS 1712.

53. In terms of Liao works, there is Yelü Yan's *Veritable Record*, in the collections of the former Secretariat Yelü Chucai and which the Kuizhang library acquired in the Tianli era. There is also the *Longcang Shujing* by the monk Xingjun. There are many other belle-lettres, xiaoshuo, that are lost. 遼人之書有耶律儼實錄，故中書耶律楚材所藏，天歷間進入奎章閣。次則僧行均所撰龍龕手境。其佗文集、小說，亡者多矣 *Sanshi zhiyi* 三史質疑. Available

Huaiying's time advocating the collection of more epigraphic sources that may have been extent.⁵⁴ This suggests that the 1344 LS compilers did not carry out such a survey. His call however seems to have been restricted to the tombs inscriptions of the influential families, who had prospered into the Jin. Which also suggests that his interests in the two dynasties were also confined to the Yan region which had been the predominantly 'Han' Southern Capital region of the Liao.

What is striking about Su Tianjue's recommendation is that he seems to advocate the opening of tombs for the purposes of historical and antiquarian interest, suggesting possibly that the great families of the Liao and Jin were not connected to families living in the Yuan capital, and therefore the tombs were neglected. Though the history of the Liao was being hastily compiled in the capital of the late Yuan, outside of the enclosures of the historiographical office the memory of the Liao continued to recede. Archaeological evidence suggest that Liao tombs in the region of the Yuan capital were disassembled and plundered. Excavations of the Ming dynasty wall foundations of Beijing in the late sixties unearthed several large stone inscriptions from different periods that had been used as foundation stones, as well as bricks with patterns typically of Liao and Jin building materials. Among these was the epitaph of the very important minister Zhang Jian (962-1053).⁵⁵ Who knows how many standing monuments and large construction projects from the Ming and Qing in the region of modern day Beijing stand on the epigraphic heritage of the dynasties that came before.

In the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), new definitions and divisions of ethnicity meant that many Northerners and identifiable descendants of Northerners were reclassified as foreign, i.e. non-Han/non-Chinese, and pushed beyond the wall.⁵⁶ Liu Pujiang argues that such a climate precipitated a rejection of shared legitimacy of the Liao, Song and Jin that had been enshrined by

on CTEXT.

54. "The great families of the Liao and Jin, such as Liu, Han, Ma, Zhao, Shi, Zuo, Zhang, Lv, have many graves and tombs around the capital region, rubbings of these inscriptions can be made, to add to the collection of materials to be selected from." 遼、金大族如劉、韓、馬、趙、時、左、張、呂，其墳墓多在京畿，可模碑文，以備採擇。 *sanshi zhiyi* 三史質疑。 Available on CTEXT.

55. Huang Xiuchun 黃秀純, "Liaodai Zhang Jian muzhi kao" 遼代張儉墓誌考, *Kaogu* 考古, no. 5 (1980): 461-465; Huang Xiuchun 黃秀純, "Liao Zhang Jian mudi bianzheng" 遼張儉墓地辯證, *Kaogu* 考古, no. 10 (1986): 950-952.

56. Mark C Elliott, "Hushuo 胡說: The Northern Other and the Naming of the Han Chinese," in *Critical Han Studies: the history, representation, and identity of China's majority*, ed. Thomas S Mullaney et al. (Berkeley California: University of California Press, 2012), 173-190.

the Three Histories Project.⁵⁷ Such a view can be seen in the revision of three histories by Yang Xunji 楊循吉, relegating the Liao and Jin to “lesser histories” (*xiaoshi* 小史). Zhao Yongchun, however argues that while certain intellectuals of the Ming countered the legitimacy of the Liao these views did not become widespread or mainstream, and the arguments for the legitimacy framed in the Three Histories Project still carried weight.⁵⁸

The Qing dynasty (1636-1911) also maintained the legitimacy of the Three Histories. The Manchu ruling house identified themselves as descendants of the Jurchens and used the Liao, Jin and Yuan dynasties as strong, powerful historical precedents for the legitimacy of their rule. Very early in the Qing dynasty there was a drive to consolidate Manchu learning, and historical education among the Northern elite. This resulted in Manchu translations of the Liao, Jin and Yuan histories. These translations were part of a larger project to “to eradicate the Ming dynasty’s curatorial authority over the histories of northeastern dynasties in China.”⁵⁹ This can also be seen in the editorial work done to the 1344 LS in the late eighteenth century for its inclusion in the exhaustive book collection the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, which attempted to account for every written work (that was not banned) in Chinese in the empire. All the names of the Kitan were retranscribed into Manchu based on a claim by the Manchus that the Kitan were descended from the Tungusic group the Solon or Evenk.⁶⁰ Despite this evidence of enthusiasm for the Liao among the Manchu elite, some have argued that later in the dynasty the Manchu rulers adopted more ambivalent attitudes to the Liao and Jin, and those wishing not to portray themselves as foreign rulers or outsiders had incentives to reject the Liao and Jin.⁶¹ The Qing court aside there was an outgrowth in private history and scholarship and several prominent

57. Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, “Deyun zhi zheng yu Liao Jin wangchao de zhengtongxing wenti” 德運之爭與遼金王朝的正統性問題, *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中國社會科學, no. 2 (2004): 189–203.

58. Zhao Yongchun 趙永春, “Song, Liao, Jin sanshi de zhengtong tixi” zai Mingdai wei bei dianfu: jian yu Liu Pujiang shangque” “宋、遼、金三史的正統體系”在明代未被顛覆——兼與劉浦江商榷, *Xueshu yuekan* 學術月刊, no. 6 (2012): 137–146; Zhao Yongchun 趙永春, “Guanyu Liao Jin de ”zhengtongxing” wenti: yi Yuan Ming Qing Liao Song Jin ”sanshi fenxiu” wenti taolun wei zhongxin” 關於遼金的”正統性”問題——以元明清遼宋金”三史分修”問題討論為中心, *Xuexi yu tansuo* 學習與探索, no. 1 (2013): 147–155.

59. Pamela Kyle Crossley and Evelyn S Rawski, “A profile of the Manchu language in Ch’ing history,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no. 1 (1993): 99.

60. Crossley and Rawski, “A profile of the Manchu language in Ch’ing history,” 99.

61. Mizumori Ryōichi 水盛涼一, “Chinjin no mita Kittan” 清人のみた契丹, in “Kittan [Ryō] to 10 12 Seiki no Tōbu Yurashia,” ed. Arakawa Shintairou 荒川慎太郎 et al., *Kittan [Ryō] to 10 12 Seiki no Tōbu Yurashia* (Tokyo), 160 2013, 272–275.

Qing scholars provided rearrangements and textual exegesis for sections of the 1344 LS.⁶² Antiquarians like Ye Changchi quoted above also started to evaluate Liao inscriptions where they could be found. While the commentators could vary from sympathetic to the Liao to hostile and dismissive, this was consistently predicated on the same body of material that had been shaped by hands and minds during and after the Liao, but more or less never by people from the Liao.

This situation changed in the twentieth century. In the 1920s and 1930s, European missionaries Kervyn and Mullie separately published recent finds in the Chifeng region of Inner Mongolia.⁶³ These finds were from the Qing Mausoleum, where the sixth, seventh and eighth emperors and their families were interred. Prior to this there is evidence in local gazetteers of Liao finds in the regions that were formerly in the Liao empire.⁶⁴ The discovery and excavation of the Qing Mausoleum and the unearthing of inscriptions in the long lost Kitan script sparked renewed interest in the region. Through the 1930s and into the 1940s the area was under Japanese occupation and Japanese archaeologists and anthropologists descended upon the region.⁶⁵ The records for epitaphs and other finds from this period are inconsistent and the motives of some of those involved in the excavations were not purely academic. Many epitaphs unearthed during this time do not have complete records of prominence, let alone reports of their archaeological context. It is also unclear how much unearthed during this period ended up in private collections and continue to be hidden from the world.

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 brought with it the institutionalisation of archaeological teams and the discipline of archaeology in China, this also included the cataloguing of heritage and the recognition of heritage sites, and the state funding of large scale

62. Listed in Mizumori, "Chinjin no mita Kittan," 275-277

63. Jos Mullie, "Les anciennes villes de l'empire des grands Leao au royaume Mongol de Barin," *T'oung Pao* 21 (1922): 105; Louis Maric Kervyn, "Le tombeau de l'empereur Tao-tsong des Leao, et les premières inscriptions connues en écriture K'itan," *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923): 292-301; Jos. Mullie, "Les sépultures de K'ing des Leao 遼慶陵," *T'oung Pao*, 1933, 1-25.

64. For example Li Neizhen's epitaph was unearthed in 1770, it was then reburied in a new location with the other remains. WB 53. Obviously how many went unrecorded we shall never know.

65. The largest collection of photos for the landscape and archaeological heritage found in such period is Torii Ryūzō 鳥居龍藏, *Kōkogakujō yori mitaru Ryō no bunka zufu* 考古学上より見たる遼之文化図譜 (Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin Tōkyō Kenkyūjo 東方文化學院東京研究所, 1936). Though there were many other Japanese scholars working in the region.

excavations. With this however came archaeological investigations guided by the ideological demands and priorities of the Chinese state.⁶⁶ Much of this was guided by the political priorities of nation building. As a result writings on Liao archaeology were shaped by the historical record and paradigms in the received texts.⁶⁷ These paradigms which foregrounded the alterity of the pastoral nomadic Kitan rulers also made for an ambiguous heritage that invited different responses over time and between local and state commentators.⁶⁸

Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the institutionalisation of the Chinese archaeology over 500 Liao tombs have been unearthed.⁶⁹ The new discovery of Liao tombs and grave goods is now either the result of rescue excavation from sites of infrastructure projects or real estate development, targeted archaeological survey based on historical references to known sites, or large-scale region-wide archaeological surveys conducted by the combined efforts of regional archaeological bureaus. The results of such large scale surveys culminate in the publication of an Atlas of Cultural Heritage (*Wenwu ditu ji* 文物地圖集).⁷⁰ Though these can take many years to be published.

In the same way the excavation of epitaphs or their storage in museum collections and even their public display does not necessarily mean they would be published. In my own trip to the Shenyang Provincial Museum in 2015 I saw several Liao epitaphs on display that are not in any collected volumes. There are at least two epitaphs that have been referred to in excavation re-

66. Lothar von Falkenhausen, "On the historiographical orientation of Chinese archaeology," *Antiquity* 67, no. 257 (1993): 843-845.

67. As an example see Xiang Chunsong 項春松, *Liaodai lishi yu kaogu* 遼代歷史與考古 (Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe 內蒙古人民出版社, 1996)

68. Naomi Standen and Gwen Bennett, "Difficult Histories: Changing presentations of the Liao in regional museums in the People's Republic of China over three decades," *Modern Asian Studies* 48, no. 06 (2014): 1519-1565.

69. Liu Wei 劉未, *Liaodai muzang de kaoguxue yanjiu* 遼代墓葬的考古學研究 (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 2016), 6.

70. The relevant publications for the Liao are the cultural atlases for Inner Mongolia, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Beijing, Hebei and Shanxi. 国家文物局 Guojia Wenwuju, *Zhongguo wenwu dituji: Neimenggu zizhiq fence* 中國文物地圖集: 內蒙古自治區分冊 (Xi'an: Xi'an ditu chubanshe 西安地圖出版社, 2003); 国家文物局 Guojia Wenwuju, *Zhongguo wenwu dituji: Liaoning fence* 中國文物地圖集: 遼寧分冊, ed. 国家文物局 Guojia Wenwuju (Xi'an: Xi'an ditu chubanshe 西安地圖出版社, 2009); 国家文物局 Guojia Wenwuju, *Zhongguo wenwu dituji: Jilin fence* 中國文物地圖集: 吉林分冊 (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe 中國地圖出版社, 1993); 国家文物局 Guojia Wenwuju, *Zhongguo wenwu dituji: Heilongjiang fence* 中國文物地圖集: 黑龍江分冊 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 2015); 国家文物局 Guojia Wenwuju, *Zhongguo wenwu dituji: Beijing fence* 中國文物地圖集: 北京分冊 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 科學出版社, 2008); 国家文物局 Guojia Wenwuju, *Zhongguo wenwu dituji: Hebei fence* 中國文物地圖集: 河北分冊 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 2013); 国家文物局 Guojia Wenwuju, *Zhongguo wenwu dituji: Shanxi fence* 中國文物地圖集: 山西分冊 (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe 中國地圖出版社, 2006)

ports but a transcription, rubbing, or photograph has not yet been made available.⁷¹ Rubbings and photos of epitaphs in private collections have also emerged and received scholarly attention.⁷² Though some of this attention has been negative, with several declared as forgeries,⁷³ and in the case of certain Kitan epitaphs there have been repeated public exchanges between scholars arguing for or against their authenticity.⁷⁴ The risk of forgeries and of illicit excavations and tomb robbings has a long tradition in Chinese antiquarianism.⁷⁵

Having discussed the issues with the survival, discovery, availability and authenticity of these textual artefacts. I will now proceed to introduce the specificities of epitaphs as objects and texts.

1.2 What is an epitaph?

What I refer to by the term ‘epitaph’ encompasses both an artefact and a text. As an artefact an epitaph is a discrete, specific, tangible (predominantly) stone object. As a text it is a delimited piece of writing that is composed and then inscribed on one or more of the surfaces of said stone, but not limited to the stone and can be transcribed and transmitted beyond the artefact and the context of its placement in the tomb. The two manifestations of an epitaph

71. The epitaphs of key Liao minister Liu Liufu 劉六符 and his son Liu Yu 劉雨, were described and discussed but not published in Wang Ce 王策 and Zhou Yu 周宇, “Liu Liufu muzhi jianshu” 劉六符墓誌簡述, *Beijing wenbo wencong* 北京文博文叢, no. 2 (2016): 37–39

72. A rubbing of the epitaph of Liu Zhu was acquired by Zhou Feng on the second-hand book seller website Kongfuzi. Zhou Feng 周峰, “Liaodai Liu Zhu muzhi kaoshi” 遼代劉鑄墓誌考釋, *Xixia yanjiu* 西夏研究, no. 1 (2018): 83–88 A photo of the epitaph of Ma Shenzhang was passed on to Zhou Feng on the social media app Wechat. Zhou Feng 周峰, “Liaodai Ma Shenzhang muzhi kaoshi” 遼代馬審章墓誌考釋, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古 9 (2018): 277–281

73. Liu Fengzhu has argued that several epitaphs are forgeries, such as in Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 and He Wenfeng 何文峰, “<Yelü Helu qi Juelian muzhiming> wei yanpin shuo” 《耶律曷魯妻掘聯墓誌銘》為贗品說, *北方文物*, no. 2 (2015): 92–94; Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, “<Han Yu muzhiming> wei yanpin” 《韓宇墓志銘》為贗品, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古 7 (2017): 438–439

74. This played out over several opinion pieces, too many to account for here. The main arguments can be seen in Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, “Jiedu Qidan wenzi bu neng gu ci shi bi, yao zuodao yi tong bai tong,” 解讀契丹文字不能顧此失彼, 要做到一通百通, in *Qidan wenzi yanjiu leibian* 契丹文字研究類編, ed. Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2014), 325–330 and Wu and Janhunen, *New materials on the Khitan small script: a critical edition of Xiao Dilu & Yelü Xiangwen*, 32–35

75. Eloquently discussed in Christian de Pee, “Till Death Do Us Unite: Texts, Tombs, and the Cultural History of Weddings in Middle-Period China (Eighth through Fourteenth Century),” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (Nov., 2006), pp. 691–712 65, no. 4 (2006): 691–712

each possess inherent material durabilities and vulnerabilities. The stone if actively conserved and routinely replicated, or sheltered and undisturbed can last well over a millennium, but neglected, exposed to the elements or wilfully destroyed it can be lost forever. So too the text can be reproduced and transmitted, it is portable and capable of being carried and circulated long distances. It can also be reproduced and exist in many versions. However, the ephemeral nature and fragility of paper means that while its instantiations may proliferate, it too needs concerted concern and interest for it to be continuously replicated. For most of East Asian history epitaphs have been transmitted and replicated in the compiled works of their writers, and belle-lettres. Indeed substantial works in last few decades on the histories of the Tang and Song drawn from epigraphic material have relied predominantly on transmitted and not archaeology excavated or otherwise retrieved sources. No such received materials survive for the Liao. Instead Liao research must rely on epitaphs excavated and retrieved from tomb contexts.

The overwhelming majority of epitaphs discussed in this thesis are ‘entombed’ epitaphs, or *muzhiming*. The earliest instance of the term appears in the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (386-589), thereafter the formal elements of the object and the text were stable.⁷⁶ Conventionally, *muzhiming* consist of a base stone (*zhishen/zhishi* 誌身/誌石) and a cover stone (*zhigai* 志蓋). The two stones are typically square and share the same dimensions. The cover stone is placed on top of the base stone, sealing the text of the epitaph from the eyes of potential readers. The two stones as one unit are installed in the passage leading to or inside the chamber of a decorated, brick chambered tomb, alongside the remains of the deceased and any grave goods, hence the term ‘entombed’.⁷⁷ The area of the base stone surface can vary, ranging from 30cm to over a metre on one side, the text of an epitaph is written to fill the surface, though long texts were not necessarily made to fit onto one surface. There would likely have been restrictions on epitaph dimensions based on the design and capacity of the tomb chamber, and in some periods the size and length of an epitaph may have been restricted by social status of the deceased. While the base stone is flat, cover stones frequently had bevelled

76. Though entombed epitaph have gone by other names in Middle Period, for example in the Tang 唐 there was 墓碣, 墓記, 墓版文, 玄堂文, 玄堂志, 陰堂文, 靈舍銘, and in the Song-Yuan there was also 埋銘, 壙誌, 壙刻. Zhao Chao 趙超, *Zhongguo gudai shike gailun* 中國古代石刻概論 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1997), 42

77. Art historian Wu Hung argues that such a format is in itself a microcosm of the sealed tomb in which it is placed. See Hung Wu, *Art of the Yellow Springs* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), 174-176

edges. The top side of a cover stone could be plain, or inscribed with decorative motifs and/or the title of the epitaph subject. The purpose of such the artefact was as part of a mortuary assemblage.

Given that the text is covered within the tomb context there is speculation as to who the audience or readership of a such a text may have been in situ. Schottenhammer argues that the text addressed an afterlife.⁷⁸ Whereas Jie Shi suggests that the producers of epitaphs expected that one day in the far off future the tomb would become exposed either through natural processes or through robbers.⁷⁹ The trope of changing landscapes is certainly recurring in the epitaphs of the Liao dynasty. One such example perfectly encapsulates the motivations for writing on stone and placing inside a tomb in comparison to the ephemeral fragility of paper documents:

Knowing the mountains and the rivers are everlasting, how could one transmit his extraordinary deeds on bamboo and silk; knowing that the hills and valleys shift, it would be better to engrave his glories upon metal and stone.⁸⁰

The moving of the landscape, especially of rivers, was a very real concern. The 1344 LS records the relocation of a town due to a river changing course.⁸¹ There are also mentions in epitaphs of tombs being relocated due to flooding.⁸² The perdurability of the stone is a factor in using it for commemorative purposes as is the symbolic ritual aspect of engraving a text onto stone.

Aside from the *muzhiming* I also include two other types of funerary inscriptions within the category of epitaph, the *aice* and the spirit path stele (*shendaobei* 神道碑). *Aice* were compositions written for the emperor and empress, and imperial figures such as Imperial Uncles. They resemble epitaphs in their material dimensions, the difference is in the textual composition. *Aice* usually have very limited biographical information about the deceased and after a brief highly literalised preface they launch into a long elegiac poem. Spirit path stelae, on the other

78. Schottenhammer, "A Buried Past: The Tomb Inscription (Muzhiming) and Official Biographies of Wang Chuzhi (863-923)," 26.

79. Jie Shi, "'My Tomb Will Be Opened in Eight Hundred Years': A New Way of Seeing the Afterlife in Six Dynasties China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 72, no. 2 (2012): 217-257.

80. 夫約山河之永者，豈可竹帛傳其異功；防陵谷之變者，無若金石勒其茂實。1062 *Epitaph of Yelü Zongzheng* 耶律宗政墓誌 WB 308.

81. This was the prefectural town of Jianzhou. 州在靈河之南，屢遭水害，聖宗遷於河北唐崇州故城。LS 39.553.

82. 其先丘壠本在洹水故里，以喪河之所犯，遂徙於幽燕附郭之南原。1078 *Epitaph of Qin Dechang* XB 167.

hand, do not differ from *muzhiming* textually but in their material dimensions and context. As their name suggests they are positioned above ground on the spirit path that leads to the tomb mound rather than interred in the tomb.⁸³ This means they were more visible to be read but also more exposed to human or natural damage. Only one spirit path stele survives for the Liao,⁸⁴ and only one other is known to have existed through its mention in another epitaph.⁸⁵ Both of these were from the tenth century, where also there are many references to the official erection of stelae for other purposes in the 1344 LS (see table C.43). So it is possible that above-ground commemorative stele were more common in the early Liao than in the later period. For the sake of convenience in my research both the *aice* and the spirit path stele are covered by the term epitaph and their specificities are only distinguished when relevant.

Another type of funerary inscription is of the Buddhist variety. By Buddhist funerary inscriptions I do not mean epitaphs that carried Buddhist motifs, rather those that were made for Buddhists or produced for Buddhist contexts. This includes Dhirani pillars that contained inscriptions in Sanskrit (either transcribed into Chinese characters or in the Siddham script) dedicated to deceased persons, and the epitaphs for Buddhist monks, often referred to not as *muzhiming* but as “records of conduct” (*xingji* 行記). I do not touch on these in the present thesis because they referred to a different context with religious overtones and a different part of Liao society. Buddhist funerary inscriptions and Buddhist epigraphy in general, and how they relate to the findings of this thesis are worthy topics of future research.⁸⁶

While epitaphs are discovered in a funerary and material culture context, these contexts are of limited interest to the present thesis. My research question concerns the production of epitaphs and in part their destination. However, the tomb is only one of many destinations for an epitaph. Up until this point I have avoided referring to the stone inscription as the original version of the epitaph. For while certainly in the sense that for an archaeologically retrieved epi-

83. Ann Paludan, *The Chinese spirit road: the classical tradition of stone tomb statuary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

84. 973 *Spirit Path Stele of Yelü Cong* XB 340-344.

85. For Han Yanhui, see table C.34

86. This has already been the subject one German language monograph Hui-Ping Chuang, *Das Steininschriftenprojekt des Wolkenheimklosters während der Liao-Dynastie (907-1125): eine Analyse seiner Kolophone*, vol. 17 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2017)

taph there are photographs, rubbings and transcriptions produced, the stone inscription is the original artefact. The original epitaph however was what the draft that the writer produced and in most cases then sent to the calligrapher and the engraver to commit to stone. The epitaph author may have also possessed other copies of this draft which he circulated among friends, peers and possibly wider in collected works. Work by Davis has shown that in periods earlier than the Liao the epitaph had already become an established commemorative literary genre,⁸⁷ while Ditter has shown that by the late Tang there was a vibrant marketplace for the composition of epitaphs, with influential literary figures such as Han Yu composing epitaphs, which would then be circulated and copied, surviving today through collected works of Han Yu's writing.⁸⁸ As De Pee notes of funerary inscriptions in general for the Chinese Middle Period:

In the pages of collected works or anthologies, a funerary inscription represents foremost the literary achievements and the social networks of its author. It is a trace of the act of writing, and points to the literary fashions and intellectual debates at the time of its composition, rather than to the tomb and burial rites of its subject. Although its patron may have hoped that the authors fame would preserve his ancestor's reputation in the illustrious company of such a transcendent literary circle, this vicarious immortality in the printed realm was only one among several diverse strategies to ensure the enduring remembrance of his kinsman.⁸⁹

Putting aside these diverse strategies that went beyond the epitaphs, it is the decisions of the commissioner and the relationship between the writer, the commissioner, the deceased and the text that are of primary concern. This is not a thesis about funerary rites or tomb assemblages. Funerary rites in this thesis are considered in the narrow sense of their conspicuousness and the commissioning an epitaph. I examine the question of why people start to produce epitaphs to put in funerary contexts not from the perspective of changing beliefs about life and death, but from changing custom. This changing custom is not guided however by notions of

87. Davis, *Entombed Epigraphy and Commemorative Culture in Early Medieval China: A Brief History of Early Muzhiming*, 314-329.

88. Ditter, "The Commerce of Commemoration: Commissioned Muzhiming in the Mid-to Late Tang."

89. Christian de Pee, *The Writing of Weddings in Middle-Period China: Text and Ritual Practice in the Eighth through Fourteenth Centuries* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007), 226-227.

cultural change in terms of ethnic assimilation, but by the social conditions that encourage conspicuous literary commemoration of the dead.

A word does need to be said on how we as readers attempt to access both the society behind and the dynamics within the production of epitaphs. Figure B.2 and B.3 contrast two approaches to the study of epitaphs and historical sources in general. Figure B.2 is a caricature of the naïve assumption that the historian has a view into the past through reading the text, and that the contents of the text can be treated as information or data that informs us of conditions and phenomena in the past. Figure B.3 recognises that no piece of writing is innocent, nor independent of social activity that produced it and presents the complications in reaching an understanding of past society and the life of the deceased through the text of the epitaph.⁹⁰ It shows why it is important to consider the process by which the text is produced and survives to the present to be made available to read. It reminds us that in the case of excavated epitaphs, which almost all the epitaphs discussed in this thesis are, the transcribed text is not a representation of the original authored text. Rather it is extracted from a rubbing of the stone, which had been inscribed upon by an engraver who followed the writing brushed on by the calligrapher. The presence of the calligrapher and engraver are lost at the stage of transcription, and the fineness and depth of the engraver's work is partially lost at the stage of rubbing. These two figures sometimes intervene purposefully or accidentally in the production of the epitaph. Purposefully in cases where they include their own names and their role in the production. They also intervene purposefully when they produce characters that avoid taboos. And accidentally when they produce a mistake. Otherwise however, with the transcribed text their contribution to the process of epitaph production is rendered invisible.

The author and commissioner on the other hand played a much more significant role, and yet as figure B.4 and table C.15 shows that over the course of the Liao a significant proportion of

90. Figure B.3 was inspired by the work of Friederike Assandri's paper on how to read early Daoist texts. Friederike Assandri, "Early Medieval Daoist Texts: Strategies of Reading and Fusion of Horizons," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 37, no. 3 (2010): 381–396. However, with a significant difference. Assandri was working with texts where neither the author nor the intended audience are explicit. With epitaphs this is not the case, in many cases the author is known, and the audiences are assumed if nothing else to be the mourners. However despite knowing the author and the audience in many cases, this information is not frequently considered when approaching Liao epitaphs.

epitaphs do not credit their author. Naturally, not much can be said about the circumstances of the authors of such epitaphs. The specifics of epitaphs that do credit authors are broken down in tables C.46 to C.54. These will be discussed in chapter 3. There were towards the end of the Liao several prolific writers, in particular in regard to Kitan epitaphs, as discussed in chapter 4. Much like the author the commissioner of the epitaph is often invisible. In these cases I presume it was a private commissioned by the family. The significance of these privately commissioned epitaphs is that they represent spontaneous actions and decisions about how to commemorate family members or peers by individuals. This differs from epitaphs that are imperially commissioned, that is, commissioned by the emperor. I discuss this in chapter 5. It is clear in these circumstances that there is official involvement, and the decision on how to commemorate the deceased has been taken out of the hands of the family of the deceased. In terms of the historical record, this also represents the intervention of top-down, 'state' presence in commemoration and in the sources that we use to reconstruct private histories in the Liao. This interplay of private and state contrasts with the historical record for the Liao recounted in the first part of this chapter.

Epitaphs were not transparent accounts of the deceased, nor a reflection of the desires and mentality of the deceased. They were commemorative biographies composed by and for living mourners, and a way of creating an enduring legacy, a new social life of the deceased. The question this thesis seeks to ask then is what provided the conditions and stimulated the demand to produce such multi-faceted textual artefacts, what kind of society does their production both reflect and serve? This will be explored over the next four chapters.

Chapter 2

Geography, culture and the tenth century

Throughout the Liao there is a clear geographical pattern to the presence of epitaphs. To articulate this pattern requires a vocabulary of regions and places in the Liao. The distribution of epitaphs does not fit neatly with the widely used geographical framework of the Liao, and so I have had to devise one based on the patterns that the dataset has uncovered. These regional patterns reveal an alternative understanding of Liao geography to the territorial administrative divisions that are presented in the 1344 LS. However they also remind us of the regional specificity of Liao epitaphs and expose epitaphs as a contingent, optional mortuary text and artefact rather than a universal and widespread practice. Before presenting the spatial distribution of the epitaphs a brief discussion of historical conceptions of Liao territory is necessary. Following that a case study of tenth century epitaphs in two different regions will be used to argue that epitaphs were functional and not exclusively cultural texts and artefacts. The adoption of epitaphs was contingent on their perceived usefulness to the needs of mourning and textual performance.

2.1 How to divide the Liao realm

There were several ways to divide the Liao, the most explicit and persistent one is between north and south, and this has implications far reaching into how the social and political history

of the Liao dynasty, if not the long *durée* history of Northeast Asia, is discussed. At play also is the system of territorial administration that was implemented in the Liao and how it inherited and adapted forms of spatial governance from the Tang (618-907), Five Dynasties (907-960) and even the Bohai kingdom (698-926) in the Liaodong peninsula.

A key division in the Liao was between the north and south. However this division of north and south was applied in different contexts, both by the Liao government and their contemporaries in the Song. Given that many sources of the Liao have been mediated through Song eyes these two contexts can be blurred. The Liao government was divided between the “Northern” and “Southern Administration”, the meaning of these was summarised in the preface to the first of the Officials Treatises of the 1344 LS (*baiguanzhi* 百官志 hereafter 1344 LS BGZ):

When Taizong (r. 927-947) came to rule over China, he divided the government into North and South. The Kitan were governed according to their Dynastic system, while the Han were governed according to their own system. The Dynastic system was simple and plain. In the Han system the usage of the traditional terminology was preserved. The government system of the Liao state was divided into a Northern and a Southern Division.* The Northern Region administered the affairs of the camps, tents, tribes, lineages, and tributary states, while the Southern Region administered the taxes and the military affairs of the prefectures and counties of the Han people. To govern according to custom is indeed to achieve what is proper.¹

In the 1344 LS the division between the north and south was administrative, between the policies that targeted the mobile populations and groups and those that governed the local administration of settlements characterised by their ‘Han’ populations. The term ‘Han’ is typically treated as synonymous with ‘Chinese’, and indeed the phrase “to govern according to custom” has been used to argue that this division of north and south was done along ethnic lines, as

1. 至於太宗，兼制中國，官分南、北，以國制治契丹，以漢制待漢人。國制簡樸，漢制由沿名之風固存也。遼國官制，分北、南院。北面治宮帳、部族、屬國之政，南面治漢人州縣、租賦、軍馬之事。因俗而治，得其宜矣。LS 45. Translation adapted from WF 473. Lin Hu notes that the identification of Taizong as instigating this form of government is incorrect, it came much later. Also, the term ‘division’ in the above passage, marked by the asterisk is considered to be an error, and it should also be read as ‘region’. Lin Hu 林鶴, *Liaoshi baiguanzhi kaoding* 遼史百官志考訂 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 2015), 45.1-2 I have also changed Wittfogel and Feng’s translation of 國 from ‘national’ to ‘dynastic’, and 漢 from ‘Chinese’ to ‘Han’ to avoid the present day baggage of such terms.

ethnic groups are distinguished among other things by different customs. However the term Han was not a historical consistent signifier and its meaning changed over different periods.² In the Liao context the Han were those that were governed in prefectures and counties, these individuals and households often came from regions to the south of the Liao. But not exclusively. Displaced sedentary houses from the east and west, such as Bohai and Tangut groups, who were not ‘Chinese’ were also designated Han. Needless to say the region of Yan and Hebei to the south of the Liao was itself a mixed cultural region. It would be easier to think of Han therefore not as a group united by a cultural identity or place of origin, but as a group defined by how it was governed.³ Evidently the northern and southern regions here were not entirely geographical but administrative. While prefectures and counties were most densely distributed in the south of the Liao empire there were some in the north, east and west and they would have also been governed by the Southern Administration. So too certain tribal groups that were under the jurisdiction of the Northern Administration were distributed in the south, and indeed were mobile and moved around.

So while the Liao did have an idea of north and south that was commensurate with “Han” and “Kitan”, these two groups were not internally mono-ethnic. The ethnicised conception of north and south was likely a product of the Song conception of the Liao. As discussed in chapter 1 Song depictions of the Liao were shaped by irredentist claims of the Yan and Yun regions. Song writings reinforced the idea of the Yan mountain range not only as a natural barrier but also as the historical position of the Great Wall that separated the civilised world from the barbarian one.⁴ This division however was not a “traditional Chinese” one, as the Tang had long looked beyond this boundary northwards and northeast. Until the An Lushan rebellion parts of Liaoning formed the prefecture of Yingzhou, from where the early Tang emperors launched punitive campaigns against the polities of the Korean Peninsula. So too the polity of the Kitan and the

2. Shao-yun Yang, “Fan and Han: The Origins and Uses of a Conceptual Dichotomy in Mid-Imperial China, ca. 500–1200,” in *Political Strategies of Identity Building in Non-Han Empires in China*, ed. Francesca Fiaschetti and Julia Schneider. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 9–35; Elliott, “Hushuo 胡說: The Northern Other and the Naming of the Han Chinese.”

3. This approach concurs with that of Crossley in Pamela Crossley, “Outside In: Power, Identity, and the Han Lineage of Jizhou,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 51–89; Pamela Kyle Crossley, “Bohai/Parhae Identity and the Coherence of Dan gur under the Kitan/Liao Empire,” *International Journal of Korean History* 21, no. 1 (2016): 11–45 These articles and a discussion of Han and Kitan identity will be discussed in chapter 4

4. Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order*, 246–275.

Xi were labelled by the Tang administration as “bridled prefectures” (*jimizhou* 羈縻州), a term given to groups that had submitted to and recognised Tang supremacy but were not under direct control of the Tang administrative structures. As the term ‘bridled’ suggests they were kept on a ‘loose’ or ‘free’ rein.⁵ The Tang government would label the large tribal units as ‘prefectures’ and their leaders as ‘prefects’, however these were nominal and the appointments within these ‘prefectures’ was autonomous.⁶ Ouyang Xiu’s description of the ‘bridled-prefectures’ also recounts that these ‘prefects’ were appointed through hereditary succession, and that these ‘prefectures’ generally did not forward tribute, taxes, and census records to the Ministry of Revenue.⁷ However, despite this autonomy clearly the Tang saw them as part of their larger world.

This connection between the Tang court in Chang’an and the northeast fell apart following the An Lushan rebellions. In fact the rebels used the city of Fanyang (which became the Liao Southern Capital, modern day Beijing) as its base and drew forces from the Xi and Kitan groups that had been subjugated by the Tang.⁸ This suggests that there may have been a greater cohesion and affinity between the region and Yan and the northeast than between Yan and the Central Plains. Rather than consider the Yan mountains as a wall or barrier that separated China from the barbarian north, it may be more constructive to consider the region as a frontier zone whose cultural and political orientation shifted back and forth between polities to its north and south.⁹ Such a position would dispense with the idea imposed on us by Song sources that Liao control of the region of Yan was tantamount to a ‘barbarian’ occupation of ‘Chinese’ territory and instead consider that within the Liao there may have been a territorial coherence between the regions north and south of the Yan mountains.

5. For a discussion of the term see Jonathan Karam Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 61-62

6. The picture is slightly more complicated than this, several conflicts between the Kitan and the Tang came about through the Tang attempting to intervene with the internal workings of these bridled prefectures. See Elina-Qian Xu, “Historical development of the pre-dynastic Khitan” (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2005), 237-254

7. 唐興，初未暇於四夷，自太宗平突厥，西北諸蕃及蠻夷稍稍內屬，即其部落列置州縣。其大者為都督府，以其首領為都督、刺史，皆得世襲。雖貢賦版籍，多不上戶部，然聲教所暨，皆邊州都督、都護所領，著於令式。XTS 43.1119 Skaff disputes this claim with some counter examples. See Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors*, 61-62

8. Charles A Peterson, “Court and Province in Mid-and Late-T’ang,” in *The Cambridge History of China. Volume 3, Sui and T’ang China, 589-906, Part 1*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 469-471.

9. Cf Owen Lattimore, “Origins of the Great Wall of China: A frontier concept in theory and practice,” *Geographical review* 27, no. 4 (1937): 529-549

With this in mind I will now discuss how the Liao itself was territorially divided. The 1344 LS divides the geographical or “terrestrial organisation” treatises (*dilizhi* 地理志, hereafter 1344 LS DLZ) into five chapters, each one representing a Capital Circuit. This formulation of five capitals had a precedent in Bohai,¹⁰ however the argument that this was an emulation seems to be more of a retroactive justification, as there is just over a century between the establish of the first three and the final capital (see table C.3). In 938 in the aftermath of the conquest of the Bohai kingdom to the east and the transfer of maps and records of the sixteen prefectures that had been ceded by the ruler of the later Jin, the second Liao emperor Deguang declared three capitals. The original Imperial City in the Liaoxi basin became the Supreme Capital, the Garrison of Youzhou became Youdu, the Southern Capital and Dongping, the capital of the Dongdan dependency that had been established in the conquered region of Bohai, became the Eastern Capital.¹¹ Based on the 1344 LS Yu Wei has suggested that three circuits encapsulated a difference in the historical populations and political formations of regions, the Supreme Capital Circuit was the regions of the Kitan and Xi, the Eastern capital circuit the Bohai and the Southern Capital Circuit the Han.¹² In the first decade of the eleventh century the Central Capital was built and regions and settlements that had originally been part of Supreme Capital Circuit were allocated to the Central Capital Circuit. In 1044 the Garrison of Yunzhou became the Western Capital, and settlements from the Southern Capital Circuit were allocated to the Western Capital Circuit. These changes are shown in the maps in figures A.1, A.2 and A.3. A consideration of the distribution of Liao epitaphs must bear in mind these changes to territorial administration.

However, these capital circuits were never the highest form of territorial administration. They never had a permanent official appointment to oversee any one capital circuit. Any instance of such an appointment was only on a temporary basis.¹³ To explain this I will present the current understanding of territorial administration in the Liao. The standard scale of settlements in the Chinese history are prefectures and counties, wherein counties are subordinate to prefectures – meaning that while prefectural administration interacted with the central government, coun-

10. Hu Lin, “A Tale of Five Capitals: Contests for Legitimacy between the Liao and its Rivals,” *Journal of Asian History* 44, no. 2 (2010): 120.

11. Lin, “A Tale of Five Capitals: Contests for Legitimacy between the Liao and its Rivals,” 100.

12. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 92.

13. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 90.

ties had to go through prefectural administration to interact with the central government. In the late Tang and into the Liao, however, many prefectures were also subordinate to a type of prefecture called a Garrison (*jiezhen* 節鎮). Prefectures in the Liao were ranked, and the Garrison, managed by the office of a Garrison Governor (*jiedushi* 節度使), was the highest rank. Garrisons were the highest level of territorial administration in the Liao.¹⁴

Garrisons were a legacy from the late Tang period. Up until the mid-eighth century prefectural administration interacted with the central government, and on a temporary basis inspectors were appointed to administer groups of prefectures in one region – circuits. In response to the An Lushan rebellion the Tang court appointed military governors to garrisons in the central Northeastern provinces of the empire. These governors were given a degree of autonomy in order to direct troops and resources to deal with the crisis. However, in the aftermath of the rebellions they held on to a degree of power and became an intermediary level between the central government of the Tang and the provincial administration of the prefectures and counties.¹⁵ After the collapse of the Tang in the later Tang and later Jin these governors continued to hold power and were courted by various rival claimants to the throne. The Liao inherited this system, both in the sixteen prefectures that were ceded to the Liao, and also in the prefectures that they had established themselves north of the Yan mountains. However, unlike the late Tang court these garrisons did not act autonomously as a buffer to prevent the penetration of court control into local administration. The Liao court developed various channels by which their interest intersected with provincial administration that will be discussed further down.¹⁶

The establishment of capital circuits did not intercede or change this governorship of garrisons and prefectures. The capitals themselves were superior prefectures (*fu* 府), which were in effect still governor garrisons. The highest official in the capital was the Regent (*liushou* 留守), this title traditionally referred to an official that stayed behind in the capital when the Emperor

14. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 92-96; Chen Junda 陳俊達 and Yang Jun 楊軍, “Liaodai jiezhentizhi yanjiu” 遼代節鎮體制研究, *Gudai wenming* 古代文明 12, no. 2 (2018): 67–78

15. Ruth Mostern, “‘The Usurper’s Empty Names’: Spatial Organization and State Power in the Tang-Song Transition,” in *Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms*, ed. Peter Lorge (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2011), 128–132.

16. See Takai Yasuyuki 高井康典行, *Bokkai to hanchin: Ryōdai chihō tōchi no kenkyū* 渤海と藩鎮: 遼代地方統治の研究 (Tokyo: Kyūko sōsho 汲古叢書, 2016), 137–160 and Chen and Yang, “Liaodai jiezhentizhi yanjiu”

was on tour, and ran things on the emperor's behalf. In the Liao there were five capitals and the emperor did not permanently reside in any of them, or any one location. This means that the Regent of a capital was the administrator of the Superior Prefecture that served as capital and only the Prefectures and Counties that were attached to the garrison of that Superior Prefecture, not the entirety of the prefectures in the capital circuit.¹⁷ On an empire wide scale, though they were not the residence of the emperor nor was the administration of a circuit comprehensive, the 1344 LS BGZ lists economic offices that were specifically distributed to each capital, for example the Salt and Iron Commission was based in the Supreme Capital, the Office of the Transportation Commissioner was based in the Southern Capital.¹⁸ This shows that circuit capitals at least had certain fiscal and legal functions.

The political centre of the Liao however was always the moving court,¹⁹ the core of which consisted of the imperial family, their bodyguard and the central offices of government.²⁰ It travelled throughout the year to seasonal camps, the *nabo*.²¹ It also visited the capitals and indeed the large spaces discovered by archaeological survey of the capital sites show wide open spaces within the city walls that may have been where tents would set up on imperial visits.²² Those who sought an audience with the emperor had to travel to wherever the moving court was stationed.²³ This was not to say that the emperor was detached or disconnected from the running

17. Chen and Yang, "Liaodai jiezheng tizhi yanjiu."

18. Office of the Salt and Iron Commissioner of the Supreme Capital. Office of the Commissioner of the Ministry of Revenue of the Eastern Capital. Office of the Financial Commissioner of the Central Capital. Office of the Commissioner of the Triple Office of the Southern Capital. Office of the Transportation Commissioner of the Southern Capital. Also called the Office of the Transportation Commissioner of Yanjing. Office of the Accountant of the Western Capital. Translation from WF 488. 上京鹽鐵使司。東京戶部使司。中京度支使司。南京三司使司。南京轉運使司。亦曰燕京轉運使司。西京計司。LS 48.897.

19. Xiao Aimin 肖愛民, *Liaochao zhengzhi zhongxin yanjiu* 遼朝政治中心研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 2014), 141-154.

20. Yang Ruowei 楊若薇, *Qidan wangchao zhengzhi junshi zhidu yanjiu* 契丹王朝政治軍事制度研究 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe 文津出版社, 1990), 85-117.

21. Fu Lo-huan 傅樂煥, "Liaodai sishi nabo kao wupian," 遼代四時捺鉢考五篇, in *Liaoshi congkao* 遼史叢考 (Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1984), 36-172; Chen Xiaowei 陳曉偉, "Nabo yu xingguo zhengzhi zhongxin lun: Liao chu "silou" wenti zhenxiang fafu" 捺鉢與行國政治中心論——遼初“四樓”問題真相發覆, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究, no. 6 (2016): 16-33.

22. Lin, "A Tale of Five Capitals: Contests for Legitimacy between the Liao and its Rivals," 114-116 Yang Ruowei tabulated all historical mentions of the moving court visiting the capitals, see Yang, *Qidan wangchao zhengzhi junshi zhidu yanjiu*, 276-283

23. This can be seen in envoy accounts and appointments. Discussed in Lance Pursey, "Tents, Towns and Topography: How Chinese-Language Liao Epitaphs Depicted the Moving Court," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 48, no. 1 (2019): 177-206. Exams were also held in the moving court on several occasions. See Gao Fushun 高福順, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui* 科舉與遼代社會 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社, 2015), 144

of the empire, though hunting expeditions would take him out to remote places, the running of the court would continue. The emperor also had an extensive network of resources and assets across the empire connecting pastures and prefectures in the institution of the *ordo*. This was a separate channel through which to draw on the labour and economic output of these pastures and prefectures (as will be discussed in chapter 3).²⁴ Information about how the *ordo* operated is patchy, but its existence and intervention in the management of populations shows that the territorial administration of the Liao was not as clear cut as the 1344 LS DLZ presents.

As well as the above factors of garrisons and the moving court, the distribution of epitaphs also shows the limited heuristic value of the Capital Circuits. Patterns in epitaph production do not fit to particular circuits, and epitaphs are not evenly distributed over most of the purported area of the circuits that they are present in. The texts of the epitaphs also do not make reference to these circuits.²⁵ Furthermore, as the circuits also changed scope over the course of the Liao referring to circuits as stable zones runs the risk of anachronism. In light of this I propose the following zones based on topography of the Liao. The distribution among these zones is displayed in tables C.4 and C.5. I will explain the geographic extent and rationale of these zones below.

South of the Yan mountains are the regions of **Yan** and **Yun**. Yan consists of the area around modern day Beijing, Tangshan and northern Hebei. Published epigraphy from here has centred around Beijing, though one or two have been found to the north of the city of Beijing in Miyun, and to the east in Tangshan (listed in table C.50). Yun encompasses the mountains and basins west of the region – Zhangjiakou in Hebei, and Shuizhou and Datong in Shanxi (epitaphs listed in table C.51).

North of the Yan mountains I have made divisions based on a combination of river basins and mountain ranges. In terms of river basins I am primarily concerned with three larger rivers in the region, what are referred to today as the Liao, Laoha and Ling rivers (see figure A.5). From this I have extrapolated three river basins as rough zones (figure A.6): the **Liaoxi** river basin,

24. Takai, *Bokkai to hanchin: Ryōdai chihō tōchi no kenkyū*, 161-225.

25. Guan Shudong 關樹東, “Liaochao zhouxian zhidu zhong de ”dao” ”lu” wenti tanyan” 遼朝州縣制度中的“道”“路”問題探研, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究, no. 2 (2003): 129-143.

which covers north of the Liao river (or Xar Moron/Shira Murun) that is the northern part of Chifeng, Inner Mongolia (epitaphs listed in table C.46); the **Laoha** river basin with covers the southern part of Chifeng (epitaphs listed in table C.48), and the **Ling** river basin which is centred around modern day Chaoyang, Liaoning (epitaphs listed in table C.47). To the East of the Ling river basin lies the **Yiwulü** mountain range, either side of this in the north and south are prefecture-level cities of Fuxin and Beizhen, Liaoning. I have made this a separate zone (epitaphs listed in table C.49). Anything east of there I have designated as **Liaodong**, due to it being east of the Liao river as it flows north to south into the gulf of Bohai (epitaphs listed in table C.52). I have also added in two extra zones for single epitaphs that are found outside of these zones; **Jinzhou** to the south of the Ling river basin along the coast line (epitaphs listed in table C.54) and **West**, which covers everything West of the mountain range (the southernmost tip of the Xing'an mountain range) that runs north to south to the west of the Laoha and Liaoxi river basins (epitaphs listed in table C.53).

The number of epitaphs for each of these zones varies both for the whole two hundred or so centuries of the Liao dynasty and also diachronically for periods within the dynasty. This can be seen both for Chinese epitaphs in table C.4 and C.6, and for Kitan epitaphs, in table C.5. For Chinese epitaphs, the Ling river basin has yielded the most epitaphs by far, whereas for Kitan it has been the Liaoxi, Yiwulü zones, with Ling and Yan almost completely marginalised.²⁶ What is also apparent in this distribution is that while many can be found around the Supreme, Central and Southern Capitals, no conventional epitaphs have been discovered around the Eastern Capital. Showing that it was not a practice seen in all Liao capitals and capital circuits. Conversely, the Ling river basin was never the site of a capital, and its main settlement, the prefecture of Bazhou, was only upgraded to a Supreme Prefecture in 1044. This pattern of epitaphs cannot be explained solely with reference to proximity to capitals.

The spatial distribution of tombs also seems to privilege mountains and there is something that could be said for the influences of both mountain worship and geomantic practices being in-

26. A Kitan assembled script epitaph has been uncovered in Hebei, however this dates to 1150, after the Liao. See Epitaph for Xiao Zhonggong 蕭仲恭 Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 and Yu Baolin 于寶林, "Qidan xiaozhi <Xiao Zhonggong muzhi> kaoshi" 契丹小字《蕭仲恭墓誌》考釋, *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究, no. 2 (1981): 35–39

volved in the siting of tombs. This is both on a macro-scale of where tomb complexes are sited and also on the micro-scale of where individuals tombs are placed within each complex. Received historical sources suggest that mountains were significant in pre-Liao northern mortuary customs (as will be discussed in section 2.2.1), while many tombs make reference to the enlistment of geomantic specialists to site the tomb in terms of what is now popularly referred to as *fengshui*. This thesis however will not consider these factors in detail. As stated in section 1.2, the stone artefact of the epitaph, while being the only evidence that the epitaph existed, was not the 'original' epitaph but one of many destinations for the text of the epitaph. My interest is in the social circumstance behind the decisions to produce an epitaph and so its placement in a tomb and the siting of a tomb in a burial complex and the wider landscape will only be discussed when they reveal something about these decisions.

Another reason is a technical one. Not all epitaphs have a record of where and how they were found. And for those that did the site of the tomb does not often come with a map let alone a GIS point. This lack of high resolution geographic data has meant that the majority of points put down for tombs in figure A.7 and others were approximate and based on an interpretation of information the published material provided. This frustrates a micro-scale, landscape approach to the siting of tombs, and their precise relationship to their topographical surroundings.²⁷ References in the epitaphs themselves to where they were buried is not necessarily helpful for this task either. Firstly this is because while they may refer to prefectures and counties the locations of certain prefectures and counties mentioned in the 1344 LS DLZ are disputed and some places mentioned in epitaphs are absent from the 1344 LS DLZ.²⁸ Secondly, references to the siting of the tomb are often at an even smaller scale of proximity to settlements such as townships (*xiang* 鄉) and villages (*cun* 村 or *li* 里), these settlements are not in the historical record and so the epitaphs themselves are the only evidence of them having existed.²⁹

27. Takeda has considered the landscape and citing of imperial mausoleums based on fieldwork visits. Takeda Kazuo 武田和哉, "Kittangoku (Ryōchō) no kōteiryō oyobi kōzoku-kizokubo no shimeji ni kansuru ichikōsa" 契丹国 (遼朝) の皇帝陵および皇族・貴族墓の占地に關する一考察, *Shinshū sōgō kenkyūsho kenkyū kiyō* 真宗総合研究所研究紀要, no. 31 (2012): 86–108

28. Case by case studies of all prefectures and counties mentioned in the 1344 LS and other sources, including epitaphs can be found in Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan* and Wang Mingsun 王明蓀, *Liao cheng: Zhongguo beifang caoyuan chengshi de xingqi* (Xinbei: Huamulan wenhuashiye youxiangongsi 花木蘭文化事業有限公司, 2017)

29. Zhang Guoqing 張國慶, "Liaodai shehui jiceng juluo zuzhi ji qi gongneng kaotan" 遼代社會基層聚落組織及

If the epitaph is being used to locate these settlements then the settlements cannot be used to locate the epitaph. The same too goes for mountains and rivers, which are harder to locate and trace historiographically because not only do their names change,³⁰ but they also change in appearance, and in the case of rivers they can change course. Thirdly, the siting of a tomb in relation to landscape in the text of an epitaph carries so much more significance than being data to generate a GPS point, it tells us what part of the surrounding environment was salient to the deceased both in terms of their life, their community and the mortuary and ritual implications. I have explored these possibilities in a separate publication.³¹ In the present thesis I consider the locations of tombs where epitaphs were found at the resolution of the zone in which they were found, and in some cases their inclusion in specific tomb sites, or the proximity of the tomb to settlements.

After all, while these zones show places where epitaphs were clustered they also reveal large gaps, gaps where there were settlements and activities, and indeed chambered tombs that could have housed epitaphs. Nicolas Tackett has developed a database of tombs across North China for the middle period, in which it is evident that many of the chambered tombs in the Liao that could accommodate epitaphs do not.³² These are not only tombs within the same burial complex as tombs with epitaphs but also tombs found in regions across the Liao where epitaphs have not been found. While epitaphs can be and are removed from tombs by robbers, due to their size and weight they are often left behind, and so the absence of an epitaph can not be dismissed as the result of robbery. The inclusion of epitaphs in a tomb was a conscious and contingent decision.

The final complication that limits the relevance of the tomb site of the epitaph to the discussion is that Liao tombs are by and large dated by the epitaph present. This means that tombs without epitaphs cannot be directly dated, but instead rely on comparative studies of archi-

其功能考探, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究, no. 2 (2002): 77–88.

30. Especially in the regions under Liao control, where over the last millennium these regions have been occupied and named by Chinese, Kitan, Jurchen, Mongolian and Manchu speaking groups, resulting in different names in different languages and an uneven legacy of which names survive.

31. Pursey, “Tents, Towns and Topography: How Chinese-Language Liao Epitaphs Depicted the Moving Court.”

32. “Database of Tang, Song, and Liao Tombs, version 1.0” Available on <https://history.berkeley.edu/nicolas-tackett> [Accessed 16.12.2019]. A guide to the database can be found in Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order*, 291–291

texture and material culture present, the dates of these are based on similar tombs that have epitaphs. This means that a chronological analysis of the distribution of tombs over the course of the Liao is frustrated. And most studies on patterns of Liao tomb culture focus on how different grave goods signify ‘Chinese’ or ‘Kitan’ cultural/ethnic identity, and how this changed over time.³³ The vagaries of dating and the silence of material culture both contribute to these broad strokes. By focusing on the social and function elements of epitaph production I hope to bring individual agency into the decisions of how to commemorate the dead.

2.2 Culture versus function: Epitaphs in the tenth century

Liaoxi and Laoha river basins

In figure A.8 there is a clear regional pattern for epitaphs in the pre-Kaitai era (pre 1012), however there can be more than one explanation for this. In this section I will first argue the limits and problems with a culturalist reading of this pattern, and then further down present an alternative reading based on functional considerations of epitaphs, with reference to the epitaphs themselves. Table C.6 shows that by far the most epitaphs from the tenth century were discovered in the Ling River basin. Whereas the Yan region and the Liaoxi basin had less, ten each from an entire century. In terms of the Laoha basin, of the six epitaphs that date to the pre-Kaitai period, four were produced in the area of the Central Capital around the time of its establishment in the first years of the eleventh century. The other two were much earlier and in different parts of the region (see table C.47). The two epitaphs are therefore apart from those connected to the Central Capital and will be examined in more detail below. The Yiwulü region only has one epitaph from the tenth century, this will be discussed in chapter 3 when I go into details regarding the Yiwulü region. Primarily what is of interest in this section is the contrast between the epitaphs in the Ling river basin and the Liaoxi river basin (and the two in the Laoha river basin) for the tenth century. To consider these two regions we must first under-

33. Tomb periodisations and categorisations can be found in Dong Xinlin 董新林, “Liaodai muzang xingzhi yu fenqi lüelun” 遼代墓葬形制與分期略論, *Kaogu* 考古, no. 8 (2004): 62–75 and Liu, *Liaodai muzang de kaoguxue yanjiu*.

stand their pre-Liao history.

The Ling river basin had a history of political integration in the 'Chinese world' dating back to the Han dynasty. It was administered by the Tang empire prior to the An Lushan rebellion, and epitaphs have been found in the region dating to this point.³⁴ After the An Lushan rebellion there is a two hundred year epigraphic silence for the region. The received histories are also reticent on what happened in the region. The 1344 LS tells us little more than that it was "occupied by the Xi",³⁵ a group that was connected to but politically distinct from the Kitan. This occupation lasted until the beginning of the tenth century when Abaoji conquered the region, and began shortly afterwards moving in captive and migrant populations from the central plains (i.e. Han Chinese).³⁶ Within fifty years, epitaphs started to be produced in the region again, epitaphs by and large for and by diaspora of the Central China Plains. In contrast, while the Liao river basin was nominally part of the Tang world through being designated a 'bridled prefecture' no epitaphs have been found in the region dating to before the Liao period. The epitaphs in the region in the tenth century are fewer than the Ling river basin and are, with one exception, for the Kitan elite.

A straightforward culturalist reading of this pattern would suggest that the presence of epitaphs in the Ling river basin in different periods was determined by the presence of Han Chinese people resident in the region, and also in power in the region. The epigraphic silence occurs when the region is purportedly under Xi control, which would also explain why epitaphs start to appear in the Ling river basin again and in the Liao river and Laoha river basin for the first time in the early Liao, as this was when large migrations of Han Chinese from the regions of Yan and Hebei were settled in the regions.

However, there are several problems with presuming a correlation between the presence of Han Chinese and epitaphs in Chinese. First of all the definition of Han Chinese is on shaky ground. As mentioned above in the discussions of north and south, the term Han had different

34. Wang Jingchen 王晶辰 and Wang Ju'er 王菊耳, eds., *Liaoning beizhi*, 遼寧碑誌 (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe 遼寧人民出版社, 2002), 96-105, 322-328

35. 後為奚所據。LS 39.550

36. 太祖平奚及俘燕民，將建城 LS 39.550. Yu Wei breaks down the chronology of this and suggests a date of 906 see Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 279-283

connotations. The idea that there was an ahistorical essential Han identity that transcended history is a fiction of the modern present. This is not to say that northerners and southerners did not recognise cultural barriers between them but to say they were Han would be tenuous. As previously stated prior to the Liao the frontier region south of the Yan mountains was a culturally mixed place. The coherence of referring to groups from this region as Han involves a constant readjusting of the goalposts. Putting aside ethnic assumptions a stronger case can be made that epitaphs were part of mortuary customs in the south that were reintroduced to the north by certain migrant families.

There is the a twofold assumption that so called Han Chinese produced epitaphs, while others did not. Historically epitaphs and commemorative inscriptions in general were never an exclusively Han Chinese practice. A range of epitaphs for Sogdians and Turks have been found from the Tang in the region of Chang'an,³⁷ and also at least five examples of Xi and eleven Kitan epitaphs dating to the seventh to mid-eighth century have been discovered, among them several in the Ling river basin.³⁸ These epitaphs do not mask the non-Han identities of their subjects, so to be the subject of an epitaph or to commission or produce an epitaph does not mean that person has become Chinese, or is performing Chineseness. This is not to say that people from certain regions of China were not renowned among non-Han populations for their skill at stone masonry and inscription, or have the literary prowess to produce eloquent commemorative prose. The early eighth century stelae discovered in the Orkhon river valley in Mongolia (the "Orkhon inscriptions") proclaim that they were produced employing skilled Chinese stonemasons to prepare the stones for inscription. However, both the Turkic composition and the engraving were not carried out by Chinese hands.³⁹ The 1344 LS records that in the early Liao a commemorative stele was commissioned by Deguang in 928 that was produced using stone transported (technically imported) from the Yan region.⁴⁰ Fragments of what is thought to be

37. Iwami Kiyohiro 岩見清裕, *Sogudo jin boshi kenkū* ソグド人墓誌研究 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoen 汲古書院, 2016).

38. Moribe Yutaka 森部豊, "Tōdai Shi - Kittan shi kenkyū to sekkoku shiryō" 唐代奚・契丹史研究と石刻史料, *Kansai Daigaku tōzai gakuji kenkyūsho kiyō* 関西大学東西学術研究所紀要 49 (2016): 105–126.

39. The Kül Tigin inscription of 732 records that "General Čan, the nephew of the Chinese Emperor, came in order to build the mausoleum, to make the sculptures, to paint and prepare the inscriptions stones" but "Prince Yolluy, inscribed (all these inscriptions) on this stone and this wall." Prince Yolluy also inscribed the Bilgä Kagan inscription of 735. See Jalāt Jekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1997), 272, 281.

40. 明宗天成二年十月幽州奏契丹王差人持書求碑石，欲為其父表其葬所。Wang Qinruo 王欽若, *Ce fu yuan gui* : *jiao ding ben* 册府元龜：校訂本, ed. Zhou Xunchu 周勛初 (Nanjing: Feng huang chu ban she, 2006), 999.11560. 德

this stele have been discovered at the site of imperial mausoleum of Abaoji.⁴¹ The inscription was in Chinese and Kitan, the authors, calligraphers and engravers unknown. Epigraphy was always the product of many hands and not all had to be ethnically or culturally Chinese.

The assumption is that all Han Chinese people commissioned epitaphs for tombs. The production and placement of epitaphs in tombs dates back to the mid-third to early fifth century CE but it was an unevenly distributed practice both geographically and chronologically.⁴² The late Tang and Five Dynasties periods (the antecedent dynasties whose customs would have carried over into the tenth century culture of the Central Plains (i.e. Han Chinese)) produced many tombs that did not house epitaphs.⁴³ Indeed the case is also true for the Liao, over the course of the tenth century there were many migrants from the south that would be classified as Han and yet only one epitaph for them survives. Clearly other factors governed the production of epitaphs. They were one of many features of tombs in the Chinese world of funerary and mortuary practise, options for commemoration and they were not the defining feature. The presence of epitaphs then cannot be definitive for identifying a person's ethnicity, only diagnostic - and even that depends on what the epitaph actually says. Indeed, more importantly, epitaphs were not a medium for ethnic signalling for those involved in their production, and to read them so reductively would be to make rather audacious generalisations about diverse and discrete actions and actors whose motivations and mentalities are not adequately nor coherently documented.

Having seen that those identifiable as Kitan also engaged in epigraphy and epitaph production, how it is then that though enjoying high status and access to wealth we do not see many epitaphs for them from the tenth century? I will consider this problem with reference to Kitan mortuary practices both before and into the the Liao period.

光立三年，改元曰天顯，遣使者以名馬聘唐，并求碑石為阿保機刻銘。明宗厚禮之，遣飛勝指揮使安念德報聘。XWDS 74.890-891.

41. Wang and Dong, "Cong kaogu xin faxian kan Liao Zuling Guifushan jizhi de xingzhi yu yingzao."

42. For the early history of epitaphs see Davis, *Entombed Epigraphy and Commemorative Culture in Early Medieval China: A Brief History of Early Muzhiming*, 1-36

43. Tackett, "The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites (850-1000 CE)," 15.

2.2.1 Mortuary practice in the Pre-Liao Liaoxi and Laoha river basins

Archaeologically it is hard to discern pre-Liao Kitan or Xi mortuary practises, because tomb dating is frequently based on the presence of dated epitaphs or murals, or on typologies of grave goods, such as ceramic wares, which often work at the resolution of centuries.⁴⁴ For hints regarding pre-Liao burial and mourning customs we need to turn to historical sources, however these should be treated with caution given the context in which accounts concerning burial customs north of the Yan mountains are portrayed. The main source of information primarily derives from an account that first appears in the 636 *Book of Sui* (*Sui shu* 隋書), stating that when the father or mother dies it is not appropriate to cry and that the body is placed on a tree in the mountains. After three years the bones are collected and burnt.⁴⁵ The 945 *Old Book of the Tang* (*Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書) adds to this by emphasising that graves, tombs or burial mounds were not made, and that the body was transported on carts to a big mountain, where the body was placed on a tree.⁴⁶ The account was reworded in the 1073 *New History of the Five Dynasties* (*Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史)⁴⁷ and the (13th century) QDGZ (an account verbatim of the Book of Sui passage mentioned above).⁴⁸ While there is slight variation in these accounts they remain largely consistent.

These accounts (with the exception of the QDGZ) appear in chapters at the end of the historical works presenting the ‘northern barbarians’ or the ‘four barbarians’. They underline the absence of orthodox Central Plains (i.e. Confucian) ritual propriety in such customs. Parallels are also drawn between other peripheral ‘barbarian’ peoples, such as the Turks or the Mohe. Indeed

44. Cf Peng Shanguo 彭善國, “Liaodai Qidan guizu sangzang xisu de kaoguxue guancha” 遼代契丹貴族喪葬習俗的考古學觀察, *Bianjiang kaogu yanjiu* 邊疆考古研究 1 (2003): 1–9, Dong, “Liaodai muzang xingzhi yu fenqi lüelun,” Liu, *Liaodai muzang de kaoguxue yanjiu* and Naomi Standen and Gwen Bennett, “Historical and archaeological views of the Liao (10th to 12th centuries) borderlands in northeast China,” in *Places in between: the archaeology of social, cultural and geographical borders and borderlands*, ed. David Mullin (Oxford: Oxbow, 2011), 89–95

45. 其俗頗與靺鞨同。好為寇盜。父母死而悲哭者，以為不壯。但以其尸置於山樹之上，經三年之後，乃收其骨而焚之。因酌而祝曰：「冬月時，向陽食。若我射獵時，使我多得豬鹿。」其無禮頑嚚，於諸夷最甚。Wei Zheng 魏徵, *Sui shu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1997), 84.1881

46. 其俗死者不得作冢墓，以馬駕車送入大山，置之樹上，亦無服紀。子孫死，父母晨夕哭之；父母死，子孫不哭。其餘風俗與突厥同。Liu Xu 劉昫, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1975), 199.5350

47. 契丹比他夷狄尤頑傲，父母死，以不哭為勇，載其尸深山，置大木上，後三歲往取其骨焚之，酌而咒曰：「夏時向陽食，冬時向陰食，使我射獵，豬鹿多得。」XWDS 72.888. Discussed in WF 204

48. 父母死而悲哭者，以為不壯，但以其尸置於山樹上，經三年後，乃收其骨而焚之。因酌酒而祝曰：「冬月時，向陽食；夏月時，向陰食；我若射獵時，使我多得豬鹿。」其無禮頑嚚，於諸夷最甚。QDGZ 23.247–248

the custom of tree burial described above may have been derived from an earlier one recorded for the Kumo Xi, a name for the polity in the same region as the Kitan up until the tenth century, and generally considered the antecedent of the Xi. The 636 *Book of the Zhou* (*Zhou shu* 周書) records how the Kumo Xi would wrap the deceased in reeds and hang them from a tree.⁴⁹ Similar customs are also found in Siberian traditions.⁵⁰ Another custom Kitan are recorded carrying out in the tenth century is the “dried meat” preparation of the corpse, this was done to Deguang and others.⁵¹ What is evident in these quasi-ethnographic accounts, despite is that there were several kinds of funeral customs in the north, and potentially a large degree of hybridity and flexibility.⁵²

What is lacking in these accounts is any sense of internal distinction governing funerary customs. When one considers that Confucian culture codified dress and ritual based on position in a social hierarchy, it seems curious that these accounts do not mention difference in custom based on kinship, familiarity or social status,⁵³ nor a surprise that there could be an absence of stratification between elite and non-elite, rich and poor, heroic and disgraced and so on. The consistency with which accounts are repeated in the XWDS and QDGZ also makes little consideration that customs may have changed. The accounts of hanging the deceased from a tree to dry the body are only seen in the tenth century and for heroic individuals.⁵⁴ Whereas, in the late tenth century an account of wrapping a body in reeds (the practice the *Book of the Zhou* attributes to the Kumo Xi) seems to have been a shameful punishment. The *Fenjiao lu* 焚椒錄, a salacious account of the downfall of the Xiao Guanyin, empress of the eighth emperor Hongji, records how the emperor was so enraged with Xiao Guanyin’s alleged infidelity he ordered her to retreat to her palace and strangle herself with a white cord. Subsequently, “the emperor’s

49. 死者則以葦薄裹尸，懸之樹上。Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Zhou shu* 周書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1971), 49.899. This was pointed out in Hiromi Kinoshita, “Burial practices of the Liao (907-1125) Khitan elite: a reflection of hybrid culture” (PhD diss., Oxford University, 2006), 29-31

50. Kinoshita, “Burial practices of the Liao (907-1125) Khitan elite: a reflection of hybrid culture,” 29-32.

51. A lengthy treatment of this is in Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Liao architecture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997), 10,242-243

52. An exhaustive treatment on the diversity of mortuary customs in the Liao and their potential cultural origins can be found in Kinoshita, “Burial practices of the Liao (907-1125) Khitan elite: a reflection of hybrid culture”

53. The exception to how the *Old Book of the Tang*, which distinguishes between mourning of parents and mourning of children. It is not appropriate to cry at the death of one’s parents, but if children or grandchildren die the mourners are expected to cry from dawn to dusk. 子孫死，父母晨夕哭之；父母死，子孫不哭。Liu, *Jiu Tang shu*, 199.5350

54. Steinhardt, *Liao architecture*, 242-243.

rage still not abated, he ordered her corpse stripped, wrapped in reeds and sent to her family.”⁵⁵ This suggests that this practice may have once been standard but became debased or abandoned except in circumstances of shame, or that this custom was always for persons lower in the socio-cultural hierarchy. From this it is clear that the laconic ‘ethnographies’ in the Chinese histories cannot be used to generalise funerary custom.

The Liao saw unprecedented change in the societies north of the Yan mountains and such change is important to bear in mind when considering customs. They were in flux and contingent at any point before, during or after the Liao. This prevents us from leaning on essentialising assumptions about what the Kitan way of doing things was. And this also applies to the adoption of subterranean tomb architecture and in some cases the inclusion the written word, i.e. epitaphs. A preliminary move towards such a shift in mortuary custom may be hinted at in an account of a Kitan burial (though not of what remains were buried or how they were prepared) in the 1344 LS DLZ. The account of the prefecture of Qingzhou recounts how in the vicinity of the walled prefectural seat there was mountain called Botu mountain where the great great great grandfather of Abaoji had been buried, his name was Botu, because he was born there and after his death was buried there, at the foot of the mountain.⁵⁶ The passage makes no reference to any marker for his burial and so presumably, families in the pre-dynastic Kitan knew the general final resting place of their ancestors, but these likely had no perdurable marker of the exact spot. This also meant that there would have been no long-term need for upkeep. The caveat for this account however is that Botu was an ancestor of what became the Liao imperial line, meaning that the connection of Botu with this place may have been anachronistic, apocryphal or in the least something that was imbued with greater significance retrospectively.

This then raises the question of when did the Kitan start to bury their dead. It is likely to have been very early on in the Liao. Upon the first emperor Abaoji’s death in 926 his successor Deguang built a mausoleum. However, even before this in 923 the splendid Baoshan tombs for Qinde 勤

55. 遂閉宮以白練自經，上怒猶未解，命裸后屍，以葦席裹還其家。FJL

56. 遼國五代祖勃突，貌異常，有武略，力敵百人，眾推為玉。生於勃突山，因以名；沒，葬山下。LS 37.502, also LSBZ 37.1521.

德, who is thought to be the son of Abaoji's third son Lihu, were sealed.⁵⁷ This suggests the imperial mausoleums were not the start of burial, though they do signify the extent of the shift. The previous accounts of Kitan burial customs seemed to fit with the needs of mobile pastoralists, whereas the construction of lavish tombs would have been a costly and risky endeavour. It would seem that the adoption of opulent tombs would signify a change in the relationship between people and land among the Kitan.

This relationship between people and land was not a sedentarisation, after all we know that the Kitan royal house and aristocrats continued to practise mobility. Rather it was a territorialisation, whereby Kitan nobles had claims to certain lands and moved populations to settle in them, but the nobles themselves were not sedentary. This territorialisation had been going on long before the rise of Abaoji. By Abaoji's time much of the pasture lands in the Liaoxi basin were controlled by the Dielabu, from which Abaoji descended. The subsequent divisions of Abaoji's wider family involved the allotting of land among them.⁵⁸ While the construction of the imperial mausoleums effectively made exclusive claims to a nabo, the autumn camp and hunting site for the predynastic Kitan.⁵⁹ This was not only the site of a mausoleum but also a town, designated a prefecture that served to maintain the imperial mausoleum. In his lifetime Deguang also built and designated another town, Huaizhou, for his mausoleum, Huailing. All in all there were five imperial mausoleum towns. Given that these marked the landscape in the name of the imperial house it is thought that other Kitan tomb complexes found elsewhere represent the allotted territory of other families and lineages of the Yelü and Xiao clans. It is possible given the early date of the Baoshan tombs and imperial mausoleum of Abaoji that the Kitan nobles started to build tombs around the time that skilled craftsmen and builders from Yan were migrated to the Liaoxi river basin. The capture of skilled labourers in raids, was not

57. "The second year of the Tianzan era, the year of gui[wei]. The second son of Great Young Master, Qinde, died at the age of fourteen, on the twentieth day of the fifth month. He was buried here on the eleventh day of the eighth month in the same year. It is thus recorded here." translation by Wu Hung. Hung Wu, "Two Royal Tombs from the Early Liao: Architecture, Pictorial Program, Authorship, Subjectivity," 122 n.7 天贊二年癸未歲。大少君次子勤德年十四，五月廿日亡，當年八月十一日於此殯。故記。

58. These arguments draw up the research of Yang Jun. See Yang Jun 楊軍, "Muchang yu Qidan ren de zhengzhi" 牧場與契丹人的政治, *Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 首都師範大學學報 (社會科學版), no. 2 (2017): 1-5; Yang Jun 楊軍, "Qidan buzhi zuzhi zhong de shilie" 契丹部族組織中的石烈, *Heilongjiang shehui kexue* 黑龍江社會科學, no. 6 (2011): 104-108

59. For more on the history of the region see Chen, "Nabo yu xingguo zhengzhi zhongxin lun: Liao chu "silou" wenti zhenxiang fafu"

something that started in the tenth century though. The northern groups had raided and taken back captives earlier than this. So the practice of tomb building was likely more to do with decisions by the elite of the Liao. However, not enough is known about the society of the time to say anything more on the subject.

2.2.2 Epigraphy and the Kitan in the tenth century Liao and Laoha river basin

Epitaphs for the Kitan aristocracy are sparse in the tenth century and restricted to the Laoha and Liao basins. It may have been possible that there was an imperial ban on epigraphy in place, or at least for private epigraphy. Table C.43 shows that in the early Liao there were many instances of overground epigraphy being commissioned by the court for historical and commemorative purposes, not funerary purposes. In table C.46 it is evident that several of the epitaphs in this period in the Liao river basin belonged to members of the descendants of Han Zhigu, whose particular circumstances are discussed in section 2.3.1.

We do not know whether the emperors and empresses of the tenth century had epitaphs commissioned, as none have been discovered yet. And indeed the destruction of the mausoleums of the first emperors by Jin forces in 1120 (see section 1.1.3) makes the likelihood of epitaphs for Abaoji or Deguang and their palace women surviving very slim. The earliest epitaph for an emperor we have is for the sixth emperor Shengzong, commissioned in 1031 and discovered in the first half of the twentieth century at the Qing Mausoleum. While the earliest royal figure for which an epitaph has been found was for a consort of Shengzong in his youth, who died and was buried in 993. The location of this tomb and epitaph is puzzling as it is the furthest west than any Liao epitaph that has been discovered, on the other side of the mountain range that encloses the Liao river basin. No explanation for this one epitaph in this period and location is currently forthcoming.⁶⁰ The burial may have been deliberately out of the way to avoid cen-

60. The epitaph recounts that it was buried at the foot of a mountain which bore the name Qingyun Mountain, after Longxu's death the mountains around his mausoleum were renamed Qingyun Mountains by his son and successor Zongzhen. Another tomb was excavated at this site, that is typologically dated to the mid-tenth century. No human remains were found in the tomb of the consort, only a dog. See 内蒙古文物考古研究所 Neimenggu

sure from the laws the emperor had just promulgated in 992 banning the slaughter of animals and interment of precious metals in an attempt to curb ostentatious funerals.⁶¹ The tomb does contain precious metals that would have been the target of this ban. The wording of the passage stating the ban in the 1344 LS does not however mention anything about epitaphs. Lacking other sources it is not clear whether there was a ban on epigraphy for Kitan, and whether the examples that survived were in contravention of this ban. So instead I will consider other factors that may have motivated the examples of epitaphs that we have, but also suggest why they had limited appeal. The epitaphs for Yelü Yuzhi, (Xiao) Shagu and Yelü Cong (two entombed epitaphs and one stele) follow conventions of entombed epitaphs but also break these conventions in ways that suggest that epigraphy was not the done thing in this period.

An examination of the text of the epitaph for Yelü Yuzhi reveals that its production seems incidental and not planned. The epitaph tells us that Yelü Yuzhi died in office on the eleventh day of the eighth month and was buried on the sixth day of the third month of the following year.⁶² Eighteen days after the tomb was sealed Yuzhi's wife died, and so two months after the tomb had been sealed it was reopened so she could be buried with him. All of this is recording in the prose of the epitaph.⁶³ And so it must have been during these two months after the tomb was reopened that the epitaph was produced and interred. There is nothing to suggest that Yelü Yuzhi's tomb originally had an epitaph. It was the events of his wife's death that motivated the descendants to commission one. While it is not unusual for an epitaph to be composed for a husband many years after his death once his widow has died and they can be buried together, in such circumstances the tombs tend to have been designed as a couple tomb.⁶⁴ Failing that, sometimes on reopening and/or moving a tomb the pre-existing epitaph is add-ended to.⁶⁵ Looking at the plan of the tomb it is also clear that it had not originally been designed to house

wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Neimenggu Duolunxian Xiaowangligou Liaodai muzang" 內蒙古多倫縣小王力溝遼代墓葬, *Kaogu* 考古, no. 10 (2016): 55–80. This suggests that her body had been removed and reburied at a later point. This speculation was not made in Gai Zhiyong's archaeological report, but voiced in a presentation he gave on the burial that I attended in Nara, Japan. 25.2.2018.

61. 十年春正月丁酉，禁喪葬禮殺馬，及藏甲冑、金銀、器玩。LS 13.154.

62. XB 3-6

63. XB 3-6.

64. Cf Dieter Kuhn, *Die Kunst des Grabbaus: Kuppelgräber der Liao-Zeit (907-1125)* (Heidelberg: Forum, 1997)

65. Such as in the epitaphs for Chen Yi's wife Mme Cao, in 1070 XB 129-130 and 1090 XB 200-202.

an epitaph as the stone is placed in the passageway just before the main chamber.⁶⁶ While epitaphs can be placed in passageways they are usually in the main chamber.⁶⁷ Some later tombs of the Liao have epitaphs in this part of the tomb, however the passageway is wider to accommodate the epitaph.⁶⁸ This early Liao tomb design however has relatively narrow passages, not designed to hold an epitaph.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the epitaph did not have a cover stone, which was a convention of most entombed epitaphs. It is unlikely that this cover stone was robbed or missing, while the tomb was found after it had been robbed precious metals, ceramics and even textiles were recovered from the site, suggesting that the robbers did not fully loot the place and the cover stone of epitaph would not have been a priority.⁷⁰ The epitaph for Yelü Yuzhi was not a planned part of the tomb, and neither was the joint burial of Yuzhi and his wife, they were an afterthought.

But what motivated this addition of the written word to the tomb context? The sons of Yelü Yuzhi and his wife had commissioned the epitaph in recognition of the particular circumstances of their mother's death. The text portrays her as overworking herself in order to arrange the funeral for her husband. Her own death less than three weeks after the sealing of his tomb is seen as praiseworthy, tapping into both Chinese ideas of womanly virtue in service to her husband and chaste widowhood, and traditional Kitan ideas about the wife's duty to follow the husband into death.⁷¹ The silent material culture of the tomb could not express the particular circumstances, nor explain why her remains were interred in a tomb that had been built for one person. And so while the epitaph for Yelü Yuzhi is in the format of a social biography of Yelü Yuzhi its function in the tomb is exegetical of the reopened and rearranged tomb space. The potential audience of this epitaph is not made explicit, and it was likely both a text

66. 內蒙古文物考古所 Neimengu wenwu kaogusuo, 赤峰市博物館 Chifengshi bowuguan, and 阿魯科沁旗文物管理所 Aluke'erqinqi wenwu guanlisuo, "Liao Yelü Yuzhi mu fajue jianbao" 遼耶律羽之墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物, no. 1 (1996): fig 2.

67. As can be seen from the many tomb plans in Liu, *Liaodai muzang de kaoguxue yanjiu*

68. For example the tombs of Yelü Hongli and Yelü Zongjiao. Si Weiwei 司偉偉 et al., "Liaoning Beizhenshi Liaodai Yelü Hongli mu fajue jianbao" 遼寧北鎮市遼代耶律弘禮墓發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 考古, no. 4 (2018): 40–57; Lu Baolin 魯寶林, Xin Fa 辛發, and Wu Peng 吳鵬, "Beizhen Liao Yelü Zongjiao mu" 北鎮遼耶律宗教墓, *Liaohai wenwu xuekan* 遼海文物學刊 2 (1993): 36–42

69. Cf. Liu, *Liaodai muzang de kaoguxue yanjiu*, 17–22

70. Neimengu wenwu kaogusuo, Chifengshi bowuguan, and Aluke'erqinqi wenwu guanlisuo, "Liao Yelü Yuzhi mu fajue jianbao."

71. See Linda Cooke Johnson, *Women of the conquest dynasties: Gender and identity in Liao and Jin China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 106–107

to be kept in the family and a text to be read by anyone who would uncover the tomb, both are hinted at in the text of the epitaph with the typical rhetorical device of the changing of landscape.⁷²

This then leaves the question, why did Yelü Yuzhi not have an epitaph in the first place? I began this section countering reductionist arguments about ethnicity determining preferences for mortuary culture. The idea that Kitan were not interested in epitaphs could simplistically be explained by a disinterest of the Kitan in literacy and the written word, especially Chinese literary compositions. However, according to both his epitaph and his biography in the 1344 LS Yelü Yuzhi (890-941) was intelligent and linguistically accomplished in the languages of several tribes, Chinese was likely one of those ‘tribes’,⁷³ and outside of his political duties was deeply interested in Buddhism and Confucianism.⁷⁴ He also served initially under Yelü Bei, whom the 1344 LS foregrounds as an incredibly cultured and literate prince. And yet, it seems that despite this apparent level of literacy and scholarship, epitaphs were not a desired part of mortuary practice for Yelü Yuzhi’s original tomb.

An initial lack of epitaph does not however mean that Yelü Yuzhi and the family that survived him were parochial or austere. Yelü Yuzhi’s tomb contained an array of material culture, precious artefacts and splendid murals. Much like the Baoshan tombs approximately 55km away. Clearly in the Liaoxi basin, Kitan aristocrats saw grave goods and tomb murals as both as reflections of status but also as an appropriate program for the afterlife. Wu Hung notes that while textual interventions did exist in the Baoshan tombs these were minimal and integrated into the murals. There was not a strong sense of the writing in tombs as a circulated social text.⁷⁵

This prioritisation of grave goods reveals itself in an unexpected way in the second epitaph from this very large region, the epitaph of Shagu 沙姑. Shagu was imperial son-in-law (*fumaduwei* 駙馬都尉) and posthumously made Prince of Wei. Marrying into the Yelü clan would

72. 仲子闕等於哀酷之餘，攀號之際，慮人移世改，谷變陵遷，徽猷不振於將來，盛德蔑聞於遠裔。乃勒貞石，用傳不朽。XB 3-6.

73. 長嗜學，通諸部語。LS 75.1366. Tribe would have been understood as a distinct grouping of people. Abaoji formed a ‘tribe’ from the Han migrants. 漢城別為一部治之 LS 60.1032

74. 于補政之餘，養民之暇，留心佛法，耽味儒書 XB 4.

75. Wu, “Two Royal Tombs from the Early Liao: Architecture, Pictorial Program, Authorship, Subjectivity.”

mean that he would have been a Xiao, though the Xiao surname was not in use at this time. Not much can be said about the tomb or mortuary context of Shagu, the excavation report was so patchy and inconsistent it provoked a printed criticism.⁷⁶ The epitaph text is significantly damaged, obscuring parts of the text to the point where the subject appears to shift from Shagu to his wife at some point in a missing part of the stone. What is legible reads like a rather standard epitaph. The writer Jiao Xi 焦習 had the post of Gentleman Following the Tent (*suizhang langzhong* 隨帳郎中) which suggests he was likely a servant or a retainer of the princess and Shagu.⁷⁷ However, what is significant about Shagu's epitaph is not what was part of the epitaph text, but the cover. As figure B.5 shows carved into the cover of the epitaph is a list of property:

27 Garments, 10 items of Silverware, 13 saddles, 1 dappled grey horse, 1 white horse,
11 yellow dun horses, 21 small horses, 35 cows, 350 goats.⁷⁸

It is unclear if these were condolence gifts to the family of the deceased or if they were a record of an inheritance to Shagu's sons. What is clear is that this account was not part of the original design of the epitaph or the cover (see figure B.5), rather it was added in likely by the mourners after the completion of the epitaph, having found that the epitaph was wanting in the mourner's needs for the funeral. The mourners desired not only an accounting of ancestry, career, and progeny, but also of assets, which epitaphs conventionally do not accommodate.

This appropriation of an epigraphic medium for accounting purposes has similarities with an earlier stele discovered in the Laoha river basin, the *Great Prince's Record of Matrimonial Matters Stele* (*Dawang ji jieqin shi bei* 大王記結親事碑)⁷⁹ This stele is not an epitaph, it does commemorate the dead but instead records the dowries and bride prices of marriages between

76. The report was 前熱河省博物館籌備組 Former Reheseng bowuguan choubu, "Chifengxian Dayingzi Liao mu fajue baogao" 赤峰縣大營子遼墓發掘報告, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報, no. 3 (1956): 1–26 The criticism was Luo Ping 羅平 et al., "Yi pian bugou zhenshi de kaogu fajue baogao: 'Chifengxian Dayingzi Liao mu fajue baogao' duhou" 一篇不夠真實的考古發掘報告——“赤峰縣大營子遼墓發掘報告”讀後, *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 文物參考資料, no. 5 (1957): 65, 66

77. Gai Yongzhi suggests the term *Langzhong* is a variant of *langjun*. Gai Zhiyong 蓋之庸, ed., *Liaodai Neimenggu shikewen yanjiu*, 內蒙古遼代石刻文研究 (Hohhot: Neimenggu Daxue Chubanshe 內蒙古大學出版社, 2002), 40–41

78. 衣服二十七封, 銀器一十事, 鞍一十三面, 驄馬一疋, 白馬一疋, 驃尾黑大馬一十疋, 小馬二十一疋, 牛三十五頭, 羊三百五十口 WB 27–29

79. Li Yi 李義, "Neimenggu Ningchengxian faxian Liaodai <Dawang ji jieqin shi> bei" 內蒙古寧城縣發現遼代《大王記結親事》碑, *Kaogu* 考古 4 (2003): 92–95.

the Great Princes sons and daughters and those of other families.⁸⁰ The *Great Prince's Record of Matrimonial Matters Stele* is an example of appropriation as it was engraved on a surface that had been prepared for a different inscription. This can be inferred from the fact it was discovered alongside another blank stone tablet of the same dimensions which had a grid set out on it ready to engrave an inscription. The actual inscription of the *Great Prince's Record of Matrimonial Matters Stele* is executed in crude calligraphy, written in the vernacular and unconventionally reads from left to right, running over onto the sides and reverse of the stone. All of this suggests that this inscription was not the original intended purpose for the stone. The contents of the inscription are a complaint, inscribed so that it would not be forgotten. A large segment of it inventorises the comings and goings of 'hard' and 'soft' goods or assets. It was clear that epigraphy could serve to record assets and goods, but this was not the primary purpose and so it had limited appeal to those in this region in the tenth century. This is not a custom that epigraphy ended up replacing necessarily, as the epitaph for Yelü Yuanning, grandson of Yelü Yuzhi also provides an inventory of goods given by the emperor, however in this case the list is more integrated into the text of the epitaph affixed to the end as a colophon, unlike Shagu's where it was inscribed on the cover stone.⁸¹ These unconventional interventions of accounting on epitaphs suggest that grave goods, and goods and assets in general, were a greater concern in the commemoration of the deceased than what epitaphs had to offer.

