JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VI.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* Part V.—*The Khitai or Khitans.* By H. H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

THE Khitai fill a notable place in Asiatic history, and the investigation of their ethnology and early history is full of interest and value. It is also surrounded by considerable difficulties. The Khitai, or Khitans as they are otherwise known, conquered Northern China, and it was from them that mediæval geographers and travellers derived the famous name of Cathay, which has much romance about it. The Russians to this day call the Chinese Kitai. The name was perhaps introduced into Europe by the Arabs, whose adventurous merchants began to frequent the ports of China during the supremacy of the Khitai; or it may have travelled westward through the intervention of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, who called the Khitai Khatai. They never conquered Southern China, nor did their dominion there extend apparently beyond its six northern provinces; but they made up for this by dominating over the various nomade tribes who occupied the country from the river Hurka to Turkestan, and from the Chinese wall to the country of the Tunguses. The Mongols and the tribes of Manchuria were either immediately subject to them, or tributaries; and, in fact, the history of Eastern Asia from the beginning of the tenth to that of the twelfth century was focussed about the Khitai. When their dominion in the further East was broken, as I described in a previous paper, by the Kin or Golden Tartars, a branch of their

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0035869X00017780

royal house founded an empire further west, known as Kara Khitai, which has already occupied our attention. The Khitans sprang from the country which separates Manchuria from the desert of Gobi, and which is now occupied by the Mongol tribes Barin of Khorchin, Khorlos, Durbet, and Jelaid (Borgs Hyacinthe, 282, Timkofski, vol. ii. p. 243). The mountain Bardan, within the Barin territory, was where Pu tu, one of the ancestors of the Khitan Imperial house, was born, and we are told he is buried in these parts (Timkofski, vol. ii. p. 245). The ancient city of Ling huan ching or Shang king, also called Sileou, formerly the residence of the Emperors of the dynasty of Liau (*i.e.* of the Khitans), was probably on the right bank of the Chono ussu, opposite the little town of Boro Khoto, now in ruins, *id.* 246. Mr. Ross in one place says it was south of the Sira muran, in another that it was in the land of the ancient An ping of Han (Hist. of Corea, pp. 218 and 224). "The dynasty of Liau (*i.e.* of the Khitans) originated there about the end of the tenth century. The capital and a magnificent palace were built at the same time. Twenty-five cities, of which even the ruins are not now to be seen, were dependent on the capital. Tsu Chau was to the north of the banner (*i.e.* north of the Barin territory). The first Emperor of the house of Liau (*i.e.* A pao ki, of whom we have much to say further on) was born here, and often took the diversion of the chace in the autumn, which gave occasion to the foundation of the city of Tsu chau, a name which signifies 'City of the Ancestors.' The sepulchre of Tai tsung (*i.e.* the second Khitan emperor), hewn in an enormous rock, was at the distance of five *li* from the city. Near it a stone was erected, with an inscription alluding to his hunting excursions. Twenty *li* to the west was the tomb of the Emperor Shing tsu, of the dynasty of Liau" (Timkofski, p. 246). The mountain Mu ye, which was looked upon by the Khitans as their Olympus, was situated at the junction of the Lohan and Sira muran rivers (Bretschneider, Notices of Med. Geog. etc.). The name means 'Hill of Graves'; it was 300 *li* from Shangking. "The splendid Yieoulu mountains of Kwang

ning in Liau si, just bordering the country of the Mongols, were the burial-place of some of the members of the Liau Imperial house, and the Liau-tung history says that when sacrificing to their founder the Emperors always looked towards Kwang ning, south-east of Shang king" (Ross, *op. cit.* p. 220, 221).

We thus get a fair idea of the old country of the Khitans. It was bounded on the east by Manchuria, which at the beginning of the tenth century, when the Khitans first began to extend their borders, was subject to the Pohai Tartars, and which then comprised both Liau tung, and Manchuria west of the river Hurka. On the south it was conterminous with the Chinese frontier, on the west with the Khinggan mountains and the Gobi desert, and on the north was also bounded by the Pohai Tartars.

The affinities of the Khitans have been much discussed, some holding them to have been Tunguses, and of the same stock as the Kin Tartars and the Manchus (*vide* Abel Remusat, Recherches sur les Langues Tartares, pp. 21, 81; Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, 294). Others again treat them as a mixed race of Mongols and Tungus, the latter element predominating very considerably. A third view—held, I believe, by my venerable and very learned friend Dr. Schott, of Berlin, and to which I have long adhered—is that the Khitans were fundamentally a Tungusic race, but ruled by a caste of Mongol origin. The evidence is not very great. Such as it is, it consists of two elements, namely, the remains of the Khitan language, and the facts we know about their administration and customs. First, in regard to the language. The few words of it which are preserved are contained chiefly in an appendix to the Liau Shi, or history of the Liau dynasty. My friend Mr. Wylie has sent me a list of these words, which I transcribe, with notes on those whose affinities I have traced. I have compared them with Castren's Tungusic and Buriat dictionaries, and Klaproth's vocabularies, in the Asia Polyglotta, while I owe several notes to the courtesy of Dr. Schott.

Khitan *azra* 'large'; Manchu *asuru* 'much very,' S.; Buriat *yike*, C.

Khitan *aya* 'good'; Tungus *aya*, C.; Buriat *haing*, *haiter yahala*, C.

Khitan *chaou* or *joua* 'hundred'; Tungus *namadji*, C.; Uirat *dzo*, K.; Mongol *jaghan*, *jaghu*, *jau*, S.

Khitan *cholo* 'stone'; Tungus *inga*, C.; *dsolo*, S.; Buriat *solu*, S.; Khalka *tzolo*, K.; Mongol *chilaghun*, *chilun*, S.

Khitan *chook* 'yurt or felt tent'; Tungus *zu* 'a house,' C.; Buriat *ger* 'a house,' C.; *balgaso* 'a yurt.'

Khitan *choor* 'two'; Tungus *zur*, C.; Buriat *xoyer*, C.; Khalka *khoir*, K.

Khitan *holdowan* or *kholuwan* 'to assist'; Tungus *tusalain*, C.; Buriat *tuhulnam*, C.

Khitan *kemta* 'easy'; Tungus *änim*, C.; Mongol *kimta*, S.

Khitan *keenmoo* or *djian'u* 'to leave'; Tungus *solam*, C.; Buriat *okenam*, C.

Khitan *kwawan* 'jadestone'; Manchu *gugyo*, *gugui*, S.

Khitan *kwoaleen* 'to take a country'?

Khitan *nungkoo* 'six'; Tungus *nungun*; Buriat *zorgan*, C.

Khitan *noolenktih* 'hair of the head'; Tungus *nuriktah*, C. and K.; Buriat *uhun usu*, C.; *noru noshon*, K.

Khitan *neukoo* or *jugu* 'gold,' K. (Criticism of Hyacinthe); Tungus *altan*, C.; Buriat *altan*, C. and K.

Khitan *peishin* 'jungle'; Manchu *bushan*, S.

Khitan *poorkoo* 'corpulent'; Manchu *bürgü*, S.; Tungus *orokto*, *suka*, C.; Buriat *obohong*, C.

Khitan *pooshuwang* 'prosperous'; probably the Chinese *p'u shuang*, S.

Khitan *siltsih* 'armour'; Manchu *szele* 'iron,' S.

Khitan *shikwan* 'sun'; Tungus *shigun sygun*, S.; Buriat *narang nara*, C.

Khitan *taha* 'near'; Manchu *daha*; Tungus *daga*, S.

Khitan *talkokili* 'to burn'; Tungus *talkia* 'lightning'; Buriat *tuleng* 'tinder' (brennholz), C.

Khitan *taloo* 'bark of a tree'; Tungus *talu* 'birch bark,' C.

Khitan *tama* 'to contract an enclosure'; Manchu *tama*, S.

Khitan *taula korpookŏ* 'to shoot hares'; Mongol *taulai kharbukhu*, from *taulan* 'hares' and *kharbukhu* 'to shoot with a bow,' S.

Khitan *tarako* 'a field'; Manchu *tarun* 'to sow,' S.; Mongol *tariya*, *tarigha*; Turkish *taryk* 'ploughed land.'

Khitan *tikin* 'four'; Tungus *digin*, C.; Mongol *durban*.

Khitan *tile* 'head'; Tungus *dil*, C.; Buriat *tologoi*, C.

Khitan *teklih* 'continued darkness or inferiority'?

Khitan *tishtipun* or *desidatan* 'filial piety'?

Khitan *tolepin* 'to tranquillize'?

Khitan *tookih* 'winter'; Tungus *tugäni*, C., *tugo*, S.; Buriat *ebel*, *obul*, C.

Khitan *toor* 'half-grown pig'; Tungus *tukalaga* 'a pig,' C.; Buriat *gakai* 'a pig,' C.

Khitan *tseangkwan* 'judicial functionary.' This is the Chinese *tseangkeun* 'commander-in-chief,' S.

Khitan *woolooto* 'camp'; Mongol *ordu*. Dr. Schott says the two words are undoubtedly the same.

Khitan *wookoore* 'ox'; Tungus *sar*; Mongol *uker ûker*, S.

Khitan *wotowan* 'parental affection'?

Khitan *yazloowan* 'prosperous'?

The following words are from Klaproth's Asia Polyglotta, (pages 194 and 195, and the Nouv. Journ. Asiat., vi. 23 and 24).

Khitan *enchu* 'father'; Tungus *ama*, C.; Buriat *esega*, C.

Khitan *sali* 'grandfather.'

Khitan *booli* 'bad man' (? *boori*); Manchu *furu* 'wicked,' K.

Khitan *sai i el chi* 'good or lucky day'; Manchu *sain inengghi*, K.

Khitan *khuszu* 'strong'; Manchu *khusun*, K.; Mongol *kuchi*, K.; Turkish, *kuch*, K.

Khitan *naïnieïel* 'first day of the year'?

Khitan *nai cho nai* or *nai nie nai* 'great head'?

Khitan *ao du wan* 'to have pity'?

Khitan *aszü* 'a faithful vassal'?

Khitan *dsian u* 'to leave behind'?

Khitan *teligian* 'empress'?

Khitan *sala* 'a glass'; Tungus *taksi*, *aga*, C.; Buriat *taksi*, *agaya*, C.

Khitan *daolibin* 'an undecided battle'?

Khitan *yelowan* and *pussuwan* 'exalted, elevated.'

We elsewhere learn that the Khitan name for a river was *mori*, which is clearly the Mongol *muran*. De Mailla further tells us that in Khitan 'mother' was *ama*. This is probably the Tungusic *ana*. In Mongol 'mother' is *eka*.

Dr. Schott says that the word *Cha ko chi*, which is given in the Khitan annals as the child's name of prince Tsing wang, is doubtless derived from the Manchu *jakochi*, the ordinal form of *jakou* 'eight,' and he compares with this the Latin names Octavius and Octavianus ("Kitai und Karakitai," Ab. Konig. Acad. Berlin, 1879). This is the scanty material available for the study of the Khitan language, and I offer it merely as a tentative essay, hoping others may further elucidate it, hoping also that some of the students of ethnography in China will before long transcribe for us some of the inscriptions in the language, which it is believed still remain in the Barin country.

So far as we can make out, the language is a mixture of Tungusic and Mongol, the former, as I have said, very largely predominating. In regard to the administrative customs of the Khitans, there are several notable examples which point to their having Mongol rather than Tungusic affinities. The Mongols have a solemn method of swearing eternal friendship, which they call *anda*. As we shall see presently, the same custom, with the same name, prevailed among the Khitans.

The Mongols called their Imperial tent *ordu*, and we are told by the Chinese authors that the Khitans gave the name to a royal tent or a palace (Visdelou, 297). The Mongols gave a tribe or horde the name Aimak. The Khitans similarly called their tribes Aiman (*id.*).

Taishi is a well-known Mongol title. It was also used among the Khitans.

These coincidences between Mongol and Khitan customs are further illustrated by the fact that during the Khitan supremacy the Mongols were apparently their willing subjects; and it was only on the downfall of the Khitans, and the rise of the Kin Tartars, that the Mongols commenced a really independent history; while we find the Khitans acting as the allies and friends of Chingiz Khan in his campaign against the Kin empire.

The same conclusion is reached if we examine the early Chinese accounts of the Khitans. They tell us they had the

same origin as the Shi wei (*i.e.* the Mongols, see previous paper on the Origines of the Mongols). The two races dressed alike, and both shaved their heads (Klaproth, Tableaux Historiques, etc. p. 91). The Chinese make the Khitans descend immediately from the Tong hu, a race of strangers who settled in the Sian pi mountains (whence they afterwards were known as Sianpi) after they had been driven out of their old homes by the Hiongnu (*id.* p. 87). The Sian pi are elsewhere made a Mongol stock by Klaproth, and this last statement seems to point to the Khitans having originated in the mixture of a conquering race of Mongols, who probably subdued and then amalgamated with previous inhabitants, much in the same way the Normans amalgamated with the old English race. This is again supported by another fact. I do not believe generally in the absolute extinction of considerable races without leaving any traces behind, and in the case of the Khitans, who formed an important element in the population of the Manchurian border-land in the days of the Mongol dynasty, it seems impossible to believe that they should have been completely exterminated. I believe, on the contrary, that, although thrust out of their ancient quarters by the Mongols, they were only pushed a little further north, and that they are still to be found in North-Eastern Manchuria under the name of Solons. This view is, I know, supported by such good authorities as Mr. Wylie and Professor Vasilief of St. Petersburgh. The latter told me that Solon is referred to as the dialect by which one or two Khitan words are explained in a Chinese history of the Khitans in his possession. I may add that I met a very intelligent Solon at the St. Petersburgh Congress, with whom I communicated, and who assured me his language was different from either Manchu or Mongol; but as he communicated freely in either of these tongues, I came to the conclusion that he spoke a mixed language compounded of these two elements, and thus confirming the above narrative. It would be an exceedingly valuable work if some student residing in Northern China were to collect a Solon vocabulary.

As another proof of the connexion of the Solons and the

Khitans, I may mention that a principal tribe among the former is called Dakhuri. The Russians call them Daurs, and the Chinese Dakho. Hyacinthe tells us that the chief of the Khitans, in the year 479, who was the founder of their first royal stock, was called Dakhuri (*op. cit.* p. 282). Visdelou calls this royal stock the family of Taho, and it is exceedingly probable that the suggestion of Hyacinthe is just, and that the modern Daurians are descended from the Khitan stock Taho.

In regard to the name Khitai, the etymology is surrounded with difficulty. Dr. Schott tells us that the name, as written by the Chinese, is made up of two ideographs, one meaning a red colour, such as carnation or cinnabar, and the other meaning to scratch or scar. From this some have deemed the name to be of Chinese origin, and to be connected with tattooing, and Wells Williams, in his syllabic dictionary, says of the name: "It is supposed to have been given them from their tattooing." Dr. Schott well says that here we have a double uncertainty; first, whether the characters in Chinese mean tattooing; and secondly, whether the Khitai ever tattooed. Such a fact is not mentioned either in the Khi-tan kuo shi or the Liao sze, the two national histories. He accordingly turns for an explanation to the two Tartar tongues of eastern Asia. In Manchu we have a word *khitakhun*, which in Tungus occurs as *kadakhun*, and which means 'a claw, talon, or finger-nail.' This word contains a root *khit*, which may be connected with our name. In Mongol also we find a root *khit* or *kit* in the verb *kitu-khu* 'to cut or to kill,' and in the noun *kitu-ghu* or *kitu-gha* 'a knife.' Schott suggests that these words may have some connexion with Khitan (Schott, *op. cit.* pp. 9, 10).

