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LANTERN BEARERS—OF THE QIDAN SPECIES: THE IMPORTANCE OF QIDAN PERSONNEL IN THE SERVICE OF TWO ALIEN SUCCESSOR DYNASTIES DURING THE 12TH TO 14TH CENTURIES

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Abstract

Individual members of the Qidan federation, founders of one of the allegedly least sinified alien dynasties (906–1127) on Chinese soil, seem yet to have played an important role in safeguarding and perpetuating the Chinese way of life, institutions and culture throughout the next two alien dynasties of the Jurchen Jin in Northern China and the Mongol Yuan in all China (12th–14th c. CE). Father and son Yila/Yelü Lü and Yelü Chucai are the most prominent representatives. The elder safeguarding Chinese institutional thought as part of Jurchen statecraft, the younger, among other achievements, saving Northern China from becoming a vast Mongolian stud-farm. Others were active in legislation, and especially many in saving the Chinese cultural heritage, for example when Kaifeng was conquered by the Jurchen or by establishing Chinese cultural institutions in early fourteenth century Yuan China.

Introduction

The keywords in the title of my paper are borrowed from a book by the English children's author, Rosemary Sutcliff. In a series of loosely connected books, she chose heroes of mixed descent or belonging to seemingly culturally backward groups, to minorities, subjugated tribes, or to some kind of diaspora, who managed to save the sum of earlier civilisations through the perhaps not so Dark Ages. And it seems to me that this simile suits people like the Qidan Yila Lü (1131–1191) under the Jurchen and his son Yelü Chucai (1189–1243) under the Mongols. Of the latter I shall not say much, since we have for about fifty years now the admirable study of Igor de Rachewiltz.¹

In his book *Tradition, Treaties and Trade: Qing Imperialism and Chosŏn Korea 1850–1910*, Kirk W. Larsen postulates (p. 18) that

1 DE RACHEWILTZ, 1962; DE RACHEWILTZ, 1993.

a recent wave of scholarship has emphasized the fact that the Qing Empire may have ruled over a territory and people we now recognize as ‘Chinese’, but it was more than just another Chinese dynasty. Rather it was a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual empire that drew not only on Chinese historical precedents but also on a variety of other sources in its attempts to administer and rule its territory.²

When I read such a statement, I start to wonder whether any “Chinese” dynasty was ever *not* multi-ethnic and multi-lingual. Except perhaps for some of the non-dynastic statelets (*shiguo* 十國) in the southern half of China during the tenth century. And perhaps during the Southern Song (1126–1279), when China—to quote the title of a book by James T.C. Liu—was turning inwards, but even then had to keep contacts either with the contending empires of the Jurchen, the Tanguts, and the Mongols, and still had an open expanding border in the south which favoured multi-ethnicity with all its different aspects.

Just to name the supposedly very Chinese dynasty of the Ming (1368–1644), whose empire was extended enough to warrant the description of a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state. Even if the Mongol horse-markets may tentatively be treated as part of foreign affairs, this does not hold true for their Jurchen equivalents, and again, we have rather open frontiers towards the west and south, either including or touching upon non-Chinese societies. And in this way, I think, we could describe almost any Chinese dynasty or dynasty on “Chinese soil” and end up with an ethnic and cultural admixture.

But, as far as I can see, also the second statement that this empire “drew not only on Chinese historical precedents but also on a variety of other sources in its attempts to administer and rule its territory” holds true for most Chinese dynasties, even if with some modifications or for different reasons. Perhaps the Qing extension into Mongolia, Central Asia, and Tibet may be regarded as a conscious policy to create a working balance between the Chinese majority and the non-Chinese groups of the empire—noted, I believe, for the first time by the German Wolfgang Seuberlich in his dissertation of the early 1940s³—but still, including territories which were time and again regarded as areas of—at least from the Chinese point of view—legitimate Chinese interests.

Dynasties found their own solutions for their dy- or “poly”archy, as did, e.g., the Qidan as the ruling group of the Liao dynasty with a northern and southern court respectively, with, roughly speaking, the northern one responsible for Qidan and other tribal affairs, the southern one for Chinese affairs. Inside the

2 LARSEN, 2008 : 18.

3 SEUBERLICH, 1944/2001: 11.

Qidan Confederation there existed still another partition: the Yelü / Yila clan, representing the Qidan element—whatever, and how “pure”, that may have been—, from which the emperor was recruited, and the Xiao clan, i.e. the strongly Uighur influenced Xi element in the Qidan federation providing the empress, who possessed certain military and civilian prerogatives.⁴ And I am sure I could name a lot of other solutions for sometimes slightly different problems like the *tusi* 土司 or the *suowei* 所衛 systems of local civilian and military autonomy during the Ming.

A last remark on “historical precedents”: The traditional Chinese precedent of rule seems to me to have ended with the Tang (618–906), when the role of the emperor as *primus inter pares* in the secular world was still kept alive.⁵ It was substituted by an absolute emperorship originally perhaps Iranian, first with the non-Chinese Liao emperors, perhaps influenced by the Turks, by the kindred Uighurs, and later by the founder of the Chinese Southern Song, emperor Gaozong, never to be changed again until the demise of imperial China in 1912, of whatever origin the ruling dynasty might have been. To recognize, or admit, a Near Eastern influence on East Asian statecraft seems to be even more difficult for Chinese scholars than for us. In her Helsinki dissertation Elina-Qian Xu manages once to remark—referring to Jennifer Holmgren—that the concept of large social organization and a supreme office was probably introduced into Qidan society under Turkish influence.⁶ Later in her dissertation, she returns to a more sinocentric view and credits Abaoji’s Chinese counsellors with the introduction of Chinese ruling concepts.⁷ But then, one who advised Abaoji first about overruling old Qidan customs, was Li Keyong 李克用, a perhaps sinicised but, still, Shatuo Turk, being a Turkish tribe wielding power in present-day Shanxi-province. In connection with this, the investiture of the Jurchen Aguda by the Liao emperor Tianzu is confusing and enlightening at the same time,

4 HOLMGREN, 1986: 49 with note 23. XU, 2005: 70 quotes the *Zizhi tongjian* j. 246, 842/IX with the Chinese interpretation of Uighur versus Qidan / Xi relations: “Previously, the Xi and Khitan were subordinate to the Uighurs. There were Uighur supervisors for urging (the Xi and Khitan people) to pay tributes, and for spying out the intelligence about the Tang.” See also XU, 2005: 172 on the prerogative of the lineage of the Xi-kings to marry with the Liao imperial lineage Yelü.

5 See the discussions in the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要.

6 XU, 2005: 105.

7 XU, 2005: 230–236. I suppose, MOTE, 1999: 226, is quite justified in attributing a creative genius to the Qidan.

where the steps of cessation of rule and investiture are discussed and interpreted differently by both sides.⁸

Furthermore, though I think Mote's *Imperial China* is still perhaps the most sophisticated attempt to write a "short" history—excluding the partly different nineteenth century—of the last thousand years of Chinese imperial history and also does justice to the non-Chinese Empires on more or less Chinese soil, he seems to me to assume not only a social and cultural homogeneity of the Altaic groups involved, but also a linguistic one, when he says:⁹

Their speakers all recognized one another as users of languages that, to be sure, were in most cases not mutually intelligible, but that they could without too much difficulty learn to understand, and this contributed to a sense of kinship among them. The fellowship shared by all the 'people of the steppe' (into which he includes not quite without reason the Jurchen; EvM) as against the farming Chinese was thus reinforced by their sense of linguistic and cultural community.

Of course, it depends which exclusively available Chinese sources one relies on. Very often, Babel also ruled among the "barbarians", while more rarely it is said that for example the Qidan and Tuyuhun, admittedly with a probable Altaic ruling stratum, could communicate with each other, or, the Shiwei as members of the Mongol branch of the Altaic peoples with the allegedly Tungus Mohe.¹⁰ Just to quote one text among many, the anonymous *Beifeng yangsha lu*¹¹ says that the Qidan and Jurchen are slightly different in apparel, since the Qidan do not wear the queue, and that they do not have a common language. While this is more in the nature of an ethnological observation, pointing out differences very often pursues political goals, and we can find a lot of quotations throughout history where different peoples and societies are compared and often lumped together only because it suits the political aims of the author. A famous early example, perhaps faked, is by Wang Kōn, the founder of the Koryō dynasty, in which he pairs the Koreans with the Bohai people in opposition to the uncivilised Qidan. This is continued up to the Manchus, who used this device to win over the Mongols.

8 FRANKE, 1975/1997: 160–164.

9 MOTE, 1999: 35.

10 XU, 2005: 176 according to *Xin Tangshu*, j. 219, p. 5356.

11 *Beifeng yangsha lu* (A report on how the North wind blew up the sand), j. 25: 25a = 453.