Goods and assets are not the only things that can be seen inventorised on inscriptions in this region. The other epitaph for a Kitan individual in the Laoha basin is the 973 *Spirit Path Stele of Yelü Cong* which at the end provides a long list of followers or mourners.⁸² Followers are also present in a later 1059 *Epitaph of Yelü Shuji*, which like the *Spirit Path Stele of Yelü Cong* lists them at the end.⁸³ The precise relationship and reason for these names to be listed here is not made explicit. However, a parallel could be made with the listing of names frequently seen in Buddhist inscriptions, these often were to credit members of the local community as donors of the inscription itself or to a project that particular inscription was produced to commemorate,

80. Kang Peng 康鵬, "Shuo "touxia"" 說 "頭下", *Wenshi* 文史, no. 4 (2018): 163–170.

81. XB 58-59.

82. XB 340-344.

83. 在帳隨使番漢都部署王守貞、漢兒渤海都部署郭守忠、隨使左都押衙康沂、隨使小底都行首郭守用、隨使都提點小丹、中隨使知客吳桂、隨使都庄務楊埽夕、隨使內知客劉彼志、隨使都後槽契丹蒲古。WB 284-297.

and thus those inscribed gained merit for their donation and by having their name inscribed on a numinous Buddhist inscription.⁸⁴ I would speculate that the listing of names in these cases while not necessarily being donors was a way that they immortalised their position as mourners. They were pledging their names and their status as followers to this memory of their deceased master. The role of followers in these epitaphs can also be seen in the writers of these inscriptions. the Epitaph of Shagu was composed by the Gentlemen Follower Jiao Xi 焦習, the Epitaph of Yelü Yuzhi was composed by a man without any official titles, and Yelü Cong's by a member of his staff.⁸⁵ In the region of the tomb site of Yelü Yuzhi, two later epitaphs have been found, for Yelü Daoqing and Yelü Yanning, neither of which credit their authors, suggesting that the status of author was likely low. These factors suggest that epitaphs were not performing for a particularly wide audience, composed as they were by followers or staff of the deceased, or not even providing the name of the author.

A lack of a wider audience beyond immediate mourners and the followers of the deceased may also explain why epitaphs, an often costly literary form of commemoration was not a priority for the tombs and funerals of the Kitan of the tenth and early eleventh century in the Laoha and Liaoxi river basin. But if this was the case, why did they bother at all in the few examples from the period that we have? This is particularly true in the 1069 *Epitaph of Yelü Shuji*, which appears carelessly compiled.⁸⁶ The anonymous author put together the text using various records of appointments and titles in a rough chronology. There are moments where the subject of the epitaph shifts and it is unclear who it is commemorating of two figures, and the relationship between these two figures is also ambiguous.⁸⁷ In such an example could it be possible that the contents of the epitaph text, i.e. what was to be transcribed on the stone surface was effectively arbitrary? That the presence of the epitaph in the tomb was more important than how well written it was? If this was the case, then the implication is that the epitaph was

84. Jiang Wuxiong 蔣武雄, "Cong beiming tantao Liaodai xiujian siyuan yu jingfei laiyan" 從碑銘探討遼代修建寺院與經費來源, *Xuanzang foxue yanjiu* 玄奘佛學研究 14 (2010): 1–24.

85. □□內馬步軍都虞侯 the full title of the writer of Yelü Cong's epitaph is unclear but it appears to be a title of the internal administration of a prefecture. Yelü Cong was governor of the Garrison of Huazhou (remote, prestige appointment) and so this was likely a member of his staff.

86. WB 284–297.

87. Ye Guoliang 葉國良, "Liao Jin beizhi kaoshi shi ze" 遼金碑誌考釋十則, *Taida zhongwen xuebao* 臺大中文學報, no. 11 (1999): 276–278.

first and foremost a grave good. Such an explanation would also complement what we have seen in the other epitaphs, the afterthought of producing the *Epitaph of Yelü Yuzhi*, the supplementary inventorying of grave goods on the *Epitaph of Shagu*'s cover stone and the use of followers to write them. Epitaphs were not taken seriously as a literary form, their limited appeal lay in their function as a grave good, another material component of a tomb assemblage.

The relative absence of epitaphs for this region and period was not because the elites of the region were mostly non-Han (meaning not Chinese), and epitaphs were the marker of Chinese cultural practice. Rather status in burial was not explained by the use of text within and outside of the tomb but by assemblages of grave goods and the investment in tomb architecture and murals. So too the absence of epitaphs would suggest a lack of anxiety about the shifting of the landscape and the exposure of tombs that had been loaded full of treasure. If the tomb were to be exposed the identity of the occupants could be seen by their material splendour rather than an explanatory text. The potential for epitaphs was not fully realised and indeed its capacities were found wanting for the likes of Shagu's mourners.

Another counter to the wider assumption that epigraphy was a Chinese cultural trait can be seen in the amount of above-ground inscriptions commissioned by the throne in the tenth century. Inscriptions in the early Liao were by and large markers of specific events. They were a form of imperially commissioned historical monument. The idea of personal histories though social biography in epitaphs did not have the same appeal, this may have been because it encroached on an imperial practice, or it may have been that there was no demand for such a form of commemoration.

This then begs the question that the next section will address, in what conditions did epitaphs flourish and their functions apply to the needs of mourners. This can be seen in the tenth century Ling river basin.

2.3 The diasporas of the Ling and Liao river basin

2.3.1 A socio-cultural perspective

To the east of the Laoha river basin is the Ling river basin (figure A.6), which not only has the most epitaphs of any zone for the whole of the Liao, but also has over twice as many as any other region for the tenth century (see table C.6). While I have shown the limited appeal of epitaphs for elites in the Liao and Laoha river basins, this section examines what made conditions in the Ling river basin ripe for the adoption of epitaphs.

As mentioned before there were epitaphs produced in the Ling river basin up until the mid eighth century, including for those identified as Kitan and Bohai. Following the region's disconnection from Tang sovereignty and purported occupation by the Xi there was a 200 year silence in epitaphs until the mid tenth century, which coincided with a new political order and the re-arrival of settlers from the south. Earlier in this chapter I rejected ethnicised assumptions surrounding epitaph production, i.e. that the purported ethnic identity of a person predicts their behaviour. We could say however that epitaphs had to some extent uses in the late Tang and Five Dynasties world and their mortuary contexts. A comprehensive study of Five Dynasties period epitaphs is currently lacking, collections of epitaphs for the Five Dynasties are usually integrated in volumes or datasets for the Tang and Song and used to engage with wider theories of the Tang-Song transition.⁸⁸ A study of the stylistic and functional continuities of epitaphs between the late Tang, Five dynasties and Liao is wanting and an avenue for future research.⁸⁹ Suffice to say epitaphs were present in Hebei and the northern China frontier in the Five Dynasties period. This can be seen for example in the epitaph found in the tomb of the military governor Wang Chuzhi.⁹⁰ Wang Chuzhi's son, Wang Yu, crossed over to the Liao and is recorded

88. Such as Nicolas Tackett's database: "Prosopographic and Social Network Database of the Tang and Five Dynasties, version 1.0" Available at <https://history.berkeley.edu/nicolas-tackett> [Accessed 17.12.2019] Used in his work Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy*

89. A preliminary comparative study of the structure of Liao and Tang epitaphs has been carried by Fukui. See Fukui Toshi 福井敏, "Ryōdai shuddo shibun shōkō" 遼代出土誌文小考, *Ōtani daigaku shinzō o sōgō kenkyūsho kiyō* 大谷大学真宗総合研究所研究紀要 32 (2015): 301–314.

90. Whose epitaph is subject to a detailed study Schottenhammer, "A Buried Past: The Tomb Inscription (Muzhiming) and Official Biographies of Wang Chuzhi (863-923)" a detailed report of his tomb see 河北省文物研究所 Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo and 保定市文物管理處 Baodingshi wenwu guanlichu, *Wudai Wang Chuzhi*

in a biography in the 1344 LS, which states that he died in the Ling river basin.⁹¹ The epitaphs for descendants of Wang Yu have been recovered from the Ling river basin (see table C.11).⁹² This is evidence of a continuity of epitaph production across generations of the same descent line in different places.

The problem however is that for many cases we cannot know that ancestors of the deceased also had epitaphs and that the tradition of epitaph production ran in the family. Neither have we any way of knowing how many families from the late Tang and Five Dynasties used to have epitaphs and then discontinued the practice on their migration to the Liao - as this would not have left an epitaph. Rather than relying on the tenuous notion of traditional practices based on a projected essentialised reified group identity, we should consider that even so-called traditions are by nature the result of decisions made by every successive generation about how to preserve, observe or discontinue the practices of previous generations.

The contingency of upholding a tradition can also be seen in the epitaphs for the family of Shi Chonggui. Shi Chonggui's tomb was commissioned by Emperor Jingzong in 974 and he assigned Feng Kan to give Shi Chonggui the funeral treatment of a Prince (he was after all the Emperor of the former state of the Later Jin).⁹³ Feng Kan did not however commission an epitaph to be made. It was the Prince of Qin and Grand Councillor (*Dachengxiang* 大丞相) Gao Xun who ordered a member of Shi Chonggui's staff to compose an epitaph for him.⁹⁴ The fact that Gao Xun, of Bohai descent, proactively commissioned an epitaph for Shi Chonggui should also warn against reading reified notions of Han identity into epitaph production. Without Gao Xun's commission Shi Chonggui may not have had an epitaph, or not have had an epitaph in

mu 五代王處直墓 (Beijing: Beijing wenwu chubanshe 北京文物出版社, 1998)

91. LS 75.1369-1370

92. Wang Yue WB 112-116, Wang Yu WB 62-67 and Wang Zan WB 81-84.

93. Qi Wei 齊偉, "Liaoning sheng bowuguan cang <Shi Chonggui muzhiming> kaoshi" 遼寧省博物館藏《石重貴墓志銘》考釋, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古, 2013, 299-304 Shi Chonggui's wife was also a Feng, potentially Feng Kan was an affinal relative of Shi Chonggui's.

94. Qi Wei argues while there were other Princes of Qin in the Liao, Gao Xun is the one that matches up with the timing of this epitaph. Qi, "Liaoning sheng bowuguan cang <Shi Chonggui muzhiming> kaoshi" I would also argue that the Gaos intermarried with the Shis, as can be seen from the epitaphs of Gao Song, and Shi Yanxu, XB 37-39 and Zhang Guixia 張桂霞 and Li Yufeng 李宇峰, "Liaodai <Shi Yanxu muzhiming> kaoshi" 遼代《石延煦墓志銘》考釋, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古 6 (2015): 329-335. Gao Song's second wife wife granddaughter of Shi Chongui, daughter of SHi Yanxu The relation to Gao Xun is unclear but the surname and the Bohai connection would suggest that they were agnatic kin, however distant.

the form we see it today. Shi Chonggui's mother and the consort of his father also had epitaphs, however these were not of the same length and detail of standard epitaphs found in the Liao (figure B.6).⁹⁵ They appear cursory and seem to be more in the vein of epitaphs as grave goods discussed above than as commemorative social biography. Indeed they have significant less text than the epitaphs for Yelü Yuzhi and Shagu which I argued were more likely to have been grave goods than social texts. It is apparent that presence and format of the epitaphs for the family of Shi Chonggui were contingent and not the necessary continuation of a tradition carried over from the Central China Plains.

The epitaphs from the tenth century Ling River basin were made within and for the socio-cultural climate of that place and time. Many of the epitaphs in the region were from descendants of Five Dynasties families, suggesting that this was a destination for the families, (see table C.11) The only exception seems to be Consort De who was settled in Huaizhou, though Huaizhou may at one point have also been a destination.⁹⁶ The resettlement of Five Dynasties nobles was not completely the result of centrally planned policy. The experience of Shi Chonggui and his family shows that the destination of migrant elite families was contingent on the shifting power politics and decision making of the early Liao imperial family. The eventual residence and resting place of Shi Chonggui and his family, the town of the Prince of Jin (*Jinwangcheng* 晉王城) to the south of Jianzhou, was in no way guaranteed to them. A record of their journey after crossing into the Liao was recounted to a visitor from the later Zhou in the mid 950s.⁹⁷ I will briefly recount it here. After surrendering to the Liao emperor, Shi Chonggui, his sons, wife, mother and servants travelled through the Yu pass and were destined to be resettled far north in Longhuazhou. Such a location was likely a punishment decided by Taizong.⁹⁸ How-

95. Du Xiaohong 杜曉紅 and Li Yufeng 李宇峰, "Liaoning Chaoyang xian faxian Liaodai Hou Jin Li Taihou, An Taifei muzhi" 遼寧朝陽縣發現遼代後晉李太后、安太后墓誌, *Bianjiang kaogu yanjiu* 邊疆考古研究, no. 2 (2014): 61–68.

96. Liu Zhe 劉喆, "Xinchu <Da Qidan guo gu Houtang De Fei Yi shi xuantangzhi bing ming> kaoshi" 新出《大契丹國故後唐德妃伊氏玄堂誌并銘》考釋, *Ningxia daxue xuebao: renwen shehui kexue ban* 寧夏大學學報: 人文社會科學版 40, no. 1 (2018): 40–46.

97. The text only survived in fragmentary passages in various received histories, and reconstructed by Jia Jingyan. Jia, *Wudai Song Jin Yuan ren bianjiang xingji shisan zhong shuzheng gao*, 1–12, also in Zhao, *Fengshi Liao Jin xingcheng lu (zengding ben)*, 3–6

98. For the story of Shi Chonggui prior to his submission to the Liao, see Naomi Standen, "What Nomads Want: Raids, Invasions and the Liao Conquest of 947," in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian nomads and the sedentary world*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (2005), 147–153

ever Taizong died before reaching there and his mother, Empress Yingtian, sought to divert their journey and have them sent to Huaizhou (or Huaimeizhou), the site of Taizong's mausoleum.⁹⁹ Before this happened though, Yingtian was arrested by the new emperor Shizong. Shizong ordered Shi Chonggui's party to go to Liaoyang, the Eastern Capital. Shizong took fifteen of Chonggui's servants and his son Shi Yanxu with him to a retreat, and left Shi Chonggui, his wife and his mother behind. When the emperor returned from the retreat Chongui's mother requested land at the Han'er town (*Han'ercheng* 漢兒城) near Bazhou which they could live off of through farming and herding. This was granted.¹⁰⁰ I recount this story here to emphasise that there was not some centrally decided way that elite migrants were allocated new homes and resettlement. It took agency on the part of Shi Chonggui's mother to request the land that became their home. Otherwise they would have stayed in Liaoyang; or if Yingtian had not been arrested they would have ended up as residents of Huaizhou; or had Deguang's wishes been carried out they would have spent their days in Longhuazhou. In the end they were fortunate to have been able to settle in the place in which they requested to live. It is also telling that Shi Chonggui's mother requested land in Jianzhou. It shows us that given a choice the Ling river basin was by the mid tenth century a desirable destination for Five Dynasties nobles.¹⁰¹

While it could be argued that the presence of scions of the former Five Dynasties who engaged in epitaph production may also have had the effect of encouraging others to engage in this practice, not every elite in the region and elsewhere that produced epitaphs was a scion of the Five Dynasties. Geng Chongmei and Han Zhigu were two figures who rose up from very lowly circumstances to sire some of the most important figures in the administration of the dynasty.¹⁰² The descendants of Geng Chongmei and Han Zhigu intermarried with the imperial clan and each other¹⁰³ and by the early eleventh century Han Derang, grandson of Han Zhigu

99. And also where the former consort of Later Tang Emperor Li Cunxu was already living out her days. Liu, "Xinchu <Da Qidan guo gu Houtang De Fei Yi shi xuantangzhi bing ming> kaoshi."

100. All of this is in Jia, *Wudai Song Jin Yuan ren bianjiang xingji shisan zhong shuzheng gao*, 1-12.

101. Though what could be considered fortunate or desirable was relative, as Ebrey points out the fate of the many of Shi Chonggui's family and retinue was tough. See Patricia Buckley Ebrey, "State-Forced Relocations in China, 900-1300," in *State Power in China, 900-1325*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Paul Jakov Smith (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 317.

102. For a fuller account of Han Zhigu and his descendants see Crossley, "Outside In: Power, Identity, and the Han Lineage of Jizhou"

103. Qi Wei 齊偉, *Liaodai hanguan jituan de hunyin yu zhengzhi* 遼代漢官集團的婚姻與政治 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 科學出版社, 2016), 134-136.

was inducted into the imperial clan, giving his branch of the family both living and dead official recognition of Kitan aristocratic status and identity. The two families also proactively practised epitaph production. Most of the epitaphs for the Han clan were in the Liaoxi basin - and represent 30% (12/39) of the Chinese epitaphs in the Liaoxi basin epitaphs, and 60% (6/10) of the pre-Kaitai period (pre 1012) epitaphs in the region, there were also some in the Ling river basin. Han Yu grandson of Han Zhigu was buried outside of Bazhou in 991 and his son Han Chun much later in 1037. The Han family had definite ties to the Ling river basin, after all it was Han Zhigu who was tasked with overseeing the construction and establishment of Bazhou. The identity that the clan adopted was also tied to region. They assumed the choronym, a place name of the region a clan claimed its origin, Changli.¹⁰⁴ Changli refers to the Ling river basin, it was the name of parts around Bazhou in the Eastern Han (202 BCE-9 CE).¹⁰⁵ By using the term Changli they were claiming an historical attachment to the Ling River basin. The Hans and Gengs are examples of those that worked their way up. Their proclivities for producing epitaphs must have had a strong influence on epitaph production in the Liao, presenting a counter narrative of status based on service to the imperial court rather than heritage from former dynasties.

It should be clear from the above examples that while there were relatively more epitaphs in the Ling river basin in tenth century than elsewhere this was not the result of diaspora bringing in traditions from there place of origin. Some of the key patrons of epitaphs in the region were the Hans and Gengs who were from relatively lowly backgrounds prior to the Liao. Ethnicity and cultural customs were not determinants of people's behaviours, rather choices were made in the circumstances at hand. These circumstances are not readily clear, and much of what can be discussed here is circumstantial and epiphenomenal. What is apparent is that in this region there was a concentration of elites, both those had enjoyed elite status in the Five Dynasties and those who had worked their way up in the Liao. These had options of how to commemorate their dead, and one of those options that took off in the tenth in the Ling river basin was

104. Choronyms were a way descent groups identified geographically. The term 'choronym' is a neologism coined by Johnson to translate the Chinese term *junwang* 郡望, see David George Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1977), 92-93

105. Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, *Zhongguo lishi dituji: Qin Han* 中國歷史地圖集: 秦漢, vol. 6 (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe 中國地圖出版社, 1996), 61-62.

epitaphs. This then begs the question, is the relative absence of epitaphs in the Liaoxi basin in the tenth century outside of the Han family tomb complex a symptom that there were not as many elites? How was it that we do not see more diaspora elites in the Liaoxi basin producing epitaphs? This is the topic of the next part considering the territorial administration of the two regions.

2.3.2 A political and administrative geographical perspective

The Liaoxi and Ling river basins had different histories and topographies conducive to different modes of production. These historical and environmental conditions partially informed political decisions on how they were administered in the tenth century. The Ling river basin generated a vibrant economy and society, the same cannot be said for sure about the larger area of the Liaoxi basin. An analysis of the history of territorial administration in the two regions could shed some light on this. William Skinner, who worked on the spatial history of Chinese empires used the ratio of prefecture to county - the primary units of territory - as the cornerstone of his research. He argued that ambitious activist regimes in Chinese dynasties would begin by creating many counties to administer the population, but the bureaucratic burden of this became overwhelming and so these tended to be reduced and rearranged, with more concentrated administration in frontier regions, while interior counties were consolidated into larger populated areas.¹⁰⁶ The immediate problem with applying a thorough Skinnerian analysis to Liao territorial administration is that the record is largely incomplete, not only in terms of diachronic population figures but also in terms of prefectures and counties, and especially when they were founded and abolished.¹⁰⁷ The presence of prefectures, counties and other settlements that

106. G. William Skinner, "Introduction: Urban Development in Imperial China," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 19-21.

107. The 1344 LS DLZ has had to be supplemented with information of other prefectures and counties from other sources, and even material culture. See Zhang Xiugui 張修桂 and Lai Qingshou 賴青壽, *Liaoshi dilizhi huishi* 遼史地理志匯釋 (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe 安徽教育出版社, 2001); Xiang Nan 向南, "<Liao shi - dili zhi> buzhen" 《遼史・地理志》補正, *Shehui kexue jikan* 社會科學集刊, no. 5 (1990): 79-84; Li Xihou 李錫厚, "<Liao Shi - Dili Zhi> bianwu," 《遼史・地理志》辨誤, in *Sui Tang Liao Jin Song Yuan luncong* 4 隋唐辽宋金元史论丛 (2014), 231-246 and Hua Linfu 華林甫, "Ershi shiji zhengshi dilizhi yanjiu shuping" 二十世紀正史地理志研究述評, *Zhongguo difang zhi* 中國地方志, no. 2 (2006): 47. The most extensive research to date has been Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*

were entrusted to aristocrats, and therefore not completely under central control or census, frustrates this because it means that populations figure may have been even less complete.

Typically a spatial analysis of a polity has not been carried out to consider the reasons behind why there is not a certain type of material culture in different regions. In the work of Ruth Mostern for example, “the changing distribution of territories represents a history of the varying density of state presence through time and space, revealing the residue of contradictions and compromises that produced particular geography.”¹⁰⁸ This state presence or absence does not directly correlate with the production of epigraphy, and not in terms of how they intervened territorially. At best epigraphy is epiphenomenal to wider social trends and conditions. In his work on the late Tang Nicolas Tackett used the distribution of epitaphs to show the interplay between the capitals and the provinces. However this research uses epigraphy with the assumption that it was what people of a certain status and means did, and does not question the factors behind individual decisions to produce an epitaph. In the following paragraphs I will consider the possibility that the geographical conditions and type of administration in the Ling and Liao basin may have had an effect on the production of epigraphy in the tenth century.

Table C.12 traces the changes to administration of settlements in the Ling river basin over the tenth century. These are in contrast to the history of settlement changes in the Liao basin in table C.13. A key difference between the two is that the Ling river basin was densely populated with prefectures and counties closer together along the Ling river (see figure A.12) while the Liao river basin is larger and the prefectures were spread out over a larger area (see figure A.13). So too the changes in prefectures and counties that we see in the two regions over the course of the tenth century also follow different patterns. I will outline them in the next two paragraphs.

Changes to the settlements in the Ling river basin over the course of the tenth century mainly consisted of establishing new prefectures from pre-existing counties. At the start of the Liao three prefectures were established, Bazhou, Jianzhou and Yizhou. Bazhou and Jianzhou were

108. Ruth Mostern, *“Dividing the Realm in Order to Govern”: The Spatial Organization of the Song State (960-1276 CE)*. (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2011), 20.

established by renovating the remains of former sites,¹⁰⁹ while Yizhou appears to have been a new site, founded on the favoured autumn hunting ground of the former Imperial Prince Yelü Bei.¹¹⁰ Bazhou started with two counties assigned and Jianzhou with one. These three prefectures were officially managed and not entrusted, meaning they came under the management of the Southern Administration as it was formed in the mid tenth century.¹¹¹

Changes made to this configuration of settlements was likely a combination of imperial design and response to population shifts in the region. In the brief reign of Shizong (948-951) one county was established for Yizhou and the prefecture of Haibeizhou was also assigned.¹¹² This may have had something to do with the fact that Shizong was the son of Yelü Bei, and so the reorganisation of the prefecture served the interests of his mausoleum and the power base of his line. Shizong's successor Muzong was much more proactive and created at least two prefectures in the Liaoxi basin, Heihezhou and Jiangshengzhou, likely for personal reasons.¹¹³ He also granted permission for the building of a town and estate to the south of Jianzhou to the family of Shi Chonggui, the former emperor of the Later Jin.¹¹⁴ The practice of territorial reorganisation was pushed upon Muzong when he ascended the throne. One of the first moves of his reign was to execute the assassins of his predecessor and cousin Emperor Shizong, enslave their families and confiscate their assets. The ringleader of the assassination was Yelü Chage, the son of Anduan who had established the entrusted prefecture of Baichuanzhou. Chage inherited this entrusted prefecture, and when Muzong executed him he also appropriated the entrusted prefecture of Baichuanzhou. The rules concerning entrusted prefectures appear to have been that in cases that the head of the prefecture commits treason, or leaves no heirs the prefecture is appropriated by the court,¹¹⁵ so this was not an overtly political move by Mu-

109. Bazhou built by Han Zhigu on the renovated remains of the former town of Liucheng, Jianzhou was also a renovation. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 279-283, 293-294

110. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 286

111. Yang Jun 楊軍, "Liaodai zhouxian tizhi de xingcheng ji yanbian" 遼代州縣體制的形成及演變, *Xuexi yu tansuo* 學習與探索, no. 1 (2018): 171-172.

112. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 286, 191-193.

113. Heihezhou became Muzong's personal hunting ground. LS 37.502 and Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 150-153. Jiangshengzhou was established at the location where his grandmother had realised she was pregnant with his father, the second emperor Deguang. LS 37.505-506 and Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 160-161

114. See above and Jia, *Wudai Song Jin Yuan ren bianjiang xingji shisan zhong shuzheng gao*, 1-13, Zhang and Li, "Liaodai <Shi Yanxu muzhiming> kaoshi."

115. Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, "Liaochao de touxia zhidu yu touxia junzhou" 遼朝的頭下制度與頭下軍州, *Zhongguo*

zong. However, Muzong was quick to assign a new county to the prefecture (see table C.12). Entrusted prefectures were not allowed affixed counties, which suggests that on appropriating it the population of the prefecture was large enough to divide it between the prefectural town and a newly defined county. This gave Muzong experience of territorial reorganisation early on in his reign.

Muzong would go on to carry out more ambitious territorial reforms in the region as can be seen in table C.12. However the available evidence suggests that these were not political in nature. During the course of his eighteen year reign he commissioned an audit and census of Bazhou and Yizhou, which was recorded in the epitaph of Liu Chengsi who carried it out.¹¹⁶ Perhaps as a result of such a census, Shengji county was split from Bazhou and upgraded to a prefecture, Qianzhou. Households of Bazhou and Yizhou were siphoned off to bolster the population.¹¹⁷ These changes were not carried out from concern that Bazhou and Yizhou were becoming too big and wielding too much influence because the resulting prefecture Qianzhou was subordinate to Bazhou which had the rank of Governor Garrison (*jiedu*).¹¹⁸ Furthermore, at some point before 969 another county was made for Bazhou, Guihua county, so Bazhou was further expanded, or at least compensated having lost Shengji county.¹¹⁹ These changes were likely in response to the census that probably saw population imbalances that require extra administration. They may also have reflected a reality that with population expansion, exploitation of arable land and the building of homes was spreading outward from the central urban space of the prefecture requiring further administrative units to represent this.

Muzong's reorganisation seems to have settled the imbalance of population and administration in the region for a while as there are no records of his successor Jingzhou carrying out any such reforms (in Ling or Liaoxi). But it was only a temporary reprieve as the expansion of Bazhou showed no sign of abating in the late tenth century. This can be seen in the expansion of Guihua county after it had been established. The 970 *Epitaph of Liu Chengsi*, whose subject had

shi yanjiu 中國史研究, no. 3 (2003): 97.

116. WB 47-52.

117. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 188-191.

118. LS 39.551.

119. Chang Zunhua was appointed ling of "Bazhou Guihuaxian" in 969. WB 127-130.

carried out the census that instigated Muzong to reconfigure the counties under Bazhou, states that his tomb was located fifteen *li* away from Bazhou in the west hinterland.¹²⁰ When it came for Liu Chengsi's son Liu Yujie to be buried in the same spot, Liu Yujie's epitaph refers to the site as within Guihua county of Bazhou. This tomb site was also now in the village of Yuqing, in the township of Jishan.¹²¹ This suggests that the area of land that fell under Guihua county's jurisdiction had been expanding to reach their tomb site over the intervening decades. This is also apparent in the reforms that were carried in the 990s under the reign of Emperor Shengzong and the regency of Empress Dowager Chengtian. In table C.12 we see another county was established in Bazhou, only to be reassigned to Qianzhou, two more counties were added to the former entrusted prefecture of Baichuanzhou, and the county of Fusu was upgraded to prefecture and renamed Lizhou.¹²² Throughout the tenth century the settlements along the Ling river were flourishing, the population was increasing and the income from the regions allowed for an expansion of administrative divisions in the region.

The Liaoxi basin followed a slightly different trajectory. There were settlements comprising of captive populations north and south of the Liao river prior to the founding of the Liao. These functioned as private towns for various Kitan nobles. The practice of transporting captive populations to make settlements predated the Liao,¹²³ as can be seen in the early establishment of the Yuyue Prince Town (*yuewangcheng* 越王城). This also formed the basis of Abaoji's rise to power, as the first 'prefecture' to be founded in the region was Longhuaazhou.¹²⁴ Within the reign of Abaoji, having consolidated his power in the Liaoxi basin and captured the Ling basin from Xi groups he carried out the same strategy in both regions. Both Bazhou in the Ling river basin and the Imperial Capital that he ordered built in the Liaoxi river basin were populated with households that he had moved in. However, from then on the Liaoxi basin tended to expand not through the division of prefectures and counties in response to growth but through top-down active construction and founding of prefectures that like the Imperial Capital were

120. 霸州西原十五里楊氏夫人合葬焉。WB 47-52.

121. 霸州歸化縣積善鄉餘慶里，附先太保之墳。WB 106-109

122. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 188-191, 289-293, 270-271.

123. Naomi Standen, "Raiding and frontier society in the Five Dynasties," in Di Cosmo and Wyatt, *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries and Human Geographies in Chinese History*, 180-211.

124. Yang, "Liaodai zhouxian tizhi de xingcheng ji yanbian."

populated with displaced households. This can be seen in the prefectures of Yizhou, Huaizhou and Yikunzhou, which mostly drawing from groups from the east. And the examples of two counties of Yikunzhou and three counties of Linhuang that suggest that the ordo system was involved in these transfers of groups (see table C.13). Overall the Liao river basin prefectures were more controlled by members of the imperial house (the court) and their designs whereas the Ling river basin was under the governance of the Southern Administration.

Both regions were the recipients of migrants, and many of these migrants that populated the prefectures and counties were craftsmen, farmers and labourers. However the Ling river basin grew wealthy on mulberry plantations that produced silk and presumably paper, whereas the economy of the Liao river basin was mainly based on farming and herding. The proximity and density of the Ling prefectures and counties seems to have encouraged upward mobility, as can be seen in the epitaphs of those who started out poor and rose through officialdom to acquire wealth and land upon which to be buried.¹²⁵ The evidence so far suggests that this was not the case for the Liao river basin. The labourers of the scattered prefectures and counties of the Liao basin had less opportunities to advance in tenth century, and also had less of an audience for the consumption of epitaphs.

What has not been discussed in depth in this chapter is the relative status of those who lived in either region. The subjects of these epitaphs and indeed the households I have talked about in the prefectures and counties were not retainers or slaves but tax paying households. However retainers and slaves were present in both of these regions. Their presence in and of itself did not make it less likely that epitaphs were produced in the region. Among the epitaphs of the Ling river basin there were several epitaphs of officials who served in entrusted prefectures. These men were themselves not bound to the entrusted prefecture, but it shows that the presence of these do not prevent them. Indeed the Yiwulü region to the east of the Ling river basin consisted of a combination of prefectures built for the mausoleums for Shizong and Jingzong, and also north of there were many entrusted prefectures that belonged to the Kitan aristocrats of the Xiao clan. The only epitaph uncovered there from the tenth century is for one who was

125. An example of this can be seen in the 1022 *Epitaph of Han Shaodi* XB 63-64.

appointed official in the entrusted prefectures of the region. The most clear example however is the tomb complex of the Han clan discussed earlier, which was based in the vicinity of Quanzhou, the prefecture established and entrusted to Han Kuangsi from Han Kuangsi's private town in 991.¹²⁶ As for slaves, south of the Ling river basin an epitaph for a slave master has been recovered, suggesting that among the burgeoning prefectures and counties of the Ling river basin there were also settlements of slaves.¹²⁷ While entrusted prefectures and other private towns of indentured households did not prevent officials from producing epitaphs, we can say that there needed to be an audience for these epitaphs and so built up areas with many upwardly mobile freemen and aristocrats encouraged the investment in such a costly form of commemorative writing.

2.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter started by dispensing with the traditional frameworks of Liao geography informed by the 1344 LS in favour of zones designated on the basis of the distribution of epitaphs. These zones were characterised by different societies in the tenth century. I focused on a comparison between the Liaoxi and Laoha river basin on the one hand and the Ling river basin on the other. These caught my attention because both saw unprecedented increase in population and settlements in the tenth century, and yet while the Ling river basin has revealed many epitaphs, the Liaoxi and Laoha basin have yielded so few from the period.

The temptation has been to designate this the result of ethnic and cultural differences in the two regions, the Liaoxi and Laoha basins were historically Kitan and Xi region, while the Ling river basin had once been part of the 'Chinese empires', and in the tenth century was settled in by diasporas of nobles from the Five Dynasties Period. I counter this argument by considering the difference in the societies of the two regions.

The Ling river basin was much more densely populated, and was administered through pre-

126. LS 13.153.

127. WB 125-126.

fectures and counties of the Southern Administration. It was also a more prosperous region with thriving sericulture. The Liaoxi and Laoha river basins had settlements of displaced populations engaging in agricultural production in settlements much more spread out. There was more upward mobility in the Ling river basin, whereas the Liaoxi and Laoha river basins (and indeed the Yiwulü region that only has one epitaph) were mostly dominated by Kitan nobles who commanded their own estates of assets and captive populations.

The elites of the Laoha and Liaoxi river basin were less concerned with the use of commemorative biography that could argue for the status of the deceased. Tomb cultures from this period and into the eleventh century show that much expense was made to create opulent tombs with splendid murals and luxury artefacts but not to produce an epitaph. The functions of the epitaph beyond being a grave good did not appeal to the elites in this time and region. Their main concern was the conspicuous accumulation of assets and goods.

The Ling river basin and the tombs of the Han clan in the Liaoxi river basin differ from this. The diasporas of the Five Dynasties elite used epitaphs to narrate the stories of their heritage in the new social circumstances, whereas the Hans and Gengs who had risen from lowly backgrounds to become prominent ministers in the Liao administration used epitaphs to advertise the rise to prestige of their clan. The effect of this presented two alternate if not competing claims to status.

These social and geographical factors should dissuade us from an overly simple culturalist reading of the practice of epitaph production. Epitaphs had a greater audience and purpose for some than others. The next chapter will discuss how changing circumstances in Liao society as a whole created new demands for epitaphs and what they could offer.

Chapter 3

Shifts in officialdom and the early to mid eleventh century

Table C.6 shows that in the eleventh century there are generally more epitaphs, and in regions where there were few epitaphs in the tenth century, such as the Laoha river basin and the region of Yiwulü mountains (see tables C.47 and C.49). This pattern suggests expansion of the practice, if not broader activity in general, into new regions. The eleventh century witnessed the culmination and fruit of substantial political, economic and social changes which had started in the late tenth century. In this chapter, I will explore three of these significant changes, the construction of the Central Capital, the apparent reforms of the *ordo*, entrusted prefectures and Princely Mansions, and the expansion of the imperial examinations system. I will consider how traces of these changes can be seen in the epigraphic record and the extent to which such changes influenced the production of epitaphs. First however an introduction to the most decisive factor of change in the Eastern Eurasian world - the Chanyuan Treaty - is in order.

The previous chapter demonstrated that the Liao had not arisen in a vacuum but was part of a wider world. It both inherited and adapted institutions and imperial symbolism of the Central Plains based Tang empire that preceded it and attracted or coerced movements of populations from all directions into the region. The Liao was not an isolated polity and continued to operate alongside other polities in relationships both symmetrical and asymmetrical, peaceful and

belligerent. From the mid tenth century a new rival power, the Song, emerged in the Central Plains and expanded both southward and northward. Its northern expansion ended in confrontation with the Liao. The Song leadership of the time believed they had a legitimate claim to the sixteen prefectures that had been ceded to the Liao in 930s, and launched two large offensive campaigns against the Liao in 979 and 986. They met fierce resistance on both occasions. In 1004-1005, the Liao launched a powerful offensive against the Song, argued to have been pre-emptive, and brought the situation to a stalemate and instigated negotiations for a peace treaty between the two powers.¹ The resultant Chanyuan Treaty established a border between the two states and stipulated not only that Song send annual and indefinite payments of 200,000 bolts of silk and 100,000 taels of silver,² but also that, in the correspondence between the two empires, each emperor address the other as elder or younger brother according to who was senior in age.³ It was the beginning of a period (though not for the first time) where there co-existed 'two sons of heaven'.⁴ This was not a symmetrical relationship however. The Liao and Song had fought to a stalemate and it has been argued that the Liao campaign against the Song had not been for conquest but to intimidate the Song in order to extract a favourable peace settlement.⁵ This can be seen by the effects that the peace settlement had on the economy and society of the Liao.

The subsequent new world order had several instant effects on Liao society. The agreed border meant the regions of Yan and Yun were protected by treaty and no longer threatened by invasion or raid. These regions were an indispensable tax base of revenue for the Liao.⁶ In the negotiations the Liao also drove a hard bargain and wished to be ceded the Guannan region to the south of Yan. This proved to be a red line for the Song, who instead offered annual payments were equivalent to the revenue of the region and stipulations in the treaty that restricted the

1. Wright, *From War to Diplomatic Parity in Eleventh-Century China : Sung's Foreign Relations with Kitan Liao*, 39-70.

2. Wright, *From War to Diplomatic Parity in Eleventh-Century China : Sung's Foreign Relations with Kitan Liao*, 76.

3. A full list of terms can be found in Nap-yin Lau, "Waging war for peace? The peace accord between the Song and the Liao in AD 1005," in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans van der Ven (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 213

4. Jinsheng Tao, *Two Sons of Heaven: Studies in Sung-Liao Relations* (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1988).

5. Wright, *From War to Diplomatic Parity in Eleventh-Century China : Sung's Foreign Relations with Kitan Liao*, 85-88.

6. But the Liao was not solely dependent on sixteen prefectures revenue, there were agricultural lands in the conquered Bohai regions to the east too.

Song from and the treaty restricted the Song government developing the region.⁷ This influx of silver and silk is argued to have “immediately reduced the strain on Liao finances”⁸ and went towards funding projects such as the construction of the Central Capital.⁹

But there were limitations on how lucrative the treaty ended up being for the Liao in the long term, the financial benefits of the treaty increasingly failed to meet the needs of the Liao in the eleventh century. Another campaign by the Liao in 1042 made further demands from the Song.¹⁰ The payments of silk offered an opportunity for the Liao to trade with northern and western neighbours, reselling the silk at three or four times the price.¹¹ However trade with the Song was not necessarily a net benefit for the Liao, Liao demand for certain Song goods exceeded supply, and a trade deficit was run up so that much of the silver that was sent to Liao found its way eventually back to the Song.¹² There is also the question of who benefited from these payments made between states. While the wording of the oath-letters of the Chanyuan Treaty and other diplomatic communications between the Song and Liao were careful not to invoke the idea of tribute, and were delivered in a format more akin to financial transactions, certain Liao records refer to them as tribute.¹³ It is also unclear where the wealth went, i.e. whether it went to the throne or the government, but as will be discussed later in this chapter it clearly did not go to the aristocracy.

The Chanyuan Treaty was not a watershed but occurred around the time that other changes were also in play. The construction of the Central Capital and the establishment of the Central Capital Circuit is often argued to have been a direct result of the Chanyuan Treaty, financed by

7. This was probably the outcome that the Liao had originally desired given their disinterest in territorial expansion further south into the Central Plains. See Standen, “What Nomads Want: Raids, Invasions and the Liao Conquest of 947” and Wright, *From War to Diplomatic Parity in Eleventh-Century China : Sung's Foreign Relations with Kitan Liao*, 96

8. Denis Twitchett and Klaus-Peter Tietze, “The Liao,” in *The Cambridge History of China. Volume 6, Alien regimes and border states, 907-1368*, ed. Denis Crispin Twitchett and John King Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 96.

9. Lau, “Waging war for peace? The peace accord between the Song and the Liao in AD 1005,” 214.

10. They were offered increased annual payment or intermarriage of a Kitan prince with a Song princess, they chose the payments. Wright, *From War to Diplomatic Parity in Eleventh-Century China : Sung's Foreign Relations with Kitan Liao*, 26-28

11. Yoshinobu Shiba, “Sung Foreign Trade: Its scope and organisation,” in *China among equals: the Middle Kingdom and its neighbors, 10th-14th centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 98-100.

12. Shiba, “Sung Foreign Trade: Its scope and organisation,” 98-100.

13. Tao, *Two Sons of Heaven: Studies in Sung-Liao Relations*, 16.

the new inflow of resources, and symptomatic of an internal consolidation (or I would argue colonisation) of territory in the Laoha basin that had previously been under the control of the Xi. At the same time over the course of the Regency of Empress Dowager Chengtian (983-1009) the management of entrusted prefectures was changing, and a new system of entry into officialdom was being encouraged through investment in the imperial examination system. First however I will discuss the effect of the Central Capital and the increased production of more epitaphs in the Laoha river basin.

3.1 The Central Capital

Much of the focus of commentary on the Central Capital that was established in 1004, surrounds its conception and construction. The 1344 LS DLZ has a story of the emperor having a vision of a city in the Laoha basin as he passed through once, consequently after some discussion skilled labour from Yan and Ji was brought in to start construction. Within two years a city had been built, complete with rammed earth walls, palaces, buildings, warehouses, markets, enclosed courtyard houses. It is said to have been modelled on “the heavenly capital.”¹⁴ There have been many debates which city the “heavenly capital” refers to and about the status of the Central Capital, the reasons for its construction and its function. Some argue that it served as the capital of the Liao, taking over from the Supreme Capital, others that it served as a symbolic centre while the Supreme Capital remained the political centre.¹⁵ However, as stated in section 2.1, the political centre had never been based in the Supreme Capital and was not based in any of the capitals but in the moving court. The Central Capital could only ever have been a ritual and symbolic centre.

The construction and establishment of the Central Capital is often discussed in terms of empire-wide significance. However its effect on a more localised level cannot be overlooked. In this

14. 聖宗嘗過七金山土河之濱，南望雲氣，有郭郭樓閣之狀，因議建都... 擇良工於燕、薊，董役二歲，邦郭、宮掖、樓閣、府庫、市肆、廊廡，擬神都之制。LS 39.545

15. These arguments are summarised in Kang Peng 康鵬, “Liaodai wujing tizhi yanjiu,” 遼代五京體制研究 (PhD diss., Peking University 北京大學, 2007), 75-80

section I will explore how the newly built Central Capital interacted with the already established settlements and society of the Ling river basin which were close by (see fig A.14), and consider the epigraphic record of the region. As table C.47 shows, prior to the eleventh century there were very few epitaphs produced in the Laoha river basin. In the early eleventh century after the construction of the Central Capital there are several, however from 1028 to 1076 there was a gap of almost half a century where while there are epitaphs in the region they are exclusively from the tomb complexes of the imperial houses of Yelü and Xiao. In the late eleventh century epitaphs for individuals outside of these two houses start to appear again. I will first consider the epitaphs from the early eleventh century following the construction of the capital.

3.1.1 Settlers in the Laoha river basin

For first generation emigrés from the Song to the Liao in the late tenth century the region was somewhere they could not only settle but prosper. Perhaps more so that the Ling river basin, which already had many established elite diaspora families that had arrived during the early tenth century. Such settlers to the Central Capital are represented in epitaphs. The Cheng family presented in the 1024 *Epitaph of Cheng Yanchao* are an example of a family from the Yan region that moved to the Central Capital upon its construction. Cheng Yanchao, never had an official career and lived and died in the Yan region,¹⁶ however his five sons were all living and employed in the Central Capital administration.¹⁷ Though his epitaph's provenance is unverified, it would appear that the sons had their father buried in the Central Capital region, with their mother who had already died. This is evidence of the capital becoming a home for lower status officials who had relocated to take up posts in the administration of the new capital.

There are also two epitaphs for higher up officials in the capital administration, these were both defectors from the Song, and therefore did not have any roots in the Liao. According to their epitaphs Feng Congshun (- 1023) and Li Zhushun (- 1028) were both buried in the vicinity of

16. Shicheng county, under the jurisdiction of Raozhou (Kaiping, Hebei)

17. WB 167-168

the Central Capital.¹⁸ Feng Congshun had surrendered to the Liao and enjoyed a prestigious official career in the Liao government, as evident by the posts he held in ordos, prefectures and counties and in the Supreme and Central Capital. He died in the moving court near the Supreme Capital having fallen in, he was tended to by the medics of the Hanlin Academy and he received funeral expenses from the state.¹⁹ Li Zhishun, on the other hand, was more permanently based in the Central Capital.²⁰ He was in charge of the Palace Domestic Service and supervised the warehouses for the Inner Walled Enclosure (*danei* 大內), which would house the visiting court, of the Central Capital.²¹ The writer of the epitaph, Xiang Zaiyan 向載言, also worked in the administration of the Central Capital, though as Record Keeper for the Superior Prefecture of Dading (*Dadingfu silu* 大定府司錄) he would have worked under the Governor of Dading Superior Prefecture (*Dadingfu yin* 大定府尹) and not directly under Li Zhishun.²² The epitaph not only records Li Zhishun's land but also his servants, livestock, and riches.²³ Li Zhishun was the same rank as Feng Congshun, but had slightly lower level noble titles and not as prestigious a post as Feng, who as Census Bureau Commissioner (*hubushi* 戶部使) was in charge of the submission of taxes from the Central Capital to the court.²⁴ If Li Zhishun was this wealthy one can imagine comparable wealth for one whose epitaph mentions only laconically that they have a residence in the Central Capital. Taken together these two epitaphs show that in the Central Capital there was both wealth and connections to the court, and burials, but these burials were for newcomer elites to the Liao.

However, after the 1028 *Epitaph of Li Zhishun* the only epitaphs dating for the following fifty-

18. Xiang Nan records Feng Congshun's epitaph as having been unearthed pre-1949 in the region of Chaoyang, Liaoning – which is in the Ling river basin. The epitaph however states that he was buried near his suburban residence East of the Central Capital WB 169-172. The problems with pre-1949 excavations and acquisitions of epitaphs have been discussed in section 1.1.3. Furthermore, the epitaph states that the court appointed the Vice Revenue Commissioner of the Central Capital (*zhongjing duzhi fushi* 中京度支副使) to prepare the burial (備幽窆之禮), who in turn appointed the Assistant Administrator of the Regent of the Central Capital (*zhongjing liushou tuiguan* 中京留守推官) to compose the epitaph. The whole affair seems to have been carried out by members of the administration of the Central Capital.

19. The stories of Feng Congshun and Li Zhishun have been pieced together in an article by Ho Koon-wan. Ho Koon-wan 何冠環, “Liang ge bei yiwang de Beisong jiang Liao neichen Feng Congshun yu Li Zhishun shiji kao” 兩個被遺忘的北宋降遼內臣馮從順與李知順事蹟考, *Xinya xuebao* 新亞學報 34 (2017): 195–226

20. WB 187-190

21. 知中京內省司、提點內庫 WB 187-190.

22. The Governor of Dading Superior Prefecture (*Dadingfu yin* 大定府尹) was a position held by the same person appointed as Regent of the Central Capital (*zhongjing liushou* 中京留守)

23. 若論莊宅田園，奴僕人戶，牛馳車馬等，卒不能知其數矣！WB 187-190.

24. WB 169-172, 187-190

odd years found in this region are for members of the Xiao clan. This epigraphic silence may possibly be due to the perennial issue of availability bias, however there also be other explanations. When we consider that of the three epitaphs found connected to the Central Capital Circuit, two were first generation Song emigres who had found service high-up in the administration of the capitals. These were rich individuals with no ancestral burial site in the Liao. The other example Cheng Yanchao, if he was indeed buried in the region, was transported to the Central Capital region to be buried by his five sons who were all employed in the capital administration. Many other officials who had served in the Central Capital, owing to having moved in from elsewhere, would still be returned to their home towns and buried in their ancestral burial sites. This can be seen in the epitaphs of Wang Shuo (1008), Mme Zhang (1015) and Song Kuangshi (1026).²⁵ This practise continued through the eleventh century, and the elite individuals with the means for burials with epitaphs also had the means to be buried in ancestral tombs. In cases where families did not have the immediate means to bury their dead in ancestral tombs they would be buried with little ceremony in temporary burials. This practice can be seen mentioned in other epitaphs in other regions. Zhang Jianli's epitaph in the tenth century Ling river basin provides an account for the burial of various members of the family in plots of land surrounding their residence.²⁶ The 969 *Epitaph for Zhang Jianli* was made to mark the reburial of all of these, not following the death of Zhang Jianli but the death of one of his sons, Zhang Yanying.²⁷ The practice of temporary burial was widespread not only in the Liao but also in the Tang and Song.²⁸

Temporary burial and then reburial can be seen in the early twelfth century epitaphs for Liu Wenying and Liu Gong, found in the hills west of the Central Capital site. Liu Wenying had died in 1076 in a hostel in Shengjixian in Qianzhou, which was in the Yiwulü region.²⁹ Liu Gong,

25. WB 131-135, XB 56-57, WB 180-183.

26. WB 42-44.

27. WB 42-44.

28. Nicolas Tackett, "Great Clansmen, Bureaucrats, and Local Magnates: The Structure and Circulation of the Elite in Late-Tang China Asia Major," *Asia Major* 21, no. 2 (2008): 104-105.

29. 大康二季九月十有六日，卒於黔州盛吉縣之廨舍，時年七十有五。Li Junyi 李俊義 and Li Yi 李義, "Liao <Liu Wenying muzhiming> <Liu Gong muzhiming> kanwu" 遼《劉文用墓志銘》《劉公墓志銘》勘誤, *Liaojin Lishi yu Kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古, 2014, These two epitaphs also appear in XB, but there are several errors in the transcriptions, so here I cite Li Yi and Li Junyi's retranscription.

his son had died in 1096 in a hostel in Qingzhou in the Liaoxi region.³⁰ It was not until Liu Gong's son Liu Hua rose to the position of a dignitary for the Central Capital,³¹ that the family had the means to rebury both Liu Wenying and Liu Gong in the vicinity of the Central Capital in a new tomb. The two epitaphs recount the family history of the Liu's traced back to a famous ancestor in the Tang, and then to their migration to the Central Capital region where by Liu Hua's time they had lived for four generations.³² However, while being registered to the Central Capital, Liu Wenying and Liu Gong had moved around a lot and died far from the city. This may suggest that not all those who were registered or had ties to the Central Capital from the eleventh century were buried there. And even if they were, they did not necessarily have an epitaph.

There are also examples of families that moved out of the Laoha river basin to build tombs and bury their dead. This can be seen in the initial epitaph that Chen Yi commissioned for his first wife Mme Cao in 1070 which was interred in an "ancestral tomb on the southern bank of the Jin River south of the Capital" in 1070.³³ This ancestral site was not of his family but Mme Cao's. We know this because fourteen years later in 1084 he reburied his wife in a new plot and produced an epitaph which stated that he had her moved from her parents' tomb to this new place.³⁴ The original tomb has not been discovered yet, however it is likely it would not contain epitaphs for her other family members, such as her father or grandfather, as in the original epitaph that was interred in that tomb the writer Du Wei referred the reader to a genealogy and not previous epitaphs for information about her father and her ancestry.³⁵ Mme Cao had died in 1067 at their private residence in the Central Capital in 1067, where Chen Yi held a post as Supervising Secretary (*jishizhong* 給事中, part of the Secretariat *zhongshusheng* 中書省) and Administrator of the Revenue Commission (*zhi duzhishi si* 知度支使事), which was an

30. 壽昌二 冬，亟疾不起，十有二月一日，於慶州之客舍，時年七十四。Li and Li, "Liao <Liu Wenying muzhiming> <Liu Gong muzhiming> kanwu"

31. There is next to no concrete information about Liu Hua or his titles. He is referred to as *dajian* 大監 in the *Epitaph of Liu Wenying*. This was likely a prominent role in the capital, because Song envoy Chen Xiang's report of his mission to the Liao in 1067 records being greeted outside the gates of the Central Capital by Li Yong, by the *shaoyin dajian* Zhao, *Fengshi Liao Jin xingcheng lu (zengding ben)*, 75

32. Li and Li, "Liao <Liu Wenying muzhiming> <Liu Gong muzhiming> kanwu."

33. 陳公遷奉先塋於京之南金河之表。XB 129-130 Here I interpret the term 表 to mean the southern bank. The text also says that Chen Yi moved his wife's burial. Given that there were three years between her death and burial I have taken this to mean moved her from a temporary burial to this burial site. This however was not the location where the epitaph was found by archaeologists, as it was reburied fourteen years later in another region. XB 203

34. 大甲子...從先舅姑之神復遷於東之吉地。XB 200-202.

35. 夫人姓曹氏，父諱可行，故濟州刺史。其祖宗源派則有家諱在焉。XB 129-130.

important office in the Central Capital. Chen Yi must have moved his residence to the Yiwulü region where he reburied his first wife and buried his second wife. Reasons for his move are unclear, however this does show us that officials in the eleventh century working in the Central Capital enjoyed a degree of mobility, and with that came choices not only for where to reside, and where to retire but also where to be buried. For Chen Yi, this meant not being buried in the Central Capital region, for others in the late eleventh century it meant the opposite.

This was the case for the burials and epitaphs for Wang Dunyu and Qin Dechang, neither of whom were buried in an ancestral burial site. Qin Dechang's epitaph tells us how his ancestral burial site was originally in his home village somewhere in the Yan region, however the frequent flooding of the Sang river had disturbed the site and so his ancestors were reburied in the plains south of the outer walls of Yanjing.³⁶ This was where his great grandfather, grandfather and father would have been buried. Qin Dechang himself grew up in Yanjing, however at a young age he was spotted by Yelü Longqing, who was Regent of the Southern Capital at the time, and recommended to his brother Emperor Shengzong. Qin Dechang had a long career, moving all over the Liao and died in 1074 in his official residence in the prefecture of Yuzhou 榆州 where he was in charge of military affairs for the prefecture.³⁷ The site of Qin Dechang's burial was a suburban residence that his grandson Qin Ji 秦縉 built north of the Central Capital, on account that Qin Dechang had spent much of his life in the Central Capital.³⁸ Wang Dunyu was also not buried at his original ancestral tomb site. His epitaph not only recounts how his grandfather Wang Shao was given land in Jianzhou to build a private residence, but also refers to the epitaph of his father for more on his family history.³⁹ And yet, despite this Wang Dunyu was buried in a new burial site attached to the Lanruo monastery in the Southwest of the Central Capital.⁴⁰ It is not made clear why he was buried in this place. Most of his career was spent in the moving court, he had been appointed Surveillance Administrative Assistant of Pingzhou (Liaoxing jun *guan* *cha* *pang* *guan* 遼興軍觀察判官) at the age of 39, but he died in the moving court stationed northeast of Huizhou, before setting out to take up the

36. XB 166-168.

37. □□榆州軍州事 XB 166-168.

38. XB 166-168.

39. His father's epitaph has yet to be recovered. He would not have been buried at the same site as Wang Dunyu.

40. XB 361-362.

post.⁴¹ The only thing that would tie him to the Central Capital appears to be that wife's father was the deceased Revenue Commissioner (*duzhishi* 度支使) of the Central Capital, suggesting possibly that his wife's family was connected in the capital. However as I have demonstrated in earlier epitaphs, those with postings in the capitals do not necessarily choose to be buried there if they have ancestral sites elsewhere.

These two epitaphs from the late eleventh century Laoha river basin also both exhibit a Buddhist connection that should be considered. Wang Dunyu was buried in a plot of land connected to a monastery, though the epitaph itself was not written by a monk nor does it contain overt Buddhist themes, nor does it describe Wang Dunyu as a devout Buddhist. In contrast, Qin Dechang's epitaph, which was not buried in a monastery, was written by a member of a monastery and is replete with Buddhist themes, to the point where details about Qin Dechang's career – usually the main focal point of Liao epitaphs, are marginalised and condensed into a line.⁴² This thesis does not cover Buddhist inscriptions, funerary or otherwise, however it is apparent that there were not only Buddhist mortuary inscriptions but entire Buddhist mortuary contexts and culture. It is possible that for many in the Central Capital region and elsewhere it was the Buddhists that catered for the funerary needs of non-aristocratic families and therefore there are significant chronological and spatial gaps in the distribution of the entombed epitaphs in the Liao.

Another factor which may explain the relative absence of epitaphs in the region is hinted at in many of the epitaphs themselves – their reference to genealogical writings that would have been circulated outside the context of the tomb. As mentioned above the *Epitaph of Wang Dunyu* refers the reader to his father's epitaph. Such intertextual references to the epitaphs of previous generations is not remarkable on its own (other examples can be seen in table C.34). However, in this case it is clear that the epitaph being referred to could not possibly be accessed unless it was circulated, i.e. available outside the context of the tomb. This is because we are told in the epitaph that Wang Dunyu was buried in a new site, and his father had been

41. This is encapsulated in the rhetorical question 是何將膺臚仕... XB 362.

42. XB 166-168.

buried elsewhere, likely in the ancestral tomb site in Jianzhou.⁴³ Qin Dechang's epitaph makes reference to two kinds of text that informed the production of the epitaph, the first is the *xingzhuang*, which would have been an account of his life, the second is the genealogy, for which readers are referred to for fuller accounts of father, grandfather and great grandfather.⁴⁴ Another, later epitaph from the Laoha river basin in 1090 refers the reader to genealogical and historical texts to apprehend the heritage for the subject Zheng Ke, a man of mixed Xi and Bohai descent. Zheng Ke's epitaph does refer to ancestral burial grounds where he is buried, but not to prior epitaphs.⁴⁵ Suggesting this is the first generation of his lineage to have had an epitaph produced. What is clear though is that prior to this they have had other historical, genealogical and biographical writings produced for their family.⁴⁶ These examples suggest that the epitaph was not sole medium for funerary or commemorative social biography in the eleventh century Laoha river basin. And indeed, with many families moving around between regions from generation to generation portability was an consideration both with regards to genealogical writings, circulated texts, and even human remains. This may explain the growing appeal of Buddhist mortuary customs such as cremation.⁴⁷ This portability meant that a family could move without leaving behind their ancestors or an ancestral burial site that was the culmination of generations of material investment.

3.1.2 Life between the Ling and Laoha basins

The interregional mobility of officials exposed in the examples of epitaphs from the Laoha river basin above reveals the heuristic limitations of a region by region analysis of patterns in the epitaphs of the Liao. It is clear that many families and individuals were not bound to one region and moved between them over the course of their life. Indeed many had kinship and so-

43. XB 361-362.

44. XB 166-168.

45. WB 428-429

46. WB 428-429.

47. For cremation in the Liao see Dieter Kuhn, "Religion in the Light of Archaeology and Burial Practices," in *Modern Chinese Religion I (2 vols): Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960-1368 AD)*, ed. John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone (Brill, 2014), 461-463, 517-519

cial networks that spread over several regions.⁴⁸ With this in mind this section will consider the relationship between the settlements of the Ling river basin, which as we saw in chapter two prospered through the course of the tenth century, and the newly established Central Capital which opened up Laoha river basin to increased settlement and economic activity. For while the 1344 LS records that the labourers that built the Central Capital and the officials and clerks that ran it were brought in from the regions of Yan and Ji (modern day Tianjin),⁴⁹ the epitaphs in this section show that some elite households may have also come from those living in the various settlements of the Ling river basin. After providing examples of these I will then consider the implications of the construction and establishment of the Central Capital, both for the Ling river basin and for the wider administration and society of the Liao.

While many worked and even had a residence in the Central Capital they were still buried in the Ling River basin. Wang Shuo, for example, was heavily invested in the new Central Capital and had overseen its construction. He died there within months of its completion, but he was buried near his private residence North of Jianzhou⁵⁰ Another more detailed example is of two families that had ties not only to the Ling river basin but also Yan and then the Laoha basin. The epitaphs for both Mme Zhang (1015, wife of a Mr Song) and Song Kuangshi (1026, relation to Mme Zhang's husband Mr Song unclear) state their subjects died in the Central Capital, Mme Zhang in her "private residence" and Song Kuangshi in the office of his posting as Control Officer in the Central Capital operating on behalf of the Princess of the Jin State".⁵¹ Both however seem to have had ties with the prefecture of Yuzhou that bordered the Laoha and Ling river basins: Mme Zhang's great grandfather and Song Kuangshi's father had been Prefects of Yuzhou.⁵² Furthermore Mme Zhang's daughter was married to the Prefect of Yuzhou, Zhang Shouheng (who was likely her cousin).⁵³ The precise archaeological location of Mme Zhang's

48. Qi Wei has done a study on marriage relations between Liao families, however this does have a strong spatial element to it. Qi, *Liaodai hanguan jituan de hunyin yu zhengzhi*

49. LS 39.545.

50. WB 131-135.

51. XB 56-57 and WB 180-183

52. Mme Zhang's great grandfather was possibly the Zhang Jianli of whom an epitaph has been uncovered. Zhang Jianli had many sons, one of whom, Zhang Chanying inherited his post as Prefect of Jianzhou, the careers of the other sons are not provided in his epitaph and indeed may have post-dated the production of the epitaph.

53. A previous survey of Prefects for Yuzhou in Liao sources overlooked Zhang Shouheng, and also Song Kuangshi's unnamed father. WB 180. Cf Li Jinxin 李進欣, "Liaodai Yuzhou xiangguan wenti tanjiu" 遼代榆州相關問題探究, *Liaoning gongcheng jishu daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 遼寧工程技術大學學報 (社會科學版) 19, no. 5

and Song Kuangshi's burial is not known, but I believe they were in fact from the same site.⁵⁴ An examination of the epitaph texts confirms the location of their burials as the same – Luming mountain, Yuqing village, Nanhe township – however there is a discrepancy in the geographical classification of Nanhe township. Cheng Zhaowen, author of Mme Zhang's 1015 epitaph assigns this site to Dading county, Central Capital, whereas Wang Jingyun, the author of Song Kuangshi's 1026 epitaph assigns it to Yuzhou.⁵⁵ However this site would also be proximal to that of Mme Zhang's (possible) great grandfather Zhang Jianli's tomb site and her (possible) distant cousin Zhang Shoujie.⁵⁶

This small discrepancy in the prefecture and county level assignation of the burial site eleven years apart reveals both changes in administrative divisions in the Kaitai period (1012-1021) but also how families lived against the backdrop of these shifts. The 1344 LS DLZ records only prefectures and counties and does not go down to the level of townships, let alone villages. So places like so Nanhe township have no historical referents.⁵⁷ However, the account for Yuzhou presents two counties assigned to it – Yonghe 永和 and Hezhong 和衆 – both with the character 'he' 和 in their names. The 1344 LS DLZ avers that both of these counties were established and assigned to Yuzhou in the Kaitai reign (1012-1021). Yuzhou did not have any counties assigned prior to the Kaitai reign as it was originally an entrusted prefecture, which as discussed briefly in section 2.3.2 could not have subsidiary settlements attached. On its appropriation by the state sometime in the Kaitai reign (1012-1021) it was assigned to the Garrison Governorship of the Central Capital, and assigned these two counties. Contrary to the 1344 LS DLZ account

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54. Xiang Nan's cursory and unreferenced notes regarding the provenance of these epitaphs place Mme Zhang's burial as somewhere in Ningcheng, Chifeng, while Song Kuangshi, discovered pre-1949 as in Lingyuan, Liaoning. The two counties of Ningcheng and Lingyuan border each other, and Ningcheng was not founded until 1933, prior to that its southern parts belonged to Lingyuan. So it is likely that the site was the same, but the jurisdiction in belonged to changed in the intervening decades, meaning at the time they were discovered their general region of provenance was different.

55. 中京大定縣南和鄉□□里鹿鳴山, the name of the village has been damaged in Mme Zhang's epitaph, but it can inferred that it matches that of Song Kuangshi 1026 榆州南和鄉餘慶里鹿鳴山.

56. Xiang Nan describes Song Kuangshi's site as 遼寧凌源縣北孫家長子 using presumably pre-1949 place names, and Zhang Jianli's site as 宋杖子鄉二十里堡村北山 which was discovered in 1983. Zhang Shoujie's site is also unconfirmed, but the epitaph describes it as northwest of Anren Township, Yuzhou 榆州安仁鄉西北. Li Qiang 李強, "Liao <Zhang Shoujie muzhi> bushi" 遼《張守節墓誌》補釋, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古 4 (2013): 293–298

57. For a study on townships, villages and other lower level settlements in the Liao, see Zhang, "Liaodai shehui jiceng juluo zuzhi ji qi gongneng kaotan"

Yonghe county existed prior to its affixation to Yuzhou, because it is mentioned in the 981 epitaph for Zhang Zhengsong.⁵⁸ And given that the only official prefecture nearby was Jianzhou it must have originally been assigned to Jianzhou.⁵⁹ Mme Zhang's epitaph suggests that upon the establishment of Dading county, it was for a time reassigned again, before being assigned sometime after 1015 to Yuzhou. This would mean that over a period of a few decades smaller settlements were reassigned. But what effects did these shifts of overarching jurisdictions have on the lives of those in or connected to these settlements?

From the perspective of the Governor of Dading Superior Prefecture this transfer of a township from Dading county to Yuzhou would not have not mattered much; Dading county came under the control of the Superior Prefecture, but so did Yuzhou, which was a subsidiary prefecture and not a garrison prefecture. It would have mattered significantly more to the Zhangs and Songs who were buried there. The burial site of Song Kuangshi and Mme Zhang had been in their respective families for generations,⁶⁰ as had the position of Prefect.⁶¹ So the transfer of this burial ground on the doorstep of Yuzhou to the jurisdiction of the larger, more distant and newly established official entity of the Dading Superior Prefecture would have meant a loss of control of ancestral burial grounds. Something clearly transpired in the eleven years between Mme Zhang's burial and Song Kuangshi's burial to return this land to the jurisdiction of Yuzhou, possibly involving the intervention of the families involved whose positions in the Central Capital administration suggest a degree of influence in the region. Needless to say, it is apparent that the arrival of the Central Capital disrupted and reoriented the geography not only of the Laoha river basin but also the neighbouring Ling river basin.

58. WB 68-70. One of Zhang Zhengsong's sons married the daughter of a Mr Liu, Magistrate of Yonghe county. 永和縣劉令。

59. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi* - *Liao Jin juan*, 272.

60. Both epitaphs refer to ancestral burial sites. WB 180-183, XB 56-57.

61. Both Zhang Jianli's descendants and Song Kuangshi's father appear to have held the position of Prefect of Yuzhou. Considering the intermarriage of the two clans this may have meant some alternation or affinal succession at points. All unclear in the sources. WB 180-183, WB 42-44, Li, "Liao <Zhang Shoujie muzhi> bushi"

3.1.3 The implications of the construction of the Central Capital

The Central Capital was not merely a new city, it was the creation of a new administrative order. The Ling and Laoha river basins had once both been part of the Supreme Capital Circuit. But from 1008 they made up the new Central Capital Circuit. Despite the economic and cultural prominence of the Ling river basin it was the Laoha river basin that became the political centre of this circuit. However, as discussed in section 2.1 the applicability of the circuit model that frames the territorial administration of the Liao in the 1344 LS DLZ was for the most part limited and anachronistic. Circuits were not the highest unit of administration and did not have permanent staff. The Regent of the Central Capital was at the same time, and by another name, the Governor of the Superior Prefecture of Dading that constituted the Central Capital. With this in mind, why was it that a city was built in the Laoha river basin? This is a question that often gets overlooked, firstly because the primary sources tell us that the city was built on the emperor's orders, and secondly because an underlying assumption of teleological models of the historical 'development' of human societies is that cities are desirable and inevitable signs of progress. For an empire like the Liao, with an imperial house that had descended from pastoral nomads and continued the practice of imperial itinerance, what was the Central Capital for and if it was built with certain aims in mind, did it achieve those? I will consider one possible motive for the establishment of the Central Capital, based on the the account of the expanding population and flourishing economy in the Ling river over the tenth century, was the Central Capital establish to mitigate that expansion, or even to be a rival and siphon talent and resources away from the Ling River basin? Did it present a challenge and dilution to the prominence of the Ling river basin?

If the Central Capital was constructed at the expense of the prefectures and counties in the Ling river basin, this was not a long term setback for the Ling river basin. The survey that this chapter has provided for the epitaphs in the Laoha and Ling river basins from the eleventh century has shown that even though there are several examples of people who helped build the capital, or lived and worked there, only a limited number of these people were buried with epitaphs there in the early eleventh century. Only much later in the Liao do we start to see more families, outside of the Yelü and Xiao clans, investing in epitaphs in the Laoha river basin. Fur-

thermore, the epitaphs found in the Ling river basin show that the Ling river basin continued to be prosperous and active. Epitaphs from the eleventh century provide ample evidence of the continued presence of established families in the deathscape of the Ling River basin. This is the case of later epitaphs on sites where earlier epitaphs have been discovered, such as the Epitaphs of Geng Yanyi (1012) and Geng Zhixin (1027),⁶² Gao Yuan (1013),⁶³ Zhang Shoujie (1035),⁶⁴ Han Chun (1037),⁶⁵ and Liu Riyong (1046).⁶⁶ There were also sites where though the earliest epitaph dates to the eleventh century, the site that was ancestral burial ground.⁶⁷ Furthermore, epitaph production in the Ling river basin continued both for private funerals and for funerals that had state sponsorship.⁶⁸ Much like the Central Capital there were also new burial sites for families who had only come into the means to establish them, such as Han Shaodi (952-1022) and a Mr Yang.⁶⁹ As in the case of Liu Wenyong mentioned above there

62. WB 142-145, 184-186. Son and grandson of Geng Chongmei (970) XB 13-16.

63. Du Xiaohong 杜曉紅 and Li Yufeng 李宇峰, "Liaoning Chaoyang Xian faxian Liaodai Gao Song Gao Yuan fuzi muzhi" 遼寧朝陽縣發現遼代高嵩高元父子墓誌, *Liaoning sheng bowuguan guankan* 遼寧省博物館館刊, 2011, 85-95 Son of Gao Song (1000) XB 37-39.

64. Great great grandson of Zhang Jianli. His epitaph does not mention Zhang Jianli, but does state that his great grandfather was Zhang Chanying, who is listed in Zhang Jianli's epitaph as his son. Also like Zhang Jianli's descendants he held the post of Prefect of Yuzhou and was buried in an ancestral tomb. 原先塋, the eulogy states 龜卜新塋, 牛眠舊址 so it was a new tomb in the same ancestral site. WB42-44 and Li, "Liao <Zhang Shoujie muzhi> bushi"

65. WB 203-210. Son of Han Yu (991), WB 93-97

66. Buried at the site of his father and grandfather's tomb site southwest of Xingzhongfu (modern day Chaoyang). 葬於府西南墳岳之際, 附先塋, 禮也. WB 243-246. See also excavation report Wang Chengsheng 王成生, "Liaoning Chaoyangshi Liu Chengsi zumu" 遼寧朝陽市遼劉承嗣族墓, *Kaogu* 考古, no. 2 (1987): 131-145

67. Yang Congxian's epitaph unearthed in Beipiao claims he was buried in a ancestral tomb 附先塋之禮也. Jiang Hongjun 姜洪軍, "Liaoning Beipiaoshi faxian Liaodai Yang Congxian muzhi" 遼寧北票市發現遼代楊從顯墓誌, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古 8 (2017): 318-323. Though his 1039 epitaph does not mention it Zhao Weigan would also have been buried on an ancestral site. His epitaph merely states that he was buried "in this place" 葬於此地 WB 219-211. The later composed 1060 epitaph for Zhao Weigan's father Zhao Kuangyu (951-1019) provides a detailed list of the ancestry of the family and locates the ancestral burial site south of Jianzhou where Zhao Kuangyu had a private residence. WB 299-302.

68. The precedent of a state sponsored funeral for a previous generation continued for the epitaphs of later generations; Gao Song and his son Gao Yuan, Han Yu and his son Han Chun, Geng Chongmei and his grandson Geng Yanyi. The only exception is Geng Yanyi's son Geng Zhixin, whose epitaph was privately produced, probably on account of the fact he died so young at the age of 15. Feng Congshun's epitaph was also the product of a state sponsored funeral, though this was a new burial, as he was a first generation émigré from the Song to the Liao.

69. In 1022, Han Shaodi was the first of his generation to buried at the site by his private residence in Lizhou. He explicitly states that his ancestors fell from glory and their stories have been lost or cannot be told, so much so that he took his mother's surname, Han rather than his patrilineal surname of Wang. Not only did he not have illustrious ancestry who had risen in the ranks of the Liao, his own career was not an official one, but of clerk positions within an ordo and in the prefectural administration of Qianzhou. However given that he died in a private residence in Lizhou this career was at least lucrative. XB 63-64. The official Mr Yang (name unclear) died in a residence in the southern city of the Supreme Prefecture of Xingzhong and was buried in 1071 a new plot (再卜新阡). From what can be determined from the heavily damaged fragments of the epitaph neither his grandfather nor his father had taken an official career, possibly explaining the prior absence of an ancestral tomb. XB 139-140.

were also retroactive epitaphs written for ancestors who had died long ago.⁷⁰ This suggests that the region was still prosperous and there was upward social mobility alongside the continued prominence of established families.

There is evidence however to suggest that there was state intervention in the territorial administration of the Ling river basin. The following passage from the 1344 LS DLZ provides an account of these:

In the Tonghe era (983-1012) Coordination Offices were set up in the five prefectures of Jianzhou, Bazhou, Yizhou, Jinzhou and Baichuanzhou. Shortly afterwards these offices were dismantled and Bazhou was assigned to the Jiqing palace. And later to the Xingsheng Palace. In 1045, it was elevated to Xingzhong Superior Prefecture.⁷¹

It does not give precise dates nor the length of time that the four prefectures of the Ling river basin (Jianzhou, Bazhou, Yizhou and Baichuanzhou) and Jinzhou (which I put in a region of its own, see section 2.1) had a Coordination Office, but its establishment and then abolition must be of some significance. Later than this the only references to Coordination Offices tend to locate them in the Southern Capital or in the title of someone working in and for the moving court. The Coordination Offices were part of the *ordo* system and their specific role will be discussed in the section further down, suffice to say that it is clear at some point the Ling river basin and Jinzhou featured more heavily in the *ordo* system and then were divided among individual *ordos*.⁷² The elevation of Bazhou to the status of Supreme Prefecture and its renam-

70. Zhao Kuangyu's epitaph mentioned above is one such example. Written by his great grandson Zhao Rui, in 1060, forty-one years after Zhao Kuangyu's death. The epitaph provides a detailed account of Zhao Kuangyu's ancestry and also explains that the decision to commemorate his father with this epitaph was in order to compensate for what he sees as a previous deficit of filial conduct and also to celebrate the achievements of Zhao Kuangyu. WB 299-302. The other case in the Ling river basin from this period represents an even more extreme gap. In 1026 the descendants of Li Shaoyu commissioned an unspecified author to produce an epitaph for their ancestor who had died 93 years before in 923. This was a reburial, as Li Shaoyu had originally died in Zuzhou, though where he was originally buried is not made explicit. The epitaph states that the original funeral had been carried out with the adequate rituals. So this new burial may have been more to do with the acquisition of land to rebury him to the north of Baichuanzhou. Jiang Gongjun 姜洪軍, "Liaoning Beipiaoshi faxian Liaodai Li Shaoyu muzhi" 遼寧北票市發現遼代李紹俞墓誌, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古, 2014, 275-279.

71. 統和中, 制置建、霸、宜、錦、白川等五州。尋落制置, 隸積慶宮。後屬興聖宮。重熙十年升興中府。LS 39.550.

72. In Bazhou's case first it was the Jiqing palace and then Xingsheng Palace. The other four prefectures were assigned to other palaces displayed in table C.18. Jianzhou to the Dunmu palace, Baichuan to the Chongde Palace,

ing as Xingzhong was not a restoration of the Coordination Offices but an elevation in the administration of the Liao in an entirely different sense. Yu Wei argues there was not a significant difference between a Garrison Prefecture (*jieduzhou/jiezhen* 節度州/節鎮) and a Supreme Prefecture (*fu* 府) and it was likely based on size.⁷³ However one implication of an upgrade to Supreme Prefecture was its status as a venue for holding the imperial examinations, the intake, output and influence of which had been expanding, into Liao officialdom since the late tenth and early eleventh century. In fact, Bazhou's changing status in the passage does not have so much to do with the Central Capital as with broader changes and reforms in the Liao empire-wide, that included shifts in the settlements and status of populations and methods of entry into government.

To understand the implications of this shift it is necessary to consider the changes and possible reforms that were made to the ordo, entrusted prefectures and Princely Mansions, and the expansion of the examination system in the eleventh century. These two areas of Liao political life were not integrated and as a result need to be introduced separately at first to underline their internal workings. Then I will present how their mutual interaction and influence can be seen playing out in the epitaphs of the eleventh century.

3.2 Social changes and reforms to the ordos and entrusted prefectures system

The 1344 LS and other sources do not provide definitive or direct evidence of edicts or policies to curb the capacity and power of the ordos or the entrusted prefectures, however the sources do suggest there were discernable diachronic changes in the size and scope of institutions that I will now explore here.

Yizhou to the Jiqing Palace and Jinzhou to the Hongyi Palace. These five prefectures are not the same as those listed in the 1344 LS BGZ, Baichuanzhou and Quanzhou are different. 1020 Bazhou, Jianzhou, Yizhou, Quanzhou and Jinzhou Coordination Office 聖宗開泰九年見霸、建、宜、泉、錦五州制置使。LS 48.922.

73. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi* - *Liao Jin juan*, 117-118.

wei as currently serving Vice Administrator of Chongde Palace (*Chongde gong fubushu* 崇德宮副部署).⁷⁸ Unfortunately no date survives on the fragments of the epitaph however Xiao Shenwei was recorded as an envoy to the Korean Peninsula kingdom of Goryeo in 1044.⁷⁹ In the same tomb was a copper pan inscribed with a Chinese inscription on the handle attributing it to the Chongde Palace.⁸⁰ All of this points to the survival of an ordo after the death of its head, though in what capacity is disputed. I will argue that by the time this tomb was sealed in 1057 there had been several reforms and changes to the ordo system.

The first reform likely targeted the provenance of ordo assigned households. We can see that ordos drew on previous ordos. This is most apparent in the fate of the ordos that were established for Yelü Bei and Yelü Lihu, both sons of Abaoji who were groomed to be emperor. After their deaths their ordos were appropriated and the populations reapportioned to other ordo,⁸¹ Yelü Bei's into Shizong's and Yelü Lihu's into Jingzong's (see table C.26). The three ordos established in Shengzong's reign, for the emperor, his mother and his brother were all drawn from previous ordos too (see table C.26). The ordos of the three emperors after Shengzong reign, i.e. the last three emperors were also all "established from the imperial attendants of many ordos", suggesting that from Shengzong's reign onwards the populations of the ordos were not increasing and if anything were decreasing. There are several explanations for this. The first is a matter

78. 次曰慎微，崇德宮副部署、銀青崇祿大夫、檢校句當.... 蕭相公 WB 231-232.

79. Though at that time he was further on in his career, serving as Governor for the Garrison of Zhongshun Jun (*Zhongshunjun Jiedushi* 忠順軍節度使). *Gaoli Shi* 高麗史 7 available on CTEXT. Li Wenxin's original excavation report uses this passage to date the tomb. Li, "Yixian Qinghemmen Liao mu fajue baogao"

80. "Made for Songde Palace, weight of one *jin*, third day of ..." 嵩德宮造重一斤 〇〇〇三日。For the tomb report see Li, "Yixian Qinghemmen Liao mu fajue baogao" For a discussion of this pan see Lin Ronggui 林榮貴, "Liao 'Songde Gong tongdiao' ji qi youguan de yi xie wenti" 遼 "嵩德宮銅鈔" 及其有關的一些問題, *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物, no. 3 (1986): 37-38, 9. An image of the pan and the inscription on it can be seen on the website of the National Museum of China, <http://old.chnmuseum.cn/tabid/212/Default.aspx?AntiqueLanguageID=918>. Accessed 02/12/2019. The significance of this utilitarian artefact of Chengtian's Chongde Palace in this Liao tomb can only be speculated. Studies of metal objects in Liao tombs have focused attention on elite decorative and symbolic goods such as wire mesh gloves and body suits, masks, and objects of gold and silver. François Louis, "Shaping Symbols of Privilege: Precious Metals and the Early Liao Aristocracy," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, no. 33 (2003): 71-109; François Louis, "Iconic Ancestors: Wire Mesh, Metal Masks, and Kitan Image Worship," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43, no. 1 (2013): 91-115 I have yet to find a study of utilitarian metal objects in tombs. When utilitarian objects are analysed in the context of Liao tombs this is often done to infer the ethnic identities of the occupants, or the statements the occupants were making about ethnic identity. Indeed alongside tomb structure and the contents of murals the presence of items such as saddles, horse bridles and other objects associated with riding are used as diagnostics for 'Kitan' culture tombs. See Kinoshita, "Burial practices of the Liao (907-1125) Kitan elite: a reflection of hybrid culture"; Liu, *Liaodai muzang de kaoguxue yanjiu*; Dong, "Liaodai muzang xingzhi yu fenqi luelun" and Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order*, 211-245

81. Lin, *Nan wang: Liao qianqi zhengzhi shi*, 333-334.

of capacity.

The ordos contained not only population but herds and access to pastures, these were predominantly in the Kitan heartlands of the Laoha and Liaoxi river basin. As mentioned in section 2.2.1 This land had already been claimed by the Diela clan before the beginning of the Liao and so the creation of the ordos for the imperial family in the Liao institutionalised this claim.⁸² By the end of the tenth century good pasture land was already getting scarce and as early as Deguang's reign (927-947) efforts were made to move Kitan groups outwards.⁸³ In his mission to the Liao in 1008 Song envoy Lu Zhen observed that the southwest of the Liao empire, all west of the mountains were under control of the Princes of the North and South.⁸⁴ Guan Shudong and Yang Jun have found that this corroborates with passages in the 1344 LS.⁸⁵ An oft cited passage of 1344 LS also states that "those that are divided into garrisons that line the perimeter of the frontier, these are the tribes and clans."⁸⁶ Yang Jun argues that these "tribes and clans" referred to the Princes of the North and South who were more remote lineages of the Yelü clan (see figure B.8), and they had been pushed to the frontiers because the ordo was taking up the heartlands of the Liaoxi and Laoha river basins.⁸⁷ In fact, even in the heartlands space for pasture was getting tight. In 1075 Yelü Yinji raised opposition to the very powerful minister Yelü Yixin (more on him in chapter 5) gifting pasture lands to ministers, arguing that the lands had already been excessively subdivided.⁸⁸ Yinji's opposition may have been personal, Yelü Yixin had demoted him to Chief of the Pastures (*muquan linya* 牧群林牙). But his claim does carry some validity. As Yang Jun points out, units of pasture called *moli* are listed under each ordo in the 1344 LS. Several ordo contain *moli* with the same name, or a name that appears derived from others. Yang Jun argues that this suggests successive subdivisions.⁸⁹ This would explain

82. Yang Jun 楊軍, "'Bian jia wei guo': Yelü Abaoji dui Qidan buzhuo jiegou de gaizao" "變家為國": 耶律阿保機對契丹部族結構的改造, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究, no. 3 (2012): 27-28.

83. Yang, "Muchang yu Qidan ren de zhengzhi," 4-5.

84. 西南至山後八軍八百餘里, 南大王、北大王統之, 皆耶律氏也。Zhao, *Fengshi Liao Jin xingcheng lu (zengding ben)*, 21

85. LS 33.436 states the Fifth and Sixth Divisions, i.e. the Princes of the North and South guarded the southern border 鎮南境。See Yang, "Muchang yu Qidan ren de zhengzhi," 5, Guan Shudong 關樹東, "Liaochao buzhuo jun de tunshu wenti" 遼朝部族軍的屯戍問題, *Zhongyang minzu daxue xuebao* 中央民族大學學報, no. 6 (1996): 48-51.

86. ls 31 ywz 分鎮邊圉, 謂之部族 LS 31.409-410.

87. Yang, "Muchang yu Qidan ren de zhengzhi," 4-5.

88. 耶律引吉傳: 時昭懷太子知北南院事, 選引吉為輔導。樞密使乙辛將傾太子, 惡引吉在側, 奏出之, 為群牧林牙。大康元年, 乙辛請賜牧地, 引吉奏曰: 今牧地徧愜, 畜不蕃息, 豈可分賜臣下。LS 97.1550.

89. Yang, "Muchang yu Qidan ren de zhengzhi"; Yang, "Qidan buzhuo zuzhi zhong de shilie."

a reason to reallocate the resources of the existing ordos, rather than appropriate more lands, people and pastures for a new ordo every time a new emperor ascended the throne.

Another reason for the recycling of ordos was that existing ordos outside of the sitting emperor's own ordo posed a threat not only the throne but also the line of succession. This can be seen in Empress Dowager Chengtian's establishment not only of her own ordo to bolster the position of her regency against detractors, but also in establishing one for Shengzong's younger brother, Yelü Longqing. The desire to have Yelü Longqing succeed Shengzong was borne out of Chengtian's need to preserve the privilege of her family in marriage to the imperial line. This desire can also be seen in her choice of her own niece as the primary wife of her son, which would have meant if Shengzong and her niece successfully produced a male heir (which they did not) then the imperial line would continue to favour her family.⁹⁰ She schooled all her sons for powerful military and government positions, though it was clear than the emperor was wary of them having too much power.⁹¹ After Chengtian's death in 1009 and Yelü Longqing's in 1016 Shengzong had at his command their former ordos. With these under his command he could instigate reform to the system, that had become increasingly large and complex over the hundred years since its creation. It was not only in his interest to curtail the ordos and bring them under the power of the imperial line but also in the interests of a rival to Chengtian's family. Empress Qin'ai was originally a consort of Shengzong's, however her power and prominence grew after the birth of her son with Shengzong. Her family managed to push out Chengtian's family in the 1020s and this son was declared the heir to the throne. This was likely another motivating factor in the centralisation and streamlining of the ordo system. While there is no explicit or direct mention of reforms to the ordo system, the effects of changes can be seen and there were certainly factors motivating reform in the territorial and imperial court politics of the early eleventh century. A policy that weakened the power-base of Chengtian's was in the interests of Qin'ai's ascendant family. But how was it reformed? I argue that Shengzong subtly reformed the ordo through the institution of the Coordination Office (*zhizhisi* 制置司). In order

90. Jennifer Holmgren, "Marriage, Kinship and Succession under the Ch'i-tan Rulers of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125)," *T'oung Pao*, no. 72 (1986): 71-72.

91. Holmgren, "Marriage, Kinship and Succession under the Ch'i-tan Rulers of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125)," 71-72.

to do this however I must first introduce what the Coordination Office was.

The Control Office and the Coordination Office

The Coordination Office does not appear in the 1344 LS BGZ, it does however appear in an account of one of many court rituals in the 1344 LS. In this court ritual the officials of various departments are in attendance and their seating arrangement is separated into Capital, Military and Civil officials. Representatives of the Coordination Office take their place alongside those of the Regent Office (*liushousi* 留守司), Triple Office (*sansi* 三司), Military Control Office (*tongjunsu* 統軍司) in the section for Capital Officials (*jingguan* 京官).⁹² This suggests that Coordination Officers had duties specific to the capitals and not the ordo, whose officials - the Chief Administration Office (*dubushusi* 都部署司), Palace Commissioners (*gongshi* 宮使) and Vice Palace Commissioners (*fugongshi* 副宮使), took their seats among the Military Officials.⁹³ However, in Yu Jing's eyewitness account of the moving court in 1045 he records that: "The Ten Palaces have Coordination Offices"⁹⁴ suggesting that the Coordination Offices were connected to the administration of the ordo. These two passages when put together do not contradict each other but actually reveal an office that mediated between the capital administration and the ordo administration.