Having discussed the ethnology of the Khitans, let us now turn to their history. As I have said, the Chinese make them descend from the Sian pi, about whom I hope to have more to say in a future paper. Here it will suffice to say that the Sian pi mountain, whence they took their name, is placed by Klaproth to the north of the Lo han or Tu ho river, about 100 leagues south of the camp of the right wing

of the Mongol tribe Kharachin, in 42° 5′ north latitude, and 116° 25′ east longitude (Klaproth, Tableaux, p. 87).

In close neighbourhood with the Khitans proper, whom they apparently bounded on the west and south-west, were the Hii, Khi, or Si, as they are variously called. They were undoubtedly, as is shown by the message sent to them by Apaoki (*vide infra*), but a section of the same race ruled by a separate royal stock, and are by some called Western Khitans. As I shall show presently, the Chinese tell us that the Sian pi were divided into three branches—the Khitans, the Yuiwen, and the Khu mo ki or Ku mo si. Hyacinthe says the Hii or Khi were descended from the Yuiwen, and that they lived in the southern portion of the country occupied by the Kharachin Mongols. He says that during the dynasty Wei they called themselves Humokhi. Under the dynasty Tsi they became very powerful, and conquered almost all Southern Mongolia. During the dynasty Sui they left off the appellative Humo, and called themselves simply Khi (*op. cit.* p. 282). The account given in the Kangmu, which I shall quote presently, makes the Yuiwen and Khumokhi separate divisions of the Sian pi.

Mr. Ross says the Khi or Si were originally called Kumosi. They are described as of filthy manners, but excellent archers (*i.e.* what the Solons are now). He says they were, with the Khitans, included in the name Tung hu or Eastern Hu. They were forced to take shelter from the oppression of Moyung between Mo (*i.e.* the Shamo desert) and Sung (? the Sungari, or perhaps, as Mr. Ross says, the Sira Muran, *op. cit.* p. 219).

Klaproth says the Khitans are first mentioned in the Chinese annals under the year 405, in the reign of Ngan ti, the Emperor of the Tsin, where we read: "The Khitan are a tribe of the Tung hu or Eastern barbarians. Their ancestors were beaten by the Hiong Nu, and took refuge in the mountains of Sian pi. During the dynasty Wei and the years Tsing lung (A.D. 233–239) their chief, Kho pi neng, became powerful, and created a disturbance. He was killed by Wang hiung, the commander of Yau chau, the modern

Peking. Their tribes were then scattered, and fled to the south of the river Hoang shui (the Sira muran or Shara muran of the Mongols), north of the town of Huang lung fu. They afterwards gave themselves the honorary name of Khitan, and their horde remained very powerful until Mu yung Hi, king of the Heou yan, attacked them" (Klaproth, Nouveau Journal Asiatique, vi. 22). De Mailla thus translates another account of these events: "Towards the end of the Han dynasty Wang hiong, governor of Yau chau, defeated the Tong hu who had settled in the mountains of Sian pi, and killed Pi neng, their chief. The Chinese general pursued them as far as the Hoang shui, where they lived until Monon, whom they had chosen as their leader, transported them into Liau si. After the defeat which they sustained at the hands of Mu yong hoang, they separated into three hordes, of which one was called Yuuen or Yuouen, another Kumohi, and the third Khitan. The last of these separated from the other two, and went to live on the banks of the Hoangho or Sira Muran" (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 118). Mu yong hoang was prince of Liau tung, and mounted the throne in the year 333 (De Mailla, vol. iv. p. 344). So that this battle was doubtless fought in the first half of the fourth century, and it was from this period that the Khitans first appear under a distinct name.

In the year 440 they became tributary to the Wei dynasty, and sent their tribute by envoys (Klaproth, Tableaux, p. 88).

In the year 479, according to Hyacinthe, they were divided into eight tribes governed by the chief called Dakhuri, already named. He was in command of 40,000 of them (Borgs Hyacinthe, p. 282).

Mr. Ross, in his valuable history of Corea, in which he, however, unfortunately quotes no authorities, states they were then ruled by the Mugan or Wugan Mohofo, and that they were attacked near the modern Yungping by the Gaoli or Kaoli, who gave its name to Corea, and were driven, to the number of 10,000 families, with their tents and movable property, to seek shelter on the borders of the Wei empire, which then comprised the governments of Shan tung and

Chih li (History of Corea, pp. 128, 197). At this time the dominant race in Mongolia were the Yeou yen or Geou gen, who, I believe, were the ancestors of the modern Kalmuks, and whom we shall treat of in a future paper. The Khitans, like the other nomadic tribes, had to submit to them.

The power of the Yeou yen was broken to pieces by the Turks. This was about the year 552. A large number of the Yeou yen fled, and sought shelter with the dynasty of Tsi, called Pe Tsi, or northern Tsi, which had succeeded to that of the Wei. There they elected a new Khakan. Meanwhile the Khitans attacked both the Tsi empire, to which they had paid tribute, and these fugitives, and in 553 they killed the newly-elected Khakan of the Yeou yen (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 351). The Tsi authorities placed strong garrisons from the pass Lulung, south of Yung ping, in the north-east of Pe-chih-li, to that of Jwundu, probably the fortress called Dsiuijun in Petermann's map of the environs of Peking, and commanding the so-called "terrible pass" north-west of Peking. Tan, the commander of Yauchau, occupied the pass of Lung, while the Tsi emperor, collecting the forces of Yichau, Tung chau, You chau, and Anchau (the four chief towns in the district, now the province of Chihli) at Ping chau, marched through the Lulung pass, and sent 5000 men by the east road (*i.e.* by the pass of Shanhai or Mughai) to Chingshan, situated near King chau, in the west of the modern Liautung. This marched by way of Bailang chung and Chang li.

Another body of 4000 men, sent to cut off the Khitan retreat, advanced to the Yangi river, *i.e.* doubtless the Tu ho, which was apparently the frontier of the Khitans. The Emperor himself pushed ahead for Yue shan ling, 1000 *li* distant (? from Pingchau). His men, we are told, ate only flesh and drank only water, and were in splendid condition. They came up with the Khitans, defeated and captured 100,000 of them and millions of cattle. Another army defeated the Khitan tribes at Ching shan. Afterwards the Tsi Emperor returned to Ying chau (Ross, *op. cit.* pp. 198, 9). The Kang mu mentions this campaign. It says the Tsi Emperor advanced as far as the town of Chang li ching,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0035869X00017780

whence he despatched Han kwei, prince of Nganti, in pursuit. He followed the enemy for 1900 *li*, his troops suffering great hardships, and having nothing to live upon but the flesh of their herds and water. He punished the Khitans so severely that they did not dare to return for some time (De Mailla, vol. v. p. 393). To prevent their attacks in future, the Emperor employed 1,800,000 men in building the great Wall from Hia kau (probably the Nan kau pass) to Hung chau, *i.e.* Ta tung fu, a distance of 900 *li* (Ross, p. 199).

The Khitans now fell under the domination of the Turks, who conquered all Central Asia from the Oxus to the borders of Manchuria, and remained its masters for a considerable time. At this time 10,000 of them retired to Corea. In the year 584 one of their hordes submitted to Wen li, Emperor of the Sui dynasty, and the following year the deputy of the Turkish Khan, Shapolio, was killed, among the Khitans who had remained with the Turks (Visdelou, p. 208; Klaproth, *op. cit.* p. 88).

In 605 the Khitans made an inroad into In Chau, the district now occupied by the Tumed Mongols, whose chief town is Khurban Subarga Khota (Hyacinthe, *op. cit.* p. 283). Mr. Ross calls it Yingchau of Liau si. The Chinese general, Wei Yunchi, was ordered to march against them in conjunction with a Turk commander who had 20,000 horse. Yunchi divided his army into twenty-four sections, marching a *li* apart. The drum sounded when they were to advance, and the horn when they were to halt. They pretended that the expedition was a raid on the part of the Turks, and directed against the Coreans at Liuchung, just north of Yingchau, showing that the Corean dominion then extended west of the Taling river. They arrived within 50 *li* of the Khitan camp, before the latter were aware of their real intentions, when they rushed forward and captured 40,000 people and a large number of cattle. The men were put to death, but the women and cattle were divided between the Chinese and Turks. The Emperor was greatly pleased with the expedition, and Yunchi was promoted. In 608 the Sui

Emperor ordered the Great Wall from Yugu (a defile west of Yulin) eastwards to be built (Ross, pp. 199 and 200).

In 611 the Khitans began once more to send tribute to the Sui dynasty (Klaproth, Tableaux Historiques, p. 88). In 620 they made a raid into China. In 628 they submitted to the great Tang Emperor Tai tsung, who subdued the greater part of Tartary (Visdelou, p. 208). He appointed their chief, Kuko, general commandant of the nation, with the title of Dudu of Sungmo. Hyacinthe (*op. cit.* p. 282) says that in 648 the Emperor appointed Kodu of the horde Hii or Khi governor of Shaolo. Mr. Ross says the Tang Emperor formed the eastern part of their country into the prefectorial department of Sung mo, with nine sub-prefectures, *i.e.* chiefs of separate hordes, and made the Dudu its governor. Hyacinthe says that there were eight of these prefectures in all. The western tribes of Khitan were formed into the prefecture of Yolo, with five sub-prefectures; their chief was also made governor. In the winter of 654 the Dudu of Sungmo defeated a joint army of Moho and Coreans at Sinchung, in Liautung, which was marching to harry his land (Ross, pp. 200, 201).

Peace, says Visdelou, is death for the barbarians; and we accordingly find that in 696 the Khitans made another attack upon Ing chau or Ying chau, which they captured, and carried off many prisoners and a rich booty. The Imperialists were obliged to send a large army against them, commanded by Tsin gen chi and Ma gin tsi. The Khitans, being encumbered with their prisoners, set them free. The latter informed their countrymen by which route the Khitans were retiring with their booty. The impatient Chinese cavalry would not wait for the infantry, but pushed ahead. The Khitans, who had foreseen this move, planted an ambuscade. Into this the Chinese fell; the greater part of them were killed, and we are told their general, Ma gin tsi, was dragged off his horse with a lasso. Tsin gen chi and a few companions alone escaped. The Chinese Empress sent another army, under Hui kin ming, to repair this disaster; but it also was completely beaten, and Hui kin ming was captured and sent

as a trophy to the Tu kiu or Turks, with whom the Khitans were in alliance. The Khitans then laid siege to Ngan tung, and took a brother of Hui kin ming with them, bidding him when he got within hail to summon the town to surrender. Instead of this, he told the governor to hold out, and that they would be speedily relieved. The indignant Khitans cut him in pieces.

Meanwhile, the Turks attempted to utilize Hui kin ming in the same way in their attack upon Ling chau. When within hail, he bade the inhabitants prepare good ragouts and rice, and carry them out to the Tartars, meaning that he should make a sortie, but they did not understand him (De Mailla, vi. pp. 169, 170). The Khitan king at this time was a grandson of Ku ko, named Li tsin chung, and we are told he took the title of Wu chang Khan, *i.e.* in Chinese, Khan who has no superior (Visdelou, p. 208). He died shortly after, and thereupon his vizier, Sun wang chung, called Vang yung by Visdelou, the grandson of Ghao tsao, who had held the office of Dudu of Sungmo, seized the throne, to the prejudice of Wu chang's son. The latter fled to Mechu, the Khan of the Turks, who traversed the Shamo with his troops, and defeated Sun wang chung, and captured his wife and children; but he could not seat his protégé on the throne, as the Khitans refused to receive him (De Mailla, *id.*, Visdelou, *id.*). Sun wang chung now collected his forces and marched against China. He captured and pillaged Ki chau, and then attacked Ing chau, and spread terror through the whole district of Hopé, whence he returned laden with booty (De Mailla, vi. p. 171). Ing chau was the seat of the Chinese military governor who had charge of the Aimaks of Khitan and Hii (Borgs Hyacinthe, p. 283).

In 697 the Chinese, who had now been defeated three times by the Khitans, determined to make a vigorous effort. They sent a large army against them, commanded by U i tsong, and at the same time asked Mechu, the Turkish Khan, to invade their country from another side. He consented to do so on having large presents made to him and on the return of the Turkish prisoners kept under restraint

by the Chinese. These terms were accepted. When the Khitans heard of this, they levelled Chao chau with the ground, and fortified Lieou ching, near Ing chau, where they placed their old people, wives, children, etc., while the rest of their troops marched upon Yeou chau, near Yung ping, in north-eastern Chihli. The Turkish Khan attacked Lieou ching, captured it, and carried off its occupants. This news reached the Khitan army as it was on the point of attacking the Chinese, and caused such terror among them, that they turned upon Sun wang chung, killed him, and while one section took his head to U i tsong, to whom they submitted, another submitted to Mechu, the Turkish Khan (De Mailla, vol. vi. pp. 172, 173).

A cousin of Tsui chung, named Sheho, now collected the fragments of the Khitans (Visdelou, p. 209). According to Hyacinthe, it was in the year 715 that the Chinese advanced against him with 20,000 foot-soldiers and 8000 horsemen; but they were utterly defeated by a force of 8000 cavalry of the Hii or Western Khitans (Borgs Hyacinthe, p. 283).

Mr. Ross dates this in 714, and he tells us the governor of Ingchau, who commanded the Chinese, was driven westwards to the city of Yu yang, the modern Pingku, 150 *li* north of Peking. Both Ingchau and Lieou ching fell into the hands of the Khitans (*op. cit.* p. 201). It was necessary to repair this disaster. Accordingly Hue Na, with 60,000 men, marched upon Tanchau, the modern Kaichau, in Chihli. It was June, and the sub-prefect of Ingchau protested against marching in the heat; but Hue declared that there was plenty of grass, and the cattle were fat, and that as to grain, the Khitai had plenty and must disgorge. They were advancing through the mountains north-east of the river Lan in Chihli towards the southern frontier of the enemy, when the Khitans attacked their camp suddenly on three sides. Three-fourths of the Imperialists perished, and the commander only escaped with a few men. He was hooted on the road as he went along. He laid the blame on the generals under him, one of whom had fled without striking a blow. The latter was put to death with six other generals

and a commander of barbarian auxiliaries. Hue himself was stripped of his titles, but soon after he recovered his reputation by defeating the Tufans or Tibetans. The only officer who escaped blame was the sub-prefect, who had counselled delay (*id.* pp. 202, 3). It was now deemed prudent to open negociations with the Khitan. Sheho repaired to the Imperial court, where he was invested with his former dominions and recent conquests. He was nominated a Künun wang, and Dudu of Sungmu, with authority over the eight Khitan tribes and their chiefs. Lidafu of the Western Khitan territory was also made a Künun wang and Dudu. The Emperor also gave him one of his adopted daughters in marriage. He died in 719 (Ross, *op. cit.* p. 202; Visdelou, p. 209). He was succeeded by his younger brother, Soku, who married his brother's widow, the Kung chu or adopted daughter of the Emperor, and went with her to do homage to the Chinese court. Kho tu yu or Ko tu gan, a subordinate chief, had become very popular. Soku was jealous of him. He thereupon rebelled and defeated his master near Ingchau, where the latter sought refuge; and a force of 500 Chinese, which went to the rescue of the latter town, was waylaid and destroyed, and its commander withdrew to Yügwan, *i.e.* the pass of Shan haigwan, east of the city of Lin Yü (Ross, pp. 204, 5; Visdelou, p. 209).