A lucid discussion of this problem is Naomi Standen's longish review article of volume 6 of the *Cambridge History of China*.¹² She discusses the importance of ethnicity as a motivating factor for loyalty and comes to the conclusion that smaller and more clearly defined units either provoke loyalty or are fit to create such a feeling. As far as the Qidan and Jurchen are concerned she first refers to Herbert Franke, who states that Jurchen were necessarily more "reliable" servants of the Jin simply because of their ethnic identity (*CHC* 6: 271), and that staffing border fortifications with Qidan and Xi troops reduced the defences' effectiveness (*CHC* 6: 250). After listing different Jurchen loyalties, nativist, sinophile and others, she concludes with the statement that what the Jin-empire required was dynastic loyalty,¹³ and that this could cross ethnic borders as can be shown time and again through Chinese history—and, I suppose—in other histories, too. It was the Jurchen general Heshilie Zhizhong 紇石烈執中 (Hushahu 胡沙虎), who murdered his emperor, Prince Weishao 衛紹王 (1209–1213).¹⁴ Examples of dynastic loyalty by non-Jurchen can be found quite often in the *Jinshi*. Yila Pua 移刺蒲阿¹⁵ helped Aizong to the throne in 1224. In 1233, he was captured by the Mongols when fleeing from Kaifeng. He was killed because he remained loyal to the Jin. Gao Shouyue 高守約, probably a Bohai from Liaoyang,¹⁶ a *jinshi* of the year 1188, also remained loyal and died for the Jin cause. Yila Guyunie 移刺古與涅¹⁷ was killed in 1213, when he defended Mizhou 密州 against the Mongols. Bode Wage 伯德窩哥, a Xi,¹⁸ distinguished himself in the fight against the Mongols. Yila Alihe 移刺阿里合¹⁹ was captured by the Mongols in 1220 and killed because he refused to surrender. Ma Qingxiang's 馬慶祥²⁰ family originally came from the western regions (Nestorian Öngüt). His original name was Xilijisi 習禮吉思 (< Särgis < Sergius). He was praised for his language skills and was a high ranking member of an embassy to the Mongols in 1209 because the emperor thought well of the fact that he knew

12 STANDEN, 1997, 1: 73–89.

13 STANDEN, 1997: 79.

14 CHAN, 1991: 271.

15 *Jinshi*, j. 112: 2470–2474.

16 *Jinshi*, j. 121: 2646; *Guiqian zhi*, j. 7: 7a–b = 472.

17 *Jinshi*, j. 121: 2694.

18 *Jinshi*, j. 122: 2660–2661.

19 *Jinshi*, j. 122: 2667.

20 *Jinshi*, j. 124: 2695–2696.

the languages of six countries. He was later killed in the wars against the Mongols, and, in 1225, was honoured with others with a memorial temple.²¹

As far as the Jurchen are concerned Naomi Standen's arguments seem also to make sense if we look at the description of the pre-dynastic Jurchen in the *Sanchao beimeng huibian*:

Although they all belong to one race their dwelling-places are scattered and distant. They do not suffer control amongst each other but destroy and kill each other because everybody tries to become the strongest.²²

But different loyalties are not my interest in this paper, but rather how important Qidan "collaborators" may have been as intermediaries between the Chinese and the Jurchen and Mongolian ruling class, as intermediaries of things Chinese for other, alien rulers on Chinese soil.

The Qidan

The Qidan seem to be well known, and most surely through Wittfogel / Feng's *Chinese Society: Liao* from 1948. Even if reading their annals sometimes becomes quite frustrating, at least they have their own annals, compiled under Toqto, and, moreover, they are somewhat better known through the archaeological finds of the last decades. In all, they are regarded as one of the less sinicised aliens ruling in or over parts of China, a view not necessarily supported by the role of quite a few Qidan individuals active under the successor dynasties, the Jurchen / Jin and Mongol / Yuan.

More or rather less well known to the Chinese since the fourth century, the Qidan came to the fore around 700, when they—though often rebellious—were used from then on as a kind of buffer or outer defence by the Tang in the north. The Jurchen (Zhulizhen 朱里真, then Nüzhen 女真, and then Nüzhi 女直(質), to observe a Qidan taboo), not known under this name until the tenth century, seem to have been closely related to, or even the direct descendants of, the Mohe 靺鞨, the subjects of the Koguryō dominated Bohai Kingdom, which was ultimately conquered by the Qidan in 926.

21 PELLIOT, 1914: 630–631; CH'EN Yüan, 1966: 41–57.

22 FRANKE, 1975/1997: 126; see also MOTE, 1999: 214–216.

Several centuries of contact with the Chinese cannot have left the Qidan untainted. Already the founder of the Liao dynasty, Yelü Abaoji 耶律阿保機, supposedly knew Chinese well, though he did not like to admit it in public, so as not to be regarded as a weakling by his tribal following.²³ Though he was a “barbarian” this must not be thought to be exceptional. The Yila clan or tribe of the Qidan lived nearest to the Chinese²⁴, and they had had contact with the Chinese since time immemorial.²⁵ There were several, mostly unhappy, marriage alliances between the Qidan and the Tang,²⁶ and the Qidan sent hostages to the Tang court.²⁷ Abaoji settled captives or refugee Chinese on his territory,²⁸ and the Yila controlled most of Chinese-Qidan trade.

Abaoji’s eldest son Yelü Bei 耶律倍, who suffered an ignominious fate as Prince of Dongdan 東丹 and later as a renegade, was deeply immersed in Chinese culture, was an accomplished calligrapher and painter, and his few Chinese poems prove him to have been quite a good poet.²⁹ He is also known to have excelled in Qidan and Chinese literature, and he was the translator of the Daoist *Yinfu jing* 陰符經.³⁰

23 *Jiu Wudaishi*, j. 137: 1831–1832. See also WITTFOGEL / FENG, 1949: 435 and BEHR, 2003: 185; YAO Congwu, 1959: 235–236, who discusses the historicity of the meeting between the Hou Tang-ambassador Yao Kun 姚坤 und Abaoji in 926 and believes that it is authentic. Also XU, 2005: 229; MOTE, 1999: 51. A similar anecdote is told of Ghazan Khan, who spoke Mongolian and Turkish, knew Persian, which he only used in his conversations with Rashīd ad-Dīn and some other close associates of his court, and supposedly understood most of what was said before him in Arabic, but this he did not admit out of pride in the deeply rooted Chinggis Khanid and pure Mongol *yasa*, see AMITAI, 1996a / 1977: 3–5 and AMITAI, 1996b / 1977: 27. A later example is reported by ELLISON, 1915: 48, namely, that Sultan Abdülhamid II. spoke French fluently, but made use of an interpreter when talking with foreigners. And surely a lot of other examples could be found up to the present, when it is still, though moribund, a convention to use one’s mother-tongue in the realm of international affairs.

24 XU, 2005: 149, 227–228.

25 XU, 2005: 208–209, 220–223.

26 *Xin Tangshu*, j. 219: 6167–6173.

27 XU, 2005: 226.

28 XU, 2005: 72–73, translation from the *Xin Wudaishi*, j. 72: 1886; 149–150. But, actually much earlier, Chinese captives were included into the Qidan and Xi population, see idem: 153.

29 MOTE, 1999: 51.

30 *Liaoshi*, j. 72: 1211.

The linguistic genius of the family was probably Abaoji's younger brother, Yelü Diela 耶律迭剌,³¹ of whom we are told that in 925 he mastered Uighur after only twenty days and could communicate with the members of the Uighur embassy. Perhaps this feat is less astounding if one remembers that inside the Qidan dyarchy the Xiao probably were qidanized Uighurs, though, nominally Xi. Of Yelü Diela it is said that he created the small Qidan script in 925, perhaps based like Japanese on reduced elements of Chinese writing, or perhaps based on Uighur, and thus, on an alphabetical script.³² Already in 920 the so-called large Qidan script, based on Chinese, had been created.³³

For written communication in the south of the Liao Empire the language used was Chinese, in the north the Qidan language, or at least Wittfogel / Feng 1949 (p. 442) believe this to be the case. In 983 Yelü Poda 耶律頗德 translated the law code of the Southern Court into Qidan.³⁴ One should not underrate the use of both spoken and written Qidan. For example Koryō, in 995 and 996, sent twenty young people to the Qidan to learn their language and script. Unfortunately nobody was available—or perhaps their learning had been only spurious—when in 1011 the Qidan general Xiao Paiya 蕭排押/亞 wrote in Qidan to demand surrender.³⁵

Later emperors must have been well versed in Chinese literature, so much so that in 1044 Xingzong (1031/33–1055) could quote a rather obscure passage from the *Hou Hanshu* to praise the linguistic prowess of the Song ambassador Yu Jing 余靖.³⁶ He loved to read the *Zhenguan zhengyao*³⁷ and even translated,

31 See BUSHELL, 1897: 15–17. For the Chinese language knowledge of the Liao emperors and their empresses see also YU Li, 2003: 228–230.

32 XU, 2005: 204, with the translation of *Liaoshi*, j. 64: 967–969; *LJYwz: Bu Liaoshi, yiwenzhi*: 40; now see KANE, 2009.

33 *LJYwz: Bu Liaoshi, yiwenzhi*: 40; ZHAO Yi in his *Nianer shi zhaji* j. 29: 678 refers to the *Jiyi lu* 紀異錄 that after the pacification of Bohai the large Qidan script was created with more than three thousand syllables (*yan* 言) by Abaoji himself and was praised as an accomplishment by Yelü Lubugu 耶律魯不古, who consequently became an academician and Liao historiographer (*Liaoshi*, j. 76: 1246–1247). Concerning the language and script situation under the Liao see WITTFOGEL / FENG, 1949: 240–253; for Yelü Diela see also STEIN, 1940: 147.

34 *LJYwz: Bu Liaoshi, yiwenzhi*: 50; WITTFOGEL/FENG, 1949: 499.

35 V. MENDE, 1992: 190–1 (but already HULBERT, 1962 1: 152); BEHR, 1998 mentions a very similar event in 928 at the Hou Tang court (*Wudai huiyao*, j. 29: 457).

36 LIU Bin, *Gongfu shihua*, 11a, quoted already in another context by FRANKE, 1976: 176 concerning the Chinese-Qidan macaronic poems. MOTE, 1999: 200 “[He excelled] in Chinese learning.”

or ordered the translation of, the works of Bai Juyi.³⁸ Not as explicitly, but recognizably, the *Liaoshi* mentions the Chinese interests of Shengzong.³⁹

When Shengzong became emperor, the Empress dowager became regent, and [Ma Dechen 馬德臣] became expositor in the Hanlin-Academy (*shidu xueshi* 侍讀學士). The emperor read the annals of Tang Gaozu, Taizong and Xuanzong, and Ma Dechen proposed in the *Tang sanji xingshi* 唐三紀行事⁴⁰ which rules and rituals would best be adopted. In the war against the Song he gave the advice that one should not kill the subjugated, should not pursue the fugitives, and stressed these virtues several times. The emperor adopted his counsels in an edict. Shortly after this Ma Dechen became censor and Master of the Department of Court Etiquette. In this function he criticized the emperor's passion for polo:

"I have taken a look at the scholars from the end of the Sui, Fang Xuanling and Du Ruhui. At that time they had not yet met Taizong. Under him they became famous ministers of the Tang. I have no talents, but, fortunately the emperor in the Eastern Palace is surrounded by his servants, including a reader in waiting, but none to support imperial understanding. Your majesty has asked me about the happenings during the Zhenguan and Kaiyuan eras, and I ask that I may explain them in a concise way. I have heard that Taizong, when his father had finished a banquet, asked to bring the imperial carriage into the inner hall. And when Xuanzong feasted his brothers he observed the familial rituals.⁴¹ Now you have inherited

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- 37 WITTFOGEL / FENG, 1949: 501, translated around 1046 by Xiao Han Jianu 蕭韓家奴, who was also responsible for the translations of the *Tongli* 通歷 and the (*Jiu?*) *Wudai shi*. With these translations the emperor was to learn about success and failure (see *LJYywz: Bu Liaoshi, yiwenzhi*: 45). It is difficult to state for sure the amount of translations into Qidan and by whom these were done. Besides Xiao Han Jianu, Yelü Shucheng 耶律庶成 as a scribe was competent both in Chinese and Qidan. He coauthored or compiled different historical works, the *Yaolian kehanzhi zhongxi yilai shiji* 遙輦可汗至重熙以來事跡, 20 j. which because of its content and genre may have been in the Qidan language, see i.a. *LJYywz: Liaoshi, yiwenzhi buzheng*: 25; *Bu Liaoshi, yiwenzhi*: 48. He is mentioned as the translator of a medical text, the *Fangmo shu* 方脈書 (i.a. *LJYywz: Liaoshi, shiyi, bu jingji zhi*: 10; *Liaoshi, yiwenzhi buzheng*: 33; *Bu Liaoshi, yiwenzhi*: 54), and as the author of a primer of the Qidan large script *Taizu Qidan dazi* 太祖契丹大字 (*LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi, Liaodai bufen*: 14), which still existed in Jin times, see *LJYywz: Liaoshi, yiwenzhi buzheng*: 25. Another title, a *Fanshu* 番書 ([Barbarian?] actually Tangut writing) by Li Deming 李德明, is listed under *xiaoxue lei* 小學類, see *LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi, Liaodai bufen*: 14.
- 38 *Qidan guozhi*, j. 7; *Liaoshi*, j. 80: 1279–1280. The *LJYywz: Liaoshi, yiwenzhi buzheng*: 6 lists the *Bo Juyi fengjian ji* 白居易諷諫集 translated by him, and quotes him according to the *Qidan guozhi* and the *Gujin shihua* 古今詩話 as saying that the poems by Bo Juyi had been his guide, and he decreed that the Qidan officials should study it.
- 39 *Liaoshi*, j. 80: 1279–1280, biography of Ma Dechen.
- 40 *LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi, Liaodai bufen*: 15.
- 41 KROLL, 2008: The Emperor's Philadelphian Hymn *Jiling song* 鵲鷓頌 on the reunion and brotherly treatment of the imperial brothers. The same example was also used by Wang Yun

the throne from your ancestors, and in person you serve the empress dowager. This may truly be called filial piety. If you extend this attitude combined with friendliness and love to all your relatives, then your majesty will surpass both those emperors in filiality. I have also heard that both emperors liked the classical and historical books and often asked the ministers to explain them until late evening. The country followed these precedents, and therefore theirs were civilised reigns. Today your majesty roams through the classics and analyses the texts. You wish to grasp the meaning of the classical texts, and if you do this studiously and without tiring, then it will not be difficult to emulate those two emperors.

I have also heard that Taizong shot a boar and was criticized by Tang Jian, that Xuanzong let free his hunting-falcon, and that Han Xiu reprimanded him because of this. Today your majesty is a passionate polo player. I think there are three reasons why you should not be, and I must name them even if I should be punished. The first reason is that when ruler and subject play together, a contest is unavoidable. The ruler will experience the bashfulness of the subject, and he, on the other hand, will have to endure such an extravagance. The second reason is that jumping on a horse, brandishing a club, and galloping around cannot be regarded as a predestined fate of high or low, and if you fight to win, the true ritual behaviour of the people gets lost. The third reason is that it is inconsistent with the honour of the empire. If you just plan for the pleasures of one moment and if you lose control, how does it help the empire and the empress dowager? If your majesty does not think my words to be stupid, please consider them for the welfare of the empire and in accordance with the wishes of your subjects.”

Such a memorial he wrote, and the emperor admired it.

Of Xingzong it is told that he was well versed in the Confucian classics, in music, painting and poetry. In 1036, he composed a *fu* and conducted part of the *jinshi* examination in person for the first time.⁴² Daozong listened to the explanations of the *Lunyu*. He called on the *shumi* academician Yelü Yan 耶律儼 to explain the “Hongfan” chapter of the *Shangshu* and promulgated the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*. In 1056, he presented his own *fu* to the officials on “Freeing the falcon”, and in 1074, he personally examined the *jinshi* candidates.⁴³

Daozong listened to the explanations of the *Lunyu* by a Chinese until he reached [chapter] II/1, where it says ‘virtuous government may be compared with the polar star. It remains at its place and all stars do homage to him’. When Daozong asked: “I have heard that beneath the polar star all is China. When this territory comes into the hands of the barbarians (*yidi* 夷狄), how is it then?” [The Chinese] then studied it nervously and did not dare answer. And then [Daozong] continued: “In most ancient times the Xunyu 獯鬻 and Xianyun 獫狁 were

王惲 (1227–1304) in his *Chenghua shilüe* 承華事略 (Summaries of Actions of a Crown Prince), see FRANKE, 1982 / 1994: 167.

42 *Liaoshi*, j. 18: 217–218; part translation in WITTFOGEL / FENG, 1949: 493.

43 *Qidan guozhi*, j. 9.

reckless people, therefore they were called barbarians (*yi* 夷). Now I have reformed and am refined. There is no difference with the Chinese. Why do you grudge that we have it?" And he ordered him to explain it.⁴⁴

The same may be said about the founder of the Western Liao state, Yelü Dashi, who was a typical example of the Qidan dual elite, conscious of belonging to the tribal elite and at the same time infused with Chinese learning.⁴⁵ Actually, Chinese not only became the *lingua franca* of the various subjugated peoples and tribes who could not understand each other, but also of the educated Qidan themselves.⁴⁶

The Qidan script remained in use throughout the Jin dynasty,⁴⁷ and even in early Yuan. This means it was still used more than a hundred years after the end of the Qidan Liao Empire. A supposedly only official end is marked by two imperial edicts, dated May 11 and November 29 1191. In the first edict it was ordered that Jurchen texts should from then on be directly translated into Chinese, and that those scribes in the Office of Historiography (*guoshi yuan* 國史院) who only mastered the Qidan script should stop their work. In the second edict the use of the Qidan script was officially declared ended.⁴⁸

The Jurchen

Likewise, the Jurchen did not live isolated from the rest of the world. They were part of the defunct Bohai state with strong influences of Chinese culture and tributary to the Qidan, but they were also players in a northeast Asian "great game". Similar to the Qidan they experienced a noticeable Turkish / Uighur influence.⁴⁹ They were constantly feared or manipulated by the Koreans since the tenth century, and the sublimation of Korean fear of the Jurchen can be seen

44 *Songmo jiwén, shang*: 9a = 245.

45 MOTE, 1999: 206.

46 WITTFOGEL / FENG, 1949: 222, according to *Sanchao beimeng huibian* j. 20: 11a.

47 Of course, Qidan was necessary for Liao historiography under the Jin. The best known example is Xiao Yongqi 蕭永祺, a pupil of Yelü Gu and author of a lost Liao history in 75 *juan*. See *Jinshi*, j. 125: 2720. *LJYyzw Liao Jin Yuan yiwenzhi, Bu Liaoshi, yiwenzhi*: 68 says that his history of the Liao was completed in 1148.

48 *Jinshi*, j. 9: 218, 220.

48 *Jinshi*, j. 9: 218, 220.