But first it is necessary to distinguish the difference between the Coordination Office and another office, connected to both the capitals and the ordo, the Control Office (*tixiasi* 提轄司). This distinction is important because prominent scholar Yang Ruowei has argued that the two were one and the same thing. I outline here why this was not the case. The Control Offices appear more frequently in the 1344 LS, such as in the Military Treatises (*Bingwei Zhi* 兵衛志):

...In case of military activities the Control Offices of the five capitals and the two prefectures quickly sent out notices and assembled [the troops] so that it was unnecessary to wait for the mobilization of the prefectures, counties, and tribes, for

92. 留守司、三司、統軍司、制置司謂之京官。LS 51.943

93. 都部署司、宮使、副宮使，都承以下令史，北面主事以下隨駕諸司為武官。LS 51.943

94. 十宮院制置司 YJ-QDGY.

an army of a hundred thousand mounted soldiers was already in existence.⁹⁵

The two prefectures mentioned above were Pingzhou and Fengshengzhou. The Encampment Guard Treatises (*Yingwei zhi* 營衛志) of the 1344 LS provide an account of each ordo and the settlements and units that were assigned to them. Table C.20 presents an example of the format of these accounts for the Chongde Palace, ordo of Empress Dowager Chengtian. The Control Offices for her ordo are provided after ‘counties’. Table C.19 presents the Control Offices for each of the ordos, where it is apparent that most of the ordos had Control Offices for the Southern and Western Capital and for the prefectures of Pingzhou and Fengshengzhou. Yang Ruowei argues that the Control Offices were the Coordination Offices because the Control Offices were both based in the capitals (though only two of these have Control Offices in table C.19) just as the Coordination Office was presented as a Capital Official in a court ritual seating plan mentioned earlier, and in the moving court, as the Coordination Office is presented in Yu Jing’s account. Furthermore, a gloss to Yu Jing’s account states:

”The Ten Palaces have Coordination Offices” Gloss: “Fengshengzhou and Ping also each have an office for the Ten Palaces.”⁹⁶

This also suggests that the Coordination Offices like the Control Offices were based in the prefectures of Pingzhou and Fengshengzhou. The problem is that the connection of the two is based on conjecture and not a comparison of the fuller accounts of the role either played in the Liao or their internal workings. The Coordination Offices do not appear in the 1344 LS BGZ (as stated above), whereas while the Control Offices do get a mention the compilers admit they do not know how they worked.⁹⁷

The problem with Yang Ruowei’s conflation of the two offices rests not only in the paucity of sources but also in her argument that the Control Office/Coordination Office was not an office but actually a subset of the population. Yang Ruowei draws upon the work of Tsuda Sōkichi

95. 有兵事，則五京、二州各提轄司傳檄而集，不待調發州縣、部族，十萬騎軍已立具矣。恩意親洽，兵甲犀利，教練完習。【簡天下精銳，聚之腹心之中。懷舊者歲深，增新者世盛。此軍制之良者也。】LS 35.458

96. 十宮院制置司。The gloss reads: 奉聖州、平州，亦各有十宮院司，檀州有章愍宮行唐縣屬焉。YJ-QDGY.

97. “Control Office of X palace. Postings unknown.” 某宮提轄司。官制未詳。LS 45.806 “The Twelve palaces, Administrators (*bushu* 部署), Control Offices, *shilie*, *wali*, *moli*, *deli* etc, can all be found in the *Yingwei zhi*” 已上十二宮一府，部署、提轄、石烈、瓦里、抹里、得裡等，並見《營衛志》。LS 45.808.

who observed that the placement of the Control Office in the list of affiliated units for the ordo comes after ‘counties’ (see example in table C.20), and concluded that this must mean that the Control Office was a form of settlement smaller than the county.⁹⁸ This claim was backed up by examples in the 1344 LS of prefectures and counties being established using the households of Control Offices, such as in the counties of the Liao river basin discussed in section 2.3.2 and displayed in table C.13. There were also examples of prefectures and counties losing their status and their populations reverting to Control Offices.⁹⁹ Yang Ruowei contends that this shows that prior to being moved to establish prefectures the status of Control Office households would have been different to those of the prefectures and counties.¹⁰⁰ Yang Ruowei identifies these households of the Control Offices as the ‘transferred households’ (*fan han zhuanhu* 番漢轉戶) that are referred to alongside ‘regular households’ (*zhenghu* 正戶) for each ordo, as seen in the example in table C.20. Her argument for this rests on the parallels between the ethnic composition, geographical distribution and subjected status of what she identified as Control Office households and the ‘transferred households’. For Yang Ruowei the regular households are palace-assigned ethnic Kitan, who follow the moving court and are subdivided into *shilie*, *wali*, *moli* and *zhasa*, while the transferred households are sedentary Han, Bohai and others that do not follow the moving court, but are distributed in settlements throughout the Liao and engage in agriculture production for the ordo. She argues that the distribution of these households was not limited to the Control Office locations that I have laid out in table C.19, and they were distributed throughout the empire. Overall, Yang Ruowei’s formulation of the relationship between the ordo and its constituent parts/people can be summarised in table C.21.

Yu Wei’s reconstruction of the relationship between the ordo/palace and its constituent parts/people differs dramatically from Yang Ruowei’s. In particular where our discussion is concerned, Yu Wei argues that the Control Office and the Coordination Office refer to two separate institu-

98. Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉, “Ryō no Seido no nijū taikai,” 遼の制度の二重体系, in *Tsuda Sōkichi Zenshū* (12) 津田左右吉全集 (一二), ed. Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1964), 341 and Yang, *Qidan wangchao zhengzhi junshi zhidu yanjiu*, 55-68.

99. Such as Zongzhou in far east of the Liao, which the 1344 LS DLZ records was established and assigned to the Princely Mansion of Wenzhong, but on the death of the Prince of Wenzhong (Han Derang) it was assigned to the Control Office 聖宗立為州，隸文忠王府。王薨，屬提轄司。LS 38.523.

100. Yang, *Qidan wangchao zhengzhi junshi zhidu yanjiu*, 57.

tional bodies, neither of which referred to groups of people. Yu Wei's formulation is summarised in table C.22. The Control Office was not a unit or a type of household made of 'transferred households' (as it was in Yang Ruowei's reading in table C.21) but an office that administered the 'regular' and 'transferred' households on behalf of its ordo for a given region. Individual ordos were managed by Palace Commissioners (*gongshi* 宮使) who followed the moving court, while the Control Offices worked under them in the Southern and Western Capitals and the prefectures of Pingzhou and Fengshengzhou.¹⁰¹ The reason that the Control Officers were not present at the ritual alongside the Coordination Officers was not because they were the same thing as the Coordination Officers but because they were a lower status, subordinate to the Palace Commissioners. They did not work for the administration of the Capitals, but for the Palaces which sat with the Military Officials.

With that in mind, what did the Coordination Officers do? How was it that the Coordination Offices operated in the administrations of both the ordos and in the capitals? What made them not only distinct from but also of a higher status than the Control Offices? And why does the Control Office not appear in Yu Wei's formulation of the structure of ordo administration and population divisions in table C.22? The answer that Yu Wei provides is that the Coordination Office functions across the ordo in a specific locale. This is demonstrated in figure B.11. Each ordo had a Control Office in the cities of Pingzhou, Fengshengzhou and the Southern Capital and these Control Offices were commanded by the Palace Commissioners of their respective ordo. Each city had a Coordination Office, this Coordination Office could commandeer the Control Offices of all the ordos that were stationed in the city, but only in that city. These Coordination Offices answered to the Coordination Office of the Many Ordo (*zhu gong zhizhi shi* 諸宮制置使), an office based in the moving court.¹⁰² The effect of this is that the Coordination Office could override the authority of the Control Offices of individual ordos in any one city, it was a localised intervention of a translocal institution. This would have prevented any official who was appointed Palace Commissioner for any one ordo using the resources at his command to rebel or abuse his position, because the Coordination Offices could override the

101. Yu Wei 余蔚, "Liaodai woluduo guanli tizhi yanjiu" 遼代斡魯朵管理體制研究, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究, no. 1 (2015): 64-68.

102. Yu, "Liaodai woluduo guanli tizhi yanjiu," 64-68.

authority of their resource base in any one locale, and the authority of the Coordination Offices in the moving court had effective control over the Control Offices of all of the ordo. It was this undermining of authority that became a key feature of Shengzong's reforms to the ordo.

This can be seen in the available epigraphic evidence that suggests that the decline in status and influence of the Control Offices was relative to the rise in the power and status of the Coordination Offices. Table C.24 shows that references to the Coordination Office do not start to appear until 1053. Table C.23 shows that Control Offices were present from the early-mid tenth century through to the late eleventh century, however the status of the position was on a downward trajectory. The early mentions of the Control Offices in the epitaphs of Gao Song, Liu Cungui and Zhang Jianli were all for the position of Chief Control Officer.¹⁰³ This must have been a considerably prestigious position based on the other titles and privileges that its bearers held. Consider Gao Tangying, recounted in the *Epitaph of Gao Song*. At the same time as Gao Tangying was Internal Han'er Chief Control Officer, he had also been awarded the very high ranks, honors and prestige titles,¹⁰⁴ and allowed to marry a woman from the Northern King lineage of the Yelü clan, which was significant given that Gao Tangying was of Bohai descent and typically the Yelü clan only intermarried with the Xiao clan.¹⁰⁵ The title of Chief Control Officer disappeared after 969. Instead the post of Control Officer for a particular ordo appears and is considerably humbler, this can be seen in the epitaphs of Zheng Jie and Wang Ze. Despite administering two ordo at a time Zheng Jie's other titles were much lower in the rankings of official titles.¹⁰⁶ So low in fact it is possible that such a rank did not provide his family initially with the financial means to give him a tomb burial together with an epitaph as one was not produced until thirty years later by his brother,¹⁰⁷ by which time his male progeny had forged their own official careers, and his oldest daughter had married a very high ranking minister Zhang Sifu.¹⁰⁸ The modesty of the Control Office can also be seen in the postings of Wang Ji 王紀, who

103. XB 37-39, WB 9-10, 42-44.

104. 加國內漢兒都鈐轄使。累受特進，檢校太尉、兼御史大夫、上柱國，進封渤海縣開國公，食邑八百戶、列三公之位，冠五等之封。XB 37-39

105. Du and Li, "Liaoning Chaoyang Xian faxian Liaodai Gao Song Gao Yuan fuzi muzhi," 86-87.

106. XB 179-181.

107. I discuss this epitaph and the story behind its production later in this chapter.

108. Who was Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat Chancellery (*tong zhongshu menxia pingzhang shi* 同中書門下平章事) and jointly appointed Director of Chancellery (*shizhong* 侍中), these titles were a very big deal, as I discuss in chapter 5

appears in three different epitaphs, his mother's in 1045, his father's in 1053 and his son's in 1124.¹⁰⁹ In his mother's epitaph in 1045 he is the Administrator of Yanqing Palace Control Office, eight years later in his father's epitaph he is listed as the Administrative Assistant for the Regent of the Supreme Capital (*Shangjing liushou tuiguan* 上京留守推官).¹¹⁰ Neither of these postings were very high-ranking, suggesting that presuming he was not on a downward track of career mobility. The role in the Control Office was lower even than the post of Administrative Assistant for the Regent of the Supreme Capital, or they were the same level and he had in the space of eight years only moved across. Needless to say when he is mentioned many years later in his son's epitaph he is only referred by the highest title he reached in his life.¹¹¹ From these appearances, and probably most tellingly from the 1344 LS BGZ's lack of materials on the institution,¹¹² it is apparent that the Control Offices were neither prestigious nor powerful institutions, and their authority was contained both by the hierarchy of the ordo administration and the Coordination Office in the city they were based. The Coordination Offices commanded all of the ordos stationed in one place while the Palace Commissioners commanded a single ordo across several places. The power of these two roles conflicted and prevented one post from having too much control over the ordo system.

Returning to the Coordination Office briefly established in the Ling river basin that was mentioned above. The significance and implications of the establishment and subsequent abolition of the Coordination Office there are open to speculation, especially given that the loose time frame for these provided in the 1344 LS (the Tonghe reign era, a period of almost thirty years) makes it difficult to corroborate with other historic events. It does however at least suggest that for a period the ordos were based in these regions and had a strong presence. Strategic concerns, either geopolitical or stemming from court interests in territorial administration, led to the abolition of this office in the region and the re-assignment of the prefectures to various ordos. What is clear is that this occurred during or slightly before adjustments started to be made to the establishment and internal structure of future ordos.

109. Mme Li, wife of Wang Ze 王澤妻李氏 WB 240-242, Wang Ze 王澤 WB 259-264 and Wang Anyi 王安裔 WB 687-688.

110. 長曰紀, 上京留守推官。Wang Ze MZM WB 261.

111. 父諱紀, 太常少卿, 疾終西京府少尹, 今雲中府是也。WB 687.

112. "Control Office of X palace. Postings unknown." 某宮提轄司。官制未詳。LS 45.806

The above discussion of the Control Offices also highlights another area of reform that occurred during this period, the reform of the entrusted prefectures and Princely Mansions. Among the epitaphs found in the prefecture of Yuzhou that bordered the Laoha and Ling river basin, Song Kuangshi is listed as working as “Control Officer in the Central Capital operating on behalf of the Princess of the Jin State”¹¹³ This reference to the Control Office confirms that they were local offices for an individual ordo. However the reference to the Princess contradicts much of what we know about ordo and Control Offices by suggesting that Control Offices did not only operate exclusively as part of ordo administration but also for Princely Mansions or entrusted prefectures. The next section will consider how these changed in the early to mid eleventh century.

3.2.2 Reforms to the Entrusted prefectures and Princely Mansions

While the Chanyuan Treaty in the early eleventh century brought what appears to have been a new period of peace and prosperity to the Liao, it also brought an end to a situation that favoured certain elites of the Liao, bringing about a period of scarcity and not abundance. This can be seen in the tensions around the availability of pastureland for the Kitan in the eleventh century mentioned above, and the reforms of the ordo to consolidate everything under the emperor’s control. For Kitan aristocrats both within and outside of the direct imperial line wealth and power had come through the spoils of war and raiding, both in terms of objects, livestock and households of skilled and unskilled labour. While the emperors had their ordos, many aristocrats built private towns from these assets and the ownership of these had been recognised and officiated by the court through the institution of *touxia* or ‘entrusted’ prefectures, counties and other settlements.¹¹⁴ In the period leading up to and following the agreement of the Chanyuan Treaty there is also evidence that this practice was being dismantled and discontinued through changes to the status of members of the population and the expansion of the

113. WB 180-183.

114. There is a whole body of literature on the entrusted prefectures and debates about their nature. My own understanding presented here is based on the following works: Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng qihua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 100-107; Kang, “Shuo ”touxia””; Liu, “Liaochao de touxia zhidu yu touxia junzhou”; Takai, *Bokkai to hanchin: Ryōdai chihō tōchi no kenkyū*, 226-254.

prefecture and counties system under the Southern Administration.

The last example of captives of war being allocated to various persons or institutions in the 1344 LS was in 1010 when captives of Goryeo were “assigned to the various mausoleums, with leftovers presented to the imperial clan members and high ranking ministers.”¹¹⁵ Not only was the supply of captives as a source of wealth and power for aristocrats rapidly drying up, Song sources record how captives from campaigns against the Song were being allowed to return to the Song.¹¹⁶ The 1344 LS records at least five instances where the court bought the freedom of populations of captives between the years 986 and 1019.¹¹⁷ However, this was not tantamount to an overall policy towards the abolition of slavery as an institution. Without getting into the debates about the definition and applicability of the concept of slavery in the Liao context, it would suffice to say as Wittfogel and Feng did, that slavery persisted in various forms throughout the Liao period and was only curtailed by the government in special conditions.¹¹⁸ I would argue that these “special conditions” were determined by the interests of the court against the private power bases of aristocratic clans and families. The changes to entrusted prefectures had an effect of ‘freeing’ or redesignating parts of the population into tax paying households in the prefectures and counties.

Entrusted prefectures were appropriated by the court in circumstances where either the heads of the settlement had died and left no heir, or they had rebelled and had the settlement confiscated.¹¹⁹ The exact number of entrusted settlements is unknown. The latest count of entrusted prefectures, drawing on sources from and beyond the 1344 LS, is 53.¹²⁰ Of what is recorded most of these were established in the tenth century, prior to the reign of Shengzong (983-1031). Table C.25 shows the pattern of appropriation and founding of entrusted prefectures accounted

115. 戊午，所俘高麗人分置諸陵廟，余賜內戚、大臣。LS 15.185.

116. Guan Shudong 關樹東, “Chanyuan zhi meng hou Liaochao shehui yu wenhua de ruogan bianhua,” 澶淵之盟後遼朝社會與文化的若干變化, in *Chanyuan zhi meng xin lun* 澶淵之盟新論, ed. Zhang Xiqing 張希清 et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 2007), 114-115.

117. Guan, “Chanyuan zhi meng hou Liaochao shehui yu wenhua de ruogan bianhua,” 114-115.

118. What is clear is there was a distinction in categories of official status and identities between those who belonged to someone, using terms commensurate with slavery, and those that were registered with to prefectures and counties, which would have been regular households. Definitions of slavery and the various terms are explored in WF 196-197.

119. Liu, “Liaochao de touxia zhidu yu touxia junzhou,” 97.

120. Wang, *Liao cheng: Zhongguo beifang caoyuan chengshi de xingqi*, 404

for in the 1344 LS. In Shengzong's reign records show at least four entrusted prefectures were appropriated by the court.¹²¹ During Shengzong's reign nine new entrusted prefectures were established, however only three of these were formed by captives of conquest; Zongzhou 宗州 and Quanzhou 全州 for the clan of Han Zhigu (discussed in section 2.3.1), and Fengzhou 豐 for Amoli in 995.¹²² The other six were 'princess towns', settlements formed of households assigned to princesses on their marriage.¹²³ They served as a kind of imperial dowry. The establishment of these 'Princess towns' shows that a shift was underway, the court was actively establishing entrusted prefectures, rather than granting official recognition to the fait accompli of private towns that had been set up by generals and aristocrats working semi-independently and building a settlement and estate from their own assets. Furthermore, assigning these households as dowry meant that the husband of the princess would also have access to them. Given that princesses were all married to the Xiao clans this meant that the Xiao clans ended up in command of many entrusted prefectures, with not only the economic but also territorial benefits. These were the last recorded entrusted prefectures to be established, after which only the abolition of entrusted prefectures is recorded, which has led scholars to tentatively suggest that from Shengzong's reign onward there was a centralising tendency, whereby originally entrusted prefectures were gradually appropriated by the court, though this process was never completed and some places remained entrusted right up until the end of the Liao.¹²⁴ Caution must be exercised however, because there is no evidence to suggest the appropriation of entrusted prefectures was a proactive, court-initiated move, rather it was opportunistic, and contingent on the fortunes or loyalty of the families of the head of the entrusted prefecture. I would argue that Shengzong's establishment of entrusted prefectures as dowry was also in many ways a sign of the court exercising growing powers, though the result of these was to give powers away - or more specifically to move territory and assets from the imperial line to the Xiao clan. While the court could not or chose not to appropriate entrusted prefectures without cause, the court had appropriated the process by which entrusted prefectures were made. The end to the influx to

121. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi* - *Liao Jin juan*, 398-399, 187-188, 271-271.

122. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi* - *Liao Jin juan*, 393-394.

123. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi* - *Liao Jin juan*, 390-393, 167, 276-279, 211-220.

124. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi* - *Liao Jin juan*, 107; Liu, "Liaochao de touxia zhidu yu touxia junzhou," 100-101.

the spoils of war meant that assets and status for Kitan aristocrats had to come from the existing structures and economy within the Liao, and often through the central government.

Changes also came to those who administered the entrusted prefectures on behalf of their heads when the prefectures were appropriated by the court and made official prefectures. This can be seen in some of the epitaphs of this period. The implications of the appropriation of entrusted prefectures by the court, and their redesignation as official prefectures can also be seen in the 1035 *Epitaph for Zhang Shoujie*. The 1344 LS DLZ records that Yuzhou was an entrusted prefecture up until the Kaitai reign (1012-1021), when it was made an official prefecture and assigned to the Central Capital.¹²⁵ As previously discussed, the epitaphs of Zhang Jianli, Mr Song's wife Mme Zhang, Song Kuangshi all show that the Prefect position of Yuzhou had consistently been in the family of the Zhangs and the Songs, who intermarried.¹²⁶ Zhang Shoujie's epitaph is also very explicit about the Prefect role in his family, providing before an account of the deceased a detailed praise of his father's work in the position.¹²⁷ His father, Zhang Wenxu, would have been Prefect of Yuzhou during the time of transition to becoming a regular prefecture and part of the Central Capital's jurisdiction. After the transition the post continued to be in their hands.¹²⁸ The epitaph contains an indirect appraisal of his father's work prior to Zhang Shoujie himself taking the post of Prefect of Yuzhou. The epitaph describes the situation in Yuzhou:

Of the four corners of the Central Capital, the lands of Yu are one in corner, there rebels were kept in check and bad elements rooted out. So that the side roads were still and the territory at peace.”¹²⁹

This account shows that Yuzhou was now orientated in relation to the Central Capital. As well

125. LS 39.548; Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 271-273

126. Bossler argues that we should not think in terms of single families with connections to others but as groups of families – analogous in many respects to the joining of several descent lines in a single descent group. So property and political advantage could be transferred back and forth by marriage and yet remain within the group. Bossler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, & the State in Sung China (960-1279)*, 210

127. Li, “Liao <Zhang Shoujie muzhi> bushi”

128. Mme Zhang's epitaph states her daughter married Zhang Shouheng, the Prefect of Yuzhou in 1015. XB 56-57. Zhang Shouheng was likely Zhang Shoujie's brother, given the custom of using the same character in the names of the male children of the same generation. Zhang Shouheng is not mentioned in Zhang Shoujie's epitaph, though a younger brother by the name of Zhang Hetong is listed as “former prefect of Yuzhou”.

129. 中京四面，榆地一方，巡察兇頑，斷絕姦宄。於是路歧寧謐，封圻肅清。Another meaning of ‘sideroads’ was wandering minstrels, while ‘territory’ could also refer to clerks, suggesting an ambiguity of reference between geography and people.

as being Prefects of Yuzhou, and possibly as a result of Yuzhou's long term status prior to the Kaitai reign as an entrusted prefecture, the Zhang's also held internal military positions in the Mansion of the Prince of the North. This was the case not only for Zhang Shoujie's grandfather Zhang Rong but also of Zhang Shoujie prior to becoming Prefect of Yuzhou. The appropriation of Yuzhou by the court may have severed this tie of the Zhangs to the Mansion of the Prince of the North. Given the extent to which the epitaph takes space away from an account of the deceased to praise and celebrate the work that members of the Zhang family had done as Prefects of Yuzhou, either directly in the case of Zhang Shoujie's father, or indirectly, in the case of his brothers. The writer may have been making claims of status to compensate for the loss of ties to the Mansion of the Prince of the North, and the subsequent diminished circumstances that may have ensued. This may have reflected an anxiety that the continued hold the Zhangs had on the post of the Prefect of Yuzhou was no longer guaranteed now that Yuzhou become an official prefecture and been assigned to the garrison of the Superior Prefecture of Dading (the Central Capital). This situation warranted a concerted positive evaluation of the Zhang family's contribution to Yuzhou. However, this explanation remains speculative, because so little is still understood about the nature of Princely Mansions and how they operated.

The term 'Princely Mansion' (*wangfu* 王府) has come up a few times in this discussion and appears in many Liao sources, and yet it is still an ambiguous and understudied term.¹³⁰ The relationship between Princely Mansions and the ordos and entrusted prefectures is not entirely clear. Princely Mansions were given to those with princely and noble titles, and their mansions were the collections of their assets, which could include households and entrusted prefectures. This can be seen in the case of Prince of Qin, Han Kuangsi who had the entrusted prefecture of Quanzhou where the tombs of his family were buried. One of his sons, born Han Derang was inducted into the imperial house of Yelü and posthumously entitled the Prince of Wenzhong. His Princely Mansion is listed alongside the ordo in tables C.17, C.26 and C.19 which are based on how the ordos are presented in the 1344 LS. The Mansion of Prince Wenzhong is described

130. The only article to date that explores the Princely Mansions is Tang Tongtian 唐統天, "You shike bukao Liao-dai wangfu yu gongzhu yisi de guanzhi" 由石刻補考遼代王府與公主邑司的官制, *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物, no. 4 (1987): 28–32

by the 1344 LS as “like an ordo”.¹³¹ My assumption in the case of Zhang Shoujie’s family above is that Mansion of the Prince of the North is also this kind of Princely Mansion and not a different kind of institution, owing to the similar use of the term Princely Mansion (*wangfu* 王府). With the absence of instructive passages all I have are instances and mentions of such institutions in the text. And based on this it would appear that Princely Mansions exercised a form of patronage, whereby their head, the Prince, cultivated followers who would serve as officials within the Mansion but also outside in other regions, expanding a network of influence for the head of the Mansion. This can be seen in the career of Song Kuangshi, which moved between clerical and official postings, as well as between postings based in the administration of the Central Capital and then the Northern Chancellery.¹³² Such a career was clearly guided by the patronage of Kitan nobles, first in the form of the Yelü Wozhen and then towards the end of his life by the Princess Shuogu and the Imperial son-in-law (and brother-in-law) Xiao Xiaozhong. His older brother was also connected to Princess Shuogu, serving at the time of Song Kuangshi’s death as the Governor of Changning Army, which was attached to Chengzhou, another prefecture entrusted to Shuogu. The career of Song Kuangshi shows that the construction of the Central Capital was not a watershed for wider changes in the socio-political order of the Liao, patronage networks still persisted. Indeed Song Kuangshi’s work as Control Officer in the Central Capital operating on behalf of the Princess of the Jin State indicates that the influence of entrusted prefectures and patronage networks had quickly penetrated into the administration of this new capital. However as table C.27 reveals all the instances of Princely Mansions in epitaphs were from the tenth and early eleventh century. Was this a symptom that such networks were being slowly challenged, superseded and replaced in the eleventh century, both as channels of entry into officialdom and as sources of prestige and socio-cultural capital? To answer this question I will first need to introduce the challenger to entrenched patronage networks, the expanding and increasingly influential system of imperial examinations.

131. 擬諸宮列 LS 31.418-419.

132. He was first as a clerk under the wing of the Northern Shumishi Yelü Wozhen, then as magistrate for Xing’an county in Bei’anzhou (Longhuaxian, Hebei), following which he was made Director of the City Markets in Dadingfu, then a chief clerk in the Northern Shumiyuan (under different leadership) and then his last post was as Control Officer in the Central Capital operating on behalf of the Princess of the Jin State. WB 180-183.

3.3 The rise of Candidates and Graduates of the imperial examination system

An example of a marked shift in the arrival of the examination system and the decline of the Princely Mansions can be seen in the contrast of two epitaphs of a father and son, Zhang Zhengsong and Zhang Sizhong, from the same site in the Yiwulü mountain region. The 981 epitaph for Zhang Zhengsong was written by Zhao Heng, who was the Secretarial Aide (*jishicanjun* 記室參軍) of the Mansion of Prince Ning,¹³³ the epitaph for Zhang Zhengsong's son, Zhang Sizhong was written in 1039 by Chai Deji who was a minor official, but in his own words, a renowned and successful degree holder.¹³⁴

Zhang Zhengsong's epitaph appears to have been written for a narrow localised audience. This is first of all apparent in the unconventional choice to spend much of the epitaph recounting the career of Zhang Zhengsong's father Zhang Jian. The point of this seems to be to foreground ties between the deceased and the Princely Mansions of Yelü Bei and descendants. Zhao Heng, who worked for the Mansion of Prince Ning, writes of how Zhang Jian had crossed over to the Liao and in the early tenth century and worked under the Imperial Crown Prince Yelü Bei. Following Yelü Bei's departure for the South he worked in the Mansion of Yelü Bei's son¹³⁵ and when Yelü Bei's son became the emperor Zhang Jian was appointed Governor of Shuo Zhou. The subject of the epitaph, Zhang Jian's son Zheng Zhengsong is listed with a post under the Governor of Shuo Zhou at the time of his death, suggesting that he gained office through his father's position.¹³⁶ Zhang Zhengsong's career and his connection to the Princely Mansion must have been through his father, and so this information and not Zhang Zhengsong's own career and life that is foregrounded.

The narrowness of the audience can also be seen in the way the text interacts with its surrounding landscape. Despite both Zhang Jian and Zhang Zhengsong being posted in Shuo Zhou they

133. WB 68-70. Prince Ning was Zhimo, son of Emperor Shizong and his consort Mme Zheng. LS 71.1322.

134. 德基名標桂籍 WB 216.

135. 王府郎中, which would have been the Mansion of Prince Yongkang

136. The meaning of the term *jiyuanshi* 節院使 is unclear at the time of writing, however it is clearly distinct from the term 節度使 which is translated as Governor.

were buried almost 800km away in the Yiwulü region. This is likely because they still had ties to the Princely Mansions of Yelü Bei's line, which was likely based in the Yiwulü region. The Yiwulü region was where the mausoleum for Yelü Bei and Emperor Shizong were and where Emperor Jingzong would be buried. The narrowness of the audience for the epitaph can also be seen in the writers choice of words to situate the epitaph in the geography of the Liao. He lists the location of burial as merely "Twin Mountains" (*Shuangshan* 雙山), without any accompanying information about where these "Twin Mountains" were. This suggests that the readership of the epitaph was intended to be so localised that they would get the reference to a rather generic name of "Twin Mountains". In 981, the sole epitaph uncovered from the Yiwulü region belongs in the narrow circulation of a princely mansion and the immediate family in the area.

By the mid eleventh century when the epitaph of Zhang Zhengsong's son, Zhang Sizhong, was written much had changed. Princely Mansions were still around, and would continue to be around until at least the mid-eleventh century.¹³⁷ One of Zhang Sizhong's sons, Zhang Kecong was an Instructor in an unspecified 'Princely Mansion'.¹³⁸ Another epitaph, written in the following year, unearthed further north in the Yiwulü region was for one Lü Sizhi 呂思支, who along with his sons were all affiliated with the Mansion of the Jin Prince.¹³⁹ The terseness of Lü Sizhi's epitaph and the anonymity of the author also suggests limited circulation. And herein lies the difference with Zhang Sizhong's epitaph. It was written by a degree holder of the imperial examinations, with an eye for a wider audience.

Zhang Sizhong enjoyed a strong career with at one point a rapid rise to become the Vice Governor of Huanglong Supreme Prefecture. His entry into officialdom is not completely clear, it was likely through a channel of his father or brothers, or possibly still ties to the Princely

137. A 1081 Buddhist funerary Dhirani inscription commissioned by Zhang Jingyun (張景運為亡祖造陀羅尼經幢記 WB 390-391) records Zhang Jingyun's deceased father as having at one time been specially appointed (*she* 攝) Instructor of the Mansion of Prince Luo'an (*luo'an wangfu wenxue* 洛安王府文學). Dates are not given for this posting, nor for Zhang Jingyun's father's death and age at death, so we can only estimate given the time of production of this inscription that this posting was sometime in the mid-Liao.

138. 王府文學 WB 216. According to the LS 47.887, The role of instructor was to educate the young princes. Lin, *Liaoshi baiguanzhi kaoding*, 256-257

139. *Jinwangfu you duyaya* 晉王府右都押衙. His sons hold positions such as 隨使中門, 衙內, 雜士 and 提舉. These are all internal positions in a Princely Mansion, rather the official titles that can be seen in the offices of his second son, 銀青崇祿大夫 and 檢校太子賓客. Xiang Nan et al deduced that the Prince of Jin in this case was Xiao Xiaoxian, who was brother of the Qin'ai Empress, the location of this discovery suggests that an entrusted prefecture of Xiao Xiaoxian was somewhere in the vicinity. 1040 *Epitaph of Lü Sizhi*. XB 77.

Mansion. This however is obscured and slightly lamented by the writer Chai Deji who phrases Zhang Sizhong's entry: "he was selected by edict of the court, missing out on rising through exam success"¹⁴⁰ There were other ties to degree holders and exam candidates in his family however. Zhang Zhengsong's daughter married a degree holder awaiting an official appointment,¹⁴¹ and one of his sons by his second wife was preparing to sit the exam at the time it was written.¹⁴² It should be unsurprising, written by a degree holder, that education and entry to officialdom through the imperial examinations was given value, however the implications that the degree holder was writing for a community that recognised or would be receptive to the prestige of degree holding should not be overlooked. Besides the posting of Zhang Sizhong's son to Instructor at an unspecified Princely Mansion, there are no other references to Princely Mansions or the family's historic association with the institutions. Zhang Jian who had worked under Yelü Bei and the Princely Mansion of Emperor Shizong is merely referred to by his highest titles as Governor of Shuozhou and Generalissimo (*Shangjiangjun* 上將軍). So too the location of Zhang Sizhong's death and burial was the same "Twin Mountains" that were referred in his father's epitaph. However this time the "Twin Mountains" are described as "south of the Chongyi Garrison".¹⁴³ i.e. the prefecture of Yizhou.¹⁴⁴ This prefecture would have had instant name recognition for readers across the Liao, not only as part of the territorial administration of the Liao, but also as a famous location bordering the Ling river basin and the Yiwulü mountains, that had connections to the memory of Yelü Bei. From the perspective of a degree holder the institution of Princely Mansions did not have the lustre or esteem they once held, neither as places of affiliation nor as channels of entry into officialdom. And so the ties to Princely Mansions and the entry into office was downplayed, or indirectly alluded to. The arrival of the imperial examinations and the increasing prevalence of degree holders and candidates as authors of epitaphs, brought with them a challenge to the legacy of ordos, entrusted prefectures and Princely Mansions, as well as a sense of values to different forms of entry into office.

There is much to suggest that the scale of the imperial examinations in the Liao was signifi-

140. 用揀詔於彤庭，誤捷登於上第 WB 216.

141. 女一，適進士郝正辭 WB 216.

142. 次曰公謹，習進士業 WB 216.

143. WB 215-218

144. Yu, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi - Liao Jin juan*, 286.

cant. There were a few examinations in the early Liao but they had not become regularised or fully institutionalised.¹⁴⁵ Prior to 988 there were at least six but these were all localised in the Southern capital. It was not until a decree by Emperor Shengzong in 988 imperial examinations began to be carried out across the empire, and held on a yearly basis until 1014, after which they were held less often, every two to five years, until the early twelfth century. In total fifty-two imperial examinations were held between 988 and 1118.¹⁴⁶ The number of those sitting and passing these examinations varied with each year, in his thorough study of the system, Gao Fushun separates the Liao into periods that I have put into table C.28, it is clear that the number of people taking the exam increased over time.¹⁴⁷

The causes of this exponential increase in uptake were likely manifold. Gao Fushun suggests several factors which would have contributed to the appeal of imperial examinations both to policy makers in the Liao government and to those seeking channels into an official career, one of which is the imperial patronage of Confucianism. He argues that the Liao emperors of the eleventh century - Shengzong, Xingzong and Daozong - were educated patrons of Confucianism and therefore not only desired a government of educated men but also more broadly a populace that valued literacy and Confucianism.¹⁴⁸ He argues that this patronage played out not only in anecdotes of the emperors employing officials to lecture them on Confucian classics, or their purported responses to the less flattering discourses of foreigners and 'barbarians' in said classics, but also the building of shrines to Confucius, the building of schools, and the promulgation of the Five Classics.¹⁴⁹ I am less inclined to support this claim as the compilers of the 1344 LS were themselves educated officials steeped in the Confucian tradition that would have valorised and highlighted Confucian qualities in the Liao emperors where present. The Liao emperors were also patrons of Buddhism and invested much more in Buddhist architec-

145. For the early Liao examinations see Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 22-31

146. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 84-92.

147. A break down is provided in Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 102-110

148. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 105-108, 277-289.

149. In 995 the emperor ordered the construction of Confucian shrines and gifted land to the University of the Southern Capital (*nanjing taixue* 南京太學) to accommodate the overflow of students 壬辰，詔修山譚祠宇、先哲廟貌，以時祀之。... 九月戊午，以南京太學生員浸多，特賜水磴莊一區。LS 13.159. In 1012 there was a policy to build schools to encourage literacy among migrants from Silla 歸州言其居民本新羅所遷，未習文字，請設學以教之。LS 15.188. In 1055 Daozong commissions the construction of many schools, all over the empire. 戊戌，詔設學養士，頒《五經》傳疏，置博士、助教各一員。LS 21.287.

ture and institutions than Confucian ones.¹⁵⁰ I do not find culturalist arguments for the spread of the imperial examinations persuasive. The idea of Confucianisation often plays out in the same way as Sinicisation, and can even be a substitute for the concept of Sinicisation. The approach I find more compelling is what advantages the imperial examination system offered both to those taking it and those employing its graduates.

An example of practical policy benefits of an expanding imperial examination system was in diplomacy. A common destination for degree holders was as envoys to neighbouring states. In the post-Chanyuan world there was increased diplomacy between polities, and Confucian etiquette and ritual was the cultural norm for interstate relations. The examinations created a pool of talented literary men versed in such rituals and etiquette who were capable not only of serving the empire domestically but also representing the Liao on envoy missions to Song and Goryeo.¹⁵¹ Later I will put forward my proposal for the larger top down strategy that involved an increase in degree holders.

But first, from the bottom-up, there were also many draws to taking the imperial examinations from the eleventh century onwards. Firstly, it served as a route into officialdom based more on merit for those who did not have access to the channels of hereditary succession, *yin* privilege or patronage.¹⁵² Indeed the access to posts changed throughout the Liao. In the early Liao in the absence of the imperial examination system the 1785 *Xu Tongzhi* records:

The officials and assignments of the early Liao were mostly selected from the tents and divisions, there was no system of nomination through imperial examinations.

150. Cf Hsueh-man Shen, "Realizing the Buddha's" Dharma" Body during the Mofa Period: A Study of Liao Buddhist Relic Deposits," *Artibus Asiae* 61, no. 2 (2001): 263–303; Jesse D Sloane, "Contending states and religious orders in North China and in East Asian context, 906-1260" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2010), 111-125, 163-177 and WF 291-297.

151. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 106, 265-270.

152. An overview of channels of entry is given in Karl A Wittfogel, "Public office in the Liao dynasty and the Chinese examination system," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 10, no. 1 (1947): 13–40 For the aristocracy of the Liao hereditary succession was a key entry route. See Wang Dezhong 王德忠, "Liaochao shixuan zhidu de guizu zhengzhi tese ji qi yingxiang" 遼朝世選制度的貴族政治特色及其影響, *Dongbei shida xuebao: zhaxue shehui kexue ban* 東北師大學報: 哲學社會科學版, no. 6 (2003): 71–77, for others the *yin* privilege could be used, see Jiang Jinling 蔣金玲, "Liaodai yinbu zhidu kao" 遼代蔭補制度考, *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊, no. 2 (2010): 44–49. But *yin* was not as influential and prevalent. For the system by which officials and staff selected by the Governors or the heads of entrusted prefectures and Princely Mansions were rubber stamped by the court see Takai, *Bokkai to hanchin: Ryōdai chihō tōchi no kenkyū*, 296-321

Whereas Yang Ruowei demonstrates that after the Shengzong reign most high up offices of the Han were Degree Holders, almost all officials of the Southern Chancellery (*nan shumiyuan* 南樞密院) were Degree Holders.¹⁵⁴ So within the space of a few decades the imperial examination system had changed the constitution of the Southern Administration of the Liao government.

It is easy to consider office as an end in and of itself in a system of governance, especially when we work with sources that were compiled by and for officials. However, there were considerable incentives which came with office and the imperial examination channel of entry into office. First of all as noted above there was the opportunity to travel outside the empire on diplomatic missions. Tackett demonstrates the influence of travel for Song literati and officials on diplomatic missions to the Liao.¹⁵⁵ Chen Song has written about the benefits of travel and ‘transformative journeys’ for Song literatus to different regions within the Song realm.¹⁵⁶ Such transformative journeys may also have occurred for Liao diplomats sent on missions abroad. While poems and reports from Song envoys to the Liao survive, Liao diplomatic visits to Song, Goryeo, the Western Xia and other regions only appear as mentions in certain sources, and in the epitaphs of some envoys.¹⁵⁷ It was not only travel outside the Liao that was on offer as in the process of attaining a degree candidates also had to travel to prepare for or to sit the examinations.

There were schools all over the Liao. This meant that they were accessible locally at the county level, though the histories do not record as many of these because of both their scale and the fact that they were not centrally regulated.¹⁵⁸ Centrally regulated schools were in larger settlements, such as all settlements designated Prefecture (*cishi* 刺史) or Surveillance Prefecture

153. 遼初官職，多由帳院所選，不設科舉保薦之法 Xu Tongzhi 續通志 141 available through CTEXT.

154. Yang, *Qidan wangchao zhengzhi junshi zhidu yanjiu*, 264-265.

155. Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order*, 253-256.

156. Cong Ellen Zhang, *Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).

157. Such as Han Chun, see Lance Pursey, “An Envoy Serving the Kitan Liao Son of Heaven: Epitaph for Han Chun (d. 1035), Court Ceremonial Commissioner, by Li Wan (fl. 1012 – 1036),” in *Chinese Funerary Biographies: An Anthology of Remembered Lives*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Ping Yao, and Cong Ellen Zhang (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019), 83–100, though he was not a degree holder

158. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 72-79.

(guancha 觀察) in the five capital circuits, but not the Garrison Prefectures (jieduzhou 節度州). There were seven Supreme Prefectures that also had schools, these included the five capitals (which were based in Supreme Prefectures), and Huanglongfu in the Liaodong region and Xingzhongfu in the Liaoxi basin (which was Bazhou until 1040). In addition the Supreme Capital had not only a Capital school but the imperially run Directorate of Education (*Guozijian* 國子監), and a Directorate of Education was also established in the Central Capital in 1060.¹⁵⁹ This means that to get a better education men wishing to study for the examinations could also travel both from county to prefecture or prefecture to superior prefecture/capital. There was also travel involved because the actual examinations happened in three separate stages; the Provincial Nomination 鄉薦, the Regional Qualifier 府解 and the Metropolitan Exam 省試. Candidates from outside of the superior prefectures had to first pass the county level exam, they would then go to the Superior Prefecture or Prefecture to undertake the Prefectural Exam. On passing the Prefectural Exam they were given the title “Provincial Nominee”, which made them candidates for the Regional Exam that was carried out by the exam board of the Ministry of Rites.¹⁶⁰ There was also the Palace examinations held by and in the moving court, but these were much rarer, and there are only seven recorded occasions when these were held.¹⁶¹ This travel between places within the Liao, to higher levels of the territorial administration would have brought exam candidates into contact not only with the official culture of the Liao but also a wider sense of the empire. The capitals were where larger markets and institutions were, making them sites of both cosmopolitanism but also a more consolidated shared imperial culture. The examinations were not only at the highest level centrally mandated and standardised, they drew in men to the centre, and in some instances literally into the moving court to take the exam. The mobility that examinations offered candidates was not only upward in social terms, but also upward in terms of the territorial administrative hierarchy, candidates moved from provinces to Superior Prefectures.

Another consideration for the increased uptake in imperial examinations is the element of competition; as more took the examinations to further their prospects of an official career,

159. LS 21.192.

160. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 72-78.

161. In the years 1009, 1011, 1036, 1038, 1046, 1050, 1074. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 72-78

possessing a degree became an increasingly necessary threshold or benchmark of entry into officialdom. This competitiveness manifested in policies to limit those who could take examinations. Originally the examinations were restricted to those designated as 'Han' - this meant diasporas from the Central Plains, as Song envoy Lu Chen observed in 1008 the examinations were held to pick out the best of the 'Han people' likely meaning those from the Southern Capital regions of Yan and Yun that the Song laid claim to¹⁶² - and men of Bohai descent.¹⁶³ There is no passage of the 1344 LS or other sources that directly and explicitly proscribes Kitan aristocrats sitting the imperial exam. However, the fallout from the first recorded Kitan to take the exam reveals that there was likely an official ban. Yelü Pulu took the exam of his own initiative at some point in the Xingzong's reign (1031-1055), and as a result his father, Yelü Shujian was given 200 lashes as punishment. Pulu however was not punished, on the contrary he was given an office and was favoured by the emperor, and treated as a curiosity.¹⁶⁴ Suffice to say that generally the Kitan did not participate in the examinations, the only other example in the 1344 LS was Yelü Dashi in 1115,¹⁶⁵ though later in the Liao other Northern peoples or mixed heritage did, as can be see in the epitaphs of Zheng Ke, who was from Xi and Bohai heritage.¹⁶⁶

The competitiveness of examinations was not out of concern that Kitan aristocrats would take part, after all the Kitan aristocrats had other channels available to them, but that men from more lowly families would sit the examinations and enter into officialdom. An edict in 1050 excluded medics and diviners, butchers and merchants, slaves, and those who disrespected their parents or criminals on the run.¹⁶⁷ A further edict in 1105 once again excluded merchant families.¹⁶⁸ Gao argues that this came from elitist and Confucian ideology that saw such profes-

162. 歲開貢舉以登漢民之俊秀者，榜帖授官，一校中國之制。Zhao, *Fengshi Liao Jin xingcheng lu (zengding ben)*, 22.

163. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 45.

164. 蒲魯，字乃展。幼聰悟好學，甫七歲，能誦契丹大字。習漢文，未十年，博通經籍。重熙中，舉進士第。主文以國制無契丹試進士之條，聞於上，以庶箴擅令子就科目，鞭之二百。尋命蒲魯為牌印郎君。LS 89.1487. Gao Fushun reads in this the traditional leanings of Kitan culture that favoured military prowess over literacy, and a concern from the first emperor Abaoji that speaking Chinese would weaken the Kitan military. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 44-48 However he also concedes that there were many accounts of literary Kitan. I would argue it was not so much the safeguarding of a culture of a reified ethnic category and more a preservation of the exclusivity of membership to the aristocracy, whose appointments were not based on examinations but on hereditary selection and imperial favour.

165. LS 30. 401 Gao argues that from 1050 Kitan could sit the exam if they wished. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 48

166. WB 428-429.

167. 壬申，詔醫卜、屠販、奴隸及倍父母或犯事逃亡者，不得舉進士。LS 20.276.

168. 冬十一月戊戌，禁商賈之家應進士舉。LS 27.360.

sions as lowly and distasteful,¹⁶⁹ I would agree but also not discount Yang Ruowei's argument that it was also a form of gatekeeping due to the large numbers of participants.¹⁷⁰ By the mid eleventh century there was an elite in the Liao government who had risen through examinations and wished to safeguard the interest of their families as families that had a monopoly on the production of exam candidates and degree holders. Gao Fushun identifies at least 12 of these exam families, mostly from epitaphs.¹⁷¹ With positions in the government they had the power to lobby for such prohibitions to be made, and also the unofficial power to discriminate in who could take examinations.

The examinations were also limited in geographical scope. For while the 1344 LS records schools set up all over the empire (and a surprisingly high number in the Eastern Capital circuit), the available accounts of degree holders reveals a narrow geographical provenance. Northern Song official Pang Yuanying 龐元英 (fl. 1082-1088) commented that, "In the Liao in the north, the scholars are mostly from Yan."¹⁷² Gao Fushun shows that the evidence to hand confirms this to have been the case. Of his count of 2329 degree holders for the Liao between 988-1118, only 201 are named in sources, a mere 8.63% of the total estimated degree holders.¹⁷³ Of these 201, the hometown of 76 can be found. Table C.29 shows the breakdown of this by capital circuit. It is clear that they came predominantly from the Southern Capital circuit.¹⁷⁴

However, the degree holders in table C.29 represent a small fraction of those the total degree holders in the Liao. One of the problems is that the available sources do not inform us of the route of entry into office of many of the office holders mentioned, which means that unless an official's name is mentioned in relation to the examinations (often in their biography or in an epitaph) we cannot know the channel through which they gained office, be it the imperial examinations, *yin* privilege or patronage. Furthermore the cultural influence of the imperial examinations spread beyond the number of men (and it was only men) that obtained a degree. There were many who prepared for examinations but never took them, or took them once

169. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 48.

170. Yang, *Qidan wangchao zhengzhi junshi zhidu yanjiu*, 259-261.

171. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 289-301.

172. 北遼士子多燕人 *Wenchang zalu* 文昌雜錄 available on CTEXT.

173. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 152-176.

174. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 317-322.

or several times but failed to obtain a degree. We can see children, grandchildren and sometimes great grandchildren of the subject of an epitaph listed as preparing to take the examinations, such as one of Zhang Sizhong's sons by his second wife mentioned above. Those who had passed the Regional Qualifier but not the Metropolitan Examination that made them a graduate are much more visible in the epigraphic record, often as the writers of epitaphs. Table C.30 reveals the extent to which degree holders and exam candidates were not only present in the epitaphs of the Liao but also part of the production of epitaphs, and increasingly shaped the epigraphic record of the dynasty.

First of all it is quite clear that the increase in degree holders over the course of the Liao presented in table C.28 similarly follows the increase of writers in the Liao that were exam candidates and degree holders as well the increase in epitaphs over the course of the Liao in general. That is, from the mid-eleventh century onward there were a) more epitaphs, b) more degree holders and exam candidates, and c) more degree holders and exam candidates writing epitaphs. It is hard however to argue for a direct correlation, but some general inferences can be made. Firstly that an increasingly literate population would broaden the demand for epitaphs. This is not necessarily in terms of commissioners, as that would mean conversely that the absence of epitaphs signifies an absence of literacy, which is untenable given that epitaphs were after all a specific form of commemorative biography and grave good. In my discussions of the reportedly highly literate Yelü Yuzhi in section 2.2.2 I argued that his epitaph was not a part of the original funeral but an afterthought or intervention by his sons to accommodate the extraordinary circumstances of their mother's death and the reopening of Yelü Yuzhi's tomb. Literacy does not necessitate production of an epitaph, nor indeed did the subject of epitaph have to be literate, as if it was commissioned and composed posthumously they would not have read it anyway. Nevertheless, we can say in general terms that increased literacy certainly produces a wider potential audience of those who can appreciate such writings, and a wider pool of people capable of producing them. Which means by extension a wider recognition of their uses and value.

This is no more apparent in the way that studying for the examinations in itself was considered a worthy pursuit, and could be used to identify a person socially in epitaphs. This can be seen

in the epitaph for Zhang Sizhong, which presents an account of his wives and their children (emphasis mine):

He first married the daughter of Defender-in-chief Li of the Longxi Li clan, together they had two sons and one daughter:

The eldest son is Zhang Keju, who is Director in Chief of the Granaries and Department of Wagons in the Supreme Capital.

The second son is Kecong, who is Instructor of the Princely Mansion.

His daughter married Hao Zhengci, a Degree Holder.

Mme Li could not have the chance to grow old with Zhang Sizhong, dying prematurely. Later Zhang Sizhong married the daughter of Great General Wang Yanyu of the Taiyuan Wangs. Together they had five sons and one daughter.

The first son is Kehuan, Director in chief of the Warehouses of Qianzhou.

The next is Kexuan, who is a man of leisure.

The next is Wuge, who is ordained as a monk.

The next is Gongxian, who is Usher of the Inner Palace.

The next is Gongjin, who is preparing for the imperial examination.

The daughter is about to be wed to Wang Xi, the former vice director of the Daying warehouse in the Supreme Capital.¹⁷⁵

It is clear in the above account that not only was “degree holder” a label and form of status and identification for a man, as in the case of Hao Zhengci the husband of Zhang Sizhong’s first daughter, but preparing to take the imperial examinations was also recorded as a distinct marker of identity as in the case of his son Gongjin. Even though in and of itself this status comes with no officially recognised title it is listed as distinct from being a “a man of leisure” as was the case of Zhang Sizhong’s son Zhang Kexuan. This suggests that even preparing for the examinations registered with readers as something with value. It could be used to positively portray young, surviving members of the deceased’s family.

175. 公先娶故隴西李太尉之女，所「生二男一女：長男可舉，上京省倉兼車子院都監」次曰可從，王府文學女一，適進士郝正辭。其隴西氏，誤獲偕老，早痛云亡。後繼娶故大將軍太原王「延玉」之女，所生五男一女：一曰可免，乾州內庫都監。次曰可巽，在閑；次曰吳哥，出家；次曰公獻，內供奉班祇候；次曰公謹，習進士業；女一，將適上京前大盈庫副使王息。WB 216

With this in mind it should not be surprising that those who had passed the Regional Qualifier and were candidates for the Metropolitan Examination already had a level of prestige. This prestige is evident in their presence as the writers of many epitaphs. Table C.30 shows the prevalence of these Provincial Nominees (*xianggong jinshi* 鄉貢進士) that were enlisted to compose epitaphs. It is clear that they were enlisted in many regions, and sometimes to write for members of the Kitan aristocracy. Though all the epitaphs they were commissioned to write were for privately funded funerals and not state sponsored funerals.¹⁷⁶ Table C.30 shows that there were also several examples of writers who had passed the Palace Examinations, though these were much rarer, and there are only seven recorded occasions when palace examinations were held.¹⁷⁷ It is clear from these that not only graduation but even candidacy for the Metropolitan Examinations came with the status not only to be mentioned in epitaphs but to be enlisted or sought out to compose an epitaph.

There is also the possibility that authors were not only sought out to produce an epitaph but actively made themselves available for commissions, possibly even marketing themselves as epitaph writers. There are hints of this in the 1085 epitaph of Zheng Jie written by his brother Zheng Shuo, which closes on a note of anxiety with regards to the market for epitaph writing, providing the rationale for Zheng Shuo composing his brother's epitaph himself.

..[to recount] my brother's glory, I inquired on the market into the having an inscription made, but these are usually executed in flowery prose. I was worried that the person who wrote the epitaph would not get tone or his story right.¹⁷⁸

This epitaph was from the late eleventh century Yan region. We have seen in table C.29 and reports from the Song that the region of Yan produced a considerable amount of degree holders. It is possible that these purveyors of epitaph composition in Yan if not other regions were those in the process of taking examinations, or even were members of that increasingly competitive pool of men who had passed the Metropolitan exam, obtained their degree and were awaiting

176. This can be seen in the tables for writers of all epitaphs by zone. See tables C.47, C.48, C.46, C.49 and C.50

177. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 72-78.

178. 兄之茂榮，市刊石之合，歸於鴻筆，慮作文者不得其安、書其事云。I added the words [to recount] based on what I speculate the missing character may have been in the clause. XB 179-181

appointment for office. The writing of epitaphs in such circumstances would not only be lucrative but allow writers to build up a literary portfolio which could further their career.¹⁷⁹ The cost of this however was widespread depersonalisation of the process that brought with it anxieties regarding sincerity and authenticity, as expressed in Zheng Shuo's case.

Zheng Shuo was not unusual in writing an epitaph for a family member, nor writing an epitaph of his own initiative. Educated men also wrote of their own initiative and the presence of more and more exam candidates and degree holders also meant there were many educated men who took it upon themselves to compose epitaphs for kin and peers. Zheng Shuo was likely a graduate himself. At the time of writing he was an official in the historiographical academy,¹⁸⁰ which Gao Fushun has extensively demonstrated was a common destination for degree holders.¹⁸¹ In the epitaph for his brother he also writes how his brother took one of the rare examinations to be held in the moving court, in the summer of 1045, when it was stationed far north of the Supreme Capital near Yong'an mountains.¹⁸² Writing for his brother Zheng Shuo does not provide his own resume, and so we can only speculate that he may have been a graduate himself. Even if he was not, the significance of this account lies not only in confirming records of palace examinations in the 1344 LS, but also showing how the accounts of success in the examinations were foregrounded in his account of his brother's life. Degree holders and exam candidates generated writing about degree holders and exam candidates, and naturally would have applied their talents and literacy to eulogise their peers and kin.

Kinship and degree holding also often went hand in hand, as Zheng Jie's epitaph was written by his brother, and many other degree holders wrote epitaphs for their kin, either spontaneously or by request of other family members. Table C.32 lists the epitaphs that were written by relatives of the deceased. These could be agnatic kin or affinal kin. This happened in the top five epitaphs zones of the Liao in table C.4, but more in the Yan region and the Ling river basin. They were for privately produced epitaphs rather than for state sponsored funerals. It is clear

179. As it appears to have done for Zhao Xiaoyan after writing the epitaph for Yelü Renxian. See section 4.2.1. There are also evidence of the commercialisation of epitaph writing in the Tang. See Ditter, "The Commerce of Commemoration: Commissioned Muzhiming in the Mid-to Late Tang"

180. 右拾遺、充史館修撰、應奉閣下文字 XB 179-181

181. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 301-313.

182. XB 179. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 144-145

that the practice was more common towards the late eleventh and early twelfth century, showing that in the late Liao the role of family members not only as mourners and commissioners but also potential authors became more prominent. An official who was also an accomplished scholar could write or be credited with writing the epitaph of a deceased family member, bringing to the composition both sincerity and the authority of an official title and raising the profile of themselves, the deceased and their wider kinship network.

The question is how many of these officials who wrote for their relatives were degree holders? And how many of the officials who wrote epitaphs in the whole dataset were degree holders? Based on Gao Fushun's compiled list of Liao degree holders drawn from many different sources we could start to calculate this. However as stated earlier, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that any of the writers who were officials but not in Gao Fushun's list were also degree holders. In the absence of a clear biography the route of entry of any one person remains unknown. Much like the envoys to the Song, if we assume that entry to the Hanlin and Historiographical Academies was contingent on possession of a degree,¹⁸³ then more of these epitaph writers could be added to the list, as tables C.46 to C.54 show many of epitaphs writers were part time officials in the Hanlin and/or Historiographical Academies. The broader issue however is that from the early-mid Liao many postings not only in the central government but also in local administrations of prefectures and counties, the garrisons and even the ordo and entrusted prefectures started to be filled by degree holders. The increasingly presence of candidates and graduates of the imperial examinations in the production of epitaphs was a symptom of the reach of the imperial examinations across the institutions of power in the Liao.

183. As Gao Fushun has argued that the Hanlin and Historiographical Academies were eventual destinations for degree holders. See Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 302-313

3.4 The literatisation of officialdom and epitaph writing: From staff to candidates and degree holders

At this point in the discussion I would like to bring back in earlier discussions concerning the territorial reforms that coincided and came with the establishment of the Central Capital. Earlier in this chapter I made the case that at the time of the establishment of the Central Capital the Liao government not only created new prefectures and counties but also reassigned several settlements to the Supreme Prefecture of Dading. The effect of this was to destabilise pre-existing entrenched networks of patronage and hereditary privilege in local administrations and the Princely Mansions. These reforms also coincided with wider efforts to streamline the ordo system and to curtail the creation of new entrusted prefectures outside those set up for princesses, i.e. the direct descendants of the imperial line and their spouses from the Xiao clan. What I have not commented on is that changes were also made to disrupt entrenched control in the garrison prefectures, but this was also going on and unlike the appropriation of entrusted prefectures which was generally opportunistic, the reform of how the garrisons were staffed was strategic and involved the appointments of the growing surplus of degree holders. The explicit and implicit reforms of the early to mid eleventh century were a form of centralisation and consolidation of power by the court, in which the expansion of the imperial examination system was instrumental.

This trend can be seen in the destinations for graduates of the imperial examinations. Table C.31, adapted from Takai Yoshiyuki's research, presents the first official appointments that graduates are recorded to have taken up.¹⁸⁴ It should be noted that graduates were not instantly appointed to official posts, and many had to wait several years, and it is possible some never received a post. A degree was not a guarantee of an official post.¹⁸⁵ Earlier I mentioned that the Hanlin and Historiographical Academies, and the diplomatic service were common destinations for officials who had degrees. However the available evidence suggests that it was un-

184. Takai, *Bokkai to hanchin: Ryōdai chihō tōchi no kenkyū*, 311.

185. Graduation and the attainment of office had two distinct terms, *qian jinshi* 前進士 and *jiehe* 解褐 see Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 138-142

common for these to be the first appointments, in table C.31 only Liang Yuan and Han Fang are recorded to have gone straight to the Historiographical Academy. Rather most degree holders were appointed to Administrative Assistant positions in prefectures and counties. These were positions that had in the tenth and early eleventh century traditionally been appointed internally by the Garrison Governors and rubber stamped by the court. Table C.31, however, shows that in the eleventh century recent graduates of the imperial examinations were replacing internally appointed officials in the low level administration of the Prefectures.

Takai has argued that this pattern is a symptom of significant changes in the power structure of the Liao.¹⁸⁶ The imperial examination system was a centrally run institution, and so the authority that came with the qualifications of the degree holders was also centrally endorsed. The appointment of degree holders to what were traditionally 'staff' positions in local administration would suggest that prefectural administration was becoming more centralised. However, this 'centralisation' was not merely the court or 'state' as an external force penetrating into local affairs, rather it was the affiliation of personnel in local administration to what could be broadly called the state, or more specifically the Southern Administration of the Liao government. Takai demonstrates that many of the local elites in the Yan and Yun region in the late Liao, the very ones that appear in epitaphs show that the examination system was increasingly prevalent in the lives of the elite.¹⁸⁷ However these elite were not a new elite that the examination system created, rather they were an elite that had amassed a significant power base through the tenth and eleventh century. Families that gathered significant wealth and influence on a local level began to supply candidates for the imperial examinations. Much in the way that Tang aristocrats adapted to the emergence of the examination system in their time by funding their progeny through the examinations,¹⁸⁸ local power holders that had enjoyed relative autonomy in the garrison system were also preparing their descendants for the exam route into an official career.

The outcome of the examinations however was not for graduates to return to their place of ori-

186. Takai, *Bokkai to hanchin: Ryōdai chihō tōchi no kenkyū*, 310-315.

187. Takai, *Bokkai to hanchin: Ryōdai chihō tōchi no kenkyū*, 348-392.

188. Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, 150.

gin to govern, they were appointed all over the place. This meant that not only did central interests infiltrate into the administration of prefectures and counties, but local scions entered in the network of centralised bureaucracy that ran throughout the prefectures and counties of the empire. And the appointment of graduates was not restricted to positions in prefectures and counties but also the ordos. For example, Zheng Jie, mentioned earlier who was eulogised by his brother, was in the post of Control Office for two ordos at the time of his death sometime in the Chongxi reign era (1032-1055). But even before this as early as 1012 we see a graduate serving in an ordo post; the writer of Geng Yanyi's wife's epitaph Shi Kezhong 史克忠 was an ordo administrator (*panguan* 判官), the 1344 LS records him among graduates of the imperial examinations four years before in 1008.¹⁸⁹ Prefectures and ordo alike could be the destination for government appointed graduates, who brought with them not only the authority from being appointed by the government but also from holding government sanctioned qualifications for office.

This is not to suggest that exam candidacy was some outside force, whereby prefecture and county residents were recruited by the court through the government to disrupt the entrenched internal administration and vested interests of the ordo, entrusted prefectures and garrison personnel. Indeed as stated above as the examinations gained in popularity and recognition the power-holding families of the garrison prefectures started to sponsor their scions through the exam process and therefore secure prestige and influence for their family through the channel of the imperial examinations. The same can be glimpsed in the case of the Princely Mansions. Exam candidates and degree holders could be affiliated if not sponsored by Princely Mansions. For example the author of Mme Li, Han Deyuan's first wife's epitaph was labelled as "Provincial Nominee from the Mansion of the late Prince of Qin",¹⁹⁰ while the writer of Geng Zhixin's epitaph was presented as a degree holder affiliated with the Prince of Yan.¹⁹¹ These two epitaphs were internally commissioned, i.e. the writer was affiliated with the Princely Mansion and commissioned by the Prince's family to produce epitaphs for a deceased member of the

189. 放進士史克忠等一十三人 LS 14.178.

190. 故秦王府鄉貢進士 Wang Yuting 王玉亭, Ge Huating 葛華廷, and Chen Ying 陳穎, "Liao <Han Deyuan diqi Li shi muzhi> jiaobu" 遼《韓德源嫡妻李氏墓誌》校補, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古 9 (2018): 298–301

191. 故燕王門生、進士、講三玄 WB 184-186.

Prince's family,¹⁹² and so were not necessarily targeted at a wider audience. They belong to the same class of epitaphs written by staff for their masters that we saw in the case of Zhang Zhengsong's epitaph earlier on in this chapter and much earlier in this thesis in section 2.2.2. What is different however in these cases is that the writer of Zhang Zhengsong's epitaph was an official in the Mansion of Prince Ning, whereas the writers of the epitaphs for Mme Li and Geng Zhixin were both affiliated to Princely Mansions but their literary authority as writers was qualified by the imperial examination system. This suggests that as early as the late tenth century the developing imperial examination system was seen as a path to cultural accreditation and operatives with these two Princely Mansions (however they were internally organised) encouraged and endorsed such candidacy, evidenced by their commissioning of such individuals to compose these epitaphs.

While these are the only two examples of epitaph writers who had been sponsored by Princely Mansions, we cannot say unequivocally that there was no more of such sponsorship after the *Epitaph of Geng Zhixin* in 1015. What we can see however is the disappearance of Princely Mansion affiliation not only from the subjects of the epitaphs and their kin but also from the writers of epitaphs. At the same time more candidates and graduates of the imperial examinations start to appear both in the text and the production of epitaphs. Table C.27 shows that the last mentions of Princely Mansions in epitaphs occur in the mid-eleventh century, which is around the time that more and more epitaphs were written by degree holders or provincial nominees as can be seen in table C.30.

This however is not the whole story. There was a shift for staff overall during in the eleventh century when epitaphs that credited their authors were written by officials, degree holders or provincial nominees and no longer the staff of localised administration. This can be seen in the examples over time of staff composing epitaphs. For example the 1011 *Epitaph for Yelü Longyou* was written by the Chief Secretary of the Governor (*jiedu zhang shuji* 節度掌書記) of Yunzhou.¹⁹³ Yelü Longyou had been the governor of Yunzhou and therefore the boss of the

192. The late Prince of Qin was Han Kuangsi, Mme Li was his daughter-in-law (by husband Han Deyuan). The late Prince of Yan was Yelü Suizhi, grandson of Han Kuangsi (by father Han Derang), Geng Zhixin was Yelü Suizhi's grandson (by his daughter)

193. XB 51-53.

epitaph author. Whereas several decades later in the 1045 epitaph for Xiao Deshun the connection at least in the text of the epitaph is less explicit. The epitaph had been commissioned by Xiao Deshun's son, Xiao Yixin, who was the Regent of the Western Capital (Xijing liushou 西京留守), the author was an Administrative Assistant for the Regent of the Western Capital (Xijing liushou tuiguan 西京留守推官), one of the staff of the Xiao Yixin.¹⁹⁴ The later appearances of staff writing epitaphs were of a wholly different dynamic. The 1072 *Epitaph for Yelü Zongfu*, which was written by the Administrative Assistant for the Regent of the Supreme Capital (Shangjing liushou tuiguan 上京留守推官). Yelü Zongfu had never served in this post, and regardless had died at the age of seventy-four having retired many years before. The court had appointed a Mr Xie,¹⁹⁵ Vice Regent of the Supreme Capital (*Shangjing fu liushou* 上京副留守) with carrying out the funeral arrangements, and it was he who enlisted one of his personnel to compose the epitaph. The imperial appointment of these officials to conduct the arrangements differs from having those formerly in the employ of the deceased or their family producing an epitaph. As it suggests the independence of the narrative from a relationship of subservience between the writer and the deceased. This, at least, veneer of independence or impartiality was the effect that commissioning candidates and graduates of the imperial examinations brought with it, as the foundation of their status did not rest with their relationship to the deceased or to other partisan institutions such as a Princely Mansion but with the centrally sanctioned imperial examination system.

This shift from the tenth century practice of getting a member of staff to author epitaphs - epitomised in the explicit account of the process in the epitaph for Shi Chonggui¹⁹⁶ - to enlisting the skills of degree holders and candidates for the exams by the mid-eleventh century was symptomatic of a widening presence of officials who had come up through the imperial examination system in the production and consumption of epitaphs. As writers of epitaphs, imperial exam candidates and graduates were also readers of epitaphs. The narrow confines of the tomb space where the epitaph as a grave good was installed and the limited circulation among the

194. Li Junyi 李俊義 and Zhang Mengxue 張夢雪, "<Liao Xiao Deshun muzhiming> kaoshi" 《遼蕭德順墓志銘》考釋, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 中國國家博物館館刊, no. 1 (2016): 65–72.

195. Only his surname is legible as the part of the epitaph that would provide his full name is damaged. XB 142.

196. 命門吏直書其事，而誌於墓石。Qi, "Liaoning sheng bowuguan cang <Shi Chonggui muzhiming> kaoshi"

mourning circle of the deceased started to widen in the eleventh century as an educated elite emerged that were both sought out and on the market to produce funerary social biography, which brought with it not only literary finesse but also the authority of state sanctioned qualifications and the vicarious immortality of literary circulation.¹⁹⁷

3.5 Chapter conclusion

The early eleventh century saw reforms and changing social trends, which are reflected in the epitaphic record in several ways. The construction of the Central Capital brought large numbers of people and greater economic activity into the Laoha basin, and there are epitaphs from the period to show this. However, this new capital still did not compare to the epitaph output of the Ling river basin, which was not adversely effected by a brain drain to the Central Capital. The Central Capital was part of larger and far reaching changes in the structure of Liao society and governance, with the power and growth of ordos, entrusted prefectures and Princely Mansion increasingly in check and 'centralised' under the power of the throne. One of the strategies for this 'centralisation' was the expansion of the imperial examination system, which provided an alternative mode of entry into official careers to rival pre-existing networks of patronage. This did not mean that former entrenched powerful families were replaced, but that they had to adapt to the growing prestige of degree holders.

The imperial examinations created state sanctioned qualifications for official. This affected not only the governance of the Liao but also the production of epitaphs. Increasingly we see more degree holders or exam candidates as the authors of epitaphs or as family members of the subjects of epitaphs. It became less acceptable to have a subordinate explicitly write an epitaph for his master or patron, as degree holders and exam candidates were sought out for their skills through kinship networks or the marketplace to produce epitaphs. Epitaphs reveal the literatisation of Liao society in the mid eleventh century.

197. The idea of vicarious immortality I borrow from de Pee, *The Writing of Weddings in Middle-Period China: Text and Ritual Practice in the Eighth through Fourteenth Centuries*, 226-227

While this explains the social dynamics in epitaph production it does not explain the large gaps in the epitaphic record in the eleventh century. The Laoha river basin exploded with activity following the construction of the Central Capital, and yet while in the early eleventh century there are a few epitaphs from the region there is also a large gap. This can partially be explained by the decisions of those with ancestral tombs elsewhere to continue to be buried in other regions, in particular this can be seen in the case studies of the Ling River basin. There is also the possibility of preferences for Buddhist mortuary practises and alternative genealogical practices. Both of these would have negated the appeal of epitaph production for tomb contexts upon which, in the absence of surviving circulated epitaphs, we base our understanding not only of epitaph production but also the popularity of genealogical writings.

While in the immediate environs of the Central Capital there was a relative dearth of epitaphs from the eleventh century, to the south and north in the ancestral burial grounds of the Xiao clans, and to the east in the Yiwulü mountain range the Yelü and Xiao clans increasingly invested in epitaphs. In the following chapter I will cover the Yelü and Xiao and their significant epitaphic legacy. The key question here is that given what we have seen in chapter 2 regarding the use of epitaphs by members of the Yelü and Xiao clan as grave goods rather than circulated texts how does this attitude change? And what functions do epitaphs start to play for members of the Yelü and Xiao clans? The theme that connects the following chapter with findings from this chapter are that the suggestion of circulated genealogical writings also comes into play for the Yelü and Xiao, who, as the imperial clans of the dynasty, would have had state sanctioned genealogies that bolstered their aristocratic identity. It is the relationship of epitaph production to the changes in this aristocratic identity to which I now turn.

Chapter 4

Genealogy, aristocracy and the mid to late eleventh century

In this chapter I primarily consider the pattern of uptake in epitaphs by members of the imperial clans of Yelü and Xiao. In table C.35 and C.36 it is apparent that the majority of Yelü and Xiao epitaphs date from the mid eleventh century onwards. Tables C.37, C.38 and C.39 show there was also the uptake in Kitan language epitaphs.¹ In addition the earliest examples are in the rarer linear script rather than the assembled script. Both scripts had been invented early in the tenth century and yet it was not until a hundred or so years later that Kitan epitaphs became more popular. This suggests that something had shifted in the houses of the Yelü and Xiao that contributed to this growing appeal. A closer look at the two houses reveals that even within these two houses there was internal stratification, and the epitaphic record shows a marked diachronic pattern in both which branches of the two houses engaged in epitaph production and when they were produced. These are all considered in the later sections of this chapter. First I will discuss two themes that tie the epitaphs of the Yelü and Xiao into our overall considerations of the uptake of epitaph production in Liao: aristocracy and genealogy.

1. Although there was a single Kitan language epitaph prior to this, the 986 *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning* discussed in previous chapters, it is anomalous when compared to the Kitan script epitaphs of the mid eleventh century onwards.

The term “aristocracy” has previously been applied loosely to the Liao elite and requires clarification.² There were two legal categories in the Liao, one for the Kitan - the Dynastic Law, and one for the ‘Han’ which followed the Tang code.³ The two are seen as stratified with the Kitan/Dynastic law being reserved for the ruling house and northern groups, while the laws for the Han encompassed subjugated and conquered groups like those from the Central Plains (often characterized with the word Han/Chinese), and Bohai. When read with overt ethnic assumptions in place, the aristocracy were the Kitan, and membership of the aristocracy was based along essentialised ethnic divisions. This however gets complicated by two factors. The first issue is that not all northerners governed by the Dynastic Law were ‘Kitan’, it included groups such as the Shiwei and the Xi. It is ambiguous whether what was called ‘Kitan’ referred exclusively to those with the name Yelü and Xiao, meaning northerners who did not have these names were not ‘Kitan’. Or whether there were also Kitan commoners. There were definitely Kitan slaves, as the 1344 LS *Treatise of Punishments* records that Kitan nobles and their families could be punished by being enslaved into the ordo system.⁴ If there were Kitan commoners then Kitan could not be synonymous with aristocracy. If becoming a commoner or slave stripped one of Kitan identity, then Kitan was by nature an aristocratic identity.

The second issue concerns what to do with the powerful families traditionally identified as Han that held high offices in government. If membership of the Kitan, and by extension the aristocracy, was predicated on bearing the name Yelü or Xiao then cases where ministers and their families were given either surname by the emperor would signify that they had joined the aristocracy. Wittfogel and Feng referred to the Liao or Kitan culture as a “third culture”,⁵ born out of a dialectic between binary identities of Kitan and Han. Pamela Crossley moves away from such binaries and offers a more nuanced reading developed over two articles that I quote in some length. In her 2014 article on the most famous of the families to be inducted into the Yelü clan, the descendants of Han Zhigu, Crossley argues that:

2. Such as in the title of Ga-ju Cha, “The Lives of the Liao (907-1125) Aristocratic Women” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2005)

3. Herbert Franke, “The” Treatise on Punishments” in the “Liao History”, ” *Central Asiatic Journal* 27, nos. 1/2 (1983): 9–38.

4. Franke, “The” Treatise on Punishments” in the “Liao History”, ” 15-16.

5. WF 20.

...it may be best to conceive of Kitan/Liao society and culture not as a field pulled between the cultural or racial poles of “Chinese” or “Kitan,” but as one marked by a horizon above which are aristocratic identities without meaningful cultural fractures, and below which are the cultural taxonomies of patent dependent status.⁶

While in an article in 2016 she summarises her position as:

...the evidence of meaningful genetic or cultural designation of the Han lineage as Han was weak. After the 920s, the individuals usually meant when referring to the Han lineage of Jizhou were actually Kitan aristocrats whose cultural, social and professional lives were indistinguishable from other Kitan aristocrats. They were one lineage among many who descended from at least one prominent Chinese ancestor, but had over time been inducted into the Kitan aristocracy, after which contemporary evidence demonstrates they were no longer identified as Han. In the case of these individuals, they had not undergone “Kitanization” but had undergone “aristocratization”. Nevertheless, there was a large population of Han (and Han’er 漢兒) under the domination of the Liao empire, and it was this dependent population that was given a distinct cultural label. In practice, aristocracy was its own identity under Liao, and labels such as Han, Fan (番), Xi (奚) and *zhenghu* (正戶) (for Kitans) were signifiers of dependency —primarily individuals registered in the estates, or *ordu* [sic], whose social and labor lives were under the control of Kitan aristocrats or the Liao court. These dependent individuals could be farmers, slaves, or officials —what was remarkable was their dependent status and their signifiers of cultural attribution marked them as distinct from aristocrats.⁷

Crossley applies the term aristocracy to reveal a divide between the elite and the governed rather than a divide between reified ethnic groups. She also resolves the issue of non-elite Kitan or northerners which shared cultural affinities with the Kitan, with the category of *zhenghu*

6. Crossley, “Outside In: Power, Identity, and the Han Lineage of Jizhou,” 54.

7. Crossley, “Bohai/Parhae Identity and the Coherence of Dan gur under the Kitan/Liao Empire,” 14-15.

or regular households, representing the governed and not the elite. The latter quotation derives from her work on the fate of the Bohai population after the Liao conquest, in which she also applies the term ‘aristocracy’ to the Bohai elite that existed prior to the Liao conquest of the early tenth century. She argues that following the conquest, the Kitan aristocracy incorporated the Bohai elite into the Liao aristocracy through marriage alliances.⁸ This elite was treated differently from the broader population of Bohai which became a category of dependent population.⁹ The same dynamic can also be seen for the Xi. Much like the Bohai in the tenth century they were subjugated but not completely colonised by the Liao, and were governed more like a vassal state.¹⁰ The *Great Prince’s Record of Matrimonial Matters Stele* (*Dawang ji jieqin shi bei* 大王記結親事碑) suggests that in the early tenth century there were already marriage alliances between the Xi and Kitan elite.¹¹ Later on in the Liao many of the house of Xiao traced their heritage to the Xi, suggesting that the Xi elite were incorporated into the Kitan aristocracy through induction into the Xiao surname.

Despite cultural and linguistic differences that may have existed between the Kitan, Xi, Bohai and Northern Chinese elite prior to the Liao, the term aristocracy has heuristic value in understanding that they were differentiated from those they ruled. This idea of ‘aristocracy’ defined not by the content of its culture but by the boundary that sets it apart from those excluded can be seen applied on an even larger scale in Sneath’s work of cross regional historical analysis *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society and Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia*. Sneath applies the notion of “aristocratic orders” (which appears in the very title of the work) as:

an inclusive category, rather than a particular model, to indicate societies that are shaped in fundamental ways by the power relations of hereditary rule. Here we see the deployment of descent and genealogy as technologies of power and forms of governance that administer political subjects ... Aristocratic order, then, spans

8. Crossley, “Bohai/Parhae Identity and the Coherence of Dan gur under the Kitan/Liao Empire,” 20-27.

9. Crossley, “Bohai/Parhae Identity and the Coherence of Dan gur under the Kitan/Liao Empire,” 27-34.

10. Kang, “Liaodai wujing tizhi yanjiu,” 72-75.

11. In fact, One of the daughters of the Great Prince married Kitan Su, thought to be the youngest brother of Abaoji. Li, “Neimenggu Ningchengxian faxian Liaodai <Dawang ji jieqin shi> bei”

the divide between centralized and decentralized states – often providing a common mode and language of power that could allow rapid incorporation. It appears as a term within a wider perspective in which, rather than imagining distinct tribal peoples generating their own social forms and leaderships, we are free to consider societies as the products of historical products of rulership and government.¹²

Sneath concedes in the final remark of the work that the concept of aristocracy as an analytical and comparative term has not been fully fleshed out or explored. His main contention is to recommend a term that breaks down the way that decentralized states in the premodern world have been characterized by historians that privilege centralized and sedentary states or ‘civilisation’. Mobile and nomadic societies have often been characterized by a lexicon developed by Lewis Henry Morgan and other nineteenth century anthropologists who subscribed to social evolutionary theories, whereby pastoral nomadic societies were a primitive form of society on a path to becoming more ‘developed’ societies. Territorially decentralized kinship based societies were viewed as a pre-state political formation rather than a non-state one; all pointing to a teleological model of the sedentary centralized state as the end goal.¹³

I find Sneath’s argument compelling and believe it has particular poignancy and relevance in the case of the Liao, which represents the synthesis of the traditionally conceptually divided worlds of the steppe and the sown. Sneath’s approach also has resonances with Crossley’s adoption of the term ‘aristocracy’ for the Kitan ruling elite. However, what is lacking in both Sneath’s and Crossley’s account is the specificity of aristocracies in individual cultures and how the incorporation of cultural distinct aristocratic families into a wider aristocracy played out. In many ways the large body of research on Liao material, visual and mortuary culture could offer accounts of this if it was readjusted to dispense with the a priori ethnicised binary categories of Kitan and Han/Chinese and instead considered social stratification.

Liu Wei’s work on Liao tombs presents stratification and regional variation, but apparently falls

12. David Sneath, *The headless state: aristocratic orders, kinship society, & misrepresentations of nomadic Inner Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 202-204.

13. And indeed this is not a wholly product of European colonialist classifications, the development of schemes to grade the level of civilization of frontier and foreign peoples has great antiquity in the Chinese texts. Magnus Fiskesjö, “On the ‘raw’ and the ‘cooked’ barbarians of imperial China,” *Inner Asia* 1, no. 2 (1999): 139–168

back on Han and Kitan as the primary categories for assemblages of archaeological culture.¹⁴ Kinoshita's work on the variety of mortuary customs in the Liao shows the transcontinental cultural influences of Liao elite tombs, arguing that this shows 'hybridity'.¹⁵ This hybridity however implies that the Kitan were an ethnic group that colonized and borrowed from other cultures, rather than a corporate and composite aristocracy of diverse descent and heritage. It supposes original pristine and clearly demarcated cultures that mingled rather than an elite that constantly reproduced and renegotiated with each of its cultural iterations a codified and stratified (though not fully understood) system of burial customs to account for a plurality of discourses concerning not only the afterlife and but also sources of prestige in the world of the living. The discourses of elite membership and status for the Bohai and Xi that were encountered by the expanding Liao forces are largely lost to us, the Northern Chinese however are much more available and have already formed the backbone of considerable scholarship.

Despite invoking the term aristocracy to discuss the Kitan elite, Sneath, Crossley and Cha do not consider how their 'aristocracy' relates to how the term is used and indeed forms a foundation pillar of the core theoretical framework for middle period Chinese history – the Tang-Song transition. The Tang-Song transition sense of the term aristocracy is one that also encompasses forms of behavior symptomatic of an aristocratic mindset. Aristocrats do certain things, or certain actions can be defined as aristocratic. For the Tang-Song transition scholars one of the key things aristocrats do is compile and preserve genealogical records which attest to their corporate aristocratic status – i.e. how great clans recognized and validated each other, and indeed formed marriage alliances based on mutual recognition – and an individual's claim to membership of the aristocracy and their particular place in it. The conventional narrative of the Tang-Song transition is that the aristocracy declined and the aristocratic mindset receded. This can be seen in the springboard for Bossler's monograph *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, & the State in Sung China (960-1279)* where she observes how epitaphs in the Tang dynasty (or eulogies as she calls them) foreground the illustrious agnatic ancestry of the deceased, whereas epitaphs from the Song were more concerned with the conduct and achievements of the de-

14. Liu, *Liaodai muzang de kaoguxue yanjiu*.

15. Kinoshita, "Burial practices of the Liao (907-1125) Khitan elite: a reflection of hybrid culture."

ceased, and their wider affinal kinship network in the society of their day.¹⁶ She concludes that “Pre-Song ancestry was simply no longer a factor in social prestige”¹⁷ While this may have been the case between the Tang and Song periods, it does not tell us about the Tang-Liao transition.

I will limit my discussion to one particular facet of aristocratic culture that is symptomatic of the whole - genealogical records.¹⁸ In the previous chapter, glimpses of the compilation of genealogical records were seen in epitaphs and I argued that genealogical record keeping existed alongside or sometimes in lieu of epitaphs as social biography. I will now introduce the history of the genealogical writings in Chinese, its implications and ties to notions of aristocratic order in middle period Chinese society, and whether these are relevant to the Liao dynasty.

4.1 Genealogical records up until and during the Liao

Genealogical records have a long history in early medieval China. In fact they had been around longer than there had been epitaphs.¹⁹ Composers of epitaphs in the early medieval period²⁰ would frequently have drawn upon genealogical and other biographical texts to produce the text of an epitaph.²¹ And bibliographies of the period reveal many works recording the histories of great clans.²² These genealogical records were a matter of great importance, as Ma Duanlin (1254-1325) writing in the early fourteenth century summarised:

Formerly, the study of descent flourished. Families had their archives, officials had their tables, and the great clans had their records. The court would use these to de-

16. Bossler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, & the State in Sung China (960-1279)*, 12-24.

17. Bossler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, & the State in Sung China (960-1279)*, 15.

18. The question of whether the general universal ‘aristocracy’ of Sneath and Crossley connects to the aristocracy in the Tang-Song transition and whether the Liao continued the aristocratic mindset, behaviours and trappings of Tang culture, warrants a doctoral thesis of its own.

19. Clark argues based on references to genealogies drawn up in the Shang period (1600-1046 BCE) in the classics. Hugh R. Clark, “Reinventing the genealogy: Innovation in kinship practice in the tenth to eleventh centuries,” in *The New and the Multiple: Sung Senses of the Past*, ed. Thomas H.C. Lee (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004), 239

20. By early medieval I mean from the end of the Han dynasty to the beginning of the Tang dynasty. 220-618 CE

21. Davis, *Entombed Epigraphy and Commemorative Culture in Early Medieval China: A Brief History of Early Muzhiming*, 88-90.

22. Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, 5-18.

termine social ranks, the gentry would use these enable marriages.²³

Much like the Liao no examples of genealogical writings survive for the early medieval period. This means that neither can be compared. However, there would likely be a difference in the genealogical writings of the early medieval period and the Liao when we consider the ways in which genealogical writing underwent four major disruptions in the intervening Tang period (618-907).

The first disruption was in the early Tang. For hundreds of years the great aristocratic clans of the early medieval period persisted over many dynastic upheavals and regime changes, many with their cultural status intact even as their actual political influence and wealth had declined. For the new Tang regime under the second emperor Li Shiming this was a source of tension if not embarrassment. The elites of the new Tang dynasty while having power and office lacked the social and cultural capital of these old clans, making them among other things undesirable partners in marriages. In order to break the pedigree based claims of status that were monopolized by these old great clans, Li Shimin commissioned state-compiled genealogical works to catalogue and redefine the statuses of the various clans. The status of an individual was not to be solely dependent on membership of a great clan anymore, but also on their position within the administrative hierarchy, which was based on what office they held which was classified by a unified, centralised ranking system, the *pin* 品. By extension the status of one's clan derived from how many of the clan held such high positions. This was designed to break the centuries-old prestige of some of these clans and make status dependent on imperial favour and service to the state. Even though the long-term effect of this was to privilege office-holding of one's immediate relatives over inherited status of aristocratic names, it had limited effect in bringing about a meritocracy. This is largely because wealthier aristocratic clans found ways in which to gain preferential entry into officialdom, including funding their scions through imperial examination system that had been set up in part to provide a channel for qualification more accessible to other members of society. This meant that despite activist state policies instigating

23. 昔者世系之學，蓋嘗盛矣。姓有苑，官有譜，氏族有志，朝廷以是定流品，士大夫以是通昏姻。WXTK 207.1710. Translation up until 'records' is from Clark, "Reinventing the genealogy: Innovation in kinship practice in the tenth to eleventh centuries," 239

the decline of pedigree as a source of status aristocrats still held positions of power, using their resources to produce exam candidates and officials. Neither did the state-compiled genealogies prevent the compilation of private genealogical works, if anything it spurred them on, with aristocrats turning to such private, kin-based genealogical texts to inform advantageous and acceptable marriage alliances.²⁴ What had changed was that office was no longer contingent on pedigree, the situation had reversed and instead the office-holding of family members elevated the status of a clan in the state compiled genealogies of the early Tang.