Visdelou says Soku was killed by Kho tu yu. The latter now put his cousin Yoü yu on the throne. The Emperor confirmed him as Dudu of Sungmu, and appointed Lu su, brother of Dafu, Dudu of Yolo, *i.e.* of the Western Khitans. In 722 Yoü yu went to do homage. Dying shortly after, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Tu yu, called Tugan by Mr. Ross. In 725 he quarrelled with his patron Kho tu yu; and having escorted the Chinese princess his wife to China, he dared not return home. He was appointed Leau yang Wang by the Emperor. Kho tu yu replaced him by Chao ku, who in 725 went to do homage. He was nominated Gwanghwa Wang. The Emperor gave him his granddaughter in marriage, and another granddaughter to Lu su of the western Khitan district (Visdelou, *id.*; Ross, p. 205).

De Mailla tells us that he sent Kho tu yu, whom he calls Ko tu kan, to the Imperial court with tribute. He was treated with discourtesy and contempt by a Chinese official, named Li yuen hong, notwithstanding the advice of another named Chang yuei, who reminded him that Kho tu yu was a crafty and far-seeing person, and would not fail to secure revenge. On his return home, he exaggerated to his master the insults he had received, but the latter did not take much notice, whereupon Kho tu killed him (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 220). Visdelou dates his death in 730 (*op. cit.* p. 209). Mr. Ross says that Lu su of the western Khitans, fled in terror with the two Chinese princesses to the court. After murdering his master, Kho tu yu escaped to the Tu kiu or Turks. He was recalled by the Khitans, who put him on the throne, and he prepared to make war on China (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 221). He defeated a Chinese army at Kin lu shan (Ross, p. 205). The Chinese sent Li wei, who had lately fought against the Tufans or Tibetans, against him. Li wei divided his army into several bodies, and penetrated into the country of the Khitans by several routes. Chao han chang commanded one of these divisions. When he attacked them, the Khitans retired; and, although warned by an officer who knew their tactics, that this was only a ruse, he persisted in pursuing them. The result was, he was disastrously beaten, and barely escaped capture himself. The mistake was repaired by Li wei, and another general named U ching si, who defeated the Khitans at Baishan, north of Kai-Yuen, in Liau tung. He captured 5000 tents, while Kho tu yu fled. He fled so far away that his whereabouts was not known, and the Chinese army returned home in triumph. This was in 732. Having returned home again, he raised an army and again attacked the Chinese frontier. He defeated the Tao tai of Yau chau, who lost 6000 men. He then advanced to Yüg wan. He was now as vigorously met by the border commander, Wang cheou kui, called Jang showgwei by Mr. Ross. The Khitan chief pretended to submit, and sent one of his officers to that general to arrange terms. Wang cheou kui accordingly sent his deputy, Wang hoei, to the

Khitan camp to settle the matter. The latter then discovered that Kho tu yu was treacherous, that he had invited the Turks to join him in an invasion of China, and had determined to put him, Wang hoei, to death. He therefore began an intrigue, and gained over Ki ko chi, called Yagwan Li Gwoja by Mr. Ross, chief officer of Kho tu, and persuaded him to rebel. The latter did so, and cut off Kho tu's head, as well as that of Kiu lie, the captain of his guards (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 222). The heads of both were exposed on the walls of Tien tsin.

Visdelou says Kiu lie had been placed on the throne in the place of Chao ku by Kho tu, and he suggests that he was the same person the Khitans called Wo khan. This may be so, as usurpers in the far East are generally in the habit of setting up puppets to give a colourable pretence to their usurpations. Ki ko chi or Kuo chi, the assassin, having submitted to Wang chau kui, was appointed Dudu of Sungmo and Wang of Pe ping in China (Visdelou, 209). He did not, however, long retain the post. Under pretence of revenging Kho tu, Yali or Nie li rebelled against him and killed him. Visdelou says he also exterminated his family. Mr. Ross says only one of his sons escaped. He fled to Andung, which was the capital of Liau tung during the Tang dynasty. The rebel sent to the Imperial court for a confirmation of his title. The Emperor, we are told, not caring to renew the fight, and deeming the Khitans an insignificant people, replied: "The barbarous custom you have introduced is contrary to all justice. Ki ko chi was your king, and you were his subject, and you have killed him. Do you think it will be difficult for another to treat you in the same fashion? Be king of the Khitans. I consent to it, but in future be careful how you behave, and look beyond the immediate prospect." Nie li, called Nie fung by Mr. Ross, who knew the genius of his people, kept them in good humour by making raids on the Chinese frontier, and Chang sheou kue having sent an army against him, he defeated and almost destroyed it (De Mailla, vol. vi. pp. 223, 224). He also repelled an attack of the Turks (Ross, p. 207).

Yali or Nieli did not, according to Visdelou, mount the throne himself, but having exterminated the family Da hu, nominated Tsu gu, otherwise called Ti mien tsu li pen, to be Khan, or rather Taishi, of the eight hordes of the Khitans. By special favour he was allowed to adopt the family name of the Chinese Imperial family, and was called by the Chinese Li hoai sieou, while his own people called him Tsu gu khan. He was the first sovereign of the family of Yao nian, that of Da hu being extinct. Perhaps the most notable event of his reign was the revolt of Ghan lo shan, who belonged to the Hii. Mr. Ross's authority says his father and grandfather were Turks. He was in the Chinese service, and was sent against Yali when, in 735, the latter attacked the frontier; but he allowed himself to be terribly beaten, was charged with treachery, but was pardoned (De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 224). We are told his name was originally Ya lo shan; but his mother, belonging to the more aristocratic family Ngan, made him adopt the latter name, and join her family. He was a native of Ing chau, and had fled to China on the destruction of his tribe (*id.* p. 230). He was well treated by the Chinese emperor, and when he returned to the frontier, he speedily ingratiated himself with the authorities, and was nominated to the command of Ping lu, and eventually made Dudu of Ying chau, with the duty of superintending the four *fu* of Pohai, Heshui, and the two districts of the Khitans. He defended the long-suffering frontiers so well, that he was raised to the rank of Jidushu. "In 742," says Mr. Ross, "there were, on the northern frontiers of China, 490,000 men under arms, with 80,000 horses, and the annual charge on the exchequer for war purposes was ten million and a quarter taels, besides four million Chinese pecks of grain" (*op. cit.* pp. 209 and 210). In 745, in order to gain distinction, Lo shan harried the country of the Western Khitai. They revenged themselves by murdering the Chinese princess, their queen. He attacked and pursued them to the district of Beiping, *i.e.* Tsunhwa, north of Peking. In 749 he invited a number of the Khitan chiefs to a feast, where, when they were drunk, he had them de-

capitated, and sent the head of their leader to the Emperor; and on visiting the capital shortly after, he took with him 8000 Khitan captives, and was rewarded with a golden sword and the title of Gwojung, *i.e.* 'the most faithful of the empire'; and the Emperor was so pleased with him, that he had a grand palace built for him, etc. (*id.* pp. 210 and 211; De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 230). In 751 he led 60,000 troops against the Khitans, his van consisting of 2000 West Khitan cavalry. After passing 1000 *li* beyond Ping lu, he reached the Tukojun (the Tuho was the old name of the Lo han, *vide infra*), where terrible rains came on. He went on 300 *li* beyond this, and the rain continuing, the bows and catapults were rendered useless. In spite of the advice of Ho Sudua, who counselled delay in order that his men might recruit, he insisted on attacking the Khitans. The fight went against him. Ho Sudua was killed. He was a large, stout man, like Lushan, and the Khitans fancied that he himself was killed. The contingent of the West Khitai also deserted. The Chinese army was nearly destroyed; Lushan's saddle was pierced by an arrow. He threw away his official hat, so as not to be recognized, and, loosing his shoes, fled with but twenty men to Shichau. He beheaded two subordinate officers, whom he accused of having caused the disaster. The commander of Ping lu, fearing a similar fate, fled to the mountains, where he remained twenty days, while 700 fugitives gathered round him (Ross, *op. cit.* pp. 211, 212; De Mailla, vol. vi. p. 236).

It was after this victory, in which the Khitan ruler, Yali, is said to have greatly distinguished himself, that, according to Visdelou, he adopted the Imperial family name of the Tang dynasty (*op. cit.* p. 209). About this time we read of a curious adventure. A Chinese official named Shu Sugan, having incurred a reprimand for some fault, fled to the Khitans. There he pretended to be a superior minister of the Tang Emperor, and that he had gone to make a treaty. To carry out his plot, he refused to bow to the Khitai ruler, and so imposed on him that he treated him with great honour, and assigned him an escort of 300 picked men. As they

neared the town of Ping lu, he sent secretly to inform the commander that his escort really meant to seize the town. An army was accordingly prepared to receive them. They killed them all except Sugan, who was sent on to the Emperor, and duly rewarded by the style of "Brilliant Thought" and other honours (Ross, p. 208). When Lu Shan fled, as I have mentioned, "Brilliant Thought" was a magistrate at Pinglu. They had been old companions, and the latter had sent 3000 men to his rescue. He also marched to Shichau, where he compelled the Khitans to raise the siege. To revenge the disaster, Lu Shan now collected a force of 260,000 men, but his progress was hindered by the rival pretensions of other Turkish officers in the Chinese service. We are told, however, that he repeatedly defeated the Khitans, and he was made governor of Fan yang (the modern Tinghing of Paoting). Lushan's successes naturally made him arrogant. In 755 he broke out into open rebellion, first taking the title of Wang, then of Emperor, and he caused great confusion in Northern China, but was eventually killed by his son. "Brilliant Thought" imitated his rebellion, and ended with a similar fate. Meanwhile, during this period of confusion, when the Tang dynasty was nearing its end, we read how the Western Khitai made a great raid and drove away the new Jidu of Pinglu with his following of 20,000 men (*id.* pp. 212—216). This was the epoch of the gradual rise of the Uighurs, who now became supreme in Tartary, and to whom the Khitans were subordinate. The latter now occur but very seldom in the annals.

We are told that in 788 Kiai lo, who was then the ruler of the Khitans, fought against China (Visdelou, 209).

In 842 Kin su received the title of viceroy of the Chinese province of Yu chau, *i.e.* of Pehchehli; he was also ruler of the Khitans, and was called Ye lan khan by his own people. These chiefs belonged to the family Yao nian, which had supplanted that of Da hu, the Ta khu ri of Hyacinthe. They were tributaries of the Khans of the Uighurs, and received their official seals from them. Presently the Uighur power also reached its term, and we are told Ye lan khan discarded

the seal, and asked for a new one from the Chinese Emperor, that is, transferred his allegiance. This was granted, and upon the seal was engraved the inscription, Fung kue Khitan, *i.e.* seal of the subject kingdom of the Khitans (Visdelou, p. 210).

This accounts for the Khitans not appearing for a long period in the Chinese annals; they had, in fact, been subject to the Turkish Uighurs.

In 860, and again in 873, Sii eul, called Pa la khan by his own people, paid tribute to China. During his reign the Khitan power increased considerably (*id.*). He was apparently succeeded by his relative, Khin te, who was called Hen te kin; the name is also written Liang te hin khan. Visdelou says it is difficult to know which is right, since there is only a point difference between the characters representing Hen and Liang. We now reach a period when there was again a change of dynasty, and the family Yao nian gave place to that of Ye lu.

The Kangmu, and a passage in Visdelou (p. 210), agree in stating that it was the custom among the Khitans for a fresh overchief or Bretwalda among the eight Khitan tribes to be chosen every three years, and that it was only on the accession of the house of Ye lu, in the person of Abushi, that the rule was broken down through his refusing to comply, and that the title to the throne became an absolute one.

The accession of the house of Yelu, otherwise Sheliu or Tiela (Visdelou, p. 180), to the throne of the Khitans, forms a notable epoch in their history. This family derived its origin from a fabulous hero named Khi cheou khan, who, we are told, was born on the mountain Tughan shan (Visdelou, p. 195). On one occasion, mounted on a white horse and going down the river Tu ho (the Lo han, which joins the Sira muran to form the Liau river), he arrived at the place where it falls into another at the foot of the mountain Mu ye shan. Looking up the other stream from the point he had reached, he saw a woman in a little cart drawn by grey oxen, who also was descending this other river, which

was the Hoangho or Hoang shui (*i.e.* the Sira muran). They met and married without any other formality. From this marriage sprang eight sons, among whom their father divided the heritage, thus forming eight tribes. A temple was put up on the mountain, and in it statues in honour of the father, mother, and eight sons; and thereafter the Khitans annually sacrificed white horses and grey oxen there, while the Khitan Emperors, who held these mountains sacred, went there repeatedly to sacrifice before undertaking any important work (Visdelou, p. 213).

The names of the eight sons, the eponymi of the eight Khitan tribes, are thus given by Mr. Ross: Danlijie, Yi sho, Shuhado, Nawei, Pinmo, Nahwiji, Jijie and Si wun (*op. cit.* p. 197). As we see, the traditional cradle-land of the race was in the district south of the Sira muran, and west of the famous barrier of stakes which forms the western frontier of Liau tung, where the Tumed Mongols now have their camping ground. One of the descendants of the founder of the Khitan Royal stock was the Yali already named. We are told he made laws and regulations, and appointed administrative officers. He kept records by means of wooden tallies, and introduced houses made of earth (Visdelou, p. 195). He did not make himself Emperor, however, but ceded that position to Tsu gu khan. He was the father of Piithie, called Pidiyei by Gabelentz (Gesch. der Gross. Liao, p. 1), who was the father of Khailing or Heling, who was the father of Neou li si called Ow li su by Mr. Ross, who had a great reputation as a statesman and for controlling people without using violence. He was styled Su tsu, *i.e.* the firm ancestor. His son was called Sa la di, and was styled Yi tsu, *i.e.* generous ancestor. He showed great bravery in a war with the Shiwei. His son was named Kiun te, the Yondesi of Gabelentz. According to the Saga, he first taught the people agriculture, and the tending of cattle; he was afterwards given the title of Hiuen tsu or original ancestor. He was the father of Salatii, who was very benevolent, and a good administrator; he first taught the people how to forge iron, to cast metal, and make musical instruments, and was afterwards

styled Te tsu, *i.e.* meritorious ancestor. All these princes had borne the dignity of I li kin, while the family of Yao nian had reigned as overlords over the Khitans. They had the chief management of the government, and were in fact the equivalents of the Mayors of the Palace among the Merovingians. The younger brother of Te tsu named Shulan, or Sulan, fought against the Shiwei, *i.e.* the Mongols, and the Yukiue, *i.e.* the Uighurs, in the north, and the Hii and the Sii, that is, the Western Khitans, in the south. Gabelentz says he subdued the three tribes Yoitsiowai (? Uighurs), Siwai (Mongols), and Sisi (Western Khitans). He was the first among the Khitans to build houses, and to plant mulberry-trees, and had already conceived ambitious designs, when the last ruler of the house of Yao nian died, and left his inheritance to the son of Tetsu (*id.* p. 195).