49 ALLSEN, 1984: 85.

from such apocryphal traditions as the supposed Korean or even San Han (Silla) descent of the ruling Wanyan clan.⁵⁰

Only a little bit later one could describe the situation of the Jurchen as follows: The Jurchen were not those “barbarians” in hairy skirts, as they were portrayed by the Southern Song literati. Rather, they had relative stabile clans, which maintained contact with their Qidan overlords. Before their conquests, they had lived a semi-nomadic life in the Northeast which was only slightly different from the life of the farmers living on the North China plain. The conquest of Chinese territory and the following migration to the south made agriculture and property in land more than hunting and husbandry the basis of their life. The migration south also favoured mixed marriages. Already one of Aguda’s three concubines was Chinese, and one can safely assume that this was no exception. With the women they also carried off part of Chinese culture, and, in this way, young Jurchen grew up with both a Jurchen and Chinese background.

Already under Wuqimai, the second emperor, the superior capital Shangjing 上京, in the most southern part of Heilongjiang province, the center of Jurchen power, was strongly influenced by Chinese elements. If this did not just occur through the interest of the Jurchen elite in things Chinese, then sinified Bohai families and Chinese families who had been prominent under the Liao, as well as the roughly 470 members of the Song imperial family with their retinue of several thousand, all played their part. If one looks with admiration at the unexpected knowledge of Chinese language and culture by the Qidan emperors, the same is not necessary with the Jurchen rulers under different conditions, in a

50 *Heilongjiang zhigao* j. 57: 3b–4a = 4926–4927 FRANKE, 1975 (1997 I): 149 refers to a (fake) tradition that the Jurchen’s earliest chieftain was a man from Silla, named Wang who called himself Wanyan. This tradition is also found in the *Luting shishi*, see FRANKE, 1975 (1997 I): 178–179, where it is said that it was also mentioned in a now lost stele inscription west of the walls of Beijing, composed by Han Fang and written by Yuwen Xuzhong, the famous poet and calligrapher and son-in-law of Mi Fu. See also *Jinshi*, j. 1: 2 (FRANKE, 1978 (1997 II): 416), and for a summary of different versions of this tradition, *idem*, pp. 438–439 (note 8), where FRANKE also refers to MIKAMI Tsugio, *Kinshi kenkyū* III: 22–26, who assumes an attempt to revive the old Bohai traditions. This could be confirmed by *Jinshi*, j. 1: 2 (FRANKE, 1978 (1997 II): 416): “When T’ai-tsu [in 1114] defeated the Liao army on the border, he captured Yeh-lü Hsieh-shih and then sent Liang-fu and Wo-ta-la [, Bohai leaders who joined Aguda against the Liao, of whom Wo-ta-la was still alive in 1122 (see FRANKE, 1978 (1997 II): 440, note 18)] to proclaim to the people of Po-hai: ‘The Jurchen and Po-hai were originally of one and the same family.’ This was because they all had belonged to the seven tribes of the Wu-chi.”

sea of Chinese subjects. Under their third ruler, Xizong (1135–1149), they were already as deeply imbued with Chinese culture as with their own.

According to Yuan Haowen's justly famous eulogy of Zhao Bingwen, it was the northern Jurchen Empire which kept alive many intellectual traditions such as the *guwen* movement of the Tang, the literary styles of Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi, traditions of calligraphy and many other things. One characteristic trait, though, seems to have been the development of a special northern (Chinese) sentiment, which we notice in the way the same Yuan Haowen makes use of the theme of the "Song of Chile":⁵¹

Frank and rousing songs and airs
 Were cut off, the (tradition) lost,
 But in the 'Song of the Yurt',
 A song from nature itself,
 A brave and virile spirit
 Sprang unquenched from the Central Plains
 To reach the Dark Hills
 And Chile stream.

According to the same eulogy, in the realm of letters the Liao were not a model for the Jurchen / Jin:⁵²

The Liao deemed examinations to be the apex of real Confucianism. But they borrowed and cribbed from almost everywhere and put it together indiscriminately. Compared with the Five Dynasties prose, literature under the Liao was still more degenerate. Tang prose literature seemed moribund and seemed to have lost its last battle. For generations nothing was written worth noticing.

Still, there were Qidan among the Northern Chinese literati elite, as for example Shimo Shiji 石抹世勳, and his son Shimo Song 石抹嵩,⁵³ Yila Mainu 移刺買奴, a poet and interested in history,⁵⁴ Yila Nianhe 移刺粘合, like his brothers fond of literature,⁵⁵ the Bohai Li Ying 李英, a *jinshi* of 1194, who died in 1213 fighting the Mongols.⁵⁶

51 Translation WEST, 1972: 29.

52 *Yishan xiansheng wenji* (SBCK ed.) j. 17: 1b.

53 *Guiqian zhi*, j. 4: 9b; different and additional information in the *Jinshi* and the *Zhongzhou ji*; CHAN, 1991: 281.

54 *Guiqian zhi*, j. 6: 7b.

55 *Guiqian zhi*, j. 6: 8a.

56 *Guiqian zhi*, j. 5: 5b-6a.

Also in other things the Jurchen did not follow Liao precedence, for example in sepulchral architecture. They did not continue the Tang Liao tradition, but rather copied more recent Song precedents.⁵⁷

The main groups of the Jin state, distinct for ethnic, linguistic or political-historical reasons, were the Jurchen, the Chinese, the Qidan and Xi, and the Bohai. I think the two last named may have been, more than the Chinese themselves, instrumental in introducing Chinese institutions to make Jurchen rule feasible. One of the best known and perhaps most important embassies to the Song from the Jin in 1119 was led by a Bohai man named Li Shanqing⁵⁸ who was accompanied by two Jurchen, one “civilized”, the other “wild”. Still more important was another Bohai man, Yang Pu, who advised Aguda, the founder of the Jin, in adopting the Chinese paraphernalia of rule.⁵⁹ He is also said to have polished the early state letters to the Liao.⁶⁰ Members of the ruling family Da 大 of the defunct Bohai state also used to play a political role after the foundation of the Jin dynasty.⁶¹ Wang Chengdi 王成棣, in his short report on the pilfering of the Song palaces in Kaifeng, remarks that the Qidan were indispensable for registering the booty because of their knowledge of both the Chinese and the Jurchen “dialect” (*fangyan* 方言).⁶²

The Qidan, though earlier overlords of a lot of the Jurchen tribes, in a then reversed relationship were sometimes taken as an example of how to preserve one’s own identity.⁶³ In 1162, Shizong, who tried to revitalise Jurchen customs, said to Yila Zijing 移刺子敬, a Qidan:⁶⁴

I think the former Liao were right in not forgetting their customs. Hailing imitated the customs of the Chinese. This means that he forgot his origins. As long as we observe the old

57 LOVEDAY, 2000. The vast majority of discussions on the architecture of the Qidan-Liao (947–1125) and Jurchen-Jin (1115–1234) dynasties present the constructions from both periods under a single label, that of “Liao–Jin”. It has only very recently been recognized that, at least in so far as wooden architectural traditions are concerned, this label has in fact served to conceal what are quite notable differences between Liao and Jin constructions.

58 FRANKE, 1975 (1997 I): 121; idem: 147–148. Song exchange with the Jurchen started already in 961.

59 FRANKE, 1975 (1997 I): 158–164.

60 FRANKE, 1975 (1997 I): 159.

61 FRANKE, 1975 (1997 I): 170.

62 WANG Chengdi, *Qinggong yiyu*: 3b = 359.

63 With this MOTE, 1999: 86–91 is in accordance.

64 *Jinshi*, j. 89: 1989; FRANKE, 1979 (1997 III): 136–137.

customs of our state, we shall have no trouble on our four borders. This should be our perpetual policy.”

This he said at a time when the Jurchen Empire was threatened especially by disgruntled Qidan, who had launched a rebellion against Hailing wang, which continued into the first years of Shizong’s reign, until 1164.⁶⁵

Of the fifth son of Yingge, Wanyan Xu 完顏勛, *zi* Miandao 勉道, Jurchen name Wuye 烏野, we are told that he loved to learn and to ask, and that his fellow Jurchen therefore called him a *xiucai* 秀才 (a lower degree scholar title). At sixteen, he followed Taizu when the latter attacked Ningjiang zhou 甯江州, and he followed Wanyan Zongwang 宗望 to defeat the Liao emperor near Shinian-duo 石輦鐸. When Taizong became emperor, Wanyan Xu was dismissed from military service and transferred to the civil administration. After the conquest of Bianzhou (Kaifeng), Taizong sent Xu to reward the army, but when he in return was asked what he would like from the booty, he said: “I just want the books.” He loaded several carts and returned to the Jurchen capital.

The Jurchen originally had no script. When they destroyed the Liao they may have learned about the Qidan and Chinese scripts—but very probably already earlier through the hostage-system, by living in a Qidan and Chinese environment. In only two months, Wanyan Zongxiong 宗雄 learned the large and the small Qidan script. Later it was Wanyan Zhang 完顏璋, a grandnephew of Yingge with the original name Humayu 胡麻愈, who not only mastered the Jurchen, but also the Chinese and Qidan script.⁶⁶ And Wanyan Xiyin 完顏希尹 created the Jurchen script according to the Qidan script.⁶⁷ In this way he created the large (*Taizu Nüzhi dazi* 太祖女直大字) and the small Jurchen script (*Xizong Nüzhi xiaozi* 熙宗女直小字),⁶⁸ and then schools were founded where the script was taught.⁶⁹

65 MOTE, 1999: 237.

66 *Jinshi*, j. 65: 1548.

67 *Jinshi*, j. 66: 1557–1558; See MOTE, 1999: 219 for speculations about how Wanyan Xiyin developed the Jurchen script.

68 See BUSHELL, 1897: 19–22; *Jinshi*, j. 73: 1684 (translated in FRANKE, 1948: 189–190). The two sets of Jurchen scripts were all based on the Chinese and maybe the Qidan script. The large and small Jurchen script became the official scripts since they were created and issued for enforcement, and they were used together with the Chinese and Qidan script in the Jin Dynasty. The Jurchen scripts were used in writing credentials, orders and proclamations.

69 For the founding of schools for the Jurchen language on prefectural level c.f. *Jinshi* j. 51: 1133–4.

One of the most competent linguists and intellectually influential Qidan of late Jin was the father of Yelü Chucai, Yila (Yelü) Lü 移剌(耶律)履, who translated from the Chinese into Qidan and Jurchen. Yelü Chucai was also linguistically well versed, and he initiated that from 1233 onwards Chinese and Mongols were taught Mongol and Chinese respectively.⁷⁰ During the Jin, no Qidan seems to have been more worthy to occupy the first place as transmitter of things Chinese than Yila Lü (1131–1191),⁷¹ *zi* Lüdao 履道, who belonged to one of the Patriarchal Households of the Liao imperial clan and was a descendant in the seventh generation of the Prince of Dongdan of the Liao, Yelü Tuyu 突欲. His father Yulu 聿魯 had died early, and Lü had been adopted by an elder cousin of his father's, Deyuan 德元, who had been commander (*jiedushi*) of Xingping jun 興平軍. It is reported that already as a child he showed his extraordinary intelligence. He was especially interested in the *Yijing* and its later commentaries.

The beginning of his career as an official was not promising. When he wanted to take part in the *jinshi* examination for the first time, he was refused because of an intrigue. First, through a recommendation, he got an insignificant post at the court for embassies (*kesheng* H 3200) to look after the retinue of Chinese embassies (*chengfeng ban zhihou*, H 479, 984). In addition, he became a copyist in the bureau of historiography (*guoshi yuan shuxie*, H 5432) with the lowest official rank. The further steps of his early career are impossible to reconstruct. Since his youth he mastered the large and small Qidan script, and he translated (or transliterated?) the Chinese classics. In 1161, he was ordered by emperor Shizong to transfer the *Tangshi* (? *Lunduan* 唐史論斷 of Sun Fu 孫甫 (997–1057) ?) into the small Qidan script. Then it was to be translated and copied in Jurchen script to make it available for reading.⁷² For this undertaking Lü alone was responsible. Besides that, he compiled extracts from the Chinese

70 KANE, 2009: 4; for biographies of Yelü Chucai, his son Zhu 鑄 and his grandson Xiliang 希亮, cf. *Yuanshi leibian* j. 11: 1a–8b = 263–278, and, of course, DE RACHEWILTZ, 1962; 1993.

71 Sources and biographical materials: Funerary inscription by Yuan Haowen 元好問. In: *Guochao wenlei* j. 57: 1a–9b; *Zhongzhou ji* j. 9: 10b–11a; *Da Jin guozhi* j. 29: 3a–b; *Jinshi* j. 8: 190; j. 9: 211, 212, 218; j. 21: 442; j. 46: 1035; j. 61: 1444; j. 88: 1956; j. 95: 2099–2101; 2120; j. 99: 2186; j. 125: 2727; *Jinshi jishi* j. 6: 1a–b. Also DE RACHEWILTZ, 1962: 190–191.

72 In the *LJYywz: Bu Yuanshi yiwenzhi, Jindai bufen: 35b* und *Jin yiwenzhi bulu: 48b* a Jurchen *Xin Tangshu* is listed without any explanatory remarks.

classics, translated them into Jurchen, and with these materials taught the most gifted of the young Jurchen aristocrats.⁷³

Apparently in connection with the translation plans of Shizong he became a compiler in the bureau of historiography (*guoshi yuan bianxiuguan*, H 4635) and responsible for the brushes and inks (*biyan zhizhang*, H 938). There followed discussions with Shizong about the means to find qualified officials. Lü favoured the introduction of Jurchen *jinshi* examinations. He opposed the arguments of the Directory of Rites that such examinations would be ridiculous by referring to the history of the *jinshi* examinations during the Tang dynasty.⁷⁴ In 1175, he became amanuensis of the Hanlin Academy (*yingfeng hanlin wenzi*, H 8013) with the rank 7B. In the same year, he became senior compiler (*hanlin xiuzhuan*, H 2614) with the rank 6B. In this year, Shizong promulgated an edict that the Five Classics (*wujing*) should be translated into Jurchen, and Yila Lü became the chief translator.⁷⁵

73 *Jinshi*, j. 70: 1626, on the counsel of Wanyan Sijing 思敬, who also proposed that the Qidan should be put on equal footing with the Jurchen in the *menggan* administration and that the *menggan* administration be reformed.

74 According to *Jinshi* j. 99: 2185–6 in 1171 (*Jinshi* j. 70: 1626 already in 1169) the *shumishi* Wanyan Sijing asked that Jurchen should be admitted to the *jinshi* examinations every third year. This proposal was further discussed in the chancellery (*shangshusheng*), where it was proposed that preliminarily the regional examinations on *xiang* and *fu* level for Jurchen should be dropped. The *jinshi* examination should only contain a political essay (*duice*) of at least 500 words. In the capital a university (*guozi xue*) should be founded, in the prefectures prefectural schools (*faxue*). The successful candidates of the first examination should become professors (*jiaoshou*)—one e.g. is named for Daxing fu 大興府 (*Jinshi*, j. 57: 1305)—to teach the children of the aristocracy and the people if they so wanted. After finishing this education they should, as their Chinese counterparts, be admitted to the *jinshi* examinations every third year. The emperor approved this. The subject of the first essay was “Ways to win sages for government” (*qiu xian wei zhi zhi dao* 求賢為治之道); examiners were the Censor (*shiyushi*, H 5350) Wanyan Puni 蒲浣, the Scholar of the Court of Ceremonies (*taichang boshi*, H 6143) Li Yan 李晏, the Amanuensis of the Hanlin Academy (*yingfeng hanlin wenzi*, H 8013) Abuhan Defu 阿不罕德甫, and Yila Jie 移刺傑 (who also took part in the translation work and was corrector and compiler of the Hanlin Academy *Hanlin xiujuan* 翰林修倦 in the years 1175 to 1177, writing in 1178 as court chronicler (*xiu qijuzhu* 修起居注) about the lack of independence of the historians of present days, c.f. *Jinshi* j. 7: 169; j. 88: 1964; j. 99: 2186), and—completing the list of examiners—also the Vice-director of Transport (*du zhuanyun fushi*, H 7212) Xiyi.

75 *Jinshi* j. 8: 184–185; j. 99: 2186; j. 105: 2321. According to *Jinshi*, j. 56: 1279 there was in the *Hongwen yuan* 弘文院 (H 2912) an official commissioned to collate and translate the canonical and historical scriptures (*zhang jiaoyi jingshi* 掌校譯經史). In the *LJYwz: Bu sanshi yiwen zhi*, *Jindai bufen*: 24b and *Jin yiwen zhi bulu*: 48a named under *Wujing yijie*.

The translations listed in the chapters on literature are the following, but it seems almost impossible to tell from which editions these were made:

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| 1. <i>Yijing</i> ⁷⁶ | 2. <i>Shujing</i> ⁷⁷ |
| 3. <i>Xiaojing</i> ⁷⁸ | 4. <i>Shiji</i> ⁷⁹ |

On the current editions and commentaries during the Jin, see ZHANG Xiumin, 1935. The actual translation work was done by Wendihan Tida 溫迪罕(糸+帝)達 (for another reading see FRANKE, 1975 (1997 I): 140; biographical data in *Jinshi* j. 51: 1133, 1140; j. 72: 1663; j. 99: 2185, 2186; j. 105: 2321; *Jin fangzhen nianbiao* 29b, 30a). When he had passed the Jurchen language examination he became junior compiler (*bianxiuguan*, H 4635) in the Bureau of Historiography (*guoshi yuan*) and in connection with the translation work in 1175 Assistant Editor (*zhuzuo zuolang*, H 14442). He was supported by the corrector (*bianxiuguan* 編修官), Wanyan Zongbi 宗璧 (Chongbi 崇璧) (*Jinshi*, j. 8: 195; j. 9: 219; j. 62: 1459; j. 99: 2186; j. 105: 2321), who later, in 1186, is called Court Chronicler (*xiu qijuzhu* 修起居注) and in 1191 Tutor (*fu* 傅), by the Translator in the Central Chancellery (*shangshusheng yishi*, H 2999, a post which according to *Jinshi* j. 55: 1218–1219 was not part of the official curriculum) Alu 阿魯 (*Jinshi* j. 99: 2186; j. 105: 2321) and by the Under Secretary in the Directory for the Officials, again a post outside the official curriculum (*libu lingshi*, H 3768), Zhang (or Yang) Kezhong 張(楊)克忠 (*Jinshi* j. 99: 2186; j. 105: 2321). The information about the latter three are mostly concerned with their translation work. If we take the names, only Zhang/Yang Kezhong may have been a Chinese, but perhaps he was rather a Bohai. Wendihan Tida was Main Examiner for the first Jurchen *jinshi* examination in 1173. After 1175 he became Vice-director of the Imperial Library (*bishucheng*, H 4578) and was later raised to become *hanlin daizhi*. In 1194, he received posthumously the rank of an Academician privileged to comment imperial edicts (*hanlin xueshi chengzhi*, H 2143), and he received the posthumous name Wencheng (“the one who completes literature”). The same team seems to have been assembled for the translation of the *Four Books* (*sishu*), see LJYyww: *Bu sanshi yiwen zhi*, *Jindai bufen*: 24a and *Jin yiwen zhi bulu*: 47b. But, (see *Jinshi*, j. 51: 1142) until 1188 apparently only *Shujing*, *Yijing* and *Chunqiu* were translated. The translations of *Shijing* and *Liji* were not completed. For a short description of the translation of the classics, see WU, 1950: 459.

76 LJYyww: *Bu sanshi yiwen zhi*, *Jindai bufen*: 23a: *Nüzhizi yi Yijing* 女直字譯易經 (Translation of the translation bureau for the classics [*yijingsuo* 譯經所] from 1183); *Jin yiwen zhi bulu*: 46a: idem; *Bu Yuanshi yiwen zhi*, *Jindai bufen*: 35b: *Jinguoyu Yijing* 金國語易經.

77 idem.

78 LJYyww: *Bu sanshi yiwen zhi*, *Jindai bufen*: 24b: *Nüzhizi Xiaojing* 女直字孝經, Translation from the Dadingera (1161–1189); *Jin yiwen zhi bulu*: 47b: idem; *Bu Yuanshi yiwen zhi*, *Jindai bufen*: 35b: *Jinguoyu Xiaojing*. The translations of the *Yijing*, *Shujing*, and *Xiaojing* may have been done from the *guozijian* editions of 1151, the *Wang Bi Han Kangbo Yijing zhu* 王弼韓康伯易經注, the *Kong Anguo shangshu zhuanzhu* 孔安國尚書傳注, and the

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| 5. <i>Hanshu</i> ⁸⁰ | 6. <i>Zhenguan zhengyao</i> ⁸¹ |
| 7. <i>Baishi celin</i> ⁸² | 8. <i>Sishu</i> ⁸³ |
| 9. <i>Wujing</i> ⁸⁴ | 10. <i>Lunyu</i> |
| 11. <i>Mengzi</i> ⁸⁵ | 12. <i>Laozi</i> ⁸⁶ |
| 13. <i>Yangzi</i> | 14. <i>Wen Zhongzi</i> ⁸⁷ |

Tang Xuanzong xiaojing zhu 唐玄宗孝經註. Possibly the *Yizhuanshu* 易傳疏 and the *Shujing zhuan*, both distributed to schools in 1055, were consulted.

- 79 *LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi, Jindai bufen: 24b: Shiji yijie* 史記譯解. Translation by Tudan Yi from 1166; *Jinshi*, j. 99: 2185: idem; *LJYywz: Jin yiwenzhi bulu: 49a: idem*.
- 80 *LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi, Jindai bufen: 25a: Xi Hanshu yijie* 西漢書譯解. Translation by Tudan Yi from 1166; *Jinshi*, j. 99: 2185: idem; *Jin yiwenzhi bulu: 49a–b: idem*. The decision to translate the two first official histories may have been influenced by Liao precedence, when these two histories were officially distributed in 1074, cf. *Liaoshi, yiwenzhi buzheng: 26*.
- 81 *LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi, Jindai bufen: 26a: Nüzhi Zhenguan zhengyao* 女直字貞觀政要. Translation by Tudan Yi from 1165; *Jinshi*, j. 99: 2185: idem; *Jin yiwenzhi bulu: 51b: idem*. Possibly, the earlier Qidan translation by Xiao Han Jianu was consulted.
- 82 *LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi, Jindai bufen: 27b: [Nüzhi] Baishi celin* 女直字白氏策林. Translation by Tudan Yi from 1164; *Jinshi*, j. 99: 2185: idem; *Jin yiwenzhi bulu: 58a: idem*.
- 83 *LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi, Jindai bufen: 24a: Sishu yijie* 四書譯解. Translation by Wendihan Tida, Zongbi, Alu and Zhang (Yang) Guozhong; *Jin yiwenzhi bulu: 47b: idem* (incl. *Lunyu* und *Mengzi*).
- 84 *LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi, Jindai bufen: 24b: Wujing yijie* 五經譯解. Translation and commentaries by Wendihan Tida, Zongbi, Alu und Zang Kezhong during the Dading era (1161–1189). It was checked by Yila Jie and Yila Lü; *Jinshi*, j. 8: 184–185; j. 99: 2186; j. 105: 2321. According to these sources the imperial edict concerning this translation was published in 1175; *Jin yiwenzhi bulu: 48a: idem*. Possibly also the *Wujing zhuan*, promulgated 1055 was consulted, see *Bu sanshi yiwenzhi (Liaodai bufen): 14*. According to *Liaoshi, yiwenzhi buzheng: 24* it still existed under the Jin.
- 85 We cannot verify which editions were used to translate *Lunyu* and *Mengzi*. The editions prepared by Zhao Bingwen are surely later than these translations. In the *LJYywz: Bu Yuanshi yiwenzhi: 24b, 35a, a Wo Daochong Lunyu xiaoyi* 韓道沖論語小義, 20 j. and a *Lunyu bianhuo* 論語辨惑 by Wang Ruoxu, 5 j. are listed.
- 86 The Jin catalogues list a *Laozi jijie* 老子集解 by Li Chunfu 李純甫.
- 87 Zhao Bingwen compiled a *Yangzi fahui* 揚子發微 in 1 j. and *Wen Zhongzi leishuo* 文中子類說, also in 1 j., see *LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi: 27a*, but all these editions of the titles 10 to 14 listed in Jin-period bibliographies seem to be too late to have served as the Chinese originals for these translations.

None of these translations have been preserved, nor any original Jurchen literature.⁸⁸ The only objects in Jurchen language and script are inscriptions from the period 1185⁸⁹ to 1413, seals and mirrors, some examples of the script in the *Fangshi mopu* 方氏墨譜 from 1588 and in the *Azumakagami* 吾妻鏡 from 1266 (?), Chinese transliterations in the *Jinshi* (c.f. *Jinguo yujie* 金國語解) and the *Da Jinguo zhi* 大金國志, and, of course the texts in the *Huayi yiyu* 華夷譯語 from Ming times.⁹⁰

In 1180, Yila Lü was ordered to supervise the completion of the portraits of famous officials in the Yanqing-Palace 衍慶宮. He was degraded for a short while because this work was not finished on time. Very soon, he again became Compiler (*xiuzhuan*) and Secretary (*yuanwailang*, H 8251) in the Directorate of Rites. In this capacity he was, in 1185, sent as ambassador to Koryŏ to transmit the regular felicitations for the king's birthday. In 1186 he became a Department Official (*langzhong*, H 3565) in the same directorate, while keeping his posts in the Hanlin Academy and in the Bureau of Historiography. During this time, he presented Sima Guang's *Guwen Xiaojing zhijie* to the emperor, because in his opinion at the present time only the military, law, and economy were esteemed, but not the moral forces, which really would contribute to a renaissance of society.⁹¹

During the next years, he held office both in the province and in the capital. Immediately after Shizong's death at the beginning of 1189, he became President of the Directorate of Rites. It seems that he already belonged to the closer circle around Emperor Zhangzong, when the latter was still Prince of Jinyuan jun 金源郡. His biography mentions a conversation between him and the future emperor about the qualities of the canonical texts *Chunqiu* and *Zuozhuan* on one side, and *Shujing* and *Mengzi* on the other. Lü favoured the two last named texts,

88 FRANKE, 1979 (1997 III): 138 translated one shaman song from the Chinese of *Jinshi*, j. 65.

89 In 1185, Shizong ordered the erection of the still extant bilingual (Chinese and Jurchen) stele to commemorate the victory at Dshengtuo against the Liao from 1114. See FRANKE, 1979 (1997 III): 141.

90 KIYOSE, 1977: 23–32. FRANKE, 1975 (1997 I): 133–135; 140–142; 154–156; 159–160 in addition gives and discusses some transliterated Jurchen words from the *Sanchao beimeng huibian*, the *Songmo jiwèn* and the *Beifeng yangshalu*. He also discusses strange words from food receipts as possible Jurchen words (172–177; 181). FRANKE, 1978 (1997 II): 438–451 *passim* presents tentative explanations for Jurchen personal and geographical names.

91 *Jinshi*, j. 8: 184; In the *LJYy wz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi*, *Jindai bufen*: 24b and in the *Jin yiwenzhi bulu*: 47b a *Nüzhizi Xiaojing* is mentioned, which was translated in the Dading era (1161–1189). In the *Bu Yuanshi yiwenzhi*, *Jindai bufen*: 35b, a *Jinguoyu Xiaojing* is mentioned.

because the *Chunqiu* were the history of the state of Lu only, and therefore, short in information on the other states.

Already on September 6 1189 he became Vice-grandcouncillor (*canzhi zhengshi*, H 6872) and in this capacity supervised the revision and printing of a lost history of the Liao since December 29 1189. In 1190, he became Vice-director to the Right of the State Council (*shangshu youcheng*, H 8034). In this capacity he is mentioned once more in connection with a discussion about the fate of the so-called *ershui hu* 二稅戶. This institution had been inherited from the Liao, when formerly free families were subordinated to Buddhist monasteries and became taxpayers both to the monastery and the state. In his opinion this custom was to be discontinued, and all new-borns in these families should automatically be free. Besides his Confucianist translation work he excelled in painting and calligraphy. And he played an important role in some of the reforms of the calendar during the Jin, where he can be named on a par with Yang Ji 楊紱, who in 1127 created the Daming calendar, and with Zhao Zhiwei 趙知微, who in 1171 corrected this calendar. His posthumous name was Wenxian 文獻 (“contributor to literature”), his *hao* was Wangyan jushi 忘言居士 (“the recluse who has forgotten to talk”).

The Jurchen Tudan Yi 徒單鑑 (died 1214) was regarded as his successor not only as a linguist but also intellectually.⁹² Tudan Yi belonged to the Susubaozi *meng'an* 速速保子猛安 in Shangjing lu.⁹³ His original personal name was Anchu 按出. He was the son of Wunian 烏輦, the Vice-prefect (*fu liushou*) of Beijing. Yi was extremely intelligent and with only seven years mastered the Jurchen script. In 1164, Shizong promulgated an edict to translate books into the Jurchen language. In the very same year Tudan Yi presented the *Baishi celin*⁹⁴

92 *Jinshi*, j. 8: 195; j. 9: 215, 218, 220; j. 11: 253; j. 12: 268, 282; j. 13: 294; j. 14: 302, 304; j. 35: 819; j. 49: 1098; j. 51: 1138, 1140, 1144; j. 64: 1528; j. 70: 1626; j. 94: 2092; j. 95: 2119; j. 98: 2181; j. 99: 2185–2191, 2198; j. 101: 2224; j. 105: 2321; j. 132: 2835, 2836; *Jin zaifu nianbiao*: 9, 10, 11; *Jin jiangxiang dachen nianbiao*: 13, 14, 15; *Jin fangzhen nianbiao*: 4a, 8a, 13b, 29a, 33b, 46b, 58a, 66a.

93 The superior capital of the Jin Dynasty was always the centre of education and examination for the Jurchen. During the reign of Emperor Taizong, Yelü Gu was ordered to translate classic books to be used as textbooks. The appearance of teachers like Yelü Gu, who had a good command of the Jurchen script, prepared the establishment of the Jurchen schools. In 1151 under Emperor Hailing the Imperial College, the first national institution of higher education in the Jin Dynasty, was set up. Later it became the administrative institution governing the Imperial Colleges and the *Taixue* (the highest seat of learning in ancient China).

94 *Jinshi*, j. 99: 2185; *LJYywz: Bu sanshi yiwenzhi, Jindai bufen*: 27b; *Jin yiwenzhi bulu*: 58a.

and in 1165 the *Zhenguan zhengyao* in translation.⁹⁵ In 1166 he translated the *Shiji(yijie)* and *Xi Hanshu(yijie)*,⁹⁶ and both were published by imperial command.

In 1169, more than thirty Jurchen were selected from the provinces to be taught the old Jurchen texts by the Junior Compiler (*bianxiuguan*) Wendihan Tida to enable them to write poems and essays on administration problems. Among them was Tudan Yi, who already mastered both the large and small Qidan script and the Chinese. In 1173, he passed the Jurchen examination as the first of 28 candidates.⁹⁷ The three top candidates became teachers in Zhongdu—Tudan Yi additionally Instructor (*zhujiao*, H 1367) at the Imperial University. The others were sent to the provinces.

He spent his further career mainly in the Bureau of Historiography and in the Academy. On the occasion of the presentation of the *Han Guangwu Zhongxing fu* by Tudan Yi, the emperor remarked how such a man could have been detected if there had not been the *jinshi* examinations. Under Zhangzong his political influence seems to have grown. Unlike Jiagu Heng he can be counted among the political “doves”, and one year before his death he advanced to become Vice-chancellor to the left (*zuo chengxiang*). A last anecdote in his biography is connected with his peace policy, in which he found himself in agreement with Zhangzong. He is supposed to have said: “As soon as man is born, he has wishes. If these are not restrained by rules, he may violate any borders. Now, since the Jin state has achieved peace, it should follow this way constantly.”

Except for the Ming period glossaries from the *siyiguan*, we cannot say anything about teaching materials for the Jurchen language, only that in the *Wenyuange* a work is listed under the name *Nüzhi zimu*,⁹⁸ which Ligeti calls the only Jurchen dictionary, of which at least the name is known.⁹⁹ Besides this the *Wenyuange shummu* names fifteen other Jurchen texts which are, probably, even if not all are identified yet, all translations from the Chinese.¹⁰⁰ With few excep-

95 *Jinshi*, j. 99: 2185; LJYywz: *Bu sanshi yiwenzhi*, *Jindai bufen*: 26a; *Jin yiwenzhi bulu*: 58a.

96 *Jinshi*, j. 99: 2185; LJYywz: *Bu sanshi yiwenzhi*, *Jindai bufen*: 24b, 25a; *Jin yiwenzhi bulu*: 49a–b. DE MAILLA, 1777–83/1967–69 VIII: 603 mentions the translation of the *Xi Hanshu* sub 1176.

97 See DEVÉRIA, 1882: 182, who for the first time quotes Zhou Mi and his *Guixin zazhi*, where it says: “L’école de Pien-leang conserve le nom de gradués métropolitains joutchen lauréats des examens; les signes dans lesquels ils sont écrits ressemblent aux caractères chinois.” Also mentioned by BUSHELL, 1897: 24.

98 *Wenyuange shummu*: 18, 8a = 723.

99 LIGETI, 1953: 213.

100 List of the Jurchen works originally kept in the *Wenyuange*. The holdings of the *Wenyuange* contained according to the *Rixia jiuwenkao* 日下舊聞考 j. 62: 14b–15b books from

tions these seem to have been more popular texts than those listed at different places in the *Jinshi*. They seem to belong to a didactic genre, normally with historical subjects. For example the *Nüzhizi shiba guo dou baozhuan* may be a popular history of the Chinese pre-imperial statelets, which does not seem to exist in Chinese.¹⁰¹ Those few Jurchen prints which are only known by name to us are virtually nothing compared with the Chinese language printing activities under the Jin, either on their own initiative or using Northern Song print blocks.¹⁰²

The importance of multilingualism under non-Chinese dynasties, primarily the Liao, Jin, and Yuan can also be seen from their legal traditions, in the application of the *ius sanguinis* rather than the *ius soli*, which made it necessary to use the appropriate language in legal cases and transactions. It is a pity that only little is known about the judicial procedures. What is known about the use of different languages in this field is competently summarized again by Herbert Franke.¹⁰³ Some Qidan seem to have specialized in law, and may have influenced its development during the Jin. Explicitly Yila Zao 移刺慥 is mentioned,¹⁰⁴ when he, in 1179, was responsible for unifying the since Xizong's time codified law on the basis of Tang-, Liao- and Song law. Another author was Yila Dao 移刺道,¹⁰⁵ who mainly served in judicial capacities. Still less, or rather

Northern Song, Southern Song, and the Jin (*Wenyuange shumu* j. 18: 7a–8a = 721–723): *Nüzhizi Pangu shu* 女直字盤古書, 1 ce (*LJYywz: Bu Yuanshi yiwenzhi* [*Jindai bufen*]: 35; *Jin yiwenzhi bulu*: 48); *Nüzhizi Kongfuzi shu* 女直字孔夫子書, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi Kongfuzi youguo zhang* 女直字孔夫子游國章, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi jiyu* 女直字家語, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi jiyu xianneng yanyu zhuan* 女直字家語賢能言語傳, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi Jiang taigong shu* 女直字姜太公書, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi Wu Zixu shu* 女直字伍子胥書, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi Shibaguo dou baozhuan* 女直字十八國抖寶傳, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi Sun Bin shu* 女直字孫臏書, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi shanyu shu* 女直字善禦書, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi Hai Qian gong shu* 女直字海錢公書, 1 ce; [...] *Wu Zishou shu* 伍子受書, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi Huang shi nü shu* 女直字黃氏女書, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi baijiaxing* 女直字百家姓, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi Hadamieergan shu* 女直字哈答咩兒幹書, 1 ce; *Nüzhizi zimu*.

For a short description of bilingualism during the Jin, see. YU Li, 2003: 231–233.

- 101 SOLONIN has edited an apparently similar Tangut work, though with a different title, which also does not seem to exist in its Chinese original anymore.
- 102 See ZHANG Xiumin, 1959: 12–15. According to him the Jurchen took the print blocks, the stored books from the official libraries, and even from the private bookstores in Kaifeng and brought them north.
- 103 FRANKE, 1989: 398–399; *Jinshi*, j. 8: 191, a passage referring to the year 1185; *Jinshi*, j. 45: 1020. For examples ranging from 1164 to 1183 see *Jinshi*, j. 45: passim.
- 104 *Jinshi*, j. 89: 1986–1987.
- 105 *Jinshi*, j. 90: 1994–1995.

nothing, it seems, is known about the language situation in the economic field, e.g. on the Jin/Song government-controlled markets since 1141.¹⁰⁶

In spite of a Korean-Jurchen relationship since the middle of the tenth century, it is only on January 30 1108, during the for Korea fatal war under Yun Kwan in the Northeast, that for the first time an interpreter is mentioned, who demanded the subjugation of the Jurchen at Söksöng.¹⁰⁷ Twice during the twelfth century interpreters explicitly accompanied embassies to the Jin: on December 3 1128 and March 30 1145.¹⁰⁸ Of Kim Pongmo 金鳳毛 (died 1209) it is said that he knew both Jurchen and Chinese and, therefore, took part in the receptions of the Jin-embassies.¹⁰⁹ The Koreans could have learnt about the Jurchen script when they moved into the Northeast up to the Tumen river, where they could have noticed the inscriptions in Kyöngwön and Pukch'öng from before 1140 and from 1218.¹¹⁰ That the Koreans,¹¹¹ relatively late, only in 1225 became aware of the Jurchen script or wrote about it, has been commented upon several times already.¹¹²

Qidan, Xi and Bohai are mentioned for different reasons in the *Jinshi* as subjects, though normally better placed than the Chinese, as advisors and rebels. They had their part in enabling the Jurchen to rule an empire consisting of a Chinese majority and different minorities. In this function it seems to me that the Qidan may have managed to preserve their cultural (or ethnic) identity better—perhaps best of all conquering tribes or federations, but yet they had learned from the Chinese and knew the Chinese ways and were able, and at least partly

106 CHAN, 1979: 112.

107 *Koryösa chöryo*, j. 7: 24b = 192.

108 *Koryö sa*, j. 15: 232b; j 17: 258a.

109 *Koryö sa*, j. 101: 190a.

110 JIN/JIN, 1980: 38; 334–354. To master the script was always and for everybody a problem. The Chinese noticed it e.g. in 1444 (see SERRUYS, 1967), the Koreans in 1434 and 1438 (*MDMMSR RC* 3: 509), when the number of Jurchen language students was doubled from six to twelve to get enough personal for espionage in the post stations along the routes (they were stationed in the capital and in Pukch'öng 北青, see *MDMMSR RC* 3: 527), and even the Jurchen in written communications changed between Uighur, Mongolian and Jurchen, e.g. in 1490 and 1492 corresponding with the Udihe 兀狄哈, and in 1502 (*MDMMSR RC* 9: 179, 426; 10: 400), though in 1434 the chief of Jianzhou *zuowei*, Tong Fancha 童凡察, published his orders still in the Jurchen script (*MDMMSR RC* 3: 55), and in 1459 it was used to communicate with the Uriangkai (*MDMMSR RC* 5: 468).

111 *Koryö sa*, j. 22: 337b.

112 See HENTHORN, 1963: 45, note 52, though I do not agree with his conclusions. See also OGURA Shimpei, 1964: 662.

willing, to transmit their knowledge to the next conquest dynasty, not so much in the fine arts and belles-lettres than in statecraft and especially in administrative necessities and skills, in creating a bureaucracy with the paraphernalia of writing and selection of officials. But men like Yila Lü also managed to infuse the Jurchen elite with the Chinese art of statecraft on an intellectual level, while the Chinese elite tended to keep aloof and to continue northern Song developments.

The Mongols

The number of Qidan besides Yelü Chuc'ai among the early interpreters and counsellors of the Mongol Yuan seems to have been especially high, perhaps more because they represented a sinified foreign elite than out of an antagonism to the Jurchen for ethnic or racial reasons, as Sinor¹¹³ assumes. The most famous member of this group was Yelü Ahai (Aqai) 耶律阿海, who, in 1222, in far away Afghanistan rendered Changchun's teachings orally into Mongolian for Chinggis Khan, since he was good at understanding the languages of all states, and as a Qidan who had not participated in the Exodus of Yelü Dashi and the founding of the Qara Khitai empire became the Mongol *daruyacı* in Bukhara of the Qara Khitai lands.¹¹⁴ Of him it is said that he understood the languages of all countries (*tong zhuguo yiyu* 通諸國譯語), something which is also recounted of his grandson Maige 買哥.¹¹⁵ Chala 查剌, son of the Qidan loyalist Shimo Yexian 石抹也先,¹¹⁶ must have been a knowledgeable and erudite person, too. His biography in the *Yuanshi* mentions his civilising effect on the Mongol conquerors, advising successfully Muqali, when the latter conquered Yidu 益都, to spare the population. When Kaifeng was stormed, he collected the library holdings (*tuji* 圖籍). Under Ögödei he became *daruyacı* of the two circuits Zhending 真定¹¹⁷ and Beijing 北京. He died in 1243 at the age of 44 and was succeeded in

113 SINOR, 1982: 309.

114 Biography in *Yuanshi*, j. 150: 3548–3549; *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 28: 1a–2a = 521–523. Extensively on him BUELL, 1979: 124–126; 134–139; also ALLSEN, 2000: 30.

115 *Yuanshi*, j. 150: 3550.

116 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 17: 16b–17b = 604–606. Though called a man from Huanzhou 桓州 and also the subject of the next biography, Shimo Ming'an 石抹明安, j. 17: 17b–18b = 606–608, must originally have been a Qidan. *Yuanshi leibian* j. 37: 6a = 369 also written Axin 阿辛.

117 On the importance of Zhending for the Mongols, see FRANKE, 1996: 17. Zhending in Mongol was not transcribed as usual, but named either Aq-baliq (Turkish) or Čayan balyasun (Mongolian).

his offices by his son Kuluman 庫祿滿.¹¹⁸ Shimo Yisun 石抹宜孫 belonged to the same family, and he and his father Jizu 繼祖 seem to have been knowledgeable in different fields of scholarship.¹¹⁹ Yelü Liuge 耶律留哥 defected from the Jurchen.¹²⁰ Shimo Bodieer 石抹孛迭兒 was under the Jin co-responsible for the defence of Bazhou 霸州, surrendered to Muqali and became a chiliarch under him.¹²¹ Shimo Anzhi 石抹按只 came from a Qidan family which for generations had lived in Taiyuan 太原. His father Dajianu 大家奴 surrendered with his troops to Chinggis Khan, while he himself under Qubilai was involved in the wars against the Song.¹²² Shimo Mingli 石抹明里 was another Qidan, who was attached to the crownprince Zhenjin 真金 as one of the Office Managers of the Office of Victuals (*dianshan* [shu] 典膳署).¹²³ Yelü Bojian 耶律伯堅, *zi* Shouzhi 壽之 from Huanzhou 桓州, distinguished himself under Qubilai in the provinces, especially in the construction of waterworks for agriculture.¹²⁴ Three generations of Qidan loyalists, and therefore on the side of the Mongols, are Yila Nie'er 移刺捏兒, his son Mainu 買奴 and grandson Yuanchen 元臣, better remembered because of their military prowess than for their linguistic skills.¹²⁵ Yelü Temo 耶律忒末 also rather distinguished himself in the military field during the early days of Mongol rule.¹²⁶ Another former sinified Qidan, but as a civil official, was Xiao Baizhu 蕭拜住, whose great-grandfather Chounu 醜奴 was wounded in the defence against the Mongols and submitted to Chinggis Khan. Later, he was responsible for the weapon supply for Chinggis Khan's war against Xi Xia. His younger brother Laowa 老瓦 also submitted to the Mongols. Chounu's son was Qingshan 青山, the latter's son Hala Tiemuer 哈刺帖木兒 (Qara Temür). Xiao Baizhu himself belonged to the circle of officials who under Ayurbarwada (Renzong) (1311–1320) pursued a China centered policy and was executed with others—among them the Tangut Censor Yang Dorji 楊朵兒只¹²⁷

118 *Yuanshi*, j. 150: 3541–3543; *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 37: 6a–b = 369. GRUPPER, 1992–1994: 50, note 99.

119 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 38: 18b–19a = 444–445.

120 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 18: 1–3a = 635–639.

121 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 28: 4b–5b = 528–530.

122 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 28: 9b–10a = 538–539.

123 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 26: 8a–b = 429–430.

124 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 27: 15a–b = 499–500.

125 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 17: 29a–30a = pp. 625–627. This may actually be the family, son and grandson of Yelü Ahai, see *Yuanshi leibian* j. 28: 1b = 522.

126 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 37: 2b–3b = pp. 362–364.

127 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 24: 14b–16b = 330–334.

—by Temüder 鐵木迭兒 in 1320.¹²⁸ But also Jurchen helped the Mongols on their way to cope with things Chinese: e.g. Tudan Gonglü 徒單公履, a Hanlin academician, composed the edict proclaiming the dynasty's name Da Yuan.¹²⁹ Another Jurchen was Gao Xi 高鱗 (1238–1290), who in 1282 ousted an attempt to murder Ahmad. He had formerly learned the language(s) of the Western Countries, and, when two Tibetan monks were sent to spread false rumours, he first addressed them in Tibetan, and then in Chinese.¹³⁰ A Bohai background is seldom mentioned. Among others, we know of Youxingge 攸興哥, who was important for the supply of Muqali's army,¹³¹ and Yang Cheng 楊乘, who in the late years of the Yuan dynasty excelled in good local government in the Jiang and Zhe regions.¹³²

This does not mean, of course, that there were not many Chinese, too, even a majority, who managed to preserve things Chinese in times of turmoil or managed to reconcile alien attitudes with Chinese culture. That is to be expected, and a list of prominent Chinese representatives would contain names very well known through Chinese history. However, especially in the early periods of alien rule, it seems to have been easier to employ non-Chinese as mediators to avoid a possible clash of civilisations.

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128 *Yuanshi*, j. 179: 4156–4157; *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 15: 4a–5a = 469–471.

129 CHAN, 1991: 256, note e.

130 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 13: 24b = 406.

131 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 37: 3b–4a = 364–365.

132 *Yuanshi leibian*, j. 38: 8b = 424.

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