The second disruption to the aristocratic order that had sustained the practice of genealogical writing was the An Lushan rebellion. The rebellion precipitated a retreat of the central government based in Chang'an from provincial matters and appointments. Tax registers, in particular in the northeast Chinese Plains provinces of Hebei, were not submitted to the central court, and neither were household registers and populations censuses. Appointments for some provinces also fell out of the hands of central control and into those of regional governors. An effect of this was that alongside other areas where central control had receded there was an abandonment of the policy of defining the elite, either through kinship or office. The last officially compiled state genealogical register was compiled in 713 decades prior to the rebellion, after which the project was never revived and no other state commissioned compendia of prestigious clans was compiled for the rest of Chinese history.²⁵ The upheavals of this period also led to the displacement of populations, not only of commoners but also the dispersal of elites, who left the regions where generations had resided and from where their choronyms had derived, becoming more estranged from native places.²⁶ They not only lived and died elsewhere but buried their dead in these new places. Johnson argues that as these elites lost the geographical connection to their place of origin so too their interest in genealogy declined, leading to a "disruption of the genealogical tradition between Tang and Song" which Johnson encapsulates in passages from Song commentators lamenting the decline of genealogical writings.²⁷

24. Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, 59-88.

25. Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, 55.

26. David Johnson, "The Last Years of a Great Clan: The Li Family of Chao Chün in Late T'ang and Early Sung," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 37, no. 1 (1977): 5-102.

27. Johnson, "The Last Years of a Great Clan: The Li Family of Chao Chün in Late T'ang and Early Sung," esp. 51. This is discussed in Clark, "Reinventing the genealogy: Innovation in kinship practice in the tenth to eleventh centuries," 243-246. It should be noted that some of these commentators were themselves pushing for a revival of

The assumption of Johnson is that geography is key to genealogical mentalities, and lost when families become detached from their place of origin.

The third disruption came not externally but internally. Tackett argues that, contrary to Johnson's claims, up until the very late Tang aristocratic identity was still important. The problem was that aristocratic identity and status based on pedigree was a victim of its own success. Tackett notes that:

Membership in the aristocracy—that is the body of families deemed sufficiently prestigious to be identified by both surname and choronym was expanding rapidly by the late ninth century; authors of clan lists could not keep up. In any case, what is clear is that the exclusivity of the old aristocracy was being watered down at the provincial level by the absorption of an ever increasing number of new clans. ...on the one hand, one sees the dilution of the exclusivity of the old aristocracy as the list of member families (presumably including clans that had long since fallen from high status) gradually expanded. On the other hand, claims to descent from the sixteen most influential office-holding families were widespread in the provinces.²⁸

He points out that Johnson's argument of the decline of the genealogical tradition is primarily based on the 1060 XTS, which does not provide complete information for most areas of life for the late eighth and the ninth century. Tackett uses examples of epitaphs found in the regions of Luoyang, Huainan and Jiangnan that mention genealogical writings to counter the claims that the practice had declined following the An Lushan rebellion.²⁹ The pool of people that laid claim to illustrious pedigree had expanded, which actually stimulated further production of genealogical texts to back up claims of membership, though at the same time it diluted the exclusivity of aristocratic identity.

The fourth disruption was the violent end to the Tang and the attacks on the two Tang capitals. The aristocracy's high status was heavily dependent on real estate in the vicinity of the capital

the form of writing, a revival they would be credited for, so we should be wary of an element of self-publicity in the writings of these Song intellectuals.

28. Tackett, "The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites (850-1000 CE)," 71-72.

29. Tackett, "The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites (850-1000 CE)," 86-89.

and family ties to high officialdom. The end of the Tang and heralding of new regimes would have ruptured entrenched ties to officialdom, and caused the value of metropolitan real estate to plummet.³⁰ Furthermore the attacks on the capital included targeted assaults on members of the aristocracy – there was a literal, physical annihilation of the aristocratic clans.³¹ Genealogical and historical documents were another victim of these upheavals as an epitaph written in 996 and recorded in the collected works of Liu Kai (947-1000) recounts:

At the end of the Tang, when bandits overturned the two capitals, the genealogies of the officials were burned and destroyed.³²

The effect of the physical loss of clan genealogies during this period meant that the means by which aristocratic claims were authenticated were greatly limited, reducing the authority of aristocratic claims in general.³³

These disruptions to the genealogical tradition did not destroy it but rather changed the dynamics. The intervention of the early Tang emperors attempted to reposition pedigree not on antiquated claims but on more immediate or recent ties to the Tang administration. The retreat of the state from such affairs following the An Lushan rebellion meant the removal of this authority that had come to back up aristocratic claims. The dispersal of populations in the late Tang meant a disconnection with the clan places of origins upon which choronyms were based, while the increase in claimants to great pedigrees diluted the exclusivity of the aristocratic identity. The final destructive events of the end of the Tang physically obliterated both records and members of the aristocracy. These factors set the stage for the changes in attitudes to pedigree that are observable in Song epitaphs. However if that was the case would the same also be true for the Liao? I argue based on epitaphs that the Liao had its own trajectory.

In epitaphs genealogy takes two main forms; accounts of the origins of the family name and historical ancestors of considerable antiquity, and an inventory of previous generations of pa-

30. Tackett, "The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites (850-1000 CE)," 94.

31. This is argued in great detail in Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy*

32. 唐季盜覆兩京, 衣冠譜牒燼滅. Written by Liu Kai for his cousin Liu Min 柳閔 (950-984) Translation from Tackett, "The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites (850-1000 CE)," 97-98

33. Tackett, "The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites (850-1000 CE)," 64.

trilineal ancestors, and in some occasions their wives. The epitaph for Han Chun shows both of these examples. Recounting the history of the Han name through remote antiquity,³⁴ followed by an account of many of his clan since the inception of the Liao; his great grandfather, grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, great uncle, first cousin once removed, second cousin and father's careers and titles.³⁵ This is by no means a typical epitaph. It is incredibly lengthy and its account of Han Chun's life is extensive, suggests other concerns beyond the listing of ancestors. Indeed the foregrounding of his kin was more due to their individual prestige and position in the Liao than a sense of innate pedigree.

Both Chinese and Kitan epitaphs contained accounts of ancestry, and indeed these accounts appeared in epitaphs in all of the zones of the Liao that I have demarcated by their presence of epitaphs (see figure A.7). Chinese epitaphs typically present a reference to the remote antiquity, based around their choronym, and then more recent ancestors and the offices they held.³⁶ So we see here a combination of pedigree that is tenuously connected to the individual, and more recent office holding as a source of status. However, not all epitaphs provide an exhaustive or necessarily detailed account of ancestry, some for brevity instead refer the reader to other texts for clarification. Examples of these are presented in table C.33 where I have classified the references to these other texts outside of the epitaph as genealogical records, national histories, or other epitaphs. These references give us a glimpse of other texts that were produced, circulated and referred to in the Liao that are now lost, genealogical records of the kind

34. "He was a distant descendant of Huan Shu of Quwo [802 – 731 BCE], whose clan gained ascendancy in the lands of Ji [one of the legendary nine prefectures, covering the northeast of China] and was enfeoffed by the state of Han [northwest Henan and southeast Shanxi]. The eldest brother of the clan took the surname of the Han state [403 – 230 BCE], which was one of the three states to emerge from the former Jin territory —one of the six major players in the Warring States period. The embers of the clan's glory were almost snuffed out under the reign of the First Emperor of the Qin [r. 221-210 BCE], but, with the arrival of the Heavenly Han dynasty, their base was given a new lease of life. When this new regime doled out its territory, the clan was bestowed with land in Yingchuan [Henan]; it is believed that a branch of the family settled in the Dai region [Shanxi]. Some descendants moved to Changli [Chaoyang, Liaoning], which became their native place. How magnificent is the account of this clan's heritage!" 其先曲沃桓叔之苗胄也。建功於冀，食菜於韓。惟彼元昆，以邑命氏。若乃劃分三晉，森峙六雄。燼餘方絕於祖龍，基構特新於天漢。成既賜胙，卜宅潁川；信亦分茅，築都代土。其後徙居昌黎，因為其郡人。則著姓之籍，不其盛歟！WB 203-210, translation in Pursey, "An Envoy Serving the Kitan Liao Son of Heaven: Epitaph for Han Chun (d. 1035), Court Ceremonial Commissioner, by Li Wan (fl. 1012-1036)," 89-90 based on transcription in Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, Tang Cailan 唐彩蘭, and Qing Gele 青格勒, eds., *Liao shangjing diqu chutu de Liaodai beike huiji*, 遼上京地區出土的遼代碑刻彙輯 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 社會科學文獻出版社, 2009), 62-65

35. WB 203-210.

36. This is an area of the epitaphs that I have yet to carry out an exhaustive survey of.

that in other times and places in middle period Chinese history were used to sustain claims to aristocratic identity.

Generally the early epitaphs of the Liao do not refer to such genealogical texts. When we consider the Five Dynasties nobility and their descendants that migrated to the Liao listed in table C.11 only Liu Yujie refers to other genealogical texts, in the form of the dynastic histories and family records (see table C.33). Aside from Liu Yujie the other earliest epitaphs that mention genealogical texts are Han Yu and Mme Yelü, wife of Geng Yanyi who were both the descendants of Han Zhigu. Han Zhigu's family, of which the above mentioned Han Chun was also a member, were not descendants of nobility from previous dynasties. Their status came from their connection to the Liao imperial house, the high office they held and their Kitan aristocracy.³⁷ First generation arrivals from the Song, Feng Congshun and Li Zhishun both refer vaguely to texts, though the availability of such texts to Liao audiences is questionable as Li Zhishun's epitaph suggests that such texts remained behind in the Song.³⁸ Later in the dynasty epitaphs for the diasporic descendants of the Central China Plain do start to refer to family records, as in the case of Wang Ze (1053), Zhang Ji (1063), Han Zidao (1069), Mme Cao wife of Chen Yi (1070), Qin Dechang (1078), Zhang Jinqing (1085) and Liu Wenyong (1105), all presented in table C.33. However there is no way of knowing whether these were private family texts that had been preserved and handed down over generations or recently produced family histories. Given that these references all start to appear after a certain time it would seem they were produced to fulfil a need or demand for a renewed interest in genealogy in the mid eleventh century. This however can only remain the subject of speculation. What the epitaphic record suggests is that genealogical texts were not explicitly consulted in the production of epitaphs for Han diasporas until the mid eleventh century, and even then only in a limited number of cases.

The same problem is also true for Bohai families that appear in epitaphs. In the early to mid Liao there are no records of family histories for them. This is attested to in the 1000 epitaph for Gao Song who was of Bohai descent. The writer of the epitaph openly lamented that the

37. Crossley, "Outside In: Power, Identity, and the Han Lineage of Jizhou."

38. 祖宗職列，族望源流，更不復書，宋朝備矣。WB 187-190

family records available were sparse and could not be verified against the veritable records of the state, leaving the writer to provide only an account of Gao Song's father who had served the Liao and his mother, a member of the Yelü clan.³⁹ It may have been the case that there was not a tradition of genealogical record keeping in Bohai, or that the genealogies of Bohai were not available to the writer or mentioned in the histories, and so could not be verified. Or that Gao Song's father Gao Tangying was not from the Bohai aristocracy and instead had risen up through the ranks of the Liao military in the early tenth century in ways similar to Han Zhigu. References to family histories only appear in one or two epitaphs in the late Liao, when it cannot be clear if they were not produced in response to contemporary interests in genealogy rather than records preserved over generations.⁴⁰ It would seem that the invocation of the family in the 1110 epitaph for Gao Weiqiu was for presentist concerns as it is referred to genealogical records in order to validate the anonymous author's claim that the grandfather of Gao Weiqiu was "actually" the renowned early Liao Bohai general Gao Mohan.⁴¹ The "actually" (*shi* 實) in this line is not common in claims in epitaphs, suggesting that the potential audiences in the Yun region of the Southwest of the empire would have been suspicious of such a claim without some kind of evidence. This suggests that the Bohai elite were less inclined to produce genealogical writings, and indeed epitaphs.⁴²

Which is not to say that there were not circulating historical texts and also records of individuals that could be used as materials to provide an account of family history for people in the Liao. This can be seen in the 1090 epitaph of Zheng Ke, who was of Xi and Bohai descent, and the epitaph of Yelü Shuji, a Kitan from the imperial clan.⁴³ Zheng Ke's epitaph states that:

For generations his family were in the northern plain of Baixi, his ancestors are recorded in the *Hereditary Houses* chapter of the *Record of the Grand Historian* and

39. 以家牒以詎存於實錄而難紀，但以公之考妣略而言之。XB 37-39

40. The 1110 epitaph of Gao Weiqiu, a descendant of the renowned early Liao Bohai general Gao Mohan does refer to family records.

41. 謹按高氏家錄... 有同平章事、兼侍中、天下兵馬都部署摸翰，實公之祖也。WB 609-610.

42. Only two epitaphs has been recovered from the Bohai kingdom (698 - 926), both for princesses. See Wang Chengli 王承禮, "Tangdai Bohai <Zhenhui gongzhu muzhi> he <Zhenxiao gongzhu muzhi> de bijiao yanjiu" 唐代渤海《貞惠公主墓誌》和《貞孝公主墓誌》的比較研究, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線, no. 1 (1982): 181-187

43. Though which particular lineage is unclear.

his family's record of conduct.⁴⁴

The “family's records of conduct” is likely the combination of two terms “family charts” (*jiapu* 家譜) and “records of conduct” (*buzhuang* 簿狀), the former was a private family history, while the latter referred to official documents that recorded the postings of individuals and families.⁴⁵ However, the “record of conduct” was not necessarily state composed, Twitchett notes that while in the Tang it was traditionally composed for a high ranking official after their death by other officials, and then compiled into the statute books, the resources of record keeping officials was often overstretched, resulting in them accepting accounts of conduct for the deceased compiled by low ranking officials or even relatives of the deceased.⁴⁶ This interaction and exchange of private and court documents can be seen in the epitaph of Yelü Shuji. The text of the epitaph is messily compiled from various court documents that established titles and postings.⁴⁷ The use of these either suggests they were from court records or from family records that they received from the court. This reminds us not to imagine too strong a boundary between private and official spheres of record keeping. Epitaphs could be informed by official or private family histories, however these epitaphs could also inform further official or private accounts.

A large number of the references to genealogical records in epitaphs collected in table C.33 are for members of the Yelü and Xiao clans. The particular genealogical interests of the imperial house will be explored in the next section, however they do offer insight into the current question of the preservation or production of genealogical records in the Liao in general. Several of the epitaphs for Yelü and Xiao clans not only mention and refer the reader to genealogical texts but also differentiate between different types of texts and explicitly state what it is they will find in such texts. This can be seen in the following examples (emphasis mine):

For an account of the branches of ancestry, **the tomes of the state histories** contain a complete record, for a display of the clan's achievements, **the book chests**

44. 世為白雷北原人，其先史記世家及家狀詳焉。WB 428-429.

45. According to Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 in his 1161 compendium *Tongzhi* 通志. 自隋唐而上，官有簿狀，家有譜係。官之選舉必由于簿狀，家之婚姻必由于譜係。Zheng Qiao (1104-1162) 鄭樵, *Tongzhi er shi lue* 通志十二略, ed. Wang Shumin 王樹民 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 1.1

46. D.C. Twitchett, “Chinese Biographical Writing,” in *Historians of China and Japan*, ed. W.G. Beasley and E.G. Pulleyblank (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 104-105.

47. WB 249-297.

of family records have exhaustive documentation. And so they will not be written here.⁴⁸

From the start of when her family acquired the same surname as the dynastic house, to the elevation of her family to princes, the diligence of cooperating in matters of the state, the privilege of serving the emperor, **are all written in the dynastic history**. The talents of the office holders for successive emperors, the honour of noble titles from generation to generation, the traces of deeds both public and discreet, the harmonious marriages both into and out of the family, **are recorded in the genealogical records**.⁴⁹

The consort was surnamed Xiao, her roots were in Lanling. The long and distant succession of her ancestors, are recorded and stored **in the genealogical records**. Whereas, the glory and the prosperity [of the Xiao clan] are recorded in detail **in the dynastic histories**.⁵⁰

The **times have histories, families have records**, with both of these available, I will not go to the trouble of recounting them here.⁵¹

The consort was surnamed Xiao, her roots were in Lanling. The splendour of her clan, the prosperity of its branches, are recorded in **the [dynastic] histories and [genealogical] records**. I will not recount them here. Presented here is a record of her honours, magnamity, virtue and kin.⁵²

There is a doubt however whether some of these references were literal and not rhetorical, and need to be considered on a case-by-case basis. For example, the passage quoted above in the

48. 述乃宗枝，國史脩光於簡冊；陳乎丕績。家牒悉著於縑箱。今故不書。1038 *Epitaph for Lady of Jin State, wife of Yelü Yuan* 耶律元妻晉國夫人墓誌 WB 211.

49. 若乃與國同姓之始，起家為王之來，經綸協謀之勤，佐佑席寵之貴，國史書焉。累朝人仕之資，重世襲爵之慶，替功顯晦之迹，婚媾內外之倫，家牒存焉。1045 *Epitaph for Great Consort of the Qin State* 秦國太妃墓誌 XB 90-96.

50. 妃姓蕭氏，其先蘭陵人。嗣襲綿遠，則家牒錄而存焉。勳業隆盛，則國史載之詳矣。1069 *Epitaph for Consort of the Qin and Jin State* 秦晉國妃墓誌 WB 340 -343.

51. 時有史家有牒，兩皆明白，不煩備紀。1072 *Epitaph of Yelü Zongfu* 耶律宗福墓誌 XB 141-145

52. 妃姓蕭氏，世出蘭陵。其族望之華，枝屬之盛，史牒詳焉。此不復錄。今所述者，聊迹其勳圖德系而已。1096 *Epitaph for Consort of the Qin and Yue State, wife of Yelü Hongshi* 耶律弘世妻秦越國妃墓誌 XB 229-232

1045 *Epitaph for Great Consort of the Qin State* reappears almost verbatim in the 1092 *Epitaph for Mme Xiao, wife of Yelü Changyun*, an epitaph produced almost fifty years later, for a member of a different branch of the Xiao clan, and installed in a tomb in the Laoha region approximately a hundred of kilometres away from the tomb of the Great Consort of the Qin State in the Yiwulü region.⁵³ This is not only a sign of the circulation and indeed recycling of epitaph texts (or indeed templates of texts) but also suggests that in some cases references to genealogical records may not have been literal but rather a rhetorical flourish, a trope rather than a reflection of actual consultation of physically available genealogical records. However, the 1092 *Epitaph for Mme Xiao, wife of Yelü Changyun* does make a concrete reference to consulting genealogical texts in another part of the epitaph where it states that the commissioner of the epitaph, Mme Xiao's granddaughter-in-law Xiao Yange presents the family records to the epitaph writer so he can produce the epitaph.⁵⁴ This literal case notwithstanding, the ambiguity of the references to consulting other texts can be hard to resolve.

The materiality of the genealogical records can also be seen in the *Epitaph for Lady of Jin State, wife of Yelü Yuan* which refers to “the tomes of the state histories” and “the book chests of family records”. The description of where these works would have been located or kept also emphasises the difference between the two kinds of record, the former in an archival space, the latter in a portable chest that could be transported with greater ease, a private treasure, also suggesting a degree of concealment. In terms of other spaces, there are still many unanswered questions about the extant of public mourning and private ancestor worship for the Liao period and indeed in different regions and groups in the Liao. Architectural shrines to families for example, while prevalent in other dynasties are sparsely alluded to operating in the Southern Capital in at least two epitaphs. Wang Ze's epitaph written by his son refers the reader to the

53. 1092 *Epitaph for Mme Xiao, wife of Yelü Changyun* 耶律昌允妻蕭氏墓誌 The differences in the passage are highlighted in the translation in bold. “From the start of when her family **married into** the dynastic house, to the elevation of her family to **key ministers**, the diligence of cooperating in matters of the state, the privilege of serving the emperor, are all written in the dynastic history. The talents of the office holders for successive emperors, the honour of noble titles from generation to generation, the traces of deeds both public and discreet, **the kin both within and outside** of the family, are recorded in the genealogical records.” 若乃與國結婚之始，起家為相之來，經綸協謀之勤，佐佑席寵之貴，國史書焉。累朝人仕之資，重世襲爵之慶，奇功顯晦之迹，宗親中外之倫，家牒存焉。XB 208-209.

54. 孝孫婦楊哥，出以家牒，請記沉石。XB 208-209

“family chart” for accounts of the surname,⁵⁵ but then states that the ranks, offices and conduct of Wang Ze’s great grandfather, grandfather and father are recorded in inscriptions, and a “shrine has many prose couplets of the ancestors, so I will not repeat them here.”⁵⁶ This is a reference not to circulated texts necessarily but to above ground inscriptions, housed in a family or ancestral shrine. The epitaph for Yelü Shanqing, recounts how Yelü Shanqing commissioned a stele of his father’s deeds to be housed in a shrine constructed in the Southern Capital.⁵⁷ While we know that the imperial family had multiple shrines to the various emperors that were constructed north of the Yan mountains, these are evidence that other families (or branches of the imperial family) did so too. Evidently beyond genealogical writings that provided materials for epitaph production there was a whole culture of genealogical knowledge and practice that manifested in rituals, material culture, spaces, and architecture. All of which currently elude the historian.

Another frequent theme in the above quoted passages and elsewhere is reference not only to genealogical records but also dynastic histories. Indeed, as table C.33 reveals many epitaphs only refer to dynastic histories. There is the ambiguity about whether the term “dynastic history” refers to the history of the Liao or the history of previous dynasties stretching far back into antiquity. Earlier in this section I presented the example of Han Chun’s long epitaph which displays both the story of the Han clan in remote antiquity and also the story of his family from the beginning of the Liao starting with his great grandfather Han Zhigu. These two pasts represent the two potential meanings in the term “dynastic history”. A clear example of this can be seen in the previously cited epitaph of Zheng Ke, which referred the reader to “the *Hereditary Houses* chapter of the *Record of the Grand Historian*.” The *Record of the Grand Historian* (*shiji* 史記) was written by Sima Qian in 94 BCE, it contains a political history of the known world up until the time it was written and served as a model for many subsequent Chinese historical works. The *Hereditary Houses* chapter lists the origins and remote history of the surnames or

55. 謹按家譜，其先瑯琊人也。... WB 259-264.

56. 爵秩庸行，銘碣俱存。廟眾宗駢，更不復錄。WB 259.

57. 咸雍間會移任於燕因上表乞祠宇上允其請而以公之躰負惟肖俾匠者狀而成之其廟在禁城東右枕通衢以時致祭每四時使至道於下見其題号不聳然噫能使祖先之功業益遠而益彰國家之威聲愈久而愈振可謂仁人之利博矣。Hu Juan 胡娟 and Hai Yong 海勇, “Liao <Yelü Shanqing muzhi> Kaoshi” 遼《耶律善慶墓誌》考釋, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古, no. 9 (2018): 282–288

the kind that was listed in detail at the beginning of Han Chun's epitaph (mentioned above). This means that in the context it is mentioned in Zheng Ke's epitaph the writer was claiming that Zheng Ke descended from the Zheng hereditary house recorded in the *Record of the Grand Historian*. This reference to the *Record of the Grand Historian* is evidence of the effect of the edict sixteen years earlier in 1074 to propagate the text and other works (see table C.44) but also shows how the families of mixed descent could simultaneously claim status from their ancestry within the Liao, as Zheng Ke's epitaph does stating they were in the northern Baixi plain for generations, and also remote, historical ancestry from long ago recorded in circulated official texts, without having to connect the two. Similarly the epitaphs for Liu Yujie and Mme Yelü, wife of Geng Yanyi, to name but a few, are quite explicit about referring readers to dynastic histories for "descendants after the first emperor Yao"⁵⁸ and "the origins of the Han clan",⁵⁹ clearly pointing to remote, pre-Liao ancestry, whereas the epitaph for Princess of the Chen State, for example, refers to the dynastic history for an account of the "six emperors", meaning in this case it was a history of the Liao up until 1018.⁶⁰

Despite these ambiguities in references to genealogical texts, with the blurring of state sponsored and private genealogies, accounts remote or pre-Liao ancestry, literal or rhetoric genealogical texts, the references do suggest that there was an awareness of the relevance of genealogical writing at play in the eleventh century, and in particular for the Kitan aristocracy, which incorporated both the Yelü and Xiao and families that married into them. This is not to say however that the Kitan aristocracy was homogenous. Policies shaped the internal stratification of the Yelü and Xiao clan, and these policies were in turn shaped by the interests of various families who rose to positions of power. Lineage and succession seem to have been important to the Kitan aristocracy right from the inception of the Liao, and yet epitaphs for Yelü and Xiao in Chinese do not start to appear in greater and more regular quantities almost until the mid-eleventh century, and Kitan script epitaphs not until the mid-late eleventh century. The references to genealogies also feature more in the epitaphs for Yelü and Xiao than for other families, with twenty of the thirty-six epitaphs cited in table C.33 being from the two houses. The follow-

58. 其先帝堯之後，國史明陳 WB 106-109.

59. 其韓氏之源，國紀家牒備矣，此不復書。WB 142-145.

60. 乃六葉帝王之族矣。國史備載，WB 153-155.

ing section explores the genealogies of the Yelü and Xiao, considering reasons for the demand both for genealogical writings and for epitaphs.

4.2 Lineage policy and the internal stratification of the Yelü and Xiao houses

The two imperial clans of the Liao were different from each other, different from other families in the Liao and internally divided. In all three of these senses there was also stratification. Of the two houses, the Yelü clan were the highest, the emperors were all from the imperial line of the first emperor Abaoji. The Xiao intermarried with the Yelü, providing the empresses, while the brothers of the empresses' families would marry the Yelü princesses and often be appointed high offices of state. In several cases Xiao women wielded immense power as empress dowagers, ruling as regent for the child emperor in the case of Empress Dowager Chengtian and her son the Emperor Shengzong. In other cases attempts to seize power and replace the ruling emperor were not successful, as in the case of Empress Qin'ai.⁶¹ The Yelü and Xiao were higher than any other family, forming the Kitan aristocracy. Parity with them could be reached through being granted membership of either house.⁶² The houses were also subdivided into branches of lineages. These lineages were established in the early years of the Liao. However while their classification was formally established, the status of each lineage would appear to have varied over the course of the dynasty. This section will explore these variations in the historical record, before then comparing these accounts with patterns and observations from the dataset of Liao epitaphs.

The 1344 LS is very explicit about the divisions with the Yelü clan, and a passage in the BGZ lays out how each was designated.⁶³ This has been visualised in figure B.8. Essentially the descen-

61. Detailed accounts of both of these empresses and others can be found in Cha, "The Lives of the Liao (907-1125) Aristocratic Women" and Johnson, *Women of the conquest dynasties: Gender and identity in Liao and Jin China*

62. Most famously in the example of Han Derang and his family, but there were also many other cases of individuals and their families being granted the Yelü name.

63. "The clan of Qiashen, the eldest son of Suzu [Abaoji's great great grandfather], was in the office of the Fifth

dants of the brothers and cousins, of the first emperor Abaoji, descendants of Abaoji's father and grandfather, were designated "the patriarchal tents"/"patriarchal households" or "Brother Branches", of which there were three; the elder, middle and younger Brother Branches.⁶⁴ More distant cousins of Abaoji, ie. descendants of his great and great great grandfather, were grouped as 'divisions'. Another term that will crop up in some of the sources is the 'Horizontal Tents', which is rather ambiguous. There is disagreement across sources and among scholars what the term 'Horizontal Tents' meant and what lineages it referred to. In the narrowest sense it was all the descendants of Abaoji, but there are cases where it also extended to Brother Branches, the Two Divisions and even some of the core Xiao lineages.⁶⁵ I put this matter aside as it is inconclusive and will only discuss it as it relates to my research questions.

These lineages were established and codified as early as the reign of the second emperor Deguang, who upon the death of Abaoji established the imperial mausoleum as the site of burial and commemoration of the first emperor. He called the mausoleum Zuling 祖陵, and the attached settlement Zuzhou 祖州, these meant the Mausoleum and the Prefecture of "Ancestors". It was so named because the site not only commemorated Abaoji but also his ancestors up until his great great grandfather, i.e. progenitor of the most remote of the divisions (figure B.8).⁶⁶ The

Division. The clans of Gela and Qiali (Suzu's second and third sons), and Tiela and Niaoguzhi (Yizu's [Abaoji's great grandfather] second and third sons) were in the office of the Sixth Division. These five branches, were the Two Divisions of the imperial clan. Xuanzu's [Abaoji's grandfather] eldest son, Malu, had no sons. The descendants of his second son Yanmuzhi were called the Older Brother Branch (*Mengfufang* 孟父房), descendants of his third son were called Middle Brother Branch (*Zhongfufang* 仲父房). His youngest son was Dezu [Abaoji's father], Dezu's eldest son was the Taizu emperor [Abaoji], whose descendants were called the Horizontal Tent (*Hengzhang* 橫帳), the descendants of Dezu's other sons, Lage, Diela, Yindishi, Anduan and Su were all called the ounger Brother Branch (*jifufang* 季父房). These one tent and three branches, were called the four tents of the imperial clan." 肅祖長子洽脊之族在五院司，叔子葛刺、季子洽禮及懿祖仲子帖刺、季子裏古直之族皆在六院司。此五房者，謂之二院皇族。玄祖伯子麻魯無後，次子巖岩木之後曰孟父房；叔子釋魯曰仲父房；季子為德祖，德祖之元子是為太祖天皇帝，為之橫帳；次曰刺葛，曰迭刺，曰寅底石，曰安端，曰蘇，皆曰季父房。此一帳三房，謂之四帳皇族。LS 45.795-796.

64. The term "patriarchal" comes from a translation of the Chinese *fufang* 父房. The Kitan epitaphs refer to these patriarchs as "brothers", emphasising their collateral relation to the imperial line. The term *fang* literally means 'room' or 'household' however I follow Clark's translation of the term in middle period Chinese genealogical writings to mean 'branches' cf Hugh R Clark, *Portrait of a community: society, culture, and the structures of kinship in the Mulan River Valley (Fujian) from the Late Tang through the Song* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2007), 97-99

65. Summarised in Wang Zijuan 王紫娟, "Liaochao "hengzhang" wenti yanjiu zongshu" 遼朝 "橫帳" 問題研究綜述, *Jiamusi daxue shehui kexue xuebao* 佳木斯大學社會科學學報 37, no. 4 (2019): 127-130

66. "Zuzhou: Tiancheng jun. Class A, jiedu. Originally the land of the Shimoli of the Right Eight Tribes of Liao. The first emperor took his autumn hunt here many times, and built the Western tower here. Later on the site a walled town was built, and it was called Zuzhou (lit: Prefecture of Ancestors). Because it was the birth place of the first emperor's father, grandfather, great grandfather and great great grandfather." 祖州，天成軍，上，節度。本遼右八部世沒里地。太祖秋獵多於此，始置西樓。後因建城，號祖州。以高祖昭烈皇帝、曾祖莊敬皇帝、祖考

establishment of these lineages was in itself a reform that locked in set lines of descent and changed the family structure of Kitan society to privilege the imperial family. Yang Jun has argued that prior to the Kitan, i.e. kinship society in the north, was divided into family, clan and tribe. The ‘family’ (*jia* 家) represented a person’s siblings and cousins, those who shared a grandfather; outside of this those that shared a great and great great grandfather were part of one’s ‘clan’ (*zu* 族), those of even greater distant relation were deemed one’s ‘tribe’ (*bu* 部).⁶⁷ The Brother Branches that Abaoji enshrined represent Abaoji’s family and the Two Divisions his clansmen. Traditionally with each successive generation the outermost layer of clansmen of the previous generation would no longer be considered clansmen, which led to the expansion and division of clans. However, the creation of these lineages tied to Abaoji fixed these categories in perpetuity, meaning that all those descended from the Brother Branches or the Two Divisions remained clansmen regardless of the generations that had passed.⁶⁸ The same was also the case for the Xiao lineages displayed in figure B.9, which will be discussed later. These earliest of policies created an ever expanding aristocracy and with it potential anxieties concerning both competition for resources (that was discussed in the previous chapter) and dilution of prestige.

There was also a substantial built-in difference between the ‘Brother Branches’ and the ‘divisions’, that was made explicit in another section of the 1344 LS that states:

Tribal groups are called tribes, hereditary clans are called clans. In Kitan tradition they were positioned in their allotted land, with many clans living together. There were tribes that were made from clans, like the **Fifth and Sixth Divisions**. There were tribes that were made into clans, like the Xi Prince and the Shiwei. There were tribes that were not made up of clans, like the Telimian, Shaowa and Heshu. There were clans without a tribe, like the nine tents of the Yaonian and the **Three Brother Branches** of the imperial family.⁶⁹

簡獻皇帝、皇考宣簡皇帝所生之地，故名。LS 37.500-501. For brevity I have elided the posthumous titles of the emperor’s ancestors.

67. Yang, “‘Bian jia wei guo’: Yelü Abaoji dui Qidan buzhuo jiegou de gaizao.”

68. Yang, “‘Bian jia wei guo’: Yelü Abaoji dui Qidan buzhuo jiegou de gaizao.”

69. 部落曰部，氏族曰族。契丹故俗，分地而居，合族而處。有族而部者，五院、六院之類是也；有部而族者，奚王、室韋之類是也；有部而不族者，特裡特勉、稍瓦、曷術之類是也；有族而不部者，遙輦九帳、皇族三父房

This section does not suggest stratification between these categories, it does however allude to the resource bases and ties of the groups classified. It reveals that Sixth and Fifth Division had 'tribes', i.e. troops and households, while the Brother Branches did not. Another term for the Fifth and Sixth Division was the Mansion of the Northern and Southern Prince, i.e. Princely Mansions with their own assigned households from which they could extract taxes and labour. Indeed by the early eleventh century most of the Southwest and Northwest regions were under the command of these two large Princely Mansions.⁷⁰ Though they were more distant relatives of the Emperor they had more military and political clout (and indeed independence) than the Brother Branches. This was a source of tensions throughout the Liao that can be seen playing out in the policies and gestures towards lineages by different Liao emperors and their courts.

There is evidence to suggest that the divisions and the Brother Branches had competing interests both in accounts of the early Liao and the late Liao, meaning while the lineages had been set in stone their status was contingent and up for negotiation. When Taizong ascended the throne in 926 the three Brother Branches persuaded him that they should given appointments in the government and recognised as higher in status to the Two Divisions.⁷¹ This would have reversed his predecessor Abaoji's policy of appointing government posts to more distantly related members of the Yelü clan in the Two Divisions, while only granting members of the Brother Branches positions within the tribal administration in an effort to lessen the power base for potential challengers and rebellion.⁷² But Pude who had been appointed Great Prince of the Diela tribe protested:

"In my humble opinion of the system of officials, the Great Princes of the North and South rank above the *Tiyin* [i.e. official in control of Horizontal Tents]. Today the Horizontal Tents [i.e. the Brother Branches] seek positions as high as nobility, and wish to be appointed positions alongside those from the Northern and Southern Divisions [i.e. the Fifth and Sixth Divisions], but are also ashamed to be con-

是也。LS 32.426

70. Yang, "Muchang yu Qidan ren de zhengzhi," 5.

71. LS LZ 73.1351

72. Holmgren, "Marriage, Kinship and Succession under the Ch'i-tan Rulers of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125)," 51-52.

sidered of the same rank as them. The Horizontal Tents and the many clans are all your subjects, why should their ranks be different?"⁷³

The emperor conceded and reversed his original policy. Pode's words show that there was a difference in what the Two Divisions and the Three Brother Branches governed, the former had their Princely Mansions, while the extent of the latter's authority was limited to management of members of their own line. It also shows that the Two Divisions had significant lobbying power to make the emperor reverse the decision.

However, we should exercise caution in viewing this passage as a straightforward and transparent recollection of the lineage policies of the year that Taizong ascended the Liao throne. This passage was written (or annotated) after the year 1103. We know this because it refers to 'Suzu' a name that was not posthumously awarded to Abaoji's great great grandfather, the progenitor of the Two Divisions, until 1103 when the recently enthroned emperor Tianzuo granted it and also ordered the court historiographer Yelü Yan to compile the *Veritable Records* of the Liao emperors from Abaoji downwards.⁷⁴ The awarding of posthumous titles to the figureheads of the Two Divisions, Suzu and his son Yizu (Abaoji's great grandfather) in essence meant that they shared the prestige of the figureheads of the Brother Branches, who had been awarded posthumous imperial titles over fifty years before in 1052.⁷⁵ What this means is that while in 938 Taizong was persuaded to reverse a policy which stratified the extended imperial clan by elevating the status of the Horizontal Tents, over one and half centuries later this stratification had occurred, and was rebalanced by Tianzuo. This may be why the historiographers of Tianzuo's time recounted and celebrated Pode, the policy-maker who had originally warned against the elevation of the Brother Branches at the expense of the Two Divisions. From this passage there are two things we can take away for our discussion, first of all that the status of certain lineage groups in the imperial clan (and as we shall see the Xiao clan) were not stable

73. 頗德奏曰：「臣伏見官制，北、南院大王品在楊隱上。今橫帳始圖爵位之高，願與北、南院參任；茲又恥與同列。夫橫帳與諸族皆臣也，班列奚以異？」LS 73.1352

74. 戊戌，以受尊號，告廟。乙巳，謁太祖廟，追尊太祖之高祖曰昭烈皇帝，廟號肅祖，批曰昭烈皇后；曾祖曰莊敬皇帝，廟號懿祖，妣曰莊敬皇后。召監修國史耶律巖纂太祖諸帝《實錄》。LS 27.358. We know that this passage is from this iteration of historical writing because immediately prior to recording Pode's petition is a passage describing the different categories of the imperial clan. Labelling the Two Divisions as the descendants of Suzu.

75. LS 20.278.

and subject to political intervention, and secondly that the 1344 LS was compiled from materials that reflected different points in the political climate of the Liao and post Liao world, meaning certain passages should not be divorced from considerations regarding the instability of certain labels, designations and statuses.

Other passages in the 1344 LS suggest that the privileging of the Horizontal Tents (the imperial line and the Brother Branches) over the Two Divisions happened over a period of time during the eleventh century. However there was a degree of back and forth. The internal stratification of the Yelü and Xiao clans reveals the degree to which we can discuss a unified aristocracy within the Liao, and the interests at play between the emperor and the aristocracy. The aristocracy of the Yelü and Xiao vied for their own prominence. The Yelü, as seen above, sought the privileging of certain lineages. The Xiao, whose status was dependent on imperial favour and having an empress sire the next emperor, also influenced imperial policy and succession to privilege their particular sub-branches. It is through such a process that kinship took a primacy, but unlike traditional aristocracies of North China that were discussed above pedigree was not necessarily a key feature, rather it was more about access to the emperor and the figurative throne upon which he sat.

The seeds of what became overt policy concerning genealogy seems to have started in the early eleventh century where the 1344 LS recounts that a member of the Sixth Division lineage well-versed in historical precedents and genealogies caught the attention of the emperor after submitting a memorial about a debate with his cousin, Dilie, concerning the sons of wives and concubines.⁷⁶ The contents of their debate and the memorial are not recorded, however the fact that it was an official from the Six Divisions lineage debating this is notable. While the Two Divisions had military and political clout, they did not have a legitimate claim to throne being more remotely related to the imperial line and so they would not have had as direct or obvious

76. "Yelü Shiliang, whose childhood name was Wo, was a member of the Sixth Division lineage. He was gifted and quick-witted and well versed in the dynasty's historical precedents and genealogies. When he sent up a memorial about a debate with his cousin, Dilie, concerning the sons of wives and concubines, the emperor began to take notice of him." 耶律世良，小字斡，六院部人。才敏給，練達國朝典故及世譜。上書與族弟敵烈爭嫡庶，帝始識之。LS 94.1524 Translation from WF 230 n.27 "This Kitan noble was promoted to the post of northern chancellor in 1014 (LS 15.183). His memorial was sent up some time during the reign of Shengzong (983-1031), most likely well before 1014 when he was already sufficiently important to receive a high position."

a vested interest in imperial succession and the status of different sons of the emperors wives and concubines. By 1014 action appears to have been taken, directed primarily at the Xiao, as the BGZ of the LS records:

The Office of the Grand Imperial Maternal Uncles oversaw the affairs of the two tents of Yishiji and Bali. In the tenth year of the Tianxian era (935), Taizong united two tents of the empress dowager to be placed under the Office of Imperial Maternal Uncles; in the third year of the Kaifeng era (1014), under the reign of Shengzong, two branches of Yishiji and Bali were again combined to become one 'tent'.⁷⁷

While in 935 the Yishiji and Bali branches were both designated to the Office of the Grand Imperial Maternal Uncles, the two branches remained distinct as separate lineages. Around this time the name Xiao started to appear suggesting that they were united under the name Xiao in Chinese, though likely kept separate lineage identities in Kitan. In 1014 a further policy brought the two together.⁷⁸ The redefinition of these branches laid the ground work to privilege certain families, as these lineages provided marriage partners for the Yelü clan and filled the high offices of state. This can be seen in a decree five years later:

On the day Kuisi [Kaitai 8.10 1019] it was decreed that the Horizontal Tents [here meaning imperial line] and the Three Brother Branches could not intermarry with the lesser tents and lineages. All marriages had to be reported to the throne before being concluded.⁷⁹

This was the first explicit change in the status of the three Brother Branches of the Horizontal Tents since that brief, abortive elevation of their status in 926. They now had to seek permission from the emperor for marriages, and could not marry lowly clans – i.e. those outside of the lineages of the Imperial Maternal Uncles. This restriction contrasts with members of the

77. 大國舅司. 掌國舅乙室已, 拔里二帳之事. 太宗天顯十年, 合皇太后二帳爲國舅司; 聖宗開奉三年, 又併乙室已, 拔里二司爲一帳. LS 45.801. Translations of this in WF 478-479 and Cha, "The Lives of the Liao (907-1125) Aristocratic Women," 59

78. The Yishiji will be discussed further down, but suffice to say this passage is rather isolated as accounts of members of Yishiji are almost non-existent elsewhere in both received and retrieved sources of the Liao imperial house.

79. 癸巳, 詔橫帳三房不得與卑小帳族爲婚; 凡嫁娶, 必奏而後行. LS 16.209. Translation modified from WF 233.

Two Divisions, who could continue to marry such 'lower' lineages, but clearly that meant they were lower in status now. The beneficiaries of this policy were clearly the branches of the Imperial Maternal Uncles, they had not only been defined as a higher status lineage group but also now tied their fates to the Horizontal Tents and the three Brother Branches. It was a strategy to elevate their own status by elevating the status of the Horizontal Tents and Brother Branches, through codifying exclusive marriage relations.

Given that certain branches benefited from such policies it should come as no surprise that members of these branches were involved in advising and devising them. In 1024 while the emperor personally got involved in the devising of such genealogical policy, it was a minister Xiao Pu who arbitrated on the fall out from the shifting statuses of different lineages:

At this time it had long been peaceful. The emperor devoted his attention to literature. For the first time he drew up genealogical tables in order to differentiate the descendants of wives from those of concubines. Thereupon quarrels and lawsuits arose continuously. [Xiao] Pu who had administrative ability and understood the ruler's intentions, had presented memorials which accorded with the emperor's will. The discussions in the court were in the main decided by him.⁸⁰

Xiao Pu was from the Junior Elder Tent of the Maternal Uncles. This was the same lineage group as Shengzong's consort Qin'ai who at that time was ascendant, and her brothers were in high offices of state.⁸¹ Putting him in charge of resolving genealogical disputes in the name of the emperor clearly shifted the balance of favour in the direction of Qin'ai and her family. The results of his influence in this area of policy can be seen in two more decrees that followed in 1027 and 1029:

On the first day Dingmao of the tenth month [Taiping 7 1028] it was decreed to all tents and households that the standing of a concubine's son should be decided ac-

80. 時太平日久，帝留心翰墨，始畫譜牒以別嫡庶，由是爭訟紛起。樸有吏才，能知人主意，敷奏稱旨，朝議多取決之。LS 80.1411, translation from WF 233. Wittfogel and Feng date this account to 1024, when Xiao Pu was appointed to Prime Minister of the Northern Administration.

81. 1344 LS uses term Junior Patriarchal Branch (*shaofufang* 少父房). This is an error that will be discussed later.

cording to the social standing of his mother.⁸²

On the day Dinghai Taiping 8.12 (1029)... It was decreed that the Two [sections of] Imperial Maternal Uncles and the Mansions of the Southern and Northern Princes were the noble lineages of the nation. Low and common persons were not allowed to hold offices in these groups.⁸³

The first of these edicts served to entrench the superiority of the reigning empress Qin'ai and her lineage group, who were descendants of the Junior Elder Tent. It meant that the sons that she bore would henceforth be given priority for succession. The final decree in this regard from Shengzong's reign further invested them with power, granting members of these prestigious lineage groups exclusive access to administrative positions, positions that had command over military resources. While ensuring the exclusivity of the Imperial Maternal Uncle lineages, the decree widened the prestige of the imperial clan once again to the Two Divisions, who had lost out in the previous decade. Once again the Horizontal Tents, Brother Branches and the Two Divisions enjoyed a degree of parity and prestige in appointments. They were all "honoured clans" or "aristocrats".

This was not to last for long, however and likely shifted again in 1052, when Emperor Xingzong venerated the progenitors of the Brother Branches, but not the progenitors of the Two Divisions. It is unclear whether this meant that the Two Divisions were subsequently diminished in status in relation to the Brother Branches. Another passage from the 1344 LS offers a clue but it is far from unambiguous. In the BGZ, which lists the structure of the Liao administration and the responsibilities of different offices the entry for Tiyin provides an example of an appointee to the office and how he carried out his duties:

The office of the Grand Tiyin, established by Taizu, was in charge of the affairs and instruction of the imperial clan. In Chongxi 21 [1052], Yelü Yixian was appointed Tiyin, and warned his clansmen saying:

82. 冬十月丁卯朔，詔諸帳院庶孽，並從其母論貴賤。LS 17.227, WF 233

83. 詔兩國舅及南、北王府乃國之貴族，賤庶不得任本部官。LS 17.228 Translation modified from WF 233.

“The Three Brother Branches of the dynastic family are the most honoured clan, according to standards for morals and customs for all under heaven, even the smallest of actions must not be unfilial or undutiful.”

His wife, daughter of the Grand Princess of Jin state, would always dress formally when she met with their cousins. Yixian lead by example, the dynastic clan emulated him. The realities of how the Liao dynasty appointed their officials can be seen in this instance. As soon as Taizu established the state, he established this post, the hundreds of officials that went on to take this post, had to be from the imperial surname.⁸⁴

It appears from this account that “the most honoured clan” suggests a hierarchy in the lineages of the imperial clan. However, it is unclear whether this term “honoured clan”, which incidentally is the contemporary Chinese term for ‘aristocracy’, was an officially recognised designation or a de facto, rhetorical designation. The account of Yelü Yixian and his reported speech in the passage can also be found in his biography, however the wording and the context is slightly different. In his biography Yixian’s speech and actions advocate not exclusivity but respect and decorum even to lower status people. It is as if Yelü Yixian and his wife were promoting and setting an example of a Kitan aristocratic culture through interpersonal etiquette:

Yixin often cautioned his fellow clansmen:

“The Three Brother Branches of the dynasty, are all brothers of the emperor, we of all people must not be unfilial or undutiful.”

When receiving subordinates he did not distinguish between high or lowly, virtuous or base, and would use the same etiquette for all. His wife, the daughter of the Grand Princess of Jin state, would always dress formally when she met with their cousins. Those within and outside the clan followed their example.⁸⁵

84. 大惕隱司。太祖置，掌皇族之政教。興宗重熙二十一年，耶律義先拜惕隱，戒族人曰：「國家三父房最為貴族，凡天下風化之所自出，不孝不義，雖小不可為。」其妻晉國長公主之女，每見中表，必具禮服。義先以身率先，國族化之。遼國設官之實，於此可見。太祖有國，首設此官，其後百官擇人，必先宗姓。LS 45.783. “even the smallest of actions” could also be translated as “even the youngest of members”.

85. 義先常戒其族人曰：「國中三父房，皆帝之昆弟，不孝不義尤不可為。」其接下無貴賤賢否，皆與均禮。其

What is also absent from the biographical account is the year of the alleged utterance. The BGZ account states it happened in 1052 the very year that the progenitors of the Brother Branches were venerated, whereas the biography states that Yelü Yixian's warnings were habitual or "often". These are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, one of the many times Yixian cautioned his clansmen could have been in his capacity of Tiyin. The other disparity in the two passages suggests that the Brother Branches may have been elevated in status by Xingzong's veneration of their progenitors in 1052, but Yixian in his capacity as Tiyin continued advocating humility and respect for lower status clansmen despite the recent stratification. Further suggestion of this stratification can be found in the beginning of a recently unearthed epitaph from 1092, but again the evidence is not unequivocal. Yelü Hongli's epitaph, composed by imperial commission and interred in the Yiwulü region pronounces:

The dynastic surname Yelü has three Great Horizontal Tents. One, the Great Father; two, the Middle Father; three the Younger Father. The Younger Father was Emperor Dezu, who was father of Emperor Taizu, whose children and grandchildren have been emperors for generations. Those of his [i.e. Dezu's] tent are called "honoured clansmen".⁸⁶

In this epitaph while the three Brother Branches are listed as being part of the "Great Horizontal Tents", the status of "honoured clansmen" is reserved exclusively for the descendants of Dezu, Abaoji's father. This narrows the aristocracy to the descendants of Abaoji, i.e. the imperial line, and the descendants of his brothers, the younger brother branch. However this is not reliable evidence that the three Brother Branches were not necessarily internally stratified at this point in time (based on the epitaphic record that I will discuss below, by this time they were not). Yelü Hongli was descended from the imperial line, he was grandson of Yelü Longqing (brother of Emperor Shengzong) and so would unambiguously belong to the Horizontal Tents even in the narrowest definition of the term. At the same time, as his epitaph explains he had inherited the Princely Mansion of Wenzhong, which was the "ordo-like" Princely

妻晉國長公主之女，每遇中表親，非禮服不見，故內外多化之。LS 90.1495.

86. 國姓耶律氏有三大橫帳一大父二仲父三小父小父者德祖皇帝而太祖大聖天皇帝之父也其子孫世為天子出于其帳者號為貴族。1092 *Epitaph of Yelü Hongli* Wan Xiongfei 萬雄飛 and Si Weiwei 司偉偉, "Liaodai Yelü Hongli muzhi kaoshi" 遼代耶律弘禮墓誌考釋, *Kaogu* 考古, no. 6 (2018): 115–122

Mansion that was given to Yelü Longyun (Han Derang) after he had been adopted into the Younger Brother Branch when he was given the imperial surname. The narrowing of the prestige to the descendants of Dezu satisfied the interests of Yelü Hongli and his heirs – who were part of the imperial line but also heirs to property of the Younger Brother Branch. This suggests that claims of a hierarchy or the superiority of certain branches were not necessarily the result of explicit top-down measures, they could have been asserted by interested parties on the ground, playing out in the claims of these branches who competed for prestige in circulated texts like epitaphs. Consider Yelü Yixian's warning to his clansmen, the need for cautions, either once or frequently, suggests that actions contrary to the warnings were practised, descendants of the Brother Branches may have been lording it over more lowly lineages and had expected deference from lineages they considered lower status. What Yelü Yixian advocated through informal caution and example and not policy or lobbying was the reduction of pretensions between lineages and a shared aristocratic culture and etiquette within the Yelü clan. In many ways reflecting the petition that Poda had sent to the second emperor in 926 persuading him to reverse his decision that favoured the Brother Branches. The reality, however, was that these lineages were in competition for prestige and the emperor's patronage. I will explore now how this played out in the epitaphs of the Yelü clan.

4.2.1 Lineages and epitaphs of the Yelü clan

The chronological distribution of the Chinese epitaphs of the Yelü clan shown in table C.35 presents a rather stark picture of both which lineages produced epitaphs over the course of the Liao and which lineages are discernable in the epitaphic record. Only in a handful of cases are the terms of the branches and divisions invoked in Chinese language epitaphs, meaning that the designation of lineages is often the work of scholars interpreting the accounts of ancestry in the epitaphs. After 1023 there are no more epitaphs of unclear ancestry,⁸⁷ suggesting that the early period the transcription of names was even more varied and inconsistent making it difficult to match up with names and families in the 1344 LS. It also suggests that the materials

87. Unless Shuji is counted.

we have from the 1344 LS were the product of the late Liao, as the lineages are easier to ascribe from epitaphs of the late Liao. This however may also be because of more recognisable persons are commemorated in the epitaphs of the late Liao. These recognisable persons were the imperial line, the descendants of Han Zhigu's family who from 1004 were members of the Younger Brother Branch, and the family of Yelü Renxian. Whereas up until the early-to-mid eleventh century there were more epitaphs produced by members of the Sixth Division following from Yelü Yuzhi's example.⁸⁸ No subject of the available Chinese epitaphs can be traced to the Older Brother Branch or the Fifth Division.

It is clear from the epitaphs available that as the imperial line started to commission epitaphs the Sixth Division more or less stopped. The only descendant of the Sixth Division to have an epitaph after Shengzong's reign until the twelfth century is (Yelü) Wanxin Great Prince of the North. There is both a Chinese and a Kitan linear script epitaph for Wanxin, but the Chinese epitaph is the less important of the two. This is because the Kitan linear script epitaph was inscribed on the base stone, whereas the Chinese epitaph was engraved on the reverse of the cover stone. It is also because the Chinese epitaph refers the reader to the Kitan epitaph for a detailed account of Wanxin's career.⁸⁹ This suggests a move away from Chinese epitaphs for the descendants of the Sixth Division, the only other Kitan epitaph found to predate Wanxin's was also for a member of the Sixth Division revealing a precedent for experimentation with commemoration in the Kitan linear script. This continued into the late eleventh century with three more examples of Kitan epitaphs for the Sixth Division and no more Chinese epitaphs (see table C.37 and C.39).⁹⁰

Another facet of Wanxin's epitaph that suggests a shift in the presentation of lineage and indeed the relationship between epitaphs and the presentation of lineage is the reference in the Chinese epitaph to the *Accounts of the Imperial Agnatic Kin* (*neiqizhuan* 內戚傳), the title of this work which is not mentioned elsewhere suggests that it covered a genealogical history of the imperial family. The term Imperial Agnatic Kin (lit. 'Inner Relatives' *neiqi* 內戚) is seen in

88. Yelü Yuzhi's epitaph was discussed in section 2.2.2.

89. 大王入仕年月，曆宦官姿，並次於契丹字內。WB 223-224.

90. 1081 Yelü Duoluoliben 耶律多羅裡本 in Kitan linear script. 1082 Yelü Wuliben-Cite 兀立本 • 慈特 and 1092 Yelü Dilie 耶律迪烈 in Kitan assembled script. See QDWZ 532-536, 761-772, 782-798.

the 1344 LS,⁹¹ and corresponds to the term Imperial Affinal Kin (lit. ‘Outer Relatives’ *waiqi* 外戚) that is commonly used to refer to the Xiao clan. The 1344 LS contains a table of the Imperial Affinal Kin, but this was derived from other sections of the 1344 LS by the Yuan compilers.⁹² We can only speculate that there might have been an account of the Imperial Affinal Kin to complement the *Accounts of the Imperial Agnatic Kin*, and that they were part of the dynastic histories or genealogical records that were frequently referred to in the epitaphs displayed in table C.33 and discussed earlier in this chapter. This reference in Wanxin’s epitaph from 1041 tells us that there were texts that codified lineage groups prior to 1041, reflecting a concrete textual product of the lineage reforms of the late Shengzong reign. It may be that the circulation of these texts supplanted the need for epitaphs as accounts of genealogy for many in the Yelü clan, and a shift away from the production and placement of epitaphs in tomb spaces for the Sixth Division and other more remote Yelü lineages, which as section 2.2.2 notes were traditionally more concerned with material culture assemblages and tomb murals.

As for the uptake in epitaphs for the imperial line. The earliest available epitaph for the Imperial Line was the 1018 *Epitaph for the Princess of Chen State*. This epitaph accompanied a lavish tomb.⁹³ The Princess was daughter of Shengzong and wife of Xiao Shaoju (who had died before), brother of Shengzong’s empress and nephew of Shengzong’s mother. Perhaps the untimeliness of her death at the age of eighteen drove the emperor to commission a lavish and expedited burial for her, one which included an epitaph.⁹⁴ The next epitaph for the imperial line is the 1031 *Aice of Emperor Shengzong*, and from then on not only do more epitaphs for the imperial line start to be produced, but those outside of the imperial line and the Younger Brother Branch do not appear in the epitaphic record (see table C.33). Another explanation for this shift in the branches of Yelü that produce epitaphs could be that there was some form of regulation on epitaphs within the Yelü clan in the early-to-mid eleventh century. A passage mentions two

91. 戊午，所俘高麗人分置諸陵廟，余賜內戚、大臣。LS 15.185.

92. Miao Runbo 苗潤博, “Qidan guojiu biebu shixi zai jiantao” 契丹國舅別部世系再檢討, *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊, no. 4 (2014): 126–129.

93. Sun Jianhua 孫建華 and Zhang Yu 張郁, “Liao Chenguo gongzhu fuma hezangmu fajue jianbao” 遼陳國公主駙馬合葬墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物, no. 11 (1987): 4–24.

94. WB 153–155. Incidentally Shengzong had commissioned an epitaph for another women in his life over two decades earlier, his honoured consort. Cf Neimenggu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Neimenggu Duolunxian Xiaowan-gligou Liaodai muzang.”

successive edicts regulating burials in 1042 and 1043, the two years after Wanxin's Chinese epitaph was produced. The first one "prohibited the sacrificial killing of cows and horses at a funeral, and the burying of treasure,"⁹⁵ while the second one amended and loosened the first one, stating that "the agnates of hereditary Grand Councillors (*zaixiang* 宰相) and Garrison Governors (*jiedushi* 節度使) and those in their families, were allowed to be buried with silver objects, but ritual slaughter of animals was still prohibited."⁹⁶ Neither of these make reference to the use of inscriptions in the tomb or outside of it. They seem to be more concerned with the use of ritual slaughter and treasure, concerns that may have been more to do with the economy than the etiquette of funerals.⁹⁷ A similar policy was announced half a century earlier in 992 prohibited the sacrificial killing of horses at funerals, as well as the burial of armour, gold and silver, and vessels and ornaments.⁹⁸ This did not stop the production of epitaphs or indeed lavish funerals.⁹⁹ So likewise there is nothing to suggest that these policies of Xingzong's would have had a significant effect. Never mind the fact that the Great King of the North and his family enjoyed a position comparable if not higher than the rank of Governor anyway. As it stands, this shift from many epitaphs for the Sixth Divisions to epitaphs being almost exclusively from the Imperial line, Younger Brother and Middle Brother Branches in the eleventh century cannot be fully explain by the extant sources concerning genealogical or burial policy in the Liao.

The emergence of epitaphs for the Middle Brother Branch was also not likely a result of policy, and in fact these epitaphs reveal the limits of such policies on the ground. With the exception of the imperially commissioned epitaph for Yelü Shanqing, the epitaphs for descendants of the Middle Brother Branch are exclusively from the family of Yelü Renxian, and indeed their production was likely the result of the prominence of Yelü Renxian. Yelü Renxian (1013-1072) had been a key minister who advised and defended the emperor during the Chongyuan rebellion in 1063. His epitaph was composed in 1072, twenty years after Xingzong gave posthumous ti-

95. 丁卯，禁喪葬殺牛馬及藏珍寶。LS 19.260.

96. 六月丙午，詔世選宰相、節度使族屬及身為節度使之家，許葬用銀器；仍禁殺牲以祭。LS 19.261.

97. Twitchett has argued that the restrictions of ritual slaughter likely coincide with military shortages of horses. In 1039, 1046 and 1051 there were censuses that recorded both population and livestock, while in 1048 there is specific record of a registration of horses. See Twitchett and Tietze, "The Liao," 117-120.

98. 十年春正月丁酉，禁喪葬禮殺馬，及藏甲冑、金銀、器玩。LS 13.154.

99. Such as the imperial commissioned tomb of Shengzong's honoured consort. Cf Neimenggu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Neimenggu Duolunxian Xiaowangligou Liaodai muzang."

ties to the uncles of Abaoji who were the progenitors of the Middle and Older Brother Branches, and yet the writer of Yelü Renxian's epitaph does not use these titles. The epitaph instead states Renxian's ancestors relation to Abaoji and a lineage label:

His distant ancestor was called Shulashilu Yueyue, the second horizontal tent, uncle of Emperor Taizu.¹⁰⁰

This lineage label is not immediately recognisable from the existing labels in the 1344 LS. Indeed the meaning of this “second horizontal tent” has sparked several opposing interpretations.¹⁰¹ Suffice to say that either the author of the epitaph, Zhao Xiaoyan, was unclear about the specificities of the labels of lineages and had made a mistake, or the lineage labels being used in 1072 were not the ones being used in 1103 when the first LS was compiled. This epitaph was the first of many that Zhao Xiaoyan produced, but that does not mean that it was of inferior quality or would have contained such mistakes. On the contrary Zhao Xiaoyan's composition of Yelü Renxian's epitaph apparently won him praise and recognition, as less than three months later he was commissioned by the court to author the epitaph of a Prince, Yelü Yongyuan.¹⁰² A comparison of his titles in the two epitaphs shows that within the two months he had also been promoted.¹⁰³ So it is likely that the titles that Xingzong had bestowed on the progenitors of the Middle and Older Brother Branches, and indeed the labels of the lineage did not conform entirely to our understanding based on the 1344 LS account that I narrated in the previous section. Indeed it was not until 1094 in Zhang Xiaoyan's *Epitaph of Yelü Qingsi* (who was Yelü Renxian's son) and *Epitaph of Yelü Zhixian* (who was Renxian's brother) that the official posthumous title supposedly granted by Xingzong in 1052 is used (emphasis mine):

100. 遠祖曰述刺實魯于越，即第二橫帳，太祖皇帝之龍父也。WB 352-357.

101. Aisin Gioro Ulhicun 愛新覺羅·烏拉熙春, “Qidan hengzhang kao: jian lun gong, zhang, yuan zhi guanxi,” 契丹橫帳考——兼論宮、帳、院之關係, in *Aishin Gioro Ruhichiyun Jishin Kittan gaku kenkyū* 愛新覺羅·烏拉熙春女真契丹學研究, ed. Aisin Gioro Ulhicun 愛新覺羅·烏拉熙春 (Kyoto: Shoukadoh 松香堂, 2009), 303-313; Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, “Liaochao ”hengzhang” kao: jian lun Qidan buzhu zhidu” 遼朝 “橫帳” 考——兼論契丹部族制度, *Beida shixue* 北大史學, no. 1 (2001): 29-49; Ge Huating 葛華庭, “Liaodai ”hengzhang” qiankao” 遼代 “橫帳” 淺考, *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物, no. 4 (2000): 77-79; Wang Shanjun 王善軍, “Liaochao hengzhang xinkao” 遼朝橫帳新考, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究, no. 2 (2003): 175-179; concisely summarised in Wang, “Liaochao ”hengzhang” wenti yanjiu zongshu.”

102. XB 148-151.

103. 前崇義軍節度副使、銀青崇祿大夫、檢校 散騎常侍、兼殿中侍御史、飛騎尉趙孝嚴 WB 352-357. 尚書屯田郎中、充史館修撰、應奉閣下文字、賜紫金魚袋臣趙孝嚴 XB 148-151.

His distant ancestor was Shulieshi, Yuyue **Prince of Shu State**, uncle of Emperor Taizu.¹⁰⁴

This either suggests that the titles had caught on only by the 1090s, or that the presentation of ancestry had a degree of flexibility and arbitrariness to it. It is also worth considering the audience of the Chinese epitaph. In the epitaphs for both Renxian and Qingsi, what is consistent is that the relation to Abaoji is explained explicitly. It is this which was the relevant information, suggesting that the titles and lineage labels that were given by the emperor were largely a court affair and did not signify that changes in these titles was instantly widespread knowledge. Writing for an audience perhaps not so well versed in the intricacies of official imperial genealogical titles, it was the relation to Abaoji that was the critical piece of information. After all, it was through their relation to Abaoji that all the branches and lineages of the Yelü derived their status and prestige.

Returning to the emergence of epitaphs for Yelü Renxian's family, it was not the lineage of Yelü Renxian that stimulated the production of epitaphs but the ties to Yelü Renxian himself. The many epitaphs of his family members all pronounce their relation to Yelü Renxian, rather than to distant or even Liao ancestry. The 1069 epitaph of his daughter Yelü Guyumiyi, discovered buried with her husband Xiao Tang in the Laoha region, does not list her lineage to the Middle Brother Branch, nor its progenitor, only her relation to her father Yelü Renxian, her uncle Yelü Yixian 耶律義先 (who was discussed in the previous section) and her brother Yelü Qingsi. It lists their positions within the Liao administration and not their ancestry, demonstrating that it was the success of her relatives in recent memory and the here-and-now that gave her prestige.¹⁰⁵ It is also worth considering the possibility that the epitaphs for Yelü Renxian's family were influenced by the family of Yelü Guyimuyi's husband Xiao Tang. This family, the descendants of Xiao Jiyuan had a history of epitaph production in their tomb complex south of the Central Capital. Yelü Guyumiyi was the first of Yelü Renxian's relatives to have an epitaph written and this might have set a precedent for the future production of epitaphs for the male

104. 遠祖于越蜀國王諱述烈實魯，即太祖大聖天皇帝之伯父也。WB 456-459. 遠祖于越蜀國王諱述烈實魯，我太祖大聖天皇帝之伯父也。XB 222-223.

105. 前燕王、尚父、于越、晉王仁先之處子。故大內惕隱平王宗睦之猶女。前易州刺史、左千牛衛上將軍慶嗣之愛妹也。XB 126-128.

members of the family in their tomb complex in the Yiwulü region. Yelü Guyumiya's epitaph raises two important points, first that genealogy only tells part of the story for the patterns of epitaph production in the Liao, and secondly that considering only one family and not the relationships and networks between families also limits the explanatory horizons for the patterns we see. With this in mind I will now also examine the epitaphs for the Xiao clan.

4.2.2 Lineages and the epitaphs of the Xiao clan

While the lineages of the Yelü clan outside the imperial line were divided and at times stratified, they always had their status as Yelü, connected by agnatic kin to the ancestors of the dynastic founder. The same was not true for the “Xiao clan”. The position of branches and families that formed the Xiao clan had a much more precarious and conditional membership of the Kitan aristocracy. This was primarily for two reasons. Firstly, the Xiao were not a clan in the same way that the Yelü were, they were ‘fictive’ in the sense that rather than all descending from the same ancestor they were made up of many different families, representing different groups from different regions. It is true there are examples of members of the Yelü clan also in the same position, but these were peripheral to the main branches of the Yelü clan, whereas the Xiao were a composite from the get-go. This can be seen in the Kitan script epitaphs where no equivalent term for the Chinese surname Xiao has been discovered. In the place of where the surname Xiao would be is instead typically a lineage to which the individual belonged.¹⁰⁶ The second reason for the precarity of the Xiao was that membership of this composite and fictive kinship clan was predicated upon being designated Xiao by the emperor. This was usually done because a member of the family had married into a member of the Yelü house. So all the males that married Liao princesses were Xiao, as were all empresses (though not all concubines and ladies-in-waiting) These conditions meant that the prestige of any family that was designated Xiao relied on imperial favour through high office and marriage relations with the ruling emperor's family to sustain their social standing. The two went hand in hand, as families

106. Aisin Gioro Ulhicun 愛新覺羅・烏拉熙春, *Kittanbun boshi yori mita Ryōshi* 契丹文墓誌より見た遼史 (Kyoto: Shoukadoh 松香堂, 2006), 17-19.

of high officials were better positioned to marry into the imperial line, while those who had relatives married into the imperial line were also well placed to lobby for promotion and official appointments.

This is not to say that all families labelled Xiao were equal. The most prominent lineages were those that descended from the mother of Empress Yingtian, the empress of Abaoji. Descendants of these were labelled the branches of the Grand Imperial Maternal Uncles. While the 1344 LS divides these branches into two names, Yishiji and Bali, and then two sub-branches for each, for Yishiji the senior and Junior Elder Tents, and for Bali, the senior and junior patriarchal households. In the Chinese epitaphs of the Xiao and their Yelü in-laws however these terms are rarely used. The only one that is used is the “Junior Elder Tent”, however those designated as members of the “Junior Elder Tent” branch should by the 1344 LS designations of the lineage be labelled the “Junior Patriarchal household”.¹⁰⁷ This suggests that the 1344 LS has the two sets of sub-branches the wrong way round and it was the Bali branch that had the senior and Junior Elder Tents.¹⁰⁸ The branch of Yishiji remains a mystery, it is not referred to elsewhere in the 1344 LS, which means that no one in the 1344 LS is actually designated a member of this branch, it also does not appear in epitaphs. Some scholars, such as Chen Shu have assigned various members of the Xiao clan that appear in epitaphs as Yishiji,¹⁰⁹ but the basis of these claims have been contested.¹¹⁰ With no visible Yishiji in the epitaphic or historical record it is clear that the politics of imperial marriages and succession, and indeed the high offices of state were dominated by the descendants of the two branches of the Bali branch.

Table C.36 reveals ten out of thirty-seven Xiao subjects of Chinese epitaphs were descended from the Junior Elder Tent of the Bali branch, and specifically from one descendant Xiao He.¹¹¹ Among these ten epitaphs there are epitaphs for the empresses of three successive emperors, Shengzong, Xingzong and Daozong, as well as the consort for an imperial prince, Heluwo, Em-

107. Wife Xiao Wuluben claimed descent from the Junior Elder Tent. 祖大國舅小翁帳。XB 205-207.

108. Shi Fengchun 史風春, “Lüelun Qidan houzu zuzhang de yanbian” 略論契丹后族族帳的演變, *Heilongjiang minzu congkan* 黑龍江民族叢刊, no. 5 (2012): 98–102.

109. LSBZ 67.2685-2708.

110. Shi, “Lüelun Qidan houzu zuzhang de yanbian.”

111. This figure would be twelve if we were to include two epitaphs that have not been retrieved but we know were produced as they were referred to in the epitaph for Xiao Degong, the epitaphs for Xiao Xiaomu and Xiao Zhixu. See table C.34

peror Daozong's younger brother.¹¹² Another prominent branch represented in the epitaphs for the Xiao clan is the Senior Elder Tent of Bali and in particular descendants of Xiao Jiyuan. Five of these have been recovered, among them one empress, Rende who was Shengzong's empress.¹¹³ In the early eleventh century, the descendants of Xiao He and Xiao Jiyuan, were rivals for the emperor's favour and preferential marriage into the imperial line. I will briefly recount the story of the competition between these two sub-branches in the early eleventh century.

In the late tenth and early eleventh century Xiao Jiyuan's family enjoyed the highest esteem. Xiao Jiyuan was adopted by his uncle, Xiao Siwen, who had no male heirs. Xiao Siwen did however have a daughter, who became the wife and empress of the fifth emperor Jingzong.¹¹⁴ Upon Jingzong's death in 983, his male heir, Emperor Shengzong, was still a child and so his empress became the Empress Dowager Chengtian and ruled as regent until her death. Chengtian's regency is characterised as a time when she opened up both the offices of the state and membership of the Yelü and Xiao clans to a broader base of candidates.¹¹⁵ After all it was during her tenure that Han Derang and his family were given the imperial surname and inducted into the Younger Brother Branch. However, much of these political moves can also be viewed from the perspective of consolidating her own powerbase and the continued prominence of her kin. She married her own niece to her son to ensure that members of her family remained tied to the emperor. This supremacy was not to last though following the death of Chengtian in 1009 and Xiao Jiyuan in 1010 and the failure of Chengtian's niece, the empress, and the emperor to produce a male heir.

It was a consort of Shengzong's, who later became the Empress Qin'ai, that produced a male heir. Her son was declared the heir to throne in 1021. Qin'ai's position was bolstered by her many uncles and brothers who all held high office. These were all of the family of Xiao He. It was through the efforts of Qin'ai and her brothers that the lineage reforms of the early eleventh

112. Consort of Song and Wei state. XB 275-277.

113. This figure would be six if we were to include an epitaph that has not been retrieved but we know was produced as it was referred to in the epitaph for Xiao Shaozong, the epitaph for Xiao Shouxing. See table C.34

114. The backstory of the Xiao clans involvement in the imperial marriages for the first four emperors is complicated and out of the scope of this thesis. It is very well accounted for in Holmgren, "Marriage, Kinship and Succession under the Ch'i-tan Rulers of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125)"

115. Holmgren, "Marriage, Kinship and Succession under the Ch'i-tan Rulers of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125)," 70.

century narrated in the previous section were carried out. These reforms served to codify the supremacy of her family's subbranch of the Xiao lineage into law, and to push away and denigrate the various families that had been designated as Xiao in previous reigns. Qin'ai and her kin's supremacy outlasted Emperor Shengzong, with her son Xingzong on the throne she became Empress Dowager. According to the 1344 LS one of her first moves was to implicate the former Empress of Zhengzong, Rende niece of Chengtian, in a plot and have her sent to and detained in the Supreme Capital, and then assassinated.¹¹⁶ Qin'ai later tried to remove Xingzong and appoint his younger brother to the throne. This failed and she was temporarily sent away to Qingzhou. This however did not weaken the power of her kin. In fact three decades later, years after her death so powerful and entrenched were the descendants of her brothers that they had split into their own factions. Descendants of Qin'ai siblings can be found on both sides of the rebellion of Chongyuan,¹¹⁷ where the younger brother of Xingzong that Qin'ai tried to install rose up against Xingzong's successor Emperor Daozong. So too they are found as partisans of both sides of the late eleventh century court factionalism that will be discussed in the next chapter. The lineage reforms of the eleventh century not only stratified the Yelü clan but also marginalised many of the lineages of the Xiao clan.

The epigraphic record reveals this rivalry between the descendants of Xiao Jiyuan and Xiao He. The family tombs of Xiao Jiyuan were found in the Laoha river basin, south of the Central Capital, while the tombs of Xiao He's kin were found in the Yiwulü region, where it would have been surrounded by the entrusted prefectures of the family (around modern day Fuxin, Liaoning).¹¹⁸ The tombs for Xiao He's family are not only numerous but span a much longer time frame (1038 – 1107),¹¹⁹ than Xiao Jiyuan's tomb complex (1038-1081). The situation for the two is different as well. While the earliest epitaph found in the complex is for the very high status Imperial Son-in-law and Governor of Pingzhou, posthumously appointed Director of the Secre-

116. LS 71.1323-1324.

117. Xiong Mingqin 熊鳴琴, "Qin'ai hou jiazuo yu Daozong chao dangzheng kaolun" 欽哀后家族與遼道宗朝黨爭考論, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究, no. 2 (2013): 112-115.

118. Xiang Nan 向南, "Liaodai Xiaoshi houzu ji qi judi kao" 遼代蕭氏后族及其居地考, *Shehui kexue jikan* 社會科學輯刊, no. 2 (2003): 135-141; Wei Kuige 魏奎閣 and Yuan Haibo 袁海波, "Liao waiqi Aguzhi jiazuo shixi xinbu: jianlun yu Fuxin de miqie guanxi" 遼外戚蕭阿古只家族世系新補——兼論與阜新的密切關係, *Liaohai wenwu xuekan* 遼海文物學刊, no. 2 (1995): 13; Li Yufeng 李宇峰, "Liaodai Xiao Jiyuan jiazuo mudi yanjiu" 遼代蕭繼遠家族墓地研究, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古, no. 2 (2017): 103-112.

119. This time frame does not include those buried elsewhere

tariat (*zhengshiling* 政事令) Xiao Shaozong and his wife the Grand Princess of the Qin state,¹²⁰ the later generations of epitaphs were of lesser rank. The next generation were still nobility, Xiao Ning and his wife Princess Anding,¹²¹ but their nephews, Xiao Tang (1043-1070) and Xiao Chan (1045-1072), both died in their twenties, and Xiao Tang's son, Xiao Boteben (1062-1080) at the age of eighteen.¹²² This seems like a family that who over the generations following the children of Xiao Shaozong and the Princess Yelü Yange, fell into decline in their official status. This can also be seen in the authorship of the epitaphs, the epitaphs for Xiao Tang was written by a degree holder who had not yet received an official appointment, his son Boteben's was written by a civilian (see table C.47).¹²³ Xiao Chan and Xiao Ning's epitaphs were both written by Dong Xiang, who was a rather high ranking official, however the epitaph for Xiao Chan makes clear that Dong Xiang was sought out to write the epitaph as an acquaintance of the family.¹²⁴ Beyond the foundation laid while Shengzong was still alive the descendants of Xiao Jiyuan were declining with each generation, having been marginalised by the power of Xiao He's family who had shaped genealogical policies of succession and the offices of state, and, as their own epitaph records show, sustained their prominence into the late Liao (see table C.36). And yet, the continued production of epitaphs for descendants of Xiao Jiyuan even though they died young shows that this sub-branch of the Xiao clan, though diminished, still sustained their aristocratic pretensions.

And what of the other lineages outside of the Junior Elder Tent. While the 1070 *Epitaph of Xiao Fuyan*, refers to genealogical records to bolster its subject's claims to the Xi Prince lineage, it also makes rather explicit not only the achievements of Xiao Fuyan's career but also that his appointment to the position of Xi Prince in the last five years of his life was based on merit and qualification. Xiao Fuyan was drafted in to replace another, previous ineffective occupant

120. Guo Baocun 郭寶存 and Qi Yanchun 祁彥春, "Liaodai <Xiao Shaozong muzhiming> he <Yeū Yange muzhiming> kaoshi" 遼代《蕭紹宗墓志銘》和《耶律燕哥墓志銘》考釋, *Wenshi* 文史, no. 3 (2015): 177-190.

121. 赤峰市博物館 Chifeng Shi Bowuguan and 寧城縣文物局 Ningcheng Xian Wenwuju, "Chifeng Ningcheng xian Fufeng shan Liaodai muzang" 赤峰寧城縣福峰山遼代墓葬, *Caoyuan wenwu* 草原文物, 1 2018, 49-56.

122. XB 135-137, 146-147, 172-173

123. XB 146-147, 172-173.

124. 近以嘉誠啟壤，合族伸辭，以庠曾接交游，素聆事業，追撰為托，退讓焉由，強拾撫詞，僅為銘曰：... XB 147. The epitaph for Xiao Ning is too damaged to make out the specific rationale behind how the author came to write the epitaph. Chifeng Shi Bowuguan and Ningcheng Xian Wenwuju, "Chifeng Ningcheng xian Fufeng shan Liaodai muzang"

of the post.¹²⁵ The office of the Xi Prince had been a combination of hereditary and court appointed, with scholar Chen Xiaowei arguing that the long term goal of successive Liao emperors was to make the position completely controlled by central appointment.¹²⁶ The example of Xiao Fuyan shows that as a peripheral lineage of the Xiao it was his career that was used to argue for his prestige.

The same can be seen in another lineage, the Chulude. Four epitaphs from the same family have been retrieved from the area of Ongniud, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia. Three are in Chinese, and one in Kitan assembled Script. The four epitaphs span four generations and over sixty years; Xiao Deshun (1045), Xiao Xiaogong (1081), Xiao Xiaozhi (1109), Mme Yelü (Kitan assembled script 1113).¹²⁷ None of these epitaphs refer to genealogical records or dynastic histories and in the epitaphs themselves there is quite a pronounced difference in the way that ancestry is presented. I do not believe this can be put down to diachronic approaches to depicting ancestry in epitaphs in the Liao nor to reasons of the identity of the writer, rather the emphasis of these epitaphs is not on the ancestry but on the offices and careers of the subjects. This can be seen in Xiao Deshun's 1045 epitaph which places a heavy emphasis on an account of the founding of a dual system of administration, positioning Xiao Deshun as one whose talents bridge the duties of the Northern and Southern Administrations.¹²⁸ In terms of ancestry, he invokes two historical figures of the surname Xiao, Xiao He 蕭何 (237-193 BCE) from the inception of the Eastern Han (202 BCE-9 CE) and Xiao Yu 蕭瑀 (574-648 CE) from the Tang, and then overall labels his ancestors, with the Lanling choronym.¹²⁹ This is a generic ancestry based on the fictive choronym of the Xiao clan. What is hidden in Xiao Deshun's epitaph is his heritage from the Chulude group a tribe that predated the founding of the Liao.¹³⁰ We know of his heritage both from the 1344 LS biography of his son and the 1081 epitaph of his grandson, Xiao

125. Appointed in 1065, died 1070 at age 55. XB 131-133.

126. Chen Xiaowei 陳曉偉, "Xiwang Xiao Fuyan muzhi san ti" 奚王蕭福延墓志三題, *Song shi yanjiu luncong* 宋史研究論叢, no. 1 (2010): 285-299.

127. Li and Zhang, "<Liao Xiao Deshun muzhiming> kaoshi"; XB 169-171, 265-267; QDWZ 982-988.

128. 夫自大聖皇帝之有天下也, 始制文字, 以革本朝之政, 由是誥命行焉。逮傳祚已來, 世建諸職, 或詔發於北面, 或辭演於西掖。故國官品列皆擬於漢官矣。若乃國官暨漢官兼而崇者, 則我夷離畢相公蓋其人也。Li and Zhang, "<Liao Xiao Deshun muzhiming> kaoshi," 67-68

129. 其先蘭陵人也。Li and Zhang, "<Liao Xiao Deshun muzhiming> kaoshi," 67-68

130. Aisin Gioro Ulhicun 愛新覺羅·烏拉熙春 and 呼格吉勒圖 Hujijiletu, "Chulude zuxi kao" 初魯得族系考, *Neimenggu daxue xuebao: renwen shehui kexue ban* 內蒙古大學學報: 人文社會科學版 39, no. 6 (2007): 3-9.

Xiaogong.¹³¹ But for Xiao Deshun it was his career and not his lineage that brought prestige.

Xiao Xiaogong's epitaph, on the other hand, also presents his ancestors with the Lanling choronym, but then emphasises the long line of ancestors that have been Southern Prime Ministers (*nan-zaixiang* 南宰相). Xiao Degong died at the age of 44 and never reached that rank, so the epitaph cites his prestigious ancestors to allude that he too would have had the potential to reach such a position. The position that Xiao Dedong did reach was "deceased Governor of his tribe, the Chulude tribe managed by the Office of the Southern Prime Minister"¹³² and the epitaph recounts how the emperor Daozong specially appointed him commissioner of his own tribe, which was "the most prestigious commissioner position of the twenty tribes of the Liao".¹³³ His cousin, Xiao Xiaozi's epitaph once again does not present its occupant as Chulude, invoking only the Lanling choronym.¹³⁴ It would seem that the only reason Chulude was referred to in Xiao Xiaogong's epitaph was that he was given a position in charge of them, and thus the epitaph writer also emphasises the importance of that position to reflect well on the tomb occupant. This heritage is missing from both his father's and cousin's epitaph. For the outer lineages of the Xiao status came not from their original lineage but membership of the collective umbrella of the Xiao clan. And more significantly it came from a history of one's agnatic kin in high office. This also plays out in the epitaphs of other Xiao epitaphs of unknown lineage. The *Epitaph of Xiao Paolu* does not label the deceased's lineage but states that they had been Northern Grand Councillor (*beizaixiang* 北宰相) for generations.¹³⁵ The *Epitaph of Xiao Xingyan* lists the names of ancestors very briefly, summarising them as imperial sons-in-law, but provides no other details or a label of lineage.¹³⁶ These two epitaphs are mostly about career, or the prestigious careers of their ancestors.

Beyond genealogical records there is the bigger question, why was it not until almost the 1030s

131. LS 96.1541. The genealogy of Xiao Deshun's family as Chulude has been reconstructed in Aisin Gioro, *Kitanbun boshi yori mita Ryōshi*; Aisin Gioro and Hujiletu, "Chulude zuxi kao," 34-40.

132. 北朝大遼國南宰相府所官(管)初魯得部族故本部族節度使、銀青崇祿大夫、檢校司空、使持節、蘭陵縣開國男、食邑三百戶蕭孝恭

133. 上伏念防邊務重，必仗全才，特授本部族節度使。遼國二十部族節度之最上也。XB 153-155.

134. XB 265-267; Jia Hong'en 賈鴻恩 and Li Junyi 李俊義, "Liao Xiao Xiaogong Xiao Xiaozi muzhiming kaoshi" 遼蕭孝恭蕭孝資墓志銘考釋, *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物, no. 1 (2006): 81-88.

135. XB 423-426.

136. XB 188-190.

that epitaphs for the Xiao start to appear? This seems to correspond more or less with the final culmination of the lineage reforms discussed in section 4.2 and towards the death of Emperor Shengzong. Were Xiao epitaphs promulgating lineages alternative to the Xiao He's sub-branch of the Junior Elder Tent that dominated? Without an even larger dataset much is left to speculation. The factors are multifaceted and not all accounted for. From what is available however it appears that ancestry mattered when it mattered. For some families it became a fallback of status, ie. the Yelü and Xiao connection to the imperial houses needed to be emphasised when other factors of prestige were wanting. After all, though internally stratified, membership of the Yelü and Xiao clans meant they were elite relative to those outside the two imperial clans, which was a boon for the struggling, less prestigious families under the Yelü and Xiao name. This was a factor that we will see play out in Kitan epitaphs and the proposed but rejected lineage reforms of the late eleventh century. However, first an even deeper mystery needs to be addressed, why did the Yelü and Xiao start to commission and produce Kitan script epitaphs in greater numbers in the mid-to-late eleventh century, and what purpose did they serve in relation to Chinese epitaphs?

4.3 The late eleventh century adoption of Kitan epitaphs

Like Chinese epitaphs Kitan epitaphs were circulated texts, and therefore social texts. This can be seen primarily in the division of labour involved in their production between the author, calligrapher and engraver. Many Kitan epitaphs provide the identities of both the author and the calligrapher, showing not only that they were separate responsibilities but also that among the 45 Kitan epitaphs there were several relatively prolific authors, see table C.40.¹³⁷ The identities of the engravers in these texts have not been found. However their own mark on the inscription process can be seen. There are several instances of epitaphs where the text is too long for base stone, causing the calligrapher or engraver to reduce the spaces between lines or size of characters towards the end of the epitaph to fit it all on one stone or the engraver to continue

137. This table was made for a discussion below.

the remainder of the epitaph on the underside of the cover stone. This demonstrates that the composition of the text was divorced from its later inscription, as the author did not take the confining dimensions of the stone onto which their composition was to be engraved into consideration. In this respect like I expect that Kitan epitaphs behave in the way Chinese ones do, as both a material grave good and a circulated text which not only had the immediate audience of mourners, but also served as a record for posterity and an example of a literary form that was aesthetically consumed and likely used as a model for emulation and further compositions.

It is clear from the existence of Kitan epitaphs, though, that they were not like Chinese epitaphs. Or, that there was a distinguishable difference between them that there was a preference for one or the other. Table C.41 shows that while the earliest few Kitan epitaphs from 986, 1041 and 1053 were all accompanied by a Chinese epitaph, from 1057 onwards the majority of Kitan epitaphs appear on their own, without an accompanying Chinese epitaph. Not included here are the number of Yelü and Xiao who only had a Chinese epitaph, of which there were much more than those who had only a Kitan epitaph or a combination of a Kitan and Chinese epitaph. There is always of course the argument that a tomb occupant may have had both but only one has been recovered. However separate epitaphs for Chinese and Kitan, that is a cover stone and base stone for both inscriptions, seems to have been the preserve of imperial figures, Emperor Daozong and his younger brother Heluwo, and the first wives of both of them.¹³⁸ These four were created at the specific personal commission of Emperor Tianzuo, under particular political circumstances that I will discuss later in section 5.2. The only other cases of a tomb occupant with Kitan and Chinese epitaphs with their own base and cover stones are Yelü Zhixian in 1094 and Yelü Qi in 1108.¹³⁹ Typically in cases where there is both a Chinese and Kitan epitaph text together, one will be on the base stone and the other on the reverse/underside of the cover stone. If both a base and cover stone for an epitaph have been discovered, even in a damaged state, then we can know whether there were Chinese and Kitan epitaphs together. On these terms I would argue that we can reliably say that the instances where only Kitan or

138. Liu, Tang, and Qing, *Liao shangjing diqu chutu de Liaodai beike huiji*, Plates 66-81.

139. It may be the case that Emperor Xingzong and his Empress had both, but these were not uncovered, and neither photographs nor rubbings of the Kitan inscriptions are available and the whereabouts of the stones is unknown.

