

ART. X.—*The Northern Frontagers of China.* Part IV.—
The Kin or Golden Tatars. By H. H. HOWORTH.

THE new facts collected by M. Gorski clear up a good deal of obscurity about the darker period in the traditions of the Manchus. His conclusions as to their ancestry are, however, quite at one with those which are now universally held, namely, that they are descended from the Kin Tatars, and that their royal family is descended from the Kin Emperors. In the Saga, Aishin Gioro appears among the three families as a stranger and a boy. Are such waifs and strays made into sovereigns in Asia, save when they have some ancestral claims? Is it not probable, rather, that during the Yuen dynasty, which only lasted about eighty-seven years, some members of the old royal stock were hidden away, and when the Mongol power collapsed, re-appeared again among their own people? We know that, notwithstanding the heavy hand which was laid upon it, the Sung Imperial family managed to survive until the days of the Ming, and even through the two hundred years of Ming rule. The only argument to the contrary is one which may be drawn perhaps from a statement in a letter of the Manchu Tai tsun to Su do shu, the defender of Da lin che: "The house of the Ming is not related to that of the Sung, and I am not akin to the dynasty of Kin. That was a peculiar epoch; now it is different."

But, as M. Gorski says, the surroundings of this phrase, and the way in which it is used, show that it was a diplomatic and not a genealogical statement, and its authority is very weak compared to the parallel statement of Tai tsu, who tells us that formerly his "dynasty bore the title of *Chu kin*, but later that of *Dai tsin*." Ssanang Setzen, as I said in my former paper, distinctly says the Manchu Chief was descended from the ancient Altan Khans, *i.e.* the Kin

Emperors, while the Emperor Kien lung says in his orders regarding the publication of the Manchu yuan lu kao: "The founder of the Kin dynasty belonged to the Aimak Wanian, which comprised the country from the Chan po Shan to the river Amur; our dynasty sprang from the same place where the Kin dynasty appeared, and the view of those people is very limited, who, out of exaggerated respect for our dynasty, assert that both houses, though sprung in common from the East, still do not belong to one and the same race. Even the circumstance that our house received the name of Aishin Gioro, while the Kin dynasty styled itself Aishin, is a proof that we are of the same origin" (Gorski, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 377). In China, Mongolia, and Manchuria, family names are most persistently retained. In the first country this custom has a strong religious sanction in the worship of the ancestors. In the other two, it is dependent upon the very constitution of their society. As M. Gorski says, both among the Kin Tatars and those of Pohai, in the early stages of their history, we find the country governed by a number of petty chiefs; the founders of both these dynasties having been, originally, only co-ordinate chiefs with others, whom they succeeded in subjecting. These chiefs were known as Beile, and these Beile were distinguished, in the days of the Kin, from the common folk, by the title of Lan siun, *i.e.* noble lord. We know, too, how careful the Manchus have been to preserve the genealogical facts with regard to the descent of the members of the eight banners. We may, therefore, be sure that the name Gioro is not given at haphazard to the founder of the dynasty, and that the joining to it of the name Aishin is a clear indication that he was connected with the old Kin Imperial family.

Again, Tsi liu tsi, in his History of Northern China, during the latter part of the Ming period, written in 1671, begins with the words:—"The forty-fourth year of the reign of Wan li, 1616, the first of the reign of Tian min, of the dynasty of Dai Tsin, is the period since which the Manchus first began to recognize China, only as the Southern Court, and Tai tsu began to wear the Yellow robe and to speak of

himself as Chen, *i.e.* "We." At that time the dynasty still called itself, as before, Chu *kin*, and only altered it later to Dai tsin" (*id.* vol. i. p. 377). This is a curious proof that the dynastic name Kin survived, and was used by the royal family of Manchuria even after the accession of the present royal stock—the best proof we could have that the history of the two houses was in fact continuous.

So much for the dynasty. As to the people there is not room for two opinions. Every one who has examined the matter is, so far as I know, agreed that the Manchus are directly descended from the Jurchi. Amiot, in his eulogium on the city of Mukden, tells us the Manchus recognize this ancestry; Visdelou says the Manchus were a small tribe of the race Jurchi, and descended from the Kin (*op. cit.* p. 280); while De Mailla says the Manchus sprang from the Jurchi of Nan Kuan (*op. cit.* vol. x. p. 406). The two peoples sprang from the same part of Manchuria, namely, the neighbourhood of the Great White Mountains and the country at the sources of the river Yalu and to the east of the Khon tung (Remusat, *Les Langues Tartares*, pp. 145, 146).

With regard to their language, the matter was long ago settled in the same manner. It is true that Gaubil (see Remusat's work already quoted), says, that to judge from certain words of the Kin language contained in their history, their language was different to that of the Manchus (*op. cit.* p. 88); but he only cites a very few words. The opposite conclusion was arrived at by Visdelou from a discussion of the vocabulary attached to the Tsze heo teen, which he found contained at least thirty out of eighty-four words which are closely related, and, in fact, almost identical with the corresponding Manchu words (see Visdelou, *op. cit.* p. 288). We must remember also that Visdelou confesses he never knew Manchu well, and that he had hardly studied it for twenty years before he made his comparisons, so that, as he says, the remaining words might easily have formed a part of the Manchu language which was less used (Remusat, *Les Langues Tartares*, p. 147, note). The matter was

finally put to rest by the comparison made by such competent critics as Klapproth, who has given a similar vocabulary from the Kin Shi or "History of the Kin Dynasty," which he published in the Asia Polyglotta, pp. 292 and 293, and by Mr. Wylie in his introduction to the translation of the Tsing wan ke mung, pp. lxxv. and lxxx.

On the accession of the Ming dynasty, we read of the establishment of a college of translators. This was in 1407. One of these was for the Jurchi language, the others being for the Mongolian, Thibetan, Sanskrit, Bokharese, Uighur, Burmese, and Siamese. It will be remarked there is no interpreter for the tribes of Manchuria other than the Jurchi. In 1470 a fixed number of interpreters was appointed, and the number for the Jurchi was fixed at seven. In 1644 this translational office was revived, two new languages being added for the Pa pih and Pih yih, two tribes of South-western China. In 1659 the interpreters for the Jurchi and Mongol languages were suppressed (Remusat, *op. cit.* pp. 218 and 220, and Melanges Asiatiques, vol. ii. pp. 248 and 249). As Mr. Wylie says, the Manchus being actually descended from the Jurchi Tatars, their language is almost identical, and it is probable that by that time the Manchu literature had already supplanted the Jurchi characters (*op. cit.* pp. 5, 6).

Besides these proofs, Vissdelou quotes another. He tells us the Jurchi were celebrated for a peculiar kind of hunting, which is now confined entirely to the Manchus. The Manchus affirm that at a certain season of the year a certain stag will form a kind of seraglio in a portion of the forest on the mountains. Presently some other stag, who has not been so lucky, or has been robbed of its mistresses, and is ranging about, enters his domain and challenges him to the combat. The does range themselves in two rows as spectators, and surrender themselves to the victor. Knowing this, the Manchus take a stag's head, and having emptied it, put it over their own, and imitate with an instrument the cry of the stags, and thus approach the stag who is performing the part of Grand Turk. If the latter does not attack too suddenly and furiously, as he sometimes will, he becomes a

prey to the hunter; otherwise, the game is a very dangerous one, and the Emperor Kanghi, who was much attached to it, once ran a great risk of being killed (Visdelou, p. 292).

I hold it, therefore, to be beyond question that the Manchus are lineally descended from the Golden Tatars.

As we trace the Manchu pedigree to the Kin Tatars, so we may affiliate the Kin Tatars to the Tatars of Pohai, who preceded them in supreme authority in Manchuria. Upon this I shall enlarge in another paper. Here I would merely remark that, while the Manchus are apparently descended directly from the Kin Tatars themselves, the relationship of the latter to the Tatars of Pohai is rather a collateral one. Thus, during the long dynasty of the Tang, the Jurchi of Manchuria were apparently divided into two sections—the Jurchi of the river Sungari and those of the Amur. The former were the founders of the Pohai sovereignty, and to them the latter became tributary. When the kingdom of Pohai was supplanted by the Khitans, the Pohai Tatars, who became subject to the Khitan Emperors, were styled the civilized or tame Jurchi. Their brothers, who now became independent, were styled wild or independent Jurchi. And it is from the latter that the Kin Tatars and the Manchus are descended, and not from the former. This only affects the mere descent in blood, for there can be no doubt that in language, in institutions, and in other qualities, the wild and the civilized Jurchi were the same race, and we are expressly told, in fact, “that the Jurchi and the Pohai, in their origin, constituted but one family.” This phrase occurs in a message delivered by an ambassador of Aguta, the real founder of the Kin dynasty, to the Pohai people (Visdelou, p. 219). As I have said, when the Khitans conquered Pohai, the wild Jurchi became independent, that is, they were not inscribed upon the rolls as Khitan subjects; although they, no doubt, were tributary. They seem to have occupied all Eastern Manchuria from the borders of Corea to the Amur, and it is from this event that we must date the origin of the Kin royal stock and power. This stock was descended, according to Visdelou’s authority,

from a man called Pu Khan or Bu Khan, who was a Corean by birth (*op. cit.* p. 219) ; we are otherwise told that he was a Jurchi, who had long lived in Corea, and that he was called Hian pu or Sian fu (Plath, Mandschurey, p. 109 ; De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 359). He had an elder brother named A ku nai, who remained behind in Corea, refusing to follow him, saying, "Eventually there will be some of my descendants who will follow yours, *I* cannot do so."

With Pu Khan, who was then sixty years old, went his younger brother Pao ho li. Pu Khan settled with the horde Wanian, which became the royal horde, on the banks of the river Pu kan, while Pao ho li lived at Ye lan (Visdelou, p. 219). De Mailla calls the Pu kan river Kan chui, and tells us the tribe Wanian lived on it (*op. cit.* vol. viii. p. 359). Pu Khan, we are told, lived there for some time.

A member of the tribe Wanian having quarrelled with one of another tribe, a savage war ensued between the two hordes. The Wanian tribe addressed themselves to Pu Khan, and offered, if he would make peace, that they would surrender to him an ancient virgin sixty years old, a wise woman, and would make him their chief. Pu Khan accepted the office of mediator, and urged upon the hostile horde that it was not policy to exact so much bloodshed for the death of one individual, but that they should be content with the payment of a penalty by the tribe Wanian. This was agreed to, and the penalty was fixed at ten pairs of horses, ten cows, ten oxen, and six taels of silver—a composition for death which became the law in future among the Jurchi (De Mailla, *op. cit.* vol. viii. p. 360). Pu Khan was presented with a black ox, and with the ancient virgin, whom he married, giving her the black ox as a wedding gift. By her he had two sons, named Wu lu and Wua lu, and a daughter named Chu se pan (Visdelou, p. 220). This Saga has been manipulated in one element by Klaproth, who has altered lo chi 'sixty,' to chi lo 'sixteen,' as the virgin's age. This is an ingenious alteration, as it is hardly probable that at sixty a virgin would be either a tempting present to a man, or that she would be likely to

be a mother, but all the old authorities, nevertheless, say sixty (Plath, *op. cit.* p. 110, note). The Kin dynasty looked upon Pu Khan as the remote founder of their family, and he was given the title of Chi tsu, or first ancestor (Visdelou, p. 220; De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 360). Wu lu, who was styled Te wang ti, succeeded his father, and was in turn succeeded by Pohai, who was given the posthumous title of Ghan wang ti. He was succeeded by his son Sui kho, who received the title of Hien tsu, *i.e.* wise ancestor. Hitherto, we are told, the wild Jurchi had not used houses, but dug holes in the ground at the feet of the mountains and along the rivers, and covered them over with sods and earth. In these they spent the winter, while in summer they nomadized with their cattle. They often changed their winter dwellings, and had, in fact, no fixed homes. Sui kho persuaded them to plant fixed settlements on the river Hai ku, encouraged agriculture, and introduced houses among them, which they called Na khu li, *i.e.* in their language, the house where one lives, and afterwards fixed his residence on the river An chu ho, *i.e.* the Golden river, which was so called because gold was found there (Visdelou, *loc. cit.*; De Mailla, *id.*).