This famous person, the real creator of the Khitan empire, bore, as we have seen, the family name Yelü, which has been explained as a Chinese corruption of the Manchu word *eru* 'strong,' 'enduring.' In Mongol *ere* and in Turkish *er* means 'a man'; but Dr. Schott, with more probability, makes the name equivalent with the Manchu *yelu* 'a boar,' the Chinese *p'ao chü.* His individual name was, according to Vasilief, Ambagan, derived from *amba* 'great.' In the U tai sze, or history of the five small dynasties, the name is written An ba dsyan (kyan). A commentator under Kienlung changed the word into Ambagan, adding that in the Solon Manchu language this means 'a great man.' In the San ho pien, or dictionary of three languages, we have *ambakan* explained by the Chinese *lyo tá,* and the Mongol *ikeken* 'rather large,' and *ambaki,* is explained by the Chinese *Ta yang* and Mongol *ikergek* 'nobleness,' 'grandeur,' or 'haughtiness.' This latter form Dr. Schott suggests may be the origin of A pao ki, which is the form by which the name generally occurs in the Chinese writers, and by which our hero is generally known (Schott, *op. cit.* pp. 7, 8). Mr. Ross writes the name Abaoji. Gabelentz reads the name Abooji, and says when a child he was called Juwelitsi. He was the eldest son of Te tsu, and his mother,

who was called Siao yen niu (Gabelentz called her Shusi), belonged to the famous family of Siao, which divided with that of the Yelu the chief importance during the Khitan period; she was the daughter of Tii la, the chief minister of the Khitan Wangti. He was born in the year 872, and we are told his mother conceived him after having seen a ray of the sun enter her womb. At his birth the house where his mother lay (which Gabelentz says was situated at Mi li, the Yeh mi li of Mr. Ross, the original homeland of the Khitans) seemed surrounded with a divine light or halo, and was scented with an exquisite odour. He was the size of a three-year-old infant at his birth, and could even then walk with the assistance of a hand. His grandmother provided him a tent separate from his mother's, smeared his face with soot, and permitted no one to see him, and he began to walk properly when he was three months old. When one year old he talked and prophesied, and said he was surrounded by divine guardians, who protected him from harm. From the age of seven he spoke only of serious matters. When he was twenty years old, he was seven feet high (Gabelentz says nine); his face was wide above and pointed below; the light of his eyes was dazzling. He bent a bow which required a weight of 300 Chinese pounds to bend. When he became Ta ma yue sa li (the Tama shung sa li of Gabelentz), *i.e.* Constable of the tribe of the Little hoang, Shi wei (Gabelentz says the Shoo ho wang of the kingdom of Si wei) refused to obey him, but he overcame them by his skill. He made war upon the Yue ghu (the Yu wai yu of Gabelentz; ? Uighurs), the Ku lu (the Uguluse of Gabelentz, ? the Kirais), the Hii, and the Sha yue (the Bisashung of Gabelentz, ? the Turks of the Shalo), and subdued them all, and afterwards received the title of Achu sha li (Visdelou, p. 180). Gabelentz says his people gave him the name Ajusali (*op. cit.* p. 2).

Hentekin, of the family of Yao nian, was made Wang ti in 901. (Gabelentz calls him Tsinde, and Ross Chinda, Khakan of Hundajin.) He appointed A pao ki Ili kin or Ilijin of the tribe Tiela or Yelu, and gave him command of

the army. Ross dates this in the period Gwanchi of the Tang dynasty. A pao ki accordingly defeated the Shiwei or Mongols and the Yukiu (Yoitsiowai of Gabelentz), *i.e.* the Uighurs. He then attacked the Hii, the Si si of Gabelentz, *i.e.* the Western Khitans. We are told Juli, the chief of the latter, tried to stop his way by building a wall across a ravine, whereupon A pao ki sent his youngest brother to them as an envoy, bearing an emblematic arrow, calling upon the Sisi to submit. When he arrived among them, he was seized and taken before their prince, to whom he said, "Our land and yours are alike in speech and laws; in reality they are but one land. Is it likely that our Ilikin, A pao ki, has the intention to conquer and oppress your country? He is provoked against the Chinese empire, which killed our forefathers, and meditates revenge day and night against it. As he is not powerful enough alone, however, he has given me this arrow to ask you to help him, and has sent me as a proof of his sincerity. My master, the Ilijin, has, with divine sanction and by his virtue, united all peoples under him. If you wish to struggle against heaven by killing me, it will assuredly be a misfortune for all. Of what service will it be to your kingdom to struggle with ours?" This speech seemed just to Juli, and he submitted with his people (Gabelentz, *op. cit.* p. 3).

Later in the same year he was created Ilikin of Ta tie lie fu. The next year, *i.e.* 902, he invaded China (Ho tung and Ho pi, says Gabelentz), at the head of 400,000 soldiers, and took nine large cities on the north of that empire. He also made 95,000 prisoners, and carried off a great quantity of cattle, horses, and camels; and in the latter part of the same year he built the town of Lung hoa chau, south of the river Hoang ho (*i.e.* of the Sira muran). It was also called Shang king, and Si lau (*i.e.* West Tower), from the tower which A pao ki built in the centre of the city (Ross, p. 221).

The next year he began to build the temple named Khai kiao si. He also defeated the Jurchis, *i.e.* the later Kin Tartars, and carried off 300 families; and in the 9th month of the same year he again entered China, and captured several

towns, and on his retreat ravaged the eastern part of the province of Peh cheh li. His father had carried off 7000 captives from the country of Hii or Si si, who were planted as a colony on the river Tsing ho, in the country of Yao lo. These immigrants were styled the tribe of Si Tiela or Hii tiela. Gabelentz says he divided it into thirteen districts. Visdelou says it contained eleven towns of the third order, and A pao ki was created its Yu yue or Yoi yowai, *i.e.* viceroy, with the chief command of the armies. A pao ki wished to make his young relative Holo, Ilikin of the Tie la; but the latter declined it, saying the thief, *holha* (a play on his own name), remains with his master.

In 904 A pao ki increased the town of Lung hoa chau or Shang king on its eastern side, and later on he made war with those Shi wei who were called He che tze (*i.e.* in Chinese 'black chariots').

At this time the Chinese empire was in a state of disintegration. The great dynasty of Tang, which had for so long ruled it gloriously, was approaching the term of its existence. Latterly, to give greater stability to the empire, it had been the custom to appoint the governors of the greater districts vice-emperors, entitled Tse se, who had plenary powers within their jurisdictions. By their address they succeeded in rendering their authority hereditary and almost independent (Visdelou, p. 216). Meanwhile the Emperors had become almost puppets in the hands of their eunuchs and domestics.

The most powerful, and probably the most ambitious of these governors, was Chu thsian tung (Klaproth, Memoires, etc., p. 232), who is called Chu wen by De Mailla. He had authority over the provinces of Honan and Shan tung, and was known as the prince of Liang. Having killed and displaced the eunuchs about the palace, he compelled the Tang Emperor, Chao tsung, in 905, to take up his residence at Lo yang, immediately within his control, and almost directly after had him assassinated. He replaced him by his young son, Ngai ti, a boy of thirteen years old, under the style Chsao siuen ti; but he also was speedily displaced, and

in 907 the house of Tang finally fell, while the prince of Liang seated himself on the Imperial throne, and gave his dynasty the name of Liang (Klaproth, *op. cit.* p. 232). His authority, however, was limited to the provinces of Honan and Shan tung. The other provinces were usurped by other Tse se or vice-emperors. Thus Li meou ching reigned at Fung thsiang in Shen si, under the style of Prince of Khi. Yang wu, Prince of Hoai Nan, reigned in Kiang nan. Wang kian, Prince of Chu, in Suchuan and portions of Shen si and Hu kuang. Thsiang leou, prince of U yue, ruled in Che kiang. Ma in ruled in Hu nan, under the style of king of Thsu, and Kao ki chang in a large part of Hu kuang and part of Suchuan, under the style of king of Kiang nan. Lieou in ruled in Kwan tung or Ching hai, as king of Ling nan, and Wang chin chi was master of Fukien. Lastly, Li ke yung, prince of Tsin, reigned in Shansi. The greater part of these princes were only nominally dependent on the Liang Emperor. One of them is connected closely with Khitan history, namely Li ke yung, and to him we must devote a little attention. He was a Shato Turk, *i.e.* a Turk of the desert or steppe. The Turks so called were a section of the Western Turks who nomadized in the western parts of the Mongolian desert. Li ke yung was the son of Li kue chang. These two chiefs had formerly been in the Chinese service, but having incurred the displeasure of the Court, had sought refuge among the White Tartars in the In Shan mountains north of Shan si. These Tartars having furnished him with a contingent of 10,000 men, he was also joined by the Shato and other Turkish tribes on the frontier, and entered China, and having made peace with the authorities, assisted in putting down the rebellion of Wang chao. In the last decade of the century he struggled with the various governors or vice-emperors of the northern provinces, and even with the Imperial forces (Klaproth, *op. cit.* p. 225).

A dependent of Li ke yung's, named Lieou gin kung, had been nominated by him governor of Yu chau (*i.e.* of the Metropolitan province of Chihli or Pehchehli). He had

afterwards refused to send a contingent to assist him in a campaign against one of the rebels. This was under pretext that the Khitans were threatening an invasion of his territory. Li ke yung turned upon him, and marched upon Yu chau. His men, however, fell into an ambuscade, and were defeated near Mu kua kien. This small success did not blind Lieou gin kung to the folly of continuing the unequal fight, and he proposed terms to his late patron, Li ke yung, who forgave him, and some time after, when he had a struggle with Chu wen, the prince of Liang, and the great rival of Li ke yung, he sent troops to his assistance (De Mailla, vii. 40, 46). This was in the year 899. Lieou gin kung was styled governor of Lulong (*id.* 111.), which seems to have been a portion of the government of Pehchehli.

In 904 Lieou gin kung, probably to avenge himself upon A pao ki for his raid into Pehchehli, sent an army against him commanded by his adopted son Liau chao pa, called Juba by Gabelentz, while he himself went to the town of Wu chau (*i.e.* Jan chau fu in Kiangsi, Porter Smith, p. 62). A pao ki having learnt of his approach from his spies, planted Holo in an ambuscade on the mountain Tao shan, and sent to a Shi wei or Mongol, named Muli, whose people were allied with the Chinese, to mislead Liau chao pa, by telling him their people meant to meet him at Ping yuen or Pinguywan, which was in Shansi. He fell into the ambuscade prepared for him, and was captured, while his army was destroyed. A pao ki followed up his victory by completely defeating the Shi wei, and the following year by again conquering the He che tse Shi wei (Visdelou, p. 181). Meanwhile Li ke yung, prince of Tsin, sent his interpreter Khangmingdi to ask for peace. A pao ki marched to meet him in the latter part of 905, with 70,000 horsemen (De Mailla says 160,000). They met at Yun chau or Ta ting fu (De Mailla, vii. p. 119; Visdelou, 181), and swore to be like brothers to one another. Li ke yung gave him a splendid feast. A pao ki having got drunk at this feast, one of Li ke yung's officers advised his master to take advantage of him, and make him prisoner; but he refused to behave

so treacherously, and persuaded the latter to join him in a campaign against Lieou gin kung. A pao ki captured several towns, and carried off their inhabitants. He made another attack upon him the following year, and on his return defeated the Hii, or Western Khitans (who, we are told, lived north of the mountains) at Pien chau (Visdelou, p. 181; Gabelentz, pp. 4, 5). Chu wen, the Emperor of Liang, now sent him an embassy by sea, with considerable presents (*id.*). De Mailla says it was A pao ki who sent the embassy, offering him an alliance, which the Emperor felt to be somewhat embarrassing, as he was afraid of his ambition; but he discreetly sent back the envoy with considerable presents (*id.* vii. 120). In the latter part of this year (906), A pao ki sent a force to subdue the Hii, Sisi, and the Jurchi of the north-east, who had not yet submitted. They were compelled to succumb. This was shortly followed by the death of the Khitan ruler Hentekin khan, who is called A pao ki's patron. The grandees, following out the will of that prince, offered the throne to A pao ki, who, after, with the conventional coyness, refusing it three times, at length accepted it. He was specially urged to do so by Holo, who referred to his miraculous birth, and to the need the state had of a strong ruler, as arguments for his taking it. This was in 907. Having prepared a temple without roof, he offered a holocaust to the sky, Gabelentz says he informed the gods by burning paper, and took the title of Wangti, and gave his mother the title of Wang tai heou (*i.e.* the august, very great queen, or empress mother), while his wife, who like his mother belonged to the family Siao, was created Wang heou, *i.e.* Empress. He created Siao hia la, Tsai siang (*i.e.* in Chinese, absolute minister of state) of the north, and Ye lu gheou li si, Tsai siang of the south. His grandees styled him emperor of the heavens, and his wife empress of the earth, and by an edict, he gave the Imperial family and the nine tents of the family Yuniyan, the title of "The ten tents."

In the second month of 907 he marched against the He-che-tse Shi wei, and subdued eight tribes of them. Two months later there happened the revolution in China, to

which I have already referred, by which the dynasty of Tang was finally put an end to by the prince of Liang. The founder of the new dynasty duly apprized A pao ki of his elevation (Visdelou, p. 182).

Soon after we read that the elder brother of Lieou gin kung submitted to A pao ki, with all the Chinese dependent on him. The latter assigned him the town of Ping lu ching, near Yung ping, as a residence. Later in the year the Khitan chief had another war with the He-che-tse or Black Chariot Shi wei.

On new year's day of 908 he received the congratulations of the grandees and foreign ambassadors, and made his younger brother Sa la president or Tii in of the Tribunal of princes of the blood (*id.* p. 182). The Liang Emperor was very jealous of Li ke yung, the prince of Tsin, who he was afraid was desirous of continuing the Tang dynasty in his own person. He accordingly marched against him, and laid siege to Lu chau (Lu ngan fu in Shansi). Li ke yung sent his general Cheou te wei to the rescue; but meanwhile he died, and was suceeded by his son Li tsun hiu as prince of Tsin (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 122, 123) and ruler of Shasi. This was in the first month of 908. The young prince proceeded at once to the relief of Lu chau, which was still being besieged by the Imperial troops; and he arranged matters so successfully, that the latter had to raise the siege and retire. He is described as a beneficent and wise ruler (*id.* pp. 123–126). A pao ki sent to congratulate him on his accession. He then sent his brother Sala against the Uwan and the Shi wei with Black Chariots. Later in the year he built the palace or fortress of Mien wang in Lin ko wang fu, and also built a wall to keep out the sea. He also sent King gin to ask for the surrender of the Tu hoen, who had taken refuge among the Shi wei (Visdelou, p. 182). Lieou gin kung, the governor of Yen or Peh cheh li, to whom I have already referred, and who was a protégé of Li ke yung, devoted himself to pleasure, and built himself a beautiful retreat on the mountain Ta ngan shan. His son Lieou cheou

kwang accordingly rebelled against him, and put him under durance (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 111).