Chinese epitaph is present for an individual is reflective of a choice and not because the counterpart of either language that originally accompanied it is missing.

The choice of language and script for an epitaph does not reflect exclusivity or a polarised choice, and does not necessarily represent unambiguous cultural signalling. Liao tombs were polyvalent and hybrid spaces,¹⁴⁰ and while an individual's epitaph may have only been presented in one language and script it could still exist alongside other scripts. Tomb complexes such as Baiyinhanshan for the descendants of Han Kuangsi,¹⁴¹ or the tombs at Qinghemmen near Yixian¹⁴² (mentioned in section 3.2.1) attest to this, containing epitaphs for occupants both in Chinese and/or in Kitan. There are also two instances where spousal pairs in joint burials have discordant epitaphs.¹⁴³ And as stated above Chinese and Kitan epitaphs could be composed for the same individual, and uniquely in the earliest example of Kitan epitaphs, the 986 *Epitaph for Yelü Yanning*, on the same surface (see figure B.1). However, while occupying the same spaces and sometimes the same funeral object (the epitaph stone, base and cover) and sometimes being written for the same individual, Chinese and Kitan epitaphs when presented together were never composed by the same author, nor were they ever bilingual.¹⁴⁴ They did not say the same things, nor speak with the same voice.

When they appeared together Kitan and Chinese epitaphs were not accessories to each other, but alternatives or complements. This is evident not only in the lack of bilinguality between them but also explicit in the 1041 Chinese epitaph for the Great Prince of the North Yelü Wanxin which refers the reader to the Kitan epitaph for a detailed account of Wanxin's career.¹⁴⁵ Such

140. Cf Liu, *Liaodai muzang de kaoguxue yanjiu*; Kinoshita, "Burial practices of the Liao (907-1125) Khitan elite: a reflection of hybrid culture" and Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order*, 211-245

141. 塔拉 Tala et al., "Baiyinhanshan Liaodai Han shi jiazhu mudu fajue baogao" 白音罕山遼代韓氏家族墓地發掘報告, *Neimenggu wenwu kaogu* 內蒙古文物考古, no. 2 (2002): 19-42.

142. Li, "Yixian Qinghemmen Liao mu fajue baogao."

143. The epitaph for the Grand Consort of the Liang State was engraved on a base stone in Chinese while the epitaph for her husband was engraved on the underside of the cover stone in Kitan assembled script, the epitaph for Princess of Yongning Province was written in Kitan linear script while the separate epitaph for her husband Xiao Xingyan was written in Chinese. See XB 257-259; QDWZ 947-957; QDWZ 347-353; XB 188-190.

144. Kane, *The Kitan Language and Script*, 12 The only known Kitan-Chinese bilingual inscription was not an epitaph, not from the Liao and not in the territory for the Liao. It was the early Jin dynasty *Langjun inscription*. See Andrew Shimunek, "A new decipherment and linguistic reconstruction of the Kitan—Chinese bilingual inscription of 1134 AD," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 67, no. 1 (2014): 97-118.

145. 大王入仕年月, 曆宦官姿, 並次於契丹字內。WB 223-224.

a reference is revelatory not only in presenting the different functions of Kitan and Chinese epitaphs in this particular instance but also because it presumes or privileges a reader literate in both Chinese and Kitan. Such individuals are documented in both the 1344 LS and various epitaphs,¹⁴⁶ and it is clear that it was the preserve of a particular aristocratic culture. Indeed perhaps knowledge of only Chinese or Kitan meant a parochialism, and missing out on both sides of the story. This is not to say that the decision to commission an epitaph only in Kitan meant illiteracy in Chinese. In fact in many cases where only a Kitan epitaph is present the cover stone contains a title in Chinese. Kitan remained a privileged language at court, and in diplomacy with northern groups, as evidenced by the popularity of Kitan script and language in the court culture of the early Jin period.¹⁴⁷ The decision to commission an epitaph in Kitan then must have been a purposeful choice, not born out of illiteracy of Chinese. It was also not some sort of ethnic or cultural signalling, wherein a person by dint of being Kitan should have a Kitan epitaph. As tables C.35 and C.36 show more Chinese epitaphs have been discovered for members of the Yelü and Xiao clans than Kitan epitaphs.¹⁴⁸ Kitan epitaphs offered nuances and advantages that Chinese epitaphs did not. Kitan epitaphs did different things, pronounced and subtle, to Chinese epitaphs.

One immediate difference to consider was that Kitan epitaphs were by nature new, innovative and unprecedented. Chinese epitaphs had a long history prior to the Liao, and Chinese epitaphs in the Liao continued with conventions seen not just in the ninth and tenth century north China but beyond that to the earlier inception of epitaphs. As I discussed in section 2.2 there had been Chinese language epitaphs in the regions of Yan and the Ling river basin centuries before the Liao. The Kitan scripts on the other hand were the products of the early tenth century. And so inscriptions in said script had only a hundred years of history prior to the earliest Kitan assembled epitaphs available. The writers of these epitaphs understandably drew upon formal features of Chinese epitaphs; and their structures followed those typical of Chinese epitaphs – with a title and author, then genealogy, followed by career, descendants and

146. A study of such figures is presented in Mori Eisuke 毛利英介, “Kittan reishi Cai Zhishun” 契丹令史蔡志順, *Kansai daigaku tōzai gaku jū kenkyūsho kiyō* 関西大学東西学術研究所紀要 47 (2014): 296-302

147. Kane, *The Kitan Language and Script*, 3.

148. Though the Kitan epitaphs discovered to date have been exclusively for members of the Yelü and Xiao clans.

details of the funeral and eulogy. However, other conventions were not followed closely. Figure B.10 shows the number of generations of ancestors that are listed in Kitan assembled epitaphs, where ego is the first generation, the father of ego the second and so on. While Chinese epitaphs conventionally list a maximum of five generations, i.e. as far back as the great great grandfather, over half of the Kitan assembled script epitaphs exceed this number presenting between six and eleven generations of ancestors. This attests to the flexibility of a new genre of writing that while borrowing from tradition could be adapted in response to the needs and priorities of its commission and its audience. Kitan script funerary biography offered aristocrats opportunities to commemorate in ways that, utilitarian or aesthetic, may have contravened or circumvented the conservative sensibilities of the calcified traditions of Chinese epitaphs.

It is evident from the above discussions that the commissioners and audiences of Kitan epitaphs were not only literate in Chinese and Kitan, but deeply concerned with ancestry. But such a claim needs to be qualified against two potential criticisms. The first is that these variances in the number of ancestors recorded are not wholly consistent and may be contingent on the quirks of their particular authors. However, table C.42 shows several prolific authors of Kitan inscriptions and the number of generations in the epitaphs they produced. The range shows that the inclusion of however many generations of ancestors was not so much an authorial habit as a response to the requests of the commissioner or the genealogical materials of the subjects with which the author had to hand (the commissioners would likely have provided the author with). A second point was made by Liu Fengzhu et al., that the Kitan epitaphs with extensive accounts of previous generations of ancestors were ones written for subjects who had died young, or in relative official obscurity, as seen in the case of Yelü Gui'an.¹⁴⁹ A similar case can be seen in the Chinese epitaphs for those who died young, such as Geng Zhixin.¹⁵⁰ However, the Kitan assembled script epitaphs for Xiao Huilian, Xiao Hudu, Xiao Pusuli and Xiao Dilu list many more generations of ancestors and yet they all lived into middle age and enjoyed respectable enough careers.¹⁵¹ It should be noted that in a lively print dispute Liu

149. QDWZ 217-232. Who died in his forties.

150. Who died aged 15. WB 184-186.

151. Wu and Janhunen, *New materials on the Khitan small script: a critical edition of Xiao Dilu & Yelü Xiangwen*; Wu Yingzhe 吳英喆, *Kittan shōji shinhakken shiryō shakudoku mondai* 契丹小字新発見資料釈読問題 (Tokyo: Nippon Tokyo gaikokugo daigaku ajia-afurika gengo bunka kenkyūsho 日本東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言

Fengzhu has emphatically questioned the authenticity of these four epitaphs, though not on these grounds.¹⁵² Even without these counterexamples the provision of extensive accounts of ancestry for the epitaph of someone who died young reveals that ancestry was a valid and viable way to shore up status. Liu Fengzhu et al. are suggesting that a lengthy epitaph was clearly more face-saving than a brief, meagre one. I agree but I think this overlooks what was used to save face or unfulfilled potential and a life cut short. In a society that was concerned with genealogy and possibly pedigree, one's ancestry demonstrated by implication if not explicitly that the deceased had the innate potential (and connections) to rise to heights had fate permitted, and was worthy of an epitaph.

A note of caution is however inevitably necessary when working with Kitan script materials. These are only partially deciphered and translated. Much of the language and how it works remains to be reconstructed, with some of it beyond our reach, bar the discovery of a dictionary or comprehensive 'Rosetta stone'. The presentation of ancestry discussed above however is one part of these epitaphs that is relatively clear, as such accounts are almost always immediately after the title and the author so the scholar has an expectation of where the information would be. Recognition is also facilitated by the use of a consistent vocabulary of familial terms and the formulaic presentation of an itemised list generation by generation with the earliest first. Another aspect of genealogical accounts in Kitan script epitaphs that have made them a focal point of scholarly inquiry is the names contained within, and efforts especially in cases where both a Chinese and Kitan epitaph are available to connect the names found in them and in the 1344 LS. Such efforts allow us to consider beyond the number of generations listed the significance of the members of those generations and the lineages to which they refer. And the work done so far has actually shown that Kitan epitaphs provide us with a more clear and lucid understanding of Kitan genealogies than Chinese inscriptions have done.

After all Chinese inscriptions have several disadvantages when providing an account of the complex northern kinship networks, naming customs and genealogies of societies north of the Yan mountains. Chinese epitaph conventionally only list ancestors going back four genera-

語文化研究所, 2012).

152. Liu, "Jiedu Qidan wenzi bu neng gu ci shi bi, yao zuodao yi tong bai tong."

tions. There was also no standardised way to transcribe non-Chinese names, or even phonemes into Chinese characters. Many Kitan aristocrats also had Chinese names, but epitaphs and historical sources would conflate and interchange these two names inconsistently. With such potential for error or misrepresentation in Chinese epitaphs, it is not hard to imagine the advantages of Kitan script epitaphs for Kitan aristocrats. As they stand though, there is much we cannot decipher in order to further understand their appeal. In terms of genealogy however we know that many of the labels that are employed in the 1344 LS for genealogical lineages, such as the Brother Branches, the Sixth Division, the Junior Elder Tent of the Imperial Maternal Uncles, the Horizontal Tents and so on, can be found in Kitan epitaphs. The Kitan epitaphs though yet to reveal all of their mysteries contain fuller and more complex accounts of ancestry.

Unless antiquity in and of itself was a source of value, the inclusion of ever earlier ancestors must have served a purpose. That purpose was to trace the individual's heritage back to the key lineages of the Yelü and Xiao clan. These lineages were discussed earlier on in this chapter and are laid out in figures B.8 and B.9. In several of the Kitan epitaphs, such as Yelü Zhixian's, as well as identifying the deceased as member of certain lineage, the genealogy traced them to the progenitor of that lineage.¹⁵³ So that the earliest ancestor cited is Abaoji's grandfather, who was posthumously named Xuanzu, then Xuanzu's son, then his son's son and so on, this is the root of the lineage of the Middle Brother Branch. Some instances where not many lineages were traced back were those who were part of the imperial line, for whom an association with the nearest emperor was enough, so that the grandson of Shengzong only needed to go back to Shengzong, the son of an emperor only needed to refer to their father. The ancestry of the imperial line of succession after all would have been well known to those literate in the Kitan script. The Kitan epitaphs with the most extensive genealogies connected the individuals generation by generation to the lineages to which they belonged. Though this was predominantly the case with Kitan epitaphs for the Yelü clan.

What is particularly striking about the Kitan script epitaphs, both assembled script and linear script is how many more Yelü there are to Xiao. With Chinese epitaphs the number of Yelü and

153. Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, "Qidan xiaozi <Yelü Zhixian muzhiming> zai kaoshi," 契丹小字《耶律智先墓志銘》再考釋, in Liu, *Qidan wenzi yanjiu leibian*, 156–162.

Xiao are roughly equal. A comparison of table C.37 and table C.38 reveals that for the assembled script there are over twice as many Yelü epitaphs than Xiao epitaphs with twenty-two Yelü to ten Xiao, while with linear script that ratio is 4:1 (table C.39). A closer examination of these Xiao epitaphs in the Kitan assembled script reveals that like Chinese epitaphs they are dominated by two lineages, five were from the Junior Elder Tent – and four of those descended from Xiao He (the same line as Empress Qin'ai), three were descendants of Humoli, (the same line as Xiao Jiuyan and Empress Dowager Chengtian) and can be labelled the Senior Elder Tent. Only the remaining two have unclear lineages.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand neither of the two Xiao commemorated in the linear script epitaphs were from the Maternal Uncles lineage.¹⁵⁵ While there were many Chinese epitaphs for descendants of both the Senior and Junior Elder Tents, there were also many Xiao individuals who did not have a clear lineage. In precise terms, of thirty seven Chinese epitaphs for Xiao, ten were from unclear or alternative lineages, fifteen if you include the Chulude and Xi lineages as alternative, being as they were not part of the Maternal Uncles tents. Kitan epitaphs appear to have been less desirable to member of the Xiao clan to the members of the Yelü clan.

The first significant reason for this is that while the name Yelü has been identified in Kitan. No term for Xiao has been discovered.¹⁵⁶ The name Xiao existed only in Chinese and existed as an umbrella for a many number of families that were given the surname by the court, either because one of their members married into royal family, or due to merit.¹⁵⁷ The Kitan epitaphs however, with their often exhaustive accounting of genealogy which tied a member of the Yelü clan to their descent from the ancestors of the first emperor, worked only to the advantage of those Xiao who were from the prestigious lineages of the Maternal Uncles, whose long line of ancestors stretched to the mother of the first empress. For those who did not descend from this line, an inventorising of their ancestry would expose the less prestigious lineage they

154. Liu, "Qidan xiaozi <Xiao Gaoning - Fuli Taishi muzhiming> kaoshi"; Kang Peng 康鹏, "Qidan xiaozi <Xiao Dilu Fushi muzhiming> kaoshi" 契丹小字《蕭敵魯副使墓志銘》考釋, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古, no. 4 (2013): 261–292.

155. From his Chinese epitaph we can see that Xiao Xiaozhong was of the Xi king line, while Xiao Paolu came from a line of Xiao who served in the Northern Chancellery, but the connection to the clans that married in to the royal family is unclear. WB 416-417, 423-426

156. Kane, *The Kitan Language and Script*, 5

157. For honorary Xiao members see WF 237-239n.3.

had which was masked by the catch all Xiao. This may also explain why Xiao Paolu and Xiao Xiaozhong had epitaphs composed in Chinese and in the Kitan linear script. The two linear script epitaphs are short and present short accounts of ancestry more in the style of Chinese epitaphs.¹⁵⁸ The choice to have an epitaph in Chinese or Kitan was not only a choice of what to reveal but also of what to conceal. Kitan epitaphs offered space to expand on genealogy, but this meant its appeal was limited for those who were more reticent about their pedigree.

In comparison to Kitan epitaphs Chinese epitaphs not only reinforced the existence and coherence of the fictive Xiao clan but also allowed for a narration of the clan in the dynastic story. This story often portrayed the Xiao clan as possessing parity or shared prestige with the Yelü clan. Several epitaphs emphasise the primacy of both clans in the making of the dynasty.¹⁵⁹ Such rhetoric is harder to discern from Kitan script epitaphs for the reasons explained above. However, presentation of detailed ancestry of the Xiao does foreground the Xiao status was inherently contingent on marital unions with the Yelü clan. And so the story in the Kitan script epitaphs may have explicitly been tipped in favour of the primacy of the Yelü clan. The disparity in the potential for how genealogy was presented and emplotted in Chinese and Kitan epitaphs then means that the two forms were not always complementary but competing forms of presentation.

4.3.1 Late Liao Kitan lineages and the rejected genealogical reforms of 1074

Much of the above discussion has argued that Kitan epitaphs did different things to Chinese epitaphs and for some these distinct functions and qualities were advantageous, for others they

158. Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, “Qidan dazi <Xiao Paolu muzhi> kaoshi” 契丹大字《蕭袍魯墓誌》考釋, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古 1 (2009); Yan Wanzhang 閻萬章, “Qidanwen <Xiao Paolu muzhiming> kaoshi” 契丹文《蕭袍魯墓志銘》考釋, *Minzu yuwen* 民族語文, no. 3 (1988): 25–28; Liu and Yu, “Qidan xiaozi <Xiao Zhonggong muzhi> kaoshi.”

159. To cite one example: “Just as the heavens manifest the sun and the moon, so too our dynasty is divided between the two houses. For generations the Yelü have preserved the imperial succession, the house of the Xiao have transmitted the conjugal ways. Mr Xiao, was the descendant of the proper line of Imperial Maternal Uncles. His name was Jin, his surname was Xiao.” 恭聞惟天既顯於二儀，我國爰分於兩姓。耶律世保承祧之業，蕭氏家傳內助之風。公，皇朝國舅正族之裔也。公諱僅，姓蕭氏。1029 *Epitaph of Xiao Jin* WB 191–192.

were not. This now needs to be applied to our understanding of their historical context. After all, Kitan epitaphs were not used consistently through the two hundred years of the Liao. Instead, rather perplexingly, despite both scripts being invented or introduced in the early tenth century,¹⁶⁰ the current record of Kitan epitaphs suggests that they did not take off as a form of inscription until the second half of the eleventh century, in the reigns of Daozong and Tianzuo (see table C.2).¹⁶¹ There is evidence that they were used in stone inscriptions prior to this, both in the stelae erected in the reigns of the first two emperors, for which histories record and fragments survive (see table C.43), and in the epitaph for 986 Yelü Yanning (figure B.1).¹⁶² There is also early evidence of the use of Kitan script in tomb spaces – with writing on the murals of the Baoshan tombs.¹⁶³ But clearly something spurred a growing popularity for Kitan epitaphs, and that was likely connected to changing attitudes to pedigree which stimulated a demand for epitaphs which could present fuller genealogical records for the descendants of the Imperial clan. Pedigree was becoming front and centre, but did this represent a mood of confidence or insecurity around aristocratic identity?

The answer is neither. Kitan epitaphs were an accommodation to an increasingly unwieldy status quo. This status quo surrounding lineage and status can be seen in one of the few direct accounts of attitudes towards lineage and status in the late Liao in the 1344 LS. The biography of Yelü Shuzhen recounts:

The next year [Xianyong 10 (1074), Yelü Shuzhen] was transferred to the post of chief scribe. He submitted a memorial requesting the extension of the Dynastic [Kitan] clan names. It said, “Since our dynasty was founded, the laws and regulations have been made enlightened, but, as to our clan names, only two have been set up, namely the Yelü and the Xiao. Previously, when Taizu formulated the Larger Kitan Script, he wrote the tribal place-names into the end of the book as a supple-

160. unless linear is older or adaptation of older script. Wu and Janhunen, *New materials on the Khitan small script: a critical edition of Xiao Dilu & Yelü Xiangwen*, 19-20

161. This may change pending current ongoing excavation of Yelü Longyun tomb complex.

162. QDWZ 514-516; Ji Xunjie 嵇訓杰, “<Liao Yelü Yanning muzhiming> kaoshi” 《遼耶律延寧墓志銘》考釋, *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物, no. 4 (1987): 33–34; Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 and Yu Baolin 于寶林, “<Yelü Yanning muzhi> de Qidan dazi shidu juli” 《耶律延寧墓誌》的契丹大字釋讀舉例, *Wenwu* 文物, no. 5 (1984): 80–81

163. Wu, “Two Royal Tombs from the Early Liao: Architecture, Pictorial Program, Authorship, Subjectivity.”

mentary chapter. I request that they be widely spread and that each tribe may set up clan names so as to make the marriages between men and women harmonize with the code of proper behavior.” The emperor, thinking that the old order should not be changed suddenly, refused consent.¹⁶⁴

There are two elements to consider regarding this event, first what were the motivations for Yelü Shuzhen to bring this to the emperor in the first place, and second why did the Emperor Daozong dismiss this proposed reform? First of all, I read this passage as a request to divide and reclassify members of the Yelü and Xiao clan, and not to make surnames for those who did not have any as Cha suggests.¹⁶⁵ The Yelü and Xiao surnames extended to a large number of people, however the status of an individual within the Yelü or Xiao clans was internally stratified and qualified using the system of lineages discussed earlier in this chapter. Yelü Shuzhen’s rationale for dividing the Yelü clan and assigning new surnames based on places of origin was not born out of a concern for the internal stratification of the Yelü and Xiao clans, rather it was concern with marriage, i.e. to “make the marriages between men and women harmonize with the code of proper behaviour.” This has been interpreted in several ways, Mengutuoli and Wang Xiaojun both see this as a proposal to break the traditional marriage restrictions between Yelü and Xiao, whereby Yelü and Xiao had to intermarry exclusively. Mengutuoli suggests that subdividing and renaming the Yelü and Xiao clans would open potential marriage partners for many families.¹⁶⁶ Wang Xiaojun insinuates that Yelü Shuzhen was motivated by a concern that the prevailing system provided the conditions by which the consort clan could dominate and influence the court (as they had been doing),¹⁶⁷ the division of the Xiao clan would reduce this influence by making more explicit which lineages were favoured as marriage partners and diversifying this. In this light Yelü Shuzhen was a reformer who was liberating the marriage

164. 上表乞廣本國姓氏曰：「我朝創業以來，法制修明；惟姓止分為二，耶律與蕭而已。始太祖制契丹大字，取諸部鄉里之名，續作一篇，著於卷末。臣請推廣之，使諸部各立姓氏，庶男女婚媾有合典禮。」帝以舊制不可遽厘，不聽。LS 89.1486; Translation adapted from WF 264.

165. “The memorial substantiates the claim that the Kitan, excluding the two ruling houses, the Yelü and the Xiao, were without clan names throughout the dynastic period. To have a clan name was one of the exclusive prerogatives of the two ruling clans.” Cha, “The Lives of the Liao (907-1125) Aristocratic Women,” 36

166. 孟古托力 Mengutuoli, “Qidanzu hunyin tantao” 契丹族婚姻探討, *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物, no. 1 (1994): 52.

167. This at least seems to be what he suggests by citing Shuzhen’s proposal after a claim that there was concern and opposition about the influence of the consort clan in court culture. Wang Xiaojun 王孝俊, “Liaodai Qidan zu xingshi ji qi fenbu” 遼代契丹族姓氏及其分佈, *Zhongzhou xuekan* 中州學刊, no. 1 (2008): 194–196

choices of members of the Yelü and Xiao clan.

However, these readings presume that the marriage restrictions whereby Yelü and Xiao exclusively intermarried were tightly followed. Shimada believes that Shuzhen's proposal was actually a signal that they were not, and in fact distantly related Yelü and Yelü, Xiao and Xiao were actually intermarrying. The diversification of surnames based on places would have made this practice more acceptable as these unions would no longer be between two people who shared the same surname.¹⁶⁸ In Shimada's reading, Yelü Shuzhen's concern is one of morality, he argues that as Linya (who was in charge of the Hanlin Academy) Shuzhen would have been well versed and immersed in Chinese culture, and would have been aware of the fundamental taboo in Chinese culture of marriages between people of the same surname; Yelü Shuzhen's proposed reforms were to an effort to make Kitan custom conform to Chinese cultural norms.¹⁶⁹ While I disagree with the sinicising narrative underlying Shimada's claim and the characterisation of Yelü Shuzhen as a figure pushing for Confucian morality, I would not rule out a consideration not for the principal but the optics of marriages between people of the same surname. I also think that Shuzhen's education was a key component in this particular incident of advocacy. But not because he was steeped in Confucian mores from his reading of Chinese classics.

Yelü Shuzhen was a member of the bilingual elite of the Liao that produced and consumed Kitan epitaphs. Under his Kitan name, Chenfu, he authored the Kitan assembled script epitaph for the Empress Renyi, the wife of former Emperor Xingzong and mother of the reigning emperor Daozong.¹⁷⁰ His pursuits in not only Kitan but also Chinese literacy can be seen in the portrayal of his father as a man with literary talents in both Chinese and Kitan,¹⁷¹ and by the actions of his son, who at some point in the Chongxi era took the imperial examination in contravention of the rules that Kitan were not supposed to sit such exams.¹⁷² For his son's actions

168. Shimada Masao 島田正郎, "Liaodai Qidanren de hunyin" 遼代契丹人的婚姻, *Mengguxue xinxi* 蒙古学信息, no. 3 (2004): 1–7.

169. Shimada, "Liaodai Qidanren de hunyin."

170. Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, "Qidan xiaozi <Renyi Huanghou aice> kaoshi," 契丹小字《仁懿皇后哀冊》考釋, in Liu, *Qidan wenzi yanjiu leibian*, 110–113.

171. LS 89.1485–1486.

172. LS 89.1487.

Shuzhen was physically punished but clearly his career recovered by the 1070s where he is seen petitioning the emperor on sensitive matters of genealogical policy, and writing an epitaph for an empress. As I argued these elites were not working exclusively in one language or the other, they used both selectively for their own ends. Though it should be noted that there is so far no evidence of an author producing epitaphs in both Chinese and Kitan script. However, the 1344 LS shows that at least two authors of Kitan script epitaphs also produced works in Chinese,¹⁷³ but not any Chinese epitaphs that have been retrieved.

While Kitan epitaph writers would have been literate in Chinese it might not be the case that those that wrote epitaphs in Chinese were literate in Kitan. Only four Chinese epitaphs were written by members of the Yelü clan and none are written by Xiao clan. Three of these were imperially appointed to write the epitaphs, and one, Yelü Xiaci's in 1021, was privately written by the deceased daughter.¹⁷⁴ The three authors of imperially commissioned epitaphs were Yelü Xiaojie in 1076 for Renyi Huanghou, Yelü Xinggong for Liang Ying in 1090 and Yelü Yan for Emperor Daozong in 1101.¹⁷⁵ Of these three imperially appointed authors, at least two were given the imperial surname in their lifetimes, Yelü Xiaojie and Yelü Yan. Yelü Xiaojie was originally and later again Zhang Xiaojie. Yelü Yan was son of Li Zhongxi. The identity of Yelü Xinggong is contested, with some saying it was Yang Zhixun, who was another person who was given the Yelü name.¹⁷⁶ The ability of these three in the Kitan language is unrecorded. Yelü Yan is the designated author of the *Veritable Record* that formed the earliest basis of the 1344 LS, but he likely wrote it in Chinese, if indeed he did write most it.¹⁷⁷ These were all in the late Liao, whereas Yelü Xiaci's epitaph by his daughter was written earlier in 1021.¹⁷⁸ According to the epitaph Yelü Xiaci appears to have been descended either from the Middle Brother or Older Brother Branch, his daughter was married to Xiao Lin, younger brother of the Empress Rende, at the time.¹⁷⁹

173. Yelü Liang (Xinian • Su) LS 96.1538-1539; Yelü Shuzhen LS 89.1485-1486.

174. xb 60-61

175. WB 375-377, 513-515; Yang Weidong 楊衛東, "Liaochao Liang Ying muzhiming kaoshi" 遼朝梁穎墓志銘考釋, *Wenshi* 文史, no. 1 (2011): 171-181

176. Yang Weidong argues against him being Yang Zhixun. Yang, "Liaochao Liang Ying muzhiming kaoshi"

177. Zhao Qichang has argued that it was Wang Shiru mostly. See Zhao Qichang 趙其昌, "Du Liao <Wang Shiru muzhi> zhaji: jian hua Yelü Yan <Shilu>" 讀遼《王師儒墓誌》札記——兼話耶律儼《實錄》, *Shoudu bowuguan congkan* 首都博物館叢刊, no. 22 (2008): 1-14

178. XB 60-61.

179. Though by the time of Xiao Lin's death they seem have been divorced. See XB 71-72 as it mentions her very briefly and then his new wife, but does not say that she died.

Her presence as commissioner of a Chinese epitaph shows that women of the Kitan elite were literate and conversant in Chinese in the eleventh century. On the other hand while Crossley contends that those who were granted the Yelü surname “spoke Kitan and Chinese, could be literate in both, enjoyed poetry and falconry, read Confucian classics and sometimes Buddhist sutras,”¹⁸⁰ evidence is still lacking that these three court appointed writers of the late eleventh century who had been granted Kitan names were literate in Kitan.

The evidence for this elite, an aristocratic, literate, bilingual and cosmopolitan Kitan elite convinces me that we can dispense with narratives of sinicization and reactionary nativism when discussing the political vicissitudes of Liao court life. Returning to the unsuccessful policy proposal of Yelü Shuzhen, Shimada’s argument that the Shuzhen was acting as a sinicising influence, emulating the multitude of Chinese surnames around does not stand up, because in the passage we can clearly see that Shuzhen was proposing a reform system that was grounded in Kitan cultural precedent. The surnames that he suggested be adopted were defined not in Chinese works, nor of his own design influenced by his Confucian education, but in the Kitan language and script at the time of the scripts very inception. They were based on the “the tribal place-names” Abaoji putatively wrote “into the end of the book as a supplementary chapter”.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, in section 2.2.2 I briefly summarised Yang Jun’s arguments about the changes in the structure of the Kitan imperial family made in Abaoji and Deguang’s time.¹⁸² If we accept Yang Jun’s theory then this proposed reform by Yelü Shuzhen would mean a return to the traditional way that family, clan and tribe members were redesignated with each successive generation, and a break-up of the Yelü after so many generations. This would mean Shuzhen’s suggestions were in keeping with precedent in Kitan and middle period Northeast Asian culture. But that does not mean to say that we should see Shuzhen’s cause as a nativist one either, for the status quo he wished to change had been a staple of Kitan political culture since Abaoji and Deguang’s time. It is clear than in the early Liao more than one idea was being bounced around about how to organise the imperial clan and its marital relations. The division into Yelü and Xiao and the designation of the various imperial lineages was not a continuation of Kitan cus-

180. Crossley, “Bohai/Parhae Identity and the Coherence of Dan gur under the Kitan/Liao Empire,” 25.

181. The book referred here is unclear. Possibly an early dictionary. LS 89.1486.

182. Yang, ““Bian jia wei guo”: Yelü Abaoji dui Qidan buzou jigou de gaizao.”

tom nor the natural outcome of an essentialised culture, but a political decision, one of many options at that time.¹⁸³ The division by tribe names based on places was another candidate policy from the Northeast Asian culture repertoire of the ninth and tenth century. Shuzhen was recommending a policy based on viable tradition, categories that already existed, that lay in Kitan script texts and maybe was in use on the ground, resulting in what were in official eyes same-surname marriages. Daozong's reaction was not one necessarily based on tradition but one based on the status quo and reluctance to intervene.

With the culturalist assumptions for this policy proposal out of the way we can consider the implications such a policy would have had and speculate whether these were calculated by Yelü Shuzhen when he made this policy proposal. First of all, nothing in the policy suggests the abolition of the Yelü and Xiao clans. Merely that subdivisions should exist based on places. Putting aside the murky and contested subject of where the name Yelü came from or what it originally meant, the policy would not in any way endanger the supremacy of the imperial line and the throne. It would instead rename and redesignate many of those labelled Yelü who were from more remote lineages of the Yelü clan, or those that had been granted the surname Yelü and Xiao but were not related to the imperial clan (but not those adopted into brother branches, such as Yelü Longyun/Han Derang's family). This would have had an adverse effect on many of the lower status members of the Yelü clan, who bore the surname but not illustrious pedigree. These Yelü like their Xiao counterparts discussed above enjoyed a borrowed glow of prestige from having the same surname as imperial personages. The Yelü name carried cultural capital, which is why it was awarded to non-Yelüs as an emphatic and unambiguous sign of imperial favour. The redesignation of these Yelü and Xiaos would likely start with the most remote of these lineages, the lower status ones, stripping them of this prestige and affiliation with the imperial house and the Liao political project and therefore their one unconditional claim to aristocratic status.

Lack of further detail on this policy means that we cannot determine how far this policy would

183. Which echoes with Sneath's argument that states were not formed from clans but that states constructed clan designations. Sneath, *The headless state: aristocratic orders, kinship society, & misrepresentations of nomadic Inner Asia*

go or who it would apply to. If Yelü Shuzhen was concerned with protecting his own status in the Yelü clan then we know that it would have had to have stopped short of the descendants of Abaoji's brothers, the Younger Brother Branch (descendants of Abaoji's brothers), from which he was descended.¹⁸⁴ This would have meant potentially the Older and Younger Brother Branches (descendants of Abaoji's uncles), and the Fifth and Sixth Divisions (descendants of Abaoji's great uncles and great great uncles) would no longer have the Yelü name (see figure B.8). This would have made the Yelü clan more exclusive and preserved an aristocratic identity, however it would have caused problems for the emperor.

It was always vital for the Liao emperor to keep his more remote cousins of the imperial clan on his side. Holmgren notes how Abaoji favoured and gave offices out to members of these remote lineages rather than to those more closely related to him to prevent giving too much power to his more immediate family; brothers, uncles and cousins which under the northern custom of hereditary prerogative had a legitimate claim to the throne.¹⁸⁵ Though I cannot provide an account of each emperor and their patronage of more remote Yelü lineages to protect their interests the tension of rival claimants never went away. And in the 1060s early in Daozong's reign, Chongyuan uncle to emperor, apparently at the encouragement of his son, rose up in rebellion and ambushed the Emperor in the moving court when it had reached a relatively remote region in Taizishan. The 1344 LS records that the emperor considered seeking out the Northern and Southern Division for assistance, however Yelü Renxian remonstrated him against such a plan stating:

“If your majesty abandons the moving court to go on his own, the bandits will surely be at his back. Besides, we do not yet know the minds of the Great Princes of the North and South.”¹⁸⁶

Clearly in Daozong's reign the loyalty of the Fifth and Sixth Divisions (i.e. the Great Princes of the North and South) could not be guaranteed, and the emperor still needed their support

184. LS 89.1485.

185. Holmgren, “Marriage, Kinship and Succession under the Ch'i-tan Rulers of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125),” 51-52.

186. 帝欲幸北、南院，仁先曰：「陛下若舍扈從而行，賊必躡其後；且南、北大王心未可知。」仁先子撻不也曰：「聖意豈可違乎？」LS 96.1536.

against rival claimants to the throne. As mentioned in section 4.3.1, the Northern and Southern Divisions while not as prestigious as the Brother Branches or the imperial line were very powerful and designated a 'tribe', meaning they had serious economic and military resources. So a policy that stripped them of the prestige of the Yelü name would have been a risky move for an emperor. If such were the terms of the policy it is no wonder that Daozong dismissed it.

Beyond marriages and the preservation of aristocracy there were also political reasons why Yelü Shuzhen would advocate this policy to further his interests at court. The fall out of the Chongyuan rebellion discussed in the paragraph above contributed to Daozong's increasing distrust of the more close descendants of the imperial clan, of which ministers such as Yelü Shuzhen counted. This led to him favouring talented Yelü of humbler origins for high office. This was epitomised in the rise of one figure, who will be discussed at length in chapter 5, Yelü Yixin. Yixin was descended from the Fifth Division, the most remote of imperial lineages, and had grown up poor.¹⁸⁷ He had risen through the court of Xingzong and then Daozong, and played an important role in suppressing the rebellion of Chongyuan. By the 1070s he was immensely powerful and had a network of officials, generals and clerks on his side.¹⁸⁸ However this did not guarantee him the same safety that aristocratic pedigree did. In 1076, the year after Empress Xuanyi had been ordered to commit suicide by the emperor based on accusation of infidelity that Yelü Yixin had been instrumental at bringing forward, it was clear that many including the Imperial Prince were plotting Yelü Yixin's removal. There was a failed attempt on Yixin's life by an imperial bodyguard. At the time Yelü Yixin held one of the most powerful posts in the empire, but as one of his partisans remarked:

"The hearts of the people are with the Imperial Prince, and you are not from a great clan, when the day that the Imperial Prince ascends the throne comes, there will be nowhere safe for us!"¹⁸⁹

This lack of aristocratic identity was one of the factors that made the Emperor trust men of

187. 耶律乙辛，字胡睹克，五院部人。父迭剌，家貧，服用不給，部人號「窮迭剌」LS 110.1633

188. LS 110.1634.

189. 及母後被害，太子有憂色。耶律乙辛為北院樞密使，常不自安。會護衛蕭忽古謀害乙辛，事覺，下獄。副點檢蕭十三謂乙辛曰：「臣民心屬太太子，公非閹閹，一日若立，吾輩措身何地！」LS 72.1339

such background, for as Holmgren said of Abaoji's strategy in appointing such men, "they were entirely dependent on his personal favour for their political survival and were thus willing to support him in subduing rebellious elements within the state."¹⁹⁰ Yelü Shuzhen was no fan of Yelü Yixin and his actions in the years after suggesting the surname reform to the emperor show that he was publically happy to see Yelü Yixin go, but also afraid of him. The 1344 LS biography of Yelü Shuzhen recounts that:

"In Dakang 2 [1076]. Yixin was sent out of the court to serve as Regent for the Central Capital, Shuzhen and Yelü Mengjian petitioned the emperor congratulating him on his decision. Not long after, Yixin was reappointed Chancellor, and was tyrannical and cruel. Shujian met Yixin in private and weeping said, "that previous petition was not my idea." Yixin believed him, and so Shujian was safe. Those who heard about this disdained him."¹⁹¹

The final comment about Yelü Shuzhen's reputation suffering due to his submission to Yelü Yixin suggests that previously he had been a public opponent of Yelü Yixin, as evidenced by the petition he submitted. Given the likely consequences of the 1074 policy proposal towards people of Yelü Yixin's heritage it is not too audacious to consider that Yelü Shuzhen's policy was also directed at preserving the aristocratic hold on the high office against the rise of figures from more remote lineages, if not even the rise in particular of someone like Yelü Yixin. In the same vein, Daozong's rejection of the policy may also have been informed not only by the status quo, or his alliances with the more remote lineages, but also due to his protection of those he favoured in the court, those he trusted, who did not have the superior aristocratic privileges of the imperial line and the Brother Branches.

Just as this policy would have had the above ramifications had it been pursued, so too the rejection of this policy in favour of a status quo had consequences. And we see the consequences in the portrayal of genealogies in the Kitan epitaphs. Indeed possibly even the demand for Kitan epitaphs was influenced by the persistence of membership of remote lineages in the Yelü

190. Holmgren, "Marriage, Kinship and Succession under the Ch'i-tan Rulers of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125)," 49.

191. 大康二年，出耶律乙辛為中京留守，庶箴與耶律孟簡表賀。頃之，乙辛復為樞密使，專權恣虐。庶箴私見乙辛泣曰：「前抗表，非庶箴之願也。」乙辛信其言，乃得自安。聞者鄙之。LS 89

clan. In the late Liao, so many generations after the ancestors of Abaoji who had been made the progenitors of the Branches and Divisions had lived, to validate one's claims to membership of one such lineage required the lengthy kind of genealogical accounts that appear in some Kitan epitaphs. An aristocracy that had over the generations become overcrowded and required such extensive verification.

This particular interpretation of the policy of 1074 should not be read as an argument for widespread or absolute intra-lineage rivalries. While section 4.3.1 suggested that the Branches and Divisions lobbied for greater relative status, there is no evidence to suggest that on an individual level one's lineage was divisive. On the contrary from what can be discerned regarding the authorship of Kitan epitaphs it is evident that writers would write for people from different lineages to their own. Table C.40 presents the authors, their lineages and the lineages they wrote for in epitaphs of either Kitan script where the inclusion of an author can be identified (even if the author cannot).¹⁹² It is clear especially in the case of prolific authors who composed more than one - Xiao Hudujin, Yelü Chentuannu, Yelü Gu, Yelü Sijianu, Yelü Xinian Su (Yelü Liang), that they wrote for members of various lineages, and for members of both Yelü and Xiao houses.¹⁹³ The presence of more distant lineages such as the Sixth Division, and indeed Yelü Xinian - Su who was from the tent attendant households, and so a retainer by status, shows that lineage was not a qualifier for the privilege of being commissioned to produce an epitaph by the court or privately. In cases of repeat writers we can also see that the colophon that credits them does not always refer to their lineage, but always to their official titles. So the signifier of status of the writer in Kitan epitaphs was office and not lineage.¹⁹⁴

In the absence of a record of office-holding, genealogy could serve as a status marker. But such genealogical claims had to be backed up, by chains of heritage that increased with each generation-removed from the retroactively designated progenitor of the Liao imperial house (Abaoji's great great grandfather posthumously named Suzu). The sensitivity of these lineages

192. It does not include epitaphs that due to damage or lack of decipherment it is unclear whether or not an author was credited in its text or colophons.

193. Though in the case of Xiao Hudujin, the Xiao lineages he wrote for were his own and not the Junior Elder Tent, so we cannot rule out a lineage division there.

194. A detailed discussion of the office-holding as a status marker in epitaphs both Kitan and Chinese is beyond the scope of this thesis.

meant they formed a status quo, whereby though they were stratified and did not bring ultimate status, their removal through surname reform would diminish the standing of these descendants by removing the strongest tie to the emperor, the surname in Kitan, and the emperor and empress through the surnames in Chinese. It would strip them of aristocratic identity.

4.4 Chapter conclusion

The aristocracy of the Liao were the Kitan. But not in the sense that ethnicity determined membership, in fact if anything, membership determined ethnicity. On the establishment of the Liao the first two emperors reformed their own extended family and codified lineage groups to which privileged status and access to resources were determined, differentiated and stratified. These lineage groups were resilient and lasted until the end of the Liao, conflicts between them were for greater relative status and not be a dismantling of the whole system. So crucial were the Yelü and Xiao names to aristocratic identity that the reward for worthy enough subjects was the bestowal of either of these names. At the same time, the penalty for great transgressions was the removal of this surname, condemning the punished to the bondage of the ordo system.

While there is evidence in the 1344 LS of tensions between lineages, it was not until the eleventh century that membership became managed in a more systematic way. In the Shengzong reign the increase in genealogical interest and compilation of state genealogies reveals not only the management of these lineages, but also their manipulation by interested parties. In particular, from 1012 it was skewed in the favour of the descendants of the sub-branch Xiao He, among whose children were high-up ministers and an empress. The pattern in the epitaphs that we see were also the product of these interested parties, revealing the decline of the family of Empress Dowager Chengtian and the persistence of later generations of Empress Qin'ai's family. The families of the Xiao clan, whose status and indeed survival were always dependent on marital unions with the reigning emperor and his progeny, were always in a precarious position that was mitigated by attaining high office.

The appearance of Kitan epitaphs from the 1050s onwards shows that members of the house of Yelü also felt a degree of precarity in their affiliation to the imperial line. And used this innovative medium that diverged from the conventions of Chinese epitaphs, to present in some cases extensive and exhaustive lists of agnatic ancestors, going back as far as eleven generations. The reason for the demand of this in the late Liao was likely how stretched certain lineage claims to the imperial house of Yelü had become. A problem that had been exacerbated by Daozong's rejection of suggested reforms. While the emperor required aristocratic backing, he was also acutely aware of the risks of a strong aristocracy. After all, what if he were to lose the backing of an empowered aristocracy to a rival claimant to the throne? This explains how while being aristocratic the Yelü clan encompassed poorer households of distant relatives. This size and extent of the clan diluted and divided the aristocratic identity, divisions that could be exploited by the occupant of the throne.

In the following chapter I will consider the politics of the late Liao that resulted from the emperor investing too much in one of these poorer lineages, Yelü Yixin, and how the fall out of court factionalism shaped both the historical record and the production of epitaphs.

Chapter 5

Court politics and the late Liao (1085-1125)

The late eleventh century and first quarter of the twelfth century are characterised as the late Liao. Many scholars have approached this period as one that contains the elements that brought an end to the dynasty, with narratives of decay, decline, etc.¹ The epigraphic pattern for this period in contrast shows a considerable number of epitaphs were produced. Geography remained an important consideration for the epitaphic habits of the late Liao, however what was most visible in this period with regards to the commissions of epitaphs is the increase in imperial commissions and the broadening of the potential subjects. This phenomenon was due in part to political concerns and a desire by the eighth and ninth emperor of the dynasty to control the official narrative of court factionalism in the late eleventh century. This factionalism came up in the discussion of Yelü Shuzhen's proposed and rejected lineage reforms in section 4.3.1. It had come about in the wake of the Chongyuan rebellion, when two ministers who played parts in quelling the rebellion came to prominence, Yelü Renxian who was discussed in section 4.2.1, and Yelü Yixin who was discussed in section 4.3.1. Yelü Renxian died in 1072, and subsequently Yelü Yixin became even more powerful. This chapter will consider the effect of Yelü Yixin on the content and production of epitaphs in the aftermath of his demise in the 1080s.

1. For example Guan, "Chanyuan zhi meng hou Liaochao shehui yu wenhua de ruogan bianhua"

5.1 Court Politics and Epitaphs in the late Liao: The Yelü Yixin affair and its aftermath

As Twitchett and Tietze state, “it is difficult to form a balanced picture of Yixin’s regime. The sources for the period are virulently hostile to both him and his adherents.” In the 1344 LS Yixin and his faction are “given a group of unrelentingly negative biographies under the rubric of ‘evil ministers.’”² These biographies as they point out were the product of the *Veritable Records* produced in the court of the ninth and last emperor of the Liao, Tianzuo, who had unambiguous reasons to hate and vilify Yixin. This is not merely a problem of the 1344 LS, as this chapter will demonstrate, the epitaphs of those who opposed him were also not sympathetic. Two sources that may be less interested in vilifying him are also not positive. Brief accounts of the affair in the fourteenth century *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (hereafter WXTK) by Ma Duanlin (1245-1322), which were likely compiled from a Song source based on second hand hearsay, also portray him unfavourably.³ Another text that comments on Yelü Yixin and adds detail to his machinations is the *Fenjiao lu* 焚椒錄 (hereafter FJL) by exiled Liao writer Wang Ding, a salacious private work that was not for wider consumption.⁴ The FJL draws on a family connection to Yelü Yixin as a source for its information, claiming to offer a genuine version of events counter to the prevailing official narrative.⁵ Given the unconventional and sensational nature of this text, its reliability as a picture is also suspect.

What can be established about Yelü Yixin that is consistent both in interested sources like the 1344 LS and the epitaphs of his opponents and in less invested sources like the WXTK passage and the FJL is that at a point in time Yelü Yixin held unrivalled power in the Liao administration and the confidence of the emperor. A power that he sustained by taking out those that opposed him, successfully orchestrating the framing and execution of Daozong’s empress, the

2. Twitchett and Tietze, “The Liao,” 129.

3. 洪椿能守成，柔惠愛民，安靜不撓，然嬖幸其臣耶律英弼，英弼與太子濬有隙，潛畜甲士謀殺之。其母與琵琶工通，英弼又引洪椿視之，母自縊死。濬有遺腹子延禧，時未生，故免於難。英弼益專恣，累封魏王，北人諺云：「寧違敕旨，無違魏王白帖子。」其後國相梁益介殺英弼，坐死者千餘人，乃立延禧為太孫。WXTK 346.2712.

4. The 1344 LS biography of Wang Ding details his exiled but not the composition of this work. LS 104.1601-1602.

5. FJL

installation of a new empress and later a concubine connected to his faction, and the exile and assassination of Daozong's son and heir. He met his downfall when his attempts to have Daozong appoint the imperial nephew, Yelü Chun, as heir to the throne while plotting against the life of Daozong's grandson, were thwarted. He was at first demoted and banished in 1079, and later implicated in two crimes, the latter of which ended in his execution in 1081.⁶ In 1101 Daozong's grandson ascended the throne and ordered the rehabilitation of officials who had been stripped of their posts and exiled or sent into servitude. In the following year he ordered the tombs of Yixin and his partisans' families be desecrated, the surviving descendants enslaved and their property confiscated and redistributed.⁷

This chapter argues that not only the received sources for the late Liao but also the retrieved sources for the period are fundamentally hostile to Yelü Yixin for several reasons. Firstly because sympathetic accounts do not survive. Yelü Yixin and his partisans downfall meant not only their deaths but the destruction of their legacy and memory, with tombs desecrated, property confiscated and descendants enslaved. This exacerbated the already fragile and contingent conditions of manuscript survival for the Liao period. Secondly, I will argue that the historical and epigraphic output was not merely hostile to Yelü Yixin, it was proactively so. The commissioning of epitaphs for loyal ministers late in Daozong's life were intricately connected to the court's experience of these political events and its desire to curate the account of such events. So too, many privately commissioned epitaphs from these periods display the lives of those that had been affected by Yelü Yixin's supremacy.

Before delving into the epitaphs it is also key to lay out what the rise and fall of Yixin was really about, or more accurately what scholars have argued it was about. While the 1344 LS offers up the biographies of Yelü Yixin and his cohorts as 'evil ministers' from which rulers may gain lessons in trust and good governance,⁸ scholars of the twentieth and twenty-first century have viewed Yelü Yixin in the context of narratives concerning the Liao. Twitchett and Tietze suggest that the rise did not have any effect on the broader policy trends of the eleventh cen-

6. LS 110.1636.

7. 天祚乾統元年，凡大康三年預乙辛所害者悉復官爵，籍沒者出之，流放者還鄉里。至二年，始發乙辛等，剖棺戮尸，誅其子孫，餘黨子孫減死，徙邊，其家屬奴婢皆分賜被害之家。LS 62.1048.

8. LS 110.1633-111.1645.

ture Liao, i.e. the “centralising, pro-Chinese” trends since Xingzong’s reign, nor was it an end to the tension of the proponents of these trends with the “nativist, pro-Kitan interests.” Instead they consider the divisions at court to be born of “personal hatreds and alliances” rather than along ethnic divisions, noting that there were Kitan and ethnic Chinese in both factions.⁹ Wang Shanjun provides a more fine grained analysis of the composition of Yelü Yixin and his opponents factions.¹⁰ Both Yelü Yixin and his opponents, the Imperial Prince faction, had supporters from the Yelü and Xiao clans. But the Imperial Prince faction also had many aristocrats, whereas several of Yelü Yixin’s faction and indeed Yelü Yixin himself were from much humbler backgrounds.¹¹ Yixin also made use of low level figures such as clerks and retainers as his operatives.¹² Wang Shanjun argues the rise of this faction was facilitated by the emperor’s distrust of the hereditary aristocracy in the aftermath of the Chongyuan rebellion, and intentionally or not this faction destabilised the entrenched aristocratic interests of the Liao.¹³

Due to aforementioned problems with balance in accounts of Yelü Yixin, the motivations of Yelü Yixin and his followers have not been the source of much speculation. His deeds are emphasised with the implicit assumption that all had been done in the pursuit of power, and that his successful rise and consolidation of power had been through the same combination of official career, endearment to the emperor, destruction of enemies and patronage of supporters. However, Yelü Yixin was placed by the emperor in charge of legal reforms, a project that he may well have carried out narrowly to his advantage, but also more broadly to reshape the power structure of Liao society. While Twitchett and Tietze mention Yelü Yixin’s involvement with the project they do not tie this in with Yelü Yixin’s own projects and agenda. Instead they frame the ultimately abandoned legal reforms in terms of a backlash against the previous direction of legal reforms earlier in the century.¹⁴ The trend had been towards equalising the legal treatment of those governed under Kitan and Han legal codes. As discussed in section 2.1 in the early tenth century Abaoji had established that Kitan and other northern groups would be gov-

9. Twitchett and Tietze, “The Liao,” 130.

10. Wang Shanjun 王善軍, “Yelü Yixin jituan yu Liaochao houqi de zhengzhi geju” 耶律乙辛集團與遼朝後期的政治格局, *Xueshu yuekan* 學術月刊, no. 2 (2008): 132–139.

11. LS 110.1622, 1636.

12. Wang, “Yelü Yixin jituan yu Liaochao houqi de zhengzhi geju,” 136.

13. Wang, “Yelü Yixin jituan yu Liaochao houqi de zhengzhi geju,” 137–139.

14. Twitchett and Tietze, “The Liao,” 137.

erned by a set of laws, the Dynastic law, while those labelled ‘Han’ would be ruled under the Tang code. In Deguang’s reign the Tang code was also extended to Bohai populations. The shift towards parity between the two legal systems started under Shengzong and was consolidated in 1036 with Xingzong’s *Revised Regulations* (*xinding tiaozhi* 新定條制). It had significantly progressed in this direction by 1056 when Daozong decreed that “senior clerks in all provinces should follow the rules for the tribes; they should judge with their subordinates imprisoned offenders and not let it happen that somebody died wrongly in prison,”¹⁵

In Twitchett and Tietze’s reading, the rationale behind Daozong subsequently calling on Yelü Su and Yelü Yixin to revise the legal code was because “he considered that the customs of the Kitan and Chinese were different and that the Dynastic laws should not be applied **indiscriminately** [emphasis mine].”¹⁶ I highlight the term ‘indiscriminately’ here because I believe this is mistranslated, what the term *yishi* 異施 means in this context is ‘applied inconsistently’.¹⁷ There is also the unexplored term of the ‘Dynastic law’. The assumption would be that this was the universal law of the state over its subjects, however the term ‘Dynastic’ (*guo* 國) in the Liao context often refers to the Kitan and other tribal groups under their control. As I touched on earlier in section 2.1 the term is often used in contrast with the term Han 漢 which describes diasporic, often subordinate if not subaltern groups.¹⁸ This can be seen in the often labelled Northern and Southern Administrations in the 1045 *Epitaph of Xiao Deshun* being labelled as ‘Dynastic’ and ‘Han’ institutions.¹⁹ The division can also be seen in references to attire for court rituals, where ‘Dynastic’ and ‘Han’ clothing are distinguished from one another. By all appearances the term ‘Dynastic’ then refers to the category of Kitan/Northern as distinct from the category of Han/Southern.

However, it is possible that by the 1070s these distinctions had been eroded to some degree, both legally and sartorially. From the start of the reign of Daozong in 1055 imperial rituals re-

15. 二年，命諸郡長吏和諸部例，與僚同決罪囚，無致枉死獄中。LS 62.1047. Translation from Franke, “The” Treatise on Punishments” in the “Liao History,” 31.

16. Twitchett and Tietze, “The Liao,” 131.

17. 國法不可異施 LS 62.1047.

18. Cf Discussions in chapter 4 and Pamela Crossley’s framing of the Kitan/Han dichotomy. Crossley, “Bohai/Parhae Identity and the Coherence of Dan gur under the Kitan/Liao Empire,” 14-15

19. Li and Zhang, “<Liao Xiao Deshun muzhiming> kaoshi”

quired all ministers to wear Han clothing, and so 'Dynastic dress' was no longer mentioned in the 1344 LS, and in 1066 Daozong officially changed the name of the state to Great Liao (*Da Liao* 大遼), rather than Great Kitan (*Da Qidan* 大契丹). The implication of this is that what could be considered 'Dynastic' was in fact by Daozong intended to be universalising, and so the legal reforms that Yelü Yixin and Yelü Su were enjoined to work on was as Twitchett and Tietze say an attempt "to combine both Chinese and Kitan customary laws into a single codification" but not necessarily to "define and preserve the traditional differences between Kitan and Chinese customs." Indeed, as Wang Shanjun points out, the wording of the 1344 LS account of the order reveals that the project was to synchronise the 'Dynastic law' with the legal and administrative codes of the 'Han' law, i.e. "all that were in accordance with the legal and administrative codes, were accounted for in detail, all those that diverged, were recorded separately."²⁰ The legal reforms that Yelü Yixin was part of were not a nativist project but part of a continued universalising. This trend of universalising through legal reform was beneficial to Yelü Yixin's rise to power, but also to his support base of men from lowlier backgrounds. As I will show Yelü Yixin's demise precipitated an aristocratic recovery and backlash that likely fuelled the eventual abandonment of the revised legal code in 1089.

After all, if we put aside the possibility that Yelü Yixin had become so toxic that even official projects that he was tied to were discredited and abandoned after his demise, there must have been other reasons why the legal reforms were abandoned. These reasons are clearly stated in the 1344 LS, and are revealing about what their contents may have been. The complaints against them were that the stipulations were too complicated and unenforceable, leaving people unsure how to avoid transgression, and crimes to proliferate, and as a result "clerks" exploited the situation for corrupt purposes.²¹ The mention of clerks, a common *bête noire* of Chinese historical sources that were often compiled by officials, is telling because Yelü Yixin frequently patronised and made use of these lower level, localised administrative staff. His laws by intention or not devolved power and placed it out of official hands and into those of localised clerks. His method of patronage and interpersonal networks also ran against the cur-

20. 凡合於律令者，具載之，其不合者，別存之。LS 62.1047. Wang, "Yelü Yixin jituan yu Liaochao houqi de zhengzhi geju," 135-136

21. 條約既繁，典者不能遍習，愚民莫知所避，犯法者眾，吏得因緣為奸。LS 62.1047.

rent of the eleventh century discussed in chapter 3 which had been expanding and developing the exam system as a channel into officialdom. His unofficial channels and potentially the legal reforms he was attempting to carry out would have, through complicated means, tied the hands of both the aristocracy with their legitimacy rooted in lineage and pedigree, and the official class who were rising up through the exam system. Indeed Yixin's rise negated the achievements of exam candidates and their prospects at official careers. This can be seen in how the majority of officials, with a few exceptions that will be discussed below, chose to remain silent and not speak up in defence of the Empress or the Imperial Prince when Yelü Yixin masterminded their downfalls.²² Guan Shudong has argued that these officials were not in favour of Yelü Yixin's faction but they benefited from the fall-out of his demise. By hedging their bets and staying out of the way of the struggles, they emerged with their prospects elevated as Daozong had now lost trust in both the Kitan aristocracy following the Chongyuan rebellion and more humbly born Kitan from the Yelü Yixin affair.²³ This shows that official culture recovered from the affair, and the reversion to the previous legal code likely shows this reclamation of authority to a previous familiar status quo for the officials. The aristocracy too bounced back, and the 1344 LS records that many who were implicated in the affair bought themselves clemency.²⁴ Those who suffered the worst punishment were the followers from more humble backgrounds who lacked resources and channels of leverage with which to defend themselves.²⁵

Given that Yixin's most audacious actions involved the intervention in the imperial harem – such as the accusation of the Empress, the recommendation of his partisan's sister as the new Empress and even the entry of his own daughter into the harem (after divorcing her from her original marriage to the same partisan), – and interventions in the succession – such as framing the imperial prince, having him disowned, banished and then assassinated, and allegedly manoeuvring to harm the emperor's grandson – his rise and fall would also seemed to be tied up in

22. This is a frequent trope in sources on the Yelü Yixin affair. 詔近臣議召乙辛事。北面官屬無敢言者。LS 110.1635. 太子被害後，耶律乙辛舍皇孫耶律延禧不立，而謀立皇侄耶律淳為儲嗣，“群臣莫敢言”，只有蕭兀納和蕭陶隗主張立耶律延禧。LS 98.1555. 樞密使耶律乙辛僭廢太子，中外知其冤，無敢言者，惟信數廷爭。LS 96.1541.

23. Guan Shudong 關樹東, “Liao Daozong shiqi Hanzu shidafu guanliao qunti de jueqi” 遼道宗時期漢族士大夫官僚群體的崛起, *Sui Tang Liao Song Jin Yuan shi luncong* 隋唐遼宋金元史論叢 7 (2017): 195.

24. 以賂獲免 LS 62.1048.

25. Wang, “Yelü Yixin jituan yu Liaochao houqi de zhengzhi geju,” 139.

the affairs of imperial marriage and succession, over which there had been struggles since the Liao's inception. Holmgren suggested as much in 1986,²⁶ and Xiong Mingqin presented a break down of the lineages of the members of Yelü Yixin's faction and their opponents.²⁷ This break down reveals a different dynamic from what is observable in the early eleventh century. The rivalries between the lineages of Xiao Jiyuan and Xiao He (the senior and junior elder tents of the Maternal Uncles), which characterised the struggle between Empress Dowager Chengtian and Empress Qin'ai's lineage were almost long gone. The last residue of this rivalry had played out in the rivalry between Xiao Ala and Xiao Ge in the early 1060s.²⁸ In Yelü Yixin's rise the lineages of Qin'ai's brothers became divided on either side of the factional divide. Both Empress Xuanyi, the Empress Yixin helped depose, and Consort Hui, who Yelü Yixin helped install as new Empress were both descended from different brothers of Empress Qin'ai. In section 4.2.2 I showed how the epitaphs reveal the dominance of Xiao He's lineage. However in this affair that dominated all levels of Liao officialdom and court life, the descendants of this line while involved were not orchestrating it, nor was it playing out primarily in their interests, in fact they were implicated and divided by it.²⁹

Against the backdrop of Yelü Yixin we can understand the socio-political climate of the late eleventh century. The Kitan aristocracy had taken a hit, but were regrouping. Some Xiao sub-branches had suffered, while others had weathered or thrived. Han officials had seen off a threat to the developing model of governance based on entry through exams, the emperor had taken back control that he had let slip into the hands of Yelü Yixin, and the succession of the new emperor Tianzuo was guaranteed. Those that suffered were the lesser Kitan lineages. What was also clear after the court factionalism of the late eleventh century was that there was an awkwardness, the infallible emperor had made a colossal mistake in trust and yet all had to carry on. In the following section I argue that this awkward situation was alleviated by the

26. Holmgren says 'it is clear' that divisions within court at the time were based on factions in Daozong's harem and that there was a struggle between the various Xiao wives for succession. Holmgren, "Marriage, Kinship and Succession under the Ch'i-tan Rulers of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125)," 84n.181 Though she provides no evidence. The passages that she cites to support this claim are the 1344 LS biographies of Daozong's first and second empress, both of which clearly implicate Yelü Yixin as the prime agent behind their fortunes. Cf LS 71.1326-1327.

27. Xiong, "Qin'ai hou jiazuo yu Daozong chao dangzheng kaolun."

28. Twitchett and Tietze, "The Liao," 125 and Xiong, "Qin'ai hou jiazuo yu Daozong chao dangzheng kaolun," 113

29. Xiong, "Qin'ai hou jiazuo yu Daozong chao dangzheng kaolun."

increased imperial commission of historical writing, and significantly, epitaphs.

5.1.1 The Yelü Yixin affair in imperially commissioned and privately commissioned epitaphs

The aftermath of these ruptures can be seen in the unprecedented change in approach to imperial commissions of epitaphs in the final decade or so of Emperor Daozong's life. Table C.14 shows that until the later years of Daozong's reign, epitaphs that explicitly recorded that they had been personally commissioned by imperial edict were reserved for the members of the immediate imperial family. In the final decade of the eleventh century, however, Daozong expanded the potential candidates for such a posthumous privilege to more relatives outside of the imperial line, members of the Xiao clan with no explicit direct marriage ties to the throne, and - most significantly - to Han ministers. The three cases of the latter were due to their involvement in opposing Yelü Yixin.

This is no clearer than in the epitaph for Liang Ying, the first non-royal epitaph that Daozong commissioned. The brief account of the Yelü Yixin affair in the WXTK suggests that Liang Ying was the killer of Yelü Yixin.³⁰ Liang Ying's epitaph does not feature this event, however it does provide a lengthy account of Liang Ying standing up to Yixin and his accomplice Zhang Xiaojie.³¹ Given that the historical accounts of Yelü Yixin and Zhang Xiaojie make clear what they could do to those who oppose them it is unsurprising that the epitaph provides an explanation of how Liang Ying survived these daily confrontations - the emperor's knowledge that Liang Ying was an upright official who was indispensable.³² This plays out in Liang Ying prevailing and being promoted while Zhang Xiaojie was sent away to be Governor of Wuding Garrison. A similar situation can be found in the other epitaph for a Han minister that Daozong personally commissioned, the *Epitaph of Jia Shixun*. Jia Shixun was working under Yelü Yixin in the ad-

30. 英弼益專恣，累封魏王，北人諺云：「寧違敕旨，無違魏王白帖子。」其後國相梁益介殺英弼，坐死者千餘人，乃立延禧為太孫。WXTK 346.2712. Guan Shudong 關樹東，「Liaochao hanren zaixiang Liang Ying yu quanchen Yelü Yixin zhi douzheng bianxi」遼朝漢人宰相梁穎與權臣耶律乙辛之鬥爭辨析，*Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 4 (2017): 119-122

31. Yang, "Liaochao Liang Ying muzhiming kaoshi."

32. Yang, "Liaochao Liang Ying muzhiming kaoshi."

ministration of the Central Capital, but was sacked after resorting to pleading with Yelü Yixin on his knees at a banquet to reconsider the appointment of someone unqualified to the posting of Police Office within the prefecture borders.³³ The epitaph records that the court, knowing Jia Shixun's talents, reassigned him to the Bureau of Military Affairs.³⁴ These accounts not only celebrate the talents and actions of their subjects, Liang Ying and Jia Shixun, but also flatter the emperor (and by extension the court) as someone who recognises not only talent but virtue. Daozong's eventual choice of Liang Ying over Zhang Xiaojie rhetorically mitigates the bad choice of keeping Zhang Xiaojie on for so long in the first place, while in Jia Shixun's case the court seems to protect Jia Shixun. This may seem strange given that in the epitaph the banquet where Jia Shixun is fired by Yelü Yixin was actually being held to celebrate Yixin's reassignment to the Bureau of Military Affairs. So giving Jia Shixun a position in the administration that is about to be run by the person that had just fired him does not seem like the best way to protect him. However, by supporting Jia Shixun and appointing him to the same bureau that Yelü Yixin was destined for shows that the court was asserting its control and ability to intervene in the internal personnel of its offices. The court, as an unspecific corporate entity, was not afraid of Yelü Yixin. In both cases it is clear that among the target audience of the imperially commissioned epitaph is the emperor himself, and so wronged officials must be seen to not have been wronged at the hands of the court or the emperor, the judgement of whom was beyond reproach. And so in these two imperially commissioned epitaphs of Daozong's time, the Yelü Yixin affair becomes portrayed as a problem of personality clashes and personnel shuffling rather than the bitter and perilous factional struggle that it appears as in the 1344 LS.

But this is not to say that these epitaphs paint a rose-tinted view of the Liao. The career of Jia Shixun is replete with instances where Jia Shixun intervened in illegal and corrupt practices, showing that in the various regions of the Liao bad governance and corruption were endemic. Prior to having to work under Yelü Yixin in the administration of the Central Capital, Jia Shixun was posted to the Eastern Capital where he had to deal with a corrupt subordinate of Yelü Yixin who was extorting the populace.³⁵ Such an epitaph was not written solely to flatter the emperor

33. 境内巡檢 WB 478.

34. WB 476-483.

35. WB 476-483.

but also to present an idealised version of the relationship between the emperor and his officials. This is epitomised in two parts of the epitaph: the first is in a supposed exchange between Jia Shixun and Yelü Yixin, where Jia Shixun does not do Yelü Yixin's bidding:

Yixin was furious with him, and said "I have a grip on the politics of the court, for the last twenty years, every memorial I have sent to the throne, even the emperor has received with humility and deference, how dare you obstruct me!?"

Jia Shixun responded: "My privileges and my position, are all by imperial command. How could I bypass the rule of emperor to satisfy your demands? I rightly cannot." Yixin knew he could not be bent.

At the time this was written Yelü Yixin had already been disgraced and dead for over a decade, here he becomes almost pantomimic in his megalomania. And Jia Shixun's reply is the paragon of virtue and loyalty to the throne rather than to the intermediary chain of command. The second episode concerns when Jia Shixun in his position as Vice Military Affairs Commissioner (*shumi fushi* 樞密副使) successfully blocked and convinced the emperor to reconsider a policy that involved the forced migration of Han households from lands that were traditionally populated by Xi groups.³⁶ The inclusion of this account shows again a relationship of loyal opposition and remonstrance between a minister and the emperor.

It is well established that epitaphs, being a form of respect for the dead and written by parties interested in their own connections to the deceased, tend to present positive if not unblemished and idealised images of the their subjects. While an imperially commissioned epitaph also lionised the deceased and described an idealised relationship between the emperor and a minister, it did not necessarily need to conceal the fact that the subject was not an ideal minister. Unlike the upright Jia Shixun, Liang Ying was disgraced late in his career and never recovered. While Liang Ying saw off Yelü Yixin and his faction, the epitaph states that in 1086 he fell victim to slanderous talk and was demoted. On his sudden death Daozong is recorded in the epitaph as lamenting Liang Ying's demotion, and so his ministerial rank of Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat Chancellery (*tong zhongshu menxia pingzhang shi* 同中書門下平章事) was

36. WB 476-483.

posthumously restored. The epitaph also suggests that prior to Liang Ying's death the emperor had not forgotten him, and provides reported speech of Daozong's reaction to hearing news that Liang Ying had fallen ill but recovered.³⁷ This again portrays Daozong as an emperor concerned for his subjects. The inclusion of the emperor's reported speech to the court also foregrounds the imperial presence in the production of the epitaph. The decision to commission this epitaph rested not only with the desire to cement the historical record of the Yixin affair by commemorating a key player in Yelü Yixin's downfall, but also for Emperor Daozong to publicly right another perceived wrong and re-establish for posterity Daozong's relationship with Liang Ying. This is particularly poignant considering that no one who fell foul of Yixin was rehabilitated and welcomed back into the fold by Daozong, with the exception of his son who he had buried and posthumously given a noble title.³⁸ This unprecedented commission not only of a non-royal but also of a Han minister, and a Han minister who had been disgraced, shows that in the post Yelü Yixin world Daozong wanted to be seen as magnanimous to loyal ministers.

The *Epitaph of Liang Ying* is also self-conscious about the fact that it was unprecedented. The writer Yelü Xinggong's voice is present at the beginning and end of the text providing an exhaustive justification of his work and also legitimation, the pains taken to stress that it was a genuine record, and the length that was taken to write it:

He ordered I, a historical minister, to make a record of his ancestry and descendants, his native place and where grew up, and the ways in which he established himself and served his lord. This would be written on stone in order to be installed in a tomb, so that future generations would have a faithful account...³⁹

Unfortunately the end section of the Jia Shixun's epitaph which would have typically contained the author's voice and the rationale for the commission is missing, and so a comparison cannot be reliably made.⁴⁰ But Yelü Xinggong's explicit justifications imply an anxiety regarding the

37. Yang, "Liaochao Liang Ying muzhiming kaoshi."

38. Twitchett and Tietze, "The Liao," 136.

39. 復詔史臣序其世次、鄉貫泊平生出處，所以立身致主之事，文於石，俾納於壙，以為來世之信。There is a lot more, but I have abridged it to save space. Yang, "Liaochao Liang Ying muzhiming kaoshi," 179

40. The transcription of this in WB does not do justice to have damaged this epitaph was. I got to inspect a rubbing of it in the *Tōyō Bunkō* 東洋文庫 Oriental Library in Tokyo in June 2018.

perception of epitaphs as inauthentic or problematic forms of social biography.⁴¹

Daozong's successor, the Tianzuo Emperor seems to have been less concerned that the veracity of claims made in imperially commissioned epitaphs would be scrutinised or questioned. In 1102 he commissioned the epitaph for Liang Yuan, who had served as Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat Chancellery (*Tong zhongshu menxia pingzhang shi* 同中書門下平章事) at the time that Tianzuo ascended the throne. During the Yixin affair he had assisted Tianzuo's father the Imperial Prince in commemorating his mother who the emperor had had executed. He was also responsible for the education of the Imperial Prince.⁴² Liang Yuan had petitioned the emperor to be lenient on the Imperial Prince, a move which predictably angered Yelü Yixin. So predictably in fact that Liang Yuan had prepared two letters, one to his parents and one to his children in the event that he was killed for his actions.⁴³ This emphasis on fear of reprisals for standing up to Yelü Yixin strikes a different tone to the previous two epitaphs commissioned under Daozong, which seem to show confrontation but some sort of rescue by a court that is depicted as wise and benevolent. There is also a shift in the language used to label Yixin and his partisans. Whereas Liang Ying and Jia Shixun's epitaphs detail the corrupt practices and arrogant attitude of Yelü Yixin, the epitaph for Liang Yuan straight-up labels Yixin a 'bandit minister',⁴⁴ which is not too different from the categorisation he is given in the 1344 LS as one of the 'evil ministers'.⁴⁵

Narratives of Yelü Yixin not only featured in these imperially commissioned epitaphs but also in privately commissioned epitaphs, both for ministers that had had run-ins with Yelü Yixin over the course of their careers, but also their spouses like in the *Epitaph of Mme Zhang wife of Liang Yuan*.⁴⁶ The 1107 *Epitaph of Gao Shining* records how having fallen foul of the very powerful Zhang Xiaojie, Gao Shining was first demoted to Administrator of Salt and Iron in the

41. Twitchett has written about the anxieties of epitaphs and their reliability, given that they were mostly a private form of social biography. See Denis C. Twitchett, "Problems of Chinese biography," in *Confucian Personalities* (1962), 70-75

42. His epitaph mentions he lectured the Prince on the Book of Changes. WB 519-525.

43. WB 519-525.

44. 賊臣 WB 519-525.

45. 姦臣 LS 110.1633-111.1645.

46. 至大康三年間，權臣用事，讒譖并進，謀廢於儲。孝德之君也，朝廷內外大小官列無敢言者。唯「府君中令，不畏朋勢，堅金石之心，遂立遺書，以史館印記為驗，及用命入救。」聖心若悟，漸覺其偽，以寄為社稷之衛，爰立作相。WB 566-569

Supreme Capital (*Shangjing yantie panguan* 上京鹽鐵判官), and then continued on a downwardly mobile trajectory, a situation only alleviated after Zhang Xiaojie's demise.⁴⁷ No privately produced epitaph contradicts the negative portrayal of Yelü Yixin and his faction, however the 1102 *Epitaph of Wang Shifang* suggests a different version of Yixin's downfall, relating how:

At one point, there was intrigue and deception at the court, even he could not avoid becoming implicated. It was through his efforts that the ring-leader was vanquished and the ground cleared. For his loyalty, the emperor honoured him and made him....⁴⁸

This epitaph's crediting of Wang Shifang with the final downfall of Yelü Yixin is probably not exaggerated claim, or at least if it is not true it reveals how events went down in the historical memory of the late Liao in the minds of later generations in the Jin and Yuan periods. The biography of his great grandson Wang Pi in the 1346 JS relates how no one dared to defend the Imperial Prince against the slander that Yelü Yixin had perpetuated. Only Wang Shifang was bold enough "to raise the righteous alarm" i.e to tell and convince the emperor of what was going on.⁴⁹ These two accounts that centre on Wang Shifang contrast with the WXTK account that claims it was Liang Ying who brought down and killed Yelü Yixin.⁵⁰ Wang Shifang does not appear in the 1344 LS at all, and Liang Ying only appears in two places, neither in direct connection with this affair. It was likely that family histories or social biography informed the documents that were used to compile the 1346 JS account of this affair. Evidently at the time Wang Shifang was rewarded with official titles, but not lionised in the historical documents for the role he played.⁵¹ This may have been because his intervention as a non-office holding informal acquaintance of the imperial clan bypassed the official chain of command. This would have been another embarrassing factor of the Yelü Yixin affair, and may explain why his part in

47. 張孝傑當國，求納賄賂，公不能媚承。出為上京鹽鐵判官，自是連歲降謫。孝傑敗。收錄忠義加尚書禮部郎中，充內庫勾判，歷長春路錢帛都提點。Zuo Lijun 左利軍, "Liao <Gao Shining muzhi> kaoshi" 遼《高士寧墓誌》考釋, *Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu* 遼金歷史與考古 3 (2011): 286–292

48. 曩者，朝廷姦欺于內，而公身不避重責，殲厥渠魁而掃地，盖公之効也。以忠孝之故，上甚嘉之。蒙恩授東頭供奉官、銀青崇祿大夫、兼監察御史、武騎尉。XB 244-245

49. 王賁，字文孺，其先自臨潢移貫宛平。曾祖土方，正直敢言。遼道宗信樞密使耶律乙辛之讒殺其太子，世無敢白其冤者，土方擊義鐘以訴，遼主感悟，卒誅乙辛，厚賞土方，授承奉官。JS 96.2131.

50. 英弼益專恣，累封魏王，北人諺云：「寧違敕旨，無違魏王白帖子。」其後國相梁益介殺英弼，坐死者千餘人，乃立延禧為太孫。WXTK 346.2712.

51. The 1344 LS places Yelü Wuna as the one that alerted Daozong to the danger to his grandson. 五年，帝出獵，乙辛請留皇孫，帝欲從之。兀納奏曰：「竊聞車駕出游，將留皇孫，苟保護非人，恐有他變。果留，臣請侍左右。」帝乃悟，命皇孫從行。由此，始疑乙辛。LS 98.1555.

stopping Yelü Yixin was not only omitted from the Liao histories but also did not grant him an imperially commissioned epitaph.

What is different between on the one hand the privately commissioned epitaphs of Gao Shining, Wang Shifang and Mme Zhang, wife of Liang Yuan, and on the other the imperially commissioned epitaphs of Liang Ying, Jia Shixun and Liang Yuan is that the Yelü Yixin affair in the epitaphs of Gao Shining and Wang Shifang are used in the narrative biography to provide a reason for a state of affairs that they had ended up in. For Gao Shining Yelü Yixin was the cause for his downward career trajectory, whereas for Wang Shifang it was the reason why a man the epitaph frankly states was not suited to office had acquired an official title. Neither of these epitaphs goes into much detail of their run-ins with Yelü Yixin in the way that the imperially commissioned epitaphs of Liang Ying, Jia Shixun and Liang Yuan do. This may be because they were shorter epitaphs, and were after all produced out of the family pocket rather than the largess of the imperial house. The imperial commissioned epitaphs, in comparison are considerably longer and more detailed: the *Epitaph of Liang Ying* has 45 lines of 1906 characters; the *Epitaph of Jia Shixun* has 56 lines with 56 characters a line, and the *Epitaph of Liang Yuan* has 72 lines containing a total of 2373 characters.⁵² Their accounts of Yelü Yixin were also extensive, incorporating rhetorical devices such as reported speech, drawing from a historical record or indeed re-enacting and interpreting events. These imperially commissioned epitaphs were not only a form of funerary biography but a historiographical statement endorsed by the emperor. They were political epitaphs.

This is no more evident than in the unsurprisingly unified and consistent expectation in these accounts of official culpability. The upright officials are wronged or heroic. Whereas the countless unnamed officials do not dare speak. This suggests that it was the duty of officials to act righteously, it was not the responsibility of the emperor to put his trust in the right people. The message in the imperial commissioning of officials epitaphs upheld not only imperial authority but also the idealised relationship between the emperor and his officials. This was done through the creations of villains in the empire who abused their positions of power. But this

52. Yang, "Liaochao Liang Ying muzhiming kaoshi"; WB 476-483, 519-525.

was never a critique of the very system that allowed for such abuses of power. In this respect the epitaphs and the historiography of the period sustain the same message, and the reason for this is that it was the same people writing epitaphs and being written about in epitaphs that were producing the histories upon which we rely. In the next section I consider the extent to which the presence of the emperor and of officials and the 'state' influences the production of epitaphs.

5.2 Seeing the Emperor and the state, in (and through) Liao epitaphs

I have established how the emperor personally commissioned epitaphs, and that in the case of the late Liao this commission was extended beyond the relatives of the imperial line to certain loyal ministers. I have also mentioned at different moments in this thesis when epitaphs were privately commissioned as part of a privately funded funeral or a state sponsored funeral. In this section I will consider the differences between these and the overall effect it has on our understanding of the epitaphic record of the Liao.

First of all, unless an epitaph states otherwise the assumption is that epitaphs were arranged as part of a private funeral, that is, the epitaph is commissioned as part of a funeral that was funded by and for the family of the deceased. I make this assumption because state sponsorship of funerals and indeed the imperial commission of an epitaph would have been so prestigious an intervention into the funeral of the deceased it would have been mentioned in the epitaph as another signal of the worthiness of the subject of the epitaph. Or as the anonymous author of one particular epitaph neatly put it:

The state sent ministers, bearing grave goods and donations towards funeral expenses, to carry out an official funeral ritual. All those who receive the imperial recognition and magnanimity, their clans are held up as exemplary, as recipients

of the emperor's deep generosity, rejoice to the fullest.⁵³

What I refer to as “state sponsorship” for funerals refers to a broad array of interventions and donations of goods and expenses for a funeral like those referred in the above quote. This often came in the form of appointing one or several officials to take on the responsibilities of coordinating the burial and funeral, and the donation of grave goods.⁵⁴ The most extreme example of funerary appointed officials can be seen in the 1087 *Epitaph of Yelü Hongshi*, brother of Emperor Daozong.⁵⁵ While funerary goods can sometimes be itemised, as I showed in section 2.2.2 in the epitaphs of Shagu and Yelü Yuanning, they are usually referred to vaguely as *fufeng* 賻贈 or *fuzeng* 賻贈. There is evidence that state sponsorship of funerals was stratified, both in the appointment of officials to manage it and in the gifts and donations made. This can be seen in instances when additional largess is shown beyond what was the likely protocol, such as in the 1037 *Epitaph of Han Chun* which states:

“In addition to the usual gifts to the deceased's estate, he made the exceptional gesture of donating five hundred thousand cash toward funeral expenses.”⁵⁶

There is a difference between having an epitaph that was part of a state sponsored funeral and having an imperially commissioned epitaph. In the example of Han Chun, while he received such payments, the epitaph explicitly states that it was his grieving sons who sought out the writer Li Wan to produce the epitaph.⁵⁷ Imperially commissioned epitaphs were always part of a state sponsored funeral, but the writers were explicit about their commission from the high-

53. 國家遣使賻贈敕祭焉。莫不受國恩知，舉族健慕，諒達冥寬，畢盡歡呼 Anon, 1027, *Epitaph of Yelü Suizheng* XB 69.

54. These roles are summarised in Zhang Guoqing 張國慶, “Liaodai sangzang lisu buyi - huangdi wei chenxia qianshi zhizang” 遼代喪葬禮俗補遺——皇帝為臣下遣使治葬, *Liaoning daxue xuebao* 遼寧大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 36, no. 6 (2008): 90–95.

55. “以聞。上震悼至慟，輟視朝七日。且曰：「皇天不□，介弟云亡。痛乎手足之既虧，糜肺腸而何逮。」乃命長寧宮使、同簽南面諸行宮都部署事耶律慧監護神柩歸于慶陵。以天城軍節度使裴惟慶治攢□；以忠正軍節度使、右千牛衛上將軍韓貽慶掌發引；以鄭州團練使、隨駕三軍都虞候蔡志順奉祭奠；以保安軍節度使韓惟清督營造。特詔同中書門下平章事、判上京留守臨潢尹事邢熙年，諸行宮都部署、尚書禮部侍郎王言敷等充都提點。仍委殿中都太師、右監門衛上將軍蕭六英，文班太保、靜江軍節度使蕭先同蒞其事。申命有司，按行冊贈為秦魏國王，謚曰恭正。以其年十一月一日，附葬于興陵，禮也。已而詔詞臣志惠實。” XB 191-194.

56. *Epitaph of Han Chun*. WB 203-210. Pursey, “An Envoy Serving the Kitan Liao Son of Heaven: Epitaph for Han Chun (d. 1035), Court Ceremonial Commissioner, by Li Wan (fl. 1012–1036)”

57. “They mourned their father all autumn and divined a far-off auspicious day for the burial. They feared that the riverbanks and valleys might shift [potentially hiding the grave site or exposing the tomb], so they invited me to record his deeds.” WB 203-210.

est authority in the land, using terms like “written by imperial order” (*feng chi zhuan* 奉敕撰) or in the case of the *Aice of Emperor Daozong* the writer prefixes their name with the term ‘subject’ (*chen* 臣).⁵⁸ A similar term for imperial commission has also been identified in the Kitan assembled script.⁵⁹ For the sake of my analysis I will not differentiate on the various roles in state sponsored funerals to consider the degree of state sponsorship, only between those with state involvement and those with imperially commissioned epitaphs. Suffice to say any state sponsorship or involvement in funerals signifies two things, it shows that the deceased is endorsed by the court and that, even without the emperor’s personal commission, the court was a potential audience of the epitaph that was composed as part of the funeral.

Table C.45 shows the postings for the men who had a state sponsored epitaph.⁶⁰ It shows that the majority of these held positions of either Jointly Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat Chancellery (*tong zhongshu menxia pingzhang shi* 同中書門下平章事), Director of the Chancellery (*shizhong* 侍中), Director of the Secretariat (*zhongshu (zhengshi) ling* 中書 (政事) 令), and in one case the position of the Director of the Department of State Affairs (*shangshuling* 尚書令) these titles were borrowed from the titles of the heads of the ‘three departments’ of the Tang dynasty central government. However, it is contested that these departments existed in the Liao administration, or more accurately, whether they functioned as anything more than prestige titles.⁶¹ It is clear that there was a progression between them in the order listed. This can be seen in the fact that in several cases the bearer of the title Jointly Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat Chancellery was posthumously upgraded to Director of the Chancellery, and a Director of the Chancellery was posthumously upgraded to Director of the Secretariat. The lowest of these was the Jointly Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat Chancellery which

58. WB 513-515.

59. 取金用全岡为本 (勅奉撰). While the character for 勅 or ‘imperial command’ has been determined in the Kitan linear script in the phrase 奈犀奈倉 (敕祭敕葬) this only concerns the funeral and there is yet to be a Kitan linear script epitaph determined to have been imperially commissioned.

60. Women did not hold office, and so are not included here. Though there were state sponsored funerals for women, among them Empresses, Princesses, Consorts and the wives of certain high up officials.

61. In Chinese institutional history there was always a difference between an official appointment or *guan* 官 and an assignment or *zhi* 職, the latter reflecting actual duties and responsibilities, whereas the former could have assignments or could be honorary and prestige. While the Liao appears to have adopted many of the official titles of the Tang dynasty, a large number of these are considered to have been prestige. A break down of which were prestige has been carried out in Wang Zengyu 王曾瑜, “Liaochao guanyuan de shizhi he xuxian chutan” 遼朝官員的實職和虛銜初探, 文史 34 (1992): 159–186 and Yang Jun 楊軍, “Liaochao nanmianguan yanjiu: yi beike ziliao wei zhongxin” 遼朝南面官研究——以碑刻資料為中心, *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊, no. 3 (2013): 3–19.

in its shortened form Manager of (Governmental) Affairs (*pingzhangshi* 平章事), was always appended to existing titles and endowed the bearer with the authority of a Grand Councillor (*zaixiang* 宰相) and a Commissioner Councillor (*shixiang* 使相), “a term designating officials who held such military positions ... along with a civil position.”⁶² In Song envoy Yu Jing’s observations of the Liao government in 1045 he noted that those that held this rank got a seat at the table (or tent in the case of the Liao court).⁶³ Rather than existing within the bureaucracy however the award of this title represented special imperial favour, they were ‘favoured officials’.⁶⁴

Of those listed in table C.45 who were not one of these four grades of ‘favoured officials’ the state sponsorship of their funeral can be explained either by protocol and imperial intervention. The epitaphs of three Census Bureau Commissioners (*hubushi* 戶部使) were produced in the early eleventh century, suggesting at this stage such officials were entitled to state sponsored epitaphs but not later. However the state sponsorship of these funerals may have also been by imperial favour, as they were all Census Bureau Commissioners for the newly built Central Capital,⁶⁵ such a position may have been favoured by Emperor Shengzong. The others from earlier in the Liao were likely due to the emperor’s decision.⁶⁶ Overall state sponsorship of funerals appears to have been codified, but codified for those who had received titles of the ‘favourite officials’. However, there is a degree of chicken and egg with this rule, as in some of the cases in table C.45 such awards were posthumous, potentially meaning that the deceased were given the title in order to justify a state sponsored funeral, rather than receiving a state sponsored funeral based on the post they held at the time of their death. What is key is that while there seems to be a regulation to it, at the end of the day the emperor had the discretion to extend the privilege of state sponsored funerals and to exercise generosity beyond the protocol that may have been in place.