Sui kho was succeeded by his son Shi lu, who bore the posthumous title of Chao tsu. He is described as constant, brave, simple and just. Hitherto the Jurchi had had no fixed laws among them. He introduced such, and was much opposed in consequence by the grandees, and a conspiracy was formed to kill him; but the conspirators were dispersed by his uncle, Sieiliuching, who, we are told, sent a flight of arrows among them. By his wise measures his power was greatly extended, and the Khitan Court conferred on him the title of Tii-in (Plath says, made him a Mandarin (Ti Yu), p. 111.). This was made a fresh grievance by his people, who resented being treated as dependents of the Liau Empire. Shi lu marched against the malcontents, visited the districts of Tsin lin and of the White Mountains, those of San pin and Ye lan, and was everywhere victorious. On his return he passed the country watered by the river Pu

khu. This name means in the language of the country a dangerous abscess, and he accepted it as a bad augury, and, although overpowered by weariness, he refused to rest there; he passed on, and arrived at the plain of Ku li. While resting for the night, he fell ill, and, notwithstanding, had to make a retreat, as he was attacked by a band of robbers. He at length reached the village of Fu la kii, where he died (Visdelou, *op. cit.* pp. 220, 221). De Mailla says he died at Pe se tsi. His little army, having placed his corpse in a coffin, retired with it. It was overtaken by robbers, who attacked it and captured the coffin. The robbers were pursued, and it was recaptured. Pu hu, the chief of the tribe Kia ku, afterwards tried to surprise it, but it escaped (Visdelou, p. 221). A good deal of this account is, no doubt, exaggerated. The empire of Po hai, which had dominated in Manchuria for a long time, was a very flourishing empire, and we cannot doubt that the Jurchi were at this time much more civilized than would appear from these notices. This is in fact confessed in the Chinese accounts, where we read that, inasmuch as they had no writing, it is impossible to say how the men of this period lived (Visdelou, p. 221), and the picture we thus derive of the state of culture is largely imaginary.

Shi lu was succeeded by his son U ku nai, who bore the posthumous title of Kin tsu. He was born in the year 1021, and gradually extended the power of his kingdom. We are told that some fugitives from the Khitans took refuge within his borders. The Tiele and the Uge tribes also did so. The Khitans had had the intention of transporting them to form a colony. The Khitan Emperor having sent an army in pursuit of the fugitives, U ku nai, who feared that, if the enemy entered his country, they might learn its weakness, and at some other time appropriate it, sent them word that if they entered the land it would cause much disquiet and frighten the inhabitants, and undertook himself to make the fugitives submit. On another occasion, when most of the neighbouring tribes had submitted to him, Che hien, of the tribe U lin da, which lived on the river Hailan, still held out.

U ku nai having attacked him without success, persuaded the Khitan Emperor to send his rival a summons. Che hien sent his son, Po chu Khan, to the Khitan Court: there he was well received, and covered with favours. When Che hien, a few years later, accompanied his son on another visit to the same Court, the Emperor retained him, and sent his son back to govern the horde. This was all managed, we are told, by the intrigues of U ku nai (Visdelou, p. 221).

Some time after, Pa yi men, who is called viceroy of the horde Fu nie, belonging to the Five Kingdoms, by Visdelou, (*loc. cit.*), and chief of the horde Ukuépunié, of the Liau Tatars, by De Mailla (vol. viii. p. 362), rebelled against the Khitans, and cut off the route by which they went to capture birds of prey (for falconry) on the borders of the sea. The Emperor, having determined to punish him, communicated his design to U ku nai, who suggested he should try a ruse, saying, that if he employed force, he would escape to some inaccessible place. U ku nai's real fear was that the Khitans should enter his own dominions. He undertook to capture the rebel, and feigning to be his friend, he gave him his own wife and children as hostages, and afterwards surprised him and presented him to the Emperor, who thereupon gave a grand feast in U ku nai's honour, and made him presents. He also gave him the title of Tsie tu se, meaning, in Chinese, Generalissimo of the Wild Jurchi, with an official seal; but U ku nai, who did not wish to become a dependent of his powerful neighbour, refused the seal, and said it was not yet time. As the Khitans pressed the seal upon him, and sent deputies to take it to him, he caused a false rumour to be spread among his people that they intended to put him to death if he submitted to be enrolled among the Khitan subjects, and under cover of this, dexterously refused it. At this time, we are told, the Wild Jurchi had no iron, and they sold their goods and bought helmets and cuirasses at a high price from their neighbours. U ku nai obliged his brothers' children and relatives to lay in a large stock of iron. This he forged into weapons, and he so increased his power, that several tribes voluntarily submitted

to him, among others two tribes of Wanhien. He is described as clement and debonnaire; he was singularly free from excitement and from frailties of temper; he was generous and forgiving.

Having been deserted by certain of his subjects, he sent people in pursuit with orders to bring them back by persuasion. "Your master is a brave holo," they replied; "we know how to catch holos, but how can we submit to a holo?" The holo was the Tsi niao of the Chinese, *i.e.* the Charitable Bird. (It is found in the north, and resembles, says the narrative of Visdelou, a great fowl. It perches on the backs of cattle, horses, and camels, when abscesses form on their backs; these it pierces with its bill, and shortly the victims die. If it finds nothing else to eat, it will even eat sand and stones.) U ku nai was addicted to wine and women, and was very gluttonous. It was this which gained him the name Holo, and gave point to the raillery of the fugitives. U ku nai disregarded the gibes, and when, some time after, the scoffers were obliged to submit to him, he gave them presents, and sent them home again. This policy gained him much confidence.

In 1072 a horde of the Five Kingdoms (they were also Jurchi, says Visdelou, and were probably the civilized Jurchi) rebelled against the Liau; U ku nai declared war against them. Sie ye gave assistance to Po kin, chief of the rebels. He was defeated by U ku nai, who pursued him for a long time. Eventually he went to find the commander of the Liau garrisons, named To lu ku, and informed him of the defeat of Sie ye, but before he could meet him he fell ill, returned home and died. He was then fifty-four years old. He left nine children, namely, Hai che, He li pu, Hai sun, Polassu, Inku, Hechinpao, Mapu, Alihoman, and Mantuhon (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 362). Visdelou tells us it was a universal custom among the wild Jurchi, that the children, when they grew up, separated from one another, and each one lived in his own house. He also tells us that U ku nai's chief wife was called Tham kuo, and that she was the mother of five of his sons, whom he calls Hai che, He li pu, Hai sun, Su

tsun, and Mu tsun. When these were old enough to separate, we are told, their father spoke thus and said, "Hai che is of a sweet and amiable disposition; he ought to be a family man. He li pu is magnanimous, wise, and brave; of what is he not capable? Hai sun is also sweet and good." He then ordered Hai che and He li pu to live together, and desired that Hai sun and Su tsun should not separate. On the death of U ku nai, He li pu, whose posthumous title was Che tsau, succeeded him. He was born in 1039, and in 1074 succeeded his father as Tsie tu se. Hardly had he mounted the throne, when Pohí, a younger brother of his father by another mother, conspired against him. In order to gain him over, Che tsau gave him command of a horde, but to prevent him doing mischief did not let him control any soldiers. This partial confidence did not suffice, and Pohí allied himself with Huan man (the Hoannan of De Mailla), the son of Yata, a minister of He li pu, Santa, Uchun, and Omohan, and excited a civil war. Che tsau lost two battles, and then demanded peace. Peace was granted, on condition that he surrendered two famous horses he had in his stables. This he refused, and fought again, and to animate his soldiers, took off his cuirass and struggled desperately, killing nine persons with his own hand. He won a complete victory, pursuing the enemy to the desert of Peaitien, and we are told that, from the number of those who were killed near the river Putoto, its waters were discoloured with blood. He captured a great number of chariots, horses, cattle, and provisions. His clemency after the battle brought the rebels to terms, and Hoannan and Santa submitted. This battle was won in 1091. Pei nai, chief of the horde Walé, drew away Uchun and Omohan, but Pulassu, Che tsau's brother, defeated him, took him prisoner, and sent him to the Khitan Tatars (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 363). Videlou seems to say that the two rebels were defeated by Che tsau in person, and that he received four wounds. Two other rebels named Po chu khan and Laopei were also captured and sent as prisoners to the Khitan Emperor. He afterwards asked for their surrender, and they were returned,

together with all the other prisoners whom he had sent. On one occasion, we are told, an assassin attempted to kill him, and his people fled. He captured him with his own hands, and pardoned him, but he punished his followers (Visdelou, p. 223). He now fell ill; his chief wife, Nalan, cried incessantly. "Do not cry," he said, "you will only survive me a year." When his brother Su tsun urged him to make a will, he told him that he would only survive him three years. He afterwards summoned his brother Mu tsun and said to him, referring to his own sons, "U ya sho is sweet and good, but Aguta is the man to terminate the matter with the Liau." He died in 1092, on the 15th of the fifth month, at the age of fifty-four years, after having reigned nineteen years. The year after, his widow, Nalan, died, as he had prophesied, and the year after that his brother Su tsun (*id.*). Che tsau is described as endowed with great prudence and a great memory. He was very callous to cold, fought without a cuirass, and prophesied the issue of battles from dreams. One day, when drunk, he mounted a donkey, and thus entered his room. The following day, seeing traces of the donkey about, he inquired about it, and afterwards gave up drinking. He was succeeded in his title of Tsie tu se by his brother Pu la su, who bore the posthumous title of Su tsun. He was born in 1042, and had borne the Chinese title of Kue sian, or "Chief Minister of State," under his father and elder brother. Ya ta, the father of the rebels Hoannan and Santa, had borne it jointly with him. He had governed with great wisdom, had assisted his brother in his victories, was intimately acquainted with Khitan affairs, and discovered that the officials of that empire were in the habit of deceiving him. He recorded their statements on pieces of wood and tiles in the form of counters, confessing that he was not a lettered man. Having proceeded against Ma chan, who had rebelled, and having captured him, he surrendered him to the Liau Emperor. In 1093 he restored peace in his dominions with the assistance of his nephew Aguta, whom he made commander of his army. He died the following year.