According to Visdelou, A pao ki sent an army under his younger brother She li fu (the She li so of Gabelentz), who held the office of I li kin, and Siao li lu or Si yu, his brother-in-law, against Lieou cheou kwang. This army penetrated as far as Pe thao kheou (*op. cit.* p. 182); they defeated Lieou cheou kwang near Heng hai tsi yong (Gabelentz, p. 8). A pao ki after wards built the town of Yang ching, at the foot of the mountain Tan shan, to serve as a commercial centre. Gabelentz says he ordered the Pui functionary, Handsigu, in memory of his achievements, to build a stone triumphal arch in the temple Daguwangsi, in the town Lunghowadshio (*op. cit.* p. 8). He also gave the title of Tsai siang of the North to Siao li lu. This was the first time the honour was conferred on one belonging to the family of the empresses, *i.e.* the family of Siao. In the latter part of the year he suppressed a rebellion among the Hii of the mountain U ma shan, the Cha la ti, the Tsu po te, etc. (Visdelou, p. 182). Gabelentz says he attacked and conquered the He-che-tse Shi wei (*op. cit.* p. 9). During the year 910 A pao ki defeated several northern tribes. Next year he marched in person against the Eastern and Western Hii (Gabelentz says the Eastern and Western Si si). Their state was subjected on the east as far as the sea, on the south as far as the Chinese district of Pe fan or Betan, on the west beyond the burning sands and the kingdom of Uighur (Visdelou, 182), and on the north as far as the river Hoang chui, *i.e.* the Sira muran. In all, five kingdoms were added to the Khitan realm. The army halted on the river Lan ho, where the Emperor had an account of his doings engraved on a rock. A little later his four brothers, Lakha or Laghu, Tiela or Diyela, Yutichi or Indi si, and Anduan, formed a conspiracy against him, which which was disclosed by Nien mo ku, the wife of Anduan. He would not put them to death; but, taking them to a mountain, where he offered sacrifices, he made them swear allegiance to him. Lakha was appointed I li kin of the horde Tie la, while the princess Nien mo ku was made

queen of Tsin, in Shansi, in China (*id.* p. 183) (this probably means she was married to the prince of Tsin, Li tsun hiu). In the seventh month the Tie li ti (?) and all the strangers sent envoys with tribute (*id.*).

Lieou cheou kwang, who is now styled prince of Yen (*i.e.* of Peh cheh li), became very much inflated by his position. "Who," said he, "is strong enough to resist me? My kingdom is more than 2000 *li* in circuit, and I can furnish 250,000 cuirassiers. If I wish to make myself Emperor, who shall prevent me?" (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 147). He adopted a grand cortège, and imprisoned the envoys of the neighbouring princes; and when one of his officers, named Sun ho, ventured to expostulate with him on his folly, he had his tongue cut out and his limbs torn asunder. He then proclaimed himself Emperor (*id.* p. 148). The prince of Tsin was greatly amused at this turn of events, and sent him an envoy on a mock errand of congratulation (*id.*).

In the 8th month of 911 Lieou cheou kwang, who was hard pressed by the prince of Tsin, sent one of his people, named Han yan hoei, to the Khitans. When he presented himself before A pao ki, he refused to kneel, inasmuch as his master had adopted the style of Emperor. A pao ki was naturally irritated, and was not for letting him return, but for making him a horse-herd. His wife, Siaolisi, urged that it was not the part of a noble man to behave ill through sensitiveness, and that the best answer to the man's rudeness was to treat him with courtesy. Following his wife's advice, he conversed with him, and eventually took such a fancy to him that he appointed him to the dignity of Sandsiyusi, or chief of his council (Gabelentz, p. 10).

Han yan hoei proceeded to organize the civil administration of the Khitans, to build towns, and to assign districts to such of the Chinese as wished to submit to or to trade with them, exempting them from all taxes to commence with. After a while, overcome by home sickness, he asked permission to return and see his mother. A pao ki granted this, and he returned to Tsin yang, where he

was well received by the prince of Tsin, who wished to retain him in his service; but noticing that Wang kien, one of the latter's principal officers, disliked him, he determined to return once more, arguing that without him A pao ki was like a man without hands. Having visited his mother, he went again to A pao ki, who received him very gladly, and created him one of his chief officials. We are told that in one of his dreams he had seen a white crane enter and leave his house, and interpreted it as meaning the departure and return of Han yan hoei. The latter wrote to the prince of Tsin, explaining the reasons for his withdrawal, commending his mother to his care, and promising that the Khitans should not attack him while he was in their service. This proved a very rash promise. A pao ki gave him the honorary name of Siyeliye, which, we are told, meant in the Khitan language "to return again," and appointed him Hiyosi of the Tsungwenguan court, and he devoted himself to furthering the culture of his adopted country (Gabelentz, pp. 10, 11).

In the 2nd month of 912, Le Sing, the prince of U, sent a peculiar greasy substance, called Menghio (? the Greek fire), to the Khitan empire. When this was mixed with water it burnt the better. A pao ki was for sending an army of 3000 horsemen to the town of Yo chau to secure some of this grease. The Empress Siaolisi rebuked him, saying, "Is it seemly to wage war against a neighbour merely in order to get this grease?" She pointed out a tree standing before the yurt, and said, "If this tree be stripped of bark, will it live?" A pao ki said it would not live. "The district of Yojeo? is like the bark. If we attack and plunder it with a forçe of 3000 men, its population will in a few years be exterminated; and if you should fail to win even once in ten thousand times, you will become an object of derision to the Middle Kingdom (*i.e.* to China), and our realm will be weakened" (Gabelentz, p. 11). A pao ki agreed in the wisdom of this, and gave up the expedition.

In the 7th month of 912, he marched against the tribe of Dshu Bugu or She pu ku (perhaps the subjects of the

Uighur chief, Pu ku, are meant), and subdued it, carrying off many thousand prisoners. He then sent his brother, Lakha, against Ping chau, which he captured in the course of ten months (Gabelentz, pp. 11, 12).

About this time he went to the mountain Ghen te shan, where he had a son born named Li hu. On La kha's return home, he made a fresh conspiracy with his brothers Tie la, In ti chi, and Anduan, against A pao ki, who was then in the northern part of the mountains A lu shan, the well-known Alashan range. Before he set out on his return, *i.e.* from the country of Dshu Bugu, he offered a holocaust to the sky, and the following day arrived at the river Tsii tu or Tsaido (*i.e.* the river of seven fords, the Tsaidam). His brothers now sent messengers with their submission, and he again pardoned them (Visdelou, p. 183; Gabelentz, p. 12). Matters in China were growing more and more confused. The Liang Emperor, after a long struggle with the prince of Tsin (his last campaign being in support of the grotesque pretender the prince of Yen, Lieou cheou kwang), was assassinated by his son Chu yeou kua, who also put his brother Chu yeou wen to death. He then mounted the throne, but he was attacked by another of his brothers named Chu yeou chin, and was forced, with his wife and the slave who had killed his father, to take refuge in a tower. There the slave, having killed the other two, committed suicide. Chu yeou chin now mounted the throne as emperor of Liang, at Pien chan (*i.e.* Kai fung fu in Honan), which was the Tungkung or eastern capital of the Liang dynasty (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 156). Meanwhile the prince of Tsin continued to press his attack against the prince of Yen. He captured Ping chau and Ing chau, towns of Pehchehli (*id.* 157). The pretender turned in vain to the Khitans, who refused to assist him, and he was blockaded at Yu chau (the modern Peking), which was at length captured. His father, the famous Lieou gin kung, was made prisoner, but he himself escaped towards Tang chau (a port of Shan tung). He was however waylaid by some peasants and surrendered. The prince of Tsin put the cangue upon both father and son, and led them off in triumph to Tsin yang,

offered up thanks in the Hall of the Ancestors and presented the prisoners he had captured. Lieou cheou kwang was beheaded. Lieou gin kung was taken to Tai chau (Tai yuen fu in Shansi), where the father of the prince of Tsin was buried. Having torn out his heart and offered it to his father's manes, he had him decapitated also.

Let us revert to A pao ki. In 912 he marched against Li yang, whence he carried off fifty Chinese bonzes of the sect Ho shang (*i.e.* Buddhists), for whom he built a temple called Tien hiung se (*i.e.* temple of the heavenly valour) at Shang king or Si Leou (Visdelou, p. 183; Gabelentz, p. 12). His brothers, as I have said, sent envoys to ask his forgiveness for their recent revolt. Early in 913, when he was at the town Che shui ching, they went in person to ask forgiveness. Dressed in a simple costume, and without ornaments, mounted on a chariot drawn by horses which were pieballed bay and white, with two grandees as charioteers, but without arms, he went to meet them, spoke kindly to them, and gave them good advice; but it would seem the rebels were not quite reconciled. In the third month of 913 Tiela, his younger brother, usurped the title of king of Hii or Sisi, and joined himself with another brother named Anduan. The two advanced at the head of 1000 men, pretending falsely they were going to do homage. A pao ki saw through their device, and having rebuked them, had them arrested. Lakha, a third brother, had meanwhile set out for Dsindiyan, one of the districts of the Sisi or Hii, taking with him the Imperial emblems (*i.e.* the drums and banners), and intending to proclaim himself Emperor. His people, however, dispersed at the false news brought by a man of Nigu, named Ho wai li, that A pao ki was at hand with an army. Having pillaged the district they fled northwards. A pao ki sent an army in pursuit. Lakha sent a detachment under Intichi, which fired the camp of the pursuing army, and killed many men, and it was only by the arrival of Sho ku lo with reinforcements that the Imperial drums and standards escaped capture. An ally of Lakha's, named Shin fo ku, meanwhile pillaged the Si Leou or western palace in Linhoiwangfu, and

burnt the Si wang leou. Gabelentz calls the latter the town of Mingwang.

A pao ki, having arrived at the river Tu ho, halted his army to allow the horses to recruit. His generals wished him to press the rebels closely. He replied, "They have fled far from their homes; presently home-sickness will inevitably overtake them, and they will return to us; while if we pursue them too closely, we shall certainly lose them altogether." Having divided the spoil which he had already taken, and appointed Cheliku, who bore the dignity of Ili pi, his *locum tenens*, he advanced in pursuit of La kha. At Mili he heard that his brothers had sacrificed the captives whom they had taken to the mountain Mu ye shan (*vide supra*). They had killed them with the sacred arrows, called 'arrows of Manes' by Visdelou (*op. cit.* p. 184), hoping by this means to conciliate the spirit of the mountain. A pao ki, having captured one of the fugitives, sacrificed him in a similar way, turning in the direction in which they were retiring, thus opposing sacrifice to sacrifice, and hoisting them with their own petard. At Ta li tien (Visdelou calls it a lake, and it may mean lake Taal in the Eastern Gobi) he sent on his cavalry, which overtook the fugitives at the ford of the river Pu chi or Peiji, and captured their baggage and herds. A pao ki had previously ordered Pa la tiliku and four other chiefs of the Wei he and Tu huen, ? of the Uighurs and Turks (Gabelentz says of Bala Diligu and three others), to plant ambuscades on the route likely to be taken by the fugitives, and he confided the command of the advance guard to Tii li ku or Di li ku, who was Tsai siang of the north; he at length met Lakha and his men, and his brother Gho ku che or Ogudsi, who was in the first ranks, killed several of them with his arrows. Gabelentz says he killed more than ten with his lance. After standing opposite to each other for some time in battle array, the battle never came off, Lakha's forces dispersing. They were pursued to the river Tchai, called San by Gabelentz, their carts and tents were burnt. They afterwards fell into the ambuscades prepared for them, as I have mentioned. Lakha fled, abandoning the tent which

had been used as a temple by A pao ki when on the march. When the latter saw it, he fell on his knees before it and offered sacrifices, and restored the spoil to those from whom it had been taken.

Ku ku che and Mo to, confederates of La kha, surrendered themselves with their hands tied behind them. When A pao ki arrived at the river Cha tu (? the Chautu puritu in the Eastern Gobi), it was flooded by a recent heavy rain. He sent the light cavalry across it under the command of the Tsai siang of the North. They overtook and captured Lakha on the banks of the river Yu ho; with him were taken Nie li kuen, Apo or Abu, and Siao she lu, formerly Tsai siang of the North; Intichi anticipated his fate by committing suicide. A pao ki, having successfully suppressed this revolt, offered a sacrifice of a white sheep to the sky and a black one to the earth. A few days after La kha, Nie li kuen, and Apo, were brought before him tied with straw cords, and each one leading a sheep. As soon as they saw their brother they prostrated themselves before him.

On his way home he passed by the mountain Ta ling. The expedition had been a very trying one. The soldiers had had to feed on the flesh of their horses, and on wild plants which they cooked; they had lost four-fifths of their animals on the way; the price of food had increased tenfold. The weary troops had thrown away their pots and pans, and also valuable articles, and they were altogether a ragged crew when they reached the river Tsu li or Su li. It was in consequence of this revolt that A pao ki changed his brother La kha's name to Pao li or Booli (meaning in Khitan, we are told, 'a miscreant') as the author of all the trouble. At Khu li, he sacrificed a black cow to the sky and a white horse to the earth. He distributed 600 cattle and 2300 horses among the two regiments of Falcons (the Chinese author adds "this is like the Dragons with us"). At the sixth month he arrived at the mountain Yu ling, where he had Siao ku fei cut in pieces for the tyranny he had exercised over the people of the town of Hia la hien, of which he was governor. He then climbed the mountain Tu ghan shan,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0035869X00017780

where he examined with affection the ancient monuments of Ki cheou, formerly Khan of the Khitans. Having heard that Nie li kin, who belonged to the criminal administration, had invented some cruel instruments of torture, he ordered him to be put to death. When he arrived at the river Lang ho he captured one of the rebels, named Ya li mi li, and had him buried alive. When he reached the Tung ho (? the Tu ho before named), he set at liberty the various prisoners he had made; the greater part were recaptured by Yu khu li (? the chief of the Yu ku li). A pao ki marched a large force against him, which deprived him of his subjects and restored the captives to their liberty (Visdelou, p. 185).

Having arrived at the lake A shung, called A dun li by Gabelentz, he put his adopted son, Nie li si, to death with sacred arrows for having sided with his own rebellious brothers, while he distributed among 6000 of the rebels various punishments proportionate to their crimes. He compelled thirty of those who had pillaged to buy their liberty (?), and then sent them home. When he arrived west of the mountains She ling, he ordered people to go and search for the arms which his starving soldiers had abandoned on their march, and having collected them he had them restored to their owners. He ordered the Ili kin Nie li kuen, one of the conspirators, whom he did not wish to hand over to the executioners, to put an end to himself, which he accordingly did.

At the 8th month, having arrived at the palace Lung mei kung, which was in the town of Shang king, he put twenty-nine of the rebels to death, and distributed their wives and daughters among the officers who had distinguished themselves in the late war, and restored to their owners the slaves, animals, and precious articles which the rebels had stolen, and compelled their families to pay for those which were no longer in existence, while those families which were insolvent had to sell some of their members.

In the ninth month he left Si leou or the western palace, and went on to Che yai, where he received an embassy from the Hoei hu of Hochau (*i.e.* the Uighurs of Bishbalig), and

five days after put to death two grandees who had taken part in the conspiracy, and then went to sacrifice to the mountain Mu ye shan. On his return he stayed awhile at Chao u shan and studied the manners and customs of the people. He visited the very old men there, and ordered the ceremonies and form of government, and in the last month of the year he offered a holocaust on the banks of the lake of the Nenuphars.