62. WF 232 n.41.

63. YJ-QDGY

64. The four titles (including the Director of the Department of State Affairs) are labelled ‘favourite officials’ *youchongguan* 優寵官 by Wang Taotao. Wang Taotao 王滔韜, “Qianyi Liaochao de zhongshusheng zhiguan” 淺議遼朝的中書省職官, *Chongqing jiaotong xueyuan xuebao: shehui kexue ban* 重慶交通學院學報: 社會科學版 3, no. 3 (2003): 21–24

65. Geng Yanyi was made Census Bureau Commissioner and subsequently died in the Central Capital, suggesting this is where he was stationed in the role. His epitaph also specifically states that he did not follow the moving court in this posting. WB 226–228.

66. Xiao Dewen for example never held office, but upon his impending death was given an honorary office by the emperor. Showing there was some relationship between them. WB 371–374.

In the late Liao there appears to have been a shift in the attitude of who got state sponsored funerals. Table C.9 shows that in late Liao there were less produced than in the mid Liao. But relative to the years in each of the periods I have defined this is not as dramatic. What does change however is that in the late Liao period, most of the state sponsored funerals have imperial sponsored epitaphs, in fact only three do not.⁶⁷ This pattern suggests that while in the mid-Liao there was more state sponsorship of epitaphs, imperially commissioned epitaphs were restricted to those directly related to the emperor (see table C.14). In the late Liao while the scope of who could receive an imperial commissioned epitaph expanded, receipt of a state sponsored funeral became more of a privilege as state sponsored funerals implied imperially commissioned epitaphs. This means that in the late Daozong reign and the Tianzuo reign, the emperor had a greater say in the recipients of state sponsored funerals because they also bore an epitaph personally commissioned by him. Previously state sponsored epitaphs often referred rhetorically to the emperor's mourning and recorded concrete action taken or gifts given, but these often came with a sense of protocol, that may or may not have been exceeded.⁶⁸ Through imperially commissioned epitaphs the emperor made the state sponsorship of funerals more subject to imperial decision than state protocol.

This can be seen in some of the more anomalous recipients of imperially commissioned epitaphs. For example the recently discovered epitaph for Yelü Hongli (1045-1096) which was discussed in section 4.2.1. Yelü Hongli was a member of the imperial line, grandson of Yelü Longqing,⁶⁹ making him second cousin of Daozong, and had inherited from his brothers the Princely Mansion of Yelü Longyun (Han Derang). However, his past was controversial. The epitaph tells us that his father and, by extension, he were implicated in the Chongyuan rebellion,

67. Li Quan was commissioned to organise Princess Yongqing's funeral and designated himself responsible for producing her epitaph. XB 226-228. The other two were the 1114 *Epitaph of Wang Shiru* and the 1117 *Epitaph of Meng Chu*. Both of these were in the Yan region and later than the last recorded imperially commissioned epitaph, the 1112 Epitaph for Xiao Yi, which was incidentally written by Meng Chu. The cause for the abandonment of imperial commission of epitaphs in these two cases warrant further study. So too the 1113 *Epitaph of Yelü Ji* appears to have been at least part of a state sponsored funeral, however the epitaph is too damaged to be able to discern whether or not it was an imperially commissioned epitaph.

68. Liu Wei's examination of this issue also suggests a loose codification. Liu, *Liaodai muzang de kaoguxue yanjiu*, 111-114 Preliminary research has also been done of the protocol of suspending court for different durations of time to mourn the death of an official. See Cui Xuexia 崔學霞, "Liaochao chuochao zhidu kaoshu" 遼朝輟朝制度考述, *Hebei beifang xueyuan xuebao: shehui kexueban* 河北北方學院學報: 社會科學版 28, no. 6 (2012): 45-48

69. Wan and Si, "Liaodai Yelü Hongli muzhi kaoshi."

which resulted their demotion to the *wangziban* 王子班.⁷⁰ On his father's death he was allowed to return to his own camp.⁷¹ After which he lived out his days as a man of leisure, with no pursuit of high office. He inherited the Princely Mansion of Wenzhong, after it had been passed down through his father and his two older brothers. Given the implication in the Chongyuan rebellion it is surprising that Hongli was rehabilitated to the degree that the emperor would personally commission his epitaph, unless a condition of affiliation to the Mansion of Prince Wenzhong was to receive state sponsored funerals.⁷²

However, there is also another strange element to his story that may shed light on this particular epitaph. According to his sister's epitaph, at a young age he was favoured by Emperor Xingzong, who thought that the young Yelü Hongli bore a likeness to Xingzong's father the deceased Emperor Shengzong.⁷³ This favour resulted in being given the honorary rank of Surveillance Commissioner, to which the child Hongli's reaction was to cry.⁷⁴ This account could be read as a justification for Daozong to commission the epitaph as the likeness to Shengzong and the favour shown by Xingzong would have meant that by commemorating him Daozong was engaging in an explicit and public filial act. The character reference in the epitaph shows an ideal of a person, notably he had the talent to be a high official, but from a young age had no desire. He was implicated but not involved in the Chongyuan rebellion because of his father, who played a part in it allegedly under duress. To commemorate an individual with these conditions possibly symbolises Daozong's message regarding talent and ambition. The emphasis

70. Meaning they were servants in the quarters of the Imperial Princes. Also known as *wangzizhang* 王子帳 Lin, *Liaoshi baiguanzhi kaoding*, 64-65

71. 清寧七年宗元謀逆時衛王任諸行宮都部署被誣見逐公亦預焉降入王子班王薨得還復舊帳 Wan and Si, "Liaodai Yelü Hongli muzhi kaoshi"

72. The tomb of Yelü Hongli is part of a larger tomb complex currently undergoing excavation. It is thought the tomb of Yelü Longyun (Han Derang), the original Prince Wenzhong, is among them. Epitaphs of Yelü Hongli's brothers have yet to surface or be published and are not alluded to in the text of his epitaph. It is therefore hard to determine whether imperial commission was something Daozong extended to all of those who were masters of the Princely Mansion of Wenzhong, or just to Yelü Hongli who was special. We do know that imperially sponsored epitaphs were not given to all his siblings, as one year before in 1095 the epitaph for Princess Yongqing, Hongli's sister was produced but not by imperial commission. Her funeral was state sponsored by the epitaph was written by the official appointed to organise her funeral, who authored the epitaph of his own initiative. Yuan Haibo 袁海波 and Li Yufeng 李宇峰, "Liaodai Hanwen <Yongqing Gongzhu muzhi> kaoshi" 遼代漢文《永清公主墓誌》考釋, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中國歷史文物, no. 5 (2004): 71-76

73. 弟弘禮，器度淵沉，迴旋謙雅。舉措骨氣與并祖聖宗孝彰皇帝相肖。自條年授鄧州觀察使。永清公主墓誌 XB 226-228.

74. "Xingzong said 'looking at this child' s comportment he has the makings of a Shumishi', so admired by the emperor was he." 上曰：“觀此兒器度可授以樞密使” 其為上愛重也。Wan and Si, "Liaodai Yelü Hongli muzhi kaoshi"

on the family lineage of the Yelü house may also have something to do with Daozong's emphasis on the significance of the Yelü royal family. After all, in his long reign Daozong saw off not only the Chongyuan rebellion that ruptured his immediate and extended family along partisan lines, but also the rise and fall of Yelü Yixin, who turned Daozong against his own son and heir apparent. Daozong's personal commission of epitaphs was not only to loyal Han ministers like Liang Ying and Jia Shixun, but also to members of the imperial clan that were not a threat to him.

So far this discussion has shown the role of imperial decisions in who gets an epitaph through state resources, one that Daozong and Tianzuo seem to have greater direct authority over. It also echoes what I discussed in the previous section, Daozong and later Tianzuo were using the epitaphs to determine the textual legacy of a period of embarrassment (for Daozong) and pain (for Tianzuo). This could not have been more evident in Tianzuo's decision upon ascending the throne to rebury his grandmother, Empress Xuanyi, who had been accused of infidelity and executed. He commissioned two *aice* epitaphs, one in Chinese and the other in the Kitan, on separate stones with their own cover stones. The epitaphs do not mention the circumstances of her death, and in a further act of rehabilitating her memory and setting his own record of events he had her buried alongside Emperor Daozong as primary Empress in the Qing mausoleum.⁷⁵ He did the same again upon the death of his great uncle, Yelü Hongben in 1110. Tianzuo commissioned a former Consort of Yelü Hongben's from his youth be buried with him. This consort had been implicated in the Chongyuan rebellion and exiled to the east over forty years before, and died in 1090.⁷⁶ It is clear that Tianzuo was using these epitaphs to rehabilitate the memory of women who were implicated in the seismic affairs of his grandfather's reign.

What has been overlooked in these discussions so far though has been the very figures that helped to carry out these imperial interventions in commemoration and history, the writers of the epitaphs. When we examine the writers of both imperially commissioned epitaphs and those that were produced in a state sponsored funeral it becomes clear that a large majority were members of the Hanlin Academy and the Historiographical Academy. This is broken

75. WB 516-518.

76. XB 275-277.

down by region in tables C.46 - C.54. It is clear that by the late Liao the Hanlin and Historiographical Academies had expanded and taken on the responsibility of composing epitaphs for deceased officials. In sections 3.3 and 3.4 I showed that the exam system had expanded the pool of literary and talented men for officialdom. Gao Fushun has argued that a destination for many of graduates of the imperial examinations was these two academies.⁷⁷ This reserve of intelligent and diligent literary men had several tasks, including the drafting of imperial edicts.⁷⁸ They were also responsible, as their title suggests for the compilation of the historical record.

Traditionally historical writing was done on a daily basis by different departments. The Court Diarists of the Tang (618-907) kept a full record of what transpired at every formal court assembly, they also recorded every utterance and act of the emperor, warts and all. The Court Diarists did not record what was said or conducted outside of the court assemblies, so meetings conducted in private were missing from their records.⁷⁹ The Court Diarists however were not mechanical reporters, they were expected “to remonstrate against policies they felt to be unwise or ill-considered, particularly when matters of historical precedent or analogy were involved.”⁸⁰ This was because they were themselves “officials holding posts with serious political and moral responsibilities.”⁸¹ This has also been argued to be the case in the Liao, where historian officials were always appointed from officials simultaneously serving in other posts and were not full time.⁸² Indeed, the many Hanlin and Historiographical Officials listed as writers of epitaphs had an array of titles. For example Yelü Yan, who wrote the *Veritable Record* upon which the LS in subsequent dynasties and eventually the 1344 LS were based, was not only a historiographical official but also in the Chancellery,⁸³ so too Liu Sichang, author of the imperially commissioned 1096 *Epitaph of Consort of the Qin and Yue State, wife of Yelü Hongshi* was a Court Diarist but also appointed to the Chancellery.⁸⁴ The responsibility of Court Diarists was

77. Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 302-313.

78. He Tianming 何天明, *Liaodai zhengquan jigou shigao* 遼代政權機構史稿 (Hohhot: Neimenggu daxue chubanshe 內蒙古大學出版社, 2004), 127.

79. Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang*, 35-36.

80. Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang*, 9.

81. Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang*, 10.

82. Zhu Zifang 朱子方, “Liaochao shiguan kao” 遼朝史官考, *Shixueshi yanjiu* 史學史研究, no. 4 (1990): 65.

83. 經邦守正翊贊功臣、開府儀同三司、行尚書左僕射、兼門下侍郎、同中書門下平章事、監修國史、知樞密院事、上柱國、趙國公、食邑六千五百戶、食實封陸伯伍拾戶。Aice of Emperor Daozong. WB 513-515.

84. 朝請大夫、行起居舍人、知制詔、充史館修撰、兼樞密都丞旨、騎都尉、彭城縣開國子、食邑五百戶、賜紫金魚袋 XB 229-232.

to report, interpret and remonstrate faithfully. This can be seen in an anecdote from the reign of Xingzong where an accident had occurred in an imperial hunting expedition, tens of people had been mauled to death by tigers and bears. The emperor ordered the record of it expunged from the Court Diaries. The diarists acquiesced, but then Xiao Hanjianu who was in charge of the department wrote it back in (table C.44).⁸⁵ When Xingzong saw that the record had been added back in he accepted that that was the job of historians.⁸⁶ This anecdote while maintaining the integrity of certain historians, reveals that the emperor intervened in the Court Diaries not only to expunge the record, but also to check if it had been expunged. The initial obedience of the Court Diarists to change the record also shows that the court historians were not empowered in the reign of Xingzong.

This empowerment of court historians was also under attack under Xingzong's successor Daozong, who in 1076 demanded to see the Court Diaries and was rebuffed. He subsequently had the Court Diarists beaten and the Linya, who was in charge of the entire Hanlin Academy, exiled to the frontier. The timing of this intervention is noteworthy, occurring after the accusation and forced suicide of his Empress and a year before his son was assassinated by Yelü Yixin's accomplices. It was around this time that court tensions and factions were at an all time high, a month before the emperor had reinstated Yelü Yixin to the Northern Bureau of Military Affairs (*bei shumiyuan* 北樞密院, six months later he would strip his son, the Imperial Prince, of all titles and disown him following accusations that the Imperial Prince sought to usurp the throne. This demand of Emperor Daozong to see the Court Diaries may well have been to see where the loyalties of those appointed Court Diarists lay. What is clear is that his actions and indeed the entire Yelü Yixin affair had a chilling effect on the court and official culture.

However, the downfall of Yelü Yixin did not bring about a more independent climate for the court historians. After all, Yelü Yixin's power had been given and taken away by the emperor, and in the aftermath the emperor once again claimed greater control over officialdom. Yelü Mengjian was well aware of this. He had learned the hard way not to get on the bad side of

85. This table was compiled using passages collected in Huang Zhen 黃震, "Liaodai shiguan zhidu yanjiu," 遼代史官制度研究 (master's thesis, Lanzhou Daxue 蘭州大學, 2010).

86. 韓家奴每見帝獵，未嘗不諫。會有司奏獵秋山，熊虎傷死數十人，韓家奴書於冊。帝見，命去之。韓家奴既出，復書。他日，帝見之曰：「史筆當如是。」LS 103.1597.

those with power, having previously fallen foul of Yelü Yixin and had been demoted and exiled. A few years later, probably in the early 1080s after the downfall of Yelü Yixin, he was allowed to return. He had petitioned the emperor to compose historical works and as a result had been given his own team in the Historiographical Academy to work on it. Addressing his team he is recorded as saying:

“The historian’s brush has the utmost confidence of all under heaven, any untrue phrase, will be followed for a hundred generations. If certain knowledge is unclear, or good and bad are swayed by one’s private leanings, the ensuing calamities cannot be fathomed. Which is why, Zuo, Sima Qian, Ban Gu, Fan Hua all met with disaster, so careless were they!”⁸⁷

The contrast with the supposed ideal of the Tang Court Diarists and Historians could not be more pronounced. Yelü Mengjian was advocating that his team keep their head down and not write their own judgements into the record. The goal was not for veracity or sincerity but self-preservation, and he held up the example of many past brave historians who had famously suffered persecution for their probity as a warning for the consequences of writing things that those in power may find untoward. Yelü Mengjian had realised that his exile and his rehabilitation were all predicated on the way the wind blew, which leaned on imperial favour and who had it. The influence of one man, Yelü Yixin, had gone, but the structure that had facilitated the ascent of such a figure remained, the power of imperial favour. In the late Liao it was this imperial presence that was starting to be exerted over both historical writings and epitaphs, and culminated in the early reign of Tianzuo with the 1103 *Veritable Record* compiled by Yelü Yan (see C.44).

However, while this influence of the court is evident in the compilation of dynastic histories and imperially commissioned epitaphs this is not to say that imperially commissioned epitaphs dominated the epitaphs of this period. It was in this period more than the pre-Kaitai and mid-Liao periods that saw an increase in the production of private epitaphs in many zones of

87. 史筆天下之大信，一言當否，百世從之。苟無明識，好惡徇情，則禍不測。故左氏、司馬遷、班固、範曄俱罹殃禍，可不慎歟！LS 104.1605.

the Liao. The region of Yun for example witnesses epitaphs once again being produced, all privately (see table C.51). So too several authors who wrote imperially commissioned epitaphs also wrote privately for friends and family as shown in table C.32. Outside of epitaphs however private histories and other writings did not fare so well. While Yelü Mengjian originally wrote a private history, it was to submit to the throne to get him a position and resources for a larger project, and to rekindle imperial favour.⁸⁸ Section 1.1.3 discussed extensively the manuscript survival of the Liao and how much was lost after the dynasty fell, but there will always be the pervasive question of how much was really produced and circulated. In his reconstruction of a *Literary Treatise* (*yiwenzhi* 藝文志) for the Liao, Chen Shu counts twelve belle-lettres, i.e. compiled works of writers that are mentioned in extant works, such as the 1344 LS, various Song sources, and excavated epitaphs.⁸⁹ What works were contained in the imperial collections of the Liao are not known, nor what works were written privately. There was a robust printing industry in the Liao as evidenced by the large state financed projects such as the production of the Tripitaka,⁹⁰ and printed Buddhist materials have been unearthed sealed in the underground chambers of pagodas.⁹¹ However, little is known about private printing over the 210 years of the Liao. The only account in the 1344 LS is Daozong's 1064 ban on the practice.⁹² The circulation of books in general may have been restricted, as nine years later in 1075, envoy Shen Kuo recorded that:

“the restrictions on books are very severe in Kitan, transmission of any works into the Middle Kingdom carries the death penalty.”⁹³

These laws may well have been a reaction to earlier laxity. Song accounts record increasing concern about border publishing and book trade that became of great concern to Song officials.⁹⁴ No such accounts survive for the Liao. The only private publication that does survive

88. LS 104.1605.

89. LSBZ 62.2572-2574.

90. Sloane, “Contending states and religious orders in North China and in East Asian context, 906-1260,” 167-170.

91. Wang Shan 王珊 et al., “Liaodai Qingzhou Baita fojing yongzhi yu yinshua de chubu yanjiu” 遼代慶州白塔佛經用紙與印刷的初步研究, *Wenwu* 文物, no. 2 (2019): 76-93, 96.

92. 十月戊午, 禁民私刊印文字。LS 22.300.

93. 契丹書禁甚嚴, 傳入中國者法皆死。Shen Kuo 沈括, *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 5. Available on CTEXT.

94. Though this concern was part of larger concern with the kind of works being published domestically, whether they contained information useful to their enemies but also the proliferation of popular and unregulated

from the Liao is the FJL that was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, and that text for obvious reasons was not an official history. Epitaphs represent the most significant collection of private writings for the Liao, and even these were in many cases created by state actors.

Epitaphs were a forum where as we have seen in chapters 3 and 4 commissioners and writers used the memory of the deceased to signal to others their status, either through office or genealogy. This forum saw both private and state voices coexist and interact. And indeed there was not so clear-cut a binary, as the very writers that were enlisted by the emperor to compose epitaphs also wrote in a private capacity; the literate exam candidates vied and competed for positions in officialdom, including the historiographical and Hanlin academies; both of these blurred the line of state and private. If there was such a printing ban in place then epitaphs may have been one of the few media available to display one's literary prowess as a writer, or to demonstrate one's status by commissioning an epitaph for a deceased relation or peer. The imperial commission of epitaphs and the apparent seizure of control over the protocol of state sponsorship of funerals through the imperial commission of epitaphs demonstrates that epitaphs represented a viable discursive space that the late Liao emperors could exploit to manipulate the recent memory of political affairs to their advantage. In rehabilitating those that had been wronged by the factionalism of the late eleventh century they too were investing in salvaging their image both in the eyes of their subjects and posterity.

printing in general. Su Zhe argued that it was also impossible to prevent the smuggling of printed material across the border, so it would be more effective to regulate the material that was available on the market in the first place by restricting and controlling domestic publication. de Weerd, "What Did Su Che See in the North? Publishing Regulations, State Security, and Political Culture in Song China" and Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, "Wenhua de bianjie: liang Song yu Liao Jin zhi jian de shujin ji shuji liutong" 文化的邊界—兩宋與遼金之間的書禁及書籍流通, *Chugoku shigaku* 中国史学 12 (2002): 216

Conclusion: The necropolitan elite and a social history in/of Liao epitaphs

Earlier in this thesis I presented an example of an epitaph written by Zheng Shuo for his older brother in 1085 in the Southern Capital. I want to revisit it here and his self-professed motivations for composing an epitaph for his brother personally.

When I was six I had already lost both parents. ... just as there is no learning without the instruction of a historian, none of my words or actions have been without the influence of my brother's instruction. That is to say, it was my father and mother who created me, but my brother and his wife who raised me. ...[to recount] my brother's glory, I inquired on the market into the having an inscription made, but these are usually executed in flowery prose. I was worried that the person who wrote the epitaph would not get tone or his story right.⁹⁵

When I discussed this epitaph before in section 3.3 it was primarily to provide evidence of a market for producing epitaphs in the Southern Capital. Zheng Shuo, who was anxious that a transactional commission of an epitaph from a stranger would not do justice to his brother's memory both in substance and in tone, justified producing his own. This epitaph was not produced for his brother's funeral, who had died sometime in Chongxi (1032-1055), at least thirty

95. 碩在懷橘之歲，已喪考妣。及之後得依於未有一經史非史之訓，解未有一言行非兄之指誨。此所謂生我者父母，長我者兄嫂也。...兄之茂榮，市刊石之合，歸於鴻筆，慮作文者不得其安、書其事云。I added the words [to recount] based on what I speculate the missing character may have been in the clause. *Epitaph of Zheng Jie* 鄭頤墓誌 1085 XB 179-181.

years prior.⁹⁶ But for the funeral of his sister-in-law, who was to be buried with his brother, meaning it was not a response to the death of his brother, nor part of his brother's funeral ritual, but a choice he had made and possibly had been considering for many years. The anxieties he communicates are not about their spiritual afterlife, but their social and textual afterlife, i.e. their memory in the mundane world. The production of this epitaph was not only an investment in the memory of the two, but in particular **his** memory of the two. Zheng Shuo's actions were personal and poignant, but also instructive of a larger theme that interweaves the present thesis. According to his tribute, his brother and sister-in-law had raised him and it was their good influence that made him the man he became. In these few words he acknowledges a debt to this dependent and interpersonal influence. It is this notion of interpersonal influence that I want to explore in relation to what I have discussed in this thesis.

The notion of influence is not a novel consideration for the socio-cultural history of the Liao, however the way I mean it diverges from the common use of the term. In the introduction and throughout the present thesis I have argued for an approach to epitaphs not from culturalist assumptions based on ethnic categories but from functional and social perspectives. I have discussed what epitaphs did in social contexts and how this was behind their appeal rather than arguing that epitaphs were a form of ethnic signalling. This needed to be emphasised because much of the archaeological literature of the Liao designates types of material and visual culture through the reified ethnic categories of Han and Kitan. The notion of influence is applied in such literature, but to explain the presence of what is deemed Chinese culture in the tombs of those that are designated Kitan, or vice versa. These explanations invoke notions of hybridisation, assimilation, sinicisation (i.e. becoming Chinese), Kitanisation (becoming Kitan), as if cultures were entities and agents in and of themselves, capable of interacting with each other, or with people. What is missing from such discussions is what was happening at the root of all of these abstractions, that people were interacting with people.

Each artefact that is recovered from a tomb context is not just an iteration of culture that serves

96. Zheng Jie died at age of 40 something, between 1032 and 1055, it was likely to be mid-late Chongxi as he took his exam at Yong'an shan in the summer nabo, Gao Fushun reckons was 1046, before the reign of Xingzong. See Gao, *Keju yu Liaodai shehui*, 80, and went on to enjoy postings for several years.

as a synecdoche or component of a reconstruction of said culture, it was in its time a product of social interactions and decisions. They were media by which people performed grief and commemoration, and communicated salience to audiences not only on behalf of the deceased but also to the families and peers who commissioned them. This could not be clearer than with the subject of the present thesis; unlike the silent treasures and architecture of the tomb, the epitaph speaks as an artefact to those who unearth the stone in the tomb, and spoke to those of its day among whom it was circulated in textual form. I have demonstrated in this thesis that the epitaph frequently provides accounts of how it was produced, by whom, for whom, and indeed in some cases appears to justify its existence and presence. These accounts not only serve as the material for academic works of history like the present thesis, they were directed at those in the Liao who may have questioned the motivations and the process by which an epitaph account was created. After all epitaphs were not the sole form of commemoration or indeed commemorative inscription. The production of epitaphs was contingent, self-aware and not taken for granted by those that produced and consumed them in the Liao.

This contingency and self-awareness makes sense when we consider the shifting appeal of epitaphs and the status of the producers and consumers in the over two centuries of the Liao dynasty. I will briefly summarise this. In chapter 1 I established not only the contingent nature of the survival of received historical materials on the Liao, but also the contingent nature of the archaeological record. In chapter 2 the spatial and temporal pattern of distribution for Liao epitaphs. This pattern reveals there were relatively fewer epitaphs found for the tenth century and they were regionally limited. I argued this was because while initially the practice had precedents in the Central Plains of North China and gained popularity among the new elite families in or connected to the Ling river basin in the tenth century, epitaphs had limited appeal with the emerging Kitan aristocracy of the Yelü and Xiao clans. Where present they were more like a grave good in a tomb assemblage than a social text. The demand for texts in mortuary contexts and literary commemoration in wider circulation was limited.

The eleventh century witnessed a large shift in the social structure of the dynasty that can not only be teased out from various accounts in epitaphs and received historical sources but also observed in patterns in the epitaphic record as a whole. While the tenth century saw large scale

migration and forced population movements north of the Yan mountain range, the bureaucratic, centrally-controlled Southern Administration had limited jurisdiction over much of the settlements that were organised into prefectures and counties. From the founding of the Liao Kitan aristocrats had their own private settlements that the emperor designated as entrusted prefectures and Princely Mansions, the emperors too had a similar institution in the *ordo*. Status and office in the tenth century Liao into the eleventh century depended on patronage of key aristocrats that held the posts of office. This can be seen in the epitaphs of the period, many of which feature or were produced by followers for their patrons, which was an asymmetrical relationship that meant that the authority of the epitaph account was suspect.

Chapter 3 discussed the epiphenomena that suggests that these institutions and channels of patronage were being dismantled or reformed in the early eleventh century. There was a centralising shift whereby territorial administration was being appropriated by the court, and channels into office were being centrally consolidated through the expansion of the imperial examination system. A new generation of officials emerged through this centrally mandated and organised imperial examination system. The increase in epitaph production in the eleventh century correlates with the arrival of this new pool of educated officials that were the producers and consumers of whatever lost Liao literary output there may have been. In section 3.4 I argue that they took up posts that had previously been held by the followers and families that had benefited from the practice of appointment through direct patronage. They also replace these followers in the authorship of epitaphs. And unlike those authors, as educated officials that bore centrally mandated and empire-wide recognised qualifications for office, they brought a greater degree of authority to the task of epitaph production. Epitaphs started to be taken more seriously.

However, the greater seriousness of epitaph production in and of itself is not an adequate explanation of why epitaphs began to have a greater appeal for the Kitan aristocracy in the eleventh century. Rather epitaphs became more in demand in response to changing circumstances for the Kitan aristocracy. Chapter 3 detailed how the Chanyuan treaty and the centralising tendency of Emperor Shengzong's reign came at the expense of the privileges of the Kitan aristocracy, whose patronage networks and powerbases were weakened. This meant that they

had to rely more on imperial favour. In chapter 4 I argued that various families in the Xiao clan competed for influence over the composition of the imperial family and the court, and once achieved they used policy to codify this access and influence. This produced winners and losers, who both used epitaphs to stake claims on their status and membership of the aristocracy. There was also another growing problem for the Kitan aristocracy. From its inception, membership of the Liao aristocracy was based on descent, whether agnatic or fictive, from key dynastic ancestors, which was codified in the surnames of Yelü and Xiao. The insistence of the Liao emperors on the continued privilege of the Yelü and Xiao surnames as the gatekeeping of aristocracy meant after over a century the aristocracy grew exponentially, resulting in the dilution of the status of individual aristocrats and internal stratification. These issues stimulated the innovation of epitaphs in the Kitan script in the late eleventh century, which were less bound by the traditional conventions of Chinese epitaphs and flexible enough to tailor to the claims that these aristocrats needed. The uptake of Chinese and Kitan script epitaphs by the Kitan aristocracy is not due to influence of Chinese culture on Kitan culture, but the result of interpersonal influences through the medium of epitaphs. Epitaphs became influential texts to propagate claims of social status for the increasingly precarious and competitive Kitan aristocrats.

Prior to the reigns of the last two emperors, Daozong and Tianzuo, no emperor took a personal interest in the production of epitaphs. This changed in the late eleventh century with the aging Emperor Daozong, beginning to imperially commission epitaphs, and his successor continuing the practice in early twelfth century. These epitaphs demonstrate both that the emperor was concerned about his capacity to influence his subjects and that epitaphs were a useful technology for such influence. His concern stemmed from a period of factionalism at court that was itself in part a result of the increased centralisation of Liao governance in the eleventh century. Influence of the emperor's authority became a goal not only of the families in the Xiao clan to cement their marriage relations with the imperial family, but also lower status members of the Yelü clan who gained the emperor's favour. Until his downfall Yelü Yixin had the most success with this. The fallout from his downfall created widespread anxieties about the role of political influence but also a knowledge of the power of texts to exert influence.

By the late Liao texts came to have a power and influence that they did not appear to have in what we understand of the early Liao. Daozong's empress Xuanyi wrote poems to persuade the emperor not to spend as much time off hunting. And it was these poems that Yixin used to incriminate her in his accusations of her infidelity. Under Yelü Yixin's influence the emperor lost both an empress and a son, and almost a grandson. This grandson upon assuming the throne purged the landscape of Yelü Yixin and his partisans by destroying their tombs, and by extension their epitaphs. The late Liao emperors were involved not only in the production of epitaphs but also the destruction. So too as chapter 5 showed, private epitaphs for the late Liao period often aired the grievances of the deceased whose careers had suffered and lives been endangered at the hands of Yelü Yixin. The imperial interventions in the production not only of epitaphs but also of historical documents that became the source material for later historical works (that I accounted for in chapter 1) shows that influence was managed not only through production but also through restrictions. The irony is that the bans on private publishing and the circulation of texts abroad have left the legacy of the Liao to be influenced by their adversaries and unsympathetic successors.⁹⁷

It is widely acknowledged that the patchy received historical sources on the Liao only partially and inconsistently represent the Liao, and yet the paradigms within these sources shape horizons with which newly retrieved material are anticipated and interpreted. I have shown that through considering the epitaphs as a composite data source, we have evidence that by the late Liao actors both in the court, the aristocracy and the officials of the Southern Administration were increasingly and sporadically investing and engaging in stories about themselves. And these stories were directed outward to other families, officials and literate people, positioning themselves in terms of relative status. Epitaphs were both a symptom and catalyst of the changing social environment.

97. The consideration of interpersonal influence in the Liao is on its own not remotely revelatory. Standen notes that in the 1060 history of the Five Dynasties the XWDS, Song compiler Ouyang Xiu foregrounds the role of Chinese servants of the early Kitan rulers and their civilising influence on the governance of the Liao. Ouyang Xiu while considering this interpersonal influence does so at the expense of depicting agency on the part of those he considers Kitan. Standen, "Integration and Separation: The Framing of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125) in Chinese Sources," 170-174 For Ouyang Xiu the influencer and influencee are thus ciphers for his cultural categories of Han/civilised and Kitan/barbarian. This is not the understanding of interpersonal influence I advocate in this thesis.

While we should never forget epitaphs were specific ritual texts, the formula of their composition was flexible enough to accommodate personalised accounts and choices of what to include and how to rhetorically perform. The choice to produce an epitaph and what was to go in it reflected the social circumstances, opportunities, priorities and preferences of its producers. These choices were directed toward a goal, through commemoration they redefined the memory of the deceased and determined the conditions of the continued social life of the deceased. For Zheng Shuo he produced his brother's epitaph to set into memory the deeds and conduct of his brother to persuade others not only of his brother's glories, but also his own sincerity and to literally 'set in stone' the fraternal bond that they had enjoyed. To reverse Zheng Shuo's analogy, as Zheng Shuo would not have been the man he became without his brother, so learning could not take place without the historian's production of the text. In producing such a text Zheng Shuo was intending to influence those around him, reconsolidating or re-establishing the presence and evaluation of both himself, his brother and his sister-in-law in the minds of his peers, his family and wider society, and posterity.

Which brings us to the subject of posterity. As chapter one of this thesis laid out, narratives of the Liao dynasty more broadly have relied heavily on sources composed by temporal, spatial and political outsiders to the Liao. This thesis harnessed the growing body of a different type of source, epitaphs, the most readily available internally produced and consumed type of document of the dynasty. The findings of this research into epitaphs present a challenge to the prevailing understanding of the Liao dynasty.

Firstly this thesis has allowed us to reassess how we imagine the Liao spatially. Based on available epigraphic materials I identified that the prevailing image of Liao geography into five circuits does not reflect where we see concentrations of epitaphs. In particular epitaphs seem centred around the Ling river basin in the first century of the Liao, and then become visible in other regions. I revealed through a case study the interconnectedness of different regions, but not necessarily the primacy of the five capitals, as the settlements of the Ling River Basin and the Yiwulü mountain region did not have capitals. This should be a corrective to putting too much weight behind the idea of the five capital circuits and the significance of their function and instead consider corridors between certain zones of the Liao and social networks of the

elite that stretch across and connect different locales.

Secondly, the chronology of the Liao and the pattern of the dynasty over its two hundred odd years can be reassessed. The adoption of epitaphs was localised in the tenth century Liao and became more widespread and popular in different regions and sections of society over the course of the eleventh century. Scholarship of the Liao often focuses on the tenth century, the period where it emerged as a power, and interacted with the Five Dynasties and the Song. But following the peace with the Song at the beginning of the eleventh century the Liao did not stop changing. Through my investigation of the factors shaping the broadening appeal and uptake of epitaphs in this period, I demonstrated that the pattern of epitaph production can reflect social shifts. The pattern of epitaphs also forces us to consider and re-evaluate a common assumption that reads into the final decades of a dynasty the roots of decline and collapse. From what we can see from the epitaphs there is much more attention to them and their functions in the final fifty years of the Liao dynasty.

This thesis also avoided direct, detailed comparisons between the the Liao and the Tang or the Song. This was consciously done to avoid the normalisation of Tang or Song. By considering Liao on its own the internal workings of the Liao become clearer. The exception to this was in the consideration of the dynamics of territorial administration, and the make up and culture of aristocracy, where in both cases the precedent of the Tang was invoked to understand the world and traditions that the Liao had inherited. These strands contribute to the potential for a Tang-Liao transition model to counter that of the dominant paradigm of the Tang-Song transition. Rather than seeing the conditions of the Song being the result of a necessary evolution of institutions and social structures in the Tang, they were contingent, and the case of the Liao demonstrates this contingency. The culture of the Tang bifurcates along these lines. This has implications for broader notions of the historical patterns of the history of Eastern Eurasia in the post-Tang world.

And yet, I would also exercise caution in the notion of the Tang-Liao transition, I feel like the Liao presents a vantage point where the notion of transition models can be questioned. In the example of aristocratic culture for example, the trends that emerged from the analysis of epi-

taphs show that the upholding of norms established at the beginning of the Liao had consequences many many generations later. These conditions were uniquely due to actions and decisions taken in the early Liao. This reminds of that ever existing tension between framing time in terms of political regimes such as dynasties, or reading in continuities in social history that span dynasties.

What should be emphatically clear from this thesis is that there is much to be gained from moving away from culturally reductive readings of the Liao. At the outset I wished to avoid essentialised ethnic narratives of the Liao, where the two main categories of Kitan and Han are used to explain various social patterns. Instead by considering the function of epitaphs socially, and indeed the society that is reflected in epitaphs I have presented an analysis based more on the signalling of relative status and the implications of choosing circulated commemorative text rather than grave goods to venerate the dead. This allows us to see the innovation of Kitan script epitaphs and the increased imperially commissioning of epitaphs from the latter half of the eleventh century onwards as a response both to emergent anxieties and audiences.

With an understanding of the process by which these material artefacts and texts were produced and the social milieu in they were produced, avenues for further research open up and their relevance becomes clearer. A deeper analysis of the contents of the epitaph, considering for example the didactic rhetoric and presence of exemplars and role models in Liao epitaphs, could highlight the strategies by which epitaph writers engaged in and tried to influence their audiences. Comparisons between the contents of epitaphs and presumed status signalling of the tomb assemblages in which they were found could offer a better idea of how integrated the epitaph and its text were with the message that the rest of the material culture of the tomb was communicating. There is so much still to be teased from the archaeological and textual record of the Liao that tell us so much more complex and personal stories than the tired dialectic of the presumed categories of Han and Kitan. This thesis contributes one such approach that puts the people back into the surviving cultural heritage of the past.

For the concluding words for this thesis I will diverge from Zheng Shuo's urge to use his own words, and instead take inspiration from his analogy, that the interdependence of people is like

the reliance on the historians instruction for learning. The inspiration for my own considerations on influence come from an article I read many years before at the beginning of my current academic path. In Robert Ford Campany's writing on the concept of religion he emphasises that it is people and not concepts that form the agents of history. In the following passage by replacing the term religion with culture the passage has strong relevance to the contentions of this thesis, that epitaphs as artefacts and texts are the product not of cultures, but people.

But, if we are to go on speaking of cultures, we should at least find new metaphors for doing so. If possible, the new metaphors should avoid picturing cultures as really existent things in the world; as organisms; as hard-sided, clearly demarcated containers of people and things; and as agents, because picturing them in all these ways falsifies the actual state of things and skews our research questions in unfortunate ways. Cultures do not exist, at least not in the same way that people and their textual and visual artefacts and performances do. And when cultures are metaphorically imagined as doing things, it becomes harder to see the agents who really and non-metaphorically do things: people.⁹⁸

Future studies on the Liao should focus on such people rather than the 'cultures' that have been projected on to them. But where are all of these people? The introduction and chapter 1 of the present thesis stressed how historical enquiries into the Liao have been shaped by the paucity of source material. What survives of the Liao is selective. This is also true for what we see in epitaphs. Represented here are dead people (the subjects) and in different degrees of visibility the living people that wished to commemorate them (commissioners, authors, mourners). This choice of textual and material commemoration was one form among many. Countless other occupants of tomb spaces and graves remain eternally anonymous, or at the very least obscured by their tombs' silence. Even less can be known about the bones,

98. The original passage is here: "But, if we are to go on speaking of religions, we should at least find new metaphors for doing so. If possible, the new metaphors should avoid picturing religions as really existent things in the world; as organisms; as hard-sided, clearly demarcated containers of people and things; and as agents, because picturing them in all these ways falsifies the actual state of things and skews our research questions in unfortunate ways. Religions do not exist, at least not in the same way that people and their textual and visual artifacts and performances do. And when religions are metaphorically imagined as doing things, it becomes harder to see the agents who really and nonmetaphorically do things: people." Robert Ford Campany, "On the very idea of religions (in the modern West and in early medieval China)," *History of Religions* 42, no. 4 (2003): 319.

charred or otherwise, that rest hidden in unmarked graves scattered across northeast China. The people whose lives we reconstruct from these epitaphs then are a privileged few, an elite. Not the whole of the Liao elite in its various strata, but a selective one that were the producers or recipients of epitaphs. A necropolitan elite comprised of individuals whose eulogies lay engraved upon stone slabs in lavish tombs, but whose memory was being circulated posthumously aboveground among the literate of the Liao, harnessing the power of the epitaph as a socially influential text.

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Appendix A

Maps



Figure A.1: Capitals, circuits and route and extent of Liao in 947

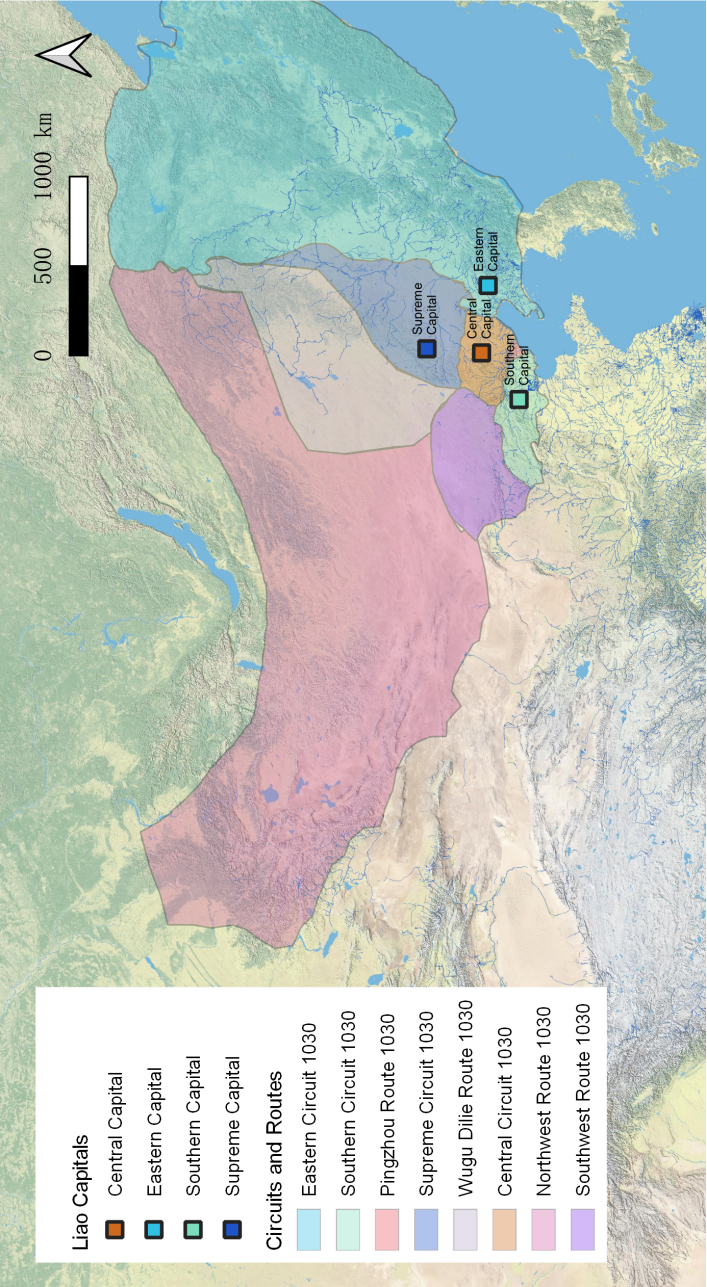
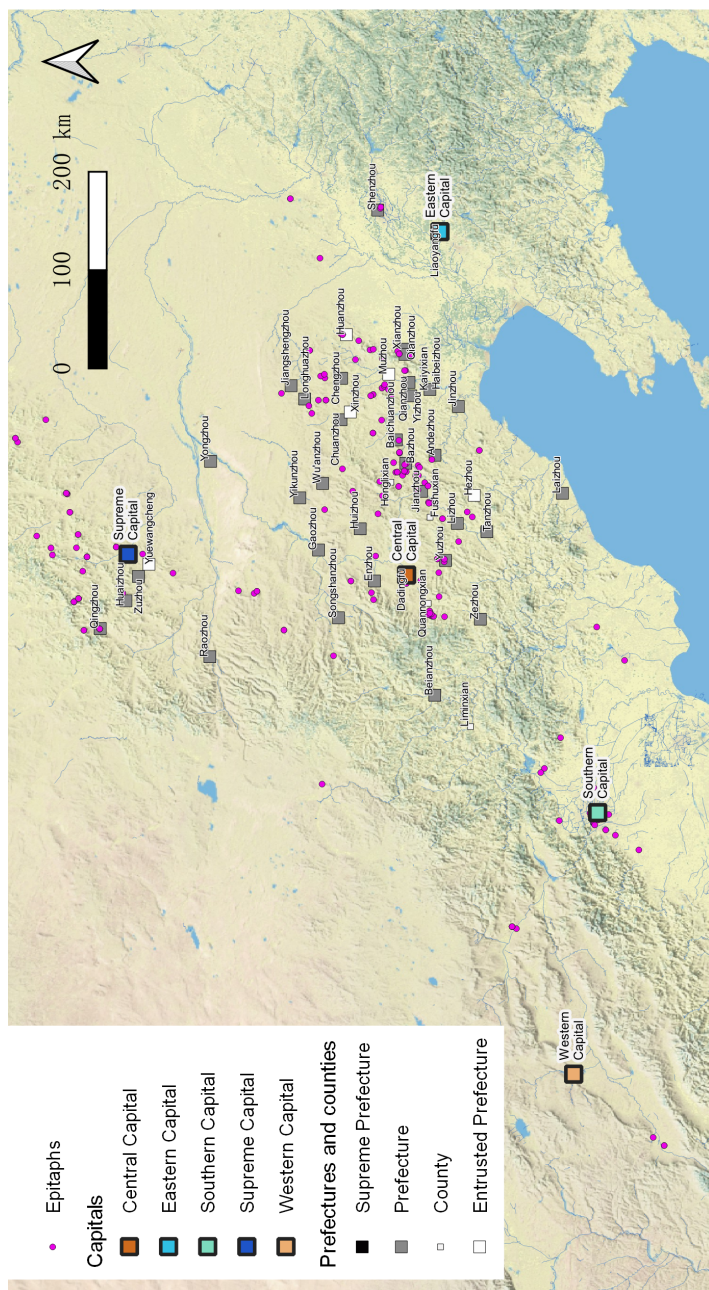


Figure A.2: Capitals, circuits and route and extent of Liao in 1030



Figure A.3: Capitals, circuits and route and extent of Liao in 1113



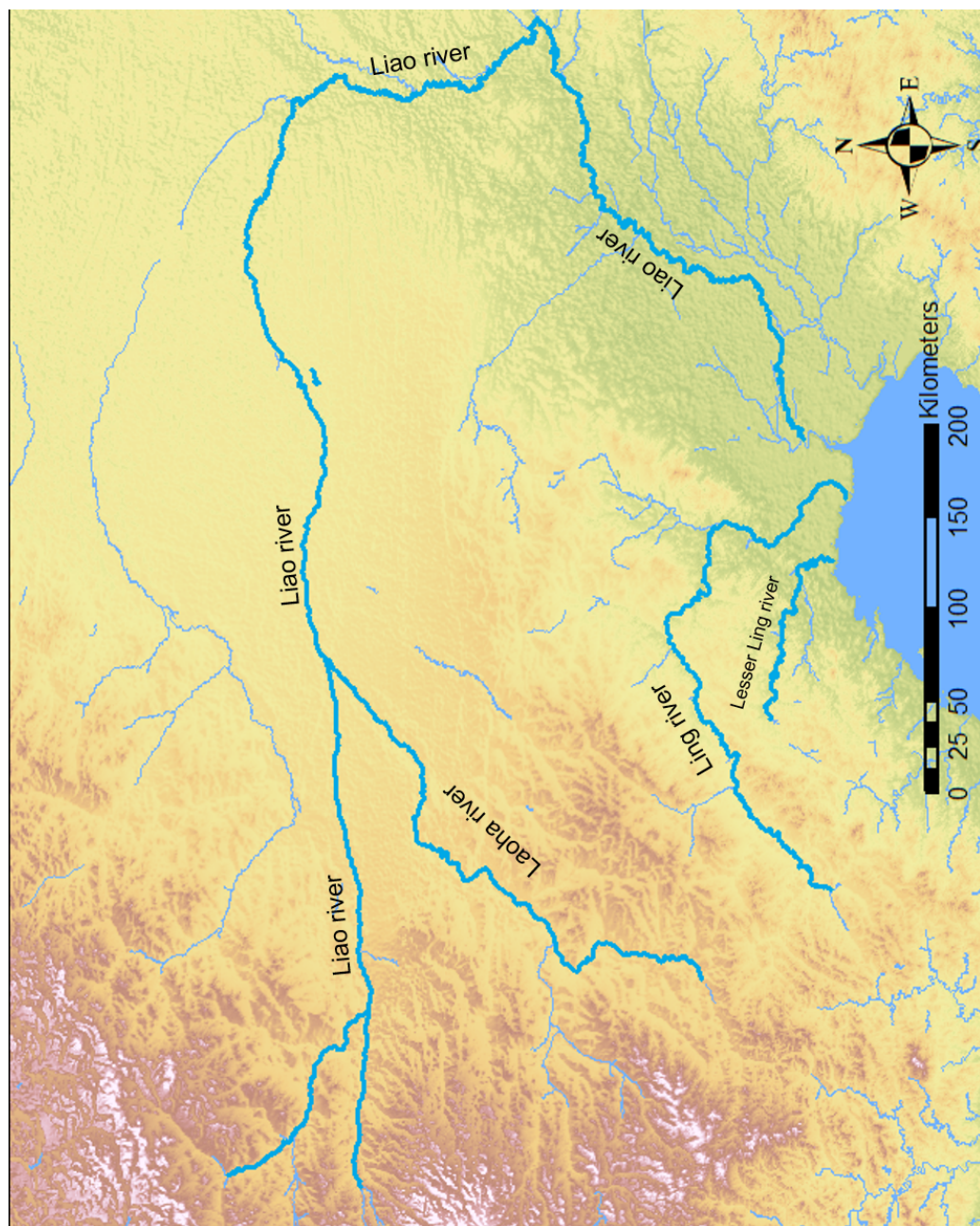


Figure A.5: Main rivers north of the Yan mountains

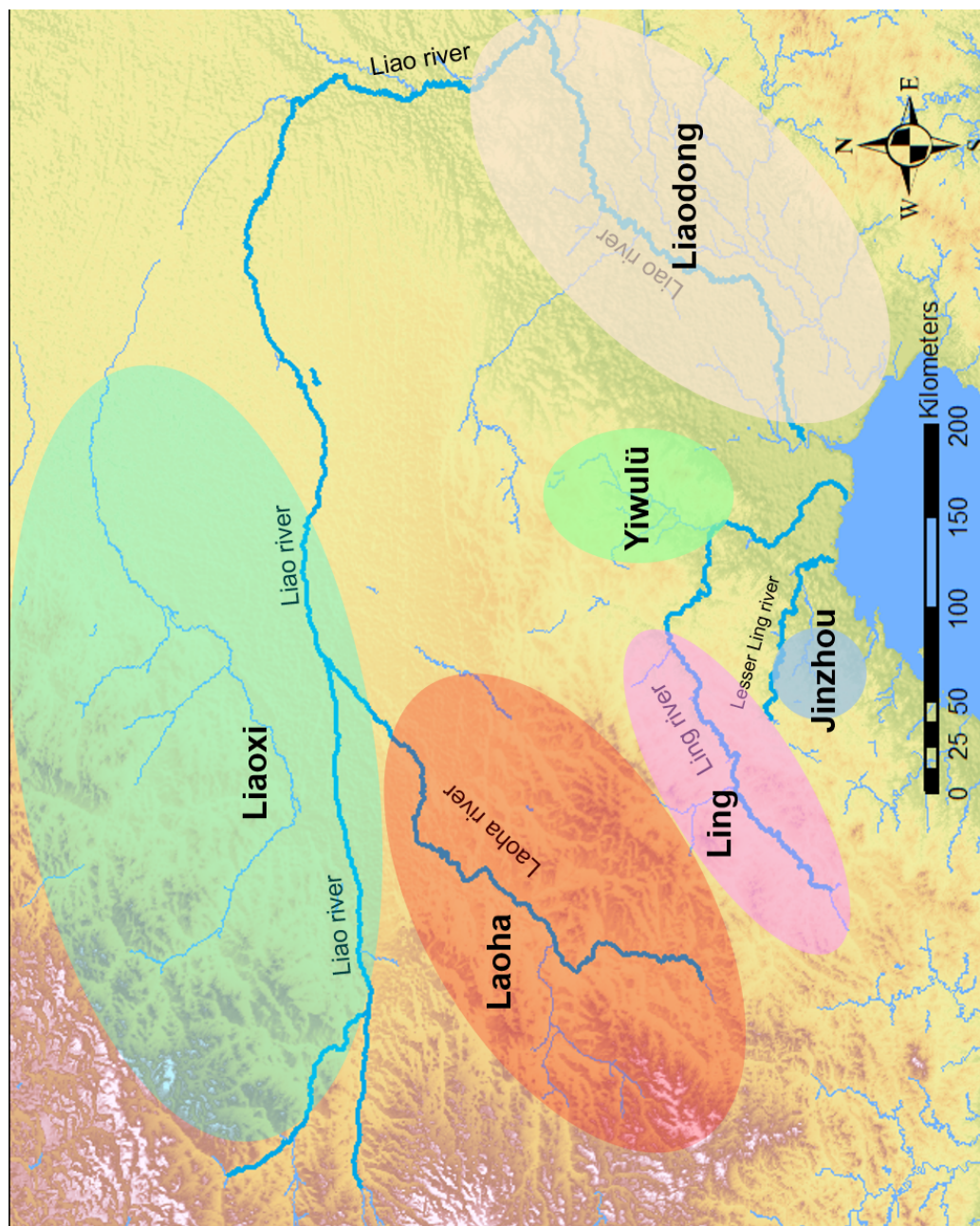


Figure A.6: Zones based on main rivers north of the Yan mountains

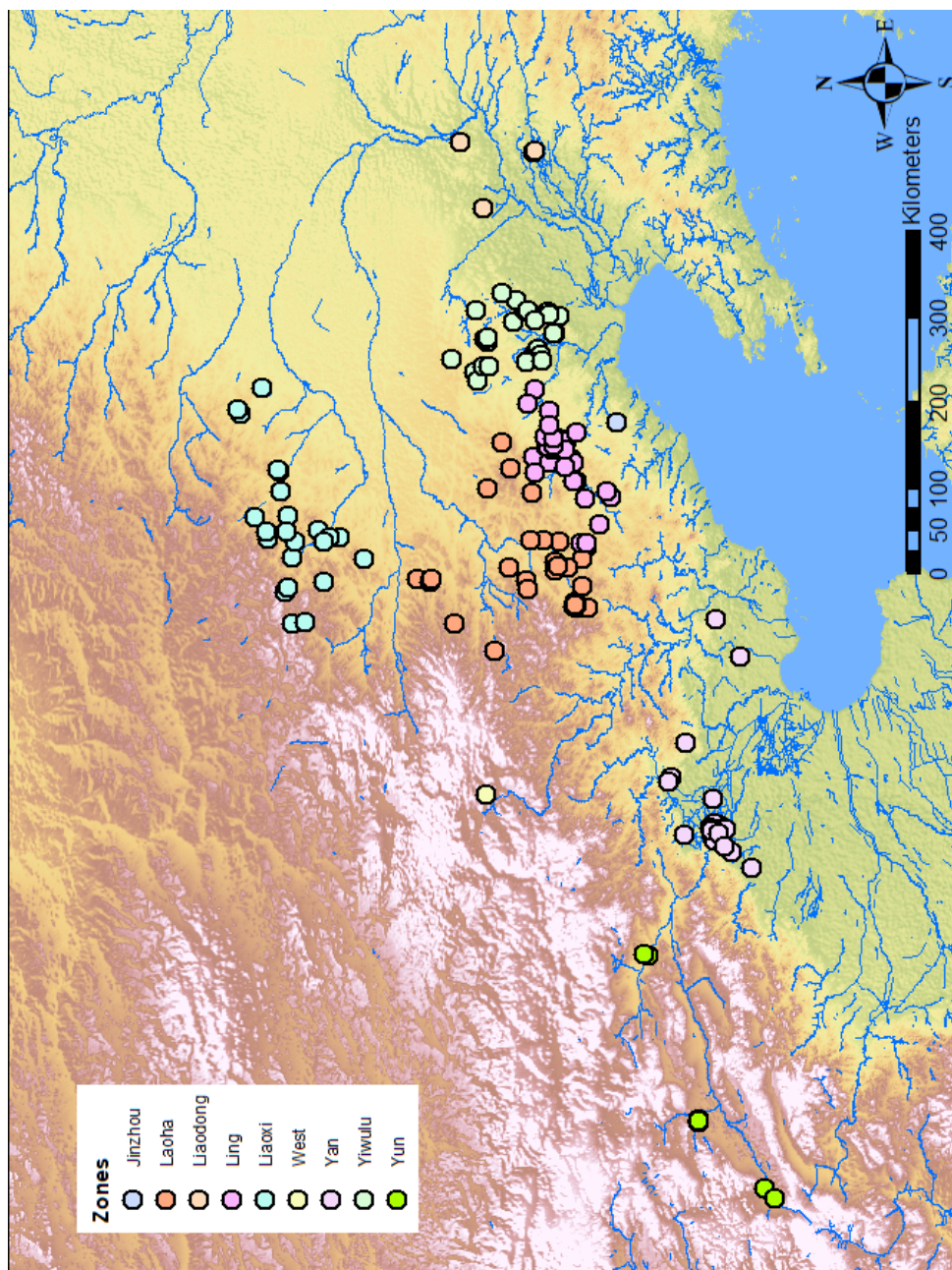


Figure A.7: Distribution of Liao (916-1125) epitaphs by zone

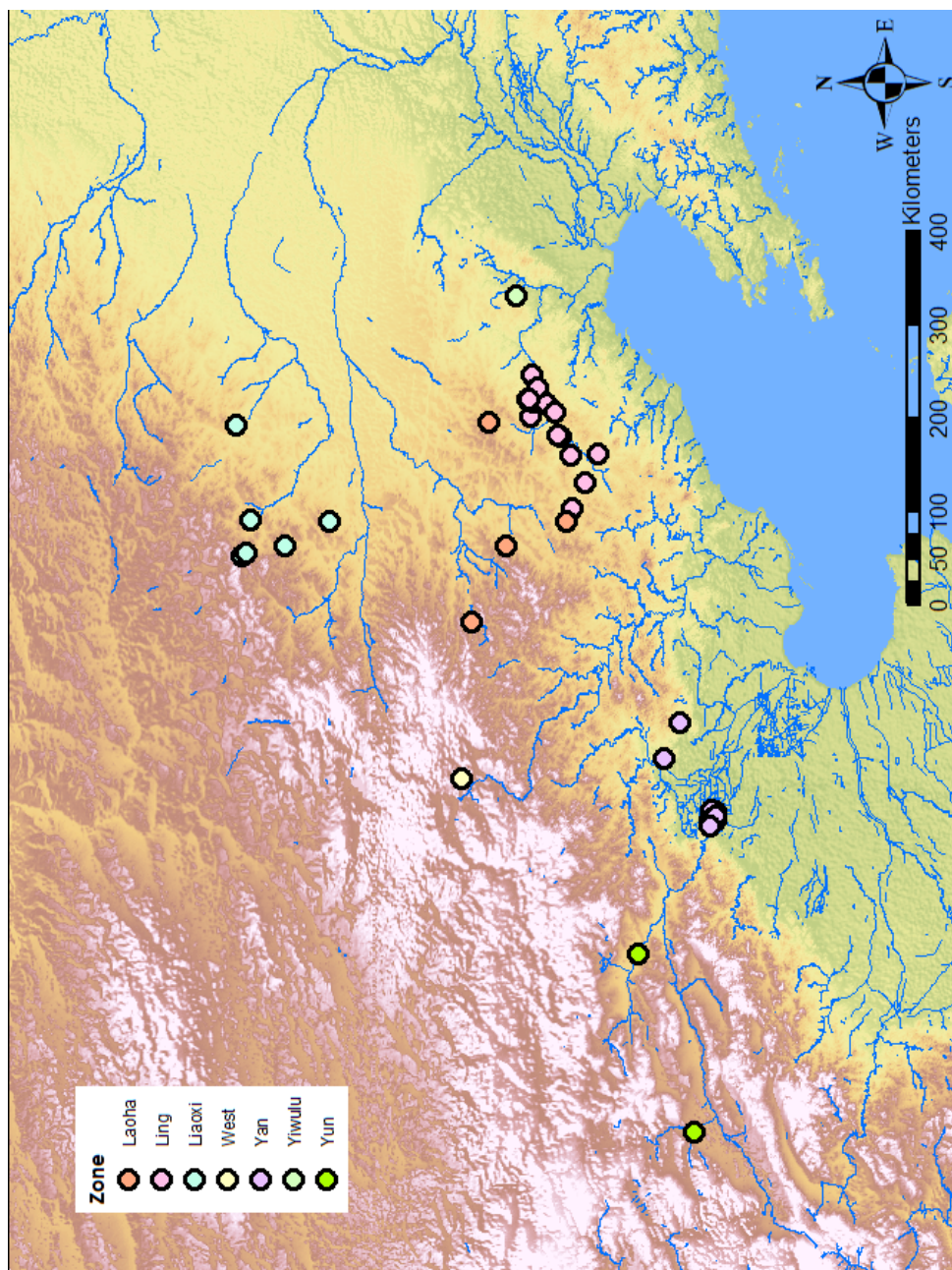


Figure A.8: Distribution of epitaphs by zone for pre Kaitai period (pre 1012)

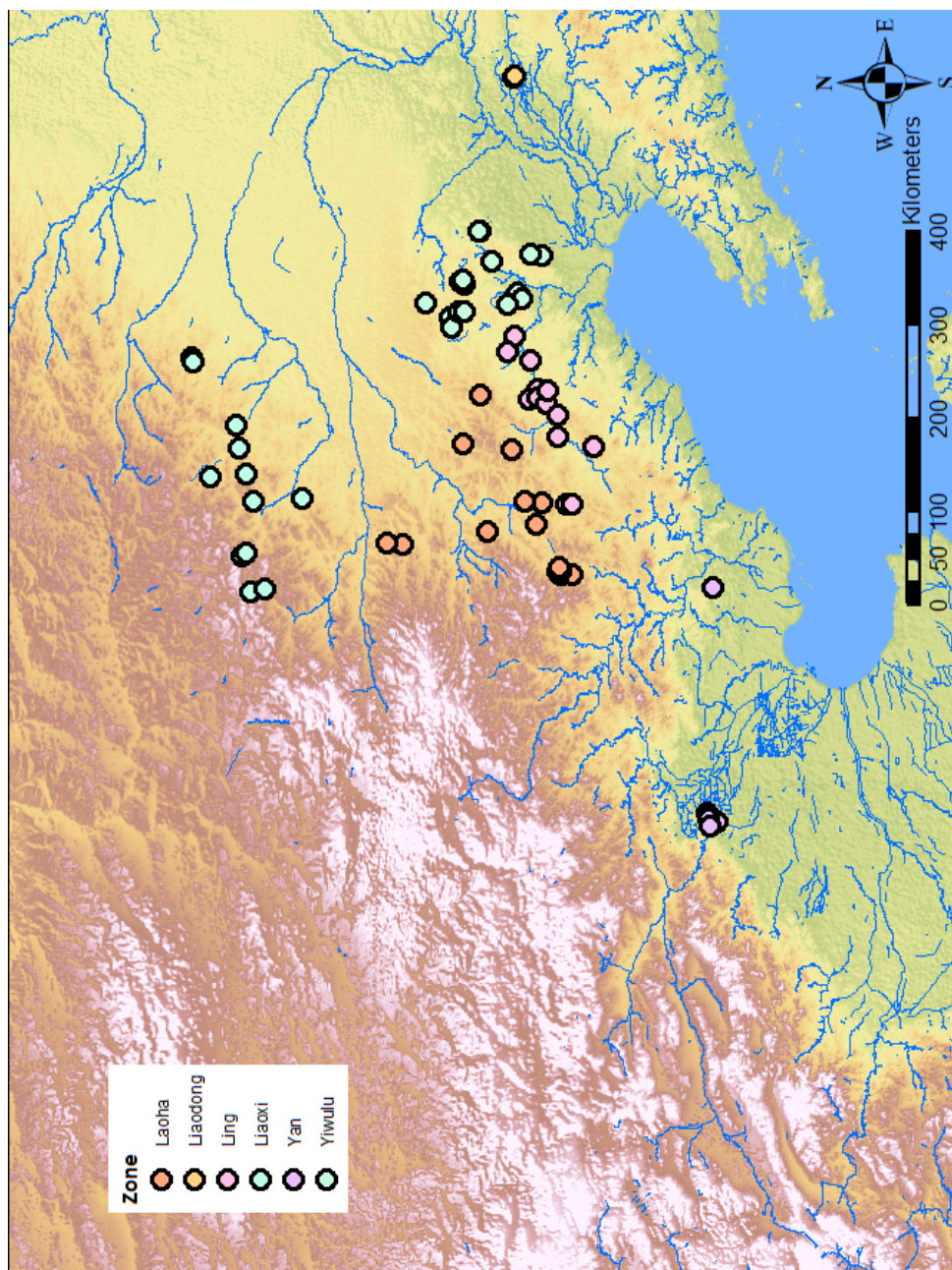


Figure A.9: Distribution of epitaphs by zone for period 1012-1085

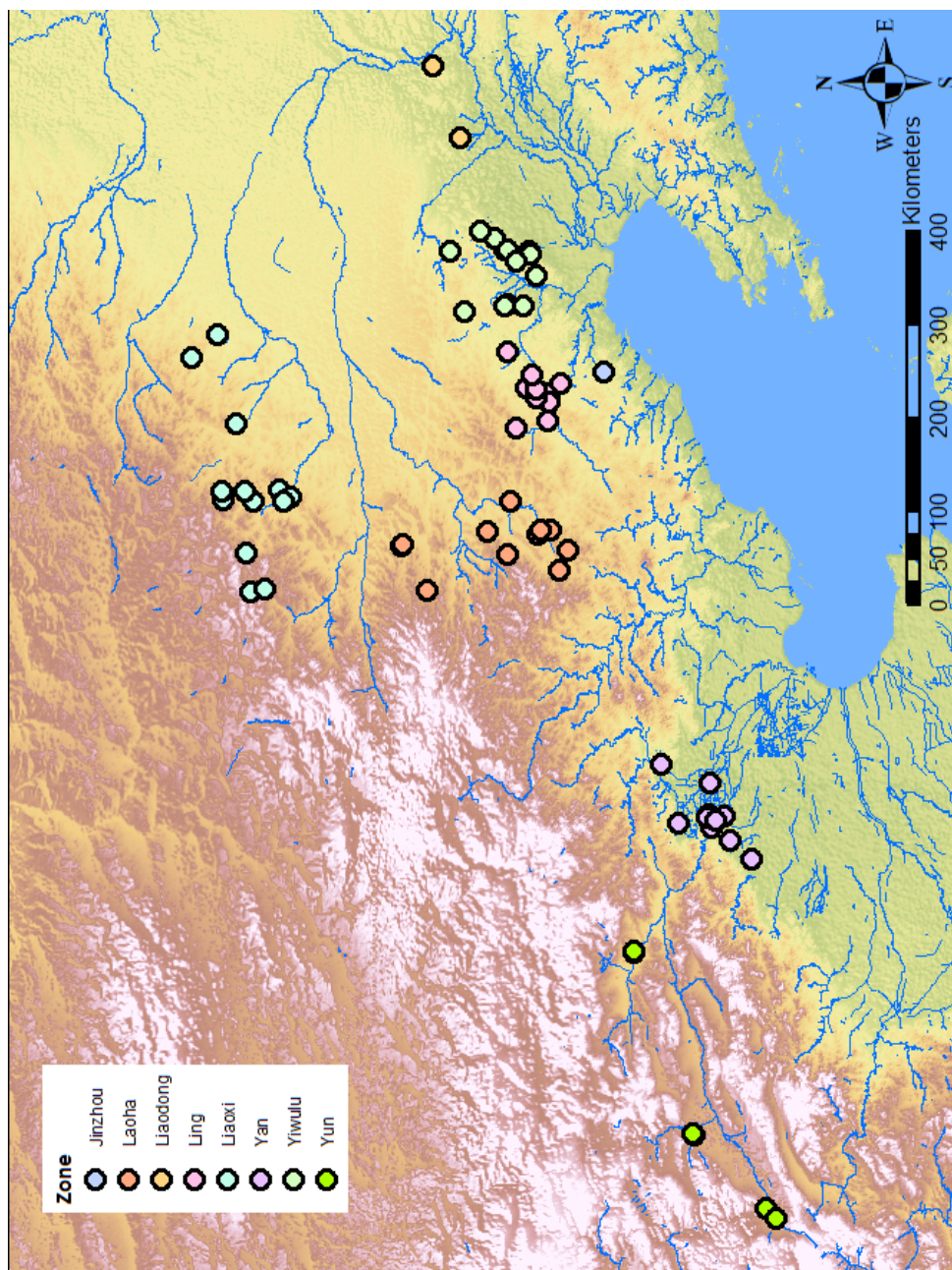


Figure A.10: Distribution of epitaphs by zone for period 1085-1125

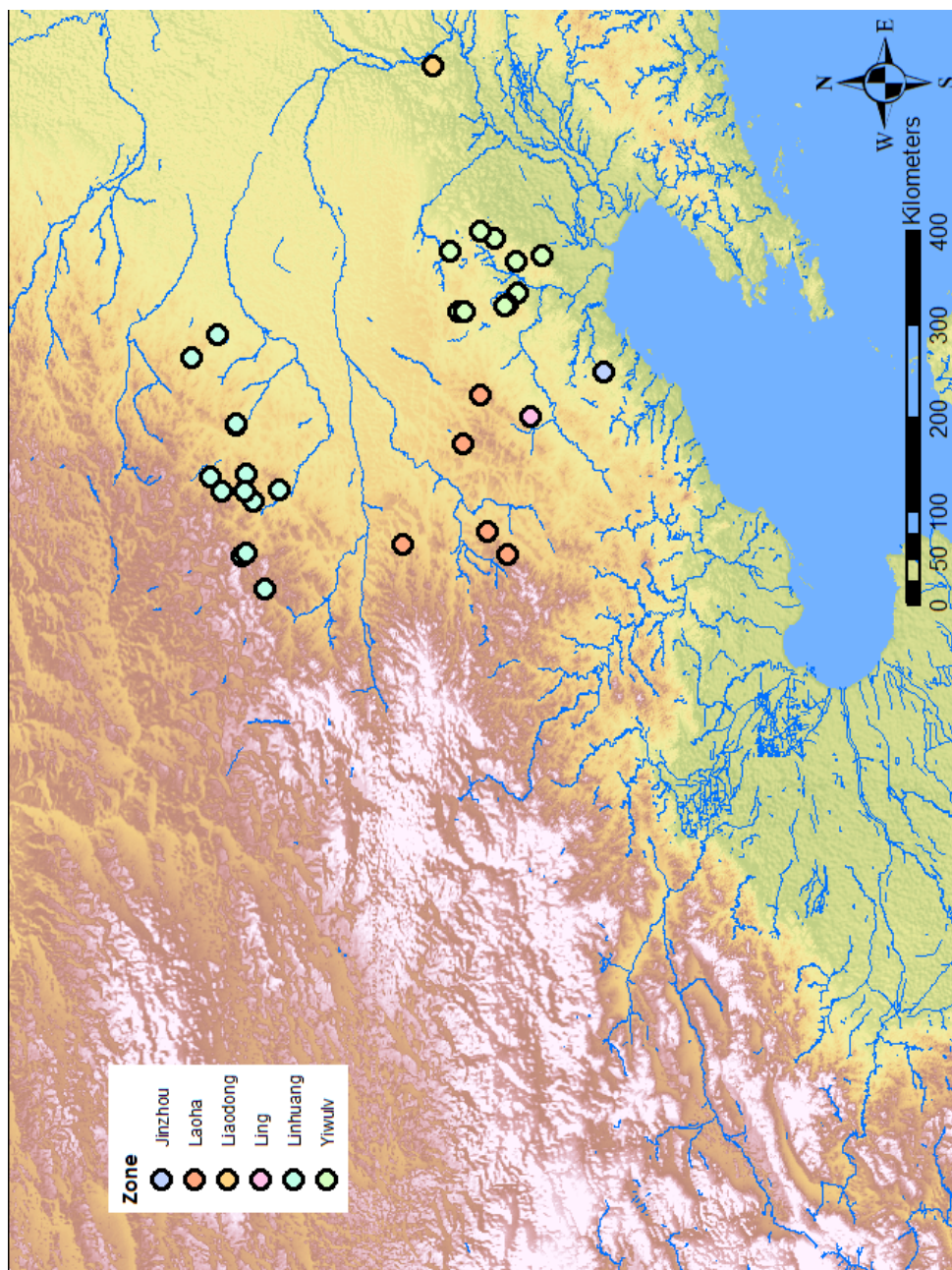


Figure A.11: Distribution of Kitan script epitaphs by zone for Liao period (916-1125)

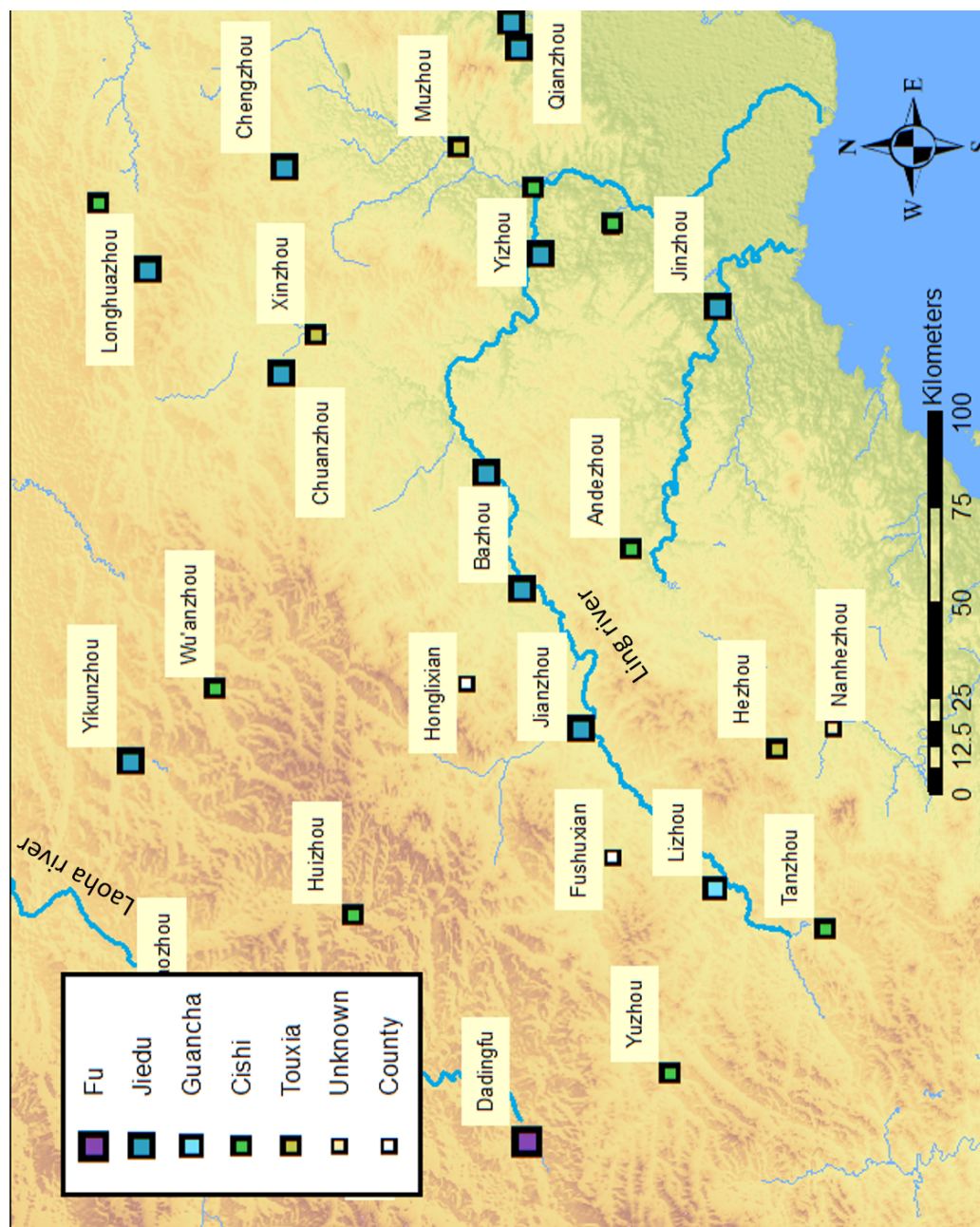


Figure A.12: Settlements in the Ling river basin

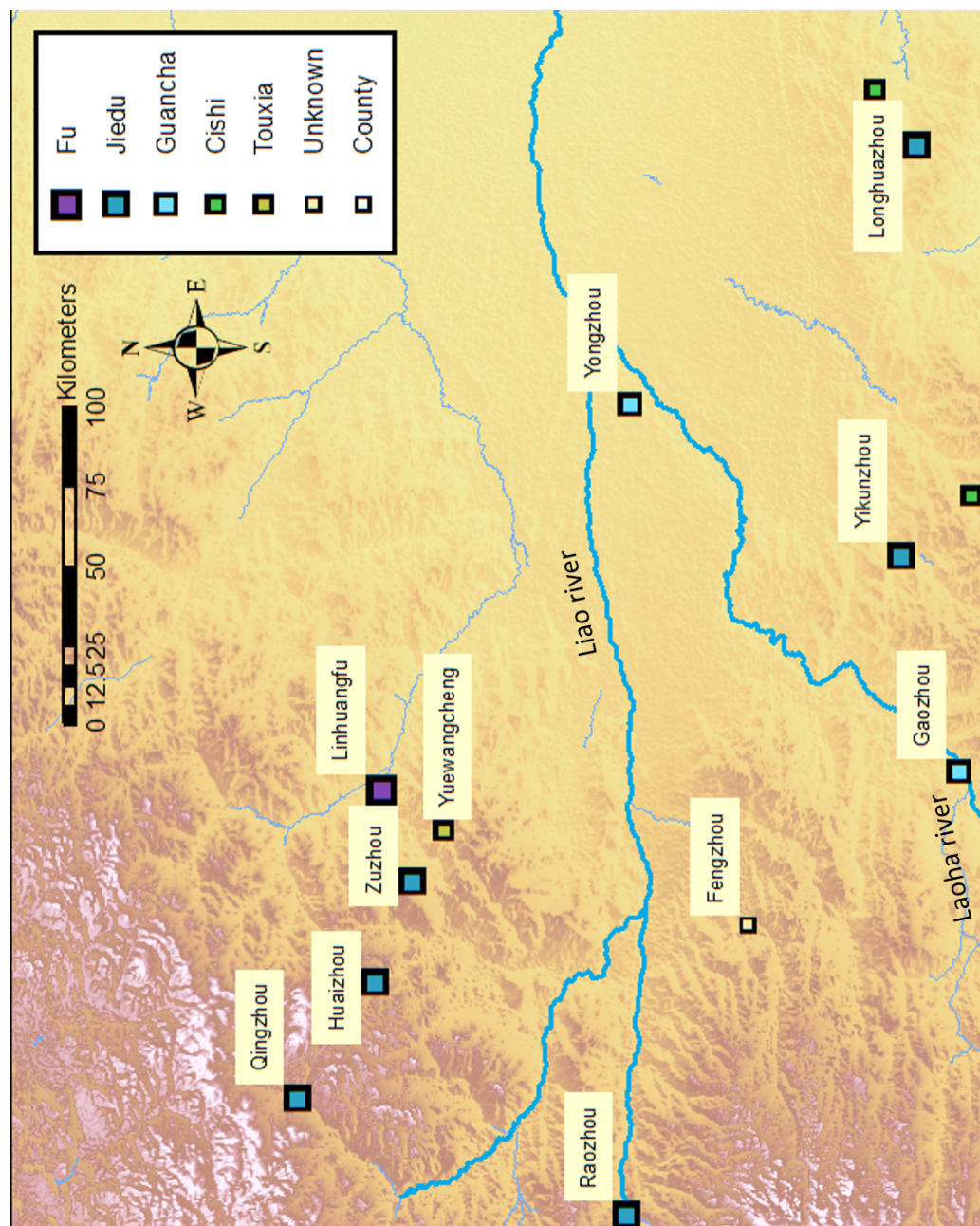


Figure A.13: Settlements in the Liaoxi river basin.