Su tsun was succeeded by his brother In ku, whose præ-nomen was U lu wan, and his posthumous title Mu tsun. He was born in 1052, and was forty-two years old when he succeeded his brother as Tsie tu se. He made Sa khai, son of his elder brother, Hai che, his prime minister. In 1054 Po gha po ghin, of the tribe Tan kuo, and a former friend of Pote, of the tribe Wen tu, having quarrelled with the latter, killed him. Mu tsun gave some troops to his nephew Aguta, who captured and put the assassin to death (Visdelou, *op. cit.* p. 224). Soon after, Asu and Maotulo, of the tribe Hechelie, which lived on the river Sin hien, rebelled against him. He marched in person against them, and his prime minister captured the town of Tun ghen chin. Asu thereupon fled to the Liao Emperor. Mu tsun meanwhile retired, but he left Hai ché with a garrison in the captured town.

Some rebel tribes of the Five Kingdoms having cut off the route by which the Khitans were accustomed to go in search of birds of prey, Mu tsun marched against them. Akopan, who was the rebel leader, seized on a strong position, and fortified it with palisades. It was then very cold. Mu tsun speedily captured it, employing some excellent archers in the attack. He released some Khitan envoys and sent them home. He afterwards defeated some confederated rebels, capturing the town of Milimiche han. He spared the lives of the rebel chiefs. Sakhai and Aguta captured the chief town of the chief Leou kho, who had meanwhile escaped to the Khitans. The inhabitants were put to the sword. U ta, another rebel, also fled, and his town surrendered, as well as Che tu, and peace was at length secured.

In 1100 Mao tu lo surrendered to Hai ché, who was still in command of the town of Asu. The latter, having remained at the Khitan Court, had pressed upon the Emperor to restore him to his former position. The Emperor sent one of his officers named Ki liei, with an escort of several hundred horsemen, to reinstate him. Mu tsun, on his side, sent word to his brother to treat these messengers diplomatically, not

to heed the command of the Khitan envoy, and not to lay down his arms. He also sent Hu lu po ghin and Mao sien po ghin (po ghin was a title among them) of the horde Pu cha to conduct the envoy to Asu's town. Its commandant, Hache, who, as I have said, was Mu tsun's brother, went down on his knees before the Imperial deputy; then addressing himself to Hu lu and Mao sien, he attacked them for interfering in his affairs, and buried his lance in their horses, which fell dead. The deputy of the Khitans was alarmed and fled. Hache thereupon captured the rebel towns, and having found Tii ku pao, who had returned from his embassy to the Liau, in one of them, he had him put to death. Asu once more renewed his complaints to the Khitan Emperor, who sent the Tsie tu se of the Hii, named Yi li, to inquire. Mu tsun went as far as the village of Hin ho to meet him. Yi li urged him to make some recompense to Asu, but he replied, that if he did so, he could not restrain his own people. He secretly induced two of his hordes, namely those of Chun-wei and Tota, to seize the road by which the Khitans went annually to catch falcons, etc. He also let it be known to the Khitans by a Tsie tu se named Pie ku te, that if this road was to be re-opened, it was by means of himself. The Khitans, who did not know that the whole thing was a ruse planned by himself, followed his advice, and nothing more was said about Asu's town. Mu tsun pretended to march against the two tribes, but he soon returned. The same year Leou kho submitted to him. In 1101 the Liau Emperor sent presents for him and those who had assisted him in keeping the route open. The next year he sent on these gifts by the hands of Pu kia nu to the tribes which had assisted him so well by closing them, and reserved nothing for himself (Visdelou, pp. 225 and 226, De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 365). About this time one of the chief officers of the Liau, named Siao haïli, rebelled against his sovereign, and took refuge with the Atien, a tribe of the wild Jurchi. He sent his relative, Wadala, to ask Mu tsun to take up arms against the Liau, but Mu tsun, who did not think the time opportune,

had him seized. According to De Mailla he put him to death. Visselou says he sent him to the Liao Emperor and then prepared for war. He captured 1000 cuirassiers from Siao haïli, with whom Aguta, the nephew of Mu tsun, boasted he would undertake any enterprise. The Khitan army was 7000 or 8000 strong. It had attacked the rebel several times, but had been defeated, and Mu tsun, who began to despise the Khitans, bade their generals go home. Siao haïli, who, now that he only had the Jurchi to deal with, thought a victory was secure, offered battle. Aguta greatly distinguished himself. Making straight for Siao haïli, he shot an arrow, which unhorsed him, and then captured him. This dispirited his people, who fled. Mu tsun decapitated his prisoner, and sent his head to the Khitan Emperor (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 366). He also sent him the prisoners he had taken, and went in person to him. He was richly rewarded with presents. But this campaign had opened his eyes, and he had discovered how weak the Khitans really were. By the advice of Aguta, he introduced new laws among the wild Jurchi, and conquered several neighbouring districts; among them, on the south-east, were the countries of Tsieni, of Liku, of Holan, and of Yelan, as far as Chikulon; on the north as far as Ukue; and he also conquered the country of Wei tuta.

Although a section of the Jurchi had formerly been subject to the Koreans, we are told there had latterly been little intercourse between them, and a Korean officer, who went to their country, was surprised at the change which had come about, by which a race, formerly so barbarous, had been reduced to good order. On his return home, he advised his sovereign to enter into communication with them. This counsel was accepted, and from this time the Koreans, who have ever been a secluded race, began again to trade with the Jurchi. Mu tsun died on the 29th of the ninth month of 1103, at the age of fifty-one years.

The Emperor Che tsau had left eleven sons, namely, Uyasu, Aguta, Hantai, Otsimai, Sheyé, Wuasai, Waché, Ukimai, Shemu, Chachi, and Uta (De Mailla, vol. viii. 364). On the death of Mu tsun, he was succeeded by the eldest of

these his nephews, namely Uyasu, who is called Uyasan by Visdelou. His prænomen was Mauluwan, and his posthumous title Khan tsun. He was born in 1061, and succeeded to the title of Tsie tu se at the age of 43. He had reduced to obedience a horde which had rebelled in the last year of Mu tsun. Soon after his accession he sent Shetiwan with some troops into the country of Holantien, where he captured seven towns and caused some excitement among the Coreans, who feared for their own interests, and offered to mediate. Shetiwan accepted their mediation, and sent one of his officers, named Peilu, to the Korean king. The Holantien also sent two envoys to represent them; but the Coreans put them under arrest, nor would they allow Peilu to pass their frontier. The horde of Wosai or Ushui, having submitted, the Coreans surprised fourteen of the Jurchi, and proceeded to attack Shetiwan, who, however, defeated them, and pursued them to the borders of Pitenchui. The Coreans, who were frightened, returned the fourteen prisoners, and demanded peace, which was granted them by Peilu. This was in 1106 (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 367; Visdelou, p. 226). In 1108 the King of Corea sent to compliment Khan tsun on his accession. The Coreans afterwards attacked and defeated Wosai, and built nine fortresses in his country. Wo lu built others opposite those of the Coreans. The latter returned, and again defeated Wosai, but eventually they made peace and abandoned the forts they had built. In 1109 the drought was so great that thieves were permitted to redeem their lives, so that the price might be used in relieving the poor (Visdelou, *loc. cit.*).

We now come to an incident which precipitated the destruction of the Khitan Empire. We are told that in 1112 the Khitan Emperor went to the district of Chun chau, to fish in the river Hon tong, the Hoen tun of Visdelou. According to custom, the chiefs of the wild Jurchi repaired to him there.

Among them was Aguta. As was wont, the Emperor gave a grand feast when the first fish was caught. In the midst of the feast, and when the wine had risen to his head, the

Emperor, advancing to the balustrade, ordered the Jurchi princes to dance one after another. This they did, except Aguta, who refused, and said sharply, and showing that he felt insulted, that he did not know how to dance. Some days after, the Emperor remarked to Siao fong sien, his chief minister of war, that Aguta was clearly a very vigorous and dangerous person, and that it was dangerous to let him live. Siao fong sien replied that Aguta's manner was brusque and rude, but that he had not committed any crime worthy of punishment, and that if he was put to death without better cause, the Jurchi would rebel; while he urged that even if his designs were bad, he had not the power to injure the empire. On his return home, Aguta, who was persuaded that the Khitan Emperor meant to repress him, and who had seen how addicted to dissipation the Khitan Court was, began to make preparations to increase the number of his troops, and to train them more effectually.

Visdelou dates this anecdote in 1122, but De Mailla, with much more probability, in 1112, as at the former date the Khitan Empire had been considerably shattered and broken. Khan tsun died in 1113, at the age of 53, and Aguta, his brother, placed himself on the throne, with the title Tupukiliei, which meant, in the Jurchi tongue, commander-in-chief with absolute authority.

Aguta, who, in the course of his adventurous life, raised his people from being a petty kingdom of Manchuria, to a most important position among the Asiatic powers, was naturally the centre of much romantic legend. Thus we are told that during the reign of Liau tao tsun there appeared in the East a cloud of the five rainbow colours, repeated several times. It had the form of a round mill, with a capacity of two thousand measures of grain. Khun chi ho, who was at the head of the mathematical bureau, prophesied that there would appear in the district shaded by the cloud a famous hero, whom no human power could resist. Aguta was born in 1068, and his mother's name was Na lan. When Che tsau was still ill from the four wounds he received at Ye tsie, he took the boy Aguta on his knee, and foretold

that he would prove a great man. He became a famous archer, and showed his taste for arms when he was only 10 years old. One day, in the presence of some Khitan envoys, he killed three birds which were flying past with three successive arrows. On another occasion, after feasting at the house of Woli han, of the horde Hechelie, he challenged the company to shoot at a hillock in the distance. None succeeded in shooting as far except himself, who shot over it, and when measured the distance was found to be 320 paces; while Mantu, a relative of his, who was deemed the best archer of his day, was 100 paces behind him. In 1151 this feat was commemorated in an engraved monument. He accompanied Che tsau in his war against Pu hoei, which had revolted, and distinguished himself. On another occasion, U nin han, having rebelled after his submission to U chin, was besieged in his capital. Aguta, who was then 23 years old, took a short cuirass, but neither helm nor a horse in armour, and in this costume made the circuit of the town, to encourage the troops which were attacking the place. One of the besieged, named Tai yu, having seen him, put his lance in rest and charged at him. Aguta was taken unawares, and was saved by his uncle Holahu, who took the enemy in flank and killed his horse with his lance. Tai yu himself barely escaped. With such Homeric touches of personal encounter the narrative continues.