Early next year, *i.e.* in 914, the Yu ku li sent him seventeen rebels whom they had captured. Gabelentz says a man named Telimin brought Puho Hoyari and fifteen others prisoners. A pao ki ordered them to be tried by a council of princes of the blood royal, who found that several of them had been tools in the hands of others. He accordingly ordered the principal instigator, named Gho pu hu or Pu ho, to be bastinadoed to death, and let the others go free. Hoa kha, the son of So lan (? the Hoyari of Gabelentz), had been a very troublesome person, and A pao ki had several times pardoned him. Having taken part in the last conspiracy, the Emperor summoned a council of elders and of officials to try him and his son. They were both condemned and executed (Visdelou, p. 186).

The judicial officials, having decided against 300 of the rebels, A pao ki, we are told, considering that human life is invaluable, and that the dead return no more to us, ordered a feast to be provided for the culprits, which lasted a whole day, and where singing, dancing, and the acting of comedies took place, after which punishments were awarded to the leaders according to their crimes. Lakha, as chief instigator, was declared the most culpable, and Tie la the second in guilt; but A pao ki, who was of a generous disposition, merely ordered them to be bastinadoed, and then released, while Intichi and Anduan were considered as mere tools in La kha's hands, and pardoned accordingly. Hiai li, son of He ti li, formerly holding the office of Yu yue, and Hia la, the wife of Lakha, were both strangled. Niehie, the wife of Intichi, it was declared, had been compelled to side with the rebels; while Nien mu ku, the wife of Anduan, had

rendered the state service by giving information about the former conspiracy. They were both pardoned (Visdelou, p. 187). A pao ki then addressed the bystanders a homily on the evil courses pursued by his brothers. "It is possible," he said, "to fill up valleys, but not to satisfy the cravings of ambition and avarice. He enlarged on their having led astray the crowd with their sophistries, and in having allowed women to take part in their councils. Yu lu tu ku, the wife of She lu, minister of the North, who he said, was tied to him by the closest relations of blood, had nevertheless with the basest ingratitude joined the rebels. She had died of disease before punishment could overtake her. Heaven itself had given her her due. Hiai li was like his own foster-brother—had eaten out of the same dish and slept in the same bed. They had been companions from being children, nor was there a royal prince to whom he was more endeared; nevertheless both he and his father had joined the rebels." Some time after the criminal judges presented another list of 300 guilty persons. They were all executed on the public square. A pao ki again made a speech: "Is it willingly," he said, "that I send these people to their punishment? If they had merely conspired against myself personally, it might have been possible to pardon them; but they had been guilty of all kinds of crimes—had plundered and cruelly treated his people, and had trodden them under like dirt, so that those who formerly owned 10,000 horses, had now to walk on foot. Never since the foundation of the kingdom had such things happened, and it was only necessity that compelled him to exact the punishment of death" (Visdelou, p. 187).

In the last month of the year 914 A pao ki founded the palace called Khai hoang tieng on the site of the Ming wang hou, or the pavilion of the king Ming wang, destroyed by the rebels (*id.*).

In the suppression of this revolt we have no doubt the great consolidating influence in the history of the Khitan empire, which had hitherto been a congeries of tribes with only a nominal head over all, but now became a centralized power. The announcement of its suppression is followed by

a curious notice in the Chinese annals, where we read that in 915 the god Kuin khi tai yi shin (*i.e.* the God of the Great Unity, the supporter of kings, that is, the god of happiness; Gabelentz calls him Dsiyondsitai-i, and says it means the Spirit of Fortune) appeared several times. A pao ki ordered a picture of him to be painted.

In the first month of 915 the Ugu or Uighurs rebelled. A pao ki sent an army against them which restored peace again. In the sixth month the Shu-functionary of the town of Yu chau, *i.e.* Pedsing, named Tsi sing ben, went with his relatives and clansmen men and women, in all 3,000 heads, proposing his submission to A pao ki. He was given the title of Shangtsopuli-functionary, gave him the title of Wioi, and made him overseer of the granaries. After a while he deserted and returned to the prince of Yu chau, who received him, and who when A pao ki wrote to ask for his surrender, returned an uncivil answer and refused. While he was at the town of Lung hoa chau his old protégé Yelioi-Holu, with the hundred officials, presented a request to him that he would adopt some honorary title; when he had refused this three times, he eventually consented. He ordered that the future years of his reign should thenceforth be called Shen tsi (*i.e.* fixed by the gods), and himself adopted the title of Wangti or Emperor. His full style being Ta ching ta ming tien hoang ti (*i.e.* the Celestial Emperor, great saint, great sage). He built a special temple or throne of earth on a platform, for the ceremony of inauguration, east of the town of Lung hoa chau. In digging the foundations of this they found a golden bell, whence the place was named the mound of the golden bell, while the throne was called the sacred Hain (Gabelentz, p. 17). His wife also, Siao li, who was a Uighur by origin, and descended from Yu si Uighur, who had settled among the Khitans (Visdelou, p. 196), received the title of Ing tien ta ming ti wang heou (*i.e.* the terrestrial empress, complement of the sky ? and very wise). He also published a general amnesty, and nominated his son Pei as his successor. He also created the general Holu a Yoiguwai, or Yoi yowai, and raised

the various officials one grade. In the seventh month he marched westwards against the five nations of the Tud-shuwei? the Tu howa Tu kiu or Turks, the Tang hiang or people of Tangut, the Siaofan (?) and the Sha to (*i.e.* Desert Turks), and subdued them. He captured their chiefs and 15,600 of their principal families, and carried off more than 900,000 stands of arms and uniforms, with a vast booty of horses, cattle, camels and sheep and precious articles. On his return home he took prisoner the Chinese vice-emperor or governor of So chau (*i.e.* Su chau in the district of Wu chung, Gabelentz says in the province Daitung). On his march eastwards he captured five towns in the north of China—and as a memorial of his victory he ordered a stone to be engraved and set up south of Tsingtsung—namely Yoichau, Sin chau, Uchau, Weichau, and Shuchau. During the attack on Yoichau the walls fell and greatly assisted the attack. In this campaign A pao ki decapitated 14,700 people, and he effectually subdued the country north of China (Visdelou, p. 188, Gabelentz, p. 18), *i.e.* the Gobi desert and its borders. Gabelentz says that after capturing the five towns, he went to Ho tsioi, crossed the Inshan range, and conquered the whole district (*op. cit.* p. 18). During his absence his Empress, whose prudence, knowledge and courage were remarkable, seems to have acted as regent. The tribes of Shi wei, deeming it a good opportunity, took up arms and marched against her. Mounted on horseback, with her sabre by her side, and her bows and arrows in her sash, she marched at the head of the troops and completely defeated the rebels (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 170).

The Kang mu contains a story about this princess showing her humility. She still had a mother and aunt living, whose duty it was to salute her on their knees as the Empress. She ordered them, when they had to do this at grand ceremonials, to use the phrase, "It is to heaven, to whom you owe your position as Empress, and not to yourself, who are a woman like ourselves, that we offer our respects" (*id.* pp. 170, 171). The prince of Tsin, the rival of the Liang Emperor, at this time treated the Khitans with great respect, styled

him uncle, and the Empress aunt, and behaved towards them like a nephew (*id.*). But this did not last very long, and we must now turn to the struggle which ensued between them. Lu wen tsin, having killed a brother of the Prince of Tsin, who was governor of Sin chau (the modern Pao gan chau), fled to the Khitans, and persuaded them to invade China (De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 61). Seven hundred *li* north of Peking there is a famous defile, formerly called Yu kuan, and now known as Shan khai huan (Borgs Hyacinthe, p. 285), through which flows the river Yu shui. North of this is a narrow ravine, only a few feet wide, and bounded on either side by high mountains. This position was guarded by a Chinese garrison, which was planted there to protect the frontier against the Tartars. The soldiers there were handsomely paid and provided, and on occasions when they distinguished themselves in the frontier fights, they were rewarded by corresponding promotion. These inducements had made the garrison very formidable to the Tartars, who for several years did not molest it. But when Cheou te wei was made governor of Lu long, he became over-confident, and neglected the garrison. The Khitans thereupon succeeded in capturing it, and then became masters of the districts of Ing chau (Chang li hien) and of Ping chau (*i.e.* Yong ping fu). This was apparently in 916 (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 173).

Lu wen tsin acted as guide to the troops. The Khitan troops advanced by way of Sin chau, which was abandoned by its commander, the Tsese Andsinchuwan, and occupied. Cheou te wei collected a large force from various districts, and marched to try and retake it; but his efforts, extending over ten or twelve days, failed, and he was at length entirely defeated by A pao ki, who marched against him with 300,000 men. 30,000 of the enemy fell, including Uba, the son of Li se wen. A pao ki then proceeded to invest Yu chau, or Yeou chau. He pressed the siege without much success. A vapour having appeared over the town, he declared they could not take the town then, as the heaven was so hot (? the heat so great). He accordingly withdrew with his army,

leaving to Ho lu and Lu gu we yung the blockading of the place. At this time A pao ki's brother, La ghu, deserted with his son, Saibuli, and went into the town (Gabelentz, p. 19).

The prince of Tsin was then encamped on the Hoang ho, opposite the forces of his rival, the Liang Emperor, which were as large as his own. When Cheou te wei, after his defeat, sent therefore to ask his aid, he was in a great difficulty. Having summoned a council of war, he found that only three of his officers, namely Li se yuen, Li tsun shin, and Yen pao, who were, however, three of the most skilful, advised him to oppose the Khitans. They argued that these Tartars generally marched without any great stores of provisions, and could not, therefore, hold out very long. They advised further that the prince of Tsin should march and cut off their retreat, but he determined to make a direct attack on them, in order to relieve Cheou te wei, who had been very hard pressed. The Khitans had already been seven months in front of Yu chau, which held out bravely, but where provisions were growing scarce. Li se yuen and Li tsun shin at length arrived at Ichau (in Shing king department of Kin chau fu) with 70,000 men. Li se yuen marched with the advanced guard of 3000 men, and, having attacked 10,000 Khitans, who were guarding a ravine some 60 *li* from Yu chau, they defeated them. When the fugitives reached the main camp, they produced such a panic there that the army at once retired, and in such confusion that the troops of the prince of Tsin killed some 10,000 of them (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 175). This was clearly a disaster. Gabelentz's authority merely says Ho lu found himself too weak and retired. Thus the siege of Yu chau was raised. De Guignes tells us that in this campaign the Khitans employed an inflammable substance called by the Chinese Meng ho yeou (*i.e.* oil of the cruel fire). It burnt even in water, and was no doubt the famous Greek fire, before mentioned. As we have seen, the Khitans had originally received it from the prince of U, in Che kiang, whose ports were frequented by strangers and merchants, and who doubtless carried it

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0035869X00017780

there from the West (*op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 61). He also tells us that before the struggle between the Khitans and the Chinese general above named, the latter harangued the former ranks, as is the custom in China. It would seem that a party from either army approached one another, and cast defiance at each other. On this occasion the Chinese general threatened that his master would send 100,000 men to subdue the Khitans. After the harangue both parties returned, and the fight then commenced (*id.* p. 62).

The prince of Tsin continued his victorious course in his struggle with the Liang Emperor, and he determined to make a final effort for his complete suppression; he assembled the largest army which he had as yet collected. Cheou te wei supplied him with 30,000 cavalry from Yu chau, and among others we are told the Hordes of the Hii, the Khitans, the Shi wei and the Tu ku hoen sent him contingents (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 178). A terrible fight took place on the plain Hu leou pi (De Guignes says at Po chau in Shensi, pp. 63, 64), where the Imperialists were badly defeated, and driven to take shelter at Ta liang (*i.e.* Kai fong fu), and if he had followed up his victory quickly, he would doubtless have overwhelmed them, but he preferred to prudently secure what he had won (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 182). This campaign took place in 918. The same year A pao ki appointed his younger brother, Anduan, Ti in or grand master of the Imperial palace, and ordered him to attack Yun chau (*i.e.* Ta tong fu, De Guignes, p. 60, note), and afterwards to carry the war into the country to the south-west (Visdelou, p. 188). In the 2nd month of 918 the Tatan (? the Tartars proper) sent an embassy with tribute. A pao ki soon after built the Imperial city of Hoang tu, *i.e.* August Court. The Emperor (*i.e.* the Liang Emperor), the other rulers of China, and the kingdoms of Pohai, Corea, the Uighurs, the Tsu pu or Subu, the Tang kiang, and the governors of the towns Yu chau, Jen chau, Ting chau, Wei chau, and Lu chau, also sent envoys with presents or tribute, which ever way one likes to read the diplomatic phrase. Later in the year Tie lie kho, a younger brother of

A pao ki, rose in rebellion. He fortified his camp, and surrounded it with ditches. All the Imperial family asked that he might be pardoned. A pao ki hated Nie li kuen, wife of In ti chi, and offered to assent to their proposal if she were put to death in his place. To this she agreed, and committed suicide. She was buried in the ditch. With her there were buried alive several who had taken part in the rebellion. He then pardoned Tie lie kho, called Di ye li ye by Gabelentz. In the 5th month of 918 A pao ki assembled his grandees, and said it was befitting that, like other Emperors who had been favoured by heaven, he should raise a temple to the gods, and wished them to say which he was to begin with. They replied Buddha, but he said Buddha was not cultivated in China. Prince Tuioi then said the most esteemed of holy persons was Confucius. He therefore ordered, by a solemn decree, a temple to be erected to Confucius. Visdelou says he built a second to Buddha, and a third to the founder of Taouism (*op. cit.* p. 188).

In the seventh month of 918 Holu became dangerously ill. A pao ki said to him, "What are you thinking about?" He replied, "Holy Emperor, that you have a compassionate heart, that all people cluster round you lovingly, and that your kingdom is very bright. I would die without sorrow if I could feel I had secured the love of my Emperor." Shortly after he died, at the age of forty-seven. A pao ki greatly regretted his death, nor did he leave the palace for three days. They were old playfellows. Shortly after there died the minister of the northern palace, Si yu Dilu, who had been a most faithful supporter of A pao ki, so that the latter by one stroke lost hand and foot—Holu's brother Han li jen, as chief of his tribe Tiela, and the brother-in-law of Siyu Dilu, named Siyu Agudsi, minister of the North (Gabelentz, p. 20).

In the following year he went in person to the temple of Confucius, and sent the Empress and the heir to the throne to do honour to the temples of Buddha and the Taouists; and later in the year marched his troops against the tribe Uku (*i.e.* the Uighurs). Hearing *en route* that his mother

was ill, he travelled sixty leagues in one day to go and assist her, and returned to the army when she was better. His army was delayed by terrible tempests and snow-storms. We are told that he sacrificed to the sky, which became at once tranquil. He gave the heir to the throne the command of the advance guard. The enemy was defeated, 14,200 prisoners were made, and more than 200,000 head of cattle, tents, and stands of arms were captured, after which the entire horde submitted. The same year A pao ki restored the old town of Li yu yang, and planted some Chinese and people from Pohai there, and changed its name to Dung ping shan (Gabelentz, p. 21).