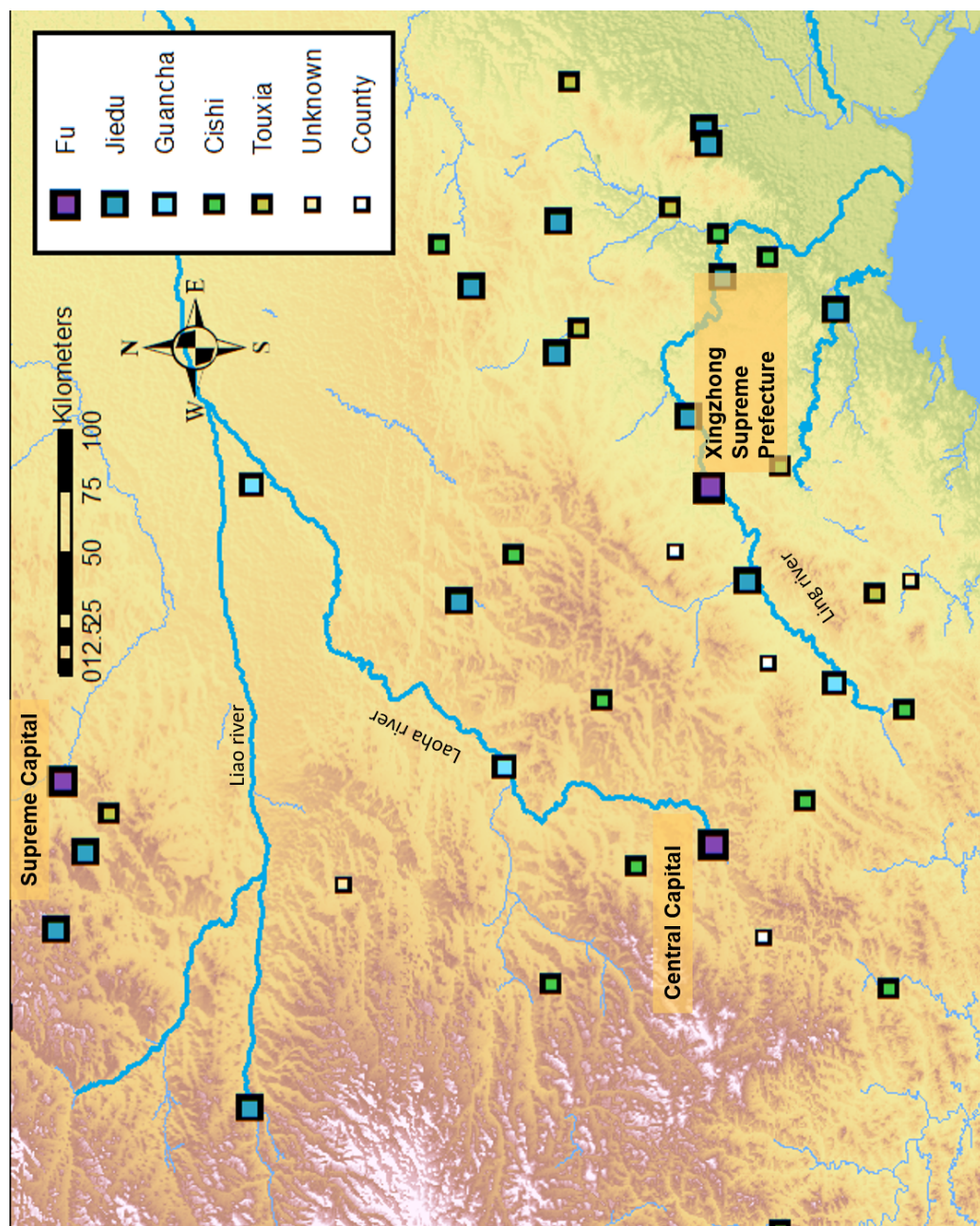


Figure A.14: Liaoxi, Laoha and Ling river basin settlements

Appendix B

Figures

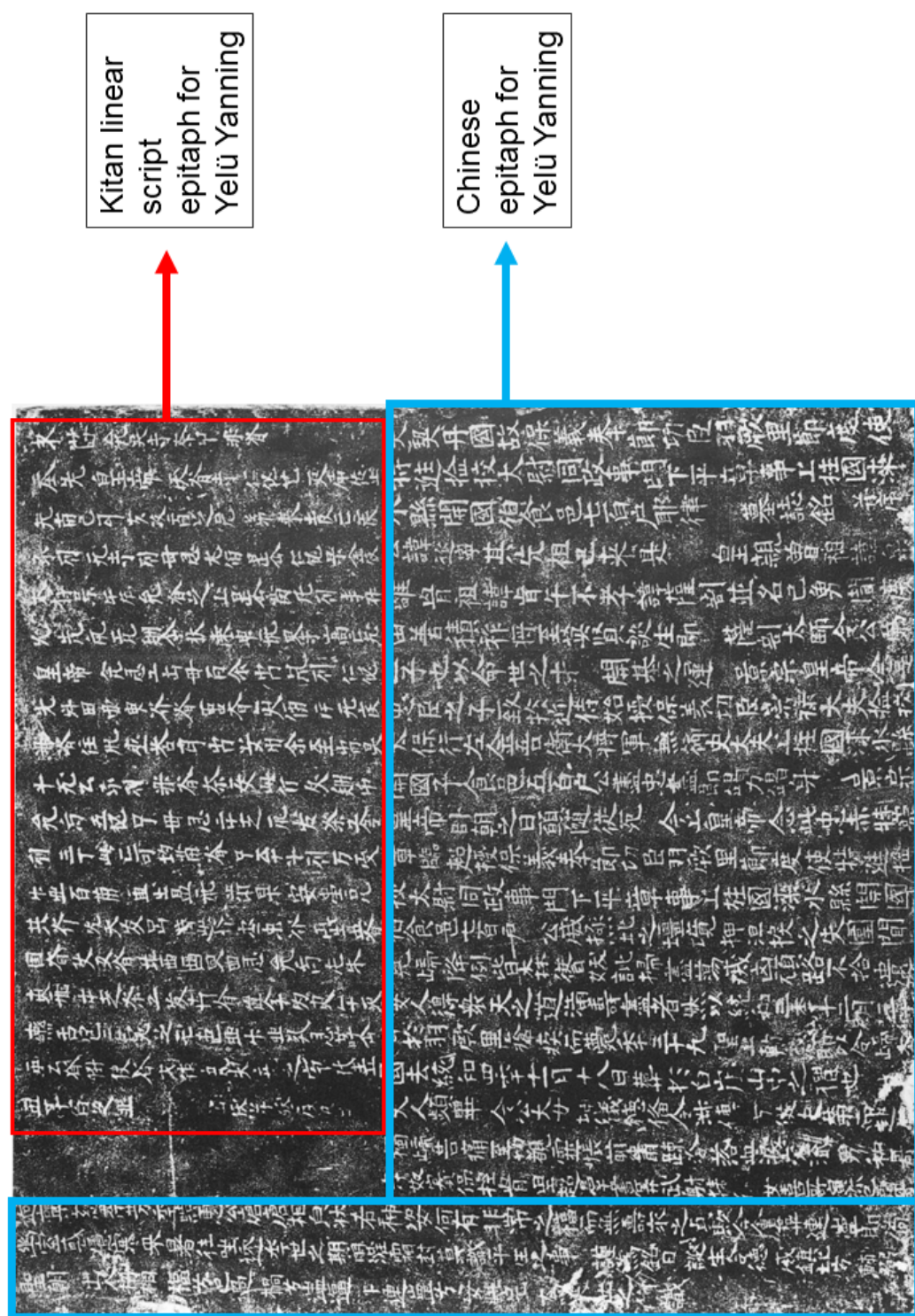


Figure B.1: 986 Chinese and Kitan linear script epitaphs for Yelü Yanning

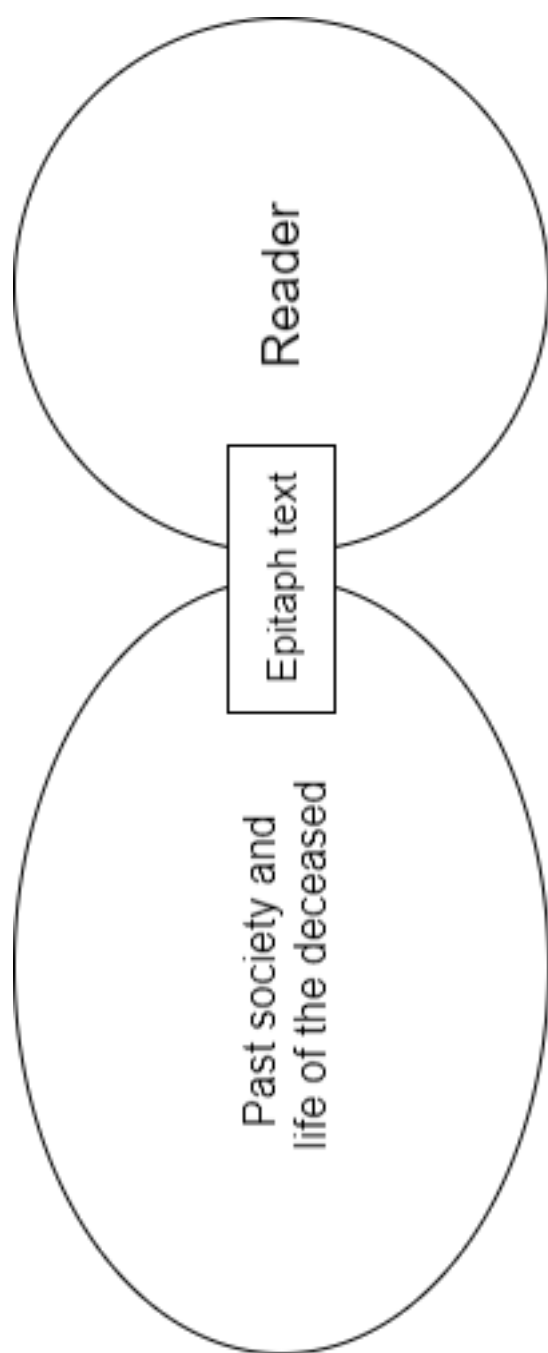


Figure B.2: Horizons of text and reader

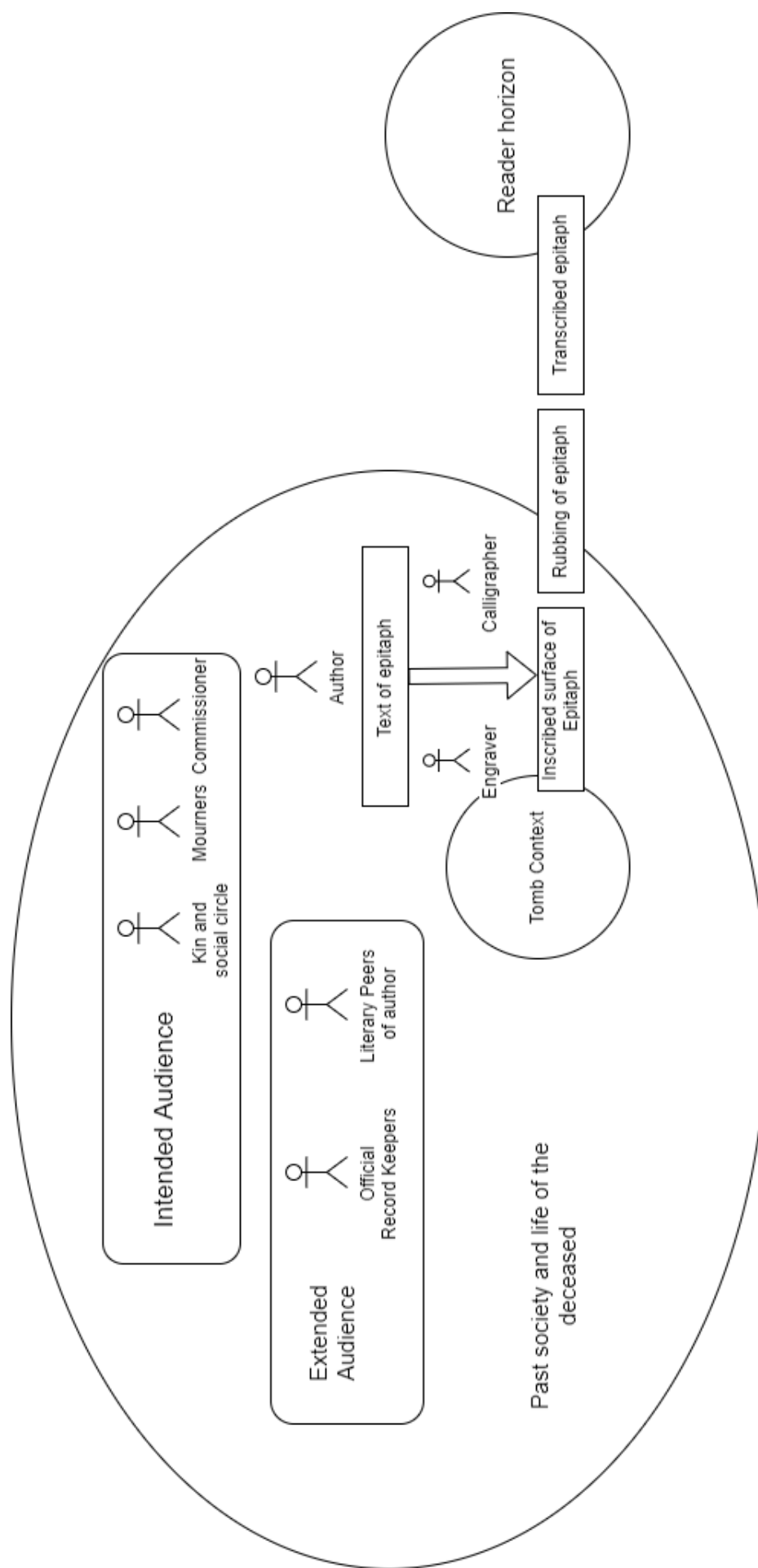


Figure B.3: Hermeneutics of reading an epitaph

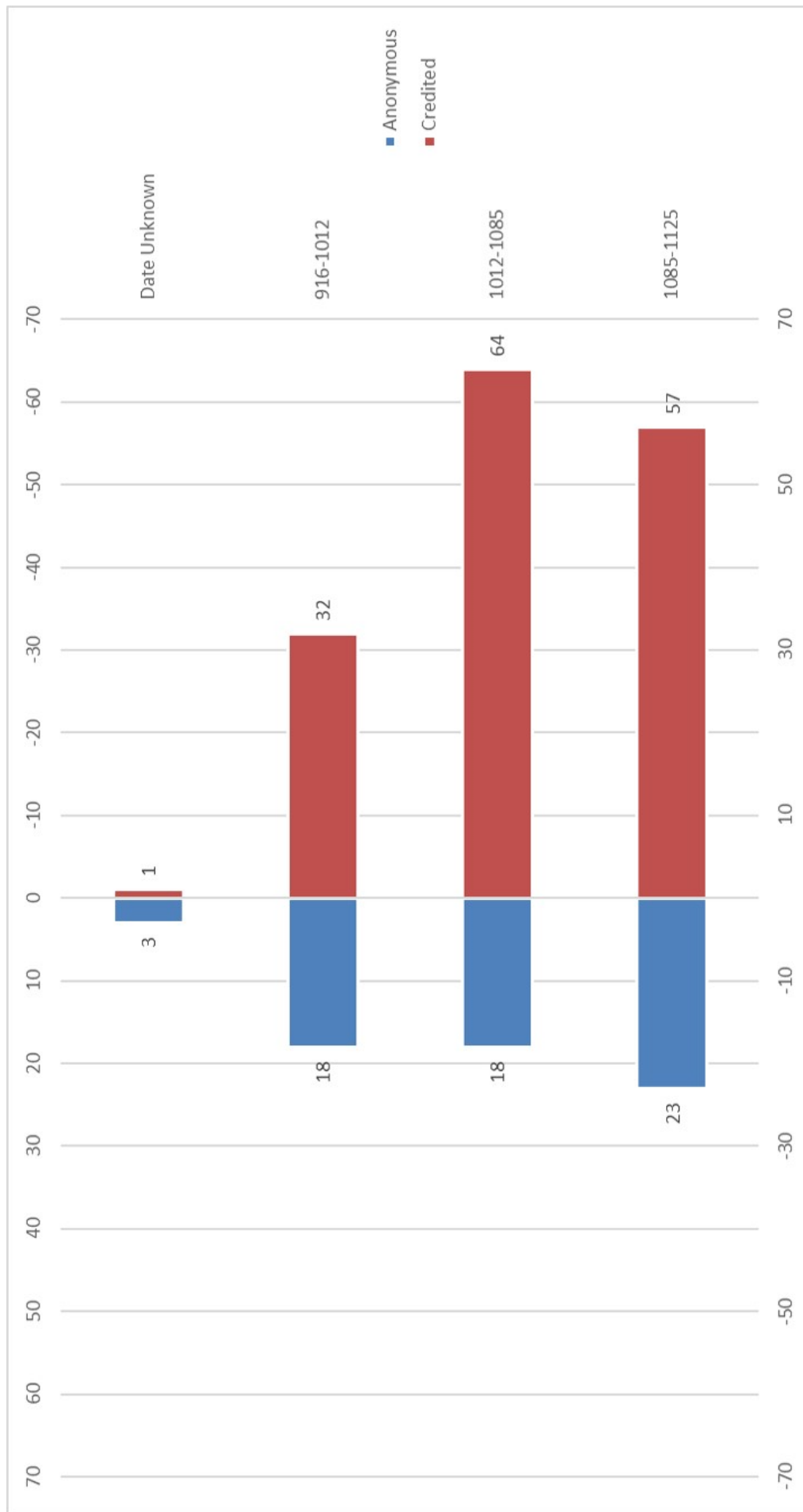


Figure B.4: A comparison of epitaphs, with credited authors or written anonymously

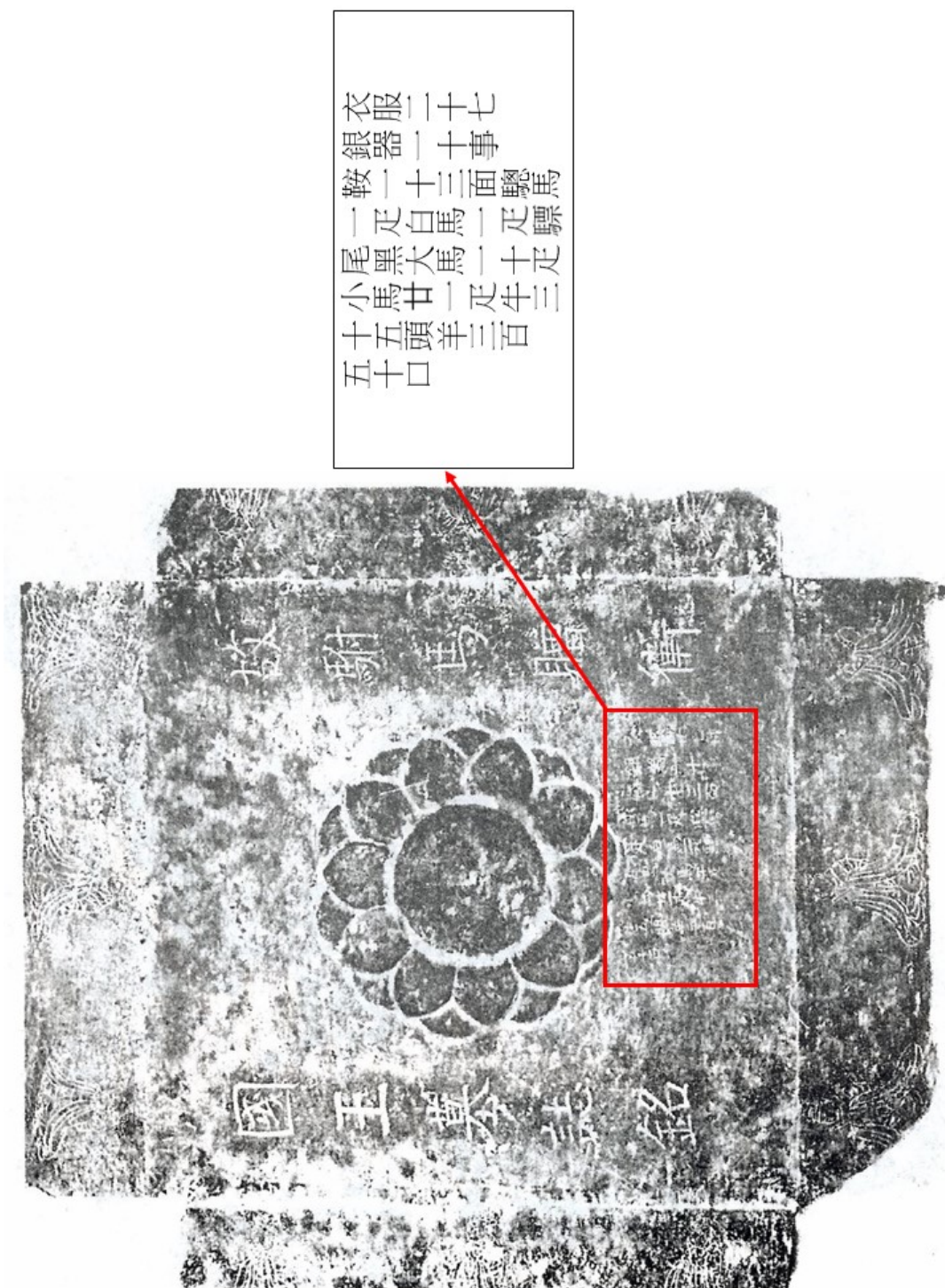


Figure B.5: Annotated cover of Shagu's epitaph

图版二



1. 李太后墓志内北斗七星图和八卦图拓片



2. 李太后墓志铭拓片



3. 安太妃墓志铭拓片

Figure B.6: Epitaph base and cover stones for the Empress Dowager Li and Grand Consort An of the Later Jin.

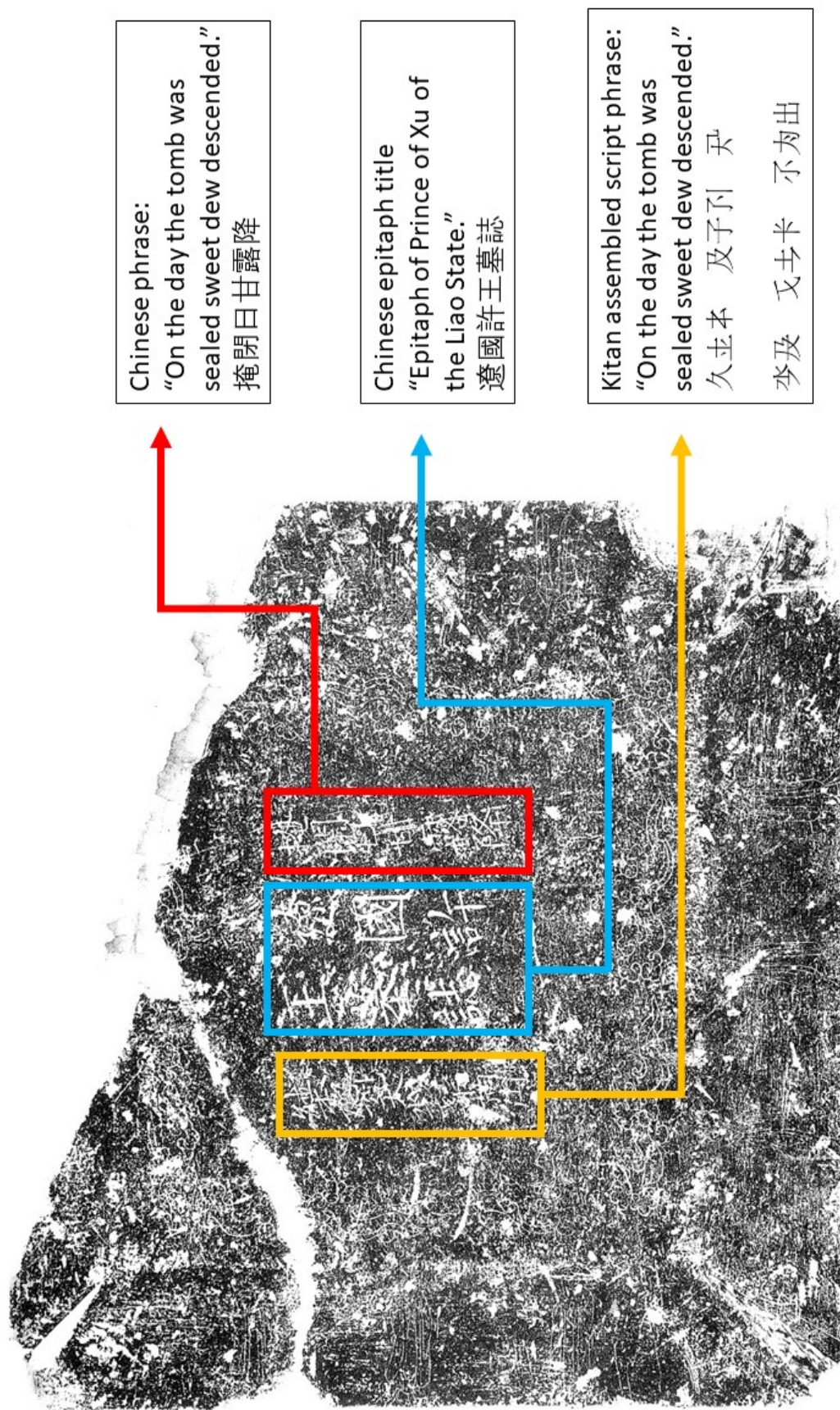


Figure B.7: Annotated cover stone of the Epitaph for Prince of Xu (*Xu wang muzhi* 許王墓誌)

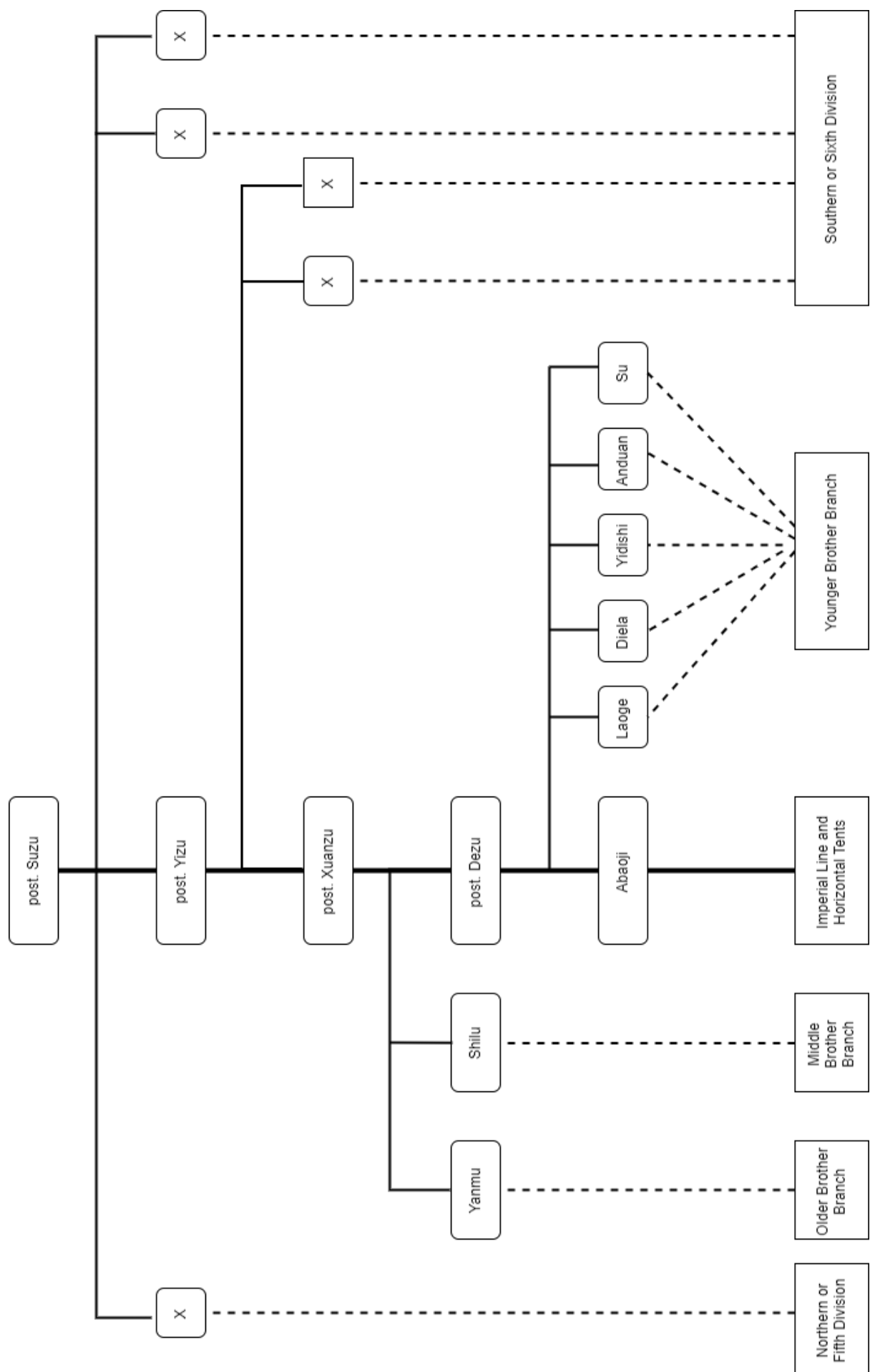


Figure B.8: Lineages of Yelv house

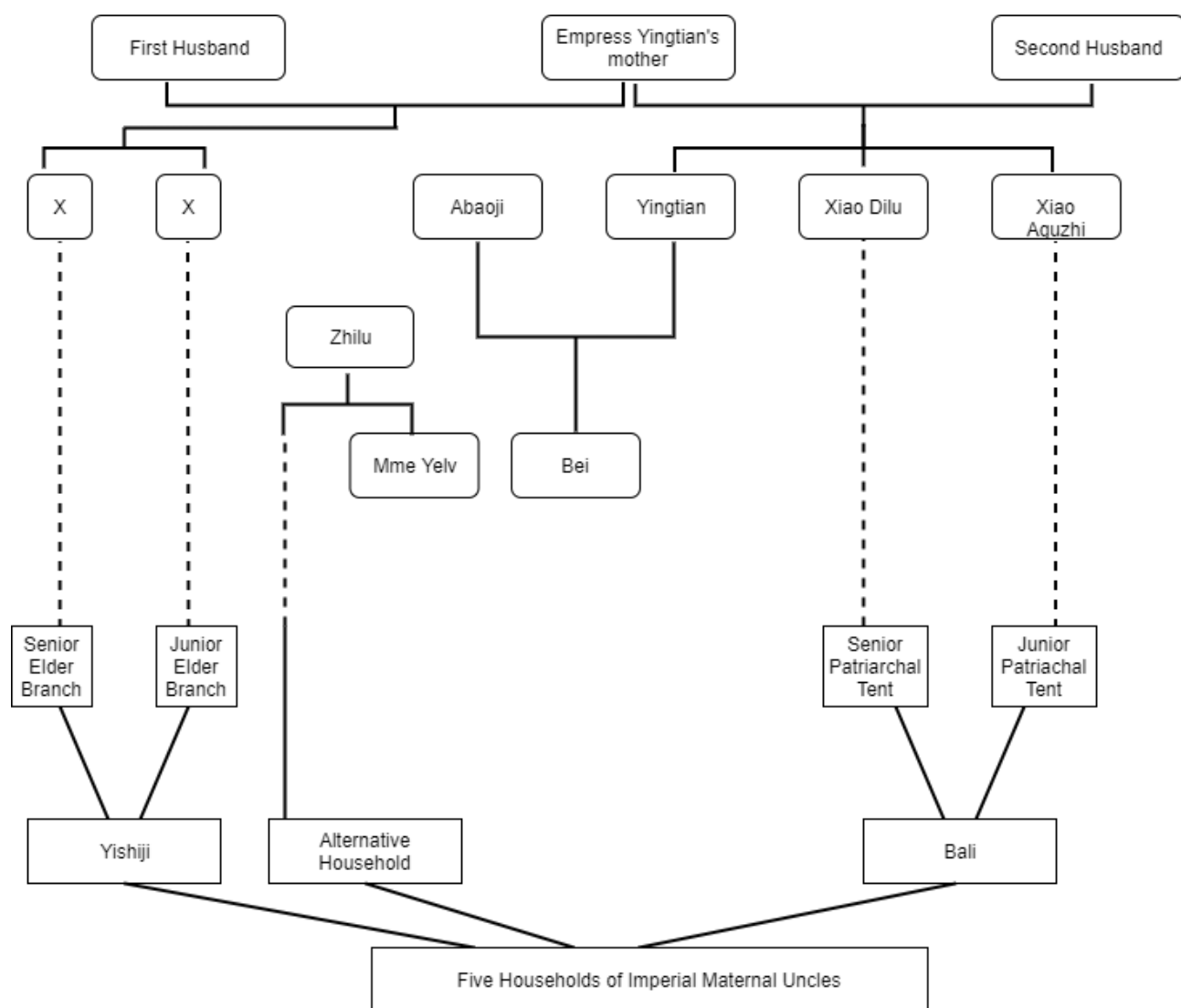


Figure B.9: Lineages of Xiao house, after Holmgren 1986

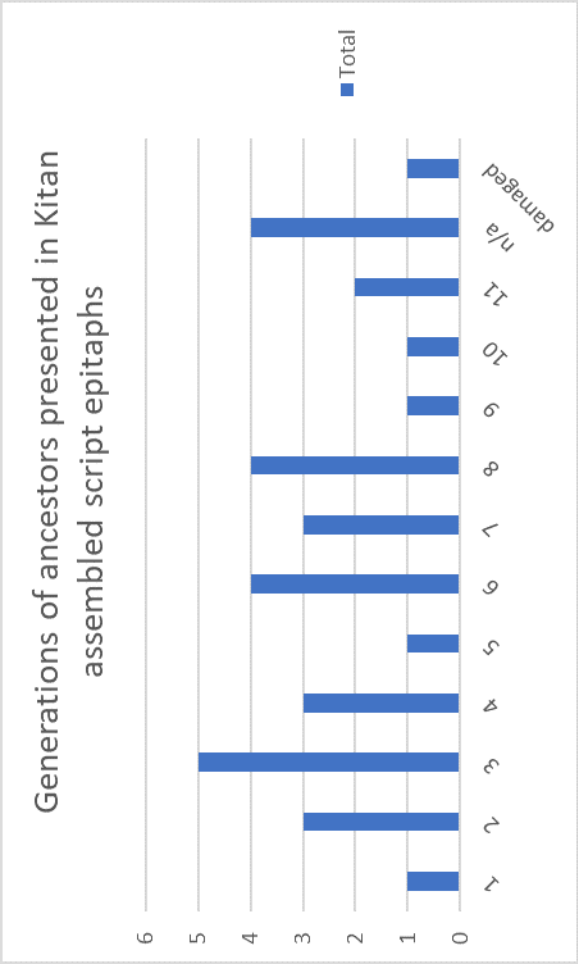


Figure B.10: Generation of ancestors presented in Kitan assembled script epitaphs

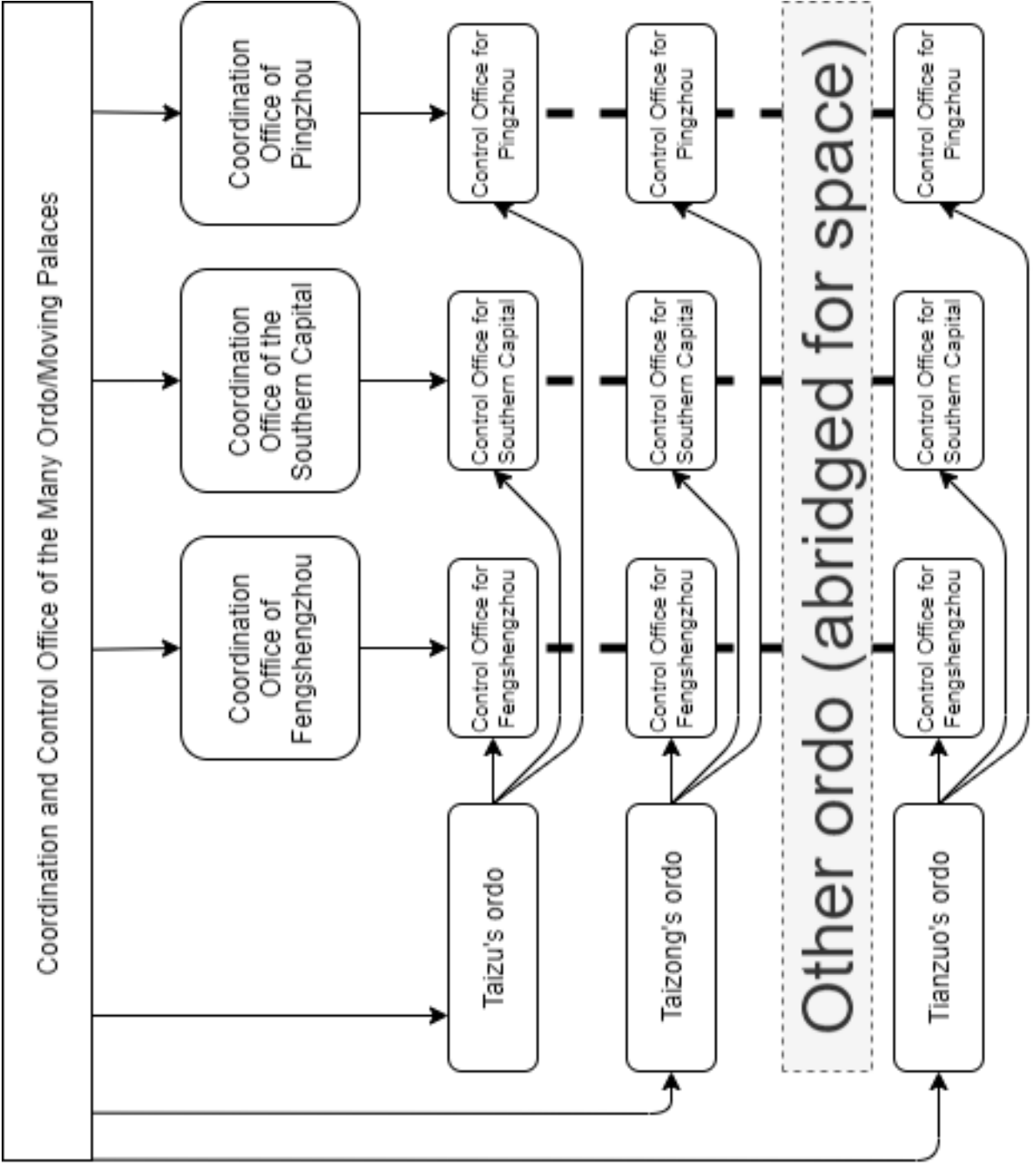


Figure B.11: The relationship of the Coordination Office to the Control Offices of the ordos according to Yu Wei

Appendix C

Tables

Table C.1: Number of inscriptions and epitaphs in Chinese and Kitan

Script	Total inscriptions	Of which are epitaphs
Chinese	532	225
Kitan (total)	55	45
Kitan Linear	20	11
Kitan Assembled	35	34
Total	587	270

Table C.2: Epitaphs by period

Emperor or Era	Chinese epitaphs	Kitan epitaphs (linear)	Kitan epitaphs (assembled)	Total epitaphs
Undated	7	1	2	10
Abaoji (907-927)	0	0	0	0
Deguang (927-947)	2	0	0	2
Shizong (947-951)	0	0	0	0
Muzong (951-969)	8	0	0	8
Jingzong (969-983)	12	0	0	12
Tonghe era (Shengzong, Chengtian regency) (983-1012)	30	1	0	31
Late Shengzong (1012-1031)	19	0	0	19
Xingzong (1031-1055)	26	1	1	28
Early Daozong (1055-1085)	40	3	10	53
Late Daozong (1085-1101)	35	3	9	47
Tianzuo (1101-1125)	46	2	12	60
Liao (907-1125)	225	11	34	270

Table C.3: Liao capitals and their founding

Capital	Modern Location	Date of founding	Occupation
Supreme Capital	Lindong, Chifeng, IM	918	922*
Southern Capital	Beijing	938	Pre-Liao
Eastern Capital	Liaoyang, Liaoning	1006	Pre-Liao
Central Capital	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	1006	Liao
Western Capital	Datong, Shanxi	1044	Pre-Liao

Table C.4: Number of Chinese epitaphs by zone for Liao (916-1125)

Zone	Chinese epitaphs	Percentage of Total
Ling	53	23.6%
Laoha	42	18.6%
Yan	41	18.2%
Liaoxi	39	17.3%
Yiwulü	33	14.6%
Yun	13	5.8%
Liaodong	2	0.9%
Jinzhou	1	0.4%
West	1	0.4%
Grand Total	225	100.0%

Table C.5: Number of Kitan script epitaphs by zone for Liao (916-1125)

Zone	Kitan epitaphs	Percentage of Total
Liaoxi	18	40.0%
Yiwulü	13	28.9%
Unknown	5	11.1%
Laoha	5	11.1%
Liaodong	2	4.4%
Jinzhou	1	2.2%
Ling	1	2.2%
Grand Total	45	100.0%

Table C.6: Chinese epitaphs by zone and period

Zone	Pre-Kaitai (907-1012)	Mid (1012-1085)	Late (1085-1125)	Date Unknown	Liao (907-1125)
Ling	22	14	15	2	53
Yan	10	15	13	3	41
Liaoxi	10	16	12	1	39
Laoha	6	21	14	1	38
Yiwulü	1	19	13	0	33
Yun	2	0	11	0	13
Liaodong	0	0	2	0	2
Jinzhou	0	0	1	0	1
West	1	0	0	0	1
Total	52	85	81	7	225

Table C.7: Types of epitaph and script by number of subjects

Format	<i>Aice</i>	<i>Shendaobei</i>	<i>Muzhiming</i>	Total
Chinese only	3	1	195	199
Kitan assembled only	1	0	21	22
Kitan linear only	0	0	4	4
Chinese and Kitan assembled	4	0	7	11
Chinese and Kitan linear	0	0	6	6
Total	8	1	233	242

Table C.8: Men and Women subjects in epitaphs by language

Script	Men	Women	Total
Chinese	169	47	216
Kitan Assembled	27	6	33
Kitan Linear	9	1	10

Table C.9: Comparison by period of epitaphs which were state sponsored and epitaphs which were privately produced

Zone	State sponsored (No.)	State sponsored (%)	Privately produced (No.)	Privately produced (%)	Unknown (No.)	Unknown (%)	Total
Pre-Kaitai (907-1012)	12	23.1%	39	75%	1	1.9%	52
Mid-Liao (1012-1085)	28	32.9%	55	64.7%	2	2.4%	85
Late Liao (1085-1125)	21	25.9%	60	74.1%	0	0%	81
Date unknown	1	14.2%	1	14.2%	5	71.4%	7
Liao (907-1125)	62	27.6%	155	68.9%	8	3.6%	225

Table C.10: Comparison by region of epitaphs which were state sponsored and epitaphs which were privately produced

Zone	State sponsored (No.)	State sponsored (%)	Privately produced (No.)	Privately produced (%)	Unknown (No.)	Unknown (%)	Total
Ling	5	9.4%	47	88.7%	1	1.9%	53
Yan	7	17.1%	32	78%	2	4.9%	41
Liaoxi	22	56.41%	15	38.5%	2	5.1%	39
Laoha	8	19%	31	73.8%	3	7.1%	38
Yiwulü	17	51.5%	16	48.5%	0	0%	33
Yun	0	0%	13	100%	0	0%	13
Liaodong	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2
Jinzhou	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	1
West	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1
Grand Total	62	27.6%	155	68.9%	8	3.6%	225

Table C.11: Descendants of Five Dynasties rulers who have epitaphs

Dynasty/State	Five Dynasties figure	Descendants with epitaphs	Epitaph year	Prefecture	Zone
Later Liang (907-923)	Wang Chuzhi 王處直	Wang Yu 王裕	981	Jianzhou	Ling
		Wang Zan 王瓚	985	Jianzhou	Ling
		Wang Yue 王悅	1005	Jianzhou	Ling
Yan state (911-913)	Liu Rengong 劉仁恭	Liu Chengsi 劉承嗣	970	Bazhou	Ling
		Liu Chengshe 劉承榑	Unknown	Bazhou	Ling
		Liu Yuyi 劉宇一	997	Bazhou	Ling
Later Tang (923-936)	Li Cunxu 李存勖	Liu Yujie 劉宇傑	1000	Bazhou	Ling
		Mme Yi Consort De 德妃伊氏	943	Huaizhou	Liaoxi
		Mme Zhong, wife of Zhao Dejun 趙德鈞妻種氏	958	Southern Capital	Yan
Later Jin (936-947)	Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭	Empress Dowager Li 李太后	951	Jianzhou	Ling
		Grand Consort An 安太妃	951	Jianzhou	Ling
		Shi Chonggui 石重貴	974	Jianzhou	Ling
Northern Han (951-979)	Liu Min 劉旻	Shi Yanxu 石延煦	991	Jianzhou	Ling
		Liu Jiwen 劉繼文	981	Bazhou	Ling

Table C.12: Recorded changes in the prefectures and counties of the Ling basin in the tenth century

Period	Bazhou	Qianzhou	Yizhou	Jianzhou	Lizhou	Yuzhou	Baichuan
Pre-Liao	Liucheng site						
900s							
910s	Established Bazhou + 2 counties (Bacheng and Shengji)						
920s			Wang Yu dies in Yizhou 926			Zhang Jianli dies in Yuzhou	
930s							Anduan establishes touxia
940s							
950s	-1 county (Shengji)	Shengji county becomes Qianzhou	+2 counties (Hongzheng and Wenyi) Households moved to Qianzhou	Jinwangcheng built			Appropriated by court + 1 (Xiankang)
960s	Liu Chengsi carries out census		Liu Chengsi carries out census				
970s	+1 county (Guihua)						
980s				Zhang Zhengao is magistrate of Yonghe county +1 county (Fusu)			
990s	+/-1 county (Ande)	+1 county (Ande)		-1 county (Fusu)	Fusu county made Lizhou	+2 counties (Hongli and Yimin)	
1000s							
1010s	-1 county (Guihua assigned to Dadingfu)					Appropriated +1 county (Yonghe)	

Table C.13: Recorded changes in the prefectures and counties of the Liaoxi basin in the tenth century

Period	Linhuang	Zuzhou	Huaizhou	Heihezhou	Yikunzhou	Others
Pre-Liao	Western tower	Yuewangcheng established				Longhua Zhou established
900s		Outpost				
910s	Imperial Capital	County (Changning)	Deguang's outpost			
920s	+3 counties (Lu, Linhuang, Changqin)	Established	Huaizhou + 2 counties (Fuyu, Xianli) established Deguang empress buried		Yikunzhou established with Yingtian's captives	Raozhou established Yizhou established with Bohai captives
930s	Supreme Capital					
940s						
950s				Heihezhou established		Jiangshengzhou established
960s						
970s						
980s						Yongzhou established
990s	+3 counties (Dingba Baohe, Xuanhua) from Eastern Capital Control Office			Heihezhou abolished	+2 counties established (Guangyi, Laiyuan) with Control Office of several ordo	Private of town of Han Kuangsi made entrusted prefecture Quanzhou
1000s		+1 county (Changba)				
1010s	+1 county (Xingren)					
1020s						
1030s	+3 counties (Yisu, Qianliao, Bohai)			Qingzhou established		Yizhou and Cezhou assigned to Yongzhou

Table C.14: Imperially Commissioned Epitaphs

Emperor (number)	Year	Muzhiming	Identity
Xingzong (4)	1031	Emperor Shengzong 聖宗皇帝哀冊	Emperor
	1038	Xiao Shaozong 蕭紹宗墓誌	Emperor Shengzong's son-in-law
	1038	Yelü Yangge 耶律燕哥墓誌	Emperor Shengzong's daughter
	1053	Yelü Zongjiao 耶律宗教墓誌	Yelü Longqing's son
Daozong (13)	1055	Kitan Assembled Script Xingzong Aice 契丹小字 興宗皇帝哀冊	Emperor
	1063	Shuyi 聖宗淑儀贈寂善大師墓誌	Emperor Shengzong's consort
	1065	Yelü Zongyun 耶律宗允墓誌	Yelü Longqing's son
	1069	Qinjin Guofei 秦晉國妃墓誌	Wife of Yelü Longqing
	1072	Yelü Zongyuan 耶律宗愿	Son Emperor Shengzong and Shuyi
	1076	Empress Renyi 興宗仁懿皇后哀冊	Empress of Emperor Xingzong
	1076	Kitan Assembled Script Empress Renyi Aice 興宗 仁懿皇后哀冊	Empress of Emperor Xingzong
	1087	Yelü Hongshi 耶律弘世墓誌	Brother of Emperor Daozong
	1089	Liang Ying 梁穎墓誌	Official
	1090	Xiao Paolu 蕭袍魯墓誌	Official
	1091	Yelü Shanjing 耶律善慶墓誌	Official
	1094	Yelü Qingsi 耶律慶嗣墓誌	Official
	1096	Yelü Hongshi Qi Qin Yue Guofei 耶律弘世妻秦越 國妃墓誌	Emperor Daozong's sister-in-law

Table C.14 continued from previous page

Emperor (number)	Year	Muzhiming	Identity
Tianzuo (11)	1096	Yelü Hongli 耶律弘禮墓誌	Grandson of Yelü Longqing
	1097	Jia Shixun 賈師訓墓誌	Official
	1101	Kitan Assembled Script Daozong Aice 契丹大字 道宗皇帝哀	Emperor
	1101	Emperor Daozong Aice 道宗皇帝哀冊	Emperor
	1101	Kitan Assembled Script Empress Xuanyi Aice 契 丹小字宣懿皇后哀冊	Empress of Emperor Daozong
	1101	Empress Xuanyi Aice 宣懿皇后哀冊	Empress of Emperor Daozong
	1101	Liang Yuan 梁援墓誌	Official
	1107	Grand Consort of Liangguo 梁國太妃墓誌	Maternal grandmother of Tianzuo Emperor
	1110	Consort Xiao of the Imperial Uncle 義和仁壽皇太 叔祖妃蕭氏哀冊 (宋魏國妃)	Consort of Tianzuo's great uncle
	1110	Kitan Assembled Script Consort Xiao of the Imperial Uncle 契丹小字義和仁壽皇太叔祖妃蕭 氏哀冊 (宋魏國妃)	Consort of Tianzuo's great uncle
	1110	Imperial Uncle Yelü Hongben 義和仁壽皇太叔祖 耶律弘本哀冊	Tianzuo's great uncle
	1110	Kitan Assembled Script Imperial Uncle Yelü Hongben 契丹小字義和仁壽皇太叔祖耶律弘本 哀冊	Tianzuo's great uncle
	1112	Xiao Yi 蕭義墓誌	Husband of Tianzuo's aunt

Table C.15: Breakdown of epitaphs with credited authors or written anonymously

Period	Anonymous	Credited	Unclear	Total
Date Unknown	1	1	6	8
916-1012	18	30	4	52
1012-1085	16	64	5	85
1085-1125	26	53	2	81
Total	61	147	17	225

Table C.16: Hanlin Academy and Historiography Academy

Hanlin Academy (<i>hanlinyuan</i> 翰林院):
Chief Linya of the Hanlin (<i>hanlin du linya</i> 翰林都林牙)
Linya of the Southern Administration (<i>nanmian linya</i> 南面林牙)
Hanlin Academician Recipient of Edicts (<i>hanlin xueshi chengzhi</i> 翰林學士承旨)
Hanlin Academician (<i>hanlin xueshi</i> 翰林學士)
Hanlin Chancellor (<i>hanlin jijiu</i> 翰林祭酒)
Participant in the Drafting of Proclamations (<i>zhizhigao</i> 知制誥)
...
Historiography Academy (<i>guoshiyuan</i> 國史院)
Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History (<i>jian xiuguoshi</i> 監修國史)
Academician of the Historiography Institute (<i>shiguan xueshi</i> 史館學士)
Senior Compiler of the Historiography Institute (<i>shiguan xiuzhuan</i> 史館修撰)
* Secretary of the Historiography Institute (<i>zhishiguan</i> 直史館)
State Historiographer (<i>xiuguoshi</i> 修國史)
* Associate State Historiographer (<i>tong xiuguoshi</i> 同修國史)

Table C.17: *Ordos* and Palaces based on the Palace Guard section of the 1344 LS *Yingwei Zhi*

<i>Ordo</i> name	<i>Ordo</i> name meaning	Palace name	Founder/Head
Suan <i>ordo</i> 算斡魯朵	Heart and belly 心腹	Hongyi Palace 弘義宮	Taizu Emperor (Abaoji) 太祖
Pusuwan <i>ordo</i> 蒲速盪斡魯朵	Development 興隆	Changning Palace 長寧宮	Empress Dowager Yingtian 應天皇后
Guo'e'nian <i>ordo</i> 國阿輦斡魯朵	To rule the country 收國	Yongxing Palace 永興宮	Taizong Emperor (Deguang) 太宗
Yelüwan <i>ordo</i> 耶魯盪斡魯朵	Prosperity 興盛	Jiqing Palace 積慶宮	Shizong Emperor 世宗
Duoliben <i>ordo</i> 奪里本斡魯朵	To pacify 討平	Yanchang Palace 延昌宮	Muzong Emperor 穆宗
Jianmu <i>ordo</i> 監母斡魯朵	To transmit 遺留	Zhangmin Palace 彰愍宮	Jingzong Emperor 景宗
Guwen <i>ordo</i> 孤穩斡魯朵	Jade 玉	Chongde Palace 崇德宮	Chengtian Empress Dowager 承天太后
Nügu <i>ordo</i> 女古斡魯朵	Gold 金	Xingsheng Palace 興聖宮	Shengzong Emperor 聖宗
Woduwan <i>ordo</i> 窩篤盪斡魯朵	Propagation 孳息	Yanqing Palace 延慶宮	Xingzong Emperor 興宗
Esi <i>ordo</i> 阿思斡魯朵	Extensive 寬大	Taihe Palace 太和宮	Daozong Emperor 道宗
Eluwan <i>ordo</i> 阿魯碗斡魯朵	To assist 輔佑	Yongchang Palace 永昌宮	Tianzuo Emperor 天祚
Chishideben <i>ordo</i> 赤寔得本斡魯朵	Filial piety 孝	Dunmu Palace 敦睦宮	Wenzhang Wen Imperial Younger Brother 文章文皇太弟
		Wenzhong Prince Mansion 文忠王府	Prime Minister Yelü Longyun 丞相耶律隆運

Table C.18: Prefectures and counties for each Palace Guard according to the 1344 LS *Yingwei Zhi*.

Palace/ <i>Ordo</i> (Head)	No. of prefectures	Prefectures	No. of counties	Counties
Hongyi (Abaoji)	5	錦、祖、嚴、祺、 銀	1	富義
Yongxing (Deguang)	4	懷、黔、開、來	2	保和、灤河
Jiqing (Shizong)	3	康、顯、宜	1	山東
Changning (Yingtian Taihou)	4	遼、儀坤、遼西、 顯	3	奉先、歸義、定 霸
Yanchang (Muzong)	2	遂、韓	?	-
Zhangmin (Jingzong)	4	永、龍化、降聖、 同	2	行唐、阜俗
Chongde (Chengtian Taihou)	4	乾、川、雙、貴德	1	潞（上京）
Xingsheng (Shengzong)	5	慶、隰、烏（上 京）、烏（東京）、 霸	?	-
Yanqing (Xingzong)	3	饒、長春、泰	?	-
Taihe (Daozong)	?	-	?	-
Yongchang (Tianzuo Huangdi)	?	-	?	-
Dunmu (Xiaowen Huangtaidi)	3	建、瀋、巖	?	-
Wenzhong Wangfu	1	?	?	-

Table C.19: Control Bases for each Palace Guard according to the 1344 LS *Yingwei Zhi*.

Head	Number	Nanjing	Xijing	Fengshengzhou	Pingzhou	Shangjing	Zhongjing
Abaoji	4	●	●	●	●		
Deguang	4	●	●	●	●		
Shizong	4	○	○	○	○		
Yingtian Taihou	4	○	○	○	○		
Muzong	3	●			●		●
Jingzong	4	○	○	○	○		
Chengtian Taihou	3	●	●	●			
Shengzong	4	○	○	○	○		
Xingzong	4	○	○	○	○		
Daozong	?						
Tianzuo Huangdi	?						
Xiaowen Huangtaidi	1	●					
Wenzhong Wang	6	●	●	●	●	●	●

Table C.20: Chongde Palace account in the Palace Guard section of the Encampment Guard Treatise.

Translation:

Guwen *ordo*, established for Chengtian. This is Chongde Palace. "Guwen" means Jade.

Established from the households of three prefectures: Qianzhou, Xianzhou and Shuangzhou.

Her *ordo* is east of the Tu river, her mausoleum is the same as Emperor Jingzong.

6,000 regular households, 10,000 transferred households, 10,000 cavalry.

Prefectures 4: Qianzhou, Chuanzhou, Shuangzhou, Guidezhou.

Counties 1: Luxian (Shangjing)

Control offices 3: Southern Capital, Western Capital, Fengshengzhou.

Shilie 3:

Wali 7:

Moli 11:

Zhasa 5:

Original text:

孤穩幹魯朵，承天太安置。是為崇德宮。玉曰“孤隱”。

以乾、顯、雙三州戶置。其幹魯朵在土河東，陵祔景宗皇帝。正戶六千，蕃漢轉戶一萬，出騎軍一萬。州四：乾、川、雙、貴德。

縣一，潞。上京。

提轄司三：南京、西京、奉聖州。

石烈三：曰鑣里。曰滂，曰迭裡特女古。

瓦里七：曰達撒，曰耶里，曰合不，曰歇不，曰合里直，曰慢押，曰耶里直。

抹里十一：曰阿里廝直述壘，曰預篤溫稍瓦直，曰潭馬，曰賃預篤溫一臘，曰牙葛直，曰牒得直，曰虎溫，曰孤溫，曰撒里僧，曰阿里葛斯過鄰；曰鐵里乖穩鑣里。

闡撒五：曰合不直迷里幾頻你，曰牒耳葛太保果直，曰爪里阿本果直，曰僧隱令公果直，曰老昆令公果直。LS 31.415

Table C.21: *Ordo* population divisions according to Yang Ruowei

Palace-assigned Households 宮分戶	Affiliated Prefectures and Counties 隸屬州縣	Control Office Households 提轄司戶
The regular households Follow the moving court. Divided into <i>Shilie</i> , <i>Moli</i> , etc. Predominantly Kitan and other tribes	Corvee labour Does not follow moving court Han, Bohai etc	Transferred households Does not follow moving court. Non-Kitan

Table C.22: *Ordo* population divisions according to Yu Wei

Palace-assigned Households 宮分戶		
Control Office 提轄司 in each region		<i>Zhasaxue</i> 闡撒猓
Regular Households 正戶	Transferred Households 轉戶	Tent Attendant Households 著帳戶
Stationed in the <i>Shilie</i> , <i>Moli</i> which are in the vicinity of the regional Control Offices.	Some are in the <i>Shilie</i> and <i>Moli</i> where they are servants to the regular households. The majority are in the <i>Wali</i>	In the <i>Zhasa</i> , they follow the moving court as servants.

Table C.23: Appearance of Control Office (*tixiasi* 提轄司) in epitaphs and other sources

Role	Context	Source
Internal Han'er Chief Control(?) Officer 國內漢兒都軫轄使	Gao Tangying (? - ?) was appointed Internal Han'er Chief Control(?) Officer 國內漢兒都軫轄使 likely sometime between 936 and 940.	1000 <i>Epitaph of Gao Song</i> 高嵩墓誌 XB 37-39
Chief Control Officer of Jiqing Palace 積慶宮都提轄司	Liu Cungui (? -b. 955), undated posting. 積慶宮都提轄司	955 <i>Epitaph of Liu Cungui</i> 劉存規墓誌 XB 9
Chief Control Officer of the Fan Han of the Southwest Route 西南路番漢都提轄使	Zhang Jianli (884-930) appointed Prefect Yuzhou and Chief Control Officer of the Fan Han of the Southwest Route 任榆州刺史、兼西南路番漢都提轄使. His Zhang Yanying (917-969) 張彥英 also served in this posting.	969 <i>Epitaph of Zhang Jianli</i> 張建立墓誌 XB 42-44
Control Officer of Zhongjing under Princess of the Jin State 晉國公主中京提轄使	At the marriage of the Princess of the Jin State (?-?, the third daughter of Shengzong, Shuogu 榑古) to Xiao Xiaozhong (?-1043, brother of Empress Qin'ai) at the beginning of the Taiping era (1020) Song Kuangshi 宋匡世 (978-1025) was appointed Control Officer of Zhongjing under Princess of the Jin State 晉國公主中京提轄使 In 1025 he dies in the headquarter residence of the Control Office 提轄公署之正寢	1026 <i>Epitaph of Song Kuangshi</i> 宋匡世墓誌 XB 180-183
Administrator of Yanqing Palace Control Office 知延慶宮提轄	Wang Ji (? - ?) son of Wang Ze (989-1053) and Mme Li (991-1043), served as Administrator of Yanqing Palace Control Office 知延慶宮提轄 at some point prior to 1045.	1045 <i>Epitaph of Mme Li, wife of Wang Ze</i> 王澤妻李氏墓誌 XB 240-242
Administrator of Affairs of Control Offices of Yongxing and Zhangmin Palaces 知永興、彰愍宮提轄司事	Zheng Jie (a. 985 -b. 1055) title in the epitaph header. 知永興、彰愍宮提轄司事 His appointment appears in the body of the epitaph directly before the account of his death. 遂為兩宮提轄司	1085 <i>Epitaph of Zheng Jie</i> 鄭頡墓誌 XB 179-181

Table C.24: Appearance of Coordination Office (*zhizhisi* 制置司) in epitaphs and other sources

Role	Context	Source
Coordination Officer of the Various Palaces 諸宮制置使	In 1053, Li Ke 李軻 (?-?), <i>zhaowenguanzhixueshi</i> 昭文館直學士 and Coordination Officer of the Various Palaces 諸宮制置使 was appointed <i>chiji fayinshi</i> 敕祭發引使.	1053 <i>Epitaph of Zhang Jian</i> 張儉墓誌 XB 265-272
Coordination Officer of the Various Palaces 諸宮制置使	Han Zidao's (1039-1069) father, Han Zao 韓造 (?-?) was Coordination Officer of the Various Palaces 諸宮制置使.	1069 <i>Epitaph of Han Zidao</i> 韓資道墓誌 XB 334-336
Administrative Coordination Officer of the Various Palaces 知諸宮制置使	The composer of the 1086 stele was Xing Xigu 邢希古, who was <i>zhaowenguanzhixueshi</i> 昭文館直學士 and Administrative Coordination Officer of the Various Palaces 諸宮制置使.	1086 <i>Yizhou Tainingshan Jingjuesi Beiming</i> 易州太寧山淨覺寺碑銘 XB 403-405
Control Coordination Officer of the Various Palaces 諸宮提轄制置使	Ma Tongzhang 馬同璋 (?- b.1113) was betrothed to Li Shi 李石 (? - b.1113) son of Li Yixun 李貽訓, who was Control Commander of the Various Palaces 諸宮提轄制置使	1113 <i>Epitaph of Zhang Guan, wife of Ma Zhiwen</i> 馬直溫妻張館墓誌 XB 633-637
Coordination Officer 制置使	Having stepped down from the post of Vice Regent of Yanjing 燕京副留守 to mourn his mother, Shi Li'ai 時立愛 returned to office and was appointed Coordination Officer 制置使 and then 宣徽南院使 (b. 1122)	1143 <i>Epitaph of Shi Liai</i> 時立愛墓誌 See table D.1
Control Coordination Officer of the Various Moving Palaces 諸行宮提轄制置使	Following his objections to the enthroning of Yelü Chun as emperor in 1122 Shi Liai 時立愛 (1059-1140) was outwardly appointed Control Coordination Officer of the Various Moving Palaces 出為諸行宮提轄制置使 and provisional appointed Magistrate of Liaoxing and Commander of the Han army 權遼興尹、兼漢軍都統	1143 <i>Epitaph of Shi Liai</i> 時立愛墓誌 See table D.1

Table C.25: Establishment and Abolition of entrusted prefectures, after Yu Wei 2012

Period	Newly Established	of which belong to heroes and other aristocrats	of which belong to Princesses and Imperial Son-in-Laws	Abolished or appropriated by the court
Deguang's reign (927-947)	13: Jing 荆, Lu 麓, Yu 榆, Hao 豪, Shun 順, Lü 閭, Baichuan 白川, Sui 遂, Baichuan 白川, Wei 衛, Yi 義, Wu 烏, Fu 福, Guide 貴德	8: Yu 榆, Hao 豪, Shun 順, Lü 閭, Baichuan 白川, Wu 烏, Fu 福, Guide 貴德		
Shizong to Jingzong reigns (947-983)	1: Hui 徽		1: Hui 徽	6: Wu 烏, Fu 福, Guide 貴德, Baichuan 白川, Shuang 雙, Sui 遂
Shengzong reign (983-1031)	12: Fu 福, Zong 宗, Yuan 原, Quan 全, Feng 豐, Wei 渭, Mu 睦, Yi 懿, Heng 橫, Mu 穆, Hui 暉, Lu 祿	6: Zong 宗, Quan 全, Feng 豐, Mu 穆, Hui 暉, Lu 祿	6: Fu 福, Yuan 原, Wei 渭, Mu 睦, Yi 懿, Heng 橫	4: Sui 遂, Ning 寧, Zong 宗, Yu 榆
Xingzong onward (1031-1125)				4: Mu 睦, Wei 渭, Yi 懿, Yi 義

Table C.26: Prefectures and counties for each Palace Guard according to the *Yingwei Zhi*.
Where figure or account not given I leave a question mark. As missing record cannot be ruled out.

Ordo Head	Provenance of people
Abaoji	Established from the Heart and Belly guard, and supplemented with Bohai captives and Jinzhou households. 以心腹之衛置，益以渤海俘，錦州戶。
Deguang	Established from Bohai captive households from Abaoji's campaign, the control offices of Dongjing and Huaizhou and households from Huairan county in Yunzhou and Luanhe county in Zezhou. 以太祖平渤海俘戶，東京、懷州提轄司及雲州懷仁縣、澤州潞河縣等戶置。
Shizong	Established from the imperial guard of Wenxian emperor (Bei) and captives of Abaoji, and the control office of Yunzhou and households from Gaozhou, Yizhou and others. 以文獻皇帝衛從及太祖俘戶，及雲州提轄司，並高、宜等州戶置。
Yingtian Taihou	Established with households from Liaozhou and Haibin county and others. 以遼州及海濱縣等戶置。
Muzong	Established from households from the Guo'e'nian <i>ordo</i> and Zubu captives, control office of Zhongjing (zhenzhou?), coordination office of Nanjing, and households of Xianzhou, Xinzhou, Hanzhou and others. 以國阿輦斡魯朵戶及阻卜俘戶，中京提轄司、南京制置司、咸、信、韓等州戶置。
Jingzong	Established from the imperial guard of Zhangsu emperor (Lihu) and households from Wu'anzhou. 以章肅皇帝侍衛及武安州戶置。
Chengtian Taihou	Established from households from Qianzhou, Xianzhou and Shuangzhou. 以乾、顯、雙三州戶置。
Shengzong	Established from households of Guo'e'nian, Yeluwan and Pusuwan <i>ordos</i> . 以國阿輦、耶魯碗、蒲速碗三斡魯朵戶置。
Xingzong	Established from many <i>ordos</i> and households of Raozhou. 以諸斡魯朵及饒州戶置。
Daozong	Established from the imperial attendants of many <i>ordos</i> and households from Xingzhoufu. 以諸斡魯朵御前承應人及興中府戶置。
Tianzuo Huangdi	Established from the imperial attendants of many <i>ordos</i> and households of Chunzhou and Xuanzhou. 以諸斡魯朵御前承應人，春、宣州戶置。
Xiaowen Huangtaidi	Established from the attendants of Wenxian emperor's (Bei) attendants and Bohai captives, and households from Jianzhou, Shenzhou and Yanzhou. 文獻皇帝承應人及渤海俘，建、沈、巖三州戶置。
Wenzhong Wang	-

Table C.27: Instances of Princely Mansions in Liao epitaphs

Posting	Context	Source
Attendant of the Princely Mansion (of Prince Yongkang) (永康) 王府郎中	927-947. Zhang Zhengsong served in this position throughout Deguang's reign	XB 68-69
Retinue Attendant (of the Princely Mansion of The Prince of Wei) (衛王府) 隨帳郎中	959. Writer of Shagu's inscription	XB 27-29
Chief Supervisor of the Yuyue (Princely Mansion) 于越都提舉使	Pre 970. Liu Chengsi's third daughter marries...	XB 47-52
Secretarial Aide to the Mansion of the Prince of Qi State 齊國王府記室參軍	970. Writer of Liu Chengsi's epitaph, and husband of Liu Chengsi's fourth daughter	XB 47-52
Judge in the Mansion Prince of Ning 寧王府推官	981. writer of Wang Shuo's epitaph	XB 131-135
Chief Supervisor of the Kitan in Mansion of the Prince of Wei 魏王府契丹都提舉使	993. name of mourner in colophon of Spirit Path Stele of Yelü Cong	XB 340-344
Provincial Nominated Candidate from the Mansion of the Prince of Qin 秦王府鄉貢進士	994. Writer of epitaph for Li Chaoge, first wife of Han Deyuan	Epitaph of Mme Li, first wife of Han Deyuan. See table D.1
Chief Administrator of the <i>Fan</i> and <i>Han</i> in the Princely Mansion of the Southern King 南王府番漢都部署	Pre 1000. father of Chang Zunhua's first wife	XB 127-130
Internal Commander of the Mansion of the Northern Prince 北王府衙內都指揮使	10th century. Post of Zhang Shoujie's grandfather	Epitaph of Zhang Shoujie, see table D.1
Chief administrator of the many armies of the Mansion of the Northern Prince 北王府諸軍都部署	Early Eleventh Century. Post of Zhang Shoujie	Epitaph of Zhang Shoujie. See table D.1

Table C.28: Degree holders and exams per period

Period	Exams	Candidates			
		Total	Average	Number	Minimum
988-1004	14	33	2.35	6	1
1006-1013	6	63	10.5	23	2
1014-1055	14	649	50	72	31
1059-1118	18	1452	90.75	138	26

Table C.29: Degree holder per circuit for 988-1118

Capital Circuit	Number of Degree Holders
Supreme	7
Central	6
Eastern	3
Western	5
Southern	55

Table C.30: Epitaphs written by writers at different stages of degree

Year	Zone	Epitaph	Writer Identity	Source
991	Ling	Han Yu 韓宇	Graduate 前進士	See table D.1
994	Liaoxi	Mme Li, first wife of Han Deyuan 韓德源嫡妻李氏	Provincial Nominee from the Mansion of the Late Prince of Qin 故秦王府鄉貢進士	See table D.1
1017	Yan	Han Xiang 韓相	Degree Holder 進士	XB 151-152
1027	Ling	Geng Zhixin 耿知新	Disciple of the Prince of Yan, Graduate... 故燕王門生、進士...	XB 184-186
1033	Yiwulü	Xiao Lin 蕭琳	Provincial Nominee 應鄉貢舉進士	XB 71-72
1035	Ling	Zhang Shoujie 張守節	Provincial Nominee 鄉貢進士	See table D.1
1038	Yan	Lü Shizong 呂士宗	Graduate... 前進士...	See table D.1
1071	Laoha	Xiao Tang 蕭闡	Graduate 前奏名進士	XB 126-128
1076	Laoha	Wang Dunyu 王敦裕	Provincial Nominee 鄉貢進士	XB 361-362
1077	Liaoxi	Li Wenzhen 李文貞	Palace Exam Graduate 殿試進士	XB 162-163
1085	Yan	Zhang Jinqing 張晉卿	Provincial Nominee 鄉貢進士	See table D.1
1087	Liaoxi	Xiao Xingyan 蕭興言	Provincial Nominee 鄉貢進士	XB 188-190
1087	Ling	Ru Xiongwen 茹雄文	Palace Exam Graduate 殿試進士	XB 184-185
1092	Ling	Han Rui 韓瑞	Provincial Nominee 鄉貢進士	XB 448-449
1097	Ling	Liu Zhigu 劉知古	Provincial Nominee 鄉貢進士	See table D.1
1099	Laoha	Shang Wei 尚暉	Provincial Nominee 鄉貢進士	XB 498-500
1099	Ling	Liu Zhixin 劉知新	Provincial Nominee 鄉貢進士	See table D.1
1104	Ling	Yao Qihui 姚企暉	Provincial Nominee 鄉貢進士	See table D.1
1110	Yiwulü	Mme Yelü, wife of Xiao Degong 蕭德恭妻耶律氏	Provincial Nominee 鄉貢進士	XB 270-271

Table C.31: First appointments after graduation, after Takai

Person	Year of graduation	First appointment	Appointment type	Source
Lü Demao 呂德懋	994 (primus)	試秘書省校書郎、檀州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	LS 13.158
Zhang Jian 張儉	996 (primus)	順州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	WB 265-272
Wang Ze 王澤	1018	(秘書省校書郎) ——營州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	WB 240-242
Zhang Ji 張績	1031 (Second level)	(秘書省校書郎) ——涿州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	WB 313-316
Liang Yuan 梁援	1059 (primus)	右拾遺、直史官、史館修撰	Senior Compiler of the Historiographical Institute	WB 519-525
Shang Wei 尚緯	1059	樞密院令史	Official Clerk of the Shumiyuan	WB 498-500
Wang Ding 王鼎	1062 (primus)	易州觀察判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	LS 108.1601-1602
Shi Xunzhi 史洵直	1062	著作佐郎、西京管內都商稅判官	Administrative assistant for commerce and taxation of a capital	WB 651-652
Zheng Ke 鄭恪	1062 (third place)	(秘書省校書郎) ——松山州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	WB 428-429
Wang Dunyu 王敦裕	1066 ? (second level)	某州軍事判官?	Administrative assistant for prefecture?	XB 361-362
Wang Shiru 王師儒	1066 (third level)	秘書省校書郎、樞密院令史	Official Clerk of the Shumiyuan	WB 645-650

Table C.31 continued from previous page

Person	Year of graduation	First appointment	Appointment type	Source
Jia Shixun 賈師訓	1066	秘書省著作佐郎、恩州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	WB 476-483
Deng Zhongju 鄧中舉	1070 ?	營州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	WB 488-490
Meng Youfu 孟有孚	1074	知泰州樂康縣	In charge of matters for a county	WB 470-472
Du Tu 杜塗	1074	檀州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	XB 304-307
Da Gongding 大公鼎	1074	沈洲軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	LS 105.1608-1609
Ma Renwang 馬人望	Xianyong era (1065-1074)	松山縣令	County Magistrate	LS 105.1610-1612
Yelü Yan 耶律儼	Xianyong era	著作佐郎、中書省令史	Official Clerk of the Zhongshusheng	LS 98.1557-1558
Wang Anyi 王安裔	1079	簽書涿州軍梓公事（涿州軍事判官）	Administrative assistant for prefecture	WB 687-688
Shi Li'ai 時立愛	1083	秘書省校書郎、泰州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	See table D.1
Meng Chu 孟初	1083	（秘書省校書郎）——涿州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	XB 297-299
Zhang Yan 張衍	1095	秘書省校書郎、管內都商稅判官	Administrative assistant for commerce and taxation of a garrison	WB 691-692

Table C.31 continued from previous page

Person	Year of graduation	First appointment	Appointment type	Source
Ning Jian 寧鑑	Daozong reign (1055-1101)	秘書省著作佐郎、順州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	WB 606-608
Cao Yongyi 曹勇義	Daozong reign ?	長春縣令	County Magistrate	JS 75.1725
Kang Gongbi 康公弼	Daozong reign ?	秘書省著作佐郎、武州軍事判官	Administrative assistant for prefecture	JS 75.1725
Han Fang 韓昉	1112 (primus)	右拾遺、史館修撰	Senior Compiler of the Historiographical Institute	JS 125.2714-2715

Table C.32: Epitaphs written by relatives of the deceased

Year	Zone	Epitaph of:	Author	Relation to sub	Author titles	Author identity	Source
970	Ling	Liu Chengsi 劉承嗣	Feng Qi 馮圮	Son-in-law	齊國王府記室參軍、朝議郎、尚書司門員外郎、賜紫金魚袋	Staff, official	XB 47-52
1026	Ling	Song Kuangshi 宋匡世	王景運	Affine	中京留守推官、朝議郎、尚書吏部郎中、賜緋魚袋	Capital official	XB 180-183
1036	Yan	Zhang Sifu 張嗣甫	張嗣宗	Brother	朝議郎、守左補闕、騎都尉、賜緋魚袋	Official	XB 201-202
1038	Yan	Lü Shizong 呂士宗	Damaged	Grandson in law	前進士、承奉郎。試大理司直守涿州范陽縣令飛騎尉	Official	See table D.1
1044	Yan	Li Jicheng and wife Mme Ma 李繼成暨妻馬氏	李舜卿	Grandson	登仕郎、試秘書省校書郎、武騎尉	Official	XB 87-89
1046	Ling	Liu Riyong 劉日泳	劉湘	Son	內供奉班祗候	Official	XB 243-247
1053	Yan	Wang Ze 王澤	王綱	Designated heir	正議大夫、尚書兵部侍郎、知制誥、兼秘書監、上柱國、瑯琊郡開國侯、食邑一千六百戶、食實封壹佰陸拾戶	High official, Hanlin	XB 259-264
1057	Ling	Yang Congxian 楊從顯	昌黎韓遂	Affine	No title	Civilian	See table D.1
1057	Yan	Ding Qiu jin 丁求謹	Anon	Grandson in law		Unknown	XB 110-112

Table C.32 continued from previous page

Year	Zone	Epitaph of:	Author	Relation to subject	Author titles	Author identity	Source
1060	Ling	Zhao Kuangyu 趙匡禹	趙潛	Great grandson	將仕郎、守秘書省校書郎	Official	XB 299-302
1070	Laoha	Mme Cao, wife of Chen Yi 陳顥妻曹氏	杜謂	Son in law	征事郎、守右拾遺、直史官、上騎都尉、京兆縣開國子、食邑五百戶	Official, historiographical bureau	XB 129-130
1077	Liaoxi	Li Wenzhen 李文貞	虞安卿	Grandson in law	殿試進士	Degree holder	XB 162-163
1078	Laoha	Qin Dechang 秦德昌	Damaged	Master of monk son's temple	文慧大師、賜紫...	Monk	XB 166-168
1084	Liaoxi	Gao Xuangui 高玄圭	高士寧	Son	登進士第，朝散大夫、尚	Liaoxi	See table D.1
1085	Yan	Zheng Jie 鄭頡	鄭碩	Brother	右拾遺、充史館修撰、應奉閣下文字	Official, historiography academy	XB 179-181
1090	Ling	Mme Cao, wife of Chen Yi 陳顥妻曹氏	陳顥	Husband	奉國功臣、前三司使、崇祿大夫、守太子太保、上柱國、潁川郡開國公、食邑三千五百戶、食實封肆佰伍拾戶	High official	XB 200-202
1093	Ling	Liu Congxin 劉從信	江氏	Wife	Wife, no office	Civilian	XB 212-213
1097	Laoha	Zhang Yu 張郁	趙孝嚴	Acquaintance of son	貞亮功臣、特進、行禮部尚書、參知政事、修國史、上柱國、天水郡開國公、食邑二千五百戶、食實封貳佰伍拾戶	High official, historiographical bureau	See table D.1

Table C.32 continued from previous page

Year	Zone	Epitaph of:	Author	Relation to subject	Author titles	Author identity	Source
1097	Laoha	Mme Chen Wife of Zhang Shu 張公恕妻陳氏	趙孝嚴	Acquaintance of son	貞亮功臣、特進、行禮部尚書、參知政事、修國史、上柱國、天水郡開國公、食邑二千五百戶、食實封貳佰伍拾戶	High official, historiographical bureau	See table D.1
1098	Laoha	Deng Zhongju 鄧中舉	龔誼	Acquaintance of subject	右拾遺	Official	XB 488-490
1104	Ling	Yao Qihui 姚企暉	韓長國	Husband of sub's cousin	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	See table D.1
1105	Laoha	Liu Wenying 劉文用	王師儒	Affine	征事郎、守殿中丞、權直史館、驍騎尉、賜緋魚袋	Official, historiographical bureau	XB 250-251
1105	Laoha	Liu Gong 劉貢	王師儒	Affine	征事郎、守殿中丞、權直史館、驍騎尉、賜緋魚袋	Official, historiographical bureau	XB 252
1107	Yiwulü	Mme Zhang, wife of Liang Yuan 梁援妻張氏	楊丘文	Daoist sworn brother of son	乾文閣直學士、賜紫金魚袋	Official, scholar	XB 566-569
1111	Yan	Ding Hong 丁洪	陳汭	Friend of uncle	No office	Civilian	XB 618-619
1113	Yan	Zhang Guan, wife of Ma Zhiwen 馬直溫妻張館	張崎	Brother	朝議大夫、守司農少卿、前知忠順軍節度副使、上騎都尉、清河縣開國子、食邑五百戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official	XB 633-637

Table C.32 continued from previous page

Year	Zone	Epitaph of:	Author	Relation to subject	Author titles	Author identity	Source
1113	Yan	Ding Wenyu 丁文道	韓昉	Son in law	承奉郎、守右拾遺、權 史館修撰、應奉閣下文 字、賜緋魚袋、驍騎尉	Official, historiography academy	XB 639-641

Table C.33: References to genealogical records in epitaphs

Epitaph	Year	Region	History	Gen. Record	Previous Epitaph	Other text	Verbatim	Source
HanYu 韓瑜	991	Ling				●	繼世聯芳，載書備簡	XB 203-210
Liu Yujie 劉宇傑	1000	Ling	●	●			其先帝堯之後，國史明陳，家諜具載。自御龍之翼世，逮斬虵以居尊。昇一字之爰不僭，綿千載之彌盛。爰舉大略，用簡煩文。	XB 106-109
Gao Song 高嵩	1000	Ling		●*			以家諜以詎存於實錄而難紀，但以公之考妣略而言之	XB 37-39
Mme Yeltü, wife of Geng Yanyi 耿延毅妻耶律氏 (韓)	1012	Ling	●	●			其韓氏之源，國紀家牒備矣，此不復書。	XB 142-145
Yeltü Yuanning 耶律元寧	1015	Liaoxi	●				其先漆水人也。朔方佐運，中夏畏威，代有賢豪，世傳勇智。若乃受封之始，命氏之因，前史所稱，此不復載。	XB 58
Princess of Chen State 陳國公主	1018	Yiwulü	●				本其姓氏之始，曾高之裔，乃六葉帝王之族矣。國史備載，此不復書。	XB 153-155
Feng Congshun 馮從順	1023	Ling				●	周封之後，代有鉅賢。載彼芳編，紀於洪筆。	XB 169-172
Li Zhishun 李知順	1028	Laoha				●	祖宗職列，族望源流，更不復書，宋朝備矣。	XB 187-190

Table C.33 continued from previous page

Epitaph	Year	Region	History	Gen. Record	Previous Epitaph	Other text	Passage	Source
Lady of Jin State, wife of Yelü Yuan 耶律元妻晉國夫人	1038	Yiwulü	•	•			述乃宗枝，國史脩光於簡冊；陳乎丕績。家牒悉著於縑箱。今故不書。	XB 211
Great Prince of the North 北大王	1041	Liaoxi				•	簡策鮮妍，重重書內戚傳；冠裳赫奕，世世為本郡王。	XB 223-224
Grand Consort of Qin State 秦國太妃	1045	Yiwulü	•	•			若乃與國同姓之始，起家為王之來，經綸協謀之勤，佐佑席寵之貴，國史書焉。累朝人仕之資，重世襲爵之慶，替功顯晦之迹，婚媾內外之倫，家牒存焉。	XB 90-96
Princess Pingyuan 平原公主 主	1051	Yiwulü	•				詢六行於母師，已彰國史	See table D.1
Wang Ze 王澤	1053	Yan		•	•		謹按家譜…烈考諱英，燕京染院使。爵秩庸行，銘碣俱存。	XB 259-264
Shuyi 淑儀	1063	Liaoxi		•			爾後家於上國，世為右族，源流寔遠，譜牒俱存，此不復書。	XB 119-120
Zhang Ji 張績	1063	Yan	•	•			蔚國史以揚芬，炳家牒而騰茂。	XB 313-316
Consort of the Qin and Jin States 秦晉國妃	1069	Yiwulü	•	•			嗣襲綿遠，則家牒錄而存焉。勲業隆盛，則國史載之詳矣。	XB 340-343

Table C.33 continued from previous page

Epitaph	Year	Region	History	Gen. Record	Previous Epitaph	Other text	Passage	Source
Yelü Guyumiyi, wife of Xiao Tang 蕭闡妻耶律骨欲迷已	1069	Laoha	●	●			家譜國編，輝潤詞墨	XB 126-128
Han Zidao 韓資道	1069	Yan	●				自尚書令穎之後，軒裳照世，鐘鼎傳家，景系殊勛，載於史素，此簡而不書。	XB 334-336
Xiao Fuyan 蕭福延	1070	Laoha	●	●*			X 自梁帝開國而下，其後門閥顯赫，代有其人，國史xx, xxx 載，此不復書	XB 131-133
Mme Cao, wife of Chen Yi 陳顗妻曹氏	1070	Ling		●			其祖宗源派則有家諱在焉	XB 129-130
Xiao Chan 蕭闡	1072	Laoha		●	●		夫其家諱綿盛，世德輝華，則先宰相之志文必已具矣。	XB 146-147
Yelü Zongfu 耶律宗福	1072	Liaoxi	●	●			時有史家有諱，兩皆明白，不煩備紀	XB 141-145
Qin Dechang 秦德昌	1078	Laoha		●			三代遺烈，家牒具之	XB 166-168
Zhang Jinqing 張晉卿	1085	Yan	●		●		勛賢代有，名詳史，今 書	See table D.1
Xiao Xingyan 蕭興言	1087	Liaoxi	●				自先數世，咸建巨功。遺風餘烈，國史存焉	XB 188-190
Yelü Hongshi 耶律弘世	1087	Liaoxi	●				夫王之靈源寶系，累封歷政，皆紀於史冊，藏於勳府。	XB 191-194

Table C.33 continued from previous page

Epitaph	Year	Region	History	Gen. Record	Previous Epitaph	Other text	Passage	Source
Zheng Ke 鄭恪	1090	Laoha	•	•			世為白霄北原人，其先史記世家及家狀詳焉	XB 428-429
Xiao Paolu 蕭袍魯	1090	Liaodong	•				載稽諸史，可得而言…輝映策書，此不復書。	XB 423-426
Yelü Shanying 耶律善慶	1091	Yiwulü	•			•	如是咸書在國史銘之庶碑詳矣此不復道	See table D.1
Mme Xiao, wife of Yelü Changyun 耶律昌允妻蕭氏	1092	Laoha	•	•			若乃與國結婚之始，起家為相之來，經綸協謀之勤，佐佑席寵之貴，國史書焉。累朝人仕之資，重世襲爵之慶，奇功顯晦之迹，宗親中外之倫，家謀存焉。	XB 208-209
Consort of the Qin and Yue States, wife of Yelü Hongshi 耶律弘世妻秦越國妃	1096	Liaoxi	•	•			妃姓蕭氏，世出蘭陵。其族望之華，枝屬之盛，史牒詳焉。此不復錄。今所述者，聊迹其勳圖德系而已。	XB 229-232
Liu Wenyong 劉文用	1105	Laoha		•			李唐京兆尹禹錫之後，傳譜在焉。	XB 250-251
Consort of the Song and Wei States 宋魏國妃	1110	Liaoxi	•				世奉天姻，名冠舅籍，國史備矣。	XB 275-277
Gao Weiqiu 高為裘	1110	Yun		•			謹按高氏家錄	XB 609-610
Xiao Yi 蕭義	1112	Liaodong	•				其於建事成功，光爛竹素。…若乃標之國史，紀之家謀。	XB 622-627

Table C.33 continued from previous page

Epitaph	Year	Region	History	Gen. Record	Previous Epitaph	Other text	Passage	Source
Zhang Guan, wife of Ma Zhiwen 馬直溫妻張館	1113	Yan				•	況二宗族世名氏德業又甚 詳，敢不終始而銘之	XB 633-637

Table C.34: Epitaphs mentioned in other epitaphs/texts that have not been retrieved

Subject	Details	Time Frame	Proposed location	Reference
Unnamed Great Prince 大王	Father of Gentleman of Xu State 許國公	Unknown	Yan	Epitaph of Gentleman of Xu State, See table D.1
Liu Peng 劉怱 *	Ancestor of Liu Zhu 劉鑄	8th century*		Epitaph of Liu Zhu, See table D.1
Wang Yanguang 王延廣	Father of Wang Shouqian 王守謙	Pre 969	Yan	XB 10
Shi Fang 室昉	High ranking minister of early Liao, wrote his own epitaph	994	Unknown	LS 79.1402
Han Yanhui (Spirit Path Stele) 韓延徽	Grandfather of Han Yi 韓佚	Between 959 (died) –997 (mentioned)	Yan	XB 100
Han Deshu 韓德樞	Father of Han Yi 韓佚	969 (died) –997 (mentioned)	Yan	XB 100
Liu Shoujing 劉守敬	Father of Liu Zhu	Pre 1000	Yan	Epitaph of Liu Zhu, See table D.1
Yelü Queli 耶律闕里	Father of Yelü (anshi) Yuanning 耶律(安世) 元寧	Pre 1008	Laoha	XB 43
Wang Pei 王珮	Father of Mme Wang, wife of Han Yi 韓佚妻王氏	Pre 1011	Yan	XB 139
Zhang Zheng 張正	Father of Zhang Qi 張琪	Pre 1024	Yan	XB 173
Mr Song, Prefect of Yuzhou and Taifu 榆州刺史太傅宋公	Father of Song Kuangshi 宋匡世	Pre 1026	Ling	XB 180

Table C.34 continued from previous page

Subject	Details	Time Frame	Proposed location	Reference
Zhang Yong 張雍 father of Zhang Jian 張儉	Grandfather of Zhang Sifu 張嗣甫	Pre 1036	Yan	XB 201
Xiao Shouxing 蕭守興	Grandfather of Xiao Shaozong 蕭紹宗	Pre 1038	Laoha	Epitaph of Xiao Shaozong, See table D.1
Li Jian 李鑒	Father of Mme Li, wife of Wang Ze 王澤妻李氏	Pre 1045	Yan	XB 240
Wang Ying 王英	Father of Wang Ze 王澤	Pre 1053	Yan	XB 259
Ding Yuanke 丁元恪	Father of Ding Qiujin 丁求謹	Pre 1057	Yan	XB 110
Xiao Xiaomu 蕭孝穆	Grandfather of Xiao Degong 蕭德恭	Between 1043 (died) -1073 (mentioned)	Yiwulü	XB 153
Xiao Zhizu 蕭知足	Father of Xiao Degong 蕭德恭	Between 1061 (died) -1073 (mentioned)	Yiwulü	XB 153
Wang Yuanbai 王元白	Wang Dunyu's father 王敦裕 father	Pre 1076	Laoha	XB 361
Mme Han, wife of Ru Xiongwen 茹雄文妻韓氏	Wife of Ru Xiongwen 茹雄文	Pre 1087	Ling	XB 184
Gao Xun 高洵	Son of Gao Weiqiu 高為裘	1110	Yun	XB 609-610
Gao Wo 高渥	Son of Gao Weiqiu 高為裘	1110	Yun	XB 609-610
Unspecified ancestors of Du Tu 杜忞		Pre 1120	Yan	XB 304

Table C.35: Yelü lineages of subjects of Chinese epitaph

Year	Imperial Line	Younger Brother Branch	Middle Brother Branch	Older Brother Branch	Sixth Division	Other	Unclear
0							Dula 度剌
941					Yuzhi 羽之		
954							Huduo 胡咄
970							Lady of Wei State wife of Geng Chongmei
973		Cong 琮					
986					Yanning 延寧 (Anshi)		
1008					Yuanning (安 世) 元寧		
1009							Yelü Jia Yilimian
1011		Longyou 隆祐					
1012		Wife of Geng Yanyi					
1015					Yuanning 元寧		
1018	Princess of Chen State						
1021							Xiaci 霞茲

Table C.35 continued from previous page

Year	Imperial Line	Younger Brother Branch	Middle Brother Branch	Older Brother Branch	Sixth Division	Other	Unclear
1023					Daoqing 道清		
1027		Suizheng 遂正					
1031	Emperor Shengzong						
1037		Suizhong 遂忠					
1038	Grand Princess of Qin State Yange						
1041					Prince of the North Wanxin 萬辛		
1046	Princess Supreme of Qin and Jin State						
1051	Princess of Pingyuan						
1053	Zongjiao 宗教						
1059		Shuji* 庶幾					
1062	Zongzheng 宗 政						
1065	Zongyun 宗允						

Table C.35 continued from previous page

Year	Imperial Line	Younger Brother Branch	Middle Brother Branch	Older Brother Branch	Sixth Division	Other	Unclear
1069			Guyumiyi 骨欲 迷己, wife of Xiao Tang				
1072	Princess of Anding	Zongfu 宗福	Renxian 仁先				
1083		Yuanzuo 元佐					
1087	Hongshi 弘世						
1091			Shanqing 善慶				
1093	Wife of Mr Xiao						
1094			Qingsi 慶嗣 Zhixian 智先				
1095	Princess of Yongqing						
1096	Hongli 弘禮						
1101	Emperor Daozong						
1107			Grand Consort of Liang state				
1110						Wife of Xiao Degong	
1113					Qi 祺		
1114			Xinie 習涅				

Table C.35 continued from previous page

Year	Imperial Line	Younger Brother Branch	Middle Brother Branch	Older Brother Branch	Sixth Division	Other	Unclear
Total	14	8	6	0	7	1	5

Table C.36: Xiao lineages of subjects of Chinese epitaphs

Year	Bali Senior – Xiao Jiyuan*	Bali Junior – Xiao He	Bali Junior -Xiao Ning	Bali Junior – Xiao Han	Yishiji	Xi Prince	Chulude	Other/unclear
993								Grand Lady of Qin State wife of Han Kuangsi
994								
1009								
1029								"Lady"
1033						Jin 僅		Lin 琳
1038	Shaozong 紹宗	Lady of Jinstate wife of Yelü Yuan						
1044								"Xiaogong"
1045							Deshun 德順	
1051								
1058		Empress Qin'ai						
1068		Zhixing 知行						

Table C.36 continued from previous page

Year	Bali Senior – Xiao Jiyuan *	Bali Junior – Xiao He	Bali Junior – -Xiao Ning	Bali Junior – Xiao Han	Yishiji	Xi Prince	Chulude	Other/unclear
1069								Consort of Qin and Jin state
1070						Fuyan 福延		
1071	Tang 闕							
1072	Chan 闡 Ning 寧							
1073		Degong 德恭						
1075		Dewen 德溫						
1076		Empress Renyi						
1081	Empress Rende Boteben 勃 特本						Xiaogong 孝 恭	
1087								Xingyan 興言
1089						Xiaozhong 孝 忠		
1090								Paolu 袍魯
1091				Wuluben 烏 盧本娘				