On the death of Che tsau, Aguta became the trusted confidant of his successor, Mu tsun. Che tsau had captured the rebel Kopei, but Machan had escaped, and fortified himself on the river Chewokai. Mu tsun gave some troops to Aguta, with orders to seize the family of Machan, while the latter himself was being attacked by Khan tsun; but Aguta succeeded in capturing the rebel himself, and presented him to the Khitan Emperor, who gave him, Mu tsun, Tse pu che, and Mantu, each the title of Tsian wen. Some time after, Aguta marched against Po he po, Lekhai, and other chiefs of the horde Nimanghu, and chose Ta tu gha for his guide. He marched during the night along the river Chuai, and surprised the enemy, and captured the wives and

children of the rebels. On another occasion, Po te, of the tribe Wentu, having killed Pa kha, of the tribe Tan kuo, Mu tsun ordered him to march and punish him. Before he set out he dreamt that a red spectre visited him, and he held this to be a presage of victory. The season was very severe, and there was much snow. Taking with him some men of the tribe U ku lun, he followed the river Tu wen, and having arrived at the town of Molin, he encountered Pa te between the mountain Se wen and the lake Pe lo, and there killed him. Mu tsun went to meet him on his return as far as the town Ghai kien.

Meanwhile Sa khai, who had the rank of Tu tun, was attacking Leou kho, and Man tu kha, in alliance with She tu men, was attacking Ti khu te.

Sa khai consulted with his officers about matters, and there was a disagreement among them. Some advised an immediate advance on Leou kho, but others counselled first securing the towns and fortresses of the tribes on the frontier. Aguta was asked to go and decide. Mu tsun suspected that there was something behind this quarrel. He nevertheless let his brother go, entrusting him with the small force he had by him, consisting only of seventy equipped soldiers. Man tu kha was then occupied in besieging the town of Mi li mi han, and She tu men had not yet arrived. The former's soldiers wished to seize him and hand him over to the enemy. He despatched couriers to Aguta, who sent forty of his small army to his assistance, while with the remaining thirty he marched on to assist Sa khai. On the way he learnt that the enemy had seized the road south of Mount Pen nie, and his advisers accordingly wished him to advance by the mountain Sha pien, but he marched on and met none of the foe. Having joined Sa khai, they pressed the enemy during the night with repeated attacks, and at daybreak captured the town. Leou kho and U ta fled to the Khitans. Aguta having taken the town of the former, next attacked that of the latter, which he had passed on his march, and whose inhabitants, in a sortie, had then captured some of his men and also his stoves. He had accordingly halted and shouted

to them with a loud voice, "At least spare my cooking utensils." They replied, mocking him, "If you return this way, as you fear, you may have need of food!" In answer to these jeers, Aguta, when he had taken the town of Leou kho, marched against Uta. Its people went out to meet him with the stoves and pans in their hands, and submitted humbly. After capturing these two towns, Aguta sent Pu kia nu to summon Cha tu to surrender. He did so, and Aguta gave him his liberty (Visdelou, p. 230).

Mu tsun having determined, on another occasion, to make war on Siao hai li, found he had more than 1000 men, a number which the Jurchi had never before got together. Aguta was much elated, and cried out, "What could not one do with such an army?" In this war the Jurchi were assisted by the Khitans; but Aguta, who wished to receive all the glory of it for himself, ordered them to stay behind while he went on. Before the fight the vice-Emperor of Pohai offered Aguta a cuirass, which he refused. When Mu tsun asked why he did so, he replied that if he won a battle in a Khitan cuirass, they would appropriate the glory of it. By the advice of Aguta, Mu tsun, in the latter part of his reign, forbade any one except himself to issue patents of office.

He also established courts of justice, and a system of posting. When, in the seventh year of the reign of Khan tsun, there was a famine, and many of the poor people became robbers, Huan tu suggested that severe measures should be employed to put them down. "We should not kill men for the sake of riches," said Aguta, "for riches are the fruit of men's labour." The punishment of death was therefore abolished for these offences, and it was decreed that the thieves should repay the value of what they had taken three-fold. The people became terribly involved in debt, and sold their wives and children to redeem them. Khan tsun took counsel with his officers as to what should be done. Aguta, who was in another room, put a piece of taffeta on a pole, and making a signal to the people, suggested that for three years creditors should abstain from enforcing their

debts, at the end of which time some measures should be devised. Aguta's proposal was very well received, and he became a universal favourite.

Before he died, Khan tsun dreamt that he was hunting wolves, that he fired several arrows at one without hitting it, while Aguta, who followed him, killed with the first shot. On asking for an interpretation of the dream from his officers, they replied that Aguta would carry out what he had tried to do and had failed. He died the same year.

Aguta succeeded his brother, and was appointed to the dignity of Tupukiliei. He failed to inform the Khitan Emperor of his accession, as was customary. The latter sent A si pao to remonstrate, upon which he replied that he was still mourning for his brother. Some time after, A si pao having ridden into the enclosure where the body was for the time deposited, and wishing to appropriate some of the beautiful horses which had been put there as funeral gifts, Aguta had him arrested, and would have decapitated him if Tsun hiun (De Mailla calls him Mo hian hu, the eldest son of Uyasso or Khan tsun) had not restrained him. The Khitan Emperor was a debauchee, and gave little heed to affairs of state. He was very fond of hunting, and each year an expedition was sent across the country of the Jurchi to seach for falcons. Those who composed it were in the habit of behaving badly, and of laying hands on the goods of the inhabitants. This was naturally a grievance. Another grievance they had against the Khitan authorities was that they had harboured a refugee named Asu, about whom I have already spoken. He plotted secretly with Inchukha and Tse li han, his nephews, who had some secret arrangements with Hoen tu and Pu so yu, inhabitants of the country of Nan kiang, and all four went to Corea. The matter having been discovered, they were pursued. Inchukha and Tse li han had already been captured by the Khitan garrisons. Hoen tu and Pu so yu succeeded in reaching Corea. Sa khai, who had been sent after them by Aguta, seized their wives and children, and sent them to his master. In the second year of his reign, Aguta went to the country

of Kiang si, where the Khitan envoys took him the patents of Tsie tu se and acknowledged his rightful succession. When he had received them, he despatched Pu kia nu to demand the surrender of Asu.

Some time after, he sent another embassy on the same errand, which was headed by Si ku ni, who reported the state of decrepitude and licence to which the empire was reduced. Aguta accordingly summoned his officers and notables, and disclosed to them his intention of making war on the Khitans. He ordered the roads to be mended, the town walls to be repaired, and arms to be forged. The Khitan viceroy sent him a Tsie tu se named Tan kho, to demand explanations; he merely replied that he was fortifying what he meant to keep. Shortly after, the Emperor himself sent A si pao to remonstrate with him. He replied that his was a small nation compared to the Empire; yet it had fulfilled its duties to that Empire honourably, while the latter had, on the contrary, offered an asylum to fugitives from him. He inquired if he had not, therefore, good cause to complain, and promised, if Asu were returned to him, to continue to pay tribute and to do homage, but if not, he must have recourse to arms. The Khitan Emperor laughed at these menaces, but he put his frontier in a state of defence. He ordered Siao-ta-bu-ye to assemble some troops in the town of Nin kiang chau. Aguta, on his side, sent Pu kuo under pretence of redemanding the surrender of Asu, but really to watch the enemy. On his return, he reported that the Khitan troops were very numerous. Aguta disbelieved this, as they had only just commenced to muster. He accordingly sent Hu che pao to report, but he told the same story as Pu kuo. He accordingly determined to attack them, and not to wait to be attacked. He went to see his mother, who encouraged him, and bade him be prudent. Pleased with her opinion of him, he burst into tears, and having filled a bowl with wine, he drank long health to her, and afterwards, accompanied by his mother and all his officers, he went to offer his respects to "the August Heaven and Mother Earth." After reciting that the Khitans had given

themselves up to debauchery, had refused to surrender Asu, and were preparing to attack him, he poured wine out on the ground as a libation, and then gave his officers a feast (Visdelou, pp. 232, 233). Having formed a plan of campaign with Niyamoho and Kochin, he put Inchukha, Leouché and Muché at the head of his army, and sent word to Lanlu and Akunai to go and join him. Waluku and Alu received orders to induce the Wahu and the Kissai to attack the Khitans on two sides, while Sheputiei was sent to the country of Wantulu to seize the Khitan mandarins who took care of the falcons (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 371). He sent Po lu hu to take charge of the troops which Tii ku nai commanded in the province of Ye lan. The chief of the tribe Taluku, having sent to ask him whose side he ought to take in the impending struggle, he replied, that though his own army was small, it consisted of veterans, while it would be a neighbourly act to assist him. Nevertheless, if he was afraid of the Khitans, he could take their side.

At length Aguta set out on his march, and advanced to Liau hoei, where Po lu hu should have met him, but he had not yet arrived. He had him bastinadoed for having failed to keep his appointment punctually. He reviewed his army on the banks of the river Lai leou, and found that it numbered 2500! Having once more recited his wrongs against the Khitans, how his ancestors had served them faithfully, and paid their tribute regularly; how his people had assisted in quelling the troubles caused by Uchun and Wo mu han, and defeated the army of Siao hai li, which favours had been repaid by tyrannous acts; and lastly, how they had refused to surrender the rebel Asu; he invoked the vengeance of heaven and earth against them (Visdelou, p. 233). Having commanded silence among the soldiers, he harangued them, and told them to act bravely, that those who were slaves among them should become free men, while the privates should become officers, and that everybody should be promoted according to his merits, while those who failed in their duty should be bastinadoed to death, and their families should also suffer. The army then advanced again; when it arrived

at Tai wo kia, the soldiers drew their arrows and arranged themselves in order of battle. Then sprang up flames of fire from under their feet, which also appeared at the points of their weapons. This was accepted as a good augury. The following day, the Jurchi reached the river Cho chi, where the same portents were repeated. At the Khitan frontier, which they now approached, Aguta ordered the soldiers under the command of Tsun gho ta to level the roads and fill up the ditches. Shortly after, the troops of Yu po hai attacked seven Muke, *i.e.* companies, of the left wing of the Jurchi army, and forced them back.

The Khitans then pressed their attack on the main army. Two Khitan champions, named Sie ye and Che tie, left their ranks and advanced in front. Aguta sent Tsun wo to capture them, but they retired pursued by the Jurchi. Upon this the horse of Ye lu sie che, the Khitan governor of Pohai, fell under him. One of his men went to the rescue, but Aguta killed him with one arrow, and wounded his master with another. He also shot another Khitan officer, who rushed to the rescue, through and through, and ended by hitting Ye lu sie che with another arrow in the back, which killed him, and Aguta secured his horse. He fought without a helmet, and was wounded in the forehead by an arrow, which wound he avenged by killing the archer who shot it. His son, Tsun wo, having been surrounded, he rushed to his assistance, and a terrible struggle ensued. Orders were issued to give the Khitans no quarter, and seven or eight out of every ten in their army perished.

Aguta's cousin, Sakhai, the son of his uncle, Hai che (Visdelou, p. 224), who was one of his most redoubtable chiefs, was not present on this occasion, and Aguta sent him news of his victory and also sent him Ye lu sie che's horse as a present. Sakhai sent his son Iniamoho with Koshin to congratulate him, and offer him the title of emperor. He replied that it would be presumptuous to take such a title after but one victory.

After the battle, he marched his troops to Ning kiang chau, to which he laid siege vigorously. The inhabitants made a

sortie, and were defeated by Wen ti leang and A du han, who planted themselves between them and the town, and slaughtered them all. It was soon after taken (Visdelou, p. 235; De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 372).