The next year, *i.e.* in 920, he ordered an alphabet to be prepared specially for the Khitan language. This we are told was constructed by the Chinese, and a solemn edict authorized the use of the characters. These were the Khitan capitals or large letters (Visdelou, p. 189). In the fifth month A pao ki is said to have seen a dragon in the river Yang sui, near the mountains Yeilisan. He killed it with his lance, and set up its skeleton in the treasury. It had a long tail and small bones, the body was five feet long, and its tongue one and a half feet. In the tenth month prince Tuioi sent an army to attack the town of Tiyande, and the Tse se Tsung yu submitted to him. He gave up his bows and arrows, horses and saddles, banners and trumpets, and returned with his army. As Tsung yu again revolted, the prince Tuioi returned again, captured the town, and carried off Tsung yu, with all his house. He planted its inhabitants in the south of the Inshan mountains, and then returned (Gabelentz, p. 21).

In the first month of 921 A pao ki made his younger brother Dsilka Tsai siang or vizier of the South. This was the first time members of the Imperial family were appointed ministers of the South. Some months later he published a code of laws, and fixed the various ranks and dignities of his officials. He also caused the portraits of the grandees of old days to be painted, and appointed officers to report during the first four months of the year on the condition of the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0035869X00017780

people. Meanwhile matters in China were hastening to another crisis. The prince of Tsin, who claimed to be the champion of the dispossessed Tang dynasty, which had ruled over China so gloriously, continued his victorious campaign against the dynasty of Liang, whose end was fast approaching. It was delayed by a small outbreak elsewhere. One of the dependents of the prince of Tsin was named Wang yong, and had the superintendence of the small government or principality of Chao. In the summer of 921 one of Wang yong's officers, named Chang wen li, supported by Wang yeou, rebelled against him, and appropriated his government, including the towns of Ching chau or Sui chau (*i.e.* Iching in Yang chau fu, Porter Smith, 4) and Ting chau. Wang yeou, who was afraid of the vengeance of the prince of Tsin, repaired to A pao ki, to ask him to support Chang wen li. "Ching chau," he said to him, "is a city where the women are as fair as the most beautiful clouds in the sky; gold and silks are piled up there mountains high. If you are quick, you may appropriate all; if not, the prince of Tsin will forestall you" (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 189). A pao ki at once made preparations for an invasion of Peh cheh li. He was opposed by his wife. "Whither will you go?" said she. "Here we are rich in horses and sheep, and are at peace. How will you mend yourself? For the small advantage you may gain, is it worth while to make your soldiers undergo such toil, and to expose yourself to danger? The prince of Tsin has no rival at the head of an army; brave and fearless in the presence of the greatest dangers; and is it against him that you are marching! He has already beaten you once, and if he repeats his victory, you will regret not having followed my counsel. Take my advice, do not meddle with their quarrels." A pao ki heeded not, but set out. He arrived at Yeou chau in December of 921, which he besieged for some days, but finding it stubbornly defended, he withdrew his forces and fell upon Cho chau, which he captured, and then approached Ting chau, whose commander sent a messenger to summon the prince of Tsin to his aid. The latter set out, and heard, when he arrived at Sin

ching, that the advance guard of the Khitans had crossed the river Sha ho (this river flows twenty-one li west of Tso chau, in the district of Pao ting fu, De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 67). Putting himself at the head of 5000 warriors, he passed to the north of Sin ching, under cover of a wood of mulberry-trees. The Khitans, seeing him emerge suddenly from this wood, were panic-stricken, and fled, and a son of A pao ki was captured.

The Khitans retired to Wang tu (*i.e.* Pao ting fu, De Guignes, iii. p. 67), where they were pursued by the prince of Tsin. Five thousand horsemen whom he met on the way ventured to attack him. He was several times surrounded, and was only saved by the bravery of Li se chao, who, at the head of 300 warriors, took him out of their hands. Meanwhile the main army on either side went to the support of its people. The prince of Tsin attacked the Tartars most vigorously, and completely defeated them; the roads were strewn with the corpses of dead men and horses. It was the most terrible defeat A pao ki had yet suffered. Seeing that he was not pursued, he collected together the debris of his people and returned homewards (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 190).

This is evidently the Chinese account of the campaign, and represents it as the Tsin Emperor would have us understand it. The Khitan story is entirely different, and claims almost complete victory along the whole line. We are told that A pao ki went with his whole army to the pass of Dsioiyung kuan, and a little later captured that of Gubekeo. He then divided his army and plundered ten towns, among them Tan chau, Si yon chau, An uwan, San ho, Li yang si yang, Wangdu, Luchau, Man cheng, and Sui cheng, all belonging to the Tsin. A pao ki had received the fugitive Wangioi as his son, gave him many gifts, and planted his people to the south of the river Hoang shui (the Sira Muran). The town of Changlu was captured by Khang medsi, one of A pao ki's officers. When the latter again attacked Tso chau, a white hare was seen to climb the walls (? the meaning of this, perhaps it was a bad omen). As he had the same day destroyed another town, its governor,

Lisebin, went out with the citizens and surrendered. Tulei, a general of A pao ki, with 5,000 cavalry, surrounded Litsunsioi, who had marched with an army to the town of Wangdu. All his efforts to break through were unavailing until Lissedoho came to the rescue with 3000 horsemen, which relieved him. He thereupon fell in turn upon the Khitans with vigour, and compelled them to withdraw. When he arrived in Yo chau, he despatched 2000 horsemen in pursuit of the Khitans. They were attacked by A pao ki, and lost many prisoners. When A pao ki reached Tan chau, he was in turn attacked by the army from Yo chau, but the latter was again defeated, and a general captured.

A pao ki now issued an edict, by which the people of Tan chau and Shon chau were planted at Sin chau or Sinyang, in the province of Dung ping in Liau tung. He again altered the honorary names of the year to Ti yan tsan, *i.e.* "the aid of heaven." He also issued an edict by which he amnestied all prisoners, except those under punishment of death (Gabelentz, pp. 22, 23).

Visdelou describes the events of the year very shortly. He says that in the 11th month of 921, A pao ki marched against Pihchehli, where he captured more than ten towns. A month later he was defeated by the Chinese and retired (Visdelou, p. 189).

Early in 922, A pao ki entered the province of Yeou chau (the modern Peking). In the 4th month he attacked Dse chau or Ki chau. The town was captured after an attack of four days, and its governor, Hotsiong, was made prisoner; he also took Che chau. He made over the organization of the army to Luguweyung and Niyelugu, and gave the soldiers a feast. At the request of Yang wen li, he also sent an army to the relief of Dsenchau, which was being attacked by Li tsun sioi, the Tsin Emperor. The army of the latter was defeated, and its commander killed. He also invaded the various tribes in the north and south, and divided the booty he secured among the poor; he also separated his tribe Tiela into two parts, and made Siyeniyechi general of the northern part, and Guwansi of the south, and he appointed

his younger son, Yugu or Yaokhu, commander-in-chief of the army (Visdelou, p. 189; Gabelentz, p. 23).

On turning to the Chinese story again, we read that on his return from his victorious campaign, the prince of Tsin proceeded to nominate himself Emperor. He repaired to Wei chau (*i.e.* Tai ming fu), and having raised a mound in the middle of the city, he mounted it and offered sacrifice, surrounded by his various officials in their state robes. Then seating himself on a throne, he declared that he mounted the throne to continue the dynasty of Tang, which had adopted his ancestors. He accordingly gave his dynasty the name of Tang, and it is known as that of the Heou Tang or the Later Tang. He changed the name of Wei chau into that of Hing tang fu, and made it his eastern capital. He restored its ancient name of Tai yuen fu to Tsin yang, and made it his western court, and gave Ching chau, which he made his northern court, the name of Ching ting fu (De Mailla, vol. vii. pp. 193, 194). He then pressed the war with increased vigour against the Liang Emperor, whose capital Ta Liang he at length captured. Moti, the Liang Emperor, rather than be made prisoner, was slain at his own request by one of his own slaves, while the families of his principal adherents were exterminated (*id.* pp. 206, 208). Thus perished the short-lived dynasty of Liang, and the prince of Tsin became master of all the northern provinces of China.

Meanwhile A pao ki did not sit quietly under his great defeat, but we find him making attacks along the frontiers of the Tsin dominions. Thus we read that in 923 his second son Yaokhu captured the town of Ping chau, with its governor Ju se yan, and the sub-officer Jang tsung. A pao ki then went there in person, changed its name to Lu lung-dsiyun, and nominated a Tsese there. The Hii or Sisi having rebelled, he subdued them, and killed 300 of their leaders with sacred arrows, and threw their bodies into the river. He then gave orders to Yaokhu to attack Yeou chau (*i.e.* the modern Peking), and sent another army against the province of Shan si. Having defeated the

Chinese, he captured Tsioi yang and Pe ping (another name for the modern Peking). This was in the very month when the Prince of Tsin proclaimed himself Emperor. On their return from their expedition into Pehchehli, the troops of Yaokhu were rewarded for their services. The growing influence of the Khitan power is shown by the fact that we are told the King of Persia sent tribute, that is, he probably sent envoys with presents (Visdelou, p. 189; Gabelentz, p. 24).

In January, 924, A pao ki sent an army to ravage the southern part of the kingdom of Yen (*i.e.* of Pehchehli), and later in the year he removed the people of Ki chau in the same province to Liau chau. At this time the Pohai Tartars killed the Khitan viceroy in their country, Jang-sheosi.

In the summer of the same year A pao ki assembled the Empress, the heir to the throne, the generalissimo of his forces, the tsai siangs or viziers, and the other Tartar chiefs, and thus addressed them: "The sky which is over our heads looks down on us from on high, and distributes its favours among all people. In ten thousand years you may discover one holy master and a wise king. As on the one hand he is made by the sky, and on the other he rules all living things, he wages no war and undertakes no enterprize save by the will of heaven. This is why he draws inspiration thence. He follows the will of God, and his orders are religiously carried out. He wins the hearts of men. In this way those who are in error return to truth, and those who are far from him, like those who are close to him, are exempt from vices. We may say of such a king his greatness of mind can compass the sea, and his constancy can establish the mountains." (Gabelentz reads this, "People may say of my kingdom that it surrounds the great sea and touches the Taishan or Holy mountains.") "Since I began to build up our empire, and since I became the father of the Universe, I have established firm laws. After this, need my successors trouble themselves with the difficulties of government? The duration, the growth and decay of empires have their causes. Their pre-

servation and destruction depend also on the princes who govern them. Fortunate expeditions and favourable opportunities ought equally to approve themselves to heaven and to the people. Among all the kings of men has there been one who could secure immortality for himself? My term of existence will end in the year 926. There remain only two things to do, and I have only a short time to do them in. It behoves me to use diligence" (Visdelou, p. 190). We need not wonder that his audience should have been somewhat startled by these enigmatical phrases. It would seem they were preliminary to his preparing for an expedition into Western Tartary against the Tukon or Tukohoan, Tanghiang and Supu. Having left Tuioi, the heir to the throne (styled the Hoang tai tsi or the august very great son), as regent, he took his younger son Yaokhu, who was the commander-in-chief of his troops, with him.

In the 7th month Ho lu and other officers attacked the Tartars who lived to the east of the mountains So kuen no (?) and defeated them. In the next month A pao ki reached the mountain U khu, where he sacrificed some geese to the sky, and presently reached the ancient kingdom of the Shen yus (*i.e.* of the Khans of the Hiongnu). There he climbed the mountains A li tien ya to si, where he sacrificed a stag of an extraordinary kind. On the first day of the 9th month he encamped near the ancient city of the Uighurs (*i.e.* Karakorum), and there he put up a marble tablet, inscribed with his victories. Later in the same month he adored the sun, in the forest of Tai lin, and then sent an army against the Tsu po (called Su pu by Gabelentz), and two other armies, one under the southern Tsai siang (Yelioisu), and the other under an I li kin named Di ye li, with orders to plunder the country of the south-west (Gabelentz says the country of Su pu). These two armies returned to him in a few days with the captives they had made.

A pao ki having cut a channel from the river Kin ho (*i.e.* the Golden river, Bretschneider, Notices of Med. Geog., note 237), filled several watercarts with the water, and also took some stones from the mountain U Shan (*i.e.* Black

Hills, probably the Karakorum mountains are meant, *id.*). These he took home with him. The stones he set up on the banks of the Hoang ho (*i.e.* the Sira muran) and on the mountain Mu ye (*vide supra*), to remind posterity that the rivers and mountains had rendered him homage, as the rivers do the sea, and the small mountains the greater ones. In the end of the ninth month the kingdom of Tache (probably the Tajiks or Persians are meant, and not the Arabs, as Visdelou suggests) sent him tribute to his camp. On the following day he ordered the ancient monument of Pi ko khan (*i.e.* the Buku khan, the founder of the Uighur power) to be repolished, and an inscription to be engraved on it in Chinese, Khitan, and Turkish, containing a recital of his good deeds. The same month he defeated the barbarians who lived in the mountain Hu mu si (?). Having encamped at the foot of the mountain Ye li si, he sacrificed a red cow to the sky and a black horse to the earth. The king of the Uighurs, called Pali or Pari, went to his camp with tribute. On the first day of the tenth month he hunted in the mountains Yu lo (?), and captured several thousand wild animals. The next day he encamped at the mountain Pa li si (?). Thence he sent an army which, crossing the moving sand (Gabelentz says the river Lioisa), captured the town of Fu tu (called Feotut sheng by Gabelentz), and subdued all the hordes of the Western borders. The first day of the eleventh month he captured Pi li ko, the Dudu of the Uighurs of Kan chau (in Kan suh), and took the opportunity of forwarding envoys to their Khan, U mu chu (Visdelou, p. 191), of whom the Dudu was the deputy or vice-ruler. This letter is referred to by Ye lu tai shi in the note he sent to U mu chu's descendant, Pi le ko. We are told in the history of that king that A pao ki, having carried his victorious arms on the north as far as the town of Pu ku han (*i.e.* to Karakorum), sent a letter to the Uighur chief (whose ancestors had been driven away from Karakorum in the previous century), worded thus: "Do you ever think of your old country? If you do, I will restore it to you; if not, I will retain it myself. It is immaterial whether it is

in your hands or mine." It seems that U mu chu replied that it was already ten generations since his people had abandoned their old land and settled in China; that his soldiers and people were content with their new country, and would not leave it willingly; and that he could not therefore return to the old country (*id.* p. 28). A pao ki seems in this campaign to have conquered the various Turkish tribes of Western Mongolia, as he had previously conquered the Mongols and the tribes of Eastern Mongolia, and thus appropriated the whole country surrounding the Gobi desert, which remained in the hands of the Khitans until the destruction of their dynasty by the Kin Tartars, as I have mentioned in my last paper.

After sending his letter to the Uighur chief, we are told A pao ki went to hunt tigers in the mountains Ula ye li (?), and advanced as far as the mountain Pa shi (?). For sixty days the army advanced hunting fashion, and had fresh venison daily (*id.* p. 191).