Table C.36 continued from previous page

Year	Bali Senior - Xiao Jiyuan*	Bali Junior - Xiao He	Bali Junior -Xiao Ning	Bali Junior - Xiao Han	Yishiji	Xi Prince	Chulude	Other/unclear
1092								Wife of Yelü Changyun
1096				Consort of Qin and Yue state wife of Yelü Hongyi				
1101		Empress Xuanyi						
1102		Ying 瑩						
1108								Wife of Yelü Hongyi
1109							Xiaozi 孝資	
1110		Consort of Song and Wei state						
1112								Yi 義
Total	6	9	1	5	0	2	3	10

Table C.37: Yelü lineages of the subjects of Kitan assembled script epitaphs

Year	Imperial Line	Younger Brother Branch	Middle Brother Branch	Older Brother Branch	Sixth Division	Unclear
1053	Zongjiao					
1055	Xingzong					
1071				Jue		
1072			Renxian			
1076		(Han) Gaoshi				
1078		Mme Han, Second wife of Xiao Temei				
1082					Wuliben- cite	
1088						Yongning langjun
1091			"Xiangwen"			
1092					Dilie	
1094			Zhixian			
1095	Yongqing Princess					
1099			Nu			
1100	Hongyong					
1101	Daozong	(Han) Dilie				
1102				Gui'an- Diligu Fubushu		
1105		Xuwang		Pusuli		
1108			Zezhou Cishi			
1110	Heluwo					
1115					Dade. wife of Chulude Diluning	

Table C.38: Xiao lineages of the subjects of Kitan assembled script epitaphs

Year	Bali Senior*	Bali Junior –Xiao He	Bali Junior - Unclear	Yishiji	Other	Unclear
1057						Gaoning – Fuliu
1068	Fenwuni – Tuguci					
1076		Empress Rende				
1080	Huilian					
1091	Hudujin					
1095			Taishan			
1101		Empress Xuanyi				
1107		Liangguo prince				
1110		Songweiguo consort				
1114						Dilu

Table C.39: Lineages of the subjects of Kitan linear script epitaphs

Epitaph subject	Year	Lineage
Yelü Yanning	986	Sixth Division
Yelü Wanxin	1041	Sixth Division
Yelü Changyun	1062	Younger Brother Branch
Yelü Zhun	1068	Older Brother Branch
Yelü Duoluoliben	1081	Sixth Division
Xiao Xiaozhong	1089	Xi Prince
Xiao Paolu	1090	Unclear
Princess of Yongning Province	1092	Imperial Line
Yelü Qi	1108	Sixth Division
Yelü Xinie	1114	Middle Brother Branch

Table C.40: Kitan epitaphs writers and the lineages they wrote for

Writer (lineage)	Year	Epitaph subject	Subject lineage
Chenfu (ji)	1076	Empress Renyi	Junior Elder Tent (Xiao He)
Guanning • Niehe (unknown)	1095	Xiao Taishan and Princess Yongqing	Junior Elder Tent and Imperial Line
Guojiu X	1091	Yelü "Xiangwen"	Middle Brother Branch
Puluning (Unclear)	1078	Mme Han second wife of Imperial Son in law Xiao Temei - Kuoge	Younger Brother Branch (Han Kuangsi)
Temei (Unclear)	1100	Sala -Shilu Taishi	Unclear - surname unclear
Xiao Hudujin (Senior Elder Tent -Humoli)	1071	Yelü Jue	Older Brother Branch
	1080	Xiao Huilian	Senior Elder Tent (Humoli)
	1082	Yelü Wuliben - Cite	Sixth Division
xx Shangnu (Unclear)	1114	Yelü Xinie	
Yelü Chentuannu (Sixth Division)	1100	Yelü Hongyong	Imperial line
	1101	Yelü (Han) Dilei	Younger Brother Branch (Han Kuangsi)
	1102	Yelü Gui'an -Diligu	Older Brother Branch
	1105	Yelü Pusuli	Older Brother Branch
Yelü Gemuning (unclear)	1088	Yelü Yongning langjun	unclear
Yelü Gu (Ji)	1076	Yelü (Han) Gaoshi	Ji (Han Kuangsi)
	1092	Yelü Dili	Sixth Division
	1094	Yelü Zhixian	Middle Brother Branch
	1101	Emperor Daozong	Imperial line

Table C.40 continued from previous page

Writer (lineage)	Year	Epitaph subject	Subject lineage
Yelü is.iu.i nu (unknown)	1101	Empress Xuanyi	Junior Elder Tent (Xiao He)
	1110	Yelü Heluwo	Imperial line
	1110	Consort of the Song and Wei State	Junior Elder Tent (Xiao He)
	1115	Mme Yelü Dade	Sixth Division
	1114	Xiao Dilu	Xiao 'alternative tribe'
	1081	Duoluoliben	Sixth Division (Yelü Yuzhi)
	1091	Xiao Hudujin	Senior Elder Tent (Humoli)
	1092	Princess of Yongning Province	Imperial line
	1099	Yelü Nu	Middle Brother Branch
	1102	Yelü "Dubushu"	Older Brother Branch
Yelü Temei (Unclear)	1108	Yelü Qi	Sixth Division
	1072	Yelü Renxian	Middle Brother Branch
Yelü Xinian • Su (Tent attendant)	1053	Yelü Zongjiao	Imperial line
	1055	Emperor Xingzong	Imperial line
	1057	Xiao Gaoning –Fuliu Taishi	Unclear
	1068	Xiao Fenwuni – Tuguci	Senior Elder Tent (Humoli)
	1068	Yelü Zhun	Older Brother Branch

Table C.41: Combinations of Kitan and Chinese epitaphs

Year	Kitan and Chinese	Kitan only	Kitan and Maybe Chinese	Spousal pair (one Kitan one Chinese)
986	Yelü Yanning			
1041	Yelü Wanxin			
1053	Yelü Zongjiao			
1055			Emperor Xingzong	
1057		Xiao Gaoning - Fuliu Taishi		
1062		Yelü Changyun		
1068		Xiao Fenwuni - Tugici		
1068		Yelü Zhun		
1071		Yelü Jue		
1072	Yelü Renxian			
1076			Empress Renyi	
1076		Yelü (Han) Gaoshi		
1078		Mme Han second wife of Xiao Temei - Kuoge		
1080		Xiao Huilian		
1081		Duoluoliben		
1082		Yelü Wuliben - Cite		
1088		Yelü Yingning langjun		

Table C.41 continued from previous page

Year	Kitan and Chinese	Kitan only	Kitan and Maybe Chinese	Spousal pair (one Kitan one Chinese)
1089	Xiao Xiaozhong			
1090	Xiao Paolu			
1091		Yelü “Xiangwen”		
1091		Xiao Hudujin		
1092				Princess of Yongning Province
1092		Yelü Dili		
1094	Yelü Zhixian			
1095				Xiao Taishan and Princess Yongqing
1099		Yelü Nu		
1100		Yelü Hongyong		
1100		Sala - Shilu Taishi		
1101		Yelü (Han) Dilie		
1101	Emperor Daozong			
1101	Empress Xuanyi			
1102		Yelü “Fubushu”		
1102		Yelü Gui’ai - Dilugu		
1105	Prince of Xu Yelü Wotela			
1105		Yelü Pulugu		

Table C.41 continued from previous page

Year	Kitan and Chinese	Kitan only	Kitan and Maybe Chinese	Spousal pair (one Kitan one Chinese)
1107				Prince of Liang state
1108		Prefect of Zezhou		
1108	Yelü Qi			
1110	Yelü Heluwo			
1110	Consort of Song and Wei state			
1114	Yelü Xinie			
1114		Xiao Dilu		
1115		Yelü Dade		

Table C.42: Kitan epitaphs writers and the generations they listed in for the deceased's ancestry

Writer (lineage)	Year	Epitaph subject	Subject lineage	Generations listed
Xiao Hudujin (Senior Elder Tent -Humoli)	1071	Yelü Jue	Older Brother Branch	6
	1080	Xiao Huilian	Senior Elder Tent (Humoli)	10
	1082	Yelü Wuliben - Cite	Sixth Division	7
Yelü Chentuannu (Sixth Division)	1100	Yelü Hongyong	Imperial line	3
	1101	Yelü (Han) Dilei	Younger Brother Branch (Han Kuangsi)	6
	1102	Yelü Gui'an - Diligu	Older Brother Branch	8
	1105	Yelü Pusuli	Older Brother Branch	8
Yelü Gu (Ji)	1076	Yelü (Han) Gaoshi	Younger Brother Branch (Han Kuangsi)	5
	1092	Yelü Dili	Sixth Division	8
	1094	Yelü Zhixian	Middle Brother Branch	8
	1101	Emperor Daozong	Imperial line	n/a
	1101	Empress Xuanyi	Junior Elder Tent (Xiao He)	n/a
	1110	Yelü Heluwo	Imperial line	n/a
	1110	Consort of the Song and Wei State	Junior Elder Tent (Xiao He)	n/a
	1115	Mme Yelü Dade	Sixth Division	n/a
	1081	Duoluoliben	Sixth Division (Yelü Yuzhi)	Undeciphered

Table C.42 continued from previous page

Writer (lineage)	Year	Epitaph subject	Subject lineage	Generations listed
Yelü Xinian • Su (Tent attendant)	1091	Xiao Hudujin	Senior Elder Tent (Humoli)	6
	1092	Princess of Yongning Province	Imperial line	undeciphered
	1099	Yelü Nu	Middle Brother Branch	4
	1102	Yelü "Dubushu"	Older Brother Branch	11
	1108	Yelü Qi	Sixth Division	undeciphered
	1053	Yelü Zongjiao	Imperial line	3
	1055	Emperor Xingzong	Imperial line	n/a
	1057	Xiao Gaoning – Fuliü Taishi	Unclear	3
	1068	Xiao Fenwuni – Tuguci	Senior Elder Tent (Humoli)	3
	1068	Yelü Zhun	Older Brother Branch	undeciphered

Table C.43: Historic stelae mentioned in received texts

Year	Stele purpose	Purpose	Supposed Location	Passage	Source
909	Han Zhigu was ordered to commission a stele in Daguang temple of Longhuazhou (to commemorate victory over Liu Shouguang)	Military achievement	Longhuazhou	夏四月乙卯，詔左僕射韓知古建碑龍化州大廣寺以紀功德	LS 1.4
911	(To celebrate the recent pacification of the Xi)	Military achievement	By the Luan river	次灤河，刻石紀功。	LS 1.5
916	To celebrate the capture of Shuozhou and its governor Li Siben	Military achievement	South of Qingzhong (Fengzhou)	八月，拔朔州，擒節度使李嗣本。勒石紀功於青塚南。	LS 1.11
924	Edict to scrub the stele of Bige Khan and engrave liao inscription in Kitan, Turkic and Chinese	Praise the Liao imperial clan	Somewhere in Central Asia	甲子，詔磨闕遏可汗故碑，以契丹、突厥、漢字紀其功。	LS 2.22
926	Stele to mark Empress Yingtian cutting off her hand to bury with Abaoji	Praise the Liao imperial clan	Tianxiong temple, Southwest of inner city of Supreme Capital	太祖崩，應天皇后於義節專斷腕，置太祖陵。即寺建斷腕樓，樹碑焉。	LS 37.498
Post Abaoji (post 926)	Stele recounting hunting expeditions of Abaoji	Historical	Zuzhou	東偏有聖蹤殿，立碑述太祖游獵之事。	LS 37.501
Early Deguang (late 920s)	On the return of Yelü Bei to the Liao, Deguang commissioned Wang Jiyuan to write the Stele of the Building of Nanjing	Historical		倍既歸國，命王繼遠撰《建南京碑》	LS 72.1334

Table C.43 continued from previous page

Year	Stele purpose	Purpose	Supposed Location	Passage	Source
928	Edict to make Stele marking the birthplace of Empress Dowager Yingtian	Praise the Liao imperial clan	Yikunzhou	庚辰，詔建《應天皇太后誕聖碑》於儀坤州。	LS 3.31
930	Stele of the Sun and Moon was commissioned to mark the palace where the Emperor and Empress stayed	Praise the Liao imperial clan		八月丁酉，以大聖皇帝、皇后宴寢之所號日月宮，因建《日月碑》。	LS 3.34
930	<i>Stele of the deeds of Taizu</i>	Praise the Liao imperial clan	Ruyuzhengjihuiguo	癸卯，建《太祖聖功碑》於如迂正集會塢。	LS 3.34
932	A stele recounting how Abaoji founded the dynasty	Historical	Zuling, Zuzhou(?)	五月壬午朔，幸祖州，謁太祖陵。六月戊辰，禦制《太祖國碑》。	LS 3.36
934	Commemorative epitaph	Praise the Liao imperial clan	De Mausoleum	二月壬申，祠木葉山。戊寅，葬太皇太后於德陵。前二日，發喪于菽殿，上且衰服以送。後追謚宣簡皇后，詔建碑於陵。	LS 3.38
938	Later Jin envoys informed Liao emperor that a stele had been inscribed celebrating his merits	Diplomacy	Later Jin	會同元年春正月戊申朔，晉及諸國遣使來賀。晉使且言己命和凝撰《聖德神功碑》。	LS 4.47

Table C.43 continued from previous page

Year	Stele purpose	Purpose	Supposed Location	Passage	Source
Muzong reign (951-969)	Muzong commissions stele to commemorate the joint burial of Deguang and his Empress	Praise the Liao imperial clan	Huaizhou	太宗崩於樂城，后時在國。后，與帝合喪；暨穆宗即位，立陵寢廟，建碑頌德。	QDGZ 13.160
Muzong reign (951-969)	<i>Stele of the Merit of Taizong</i> , imperially commissioned and completed by Li Han	Praise the Liao imperial clan	Unknown	會上欲建《太宗功德碑》，高勛奏曰：「非李汗無可秉筆者。」詔從之。文成以進，上悅，釋囚。	LS 103.1599
953	Later Han envoys inform Liao emperor that the Later Zhou had damaged the Later Jin stele and requested that they remake one.	Diplomacy	Later Han	五月壬寅，漢遣使言石晉樹先帝《聖德神功碑》為周人所毀，請再刻，許之。	LS 6.79
1041	To celebrate successful negotiations with the Song by Liu Liufu	Diplomacy	Unclear	契丹既歲得金帛五十萬，因勒碑紀功	QDGZ 8.91
Daozong reign (1055-1101)	Daozong commissions an shrine and stele for the historic hero Yelü Wuzhi	History	Supreme Capital	道宗詔上京立祠祭享，樹碑以紀其功云。	LS 77.1388

Table C.44: History of Historiographical Writing in the Liao

Year	Event	Passage and source
941	Imperial commission for the compilation of <i>Record of Qishou Khan</i>	詔有司編《邕祖奇首可汗事跡》。LS 4.53
991	Shi Fang and Xing Baopu submit a co-authored <i>Veritable Record</i> to the throne	1. 樞密使、監修國史室昉等進《實錄》，賜物有差。LS 13.153 2. 表進所撰《實錄》二十卷，手詔褒之，加政事令，賜帛六百匹。LS 79.1402 3. 遷翰林學士承旨，與室昉同修《實錄》。LS 80.1409
1003	Shengzong edict commanding that detailed matters not be recorded in the <i>Daily Calendar</i> (<i>Rili</i> 日曆)	詔修《日歷》官毋書細事。LS 14.172
1011	Shengzong edict that past petitions be appended to the <i>Daily Calendar</i> (<i>Rili</i> 日曆)	詔己奏之事送所司附《日歷》。LS 15.185
1016	Earliest mention of Court Diarists (<i>Qiju Sheren</i> 起居舍人) in Shengzong era	起居舍人程翥 LS 15.196
1031-1055	Xingzong orders record of a hunting accident be expunged from the <i>Court Diary</i> (<i>qijuzhu</i> 起居注). Xiao Hanjianu writes it back in.	韓家奴每見帝獵，末嘗不諫。會有司奏獵秋山，熊虎傷死數十人，韓家奴書於冊。帝見，命去之。韓家奴既出，復書。他日，帝見之曰：「史筆當如是。」LS 103.1597.
1035-1046	Imperially commissioned Xiao Hanjianu (975-1046) to translate of the <i>Tongli</i> , <i>Zhenguan Zhengyao</i> and the <i>History of the Five Dynasties</i> from Chinese to Kitan	又詔譯諸書，韓家奴欲帝知古今成敗，譯《通歷》、《貞觀政要》、《五代史》。LS 103.1597
1044	Imperial commission of <i>Records of the Dynasty Upto Now</i> , written by Yelü Guyu, Yelü Shucheng and Xiao Hanjianu	1. 詔前南院大王耶律穀欲、翰林都林牙耶律庶成等編集國朝上世以來事跡。LS 19.263 2. 詔與耶律庶成錄遙輦可汗至重熙以來事跡，集為二十卷，進之。LS 103.1598 3. 奉詔與林牙耶律庶成、蕭韓家奴編遼國上世事跡及諸帝《實錄》 LS 104.1605-1606

Table C.44 continued from previous page

Year	Event	Passage and source
1074	Edict to propagate the <i>Record of the Grand Historian</i> and the <i>Book of the Han</i>	詔有司頒行《史記》、《漢書》。LS 23.314
1075-1084	Yelü Mengjian's <i>Deeds of Yelü Helu, Wuzhi and Xiuge</i>	詣闕上表曰：「本朝之興，幾二百年，宜有國史以垂後世。」乃編耶律曷魯、屋質、休哥三人行事以進。上命置局編修。LS 104.1605.
1076	Daozong demands that he see the <i>Court Diary</i> (Qijuzhu 起居注) the Court Diarists refuse to show him and are punished.	上欲觀《起居注》，修注郎不攝及忽突董等不進，各杖二百，罷之，流林牙蕭巖壽於烏隗部。LS 23.316
1085	Historiographical ministers submit the throne the <i>Veritable Records of the Seven Emperors Starting from Taizu</i>	史臣進太祖以下七帝《實錄》。LS 24.329
1096	Liu Hui complains of how the Song allows its ministers to write negative historical portrayals of the Liao. Petitions the emperor to include accounts of the Song in the <i>Dynastic History</i> project	壽隆二年，復上書曰：「宋歐陽修編《五代史》，附我朝於四夷，妄加貶訾。且宋人賴我朝寬大，許通和好，得盡兄弟之禮。今反令臣下妄意作史，恬不經意。臣請以趙氏初起事跡，詳附國史。」上嘉其言，遷禮部郎中。LS 104.1604
1103	Yelü Yan was commissioned by the throne to compile the <i>Veritable Record of the Liao Emperors</i>	1. 召監修國史耶律伊纂太祖諸帝《實錄》。LS 27.358 2. 修《皇朝實錄》七十卷。LS 98.1538
Unclear	<i>Record of Great Liao</i> , submitted to the Liao throne by Goryeo	1. 高麗所進《大遼事跡》，載諸王冊文，頗見月朔，因附入。LS 44.760 2. 邊境戍兵又得《高麗大遼事跡》LS 36.490 3. 盲骨子，契丹事跡謂之朦骨國 <i>Songmo jiwen</i> 松漠紀聞 Zhao, <i>Fengshi Liao jin xingcheng lu</i> (zengding ben), 318
Unclear	Goryeo <i>Record of the Liao Past and Present</i>	高麗所志《大遼古今錄》稱統和十二年始頒正朔改歷，驗矣。LS 42.594

Table C.45: Official postings of recipients of state sponsored funerals

Role	Epitaph subjects
Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat Chancellery (<i>tong zhongshu menxia pingzhang shi</i> 同中書門下平章事)	耶律羽之 (941), 耿崇美 (贈 970), 韓德威 (997), 耶律隆祐 (1011), 耶律遂正 (1027 政事), 蕭德順 (1045), 耶律宗教 (1053), 蕭福延 (1070), 耶律宗福 (1072), 蕭袍魯 (1090), 梁穎 (贈 1090), 賈師訓 (贈侍中 1097), 梁援 (1101 贈侍中), 王師儒 (贈 1114 兼侍中)
Director of Chancellery (<i>shizhong</i> 侍中)	耶律宗愿 (1072), 耶律元佐 (1083), 耶律善慶 (1091), 耶律慶嗣 (1094 贈中書令), 賈師訓 (贈 1097), 王師儒 (1114 贈兼侍中)
Director of the Secretariat (<i>zhongshu (zhengshi) ling</i> 中書 (政事) 令)	韓匡嗣 (985 贈尚書令), 許國公 (?), 蕭紹宗 (1038 贈政事令), 張儉 (1053), 耶律宗政 (1062), 耶律宗允 (1065), 耶律弘世 (1087), 耶律慶嗣 (贈 1094), 耶律祺 (1108), 蕭義 (1112)
Director of the Department of State Affairs (<i>shangshu ling</i> 尚書令)	韓匡嗣 (贈 985 兼政事令)
Census Bureau Commissioner (<i>hubushi</i> 戶部使)	王說 (1008 戶部使, 檢校太師), 耿延毅 (1020 戶部使), 馮從順 (1023 戶部使)
Court Ceremonial Commissioner (<i>Xuanhui yuan shi</i> 宣徽院使)	韓椅 (1037 宣徽南院使)
Shangfu 尚父 and Yuyue 于越	耶律仁先 (1072 尚父于越)
Other	蕭德溫 (1075 左金吾衛上將軍), 耶律弘禮 (1096 none -ordo 主), 吳景詢 (baoming -司空), 蕭瑩 (1102, 節度使, 駙馬都尉), 石重貴 (974), 韓瑜 (991 贈太尉)

Table C.46: Liaoxi river basin epitaphs and their authors

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
0	Yelü Dula 耶律度剌	Baiyinhuan, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Damaged	Damaged	司農卿上京……騎都口……開國子食邑五百戶賜紫……	High official	See table D.1
941	Yelü Yuzhi 耶律羽之	Ar Horqin Banner, Chifeng, IM	State	薊門邢明遠	No titles	Civilian	XB 3-6
943	Mme Yi, Consort De of the Later Tang 後唐德妃伊氏玄堂誌并銘	Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	State	王曉	中散大夫、守太子詹事、賜紫金魚袋	official	See table D.1
985	Han Kuangsi 韓匡嗣	Baiyinhuan, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	State	馬得臣	宣政殿學士、通議大夫、尚書兵部侍郎兼知制詔、上柱國	Official, Hanlin post	XB 23-27
985	Han Dechang 韓德昌	Baiyinhuan, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	李玄	將仕郎、守大理【寺少卿、賜金】魚袋	Official	XB 28-29
993	Grand Lady of the Qin State, wife of Han Kuangsi 韓匡嗣妻秦國太夫人	Baiyinhuan, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	State	邢抱朴	三司使、中大夫、尚書戶部侍郎、柱國、贈紫金魚袋	High official	XB 30-32

Table C.46 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
994	Mme Li, first wife of Han Deyuan 韓德源嫡妻李氏	Baiyinhuan, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	張佳成	故秦王府鄉貢進士	Staff and degree candidate	See table D.1
997	Han Dewei 韓德威	Baiyinhuan, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	State	鄭從範	朝議郎、守政事舍人、賜紫金魚袋	Official	XB 34-36
1005	Wife of Tudu Taiwei 徒都太尉夫人	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Damaged	Damaged			XB 40-41
1009	Xiaoshi Furen 蕭氏夫人	Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	Anon			XB 47-49
1011	Yelü Longyou 耶律隆祐	Baiyinhuan, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	State	李可舉	節度掌書記、承務郎、試大理評事	Staff and official	XB 51-53
1015	Yelü Yuanning 耶律元寧	Ar Horqin Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	Anon			XB 58-59
1023	Yelü Daoqing 耶律道清	Ar Horqin Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	Anon			XB 65-66
1027	Yelü Suizheng 耶律遂正	Baiyinhuan, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	State	Anon			XB 68-70

Table C.46 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1031	(Aice) Shengzong Emperor 聖宗皇帝哀冊	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	張儉	推忠翊聖保義守節同德功臣、樞密使、開府儀同三司、左丞相、守太傅、兼政事令、監修國史、上柱國、魯國公、食邑一萬戶、食實封壹仟戶	High official, historiographical bureau	WB 193 - 195
1037	Yelü Suizhong 耶律遂忠	Baiyinhua, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	damaged	前全州軍事...	Staff	XB 73-75
1041	Great Prince of the North 北大王	Ar Horqin Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	Anon			WB 223-224
1058	(Aice) Empress Qin'ai 聖宗欽哀皇后哀冊	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	Anon			WB 282-283
1063	Shuyi, Consort of Emperor Shengzong 聖宗淑儀贈寂善大師	Jarud, Tongliao, IM	Imperial	王觀	中散大夫、右諫議大夫、知制誥、充史館修撰、上輕車都尉、太原縣開國伯、食邑七伯戶、賜紫金魚袋	Official, Hanlin and historiographical bureau	XB 119-120
1072	Yelü Zongfu 耶律宗福	Baiyinhua, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	State	樂 𠂔	上京留守推官	Capital official	XB 141-145

Table C.46 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1072	Yelü Zongyuan 耶律宗愿	Horqin Right Middle Banner, Hinggan, IM	Imperial	趙孝嚴	尚書屯田郎中、充史館修撰、應奉閣下文字、賜紫金魚袋臣	Official, historiographical bureau	XB 148-151
1076	(Aice) Empress Renyi 興宗仁懿皇后哀冊	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	耶律孝傑	宰臣	Court attendant/clerk	WB 375-377
1077	Li Wenzhen 李文貞	Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	虞安卿	殿試進士	Degree holder	XB 162-163
1081	(Aice) Empress Rende 聖宗仁德皇后哀冊	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	Anon			WB 393-394
1083	Yelü Yuanzuo 耶律元佐	Baiyinhuan, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	State	高士寧	宣義郎、守尚書虞部員外郎、騎都尉、賜緋魚袋	Official	XB 177-178
1084	Gao Xuanguì 高玄圭	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	高士寧	登進士第，朝散大夫、尚書禮部郎中、騎都尉、借紫	Official	See table D.1
1087	Xiao Xingyan 蕭興言	Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	趙臨	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	XB 188-190

Table C.46 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1087	Yelü Hongshi 耶律弘世	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	趙孝嚴	翰林學士、通儀大大、行 給事中、知制詔、充史館 修撰、上輕車都【尉】、 天水郡開國侯、食邑一千 五百戶、食實封一伯伍拾 戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official, Hanlin and historiographical bureau	XB 191-194
1091	Xiao Wuluben, wife 蕭烏盧本 娘子	Baiyinhuan, Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	Anon			XB 205-207
1096	Consort of the Qin and Yue State, wife of Yelü Hongshi 耶律 弘世妻秦越 國妃	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	劉嗣昌	朝請大夫、行起居舍人、 知制詔、充史館修撰、兼 樞密都丞旨、騎都尉、彭 城縣開國子、食邑五百 戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official, historiographical bureau	XB 229-232
1101	(Aice) Emperor Daozong 道 宗皇帝哀冊	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	耶律儼	經邦守正翊贊功臣、開府 儀同三司、行尚書左僕 射、兼門下侍郎、同中書 門下平章事、監修國史、 知樞密院事、上柱國、趙 國公、食邑六千五百戶、 食實封陸伯伍拾戶	High official, historiographical bureau	WB 513-515

Table C.46 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1101	(Aice) Empress Xuanyi 道宗宣懿皇后哀冊	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	張琳	樞密副使、崇祿大夫、行尚書戶部侍郎、修國史、上護軍、清河郡開國公、食邑二千戶、食實封貳伯戶	High official, historiographical bureau	WB 516-518
1102	Wang Shifang 王士方	Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	Anon			XB 244-245
1107	Gao Shining 高士寧	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM*	Private	楊駿聲	...部郎中	Official	See table D.1
1108	Cai Zhishun 蔡志順	Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	楊駿聲	...上京管內商稅點提、雲騎尉、賜紫金魚袋	Official	XB 261-262
1110	(Aice) Yihe Renshou Imperial Great Uncle 義和仁壽皇太叔祖哀冊	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	杜忭	樞密直學士、崇祿大夫、行左散騎常侍、簽樞密院事、上柱國、京兆郡開國公、食邑二千戶、食實封貳伯戶	High official	XB 272-274

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1110	Mme Xiao, Consort of Yihe Renshou Imperial Great Uncle 義和仁壽皇 太叔祖妃蕭 氏	Barin Right Banner, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	李石	朝散大夫、尚書都官郎中、 充史館修撰、應奉閣下文 字、驍騎尉、賜紫金魚袋	High official, historiographical bureau	XB 275-277
1113	Yelü Ji 耶律祺	Ar Horqin Banner, Chifeng, IM	State (Damaged)	韓 𠵿	...中少監、充史.....二百 戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official	XB 314-315
1114	Yelü Xinie 耶 律習涅	Barin Left Banner, Chifeng, IM	Private	Anon			XB 282-283

Table C.47: Laoha river basin epitaphs and their authors

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
0	Unknown Occupant of Princess Supreme of Qin and Jin State tombs complex 1 秦晉國大長公主墓地殘志 (甲)	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Damaged	Damaged	Damaged		XB 319
959	Shagu, Imperial Son-in-law and Prince of Wei State 駙馬贈衛國王沙姑	Hexigten, Chifeng, IM	Private	Jiao Xi 焦習	隨帳郎中	Staff	WB 27-29
973	(Spirit Path Stele) Yelü Cong 耶律琮神道碑	Harqin, Chifeng, IM	Private	Guo Qing 郭青	華州衙內馬步軍都虞侯	Staff	XB 340-344
1006	Wang Lin 王鄰	Pingquan, Hebei	Private	Anon			WB 121 - 124

Table C.47 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1008	Yelü Yuanning 耶律（安世）元寧	Harqin, Chifeng, IM	Private	Yang Youxuan 楊又玄	朝議郎、行左補闕、充史館修撰、賜緋魚袋	Official	XB 43-46
1008	Wang Yue 王說	Pingquan, Hebei	Private	Li Du 李度	寧王府推官	Staff	WB 131-135
1009	Yelü Jia Yilimian 耶律加乙里妃	Pingquan, Hebei	Private	Damaged			WB 136-137
1015	Mme Zhang, wife of Mr Song 宋公妻張氏	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	Cheng Zhaowen 成昭文	判官、承務郎、守太子洗馬、武騎尉	Official	XB 56-57
1021	Yelü Xiazi 耶律霞茲	Jianping, Liaoning	Private	Anon			XB 60-61
1022	Cheng Yanchao 程延超	Unclear	Private	Anon			WB 167-168
1023	Feng Congshun 馮從順	Chaoyang, Liaoning*	State	宋復圭	中京留守推官、守太子中舍	Capital official	WB 169-172
1028	Li Zhishun 李知順	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	向載言	征事郎、試大理司直、守大定府司錄、武騎尉	Official	WB 187 - 190

Table C.47 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1035	Zhang Ge 張哥	Unclear	Private	Anon			WB 200
1038	Yelü Yangge, Grand Princess of the Qin State 秦國長公主耶律燕哥	Pingquan, Hebei	Imperial	陳邈	翰林學士、太中大夫、給事中、知制誥、充史館修撰、判館事、柱國、潁川郡開國侯、食邑一千戶、食實封壹伯戶、賜紫金魚袋	High Official, Hanlin and historiography academy	See table D.1
1038	Xiao Shaozong 蕭紹宗	Pingquan, Hebei	Imperial	劉六符	翰林學士、中大夫、行政事舍人、柱國、賜紫金魚袋	High official	See table D.1
1045	Xiao Deshun 蕭德順	Ongniud, Chifeng, IM	State	王寔	西京留守推官、宣義郎、守太子中允、雲騎尉、賜緋魚袋	Official	See table D.1
1046	Princess Supreme of Qin and Jin State 秦晉國大長公主	Pingquan, Hebei	State	楊佺	天雄軍節度、魏州管內觀察處置等使、特進、檢校太師、行吏部尚書、參知政事、修國史、同中書門下平章事、行魏州大都督府長史、上柱國、弘農郡開國公、食邑三千五百戶、食實封肆伯戶	High official, historiographical bureau	WB 248-252

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1069	Yelü Guyumiyi, wife of Xiao Tang 蕭闡妻 耶律骨欲迷已	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	張少微	朝散大夫、尚書虞部郎中、騎都尉、借紫	Official	XB 126-128
1070	Mme Cao, wife of Chen Yi 陳顗妻曹氏 (甲)	[Originally Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM]	Private	杜謂	征事郎、守右拾遺、直史官、上騎都尉、京兆縣開國子、食邑五百戶	Official, historiographical bureau	XB 129-130
1070	Xiao Fuyan 蕭福延	Pingquan, Hebei	State	杜謂	征事郎、守右拾遺、直史官、上騎都尉、京兆縣開國子、食邑五百戶	Official, historiographical bureau	XB 131-133
1071	Xiao Tang 蕭闡	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	趙群	前奏名進士	Degree holder	XB 135-137
1072	Xiao Chan 蕭闡	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	董庠	...省使、中散大夫、守殿中監、上騎都尉、濟陰縣開國伯、食邑七百戶、賜紫金魚袋	Official	XB 146-147
1072	Xiao Ning 蕭寧	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Damaged	董庠	...使、中散大夫、守殿中監、上騎都尉、濟陰縣開國伯、食邑七百戶、賜紫金魚袋	Official	See table D.1

Table C.47 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1072	Princess of Anding 安定公主	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Damaged	王安期	Damaged		See table D.1
1076	Wang Dunyu 王敦裕	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	李溫如	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	XB 361-362, WB 378-380
1078	Qin Dechang 秦德昌	Jianping, Liaoning	Private	Damaged	文慧大師、賜紫...	Monk	XB 166-168
1081	Xiao Boteben 蕭勃特本	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	袁修睦	布衣逸士	Civilian	XB 172-173
1081	Xiao Xiaogong 蕭孝恭	Ongniud, Chifeng, IM	Private	陳芮	饒州觀察判官、試秘書省校書郎、武騎尉	Official	XB 169-171
1090	Zheng Ke 鄭恪	Jianping, Liaoning	Private	李謙貞	嬪州軍事判官、文林郎、試秘書省校書郎	Official	WB 428-429
1092	Mme Xiao, wife of Yeli 耶律昌允妻蕭氏	Yuanbaoshan, Chifeng, IM	Private	Anon			XB 208-209
1093	Mme Yeli, wife of Mr Xiao 蕭公妻耶律氏	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	趙孝嚴	宣政殿學士、崇祿大夫、行尚書禮部侍郎、翰林學士、知製誥、充史館修撰、柱國、天水郡開國公、食邑二千五百戶、食實封壹佰伍拾戶	High official, historiographical bureau	XB 220-221

Table C.47 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1090s	Unknown Occupant of Princess Supreme of Qin and Jin State tombs complex 2 秦晉國大長公主墓地殘志 (乙)	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Imperial	Zhao Xiaoyan 趙孝嚴	...事、上柱國、天水郡開國公	High official, court historian	XB 320-321
1097	Jia Shixun 賈師訓	Pingquan, Hebei	Imperial	楊 𡩊	朝散大夫、尚書吏部郎中、史館修撰、賜紫金魚袋	Official, historiographical bureau	WB 476-483
1097	Zhang Yu 張郁	Unclear	Private	趙孝嚴	貞亮功臣、特進、行禮部尚書、參知政事、修國史、上柱國、天水郡開國公、食邑二千五百戶、食實封貳佰伍拾戶	High official, historiographical bureau	See table D.1
1097	Mme Chen Wife of Zhang Shu 張公恕妻 陳氏	Unclear	Private	趙孝嚴	貞亮功臣、特進、行禮部尚書、參知政事、修國史、上柱國、天水郡開國公、食邑二千五百戶、食實封貳佰伍拾戶	High official, historiographical bureau	See table D.1
1098	Deng Zhongju 鄧中舉	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	龔 誼	右拾遺	Official	WB 488-490

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1099	Shang Wei 尚 暉	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	張問	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	WB 498-500
1105	Liu Wenyong 劉文用	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	王師儒	征事郎、守殿中丞、權直 史館、驍騎尉、賜緋魚袋	Official, historiographical bureau	XB 250-251
1105	Liu Gong 劉 貢	Ningcheng, Chifeng, IM	Private	王師儒	征事郎、守殿中丞、權直 史館、驍騎尉、賜緋魚袋	Official, historiographical bureau	XB 252
1109	Xiao Xiaozhi 蕭 孝資	Ongniud, Chifeng, IM	Private	楊丘文	起復乾文閣直學士、充史 館修撰	Official, historiographical bureau	XB 265-267
1114	Liu Ci 劉慈	Ongniud, Chifeng, IM	Private	Anon			XB 284
1121	Liu Wei 劉暉	Ongniud, Chifeng, IM	Private	Anon			XB 312

Table C.48: Ling river basin epitaphs and their authors

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Titles	Posting type	Source
0	Mme Zhang, Wife of Mr Geng 耿公妻 張氏	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Damaged	Damaged			WB 712
0	(Ink epitaph) Liu Chengshe (墨書題記) 劉 承棟	Beipiao, Liaoning	Private	Anon			See table D.1
951	Grand Consort An of Later Jin 後晉 安太妃	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Anon			See table D.1
951	Empress Dowager Li of Later Jin 後晉 李太后	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Anon			See table D.1
955	Chen Wan 陳 萬	Zhangwu, Liaoning*	Private	李筠	前成德軍教練使		WB 15-18
969	Zhang Jianli 張建立	Lingyuan, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 42-44
970	Liu Chengsi 劉承嗣	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Feng Qi 馮圻	齊國王府記室參軍、朝議 郎、尚書司門員外郎、賜 紫金魚袋	Staff, official	WB 47-52

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author posting type	Source
970	Geng Chongmei 耿崇美	Chaoyang, Liaoning	State	王曉	守太子洗馬	Official	XB 13-16
974	Shi Chonggui 石重貴	Chaoyang, Liaoning	State	牛藏用	盧龍軍節度推官、將仕郎、守右拾遺	Official, staff	See table D.1
981	Wang Yu 王裕	Harqin Zuoyi, Liaoning	Private	董璚	灤州軍事判官、文林郎、試大理評事	Official	WB 62-67
981	Liu Jiwen 劉繼文	Jianchang, Liaoning	Private	沙門文秀	文章大德、賜紫	Monk	WB 71-78
981	Mr Chen 陳公	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Damaged			WB 79-80
985	Wang Zan 王瓚	Harqin Zuoyi, Liaoning	Private	董璚	灤州軍事判官、文林郎、試大理評事	Official	WB 81 - 84
986	Yelü Yanning 耶律延寧	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 85-87
991	Han Yu 韓瑜	Chaoyang, Liaoning	State	郝雲	前進士	Degree holder	WB 93-97
991	Shi Yanxu 石延煦	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	沙門文秀	文章大德、賜紫	Monk	See table D.1
991	Ma Shenzhang 馬審章	Unclear	Private	Anon			See table D.1

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author posting type	Source
997	Liu Yuyi 劉宇一	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Anon			See table D.1
1000	Liu Yujie 劉宇傑	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	王用極	灤州軍事判官、將仕郎、試秘書省書郎	Official	WB 106-109
1000	Gao Song 高嵩	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	威武賈瑜	No title	Civilian	XB 37-39
1002	Mr Zhao of Pingzhou 平州趙府君	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Damaged			WB 110-111
1005	Wang Yue 王悅	Harqin Zuoyi, Liaoning	Private	沙門志詮	講法花上生經、文章大德	Monk	WB 112-116
1007	x Fengyin 口奉殷	Harqin Zuoyi, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 125-126
1008	Chang Zunhua 常遵化	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 127 - 130
1012	Mme Yeltü wife of Geng Yanyi 耿延毅妻耶律氏	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	史克忠	積慶宮都部署判官、將仕郎、試大理評事	Ordo official	WB 142 - 145
1013	Gao Yuan 高元	Chaoyang, Liaoning	State	Anon			See table D.1
1020	Geng Yanyi 耿延毅	Chaoyang, Liaoning	State	李萬	No titles		WB 159-164

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author posting type	Source
1022	Han Shaodi 韓紹娣	Harqin Zuoyi, Liaoning	Private	Anon			XB 63-64
1026	Song Kuangshi 宋 匡世	Lingyuan, Liaoning	Private	王景運	中京留守推官、朝議郎、 尚書吏部郎中、賜緋魚袋	Capital official	WB 180-183
1026	Li Shaoyu 李 紹俞	Beipiao, Liaoning	Private	Anon			See table D.1
1027	Geng Zhixin 耿知新	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	王知微	故燕王門生、進士、講三 玄	Staff, degree holder	WB 184-186
1035	Zhang Shoujie 張守 節	“榆州安人鄉”	Private	鮮於去非	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	See table D.1
1037	Han Chun 韓 椅	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	李萬	朝議郎、守尚書右司郎 中、充史館修撰、武騎尉、 賜紫金魚袋	Official, historiography academy	WB 203 - 210
1039	Zhao Weigan 趙為幹	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	郝曖	玄寧軍節度掌書記	Staff	WB 219-221
1046	Liu Riyong 劉 日泳	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	劉湘	內供奉班祇候	Official	WB 243-247
1057	Yang Congxian 楊 從顯	Beipiao, Liaoning	Private	昌黎韓遂	No title		See table D.1

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author posting type	Source
1060	Zhao Kuangyu 趙匡禹	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	趙濬	將仕郎、守秘書省校書郎	Official	WB 299-302
1071	Mr Yang of Hongnong 弘農楊公	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Damaged			XB 139-140
1087	Ru Xiongwen 茹雄文	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	韓君穆	殿試進士	Degree holder	XB 184-185
1087	Liu Zhiwei 劉知微	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Anon			See table D.1
1090	Mme Cao wife of Chen Yi 陳顥妻曹氏 (乙)	Beipiao, Liaoning	Private	陳顥	奉國功臣、前三司使、崇祿大夫、守太子太保、上柱國、潁川郡開國公、食邑三千五百戶、食實封肆佰伍拾戶	High official	XB 200-202
1090	Mme Liu, wife of Chen Yi 陳顥妻劉氏	Beipiao, Liaoning	Private	Damaged	朝散大夫、守將作少監、充史館修撰、...騎、賜...	Official, historiographical academy	XB 203
1092	Han Rui 韓瑞	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	宋雄	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	WB 448-449
1093	Liu Congxin 劉從信	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	江氏	Wife, no office		XB 212-213

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author posting type	Source
1097	Liu Zhigu 劉知古	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	韓長國	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	See table D.1
1099	Liu Hu 劉祐	Aohan, Chifeng, IM	Private	楊 曠	少府少監、充史館修撰	Official, historiographical academy	XB 236-238
1099	Liu Zhixin 劉知新	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	韓長國	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	See table D.1
1102	Wang Zhongxing 王仲興	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	楊丘文	朝請大夫、守鴻臚少卿、知秘書少監充、史館修撰、應奉閣下文字、賜紫金魚袋	Official, historiographical academy	See table D.1
1104	Gong Xiang 龔祥	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 754-755
1104	Yao Qihui 姚企暉	Beipiao, Liaoning	Private	韓長國	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	See table D.1
1105	Zhang Rang 張讓	Chaoyang, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 551-552
1107	Han Yu 韓宇	Unclear	Private	Anon			See table D.1
1117	Yao Shu 姚璿	Beipiao, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 665-666

Table C.49: Yiwulü region epitaphs and their authors

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
981	Zhang Zhengsong 張正嵩	Fuxin, Liaoning	Private	趙衡	將仕郎、檢校尚書虞部員外郎、守寧王府記室參軍、賜緋魚袋	Official, staff	WB 68 - 70
1018	Princess of the Chen State 陳國公主	Naiman, Tongliao, IM	State	馬貽謀	太中大夫、守衛尉卿、知樞密承旨事、上柱國、扶風縣開國男、食邑二百戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official	WB 153-155
1029	Xiao Jin 蕭僅	Fuxin, Liaoning	Private	趙逵	豪州軍事判官	Prefectural staff	WB 191 - 192
1033	Xiao Lin 蕭琳	Naiman, Tongliao, IM	Private	王成	應鄉貢舉進士	Degree candidate	XB 71-72
1038	Lady of the Jin State, wife of Yelü Yuan 耶律元妻晉國夫人蕭氏	Fuxin, Liaoning	State	張濟	奉先軍節度副使、銀青崇祿大夫、檢校右散騎常侍、兼殿中侍御史、飛騎尉	Official	WB 211-213
1039	Zhang Sizhong 張思忠	Fuxin, Liaoning	Private	柴德基	儒林郎，守秘書省著和佐郎	Official	WB 215-218
1040	Lü Sizhi 呂思支	Hure, Tongliao, IM	Private	Anon			XB 77
1044	Xiao Xianggong 蕭相公	Fuxin, Liaoning	Private	Damaged			WB 231-232

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1045	Grand Consort of the Qin State 秦國太妃	Fuxin, Liaoning	State	楊佺	天雄軍節度、魏州管內觀察處置等使、特進、檢校太師、行吏部尚書、參知政事、修國史、行魏州大都督府長史、同中書門下平章事、上柱國、弘農郡開國公、食邑三千五百戶、食實封參伯伍拾戶	High official	XB 90-96
1051	Xiao Zhong and Princess of Pingyuan 駙馬蕭公平原公主	Fuxin, Liaoning	State	Anon			See table D.1
1053	Yelü Zongjiao 耶律宗教	Beizhen, Liaoning	State	張嗣復	樞密承旨、銀青崇祿大夫、檢校尚書右僕射、行左拾遺、驍騎尉	Official	WB 750-753
1058	Xiao Min 蕭旻	Fuxin, Liaoning	Private	Anon			XB 113-114
1059	Yelü Shuji 耶律庶幾	Yixian, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 294-297
1062	Yelü Zongzheng 耶律宗政	Beizhen, Liaoning	Imperial	王寔	翰林學士、中散大夫、中書舍人、史館修撰、上騎都尉、太原縣開國子、食邑五百戶、賜紫金魚袋	Official, Hanlin and historiographical academy	WB 305 -311

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1065	Yelü Zongyun 耶律宗允	Beizhen, Liaoning	Imperial	劉詵	朝請大夫、守將作少監、 充史館修撰、應奉閣下文 字、飛騎尉、賜紫金魚袋	Official, historiographical academy	WB 319-324
1068	Xiao Zhixing 蕭知行	Fuxin, Liaoning	Private	張璠	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	XB 124-125
1069	Consort of the Qin and Jin State 秦晉 國妃	Beizhen, Liaoning	Imperial	陳覺	翰林學士、中散大夫、行 中書舍人、簽諸行宮都部 署司事、輕車都尉、賜紫 金魚袋	Official, ordo, historiographical academy	WB 340-343
1072	Yelü Renxian 耶律仁先	Beipiao, Liaoning	State	趙孝嚴	前崇義軍節度副使、銀青 崇祿大夫、檢校散騎常 侍、兼殿中侍御史、飛騎 尉	Official	WB 352-357
1073	Xiao Degong 蕭德恭	Fuxin, Liaoning	Private	石介	文林郎、試秘書省正字	Official	XB 153-155
1075	Xiao Dewen 蕭德溫	Fuxin, Liaoning	State	張臣言	國舅判官、承務郎、守太 子中允、武騎尉、賜緋魚 袋	Official	WB 371-374
1091	Yelü Shanqing 耶 律善慶	Fuxin, Liaoning	Imperial	曲志忠	徵仕郎、守殿中丞、直史 館、權應奉閣下文字、騎 都尉、賜緋魚袋	Official, historiographical academy	See table D.1

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1094	Yelü Qingsi 耶律慶嗣	Beipiao, Liaoning	Imperial	趙孝嚴	宣政殿學士、崇祿大夫、行尚書禮部侍郎、兼翰林學士、知制誥、充史館修撰、柱國、天水郡開國公、食邑二千五百戶、食實封二百五十戶	High official, Hanlin and historiographical academy	WB 456-459
1094	Yelü Zhixian 耶律智先	Beipiao, Liaoning	Private	趙孝嚴	宣政殿學士、崇祿大夫、行尚書禮部侍郎、兼翰林學士、知制誥、充史館修撰、柱國、天水郡開國公、食邑二千五百戶、食實封二百五十戶	High official, Hanlin and historiographical academy	XB 222
1095	Princess of Yongqing 永清公主	Fuxin, Liaoning	State	李權	勅祭發引使、朝散大夫、守司農少卿、隴西縣開國子、食邑伍伯戶、上騎尉都、賜紫金魚袋	High official	XB 226-228
1096	Yelü Hongli 耶律弘禮	Beizhen, Liaoning	Imperial	曲至忠	朝請大夫、守秘書少監、充史館修撰、應奉閣下文字、騎郡尉、有代郡開國子、食邑五百戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official, historiographical academy	See table D.1
1101	Liang Yuan 梁援	Yixian, Liaoning	Imperial	孟初	朝請大夫、中書舍人、充史館修撰、輕車都尉、平昌縣開國伯、食邑七百戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official, historiographical academy	WB 519-525

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1102	Xiao Ying 蕭瑩	Beizhen, Liaoning	Imperial	張	史館修撰	Official, historiographical academy	XB 241-243
1105	Xu Wang 許王	Fuxin, Liaoning	Private	Damaged			XB 249
1107	Grand Consort of Liang State 梁國太妃	Fuxin, Liaoning	Imperial	楊丘文	乾文閣直學士、乾文閣代制	Official, scholar	XB 257-259
1107	Mme Zhang, wife of Liang Yuan 梁援妻張氏	Yixian, Liaoning	Private	楊丘文	乾文閣直學士、賜紫金魚袋	Official, scholar	WB 566-569
1108	Mme Xiao, wife of Yelü Hongyi 耶律弘益妻蕭氏	Yixian, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 590-591
1110	Mme Yelü, wife of Xiao Degong 蕭德恭妻耶律氏	Fuxin, Liaoning	Private	李拱辰	鄉貢進士	Degree Candidate	XB 270-271
1113	Zhang Yi 張懿	Fuxin, Liaoning	Private	Anon			See table D.1

Table C.50: Yan region epitaphs and their authors

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
0	Gentleman of the Xu State 許國公	Tangshan, Hebei	State	Anon			See table D.1
0	Liu Liufu 劉六符	Fengtai, Beijing	Unknown (unpublished)				See table D.1
0	Liu Yu 劉雨	Fengtai, Beijing	Unknown (unpublished)				See table D.1
955	Liu Cungui 劉存規	Miyun, Beijing		Anon			WB 9-10
958	Mme Zhong, wife of Zhao Dejun 趙德鈞妻種氏	Yongding Gate, Beijing	State	劉京	門吏、翰林學士、朝散大夫、守尚書兵部員外郎、知制誥、柱國、賜紫金魚袋	Staff, official	WB 21-26
967	Wang Zhongfu 王仲福	Pinggu, Beijing	Private	Anon			XB 8-9
969	Wang Shouqian 王守謙	Fengtai, Beijing	Private	Anon			XB 10-12
973	Wu Jingxun 吳景詢	Fengtai, Beijing	State	於禪	尚書	Unclear	XB 17-18

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
978	Li Neizhen 李 內貞	Xicheng, Beijing	Private	Anon			WB 53-55
988	Li Xi 李熙墓 志	Fengtai, Beijing	Private	Anon			See table D.1
997	Han Yi 韓佚	Shijingshan, Beijing	Private	裴玄感	盧龍節度判官、朝散大夫、行尚書祠部員外郎	Staff official	WB 100 - 103
1000	Liu Zhu 劉鑄	SW of Beijing*	Private	Anon			See table D.1
1011	Mme Wang, wife of Han Yi 韓佚妻王氏	Shijingshan, Beijing	Private	王行己	...士...	Unclear	WB 139-141
1017	Han Xiang 韓 相	Qian'an, Hebei	Private	趙用	進士	Degree holder	WB 151-152
1024	Zhang Qi 張 琪	Daxing, Beijing	Private	楊估	政事舍人	High official	WB 173-175
1036	Zhang Sifu 張 嗣甫	Xicheng, Beijing	Private	張嗣宗	朝議郎、守左補闕、騎都尉、賜緋魚袋	Official	WB 201-202
1038	Lü Shizong 呂 士宗	Shijingshan, Beijing	Private	Damaged	前進士、承奉郎。試大理司直守涿州范陽縣令飛騎尉	Official	See table D.1
1044	Li Jicheng and wife Mme Ma 李 繼成暨妻馬 氏	Fengtai, Beijing	Private	李舜卿	登仕郎、試秘書省校書郎、武騎尉	Official	XB 87-89

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Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1045	Mme Li, wife of Wang Ze 王澤妻李氏	Fengtai, Beijing	Private	王澤	大中大夫、行給事中、知涿州軍州事、兼管內巡檢安撫屯田勸農等使、上柱國、開國侯、賜紫金魚袋	Official	WB 240-242
1053	Wang Ze 王澤	Fengtai, Beijing	Private	王綱	正議大夫、尚書兵部侍郎、知制誥、兼秘書監、上柱國、瑯琊郡開國侯、食邑一千六百戶、食實封壹佰陸拾戶	High official, hanlin	WB 259-264
1053	Zhang Jian 張儉	Xicheng, Beijing	State	楊佖	宣政殿學士、崇祿大夫、行禮部尚書、兼知制誥、修國史、上柱國、弘農郡開國公、食邑三千五百戶、食實封叁佰伍拾戶	High official, historiography academy	WB 265-272
1057	Ding Qiujin 丁求謹	Xicheng, Beijing	Private	Anon			XB 110-112
1063	Zhang Ji 張績	Unclear	Private	李三畋	Unknown (abridged)		WB 313-316
1069	Han Zidao 韓資道	Shijingshan, Beijing	Private	李炎	承務郎、守秘書省著作郎、飛騎尉、賜緋魚袋	Official	WB 334-336
1069	Dong Kuangxin and wife Mme Wang 董匡信及妻王氏	Xicheng, Beijing	Private	王言敷	Unknown		WB 337-339

Table C.50 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1071	Kang Wencheng 康文成	Haidian, Beijing	Private	Anon			XB 138
1083	Sun Kegou 孫克構	Beijing	Private	Damaged	朝散大夫、守將作少監、前知遼興軍節度副使、大...	Official	See table D.1
1083	LüShi'an 呂士安	Shijingshan, Beijing	Private	趙淵	...太常少卿知可汗軍州飛騎尉借紫	Official	See table D.1
1085	Zheng Jie 鄭頴	Tongzhou, Beijing	Private	鄭碩	右拾遺、充史館修撰、應奉閣下文字	Official, historiography academy	XB 179-181
1085	Zhang Jinqing 張晉卿	Miyun, Beijing	Private	王翬	鄉貢進士	Degree candidate	See table D.1
1087	Mme Zhang, wife of Dong Xiang 董岸妻張氏	Xicheng, Beijing	Private	韓詵	朝請大夫、守司農少卿、權中京內省使、驍騎尉、南陽縣開國男、食邑一百戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official	WB 409-410
1090	Liang Ying 梁穎	Zhuozhou, Hebei	Imperial	耶律興公	翰林學士、行中事舍人、充史館修撰	Official, historiography academy	See table D.1
1111	Ding Hong 丁洪	Xicheng, Beijing	Private	陳洵	No office		WB 618-619

Table C.50 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1113	Zhang Guan, wife of Ma Zhiwen 馬直 溫妻張館	Daxing, Beijing	Private	張嶠	朝議大夫、守司農少卿、 前知忠順軍節度副使、上 騎都尉、清河縣開國子、 食邑五百戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official	WB 633-637
1113	Ding Wenyu 丁文道	Xicheng, Beijing	Private	韓昉	承奉郎、守右拾遺、權史 館修撰、應奉閣下文字、 賜緋魚袋、驍騎尉	Official, historiography academy	WB 639-641
1114	Wang Shiru 王師儒	Haidian, Beijing	State	南抃	朝議大夫、守少府少監、 前知秘書少監、上騎都 尉、賜紫金魚袋	Official	WB 645-650
1114	Shi Xunzhi 史 洵直	Changping, Beijing	Private	Anon			WB 651-652
1117	Meng Chu 孟 初	Fangshan, Beijing	State	盧仲文	昭文館直學士、知樞密直 學士、權翰林學士	Official, historiography academy	XB 297-299
1120	Du Yu 杜愈	Shijingshan, Beijing	Private	鄭 璠	前燕京留守判官、中散大 夫、守鴻臚少卿、上騎都 尉、滎陽縣開國子、食邑 五百戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official	XB 304-307
1121	Mme Xianyu 鮮于氏	Haidian, Beijing	Private	馬子昇	燕南布衣	Civilian	WB 684-685
1124	Wang Anyi 王 安裔	Beijing	Private	Anon			WB 687-688

Table C.51: Yun region epitaphs and their authors

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
982	Mme Kang, wife of Xu Congyun 許 從贊暨妻康 氏	Datong, Shanxi	Private	Anon			XB 19-21
994	Jiang Chengyi 姜承義	Xuanhua, Hebei	Private	Anon			WB 748-749
1093	Zhang Kuangzheng 張匡正	Xuanhua, Hebei	Private	Anon			XB 214-215
1093	Zhang Wenzao 張文 藻	Xuanhua, Hebei	Private	Anon			XB 216-217
1107	Mme Guo, wife of Dong Chengde Qi Guoshi 董承 德妻郭氏	Datong, Shanxi	Private	Anon			WB 573
1110	Ning Jian 寧 鑑	Shuozhou, Shanxi	Private	Lu Zhongwen 盧仲文	中大夫、太常少卿、前史 館修撰	Official, former historiographical academy	WB 606-608
1110	Gao Weiqiu 高為裘	Shuozhou, Shanxi	Private	Anon			WB 609-610

Table C.51 continued from previous page

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1110	Gao Ze 高澤	Shuozhou, Shanxi	Private	Anon			WB 611-612
1111	Han Shixun 韓師訓	Xuanhua, Hebei	Private	Anon			XB 280-281
1116	Zhang Shiqing 張世卿	Xuanhua, Hebei	Private	Zheng Hao 鄭皓	前燕京 少卿、中散大夫、守鴻臚少卿、開國子	Official	WB 655-657
1117	Zhang Shigu 張世古	Xuanhua, Hebei	Private	Anon			XB 294-295
1117	Zhang Gongyou 張恭誘	Xuanhua, Hebei	Private	Anon			XB 296
1119	Liu Chongsui 劉承遂	Datong, Shanxi	Private	Anon			WB 676

Table C.52: Liaodong region epitaphs and their authors

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1015	(Stone Coffin) Li Jin 李進	Shenyang, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 148
1018	(Stone Coffin) Sun Yunzhong 孫允中	Shenyang, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 156
1090	Xiao Paolu 蕭袍魯	Faku, Liaoning	Imperial	王師儒	翰林侍讀學士、大中大 夫、行給事中、知制誥、 充史館修撰、伴讀燕國 王、上輕車都尉、太原縣 開國侯、食邑一千六百 戶、賜紫金魚袋	High official, Hanlin, historiography academy	WB 423-426
1112	Xiao Yi 蕭義	Faku, Liaoning	Imperial	孟初	太中大夫、左諫議大夫、平 知制誥、上輕車都尉、平 昌縣開國公、食邑一千 戶、食實封壹伯戶、賜紫 金魚袋	High official, Hanlin	WB 622-627

Table C.53: West region basin epitaphs and their authors

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
994	Mme Lanling Xiao, Honoured Consort 貴妃 蘭陵蕭氏	Duolun, Xilingol, IM	Imperial	張幹	朝議郎、守政事舍人、賜紫金魚袋	Official	See table D.1

Table C.54: Jinzhou region basin epitaphs and their authors

Year	Epitaph of...	Location	Commission	Author	Author titles	Author Posting type	Source
1089	Xiao Xiaozhong 萧孝忠	Jinxi, Liaoning	Private	Anon			WB 416-417

Appendix D

Epitaph Referencing

D.1 Chinese epitaphs

The majority of Chinese epitaphs cited in this thesis derive from the following two volumes:

- Xiang Nan 向南, ed., *Liaodai shikewen bian*, 遼代石刻文編 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe 河北教育出版社, 1995)
- Xiang Nan 向南, Zhang Guoqing 張國慶, and Li Yufeng 李宇峰, eds., *Liaodai shikewen xubian*, 遼代石刻文續編, vol. 31 (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe 遼寧人民出版社, 2010)

Alternative transcriptions for many of these can also be found in the following three volumes:

- Wang Jingchen 王晶辰 and Wang Ju'er 王菊耳, eds., *Liaoning beizhi*, 遼寧碑誌 (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe 遼寧人民出版社, 2002)
- Gai Zhiyong 蓋之庸, ed., *Liaodai Neimenggu shikewen yanjiu*, 內蒙古遼代石刻文研究 (Hohhot: Neimenggu Daxue Chubanshe 內蒙古大學出版社, 2002)
- Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, Tang Cailan 唐彩蘭, and Qing Gele 青格勒, eds., *Liao shangjing diqu chutu de Liaodai beike huiji*, 遼上京地區出土的遼代碑刻彙輯 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 社會科學文獻出版社, 2009)

As well as other scattered articles which are cited as and when they are referred to.

There are also many epitaphs that were not published in the above collections and can be found in the following articles:

Table D.1: Chinese epitaphs not published in WB or XB

Epitaph of:	Chinese name	Year	Reference
Empress Dowager Li of the Later Jin	後晉李太后墓誌	951	Du Xiaohong 杜曉紅 and Li Yufeng 李宇峰, “Liaoning Chaoyang xian faxian Liaodai Hou Jin Li Taihou, An Taifei muzhi” 遼寧朝陽縣發現遼代後晉李太后、安太后墓誌, <i>Bianjiang kaogu yanjiu</i> 邊疆考古研究, no. 2 (2014): 61–68

Table D.1 continued from previous page

Epitaph of:	Chinese name	Year	Reference
Gao Shining	高士寧墓誌	1107	Zuo Lijun 左利軍, “Liao <Gao Shining muzhi> kaoshi” 遼《高士寧墓誌》考釋, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古 3 (2011): 286–292
Gao Xuangui	高玄圭墓誌	1074	Kang Peng 康鵬, Zuo Lijun 左利軍, and Wei Congcong 魏聰聰, “Liao <Gao Xuangui muzhi> kaoshi” 遼《高玄圭墓誌》考釋, <i>Beifang wenwu</i> 北方文物, no. 3 (2014): 79–82
Gao Yuan	高元墓誌	1013	Du Xiaohong 杜曉紅 and Li Yufeng 李宇峰, “Liaoning Chaoyang Xian faxian Liaodai Gao Song Gao Yuan fuzi muzhi” 遼寧朝陽縣發現遼代高嵩高元父子墓誌, <i>Liaoning sheng bowuguan guankan</i> 遼寧省博物館館刊, 2011, 85–95
Gentleman of Xu State	許國公墓誌	0	Zhao Wei 趙薇, “Tangshan faxian de Liaodai Xuguo Gong muzhiming kaoshi” 唐山發現的遼代許國公墓誌銘考釋, <i>Wenwu jian ding yu jianshang</i> 文物鑒定與鑒賞, no. 1 (2018): 14–17
Grand Consort An of the Later Jin	後晉安太妃墓誌	951	Du and Li, “Liaoning Chaoyang xian faxian Liaodai Hou Jin Li Taihou, An Taifei muzhi”
Han Yu	韓宇墓誌	1107	Zhou Feng 周峰, “Liaodai Han Yu muzhi kaoshi” 遼代韓宇墓誌考釋, <i>Diyu wenhua yanjiu</i> 地域文化研究 9, no. 6 (2018): 131–136
Imperial Son-in-law Mr Xiao and Princess Pingyuan	駙馬蕭公平原公主墓誌	1051	Han Shiming 韓世明 and Du Xingzhi 都興智, “Liao <Fuma Xiao Gong Pingyuan Gongzhu muzhi> zai kaoshi” 遼《駙馬蕭公平原公主墓誌》再考釋, <i>Wen shi</i> 文史, no. 3 (2013): 101–111
Li Shaoyu	李紹俞墓誌	1026	Jiang Gongjun 姜洪軍, “Liaoning Beipiaooshi faxian Liaodai Li Shaoyu muzhi” 遼寧北票市發現遼代李紹俞墓誌, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古, 2014, 275–279
Li Xi	李熙墓志	988	Sun Meng 孫勛 and Hu Chuansong 胡傳聳, “Beijing chutu Liaodai Li Xi muzhi kaoshi” 北京出土遼代李熙墓誌考釋, <i>Beifang wenwu</i> 北方文物, no. 1 (2016): 84–90

Table D.1 continued from previous page

Epitaph of:	Chinese name	Year	Reference
Liang Ying	梁穎墓誌	1090	Yang Weidong 楊衛東, "Liaochao Liang Ying muzhiming kaoshi" 遼朝梁穎墓誌銘考釋, <i>Wenshi</i> 文史, no. 1 (2011): 171–181
Liu Chengshe (inked epitaph)	劉府君墨書題記墓誌	0	Du Xiaohong 杜曉紅, "Liaoning Sheng Beipiao Shi faxian Liao Liu Fujun moshu tiji muzhi" 遼寧省北票市發現遼劉府君墨書題記墓誌, <i>Liao Jin Lishi yu Kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古 4 (2013): 305–307
Liu Liufu	劉六符墓誌	0	Wang Ce 王策 and Zhou Yu 周宇, "Liu Liufu muzhi jianshu" 劉六符墓誌簡述, <i>Beijing wenbo wencong</i> 北京文博文叢, no. 2 (2016): 37–39
Liu Yu	劉雨墓誌	0	Wang and Zhou, "Liu Liufu muzhi jianshu"
Liu Yuyi	劉宇一墓誌	997	Du Shouchang 杜守昌 and Li Yufeng 李宇峰, "Liaodai <Liu Yuyi Muzhi> Kaoshi" 遼代《劉宇一墓誌》考釋, <i>Liaoning Bowuguan Guankan</i> 遼寧博物館館刊, 2012, 123–132
Liu Zhigu	劉知古墓誌	1097	Li Daoxin 李道新, "Liaodai Liu Zhixin san xiongdi muzhi kaoshi" 遼代劉知新三兄弟墓誌考釋, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古, 2017, 299–305
Liu Zhiwei	劉知微墓誌	1087	Li, "Liaodai Liu Zhixin san xiongdi muzhi kaoshi"
Liu Zhixin	劉知新墓誌	1099	Li, "Liaodai Liu Zhixin san xiongdi muzhi kaoshi"
Liu Zhu	劉鑄墓誌	1000	Zhou Feng 周峰, "Liaodai Liu Zhu muzhi kaoshi" 遼代劉鑄墓誌考釋, <i>Xixia yanjiu</i> 西夏研究, no. 1 (2018): 83–88
Lü Shi'an	呂士安墓誌	1083	Sun Meng 孫勛, "Liaodai Lü Shi'an muzhi kaoshi," 遼代呂士安墓誌考釋, in <i>Lugu Jindai Lüshi jiazhu muzang fajue baogao</i> 魯谷金代呂氏家族墓葬發掘報告, ed. 北京市文物研究所 Beijing shi wenwu yanjiusuo (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 科學出版社, 2010), 153–168

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Epitaph of:	Chinese name	Year	Reference
Lü Shizong	呂士宗墓誌	1038	Sun Meng 孫勳, “Liaodai Lü ... muzhi kaoshi,” 遼代呂□□墓誌考釋, in <i>Beijing shi wenwu yanjiusuo, Lugu Jindai Lüshi jiazhu muzang fajue baogao</i> , 137–153
Ma Shenzhang	馬審章墓誌	991	Zhou Feng 周峰, “Liaodai Ma Shenzhang muzhi kaoshi” 遼代馬審章墓誌考釋, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古 9 (2018): 277–281
Mme Chen, wife of Zhang Shu	張公恕妻陳氏墓誌	1097	Qi Wei 齊偉 and Du Xiqing 都惜青, “Liao Zhang Gongshu qi Chen shi muzhi kaoshi” 遼張公恕妻陳氏墓誌考釋, <i>Suzhou Wenbo Luncong</i> 蘇州溫博論叢 2 (2011): 94–98
Mme Li, wife of Han Deyuan	韓德源嫡妻李氏墓誌	994	Wang Yuting 王玉亭, Ge Huating 葛華廷, and Chen Ying 陳穎, “Liao <Han Deyuan diqi Li shi muzhi> jiaobu” 遼《韓德源嫡妻李氏墓誌》校補, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古 9 (2018): 298–301
Mme Xiao, Honoured Consort	貴妃蘭陵蕭氏玄堂誌	994	內蒙古文物考古研究所 Neimenggu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Neimenggu Duolunxian Xiaowangligou Liaodai muzang” 內蒙古多倫縣小王溝遼代墓葬, <i>Kaogu</i> 考古, no. 10 (2016): 55–80
Mme Yi, Consort De of the Later Tang	後唐德妃伊氏玄堂誌并銘	943	Liu Zhe 劉喆, “Xinchu <Da Qidan guo gu Houtang De Fei Yi shi xuantangzhi bing ming> kaoshi” 新出《大契丹國故後唐德妃伊氏玄堂誌并銘》考釋, <i>Ningxia daxue xuebao: renwen shehui kexue ban</i> 寧夏大學學報: 人文社會科學版 40, no. 1 (2018): 40–46
Princess Anding	安定公主墓誌	1072	赤峰市博物館 Chifeng Shi Bowuguan and 寧城縣文物局 Ningcheng Xian Wenwuju, “Chifeng Ningcheng xian Fufeng shan Liaodai muzang” 赤峰寧城縣福峰山遼代墓葬, <i>Caoyuan wenwu</i> 草原文物, 1 2018, 49–56
Shi Chonggui	石重貴墓誌	974	Qi Wei 齊偉, “Liaoning sheng bowuguan cang <Shi Chonggui muzhiming> kaoshi” 遼寧省博物館藏《石重貴墓志銘》考釋, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古, 2013, 299–304

Table D.1 continued from previous page

Epitaph of:	Chinese name	Year	Reference
Shi Li'ai	時立愛墓誌	1143	Luo Ping 羅平 and Zheng Shaozong 鄭紹宗, "Hebei Xinchengxian Beichangcun Jin Shi Li'ai he Shi Feng mu fajue ji" 河北新城縣北場村金時立愛和時豐墓發掘記, <i>Kaogu</i> 考古, no. 12 (1962): 646-650
Shi Yanxu	石延煦墓誌	991	Zhang Guixia 張桂霞 and Li Yufeng 李宇峰, "Liaodai <Shi Yanxu muzhiming> kaoshi" 遼代《石延煦墓志銘》考釋, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古 6 (2015): 329-335
Sun Kegou	孫克構墓誌	1083	Sun Jianquan 孫建權, "Jin <Sun Jikang fenjiwen> ji Liao <Sun Kegou muzhiming> kaoshi" 金《孫即康墳祭文》暨遼《孫克構墓志銘》考釋, <i>Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan</i> 中國國家博物館館刊, no. 6 (2016): 69-76
Wang Zhongxing	王仲興墓誌	1102	Zhang Zhenjun 張振軍, "Liaoning Chaoyangxian faxian Liaodai <Wang Zhongxing muzhi>" 遼寧朝陽縣發現遼代《王仲興墓誌》, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古 8 (2017): 335-340
Xiao Deshun	蕭德順墓誌	1045	Li Junyi 李俊義 and Zhang Mengxue 張夢雪, "<Liao Xiao Deshun muzhiming> kaoshi" 《遼蕭德順墓志銘》考釋, <i>Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan</i> 中國國家博物館館刊, no. 1 (2016): 65-72
Xiao Ning	蕭寧墓誌	1072	Chifeng Shi Bowuguan and Ningcheng Xian Wenwuju, "Chifeng Ningcheng xian Fufeng shan Liaodai muzang"
Xiao Shaozong	蕭紹宗墓誌	1038	Guo Baocun 郭寶存 and Qi Yanchun 祁彥春, "Liaodai <Xiao Shaozong muzhiming> he <Yeū Yange muzhiming> kaoshi" 遼代《蕭紹宗墓志銘》和《耶律燕哥墓志銘》考釋, <i>Wenshi</i> 文史, no. 3 (2015): 177-190
Yang Congxian	楊從顯墓誌	1057	Jiang Hongjun 姜洪軍, "Liaoning Beipiaoshi faxian Liaodai Yang Congxian muzhi" 遼寧北票市發現遼代楊從顯墓誌, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古 8 (2017): 318-323

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Epitaph of:	Chinese name	Year	Reference
Yao Qihui	姚企暉墓誌	1104	Chen Xiaowei 陳曉偉 and Liu Xianzhen 劉憲禎, "Liaodai <Yao Qihui muzhiming> yu Mengyuan Yao Shu, Yao Sui jiazhu" 遼代《姚企暉墓誌銘》與蒙元姚樞、姚燧家族, <i>Zhongguo minzu daxue xuebao: zhexue shehui kexue ban</i> 中央民族大學學報: 哲學社會科學版, no. 5 (2016): 129–135
Yelü Dula	耶律度刺墓誌	0	Zhang Xingguo 張興國, "Balin Zuoci Liao Han Kuangsi jiazhu mudi faxian Yelü Dula muzhi" 巴林左旗遼韓匡嗣家族墓地發現耶律度刺墓誌, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古, 2011, 293–299
Yelü Hongli	耶律弘禮墓誌	1096	Wan Xiongfei 萬雄飛 and Si Weiwei 司偉偉, "Liaodai Yelü Hongli muzhi kaoshi" 遼代耶律弘禮墓誌考釋, <i>Kaogu</i> 考古, no. 6 (2018): 115–122
Yelü Huduo	耶律胡咄墓誌	950	Xiang Chunsong 項春松, "Liaodai Pingzhou jiedushi Yelü Huduo shiguan ji muzhi" 遼代平州節度使耶律胡咄石棺及墓誌, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古, 2011, 275–281
Yelü Shangling	耶律善慶墓誌	1091	Hu Juan 胡娟 and Hai Yong 海勇, "Liao <Yelü Shangling muzhi> Kaoshi" 遼《耶律善慶墓誌》考釋, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古, no. 9 (2018): 282–288
Yelü Yange	耶律燕哥墓誌	1038	Guo and Qi, "Liaodai <Xiao Shaozong muzhiming> he <Yelü Yange muzhiming> kaoshi"
Zhang Jinqing	張晉卿墓誌	1085	Sun Meng 孫勳, "Beijing Miyun Datangzhuang chutu Liaodai muzhi kaoshi" 北京密雲大唐莊出土遼代墓誌考釋, <i>Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan</i> 中國國家博物館館刊, no. 2 (2016): 20–35
Zhang Shoujie	張守節墓誌	1035	Li Qiang 李強, "Liao <Zhang Shoujie muzhi> bushi" 遼《張守節墓誌》補釋, <i>Liao Jin lishi yu kaogu</i> 遼金歷史與考古 4 (2013): 293–298

Table D.1 continued from previous page

Epitaph of:	Chinese name	Year	Reference
Zhang Yi	張懿墓誌	1113	Tian Gao 田高, Wang Lihua 王利華, and Wang Yuting 王玉亭, “Liaodai <Zhang Yi muzhi> bukao” 遼代《張懿墓誌》補考, <i>Beifang wenwu</i> 北方文物, no. 3 (2011): 67–68, 80
Zhang Yu	張郁墓誌	1097	Yao Nailiang 么乃亮, “Liaodai Zhang Yu muzhi kaoshi” 遼代張郁墓誌考釋, <i>Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan</i> 中國國家博物館館刊, no. 10 (2017): 37–45

D.2 Kitan script epitaphs

Table D.2 lists the Kitan script epitaphs that are not published in the following volume:

- Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, ed., *Qidan wenzi yanjiu leibian*, 契丹文字研究類編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2014)

Table D.2: Kitan script epitaphs not published in QDWZ

Epitaph of:	Chinese name	Year	Reference
Xiao Dilu	契丹小字蕭敵魯墓志銘	1114	Yingzhe Wu and Juha Janhunen, <i>New materials on the Khitan small script: a critical edition of Xiao Dilu & Yelü Xiangwen</i> (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 49-134
Xiao Hudujin	契丹小字蕭胡睹墓誌	1091	Wu Yingzhe 吳英喆, <i>Kittan shōji shinhakken shiryō shakudoku mondai</i> 契丹小字新発見資料積読問題 (Tokyo: Nippon Tokyo gaikokugo daigaku ajia-afurika gengo bunka kenkyūsho 日本東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所, 2012), 44-52
Xiao Huilian	契丹小字蕭回璉墓誌	1080	Wu, <i>Kittan shōji shinhakken shiryō shakudoku mondai</i> , 32-43
Yelü Jue	契丹小字耶律玠墓誌	1071	Wu, <i>Kittan shōji shinhakken shiryō shakudoku mondai</i> , 11-31
Yelü Pusuli	契丹小字耶律蒲速里墓誌 碑銘	1105	Wu, <i>Kittan shōji shinhakken shiryō shakudoku mondai</i> , 53-67
Yelü Xiangwen	契丹小字耶律詳穩墓誌	1091	Wu and Janhunen, <i>New materials on the Khitan small script: a critical edition of Xiao Dilu & Yelü Xiangwen</i> , 135-229
Yelü Zhun	大遼國常哀耶律準墓誌銘	1068	Yingzhe Wu, Jiruhe, and Daruhan Peng, “Interpretation of the Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao in Khitan Large Script,” <i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> 70, no. 2 (2017): 217-251

Appendix E

Guide to Database

In this appendix I will describe the database that I built in order to carry out this research project. The database remains incomplete, however it's coverage has been sufficient for the purposes of this thesis. Before going into the details of decisions I made in the design and construction of the database I will outline here some of the ways in which the database contributed to the current thesis.

The main argument of this thesis was based on the pattern that I identified in the epitaphs of the Liao. The following are some of the ways in which the database helped to generate and identify this pattern:

- Inventory of published epitaphs and where they were published, as they are displayed in appendix D.
- The proportion of published inscription materials that are epitaphs and other types.
- The degree to which epitaphs have a clear record of provenance.
- The location of discovery, confirmed or provisional, of the epitaphs.
- Chronology of epitaphs based on the dates they provide.
- Proportion of epitaphs that were in Chinese, Kitan Assembled or Kitan Linear.

- The use of database allowed me to expand and adjust the dataset with ease and incorporate more epitaphs as and when they were published.

The chapters of this thesis used the following kinds of data analysis to reach its conclusions:

- Authors of epitaphs, and their ranks and postings.
- Authors as relatives of the deceased.
- Proportion of epitaphs that credited authors, and proportion that were written anonymously.
- Prevalence of different surnames
- Breakdown of the sub-branches of the Yelü and Xiao clans
- Number of generations listed in Kitan script epitaphs
- Authorship of Kitan script epitaphs
- State involvement in funerals and imperially commissioned epitaphs.

The preliminary database that was designed to carry out the original research objectives of this thesis was compiled using spreadsheets on Microsoft Excel. As the kind of analysis I wished to carry became more complex I graduated to a larger, more complex relational database in Microsoft Access. Relationship databases allow users to represent and analyse relationships between the objects or 'entities' of the database. Much of the design of such relational databases is figuring out what piece of information are the entities, what are attributes of entities – information about the entities – and what are relationships - how different types of entities relate to one another. The decision to use Microsoft Access for the database was because Access is one of the ways that the Chinese Biographical Database (CBDB) is available.¹ This allowed me to borrow from the design and content of CBDB, however due to the specific issues with my

1. Discussions in relation to the structure of the CBDB are based on its current manual. Michael A Fuller, "CBDB User Guide: Revised Version 2.0," 2015, https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/files/cbdb/files/cbdb_users_guide.pdf

dataset I found that the design had to diverge from the CBDB in several ways. This means that the two databases are not fully compatible in their current shape and form.²

Given that my research examines epigraphy, the first of two key entities are the inscriptions. Each of the published inscriptions was given an entry and where available additional dates of their production/installation, and discovery/publication were also recorded. In cases where there were inscriptions on the same stone, or for the same subject but in multiple languages, each language was treated as a separate inscription. Furthermore each inscription was categorised according to the typologies used in the edited volumes. I initially also added three further typological Boolean (i.e. TRUE/FALSE) columns to help filter the inscriptions by genre. These three columns represent whether an inscription was funerary or non-funerary, Buddhist or non-Buddhist, and aboveground or underground. This was later not used as my thesis concentrated on a particular type of inscription, primarily funerary, underground and non-Buddhist, with the exception of one spirit path stele (*shendaobei* 神道碑). Each inscription needed a source, i.e. where they were published, however in many cases these inscriptions were transcribed or photographed in several different publications, creating a one-to-many relationship, and so a separate linked table was created to record the various published instances of each inscription.

The second key entity in the database is the individual persons. These people existed in the world outside of the sources that recorded them, however historical knowledge of a specific individual's existence and activity is wholly predicated on their presence in sources such as inscriptions. This presence in the sources is represented in the database as a relationship between the person and the source. There are several kinds of relationships that people can have with an inscription. They can be the 'subjects' of an inscription, and indeed the commemorative inscriptions that this thesis examines are each dedicated to the life of at least one person, providing extensive biographical information. People can be also related to the inscription by being involved in its production. Inscriptions can include a credit for the author of its text, and

2. At the time of writing I am aware that in 2018 Qiu Jingjia entered a large amount of data from Liao and Jin dynasty epitaphs into the CBDB structure. Qiu Jingjia 邱靖嘉, "CBDB 與遼金史研究: My CBDB Tasks and Research on Liao-Jin History" (2019)

in certain cases the calligrapher and the engraver. Furthermore they can contain a detailed account of how the inscription came to be produced and who commissioned it. Finally, besides being the direct subject matter or the producer of an inscription a person can also be mentioned in an epitaph by merit of their relationship to the subject of the epitaph, or simply as a result of being invoked by the author in the composition. This shows that there are multiple ways that sources present the people of the past, there are many ways in which we know of past persons through their relationship to the source material. A relational database allows us to represent this, so that we have the ability to search not only for all of the individuals connected to a single inscription, but also all the inscriptions that connect to a single individual, and (moving beyond the inscriptions) the recorded connections between those individuals.

The attributes of individuals are not numerous in the database I have constructed because not all epitaphs provide the same kind and amount of information regarding the life of the deceased and indeed other individuals that are mentioned. This means that many columns are very hard to populate. Furthermore, properties of an individual such as names, titles and postings can be multiple and therefore better represented in a one-to-many relationship, meaning they would have their own linked tables rather be allocated a column as an attribute of an entity. The key attributes of a person are gender, and when they were alive. Gender is represented in the source material along a male/female binary, with specific roles in kinship relations and in life prospects between men and women. This makes it generally safe to presume the gender of an individual when it is not made explicit.

The date when a person was alive or active is determined by several means. Firstly, the epitaphs typically record the date that the deceased subject died, and the age at which they died. From this a field for the year of their birth can be populated using a simple equation of subtracting the age they died from the year they died +1 (as Chinese ages include the year in which they were born).³ In the absence of a date of death and age of death I use the term *floruit* to represent the known years the person was active, this is often a range. For many of the authors of epitaphs we only have an idea of when they were alive and actively writing, but not their age

3. This was taken from CBDB manual.

at the time of writing. The CBDB, which customarily generates index years for all individual persons in the database, devised a system by which rough dates could be attributed to persons based on known dates of other persons they are related to, their position in families and generations as well as the time of their life that they attained certain career milestones. Such dates have not been formulated for the persons in this database, however the potential to do so remains.

A key difference between my database and the CBDB has been to not include a column attributing ethnicity to individuals. This is because most sources do not ascribe ethnicity to individuals, so any ascription is interpretive. As is clear in the thesis I avoid using ethnicity as a reductive label, and so for the sake of my analysis I have preferred to focus on other aspects of an individual's identity such as their names. Another signifier of their affiliations, status and lifestyle can be seen in addresses and places associated with the individual, ordo affiliations and indeed whether the person is mobile or settled. These are all potential avenues of future research.

This thesis did not carry out social network analysis or extensive prosopographical research, however in the design of the database I have accommodated for representing relationships between individuals, both in terms of kinship and non-kinship. These relationships however remain largely unpopulated as they were out of the scope of the current research.

In much the same way as the CBDB I have created related tables connecting individuals to offices they held. There is a particular challenge for accounting for offices in Liao sources; while the 1344 LS BGZ serves as blueprint for the administrative and bureaucratic structure of the Liao government, it has been proven to be an inaccurate representation of Liao officialdom.⁴ There are many offices and postings that appear nowhere else outside of the 1344 LS BGZ, and at the same time many of the postings that are recorded in the epitaphs do not appear in the 1344 LS BGZ. Therefore I have refrained from using the 1344 LS BGZ as a model of officialdom. Instead I have drawn on the work of several scholars who have used a combination of re-

4. Lin Hu 林鵠, *Liaoshi baiguanzhi kaoding* 遼史百官志考訂 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 2015).

ceived and retrieved sources to reconstruct career tracks and institutional postings.⁵ In terms of coverage, for the purposes of this thesis I have restricted coverage to the offices that subject of epitaphs held at the time of the epitaph inscription (representing their social status at the time of their death), and the offices and postings of authors in each instance where they are credited as authors. Much like the relationships, the various postings that individual;s serve over their lifetimes that are presented in the more detailed epitaphs are data that can be populated into the database in future research projects. The same can be said, where possible, with methods of entry into officialdom, another kind of data which the CBDB has a way of representing.

I am very interested in the conditions by which each epitaph was produced and I therefore wanted to be able to analyse how many of these epitaphs were commissioned by the 'state', i.e. the court or the bureaucratic apparatus. Work on other dynasties has shown that there was a code in place that stipulated who was prestigious enough to receive an epitaph and indeed funerary culture was explicitly stratified. The evidence that this is true for the Liao is not self-evident. Liu Wei has argued that by the late Liao at least there was a coded stratification in funeral expectations.⁶ One way to be able to measure this in a database is to track the attestations of court or official involvement in the commissioning or financing of funerals. However, up until now the database I have described consists of two key entities the epitaphs and the individuals. In order to represent this relationship I created a new entity type, events. This is populated with funerals as events, which are related to the individuals whose funeral it was and the epitaph as a trace (both a component, product and record of the funeral). The relationship between the epitaphs, individuals and events is triangulated. There is also the potential to connect individuals that served as officials appointed by the court to fulfil roles in preparing the funeral.⁷ State sponsorship is then treated as a Boolean attribute of the event. This allows to fil-

5. Primarily Yang Jun 楊軍, "Liaochao nanmianguan yanjiu: yi beike ziliao wei zhongxin" 遼朝南面官研究——以碑刻資料為中心, *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊, no. 3 (2013): 3–19; Tang Tongtian 唐統天, "Liaodai xunji, fengjue he shiyi hidu yanjiu" 遼代勳級、封爵和食邑制度研究, *Dongbei difang shi yanjiu* 東北地方史研究, no. 2 (1990): 21–28; Wang Zengyu 王曾瑜, "Liaochao guanyuan de shizhi he xuxian chutan" 遼朝官員的實職和虛銜初探, *文史* 34 (1992): 159–186.

6. Liu Wei 劉未, *Liaodai muzang de kaoguxue yanjiu* 遼代墓葬的考古學研究 (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 2016), 106–114.

7. C.f. Zhang Guoqing 張國慶, "Liaodai sangzang lisu buyi - huangdi wei chenxia qianshi zhizang" 遼代喪葬禮俗補遺——皇帝為臣下遣使治葬, *Liaoning daxue xuebao* 遼寧大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 36, no. 6 (2008): 90–95

ter between those that were in anyway explicitly state-sponsored, and those that were privately funded.

Finally, there is another side of this database that was integral to identifying the spatial pattern of the epitaphs. This part of the database concerned the epitaphs rather than the individuals, and linked the inscriptions table to a table of 'sites', i.e where the epitaphs had been retrieved. For the siting of the epitaphs I used GPS points that I generated myself based on curatorial information for each inscriptions provided in WB, XB and other relevant publications of individual epitaphs. I was also fortunate enough in the course of creating this database to have access to the database of Liao tombs made available online by Nicholas Tackett as part of his 2017 book.⁸ Where possible I incorporated the GPS points that Tackett used for Liao tombs. This dataset also enabled me to visualise how many tombs and burials there were with and without epitaphs.

One final element of the database that does not get discussed in this thesis was one I used in a separate publication. This incorporated both the verbatim descriptions of places, and interpretations of where these were, with corresponding GPS points. I used this to analyse where people died and where they recorded they were buried.⁹

There are still many avenues to expand this database for future research projects, both independent and collaborative.

8. Nicolas Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

9. Lance Pursey, "Tents, Towns and Topography: How Chinese-Language Liao Epitaphs Depicted the Moving Court," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 48, no. 1 (2019): 177–206.