On the first day of the tenth month, the tribe Tieli submitted. Aguta encamped near the town Lai Leou, where he distributed the booty and cattle, which they had captured, among his troops. He summoned Leang fu and Wo ta la, and ordered them to pretend to desist, but in reality to go and ask the Pohai Tatars, their fellow-countrymen, to join the Jurchi. "Tell them," he said, "that the Pohai and the Jurchi are one race, and that in the war which is impending I will not confound the innocent with the guilty." He also sent Wan nian leou chi to make proposals to the tame or civilized Jurchi, who were subjects of the Khitans.

On his return home, he went to salute his mother, and distributed some of the spoil among his relatives and the elders of the people; and divided the goods of Che li kuan, the chief of the horde Taluku, who had held aloof from him, as I have said, among his soldiers.

The Jurchi, we are told, had to pay no taxes; they employed themselves neither in trade nor in manufactures, but lived by hunting and fishing only. Each man provided his own horse, his arms, and baggage. The chiefs of the various hordes were styled Po ghin, but when they were on the march they held military rank, and were styled Mongan (the Mugan of Visdelou) and Meouké. Mongan, says De Mailla, meant in their language, a Khiliarch, or commander of 1000 men, and Meouké a centurion (De Mailla, *op. cit.* vol. viii. pp. 372, 373). Aguta appointed a centurion or Meouké to each 300 families, and a Mugan over each ten Meoukés.

Cheou wo was sent to pacify the Jurchi of the river Tsan mu. The chief of the Piekou, called Husolu, submitted, and gave up his town.

When the news of the capture of Ning kiang chau reached the Khitan Court, a meeting of the Council was summoned. A leading Chinese, who was present, remarked that the Jurchi were brave and skilful soldiers, while the

Khitans had lost their ancient prowess; and that, although the former was only a small and weak power, it was not prudent to condemn them, but that a large army should march against them to overawe them (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 373). Siao kean li, who was a Tu tun or lieutenant-general (he is called Siao Sesien by De Mailla), with his lieutenant Siao Tabuye, accordingly assembled an army of 100,000 men. De Mailla says the latter commanded 3000 Khitans from the country of Hii, and 7000 Imperial troops. These troops were assembled on the northern banks of the river Ya tse ho, a tributary of the Hoen tun kiang. Aguta marched against them. When he arrived at the Ya tse, it was night, and he went to rest. Hardly had he gone to sleep when he felt his head raised three times. De Mailla says, that as he rested his head on his horse, he felt a pull, and heard his name called out three times. Deeming this to be a supernatural call, he rose, ordered the torches to be lighted and the drums to sound the advance. At daybreak he arrived at the river-side. Although only a portion of his men had arrived, he ordered an attack to be made on the Liau positions, but he was favoured by a strong wind, which raised a great dust. He attacked the enemy near the village of Chu ho tien, and completely defeated him, pursuing him as far as the lake Wolun. A great number of the Khitans were killed, and a large booty was captured. Aguta afterwards gave a feast to his soldiers. At another point Wolu defeated the Khitans in another struggle, and killed Ta bu ye, their Tsie tu se, Pu hoei, and other general officers. He also attacked the town of Pin chau. Uge and Tsan hu she went to him and submitted. Che kheou, the Khitan commander, having offered battle near Pin chau, was defeated by Pu hoei and Hoen chu. De Mailla says merely that the Jurchi captured the towns of Pin chau, Siang chau, and Hien chau (*op. cit.* vol. viii. p. 374). Hoei li pao (De Mailla calls him Hi hoei li pao), chief of the Tie li, submitted, while Che kheou, who had been already defeated by Siao yi sie, was again beaten, to the east of the town of Tsian chau, by U tu pu pu cha. The two provinces of Wohu and Kii sai having

submitted, Woluku defeated another Khitan army to the west of Hien chau, and cut off its commander's head. The town of Hien chau was afterwards captured by Wanianleouche (Visdelou, p. 236).

This same year Ukimai, Sakhai, and Tsepuche, went to Aguta, and pressed him to adopt some Imperial title; but he refused, upon which Ali ha men, Pu kia nu, Tsun han, and the greater part of his officers, again pressed him to do so. He then said he would consider about it, and at length, on the first day of the year 1115, he accepted the title of Wang ti or Emperor. At the same time he addressed his followers in these terms: "The Khitans gave their dynasty the name Liau, which means steel of very fine temper, intending, in doing so, to affirm that the dynasty would be as durable as steel; but, however durable, steel is liable to rust. There is only gold among the metals which is imperishable; again, gold, among the five metals, answers to white among the five colours, and that is the colour which the tribe Wanian, to which I belong, uses as its guerdon. I therefore give my dynasty the name Kin (*i.e.* in Chinese, Golden)." The Jurchi equivalent for Kin was Altan, whence the name given to the Kin Emperors by the Mongols and others. According to another account, cited by Visdelou, Aguta adopted the name Kin for his people from the great quantity of gold found in his old country, whence the river which watered it was called the An chu hu, *i.e.* river of gold.

Aguta now marched in person to attack Hoang lung fu, and approached on his route the town of Yichau, the greater part of whose inhabitants had fled to the former city. Those who remained behind were carried off. Leaving Leou she and Inchukha to blockade Hoang lung fu, he himself went on by forced marches to attack To lu ku. On the route he encamped at Nin kiang chau. There he received an embassy from the Khitans (Visdelou, p. 236). The Khitan Emperor, who was beginning to be afraid of the Jurchi successes, sent an embassy, headed by Sen kia nu, to propose peace to Aguta, and recognizing him as chief of the

Jurchi. The latter replied that peace was out of the question until the fugitive Asu was surrendered (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 375). Visdelou says that he was annoyed at being called Aguta, and not having the Imperial title given him, and he continued his march. The Khitans had posted an army of 200,000 cavalry, and 70,000 foot-soldiers, under the orders of Yelu walito, on the frontier, to keep guard against the Jurchi. As they marched, the Jurchi saw a fiery ball fall across the sky. Aguta, or Tai tsu, as he is now called in the Chinese history, pronounced this to be a happy augury, poured out a libation of water, and saluted the sky on his knees, while the army jumped and shouted for joy. Having mounted a hill, the enemy's army was stretched out, says the rhetorical Chinese writer, like an immense bank of clouds or a deluge of water. He reassured his followers by telling them that this vast army was not attached to its sovereign, but wishful, on the contrary, to break with him (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 375). He then ranged his men in order of battle. Mu lian hu, called Tsung hiung by Visdelou, who commanded the right wing, rushed on the left wing of the Khitans and defeated it. The right wing of the Khitans, however, held its ground more firmly. Nine times was it attacked by Leou she and Inchukha without being broken, and it was apparently only when Tsung hiung, who had defeated the left wing, turned upon the other, that the Khitans gave way. They were pursued to their camp, which was invested by the Jurchi. At dawn the following day, the Khitans escaped from their camp and fled. They were pursued as far as the mountain Aleou Shan, where their infantry was cut in pieces. Among the captured booty were many agricultural implements, showing that the Khitans had gone to the frontier with the intention of settling, of becoming military colonists in fact. The Jurchi having returned home, Aguta went to hunt in the district of Leao hoei. Soon after a fresh envoy, named Yelu channu (De Mailla calls him Chang kianu), with some companions, went to him from the Khitans, who bore a threatening message, and at the same time treated him as a rebellious subject.

Having detained five of his companions, Aguta sent back the envoy with a missive, in which he, in his turn, addressed the Liau Emperor by name, and bade him submit to *him* (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 376).

While Aguta passed the summer heats near his capital, he, on the 5th day of the 5th month, "adored the sky and shot arrows at the willows." It was customary for the Jurchi sovereign to do this three times a year, namely, on the 5th day of the 5th month, the 15th of the 7th month, and the 9th of the 9th month. In the 6th month, we are told, Yelu channu returned with a fresh message from his master, the Khitan Emperor, which, as before, was not conciliatory (Visdelou, p. 237). In the 7th month Aguta raised his younger brother, called Ukimai, to the rank of Amban-po-ke-lie, *i.e.* great Po ke lie, and made him Kuesang, equivalent to grand vizier. He raised Sakhai to the dignity of Kue lun po lu lie, Tse puo she to that of Amai po ke lie, and Sie ye, his younger brother, to that of Kue lun po ke lie. At this time the Khitan Emperor sent another envoy, named Siao tsela (the Tsela of Visdelou) with an impertinent letter. Aguta laughed at it, but detained the envoy. About this time also the tribe of Hii, which was nearly related to the Khitans, submitted to him.

The Khitan Emperor saw that menace was unavailing, and now determined to march in person against his vassal. He sent an army of 100,000 men, composed of Khitans and Chinese, by way of Chang chun, under the command of Siao fong sien. Yeluchamnu, his subordinate, had 20,000 picked troops with him. The rest of his army, which was divided into five sections, marched by way of Lo to keou (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 377). Aguta was determined to meet this attack boldly, and advanced against Hoang lung fu. He crossed the river Hon tong (the Hoen tun of Visdelou) by a ford, which was then luckily discovered, whence the town of Hoang lung fu was afterwards renamed Tsi chau, *i.e.* "town of the passage," and the garrison was called Liché, *i.e.* "ford luckily passed." Having taken the town, he released the Khitan envoy Siao tsé la, who had been

detained, and bade him return to his master and tell him to surrender the rebel Asu, and promising in that case to retire (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 377). A few days later he conferred the title of Kue lun hu lu po ki lie upon Sa khai, and that of Kue-lun-yi-che-po-ki-lie on Ali ha men. The Khitan authorities now became frightened, and the Liao Emperor marched himself at the head of an army, which the exaggerated rhetoric of the East puts at 700,000 (Visdelou, p. 238; De Mailla, *loc. cit.*). He planted himself at To men, while his relative, with a lesser army, encamped at Wo lin. Meanwhile Aguta was encamped at Hiao la, where he held a council among his officers, and it was deemed prudent not to attack the enemy, but to entrench themselves where they were. He sent Tii ku nai and Inchukha, however, to cover the town of Ta lu ku. Some time after, having captured an officer attached to the enemy's commissariat, he learnt that during his absence one of the Khitan Emperor's relatives, named Ye lu chamnu, had revolted, and that the latter had consequently returned home to suppress him. Some of Aguta's officers wished him to detach a portion of his men in pursuit, but he prudently deemed his force was not large enough to be thus divided. Meanwhile the Khitan army was encamped on the height called Hu puta shan. Aguta had only 20,000 men with him. He nevertheless ordered an attack, and began the fight by an advance of his right wing. The Khitans were utterly defeated, and the ground for 10 leagues was strewn with their corpses. The state car of the Khitan Emperor, his tents, and military chest, and an immense booty in jewels, arms, horses, and cattle, fell into the hands of the conquerors. In this fight Sie ye is said to have distinguished himself by killing a great number of Khitans with his pike, others also performed heroic feats. On the other hand, Siao te mo and his officers burnt their camp and retired. Kia khu sa gha captured the town of Khai chau, and Po lu ko that of Te lin. U-tse-li khan also surrendered to the Jurchi (Visdelou, p. 239).

At first, says De Mailla, the Jurchi had only cavalry, and

as badges they used little planchettes, on which were engraved certain signs; these they attached to the men and horses. Their companies consisted, ordinarily, but of fifty men each, of whom twenty, who were placed in front, were protected by stout cuirasses, and armed with swords and short pikes. The remaining thirty wore lighter armour, and carried bows and arrows and lances. Their mode of attack was to send two men from each company as skirmishers. They then divided their forces so as to be able to attack on several sides, advanced at a trot till within one hundred yards of the enemy, when they charged upon them, and discharged a shower of arrows and lances. They then retired as quickly. They repeated these Fabian tactics till they had broken down their strength, when the heavy-armed troops finished the fight with their swords and pikes (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 379). Early in 1116, Kao yung chang, a native of Pohai, who commanded 3000 men, forming the garrison of Pan tan keou, foreseeing the coming storm, and otherwise discontented with the state of affairs, being joined by 7000 or 8000 of his countrymen, seized upon Liau yang, chief town of Liau tung, and the eastern capital of the Khitans, took the title of prince, and sent to ask assistance from the Jurchi by Tabuye.

Meanwhile the Coreans sent an embassy to congratulate Aguta on his victories, and asking to be allowed to take possession of the town of Pao chau, which was granted them. Aguta also issued some regulations to relieve the poor, who, in consequence of their poverty and bad harvests, had been obliged to sell their liberty. He sent one of the rebel's own officers, named Hu sha pu, to tell Kao yung chang that he was quite willing to join with him against the Khitans, but that Liau yang was too near his borders for him to usurp the title of prince there, unless he would accept the title from himself. As Kao yung chang refused, Aguta sent the general Wa lu against him. Meanwhile, the Khitan general Chang lin had laid siege to Liau yang. On the approach of Walu, he raised the siege, and retired towards Chin chau. Walu, having beaten him, captured that town, and then advanced upon Liau yang.

The rebel, Kao yung chang, ventured to oppose the Jurchi troops as they crossed the river Ho chui, but they turned his position. He then returned to Liau yang, pursued by the Kin troops, and the following day was defeated in a sortie he attempted. He then tried to escape towards Chang song, at the head of 5000 horsemen, but was captured by Tabuye, and conducted before Aguta, who had him put to death. Liau yang and eight other neighbouring towns, and those Jurchi who were subject to the Liau, by which are perhaps meant those who formed the old kingdom of Po hai, submitted to Wa lu, who was made governor of Liau yang and its dependencies by his master. Aguta now abolished the Khitan laws in his dominions, reduced the taxes, and divided the people into centuries. A du han defeated a body of 60,000 Khitans near the town of Chao san. In the latter part of this year, namely 1116, Aguta issued golden tablets of office, *i.e.* paizahs similar to those used in later times by the Mongols. He also gave a new name to the years of his reign, namely, Tien fu, *i.e.* "aided by the sky."

Early in 1117, the town of Khai chau having revolted, was reduced to obedience, and the town of Tai chau was captured by an army of 10,000 Jurchi. Aguta at this time issued a prohibition against the marriage of people belonging to the same family, however distant the relationship, declaring such marriages void, and punishing those who broke the regulation with the bastinado (Visdelou, p. 240).

This same year, namely in 1117, a section of the Jurchi went to the town of Pao chau, where the Coreans had a garrison. The latter received them in a friendly manner; but the intruders drove out the garrison, and occupied the town. The Corean king sent his officer, Puma, to complain, but he was not listened to, and the Jurchi were too strong to be opposed by force.

The Liau Emperor gave the command of the élite of his troops to the prince Ye lu nie li, who bore the title of King of Tsin. He is called Ye lu shun by De Mailla. He marched to attack Ti ku nai, but wrote a letter to Woluku, the Kin

commander, proposing peace. This letter was forwarded to Aguta, who replied, that he would have no peace so long as his rebellious subject, Asu, was protected by the Khitans. Ye lu shun continued his advance to the mountain Tsi li. Woluku concentrated his forces, and sent for Walun, with the garrison of Liau yang, to go and join him. The two then marched towards the town of Hien chau. Koyosse, a Khitan officer, made a night attack upon them; but they defeated him, and then turned upon Ye lu shun, who was also defeated and driven towards Ho li chin. Hien chau was soon afterwards captured, and its fall was succeeded by the surrender of the neighbouring towns of Kien chau, I chau, Hao chau, Hoei chau, Ching chau, Chuen chau, and Hoe chan (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 385 and 386).

The rapid growth of the Kin power began to attract the attention of the somewhat somnolent Sung Empire, and its Emperor sent an envoy to say he had heard of the birth of a saint in the land of the rising sun, and to ask that he would, after he had overthrown the Liau empire, restore to him, *i.e.* to the Sung Emperor, those provinces of China which the Khitans had usurped during the domination of the five small dynasties. Aguta replied, in diplomatic terms, that it would be well for the Sung and the Kin troops to attack the Khitans on either side, and that each party should retain what he conquered. About this time, the town of Chuang chau and its Tsie tu se, or governor, submitted freely to the Jurchi. Two or three months later, the general Woluku was accused of embezzlement, and was degraded to the rank of a mukhe or centurion. Envoys from the Khitans were continually going to Aguta, but in vain. The grip of the Kin Empire was gradually tightening around them. We now find Aguta putting a considerable garrison into the town of Hoang lung fu, of which he appointed Leouchi commander (Visdelou, p. 241).

To Ye lu nuku, the Khitan envoy, Aguta used imperious phrases; he bade him tell his master that if he would pay him the deference a younger brother should pay an elder, become his tributary, cede to him his Nan king, or southern

capital, and all the dependencies of the Imperial court, give his son and the sons of his chief people to him as hostages, and give passports sealed with his seal to all those who wished to go to him, Aguta, from the Sung Empire, from Hia and Corea,—that then he would make peace with him, but on those terms only. They were of course refused by the Liau Emperor. The Sung Empire meanwhile continued its intriguing policy, having naturally good hopes of making the rising power useful; and in 1118 one of the first Mandarins, named Ma ching, was sent to the Jurchi, accompanied by Kao yo su. They set sail from Teng chau, reached Su chau without any difficulty, and thence went on to the court of Aguta (*De Mailla*, vol. viii. p. 387). Many subjects of the Khitan Emperor continued to give in their submission. There were also some Chinese who did so, and were given the rank of Tsien hu, or commanders of ten thousand men. Two of them surrendered the town of Lung hoa chau (*Visdelou*, p. 241). The efforts to conciliate Aguta still continued, and were still fruitless. Early in 1119 the Khitans sent him patents and an Imperial seal, but he dispensed with the patronage and returned them. He also had one of his dependents, named San tu, bastinadoed for accepting a title from the Chinese Emperor. The latter's envoy, Ma ching, however, was received with great courtesy. He detained him for three months, and then sent him home again, bearing presents of rich pearls, gold, and silver, the products of his country, and he also sent back with him a native of Po hai, named Li shen king. They reached China in safety, and Li shen king, after a stay of ten days, set out on his return, accompanied again by Ma ching, and also by Chao yeou kai. The latter died when the party reached Teng chau. This caused his companions to delay there awhile, and they then heard that the Liau and Kin sovereigns had made peace, and that the Liau Emperor had acknowledged Aguta as his superior. Upon this Ma ching was ordered not to proceed, and an inferior officer, named Hu king, was deputed to conduct the Kin envoy home again. Aguta seems not to have been pleased with the letter of which Hu king was the

bearer, and complained that its terms were overbearing and harsh (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 388, 389). About the same time an envoy went to the Sung court from the Coreans, to warn the Chinese that the Jurchi were far more dangerous than the Khitans, that they were like wolves and tigers, and that peace ought not to be made with them (*ibid.* p. 389). Visdelou tells us that about this time the Coreans raised the wall which guarded their northern frontier about three feet higher. It was about this time also that the new Kin alphabet, which Aguta had ordered to be made, was issued. The letters were modelled on those of the Khitans, and were drawn up by Uye, Mulianhu and Kushin (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 390). We are told it took them several months to construct them, and that they were based on the Chinese characters called Kiai tsi or Kia shu, and were of the same form of the Khitan letters (*ibid.* p. 391). These characters were authorized by Imperial edict, and ordered to be brought into general use in the year 1119. In 1138 the Kin Emperor, Hei tsung, having invented a set of small Jurchi characters, the former were termed capitals. The small characters came into use in the year 1145 (Wylie, Journ. As. Soc.).

In the latter part of 1119 Ye lu nu ku, for the seventh time, went to Aguta as the bearer of conciliatory letters. In these his master was at length forced by circumstances to grant him the title of Emperor; but as he did not treat Aguta as the elder or superior, and instead of styling his kingdom the Great Empire of the Kin, he merely called it the kingdom of Tung hai, from the name of a petty province, Aguta refused to accept the diploma. The Chinese Emperor, who had a natural wish to regain the districts appropriated by the Khitans, was not at all pleased at the reconciliation which seemed in prospect between the Khitans and the Jurchi, and sent Chao leang si to the latter, under pretence of buying horses, but really to put a stop to the negotiations. Meanwhile, however, Aguta, who now felt himself strong enough, and who declared he was weary of the tergiversation of the Liau Court, had determined upon open war with it.

He commanded arms, etc., to be got ready, told Sie kha to

garrison Tumu with 1000 men, and ordered the rest of his troops to rendezvous on the banks of the river Hoen ho, and set out at the head of his army, accompanied by Siao sun lie, the Khitan envoy, and Chao leang si, the Chinese envoy. He marched directly upon Shang king, the chief capital of the Liau dynasty, whose governor was named Yelutabuye. Before attacking it he sent a message to the garrison by Ma ye, an officer who had deserted the service of the Khitans and joined him, advising the inhabitants to surrender, and thus escape their fate. The Liau Emperor was at this time absent hunting, in the mountain Hu tu pi; but he detached Yelupesipu with 3000 picked men, who succeeded in throwing themselves into the town. As the Kin troops drew near the walls, Aguta told the two envoys who were with him that he had taken them to let them see how he could conduct a war, and thus that they might see which side to take (Visdelou, pp. 242 and 243; De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 392 and 393). He then ordered a general assault. The attack was made amidst beating of drums, etc., and lasted from sunrise to 10 o'clock, when Tu mu succeeded in capturing the outer walls, after which Ta bu ye surrendered the interior city (Visdelou, p. 243). Chao leang si, the Chinese envoy, then offered Aguta a cup of wine, amidst shouts of Van sui, *i.e.* Ten thousand years (*id.*). The Kang mu, which probably presents us with the Chinese point of view of matters, says Aguta undertook to restore to the Sung dynasty the province of Yen, *i.e.* of Pehcheli, which had been appropriated by the Khitans, to be content with the conquest of Ta tung fu, which was the southern capital of the Khitans, and to surrender Si tsin fu, the capital of Yen, to the Chinese. To this, we are told, Aguta consented, and wrote to the Sung Emperor, saying he himself would be content with the country stretching from Pingti and Song lin as far as Ku pi keou, while the Chinese should have all that lay to the south. He also bade the Sung Emperor attack the Khitans on the other side, which the latter undertook to do. He at the same time requested that neither side should pass the fortress of Ku pi keou (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 393 and 394).

Meanwhile the Kin Emperor continued his advance. He summoned Yu tu, the lieutenant-general of the Khitans, to submit, and encamped on the river Wohe; but at the representation of Tsun kan and the rest of his officers, on the distance they were from home, and from their supplies, he drew back for a while. He sent a detachment, however, to lay siege to Kin chau, while his general, Tu mu, defeated the Khitan commander, Yu tu, on the river Liau. Wanian che hu, one of his relatives, was killed on this occasion. Later in the year, the tribe of the river Chowei rebelled and killed the Kin officers in charge of it. Aguta sent Walu with an army against She li ku ta, the leader of the rebels, who was defeated, and four of his principal accomplices were put to death.

The Khitan Emperor seemed utterly oblivious of his impending ruin, continued to spend his time in hunting and frivolity, instead of attending to his duties, nor would he listen to his advisers. A curious picture of Eastern life is afforded by the anecdote related in the Kang mu, where we are told that the Princess Wenfei, having tried other means without result, composed some songs which she sang to the Emperor, in which she tried to rouse him to a sense of duty; but the result was merely that Yelu yen hi, the Emperor, took a dislike to her, and wished to see her no more.

Wen fei was the mother of two of the Khitan Emperor's sons, named Ye lu ting and Ye lu ning. She was one of three sisters, the other two having married the princes Yelu ta holi and Yelu yu tu. These three sisters had a brother, named Siao fong sien.

The favourite of the people was the Emperor's second son, named Aolua, and Siao fong sien contrived that it should be told to the Emperor, that Wen fei, with her two sons, and Siao yu, the commander of the cavalry, were intriguing to dethrone him and put Aolua on the throne. The Emperor was much enraged at this, had Yelu ta holi and the cavalry general put to death, and ordered the Princess Wen fei to commit the happy despatch. Yelu yu tu, who feared the same fate, escaped with 1000 or 1200 horsemen. He fled to Aguta, who

received him well, and had long interviews with him on the position of the Liau empire and its sovereign (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 395 and 396; Visdelou, p. 243). Early in 1122, Aguta's consin, Sakhai, died, and we then find him, at the request of Tsun kan, commencing a fresh campaign against the Khitans.

He gave special orders to his generals, that when they captured the southern capital of the Khitans, they were to send him immediately the ceremonial robes, the musical instruments, maps, books, and state papers of the Khitan empire (Visdelou, pp. 243 and 244). On the advice of Niyamoho, Aguta did not command the army in person, but gave its command to Sie yé, under whom were the generals, Pukianu, Niyamoho, Wapen, Walipu, and Puluhi. They were accompanied by Yelu yu tu (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 396). The Kin army marched straight to Ta tung fu, the southern capital of the Khitans, which they captured, and also the town of Tse chau. The Khitan Emperor was then hunting in the country of Yuen yang lo. The treacherous Siao fong sien suggested that the Kin troops were only coming at the instance of Yelu yu tu to prevent Aolua mounting the throne, and that, if he would sacrifice this son, they would retire. Unfortunately, a plot was at this time discovered to place that young prince on the throne; and Aolua was, in consequence, strangled, and thus the hope of the army, and probably the only individual fit to revive the empire of the Khitans, was destroyed.

Meanwhile, the general Niyamoho (the Tsun kan of Visdelou), hearing that Hiamo, chief of the tribe of Hii, and a dependent of the Khitans, was encamped with a body of troops at Pe ngan chau, attacked and defeated him. He captured the town, and the Hii submitted. The commander-in-chief, Kao (the Sie ye of De Mailla), sent to acquaint the Emperor, and to take to him some of the spoil, and received from him in return an encouraging letter, bidding him use clemency to all who submitted (Visdelou, p. 244).

Tsun kan, while at Pe ngan chau, sent some of his officers to scour the country. These captured, *inter alia*, Yelu si ni

lie, an officer of the Khitan guards. From him they learnt of the murder of Aolua, to which I have referred, and also that the Emperor, their master, was then staying at a country house at the lake of Yuen ghan, *i.e.* the lake of teal. De Mailla calls it the country of Yuen yang lo. The generalissimo Sie ye, who is called Kao by Visdelou, now advanced to try and surprise him. He passed the mountain Tsin lin, and arrived at the lake Pe chui or White Water (the Chaghan nur of the Tatars). At the same time Tsun kan crossed the mountain Piao lin, and marched straight for Yuen ghan. But the Emperor, having heard of their approach, fled with five or six soldiers to the country of Yun chong. In crossing the river Sang kan, south of Tai tong, the retiring Emperor lost his Imperial seal (Visdelou, pp. 244, 245 ; De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 396, 397). He continued his flight, and was pursued to the White Lake, where he was almost captured. He fled on to the Si king or the Western Court, which was then Ta tung fu in Shan si, and eventually sought refuge with the tribe Ye chi. De Mailla says, in the mountain Kia shan. The traitor, Siao fong sien, and his son, however, were captured; but the escort which was conducting them to the Kin Court was waylaid by the Khitans, and they were both put to death, as traitors who had caused the misfortunes of the empire (De Mailla, *op. cit.* p. 398).

When the Liau Emperor abandoned his dominions, he left his minister Chang lin with the Prince Ye lu chun in charge of Yen king, *i.e.* of the modern Peking. Meanwhile Ta tung fu, the western capital, was being approached by the Kin generals, who severely defeated Keng cheou chong, a Khitan general, who went to its succour, and almost destroyed his army, upon which the city and the surrounding towns opened their gates (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 400). Kao or Sie ye then retired, and marched towards the White Lake, detaching U po to conquer the tribe of Pii chi. In concert with another division, commanded by Cha la, it defeated the enemy near the river Hoang chui. Ye lu tan, a Khitan prince, assembled the hordes of the south-west and marched towards the north of Shen si. One of

his officers, named Ye lu fu ting, deserted him, and went over to the enemy. At this time Tu mu and Leou chi captured several important towns, among others Tong chin chau, where the rebel Asu, who had been the cause of the whole strife, was captured. He was sent to Aguta, who had him bastinadoed, and then set at liberty (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 400; Visdelou, p. 245). The Kin commander-in-chief now sent to his master to ask him to go and take command of his soldiers in person. The latter heard from the mouth of Tsun wang, one of the most successful generals, the news of the many victories of his people, and gave a grand festival in honour of them. We now find the deputy Emperor Ye lu chun, who ruled at Yen king, sending envoys to Aguta, to ask for a treaty of peace. He accordingly sent Yang nien as an envoy to bid him submit; but Ye lu chun died almost immediately, namely, in the 6th month of 1122 (Visdelou, p. 246; De Mailla, p. 401). Aguta, on setting out to take command of his troops, issued a proclamation, in which he declared his good will to the conquered people, and also proclaimed an amnesty. He left his younger brother Ukimai as regent during his absence.

Of the four Courts of the Khitans, only the southern one, namely Yen king, still remained independent. The Empire of Hia or Tangut, which fills such an important place in the annals of Chingis Khan, which had been on good terms with the Khitans, now began to fear that the ruin of the latter might involve them, and sent 30,000 men to support their friends. They were commanded by Li leang fu. The Kin generals Wa lu and Leou chi, having first explained to the Tangutans the cause of their strife with the Khitans, proceeded to attack them in the country of Ichui, and drove them to the country of Ye ku, where, the rivers being flooded, most of them perished. Meanwhile other dependents of the Khitans continued to submit. Thus Mao pachi, a Chinese living at the chief capital of the Khitans, went over with 4000 families. Aguta gave him the command of them, and also appointed Wo ta la to the command of 8000 families as a reward for the many people he had induced to submit voluntarily (Visdelou, p. 246).

Aguta now set out to take command of his army in person, and he arrived at the White Lake in the 8th month of 1122, where he was met and saluted by the commander-in-chief and other officers. There news arrived that the Khitan Emperor was encamped near the Lake Ta yu, *i.e.* the lake of the great fish (*ibid.* p. 246). He accordingly set out at the head of 10,000 troops, and sent on the Generals Pukianu and Walipu, with an advanced guard of 4000 men. The latter went on by a forced march, and overtook the Emperor in the country of Shéniento, where he was posted with 25,000 men. Ye lu yu tu, who accompanied them, told them they were too weak, and their horses too harassed, to risk an encounter with such a force, and that they had better wait for the arrival of Aguta. Walipu, on the other hand, was afraid that if they waited, their victim would escape. Meanwhile the Khitans, who saw how few the enemy were, extended their army in the shape of a half-moon, whose two horns approached one another, until the Kin troops were surrounded on all sides. The Khitan Emperor, who deemed the battle already won, planted his queens and the princesses on a height, whence they could easily see the battle, for which piece of presumption he paid dearly. Ye lu yu tu, having noticed the Imperial standard and other insignia there, pointed them out to his friends, upon which Walipu, at the head of a portion of his men, made a charge at them. The Khitan Emperor was seized with panic, and fled, and was followed by his troops (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 403, 404). Sheniento was only a day's journey from Lake Ta yu (Visdelou, p. 246).

When Aguta reached the field of battle, he blamed Walipu for not having pursued the Khitan Emperor; whereupon the latter set out and overtook the fugitives at Ulichitu, where he compelled him to abandon his baggage, and also captured Siao te liei (De Mailla, *loc. cit.*).

The Khitan Emperor had already lost the State seal in crossing the river San kan, south of Ta tung fu (*id.* p. 397). Aguta continued his advance as far as Kiu yen, and shortly after his general Wanian hoen chu defeated a confederated

body of 60,000 Chinese Khitans and Hii near the town of Kao chau. An official named Makii was killed in this fight, and the tribe Li te man submitted to the Kin troops. Meanwhile, we are told that Tu mu pacified the rebels in the south, and induced the towns on the borders of the sea to submit. The Khitan Tsie tu se, named Yelu shin si, submitted with all his people to the rising dynasty, and Aguta issued a proclamation to the various tribes of the Hii who had revolted to do the same. The town of Kuei hoa chau having submitted, he pitched his camp there, and shortly after at Fung shin chau. Many of the people had sought refuge in the mountains and forests. Aguta offered a general amnesty to all who would return, including criminals, and promised to make those who induced them to return mandarins, if they were free men, and if they were slaves, to give them their liberty.

The town of Yu chau having submitted, he conferred dignities upon three of its officials named Tse chao yen, Tien khin, and Su kin. The two former soon after revolted, and killed the Governor of the town, but they apparently deemed it prudent to submit again almost immediately (Visdelou, p. 247).

Hitherto the Kin troops had only overrun those provinces of the Khitan Emperor which lay in Tartary, and formed no part of China proper. The Chinese districts, it had been agreed upon between Aguta and the Sung authorities, should be conquered by the latter, and Aguta wrote to complain of their delay. The Chinese, instead of justifying themselves, demanded that Aguta should make over to them the districts of Ing chau, Ping chau, and Luan chau. To this the Kin envoy would not listen, and promised merely, on behalf of his master, to hand over the towns of Ki chau, Kin chau, Tan chau, Shun chau, Cho chau, and I chau. But the Chinese showed their weakness too palpably in another way to make their complaints of much avail. Their general, Tong koan, who was at the head of 150,000 men, had allowed himself to be disgracefully beaten, and he now sent secretly to the Kin authorities to ask them to help him, and

to invade the province of Yen (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 405). Aguta cheerfully complied. Tsun wang commanded the advance guard. Ti ku nai marched by way of Te ching kheou, and Inchukha by the pass of Kin yang kuan. Leou shi commanded the left wing, and Po lu hoei the right. The armies converged upon Yen king (the modern Peking), which was then the southern capital of the Khitan Tatars. The Princess Siao chi, who acted as regent, sent five times to Aguta, offering, on behalf of the young prince, Ye lu ting, that he would consider himself a vassal of the Kin Tatars. But Aguta was immovable; and she was therefore constrained to post her best troops about the barrier of Kin yang kuan. These offered but a short resistance. Its walls were sapped, and, in falling, killed many people, and the garrison dispersed. The Kin troops then advanced rapidly upon Yen king, the southern capital. Kao lu, who commanded there, sent them the keys of the city, and Aguta entered it by the southern gate. He posted some of his troops on the ramparts under the orders of Inchukha and Leou shi, and planted his camp outside the southern gate. Tso ki kong, the chief minister of the Khitans, then went to him, at the head of the grandees, and submitted. They were treated well, and reinstated in their posts, and bidden to go to the different chaus and hiens (*i.e.* towns of different grades) to recommend the rest of the people to follow their example. The Princess Siao chi fled with Siao wa by way of Ku pe keou, towards Tiente (*i.e.* Tenduch, the country of the Keraites) (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 405 and 406). Having removed to the Imperial palace at Yen king, and received the homage of the various officers, Aguta sent a proclamation to the western capital, to tell the people there how he had captured Yen king, and had sent some troops in pursuit of the Empress regent, Siao chi, the wife of the late Emperor, Ye lu nie li, and bidding them apprehend her if she appeared among them (Visdelou, pp. 247 and 248).

In the seventh month of 1123, the King of the Hii, named Hoei li pao, usurped the title of Wang ti, *i.e.* Emperor; and about the same time the Khitan Tsie tu se, or governor

of Ping chan, named Shi le gai, submitted. Aguta sent his general, Wo hun, to induce Hoei li pao to submit also.

When the Chinese Emperor heard that Aguta had captured Yen king, he sent Chao leang si to treat with him for its surrender, and also that of Ta tung fu, to the Sung authorities. An exchange of communications ensued, terminated by a peace, in which the Kin authorities surrendered the country of Yen, with six departments, to the Chinese. This was done, apparently, on condition that the Chinese paid tribute. No mention was made, however, of the towns of Ing chau and Luan chau, which had not been included in the cession of territory made by the later Tsin to the Khitans, and which were retained by the Kin Tatars. The latter also pillaged the district which they ceded to the Chinese, and carried off the greater part of the women and children to their own country (De Mailla, vol. viii. p. 408).

Many towns, with their Khitan governors, continued to surrender, among them Hing chung fu is especially mentioned; and Aguta issued several ordinances in regard to assisting the poor, and not molesting the peaceable inhabitants. He ordered the release of captives, and gave permission to those who had been sold into slavery to redeem themselves, and threw open the roads to free traffic in the country of Hien chau, in that of the eastern capital, and in other provinces. Soon after, the officers of the town of Ping chau were ordered to go with the Chinese envoys to mark out the boundaries of the two empires; and afterwards, Aguta appointed Ping chau (the modern Yung ping fu), a town of the first rank, in the province of Peking, to be his Nan king, or southern capital, and he made Chang kio vice-emperor of that capital (Visdelou, p. 249).

He then had to suppress a rebellion among some of the Khitans who had submitted, namely Ye lu machi, Yu tu (*i.e.* Yelu yu tu), Uchi, Tola, and others. Instead of exercising any severity, he had Yu tu brought into his presence, and then explained to him the utter weakness of his party, told him that for such an enterprise as he contemplated it was necessary to have both arms and horses, and

that he would supply these, pledging his Imperial word upon it; but he added, "If you again fall into my power, do not hope for pardon" (*ibid.* p. 249). This somewhat cynical address had its effect, and the Emperor contented himself with ordering Tola to be bastinadoed, and pardoned his companions.

He now sent his generals Walu and Walipu towards the In shan mountains, in pursuit of the fugitive Khitan Emperor. At Lung men, near the pass of Kiu yong, they captured the celebrated Yelutashi, the founder of the empire of Kara Khitai, to whom I referred in a previous paper (*Visdelou*, p. 250; *De Mailla*, vol. viii. p. 408). As usual in Chinese campaigns, there were constant outbreaks of those who had submitted. Thus we are told that Kieou kin assembled a number of his Khitan supporters at Chung hing fu and rebelled. He was captured, and performed "the happy despatch." Aguta sent the richest families and the cleverest artificers from Yen king and Chang ching kiun, under escort, to his own country. Meanwhile Walu and Walipu (*i.e.* Tsun wang) went in pursuit of the Khitan Emperor. They had to traverse a very difficult country, and were guided by Yelutashi (*De Mailla*, vol. viii. p. 409). They came up to his camp on the White Lake, and there surprised the president of the six courts, together with fifteen princes of the blood royal, who surrendered themselves (*Visdelou*, p. 250). *De Mailla* tells us that on this occasion there were captured the fugitive Emperor's two younger sons, named Ye lu ting and Ye lu ning, his harem, and the greater part of the grandees, together with 10,000 carts full of rich plunder. In the confusion Temuku, a grandee of the first rank, Prince Yelu yali, the Emperor's second son, and his eldest daughter, Teli, escaped, and joined their father, who had fled towards Ing chau. They were shortly after overtaken and defeated, and the Prince Yelu sinilie, who bore the title of Wang of Chao, was captured, as well as the Imperial seal (*De Mailla*, vol. viii. p. 409; *Visdelou*, p. 250).

The Emperor himself was sharply pursued. Likien shun,

the King of Hia, offered him an asylum. This he accepted, against the advice of his general Siao te lie, and having crossed the Hoang ho, encamped at Kin su, whence he sent letters patent to Likien shun, by which he raised him to the rank of Emperor. Siao te lie, who was disgusted with the Emperor's conduct, in conjunction with Yelu yuenchi, carried off Yelu yali, his second son, towards the north-west, and made him Emperor of the Liau. Meanwhile Chang kio, a former official of the Khitans, who had passed over to the Kin, and had been appointed governor of Ping chau, having heard that Tso kikong, who, like himself, had been in the service of the Khitans, was traversing his government on his way to Tatary, and taking off with him a number of the inhabitants of the district of Yen, was exasperated, had his officers seized, and sent the captives back to their homes. He thereupon revolted and had himself proclaimed Emperor. He applied to the Sung authorities for assistance. One of the Sung ministers named Wang fu advised his master to assist him, saying it was a good opportunity to recover Ping chau. Another minister named Chao leang si was of a different opinion, and warned them not to break with the Kin. He was not listened to, however, but was degraded, and the frontier commander, Wang ngan chong, was ordered to support Chang kio, and to announce to the inhabitants of that district a remission of three years' tribute (De Mailla, vol. viii. pp. 410 and 411). Thus treacherously did the Chinese authorities deal with their new allies, and bring upon themselves speedy vengeance.

Meanwhile Aguta was making a progress through Tatary. From the mountain Huye lin he passed to the lake of Loli, where the captives Yelu sinilie, Yelutashi, Ma yu nu, etc., together with the Imperial seal, were presented to him. About the same time Hoi li pao, who had usurped the title of Emperor among the Hii, was killed by his own people. But Aguta was reaching the term of his days. He was encamped near the lake of Yuen ghan. There he was taken ill, about the same time when his brother Tu mu defeated the rebel Chang kio in Liau tung. He determined to return to Shang king,

the supreme capital of the Khitans. He nominated Niyamoho as commander-in-chief of the army, and under him appointed Pu kia nu and Walu as sub-commanders, and planted them in the country of Yun chong, to guard the frontier. In the 7th month of 1123 he was encamped at the mountain Nieou shan. A few days after there was a solar eclipse, an event associated with disaster in Chinese astrology. Aguta moved on to the river Hoen, where he was met by his brother Ukimai, the various princes of his family, and his officers, and at length died at the lake Pu tu, in a palace which he had there. He was fifty-five years of age. He was buried in a palace called Ning shin tien, *i.e.* the Hall which appeases the manes, at the capital city of Hai ku ching, and was succeeded by his brother Ukimai. Like other founders of dynasties, he received the posthumous title of Tai tsu, *i.e.* very great ancestor, a miao or temple in his honour was built at Ta tung fu, in Shan si, and a memorial tablet was also erected to him near the modern Pe king (Visdelou, *op. cit.* pp. 250, 251).

It is not my present purpose to trace out any further the history of the Kin dynasty in detail, and a few words will suffice to complete our story. The successor of Aguta, named Ukimai, followed up his victories, subdued the empire of Hia, and captured the Khitan Emperor Yeliu yenhi, who had fled in that direction, and thus finally closed the history of the Khitan dynasty. He also declared war against the Sung dynasty. His troops crossed the Yellow River, captured the Sung capital, Kai fong fu, and also their Emperor, Ken chin (Visdelou, p. 255). The latter remained a captive for a long time, while a desultory war was continued against his subjects, which was at length terminated by a peace, by which the Chinese or Sung Emperor became the tributary of the Kin Tatars, and agreed to pay them 250,000 Chinese ounces of pure silver, and as many pieces of silk annually, while the river Hoai was appointed as the boundary between the two nations. By this treaty the Kin Emperor secured a much larger part of China than was governed by the Khitans. His authority, in fact, extended over the provinces of Peh-

chehli, Shansi, Shantung, Honan, and the Northern part of Shen si. The Kin capital was fixed at Yenking, the modern Peking, which was given the title of Chung tu or Imperial City of the Centre; while the Sung capital was fixed at Lin ngan aho, called Hang chau in Che kiang. Within the Kin territory there were five cities, distinguished as Imperial residences. 1. Liau yang chau in Liau tung, called the Eastern Court, or Tung king. 2. Ta tung fu in Shan si, the Si king or Western Court. 3. Chung tu, or Chung king, the Central Court. 4. Pien liang, or Kai fong fu, on the southern bank of the Yellow River in Honan, the Southern Court, or Nan king; and lastly, Ta ning fu, on the river Loha, which was then known as the Northern Court or Peking.

But while the Kin emperors ruled over a much wider area in China, their dominion in the northern and western steppes was much more limited. The Mongols were apparently beyond their control, and it was probably with the overthrow of the Khitan Empire that they first began to form a distinct power; while the dynasty of Kara Khitai, which dominated over the wide region in the neighbourhood of Lake Balkhash, and the Naimans and other tribes of Sungaria were independent of them.

The Kin Empire was of very short duration, and was finally overthrown by the Mongols in the year 1234. In the next paper of this series I hope to deal with the difficult questions surrounding the origines and early history of the Khitans.