In January, 925, A pao ki sent couriers to the Empress and to Hoang tai tsi, to announce his victories to them. In the next month his son Yao khu made an invasion of the Tang kiang (*i.e.* Tangut). The Empress soon after sent off Khang mo ta to make inquiries about her husband's health, and to take him clothes and refreshments. She seems also to have sent Siao a ku chi to make a raid into Pehchehli and Shansi, whence he returned laden with booty. Soon after Yao khu presented the captives whom he had made in Tangut. This was followed by a feast given by the Emperor in the mountains Shui tsing shan (?). In the fourth month he attacked the Siao fan, who lived in the south (? the Si fan tribes of Kukunur), and subdued them. Meanwhile the Empress and the Hoang tai tsi rejoined him on the river Cha li (?). Soon after envoys arrived from U mu chu, the Khan of the Uighurs, with presents. In the fifth month A pao ki went to the north of the country of the Shi wei (*i.e.* of the Mongols, to pass the summer heats), and four months later he made his way homewards again.

On his return he received envoys from the founder of

the revived Tang dynasty (*i.e.* of the late Tsin Emperor). The Japanese and the Coreans also sent him envoys (Visdelou, p. 192). Later in the year he went in state to the Buddhist temple, called Ghan kue si, where he entertained the monks, and published an amnesty. He also set at liberty the captive eagles and falcons which were used in falconry, and the kingdom of Sin lo in Corea sent him tribute (*id.*). Calling his people together, he now addressed them, and said he had accomplished one of the two objects of which he had formerly spoken to them, but there still remained another, namely, the punishment of the rebel kingdom of Pohai, whose people had put the Khitan viceroy to death. He accordingly marched at the head of his troops against In chuen (called Dajensiowan by Gabelentz), the king of Pohai. He was accompanied by the Empress, the Hoang tai tsi, and his other son, the generalissimo Yao khu. He offered the usual sacrifices to the mountain Mu ye, and also offered a black or grey cow to the sky, and a white horse to the earth. This last was offered up on the mountain U shan. On arriving at the foot of the mountain Sa kha, he had a criminal put to death with sacred arrows, and soon after reached the mountain Shang ling, and proceeded to invest the town of Fu yu, also called Khaiyuwan, which belonged to Pohai (It was situated north of Ku yung hien in Liau tung, Porter Smith, pp. 6 and 17).

In January, 926, we are told that the sun was overclouded with a white vapour. Soon after the town of Fu yu was captured, and the officer in command there was executed. A pao ki then detached a body of 10,000 mounted soldiers under the command of Anduan, the Ti in or grand master of the palace Siao a khu chi (called Agudsi by Gabelentz), formerly Tsai siang of the North, and other officers, and sent them on as an advance guard. They met and defeated the main army of Pohai. The same night A pao ki's two sons laid siege to the town of Khu khan or Ho han, and shortly after the Pohaian king In chuen capitulated. A few days after, while A pao ki was encamped to the south of Khu khan, the latter, dressed

in a white and simple robe, and leading a sheep tied with a straw cord, left the town at the head of 300 of his principal people, and went to him. A pao ki received him very graciously, and gave him his liberty, and appointed him governor of Pohai; but the kingdom was by no means finally conquered. When A pao ki's officers went into the town to draw up an inventory of the captured arms, they were murdered, and shortly after Inchuen again rebelled. The town was then taken by storm. Inchuen again implored pardon. He and his family were placed under surveillance, while, we are told, A pao ki offered grateful sacrifices to the earth and sky. The governors of the chief towns of Pohai—Anbiyan, Modsi, Nanhai, and Dingli—sent in their submission. The captured spoils were distributed among the victorious troops, fresh sacrifices were offered, a general amnesty proclaimed, and the title of the regnal years was once more changed—they were now called Tien hien or Tiyan siyan, meaning 'illuminated by heaven.' Having sent envoys to inform the Tang Emperor of his success, A pao ki entered the town of Khu khan, and inspected its arsenals and treasures; these he distributed generously, a large share falling to the chief of the Hii, who had been his ally in the expedition. The name of Pohai was now changed to Tung tan or Dung dan, while that of Khu khan was changed to Tien fu or Ti yang fu cheng (? if the modern Fung lien fu or Mukden), *i.e.* celestial happiness. He appointed his eldest son Tu yu (the Hoang tai tsi) governor of Tung tan, *i.e.* Pohai, with the title Gin hoang vang, *i.e.* august king of men. He also assigned to him his own brother Tie la or Diyela as first Tsai siang or minister, while the post of second Tsai siang was assigned to the person who held it before the overthrow of the Pohaian kingdom. Other officials were promoted and rewarded; a general amnesty was decreed in all parts of Pohai, and an annual tribute of 150,000 pieces of stuff and 1000 horses imposed. Shortly after the Ting wei, the Coreans, the Wei me, the Tie li or Di ye li, and the Moho, sent to pay tribute. Some towns apparently still held out, for we find A pao ki now sending a force to

subdue the town of Chang ling fu, in Pohai, and again sacrificing to the sky. He paid a state visit to his son, the governor of Tung tan or Pohai, and shortly after sent Anduan to subdue the three Pohaian towns — Anbiyan, Modsi, and Dingli—which had rebelled. Only the two chief men of Anbiyan were put to death. Having given another feast to his troops, A pao ki now wended his way homewards, accompanied by the captive king of Pohai and his family. His son, the new governor of Pohai, went as far as the mountain Sa tsi shan to say good-bye to him (Visdelou, p. 193; Gabelentz, 27, 28).

During the expeditions of A pao ki into the West and against Pohai, the Khitans did not apparently desist from their attacks on the Chinese frontiers; and we read that in 925 the border commanders of the empire made reports to the Emperor, stating that unless they were assisted they could not protect their charges (De Mailla, vol. vii. p. 218).

The cause of their success was doubtless the weakness of the Tang Emperor, who seems to have given himself up to debauchery and to have neglected affairs of government, which caused revolts in various places (*id.* 240, 241). Li se yuen, who is called a Tartar, and was doubtless also a Sha to Turk, and whom the Emperor had adopted, was sent against the rebels (*id.* 242, 254). He was however persuaded to go over to them, and thus strengthened, they speedily overwhelmed the Imperial party, and the Emperor himself was killed in his palace. This was in 926 (*id.* p. 250). He was succeeded by Li se yuen, under the style of Ming tsong.

The new Emperor sent Yao koen or Yu kun to announce his accession to A pao ki. The latter was much touched, we are told, by the news of the late Emperor's death. "He was the son of my *anda*" (that is, son of my sworn friend) he said. Ming tsong seems to have concealed the fact of his having taken part in the rebellion; and when A pao ki inquired how it was he had not assisted his predecessor more effectually to put down the rebellion, Yao koen replied that he was too far off to do so.

A pao ki then addressed a seasonable homily to the envoy:

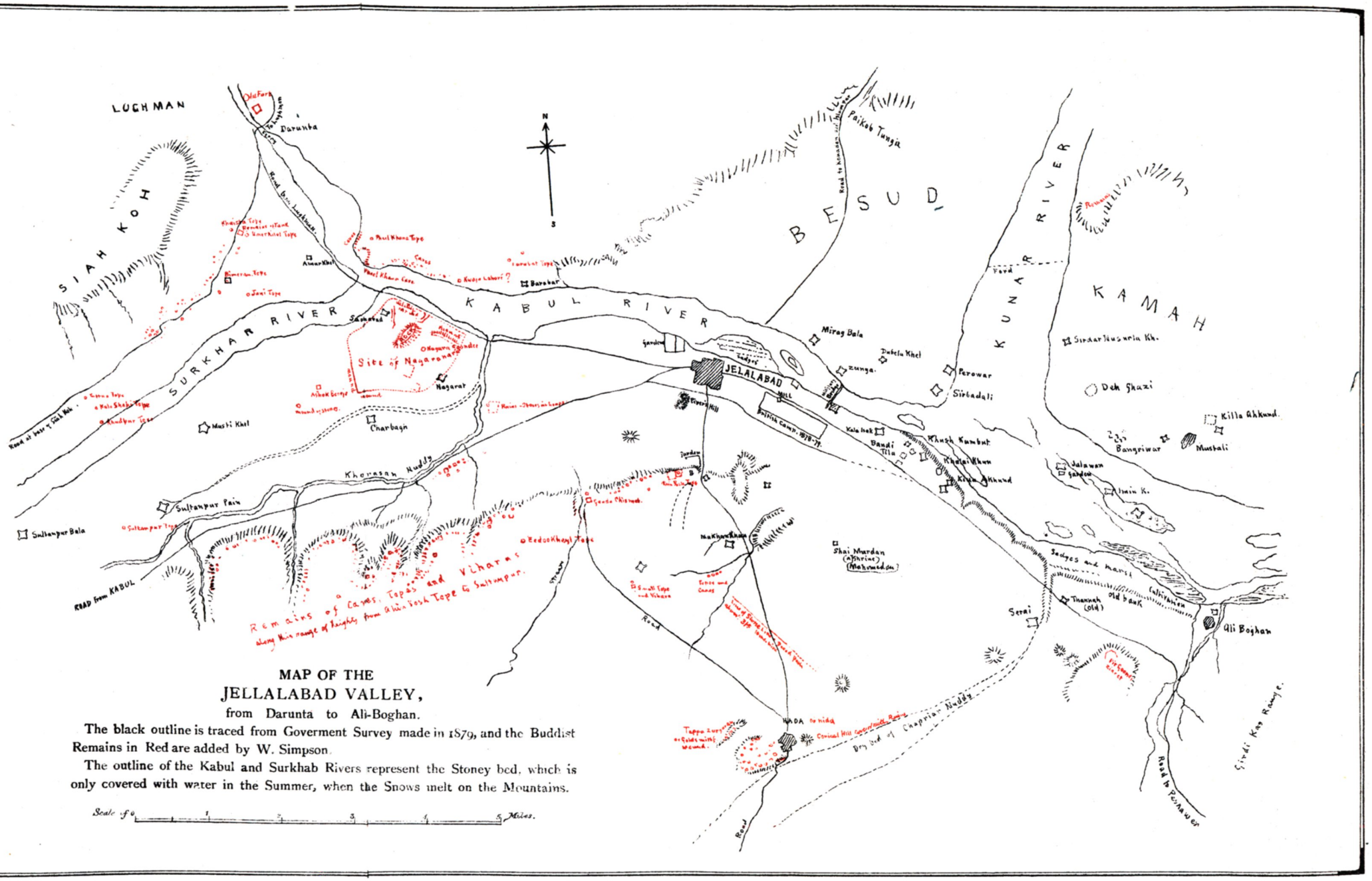
"I have heard," he said, "that the son of my *anda* was completely devoted to pleasure, to the drama, and to hunting; that he took little care of his soldiers or his people, and that it was this which brought him to trouble. When I saw his evil courses, I drank no more wine, I went no more to the play, I sent home my actors, and I released my falcons and my dogs. If I had followed his example, I should long ago have fallen myself" (*id.* p. 256). Having thus addressed him, he went on to say that he had no ill-will to the new Emperor, and he would promise to be on good terms with him if he would cede to him all the country north of the Hoang ho. Yao koen answered this outrageous claim by replying that he had no authority to treat for anything of the kind. A pao ki, in a rage, had him seized, and imprisoned him for ten days; he then again summoned him to his presence, and said it seemed unreasonable to have asked for so large a cession, and that he would content himself with Ching ting (?) and Yeou chau (the modern Peking). He had paper and writing materials produced, and was for insisting upon Yao koen signing such a cession; and when he refused, he would have killed him if Han yen hoei had not held his arm. He then ordered him to be confined (*id.* 257).

The lately conquered kingdom of Pohai proved a troublesome acquisition. We read that in the fifth month of 926 two of its towns, Nanhai and Dingli, rebelled. Yao khu was sent against them, and speedily subdued them. Soon after the viceroy of Tie chau rebelled. He was also forced to submit by Yao khu. Shortly after Tie la or Di ye la, A pao ki's brother, and the senior Tsai siang of Tung tan (*i.e.* of Pohai) died. A pao ki sent In chuen, the last king of Pohai, under a guard, to his chief capital, Hoang tu. He gave him the name U lu ku, which was the name of his own charger, while the name A li chi, by which his Empress's palfrey was known, was given to his wife. Soon after A pao ki himself became unwell. He was then at the town of Fu yu. The following night a great star fell in front of his tent, and on the day of the whitish snake a yellow dragon, one *li* in length, appeared above the fortress, and the light about it

was quite dazzling; it eventually came down and entered the palace. A blue vapour covered the sky for a whole day, and meanwhile A pao ki died, thus fulfilling the enigmatical prophecy he had uttered three years previously. He was fifty-five years old when he died, and he received the posthumous title of Ching tien wangti (*i.e.* the Emperor who mounted to the sky), and the style of Tai tsu, given to the founders of dynasties. His body was taken to the capital, Hoang tu, and was temporarily buried to the north-west of the town. It was afterwards buried at Tsu ling, *i.e.* the sepulchre of Tai tsu (Visdelou, p. 194). De Mailla says at the mountain Fu ye shan (really Mu ye shan, Ross, p. 220, *vide ante*), thirty *li* to the east of Kwang ning, in Liau tung (*op. cit.* p. 258).

We are told that the Empress Siaoli, when her husband was dying, summoned 100 of his principal officers, and ordered them to be put to death on his tomb, and bid them go and serve him in the other world. One of them protested against this honour, and was rebuked by the Empress, who wondered that he should object when his master was so much attached to him. He replied, with grim humour, that there was no one he was so much attached to as herself. She said she was willing to go, but must stay to look after her son and the pressing necessities of the state. Stretching out her right arm, the Spartan lady ordered her attendants to cut it off at the shoulder, and bury it with her lord. On their begging her on their knees not to do such a thing, she insisted on its being cut off below the elbow, and upon its being buried as above described. The officer who expostulated, we are told, and several others, had their lives spared (Ross, p. 220; Visdelou, p. 196; De Mailla, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 258). A viceroy was appointed to take charge of the tomb. The place where A pao ki died was situated to the south-east of Fu yu fu, between two rivers. A grand palace was afterwards built on the site, and named Shing tieu tien, *i.e.* 'palace of him who is gone to heaven,' while Fu yu fu was given the name of Hoang lung fu, or city of the first order of the Yellow Dragon, so named from the yellow dragon which appeared

there on the day of A pao ki's death. He was a famous figure in the history of Eastern Asia, and the real founder of the Khitan power. By his conquest of Pohai he secured the dominion over Liau tung and Manchuria as far as the river Hurka, the tribes beyond which, known as the Wild or Uncooked Jurchi (who, as we showed in a former paper, were the ancestors of the famous Kin Tartars), were independent of the Khitans. On the west A pao ki dominated over the various Mongol and Turkish tribes of the Gobi desert as far west as Sungaria, and probably even further. On the south his dominions were limited by Corea, which probably paid him tribute, and by the territory ruled over by the dynasty of the second Tang, founded by the Sha to Turks. We do not propose to carry the story further in the present paper, and shall remit the account of the long war which ensued with the latter power, and which ended in its destruction and the extension of the Khitan dominion over the six Northern provinces of China and as far as the Yellow River, to the next paper, in which we shall describe the Sha to Tu kiu or desert Turks.



MAP OF THE
JELLALABAD VALLEY,
from Darunta to Ali-Boghan.

The black outline is traced from Goverment Survey made in 1879, and the Buddist Remains in Red are added by W. Simpson.

The outline of the Kabul and Surkhab Rivers represent the Stoney bed, which is only covered with water in the Summer, when the Snows melt on the Mountains.

Scale of 0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles.