

INTERPRETATION OF THE *EPITAPH OF CHANGGUN YELÜ ZHUN OF GREAT LIAO* IN KHITAN LARGE SCRIPT*

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Khitan Large and Small Scripts modelled on Chinese characters were created to record the Khitan language in the 10th century. In June 1922 the thousand-year-old dust-laden Khitan scripts were re-discovered and brought to light again arousing great interest and hot discussions regarding the research of historical nationalities in the territory what is now northern China. Up to now approximately seventy pieces of monuments with Khitan inscriptions have been found, mostly epitaphs and eulogies, with a total of 80,000 words. The *Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao* 大遼國常袞耶律準墓誌銘, carved in Khitan Large Script in Xianyong the fourth year (1068), was found at the town of Beizifu, Aohan Banner Inner Mongolia. With its exquisite carving and intact content, this epitaph can be regarded as one of the extant top quality monuments in Khitan Large Script. It is the first time that the rubbing, the manuscript and the interpretation of this epitaph are presented to the public. This paper compares the graphemes of the Large Script and the Small Script, in order to deduce the unknown from the known. Understanding the nature of the Khitan Large Script and investigating different Khitan materials, we can state that numerous Large Script graphemes matched with the corresponding Small Script graphemes. Based on the research findings of the Khitan Small Script graphemes and the historical records of the Yaonian clan, this paper attempts to reveal the wording habit, the combination rule of the graphemes of the epitaph text and the context of the words, in order to decipher some Large Script graphemes untouched before and to reconstruct or correct the pronunciation of some graphemes of the Large Script.

Key words: Khitan Large Script, Khitan Small Script, Epitaph of Yelü Zhun, interpretation.

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I. Research Background

Khitan scripts, classified into Large and Small Scripts, were modelled on Chinese characters in the 10th century to record the Khitan language. The Large Script, which is a logo-syllabic script, was created by Emperor Taizu Yelü Abaoji with the help of Yelü Tulübu and Yelü Lubugu in the 5th year of Shence of Liao (A.D. 920). The Small Script, created a bit later than the Large Script, is a logo-syllabic and phonemic script created by Yelü Diela, the younger brother of Emperor Taizu, inspired by the spoken and written language of the Uighur. At that time Khitan scripts, mainly used in such areas as stele marking, recording names of towns and villages, poetry writing, book translation, tally carving and diplomatic correspondence, had the status and function of an official language in Liao. During the Liao Dynasty the two kinds of Khitan scripts existed side by side for over 200 years. After the collapse of the Liao Dynasty, the Jurchen, who established the Jin Dynasty, still used Khitan scripts until the 2nd year of Mingchang of Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin Dynasty (A.D. 1211). From creation to abolishment, Khitan scripts were used across the Liao and Jin Dynasties, which lasted roughly for over 270 years. Different scholars share different views on the extinction of Khitan scripts, but the majority believes that by the ascension of the Ming dynasty (1368 A.D.), at the latest, Khitan scripts must have been forgotten. After the Ming and Qing Dynasties Khitan became a dead language that no one spoke and knew. The Khitan documents were also lost and disappeared for the most part, without any paper documents having survived so far, except a manuscript found in Russia in recent years.

Since the early 1920s, Khitan inscription documents have been rediscovered successively from former Khitan hinterland centred on eastern Inner Mongolia and Liaoning Province. Dust-laden Khitan scripts have been brought to light again, which aroused huge interest and heated debates in their research. Up to now 47 inscriptions in Small Script and 18 inscriptions in Large Script and a manuscript have been found. Although these historical documents have not as yet been fully deciphered, their research value in linguistics, history and philosophy should not be underestimated. Specifically, both Khitan and Mongol are descendants of Donghu. With mutually comprehensible languages, Khitan documents can fill in the blanks of Mongol materials before the 13th century. Moreover, Khitan scripts are of great historical and academic value in restoring the history of Liao and Jin. Besides, Khitan characters preserved a large number of Chinese loanwords, such as names of people, places, official titles, titles of nobility 爵號, titles and noble orders 勳號, etc. These loanwords persevered in phonetic forms that reflected the Chinese phonology about a thousand years ago, so they can be helpful in filling the gaps in Chinese phonetic studies. For the above-mentioned reasons, the development of Khitan script studies has always been much appreciated by academia throughout the world.

When Khitan studies just started, with scarce unearthed documents and references, the interpretation involved much difficulty. The startup phase, the research of which was mainly based on speculation and on literal meaning, lasted from the 1920s to the 1940s. The Japanese scholar Haneda Tōru (1925, pp. 82–96), Chinese scholars

Luo Fucheng (1934, pp. 113–121), Wang Jingru (1933, pp. 467–478) and Li Dingkui (1932, pp. 563–572) etc. published papers, interpreting a series of Khitan words.

During the 1950s and 1960s, exploring phonics and formulating pronunciation became the mainstream. Researches on the Small Script were very intensive in different countries. For example, the Japanese scholars Yamaji Hiroaki (1956), Murayama Shichiro (1951, pp. 47–69, 182–185), Osada Natsuki (1951, pp. 44–66) and others made attempts to interpret Khitan scripts from different perspectives. In addition, L. N. Rudov, V. S. Taskin, V. S. Starikov from the former Soviet Union, Louis Hambis from France, Karl Heinrich Menges from Germany, Louis Ligeti and György Kara from Hungary wrote books and set up theories which have greatly promoted the Khitan studies.

In 1970–1980, researchers were oriented to defining pronunciation and meanings. In this period, Khitan studies in China made considerable progress, especially the achievement of a Khitan research group (Chinggeltei, Liu Fengzhu, Chen Naixiong, Yu Baolin and Xing Fuli) can be considered remarkable. The publication of research findings in *Research on Khitan Small Script* (Chinggeltei–Liu Fengzhu–Chen Naixiong–Yu Baolin–Xing Fuli 1985) represented the highest level of the field both in China and abroad and was highly appreciated in the international academic world. Its epoch-making significance in the history of Khitan studies is undeniable.

Since 1990, with first-hand materials having been unearthed and discovered in succession, the studies on Khitan scripts have flourished and entered a new period of development. Statistics show that about 280 Small Scripts and nearly 2500 words have been interpreted and more than 10 kinds of phonetic and grammar rules have been revealed so far. With the extant findings, the researchers are able to sort out the basic context of materials written in the Small Script and understand such general contents as names of epitaphs, carving year, family backgrounds and life stories of the epitaph owners, etc.

In comparison, studies on the Large Script due to their logographic nature have been lagging behind those on the Small Script. In 2004, Liu Fengzhu and Wang Yunlong (2004, pp. 61–99) published a paper interpreting the *Epitaph of Yelü Changyun* 耶律昌允墓誌銘 written in the Large Script, presenting a series of fresh interpretation findings. It is noteworthy that the study put forward a new explanation of the nature of the Large Script, assuming that there exist many phonetic components in the Large Script. Follow-up studies showed indeed that there did exist a number of phonetic components. Thus, by the nature of the script, the primary difference between Small and Large Scripts lies in their phonemic degree or the number of phonographic components. This realisation has promoted progress in interpreting the Large Script, and provided very favourable conditions for the comparative study of the Small and the Large Scripts. Statistics show that more than 240 Large Scripts and over 600 words (Liu Fengzhu 2014, pp. 444–448) have been interpreted so far. However, there is still much to be explored concerning the grammar rules.

The present study systematically investigates the newly found *Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao* 大遼國常袞耶律準墓誌銘 in Khitan Large Script, making a full disclosure of the rubbing, the full text and the interpretation of the

epitaph for the first time, and simultaneously interprets some monuments written in Khitan Large Script that are yet to be tackled or interpreted on the basis of the previous studies. While the authors put forward their own views, they await new ideas and pieces of advice from the scholars in the field.

II. Interpretation of the *Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao in Khitan Large Script*

The *Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao* 大遼國常袞耶律準墓誌銘 (hereafter referred to as *Yelü Zhun* 耶律準) in Khitan Large Script was recently found near the town of Beizifu, Aohan Banner Inner Mongolia. The epitaph consists of a cover stone and a base stone. The cover stone is in the shape of Lu-roof, with a side length of 72 cm, thickness of 7 cm and the side length of the central facet is 30 cm. By the two-lined flowers decoration, the front of the cover stone was intaglioed as character 井 and divided into nine parts. Eight seal characters “大遼國常袞耶律準” (Great Liao State Chuangun Yelü Zhun) were carved on the central facet in 3 lines. On the corners of every slope, peony decorations were incised and three human figures with hand board in hand and official hat on head were incised between every two peonies, which were encircled by auspicious clouds and thunder decorations. The beautifully designed and well-portrayed ornamentations reveal the prominent position of the epitaph owner when he was alive.

The base stone is also in the shape of square, with a side length of 72 cm and thickness of 10 cm. The front side was carved vertically from right to left with 1433 Khitan graphemes in the Large Script, divided into 36 lines. Except for four indecipherable, diffuse and unclear characters, the vast majority of the remaining characters are preserved intact. The epitaph text was encircled by the two-lined clouds and thunder decoration, and the base stone was exquisite with auspicious clouds decorations.

1. 地甲 Tigin (official title)

According to the writing style of the Khitan epitaph, the name of the epitaph and the compiler of the epitaph text will be introduced in the first line, in which the following words appear after two blank spaces followed the expression of 未州行 凡蒼 which mean ‘with preface’. The blank space here suggests that the contents before and after are different.

1/28-42: 大 佺允 地甲 岑 果 匡 京 杏公 序 未光公
 大 內 惕隱 兼 侍中 晉? 國公 習撚 撰
 Great inside Tigin concurrently Shizhong Jin? Guogong Xi'nian compile
 (Jin Guogong Xi'nian who is Tigin and Shizhong of the imperial palace compiled)

The words with the meanings of ‘inside’, ‘concurrently’, ‘Shizhong’, ‘Guogong’ and ‘compile’ have already been interpreted, so we can deduce that 大化充地叩 would be “Tigin of the imperial palace” and 序朮 would be a personal name “Xi’nian”, but whether the word 京 means “Jin” of “Jin Guogong” is not certain, which needs further examination.

It was clarified that the Khitan graphemes 化充 are the transliteration of the Chinese character 內 ‘nei’, pronounced as ‘nui’ in Khitan. The Khitan grapheme 大 before 化充 is obviously the transliteration of the Chinese character 大 ‘da’, pronounced as ‘dai’, so 大化充 will be the transliteration of 大內 (imperial palace). In Khitan Small Script 令朮公央 王朮雨 mean “Tigin of the imperial palace” (Line 14 of *Zongjiao* 宗教) which indicates that the Khitan Large Script graphemes 地叩 may also be the transliteration of 惕隱. From the corresponding relation between the Large and the Small Script, the last grapheme 雨 of 王朮雨 corresponds to 叩 in the Khitan Large Script, both of which are used as genitive affixes, and pronounced as ‘in’, therefore, it can be presumed that 王朮 corresponds to 地. It is known that 王朮 is read as ‘ti’, so 地 will also be read as ‘ti’. 王朮雨 in Khitan Small Script is always written as 王朮雨 (Line 8 of *Yelü Nu* 耶律奴), its pronunciations can be reconstructed as ‘ti-i-in’ and ‘ti-gə-in’ according to previous studies. The second graphemes of these two blocks are 朮 ‘i’ and 朮 ‘gə’ respectively. These different transliterations reflect that a long vowel was formed in Khitan (Wu Yingzhe 2007a, p. 103). A similar phenomenon can also be seen in other words, for example, in the word 兀为夫 ‘ʃ(a)-a-ri’ is sometimes written as 兀並夫 ‘ʃ(a)-ya-ri’. According to previous studies homographs in the Large Script and in Chinese can be connected to their identical or similar pronunciations, for example, 太 ‘tai’ and 太 ‘tai’, 公 ‘kun’ and 公 ‘kun’, 主 ‘ʃiu’ and 主 ‘teiu’. This fact supports the reconstructed pronunciations of 地 as ‘ti’ and 大 as ‘dai’.

The Tigin of the imperial palace is the official title of the compiler 序朮. It is known that 序 corresponds to the Small Script 令雨 ‘sin’, while 朮 to 与 ‘en’, that is to say, 序朮 corresponds to 令雨与, pronounced as ‘sinen’, which exactly equals to the personal name 習撚 in Chinese. A person named 令雨与 whose other name is 朮 (su) is the master in Khitan language in the Liao Dynasty. Several epitaphs like *Tuguci* 圖古辭 were compiled by him. Some scholars proposed that 令雨与 朮 is the Khitan name of Yelü Liang (Yelü Bai) who is recorded in the *History of Liao* ([Yuan] Tuotuo et al. 1974, p. 1398). From the record, it can be clearly observed that Yelü Liang (Yelü Bai) had taken up the position of Tigin, which is the proof of 地叩 as Tigin. In addition, there is a clear record in the Khitan Small Script that 令雨与 朮 once had been Tigin, for example, 令雨与 朮 王朮雨 网为朮 mean ‘Xi’nian Su Tigin compiled’ (In Line 1 of *Tuguci* 圖古辭).

2. 朮 持攷 王 朮 身 州 齐 丞 朮 Telin Khaan of Six Tribes

In Line 7 there is a record about the epitaph owner’s grandaunt (the wife of the younger brother of the epitaph owner’s grandfather) 英 亥 伍 ‘a madam’. Then follows

a record about the epitaph owner's wife who is the descendant of Telin Khaan of Xi Six Tribes (六部奚 Liu Bu Xi):

7/27–38:	求	持汝	奚	身州	丞	奚
	六	部	忒鄰	可汗	房之	
	six	tribes	Teilín	Khaan	house of	
	(the house of the Telin Khaan of Six tribes)					

According to the context, it can be deduced that the Khitan large word 身州芥 might be of compound characters. It has already been established that the grapheme 身 means 'this' or 'that', its corresponding grapheme in the Small Script is 口, and the corresponding graphemes of 州芥 in the Small Script are 𠂇 and 伏. Therefore, the graphemes 身州芥 should correspond to 口𠂇伏 in the Small Script. The block 口𠂇伏 has never appeared in the extant materials, but the block 口北伏 with similar pronunciation occurred frequently. 口北伏 is recognised as the transliteration of 'Telin', the name of Xi Khaan, pronounced as *'təlin' (Aisin Gioro–Yoshimoto Michimasa 2011, p. 7) which indicates that the second grapheme 北 includes a consonant 'l'. The second grapheme of the word 身州芥 is also read as 'l', so 身州芥 may correspond to 口北伏 in pronunciation. Another example which supports this corresponding relation is the word 身弓芥 in Line 4 of *Liuyin* 留隱, the second script of which 弓 is with the same pronunciation as 北. The reason for that is that the expression of 'with' of 'with preface' is written as 凡答弓 in Large Script and 𠂇𠂇北 in Small Script, so 弓 corresponds to 北. Taking an overall view of the materials in Khitan Small Script, it is observed that 𠂇 and 北 are used interchangeably, for example, 𠂇北𠂇𠂇 in Line 19 of *Gaoshi* and 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇 in Lines 20 and 23 of *Dilu*. To sum up, 州 = 弓 = 𠂇 = 北, then 身州芥 = 身弓芥 = 口北伏 which is the personal name Telin. Both the Khitan Large Script 弓 and the Khitan Small Script 北 are read as 'li'.

In the example above, the two graphemes 丞𠂇 together with 身州芥 and 奚𠂇 may mean 'Telin 口口 house of'. According to the materials in Khitan Small Script, it is very common to see that 'the house of Telin Khaan' is recorded as 口北伏 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇 in Line 52 *Xu Wang* 許王, and 'the house of Boluen Khaan' is 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇 in Line 45 of *Zhen'guo* 鎮國. Therefore, the two graphemes 丞𠂇 may mean 'Khaan', which appeared in 丞𠂇𠂇𠂇 'at Khaan's period' in Line 5 of *Yelü Qi* 耶律祺. 𠂇𠂇𠂇 又兩 (in Line 5 of *Yelü Xiangwen* 耶律詳穩), in materials in Khitan Small Script they also mean 'at Khaan's period' with the similar meaning to 丞𠂇𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇 in Line 22 of *Yongning Jun* 永寧郡 meant 'house Khaan' indicating 'Emperor', expressed in a way specific to the Khitan language. There is a record with similar meaning in Khitan Small Script, for example, 𠂇𠂇𠂇 in Line 17 of *Yelü Jue* 耶律玦. From the correspondence it is certain that 丞𠂇 means 'of Khaan'. The corresponding relation in pronunciation between 丞𠂇 and 𠂇𠂇𠂇 is: 丞 = 𠂇, read as 'xa', and 𠂇 = 𠂇𠂇, read as 'yan'.

The script 求 in 求 持汝 奚 身州芥 appeared before 'of Telin Khaan's house' means 'six' which has already been interpreted. The similar record as 求 持汝 奚 身州芥 occurred in Line 1 of *Xiao Xiaozhong* 蕭孝忠. From the record in Khitan Small Script, the latter 持汝 奚 身州芥 may mean 'of tribe'. The reason is: 𠂇 伏 升 𠂇 𠂇 口 北 伏

巫並突 曲芬朶 (Line 52 of *Xu Wang* 許王) and 𠂇 伏𠂇𠂇朶 口比伏 巫並突 曲芬朶 (Line 10 of *Yelü Taishi* 耶律太師), in which the second graphemes of 伏𠂇𠂇朶 and 伏𠂇𠂇朶, although different but have the same pronunciation and meaning ‘of house of Telin Khaan of Six Tribes’ (Aisin Gioro–Yoshimoto Michimasa 2011, p. 7). Therefore, the Khitan Large Script graphemes 𠂇 持𠂇𠂇朶 obviously correspond to the Khitan Small Script graphemes 𠂇 伏𠂇𠂇朶 (伏𠂇𠂇朶) which mean ‘of Six Tribes’. On the basis of the interpreted graphemes in Khitan Small Script, the pronunciation of the unknown graphemes in Large Script can be deduced: 持𠂇𠂇朶 = 伏𠂇𠂇朶 (伏𠂇𠂇朶), it is interpreted as 𠂇 read as ‘o’, 朶 read as ‘ən’, so 持 = 伏, read as ‘n’, 𠂇 = 𠂇, read as ‘li’.

3. 𠂇朶 𠂇𠂇 巫朶 Di'nian Xianzhi Khaan

The epitaph owner's name 𠂇 and the courtesy name 倭東齊 appear in the second line of the epitaph. According to the records on the cover stone and in the *History of Liao*, they are tentatively reconstructed as ‘Zhun’ 準 and ‘Lianning’ 連寧 (?), as follows:

2/11–25: 𠂇朶 𠂇𠂇 巫朶 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇𠂇
 敵鞏 鮮質 可汗之 第七 代子
 Di'nian Xianzhi Khaan of the seventh generation son
 (the seventh generation son of Di'nian Xianzhi Khaan)

Liu Pujiang has proved that 𠂇朶 means ‘Di'nian’ (Liu Pujiang 2011, p. 286), and 巫朶 means ‘Khaan’ (as discussed above). 𠂇𠂇 and 𠂇 have already been interpreted as ‘generation’ and ‘son’. According to the materials in Khitan Small Script, the graphemes 𠂇𠂇 between ‘Di'nian’ and ‘Khaan’ can be deduced as ‘Xianzhi’. The corresponding records in Khitan Small Script appeared in Line 7 of *Yelü Jue* 耶律玦: 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇𠂇 巫朶 巫並突 ‘of Di'nian Xianzhi Khaan’. Therefore, 𠂇𠂇 corresponds to the Khitan Small Script 𠂇𠂇𠂇, 𠂇 to 𠂇𠂇, read as ‘sen’, 𠂇 to 𠂇, read as ‘j’. It means that the pronunciation of the Khitan Large Script 𠂇 and the Khitan Small Script 𠂇 correspond to each other. See, for example, 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 in Line 7 of the present epitaph, in which the former three characters mean ‘royal uncle’ (國舅). The author believes that the latter two characters mean ‘Yilibi’ (official title). The Large Script 𠂇 corresponds to the Small Script graphemes 𠂇𠂇, read as ‘irb ~ ilb’. There are records similar to 𠂇𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 𠂇𠂇 ‘royal uncle Yilibi’ in Line 11 of *Gaoshi* 高十. The expression of the officer of penalty ‘Yilibi’ previously appeared as 𠂇𠂇 and 𠂇𠂇. The differences between 𠂇𠂇 and 𠂇𠂇, 𠂇𠂇 and 𠂇𠂇, are as yet unexplainable, and the question needs further study.

The sequence 𠂇𠂇𠂇 means ‘the seventh’, which will be discussed in detail later in the paper. The meaning of 𠂇𠂇𠂇 is unknown.

4. 州齐保 天反 Chounü San Shizhu

Before introducing the epitaph owner's experience, a Khitan epitaph always mentions the historical activities of the epitaph owner's ancestors. The epitaph owner is the descendant of Xianzhi Khaan. The records of the next two generations of Xianzhi Khaan have been omitted, while the records are from the great-grandson of Xianzhi Khaan, who is the epitaph owner's great-grandfather, to the epitaph owner himself, Yelü Zhun and his heirs. The record about his great-grandfather is as follows:

2/26–36: 峯峯 𠃉 州齐 保 天反 发苍兰
 曾祖 父 醜女 三世燭 成
 Great-grandfather Chounü San Shizhu became
 ([His] great-grandfather Chounü San became Shizhu)

The graphemes 峯 𠃉 (Line 2 of *Xiao Paolu* 蕭袍魯) are interpreted as meaning 'great-grandfather', so the sequence 峯峯 𠃉 might have the same meaning, which shows that the grapheme 𠃉 in Khitan Large Script may indicate repetition, just as the grapheme 𠃉 in Khitan Small Script. The word 发苍兰 'take the position, become' and the remaining graphemes 州齐 保 天反 can render the name and the official title of his great-grandfather. It has been interpreted by Liu Fengzhu that 保 is the Chinese loanword 三 san. Therefore, it can be deduced that 州齐 保 天反 correspond to 𠃉伏 𠃉力乃 𠃉关 𠃉马 in Line 4 of *Yelü Jue* 耶律玦. The first two characters 州齐 would be a part of a personal name, which can be transliterated as Chounü referring to the person's name 𠃉伏 𠃉力 𠃉关 'Chounü Ge' in Line 15 of *Zhixian* 智先. Therefore, 州齐 保 can be interpreted as 'Chounü San'. According to the pronunciation of the grapheme 𠃉 in Khitan Small Script, the pronunciation of the Khitan Large Script 州 can be reconstructed as 'tʂ'u ~ ʃ'u'.

It has been interpreted that the official title of Chounü San is 𠃉关 𠃉马 which is the transliteration of the word 世燭 Shizhu (Aisin Gioro–Yoshimoto Michimasa 2012, p. 86), so in the corresponding Khitan Large Script 天反 must be the transliteration of 世燭 Shizhu. The proof of the Khitan Large Script grapheme 天 read as 'ji' appeared in Line 15 *Xiao Xiaozhong* 蕭孝忠, that is, 天瓊, which has been interpreted as the personal name 石婆 Shipo (Aisin Gioro 2009, p. 283). This is certain, because there is historical evidence about its pronunciation in Chinese materials. As for the pronunciation of the grapheme 反 in the Large Script, although there is no corresponding Chinese evidence, we can read it as 'dʒu' referring to the Small Script 𠃉.

5. 天齐回焯兰 Heshuyin Duoluwo (the seventh)

The following part of the epitaph is about the great-grandfather Shizhu Chounü San's heir, that is, the introduction of the grandfather of Yelü Zhun:

2/37–3/4: 天反 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉 天齐回焯兰 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉 𠃉
 世燭之 第四 子 合術隱鐸魯軒 副樞相公

Shizhu's the fourth son Heshuyin Duoluwo Fu Shu Xianggong
(The fourth son of Shizhu who named Heshuyin Duoluwo is Fu Shu
Xianggong [official title])

The already interpreted graphemes are translated as follows: 'Shizhu's', 'the fourth son' and 'Fu Shu Xianggong'. According to the context, the remaining five graphemes 大齐四炆芝 in the middle of the line must render the name of Yelü Zhun's grandfather whose related information appeared in Line 4 *Yelü Jue* 耶律玦 in Khitan Small Script, that is, 生斗列艾及杏六斗芬兮又火列艾及杏六斗芬. The sequence between 生斗 'grandfather' and 兮又火 'Fu Shu' is obviously a personal name (Aisin Gioro–Yoshimoto Michimasa 2012, p. 109). According to previous studies, 六斗芬 'the seventh' cannot be the attribute of the following 兮又火 'Fu Shu', because there existed no such expression as 'the seventh Fu Shu'. Since 'the seventh', both in Large and Small Scripts, appeared in the context of 'name', it indicates that they are neither miscarvings, nor the expressions of the ordinal number. Therefore, the ordinal number stands here as a personal name. It is thought-provoking whether this name suggests the person's seniority among brothers and sisters or has some other meanings. It is not surprising that an ordinal number is used as a personal name, see for example, the person's name 朵羅阿歹 'Dolo'adai' (Hitoshi Kuribayashi–Chojinjab 2001, p. 386) in *The Secret History of the Mongols* meaning 'the seventh'. However, it is an important clue for us to reconstruct the pronunciation of the unknown graphemes of the Large Script. Through the corresponding relation between the Large Scripts 大齐 and the Small Scripts 列艾及杏, it can be deduced that the pronunciation of 大 equals to 列艾, read as 'h-afju'. Through the corresponding relation between 四炆芝 and 六斗芬, 四 will correspond to the Small Script 六, read as 't', 炆 to the Small Script 斗, read as 'lu'. The corresponding relation of 四炆芝 and 六斗芬 and the meaning 'the seventh' are important to confirm the generation of Yelü Zhun. This name was reconstructed as 'Heshuyin' by other scholars, which can be regarded as a reference (Aisin Gioro–Yoshimoto Michimasa 2012, p. 109). It has been mentioned that in the part above 四炆芝冬脊 in Line 2 of this epitaph may mean 'of the seventh generation', so it can be known that Yelü Zhun is the seventh generation heir of Yaonian Xianzhi Khaan. However, in Line 7 of *Yelü Jue* 耶律玦, Yelü Jue is said to be the eighth generation heir of the Yaonian Xianzhi Khaan. According to our investigation, it does not mean that Zhun is senior to Jue in generation, because the grandfather of both of them is Heshuyin Duoluwo (大齐·四炆芝/列艾及杏·六斗芬). They are of the same generation. This difference is due to the different counting of seniority, that is, whether it counts Xianzhi Khaan the first ancestor or not. (For details, see Appendix I: Yelü Zhun Family Genealogical Table.)

6. 莽牝佐百 由 four boys

From Line 3, a section begins that introduces the second son of Heshuyin Duoluwo, 犀齐充充将景 'General Xiyin · Gaoliu' and his wife 均率妾仿 'Madam', the parents of Yelü Zhun who were conferred a posthumous title as 'Shizhong' and '□

Guo Furen' (Madam of □ Guo). There are no more introductions of Xiyin • Gaoliu's elder brother Liuyin • Pusa'nu recorded in *Yelü Jue* 耶律玦 as 中丙伏 今 今力 公爻 who is Yelü Zhun's uncle and Yelü Jue's father. It can be confirmed that Zhun and Jue are cousins. The following part is the introduction of Zhun's brothers and sisters:

3/44–4/12: 果 巫 亥 仿 二 脊 朮 佻 百 由 脊 卍 一
侍中 夫人 二之 男 孩子 四 女孩子 一
Shizhong Madam two of male kids four female kid one
(Shizhong and his wife have four sons and a daughter)

It is interpreted that the former six graphemes mean 'Shizhong Madam two of' (Shizhong and his wife's), then the following 朮 means 'male', 佻百 'kids' and 脊卍一 'girl one' (a daughter). We think that the eighth grapheme 朮, together with 朮 mean 'males' (the plural form of adjective 'male'), they correspond to 𠂇𠂇 in Small Script. The reason is that 'at north' is written as 𠂇 in Small Script while 𠂇𠂇 in Large Script, which indicates that 𠂇 and 𠂇 have the same pronunciation and meaning. Small Script 𠂇 is with both the grammatical function of dative case and plural suffix, so it is deduced that 𠂇 and 𠂇 have the same meaning and the same grammatical function of plural number. Thus 朮朮 佻百 由 would be interpreted as 'males kids four' (four male kids, four sons), whose corresponding Small Script graphemes are 𠂇𠂇 佻列出 𠂇 (Line 14 *Yongqing* 永清). That is to say, 由 equals to 𠂇, which means masculine 'four', and read as 'tur' or 'turun'. This is an interesting finding. It is known that cardinal numerals in Khitan Small Script have both masculine and feminine forms:

Meaning \ Gender	one	two	three	four	five	six	seven	eight	nine	ten
Male	𠂇	𠂇	包	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇
Male and female	𠂇	𠂇	包	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇

There are many cases in Khitan showing that female numerals may also refer to a male, while male numerals never have the function of referring to a female. Hence one can conclude that the gender category in the Khitan language is based on the opposition between 'male' and 'male and female'. Due to the interpretation level, this kind of grammatical phenomenon has not yet been pointed out in materials in Khitan Large Script. It is valuable for the occurrence of 由, the masculine 'four', which offers a new content to the study of gender category in Khitan. The Large Script 由 means 'four', and the following part is just about the four sons (male kids), which may indicate that there are also two groups of numerals referring to male and female just like in the Small Script. According to previous research, both characters 𠂇 and 𠂇 in the Khitan Large Script mean 'three', but in different forms, which may be the reflection of the 'male' and 'male and female' opposition.

7. 𠬞𠬞𠬞 to inherit the ancestral temple

In Lines 4 and 5 the epitaph owner's brothers and sisters are introduced: Zhun became the heir to the house of his granduncle and grandaunt.

5/24–5/42: 尚昇 弟峯聿 或脊仗平太允 芙亥仿 二脊𠬞𠬞𠬞
 常袞 叔祖父 解領魯不古太尉 □夫人 二之房承祧
 Changgun granduncle Xieling Lugubu Taiwei □Madam two of house
 became heir
 (Changgun became the heir of the house of his granduncle Xieling Lugubu
 Taiwei and his grandaunt)

It has been interpreted that the first 16 graphemes mean ‘Changgun granduncle Xieling Lugubu Taiwei Madam two of’. From among the following three characters 𠬞𠬞𠬞, 𠬞 means house (‘Fang’) corresponding to 𠬞𠬞 in the Small Script, and 𠬞 read as ‘i’ corresponding to Small Script grapheme 𠬞, while the pronunciation and meaning of 𠬞 are unknown. We think that 𠬞𠬞 is a word which means ‘to inherit’ 承祧. We base our opinion on Liu Fengzhu’s (Liu Fengzhu–Tang Cailan–Qinggele 2009, p. 375) interpretation of the block in Small Script 𠬞𠬞𠬞 as meaning ‘to inherit’ and his other proposal that 𠬞𠬞, 𠬞𠬞, 𠬞𠬞𠬞 and 𠬞𠬞𠬞 are all with the meaning of ‘to inherit’ (Liu Fengzhu 2014, p. 474). The graphemes 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 in the Small Script have the same meaning (‘house to inherit’ 房承祧) as 𠬞𠬞𠬞. In addition, we think that the Small Script graphemes 𠬞𠬞 𠬞𠬞 in Line 9 of *Xiao Chala* 蕭查刺 correspond to the Large Script graphemes 𠬞𠬞 𠬞 in Line 10 of *Yongning Jun* 永寧郡, both of them meaning ‘to inherit the house’ (Fang Chengtiao). From the above analysis, it becomes clear that 𠬞 in Large Script corresponds to 𠬞 in the Small Script, the pronunciation of which is unknown. The whole question requires further examination.

8. 𠬞日𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 Ye Ri Officer (officer of night and day)

From Line 6 of the epitaph, a man and two women and their relatives are introduced. According to the related information, they should be the children of the epitaph owner.

6/9–21: 𠬞𠬞 𠬞 𠬞𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 𠬞
 生 子 □□□ 將軍 夜日 之 官成?
 born son □□□ General Ye Ri of officer became?
 (The son [she] born □□□ General became the Ye Ri officer)

The first eight graphemes mean ‘born son □□□ General’. The other five graphemes mean the official position of someone. The graphemes 𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 mean ‘Ri officer’ (officer of the day), corresponding to 𠬞, 𠬞, 𠬞 in the Khitan Small Script. The meaning of the grapheme 𠬞 before 𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 cannot be determined; judging by its usage, it cannot be a suffix to the preceding graphemes 𠬞 𠬞. The Small Script sequence 𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 𠬞 ‘Ye Ri officer’ is a frequently attested name of an official position, so

here the character 𠄎 before the ‘Ri officer’ may mean ‘Ye’, which would correspond to 𠄎杏, read as ‘sun ~ suni’ in the Small Script. Then the last grapheme 𠄎 is a verb which may mean ‘to become’.

9. 未手 after, later on 近怵 relatives

After introducing the epitaph owner’s children in Line 6, in the following part, the ‘home tent’, i.e. the family home 房帳 (Fangzhang) of the epitaph owner’s wife is introduced. In Line 8, there are six graphemes 早𠄎未手近怵. The grapheme 早 which appears in the word 早𠄎 ‘royal uncle’ corresponds to the Small Script 力, read as ‘na’. 𠄎 ‘die young’ corresponds to the Small Script 丙, read as ‘iu’ which has been interpreted already. The Small Script graphemes 力丙 corresponded to 早𠄎 appeared twice, however, its meaning was uncertain. From the similar form of the Large Script 早 and the Chinese character 早, it can be deduced that both 早𠄎 and 力丙 may mean ‘die young’.

The next two graphemes 未手 equal to 𠄎力𠄎, which may mean ‘after’. The Large Script 未 corresponds to the Small Script 𠄎. The Large Script 手 corresponds to the Small Script 力𠄎 used to transliterate the Chinese character 安 of 武安州 (𠄎手𠄎 ‘Wu Anzhou’) in line 9 of *Tulibu* 突裡不, read as ‘an’ (Liu Fengzhu 2014, p. 534). It may be tenable to interpret 𠄎力𠄎 as ‘after’. If the Large Script 未手 is interpreted as ‘after, later on’, 未手𠄎𠄎皇帝𠄎玟弃 (Line 3 of *Yelü Xinie* 耶律習涅) will be interpreted as ‘later on, at the time of the son of the heaven, emperor’, which sounds clear and coherent.

The last two graphemes 近怵 may mean ‘relatives’. The former 近, which has a similar form to the Chinese character 近, may mean ‘be intimate to’. The latter 怵, which is the variant of 𠄎, corresponds to the Small Script 𠄎, read as ‘t’, which in turn is an adjectival suffix. The Khitan small graphemes 𠄎及 𠄎 公 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 (Line 31 of *Wumo* 兀沒) were translated as ‘Emperor has no relatives’ 皇天親無, in which 公 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 means ‘relatives’ (Ji Shi 2012, p. 401). Therefore, 近怵 may be interpreted as ‘relatives’ and correspond to the Small Script 公 𠄎 𠄎. The Large Script grapheme 近 corresponds to 公 𠄎 in the Small Script, read as ‘nam’.

10. 免爽飛寺乃𠄎 to confer the title of governor (Zhishi), 𠄎云𠄎 Tianyun Army (Tianyun Jun)

From Line 8 of the epitaph, the epitaph owner Yelü Zhun’s experiences are introduced. Due to the limited interpretation level of the Khitan Large Script, his complete life story cannot be sorted out yet. The official titles appeared in the epitaph, such as ‘Assistant Army-commanding Superintendent of 𠄎Capital’ (𠄎京之統軍之副使 𠄎Jing zhi Tongjun zhi Fushi), ‘Chief Military Inspector’ (統軍之都監 Tongjun zhi Dujian), ‘Great General’ (大將軍 Da Jiangjun) and ‘Vice Commander of Central Capital’ (中京同知 Zhong Jing Tongzhi), reflect his prominent social status. In addition, accord-

ing to those disconnected interpretations, we can deduce the pronunciation and meaning of several words. For example:

10/29–42: 二市 木峇 殿登文昇 允 吏飛寺 乃芝
 行 台之 殿 中之 事 知於 授
 Hang tai of Dianzhong of matter manage to confer
 (to confer [him] Zhishi [manager of matters] of Dianzhong of Hangtai)

The first two graphemes 二市 appeared in Line 2 of *Changyun* 昌允, which are recorded as 上市 in some copies, interpreted as ‘Hang’ 行. From this epitaph, the form of the former character should be 二 but not 上. The following ‘Tai of, Dianzhong of, Shi (matter)’ have already been interpreted. The next grapheme 吏 is frequently used, before which 允 ‘matter’ or 允弟来 ‘matter at’ always occurs, and after which the suffix 芝 (corresponds to the Small Script 𠂔) or 飛寺 (corresponds to the Small Script 𠂔𠂔) etc. always occurs. The combination feature and the specific context of the Large Script 吏 are similar to the Small Script 厶 and 厶𠂔, the first character 厶 also being frequently used and always combined with 𠂔 or 𠂔𠂔 which means ‘manage’. 飛 corresponds to 𠂔𠂔, read as ‘udʒ’.

The last two graphemes 乃芝 should be a verb, in which 乃 may correspond to the Small Script 𠂔𠂔 or 𠂔子 and 芝 to 𠂔. Therefore, 乃芝 may mean ‘to confer’.

11/1–10: 天雲 雲来 将昇 州位 吏芝
 天雲 軍 詳穩 □ 知
 Tianyun Army Xiangwen □ manage (zhi)
 (Xiangwen Manager of Tianyun Army)

It has been interpreted that 天 means ‘heaven’ and 雲 means ‘cloud’. The grapheme 雲 appeared in 雲帝茂 of Line 14 of the *Epitaph of the Great Prince of the North* (*Beidawang Muzhi* 北大王墓誌) which is interpreted as ‘governor command’ (Dutong) and corresponds to the Small Script 𠂔𠂔 𠂔𠂔. We suppose that the literal meaning of 雲帝茂木 is ‘army command’ (Liu Fengzhu 2014, p. 519). The Large Script 雲 corresponds to the Small Script 𠂔, while 来 to 𠂔. Therefore, the Large Script graphemes 雲来 correspond to 𠂔𠂔 ‘army’, which is recorded as 炒伍尔 ‘Chaowuer’ in the *Guo Yu Jie* (*Interpretation of the National Language*) *History of Liao*. The Khitan Small Script graphemes 𠂔𠂔 have been interpreted by Ji Shi (Ji Shi 1996). The graphemes 将昇 have been interpreted as ‘Xiangwen’ (official title). The next graphemes are 州位, of which 州 corresponds to the Small Script 𠂔 and 位 occurred in the word 左位 meaning ‘of Yuyue’ (Line 1 of *Yelü Qi* 耶律祺) and corresponds to the Small Script 𠂔. So 州位 corresponds to 𠂔𠂔. There is no final conclusion about the meaning of the Small Script 𠂔𠂔 after long-time discussions. Referring to the record of ‘Tianyu Jun Xiangwen Si’ (Department of Xiangwen of Tianyun Army) in the *History of Liao*, 𠂔𠂔 can be seen as 司 Si? (Department, office) ([Yuan] Tuotuo et al. 1974, p. 740). According to the analysis above, it is known that the last two graphemes 吏芝 correspond to 厶𠂔. Therefore, 天雲雲来将昇州位吏芝 can be interpreted as ‘Tianyun Jun Xiangwen Si? Zhi’ (the governor of the Department of Xiangwen of Tianyun Army), while the Small Script graphemes 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔

雨安 全各女 火 屋及弱矢 及忝 (Line 7 of *Zhenguo* 鎮國) mean ‘to confer (somebody) Tianyun Jun Xiangwen Zhishi (Xiangwen Governor of Tianwen Army)’, which may relate to the Large Script graphemes above.

11. 𡇗 to confer (to supplement), 𡇗𡇗方 (?)

From the interpretation of Lines 11–14 we have learnt that the epitaph owner had held the posts of ‘Inspector’ 觀察 (Guancha), ‘Dushi’ 度使, ‘Superintendent of Five Yuan’ 五院都監 (Wuyuan Dujian), ‘Inspecting grand tutor’ 檢校太傅 (Jianjiao Taifu), ‘Feudal provincial governor’ 諸州刺史 (Zhuzhou Cishi), ‘Provincial censor’ 禦史 (Yushi), ‘Superintendent’ 都監觀察使 (Dujian Guancha Shi), ‘Military commissioner of Tongzhou’ 同州之節度使 (Tongzhou Jiedushi). The graphemes 𡇗 人 昇 允 吏 工 mean ‘the governor of Fuzhou’ 鄜州之事知 (Fuzhou zhi Zhishi) followed by 𡇗, a verb the meaning of which may relate to ‘to confer or to supplement (an official title)’. 𡇗 舍 仁 午 寺 𡇗 in Lines 17–18 can be interpreted as ‘□□ personal title to confer (supplement)’ (to confer or supplement a title to somebody). From the materials in Large and Small Scripts 𡇗 may mean ‘to confer, to supplement’ and corresponds to the Small Script graphemes 及忝 or 仍𡇗, for example,

南 王 显 鹵 脊 允 弟 来 吏 飛 寺 𡇗 (Line 13 of *Yelü Qi* 耶律祺)
 南 院 事 於 知 補
 South Yuan matter to manage supplement
 (To supplement the title of Governor of Southern Yuan [Nan Yuan] Zhishi)

分 丹 只 允 火 女 火 屋 及 弱 矢 及 忝 (Line 16 of *Wumo* 兀沒)
 副 部 署 之 事 知 於 授
 vice administration of matter manage to confer
 (To confer the title of vice governor of administration)

仁 佺 𡇗 𡇗 (Line 20 of *Yelü Qi* 耶律祺)
 祇候 □ 補
 Zhihou □ supplement
 (To supplement a title of Zhihou)

几 卡 只 弱 矢 仍 𡇗 (Line 11 of *Yelü Dilie* 耶律迪烈)
 祇候 □ 補
 Zhihou □ supplement
 (To supplement a title of Zhihou)

The following ‘Left Military General’ (Zuo Wuwei Shang Jiangjun), ‘became Changgun in summer of Xianyong 1st year’, ‘Changgun is the eldest son of House of the Eldest Uncle (孟父房)’ have been interpreted already. It is known that the graphemes 𡇗 and 𡇗 in the word 𡇗𡇗𡇗 in Line 19 correspond to the Small Script graphemes 𡇗(忝) and 火 respectively, so 𡇗𡇗𡇗 correspond to 𡇗 全 𡇗 火 (also written as 𡇗 全 𡇗 火). The reason for that, as can be seen from the extant materials, is that the characters 𡇗 火 (忝 火) occur only in the words 𡇗 全 𡇗 火 (𡇗 全 𡇗 火) and 𡇗 全 𡇗 火 𡇗,

and never appear in any other compound characters. Therefore, the roots of the words 𠄎 and 𠄎今 may have a similar meaning. On the basis of the pronunciation of the Small Script graphemes 𠄎 ‘x/k’ and 今 ‘s’, the Large Script 𠄎 could be read as ‘xis/kis’. The Large Script graphemes 𠄎蒼𠄎 and 𠄎蒼𠄎𠄎 are cognate words which occurred in 𠄎先皇帝 𠄎倅皇帝 𠄎兀先皇帝 三𠄎蒼𠄎𠄎 in Line 4 of *Yelü Xi'njie* 耶律習涅, and were interpreted as ‘Tianshou Emperor, Tianshun Emperor, Tianzan Emperor three’. The meaning of the last four graphemes 𠄎蒼𠄎𠄎 have not been reasonably explained, but they may correspond to the Small Script 𠄎今𠄎𠄎𠄎. For example, in 𠄎主 𠄎相 𠄎力 主 𠄎相 𠄎 𠄎今𠄎𠄎𠄎 (Lines 5–6 of *Wumo 兀沒*), which was interpreted as ‘Tian Huangdi Tianzi Huangdi two’ (Heaven Emperor Son of Heaven Emperor two). Now the meaning of 𠄎今𠄎𠄎𠄎 cannot be determined, but from its corresponding relations with 𠄎蒼𠄎𠄎𠄎, it can be deduced that the Large Script 𠄎 equals to the Small Script 𠄎, read as ‘t’ (Wu Yingzhe 2007a, p. 95).

12. 𠄎 = 𠄎𠄎 or 𠄎出, 𠄎𠄎𠄎日𠄎𠄎 = 𠄎先伏. 𠄎伏𠄎

It is recorded in Line 22 of the epitaph that the epitaph owner died of illness, that is, 𠄎𠄎三𠄎𠄎十月十三日𠄎……𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎荒𠄎𠄎二 ‘On October 13th Xianyong 3rd year (1067) ... died of illness at the age of 62’, of which 荒 is a newly found Large Script grapheme with the meaning of ‘to die, decease’. In the following part, the epitaph owner’s wife and son are mentioned who had the epitaph make for him.

24/29–25/4: 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 二 𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 妻 夫人 子 石𠄎 將軍 二 墓 志 銘 𠄎𠄎
 Wife madam son Shi 𠄎 General two epitaph let compile
 ([His] wife and son General Shi ? let [somebody] compile the epitaph)

According to Khitan custom, epitaphs, especially those erected for the Khitan, were compiled by a person invited by the family of the deceased or by a person assigned by the authorities. From the record above, we learned that this epitaph was compiled by Xi'nian invited by the epitaph owner’s family, so the verb 光州𠄎 of the sentence may be interpreted in the causative form, as ‘let (somebody) compile’. In Khitan Small Script, 𠄎𠄎𠄎 and 𠄎𠄎𠄎 are always used to express ‘let (sb.) compile’. It has already been interpreted that 光州 corresponds to 𠄎𠄎, which indicates that the Large Script 𠄎 corresponds to 𠄎𠄎 or 𠄎出, read as ‘yai’ or ‘yan’. According to the wording features of materials in the Khitan Small Script, 𠄎 is more likely to be read as ‘yai’.

Except for the first two graphemes of the sequence 𠄎𠄎𠄎日𠄎𠄎 in the following part, the corresponding Small Script equivalents of the other four graphemes have already been confirmed previously, that is, 𠄎 = 伏 (two times), 日 = 𠄎, 𠄎 = 𠄎. The third and fifth graphemes are the same. According to the corresponding relations above, the last three graphemes correspond to the Small Script characters 𠄎伏𠄎 (Line 29 of *Yelü Jue* 耶律玦). Referring to the context of the block 𠄎伏𠄎, the corresponding relation between 𠄎先伏 and 𠄎𠄎𠄎 is confirmed. Our proofs are

as follows: the Large Script 𠄎 also appears in Line 11 of the present epitaph to transliterate the Chinese character 察 of the official title 真𠄎觀察 (Guancha), while in other materials, the grapheme 𠄎 is used to transliterate the character 察 (Line 1 of *Changyun* 耶律昌允). Although there is a slight difference in the form of the two graphemes 𠄎 and 𠄎, they transliterate the same Chinese character and with the same meaning and pronunciation, so they may be variants to each other. In previous studies, it has been confirmed that 𠄎 corresponds to 𠄎 ‘tɕ’a’, so 𠄎 can also be read as ‘tɕ’a’. Through the comparison of 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 and 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎, five characters can well be determined, with the exception of the second character 𠄎. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose a relation between 𠄎 and 𠄎. But the pronunciation of the Small Script grapheme 𠄎 is unknown; therefore the pronunciation of the Large Script grapheme 𠄎 cannot be reconstructed either.

13. 高𠄎𠄎守𠄎 morning dew, 𠄎𠄎𠄎 night moon

In the last 3 lines, there are Khitan graphemes with the meanings of ‘a day and night’, ‘the third day’ and ‘the second month’; these are already interpreted words. But due to the present interpretation level, there are still some uninterpreted ones. Lines 29 to 35 are part of the epigraph, but the Khitan words contained therein are more difficult to interpret than the words in the part of the epitaph text. Applying the method of making use of the known to deduce the unknown, we have attempted to interpret some of these words.

For example, let us take the grapheme sequence 高𠄎𠄎守𠄎 in Line 34 of the epitaph. The last two graphemes 守𠄎 mean ‘dew’. Firstly, 守 is used in the words 守太初 and 守太景 to transliterate the Chinese words 守太尉 and 守太師, which is transliterated as 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 and 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 in the Khitan Small Script. Therefore, the Large Script grapheme 守 corresponds to the graphemes 𠄎𠄎 in the Small Script. Secondly, the Khitan Small Script graphemes 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 refer to a personal name, which can be interpreted as ‘Pusuli’ according to the Chinese inscription. It has already been proved that Pusuli is the husband of Shigu, the fourth daughter of Xiao Taishan (Liu Fengzhu 2014, p. 167). The name is written as 𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎 in the Large Script (Aisin Gioro 2009, p. 283), so 𠄎 corresponds to the grapheme 𠄎 in the Small Script. 守 equals to 𠄎𠄎 and 𠄎 equals to 𠄎, so the sequence 守𠄎 equals to 𠄎𠄎, which means ‘dew’, and can be read as ‘fousu’ or ‘fous’ (Wu Yingzhe 2007b, p. 2).

The Khitan Small Script graphemes 𠄎𠄎 ‘spring’, 𠄎𠄎 ‘autumn’, 𠄎𠄎 ‘sweet’ and 𠄎𠄎 ‘morning’ always act as modifiers before the block 𠄎𠄎. From the pronunciation and the corresponding relations between large and Small Scripts, 高𠄎𠄎 here may correspond to 𠄎𠄎. According to previous studies, 高 is the transliteration of the Chinese character 𠄎 (Liu Fengzhu 2014, pp. 523), read as ‘bai’ (Li Zhenhua–Zhou Changji 1999, p. 378) while 𠄎 and 𠄎 are genitives which correspond to the Small Script graphemes 𠄎 and 𠄎, read as ‘in’ and ‘ən’. Therefore, the sequence 高𠄎𠄎 corresponds to 𠄎𠄎, which differs from 𠄎𠄎 ‘morning’, in that the second graphemes 𠄎 and 𠄎 are different. But it has no effect on interpreting

the sequence 高卯沓 as ‘morning’, because the genitive 朶 has broad adaptability, it can replace other genitives like 雨, 天 and 火. In addition, there are some other examples that 高 corresponds to 可, read as ‘bai’: 可今並為出 (Line 19 of *Han Dilie* 韓迪烈) is a personal name which is recorded as 擺撒 (baisa) in Chinese inscriptions. Therefore, it can be reconstructed as ‘bai-is-ya-a-an’. On the basis of 高 = 可, the personal names 可今符伏 (Line 1 of *Xiao Chala* 蕭查刺) in Small Script and 高乙行 (Line 3 of *Liuyin* 留隱) in Large Script also correspond to each other.

The graphemes 可朶朶 又去卡 ‘morning dew’ always match 今杳朶 艾 ‘night moon’ in epigraphs in the Khitan Small Script, from which we have investigated that 高卯沓 守伋 ‘morning dew’ are followed by 杳沓 ‘of night’. The meaning of 杳 has already been mentioned above. According to the wording habit of the Small Script, the grapheme 杰 followed by ‘of night’ may mean ‘moon’. Both ‘month’ and ‘moon’ are written as 艾 in Small Script, so the two concepts could be written with the same grapheme in the Large Script as well. 月 ‘month’ in the Large Script may also have the meaning of ‘moon’. Therefore, the meaning of 朶 is temporarily unknown, and needs further study.

14. 工𠂔 now, 真杳文沓 Guanzhong’s

In addition to the words interpreted so far, we may try to interpret some other Large Script graphemes and find out their corresponding Small Script equivalents.

尊杳沓 in Line 1 may mean ‘of the House of the Eldest Uncle’, the beginning grapheme of which is different from 天杳沓 treated before. Further investigation is needed to explain the difference between 尊 and 天.

共芥 in Line 8 may be the personal name ‘Yanning’. This reading is based on the personal name 艾朶共守 ‘Di’nian Yanshou’ (Line 7 of *Yelü Qi* 耶律祺). The Large Script grapheme 共 corresponds to the Chinese character 延 (Yan), read as ‘ian^②’ or ‘ien^④’ (Li Zhenhua–Zhou Changji 1999, pp. 215, 243), while 芥 is read as ‘in’. Therefore, 共芥 is read as ‘iannin’ which is similar in pronunciation to the personal name ‘Yanning’ occurring in historical materials.

There are two graphemes 工𠂔 in Line 23, of which 工 corresponds to the Small Script grapheme 彡, and 𠂔 to 𠂔. Therefore, 工𠂔 corresponds to 彡𠂔 and means ‘now’. The pronunciation needs further investigation.

There are four graphemes 真杳文沓 in Line 27, the first one 真 is used to transliterate the Chinese character 觀 of the word 觀察 (真𠂔), while the other two graphemes 杳文 are used to transliterate the Chinese character 中 of the word 侍中 (杳杳文) (Line 9 of *Yelü Qi* 耶律祺). 沓 is a genitive, therefore 真杳文 may correspond to the Chinese characters 觀中, being similar in pronunciation to the graphemes 凡及不 弓太火 in the Small Script (Line 47 of *Xiao Zhonggong* 蕭仲恭), the transliteration of the personal name 管仲 (Guanzhong). According to the proofs above, we can conclude that 真杳文沓 may mean ‘Guanzhong’s’.

In addition, in line with our investigation, 虫至王品 may mean ‘Right Yuan Yilibi’, and 早正行 may mean ‘rest in peace’ and 早正巴月 may mean ‘to remarry’.

III. Conclusion

This paper aimed to systematically study the newly found *Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao* 大遼國常袞耶律準墓誌銘. Throughout our investigation, it has become quite clear that the epitaph owner Yelü Zhun had the name of 庾 and the courtesy name of 徒東齊. He was of the Yaonian clans and the eighth generation descendant of Yaonian Xianzhi Khaan. His father was named Xiyin · Gaoliu Shizhong, and his uncle was Liuyin · Pusanu Changwen, Yelü Jue's father. Zhun and Jue were cousins.

In the present epitaph it is recorded that “In September Xianyong 1st year... appointed Changgun”, while at another place “In September Xianyong 1st year... On Yihai of September, stop over at Ousi Dian. On Dingchou, Left Yilibi Lianning became Changwen of the House of the Eldest Uncle”. ‘Changgun’ is evidently identical with ‘Changwen’. It is not a coincidence that Lianning and Zhun were appointed the same position in the same month, the same year, so it can be deduced that the two are one and the same person. Zhun's wife was of the house of Telin Khaan of Six Tribes Xi, named 并火 (□ Ge). Zhun had a son and two daughters who had already got married.

Zhun's family lineage is illustrated in Appendix I. From the information in Khitan Large Script it seems that Zhun was the heir of the house of his granduncle Xieling Lubugu Taiwei. Once Zhun held the post of ‘Great General’ 大將軍 (Da Jiangjun), ‘Vice Commander of the Central Capital’ 中京同知 (Zhong Jing Tongzhi), Governor of Matters of Dianzhong of Hangtai 知行台之殿中之事 (Zhi Hangtai zhi Dianzhong zhi Shi), General of Tianyun Army 天雲軍詳穩 (Tianyun Jun Xiangwen), ‘Inspector’ 觀察使 (Guancha), ‘Superintendent of Five Yuan’ 五院都監 (Wuyuan Dujian), ‘Inspecting grand tutor’ 檢校太傅 (Jianjiao Taifu), ‘Changgun of the House of the Eldest Uncle’ 孟父常袞 (Mengfu Changgun), ‘Feudal provincial governor’ 諸州刺史 (Zhuzhou Cishi), ‘Provincial censor’ 禦史 (Yushi), ‘Military commissioner of Tongzhou’ 同州之節度使 (Tongzhou Jiedushi), ‘the governor of Fuzhou’ 鄜州之事知 (Fuzhou zhi Zhishi), ‘Right Yuan Yilibi’ 右院夷離畢 (You Yuan Yilibi), ‘Left Military General’ 左武衛上將軍 (Zuo Wuwei Shang Jiangjun) etc.

On the basis of the rubbing of the present epitaph and the extant materials in Khitan Large Scripts, we have made the collation and check of the graphemes and fed the present epitaph text into a computer. This paper attempted to use the method of comparing the graphemes of the Large Script and the Small Script to deduce the unknown from the known. According to the new understanding of the nature of the Khitan Large Script and by investigating all kinds of Khitan materials, numerous Large Script graphemes matching with the corresponding Small Script graphemes have been found. Drawing on the research findings of the Khitan Small Script graphemes and the historical records of the Yaonian family, this paper tried to elucidate the wording habit and the combination rule of graphemes of the epitaph text as well as the context of the words, in order to decipher some Large Script graphemes untouched before and reconstruct or correct the pronunciation of some graphemes of the Large Script. We have also identified several groups of variants. The findings of the paper can be summed up as follows:

A. The Corresponding Relations between the Large and the Small Scripts

No.	Corresponding relation	Example	Meaning
1	大 = 令半关	大 化允 地叩 = 令半关 公火	Tigin (an official title) of the Imperial Palace
2	地 = 王峇	王峇雨	
3	州 / 耳 = 比	身州齐 / 身耳齐 = 口比伏	Telin (a person's name)
4	丞 = 丞	丞 丞 = 丞 丞 丞	Khaan (Emperor) of tribes
5	丞 = 丞 丞		
6	持 = 伏	汶 皿 峇 = 伏 升 丞 木	
7	皿 = 丞	(伏 丞 丞 木)	
8	戾 = 令考	戾 = 令考 木	Xianzhi (Emperor)
9	戾 = 木		
10	正 = 用 丹	正 戾 = 用 丹 木	Yilibi (an official title)
11	州 = 芬	州 齐 = 芬 伏	Chounü (a person's name)
12	戾 = 弓	戾 戾 = 戾 关 弓	Shizhu (official title)
13	天 = 列 艾	齐 = 列 艾 丞 杏	Heshuwen (a person's name)
14	四 = 穴	四 炆 芝 = 穴 丹 峇	Duoluwo (a person's name)
15	炆 = 丹		
16	卍 = 空	彘 卍 = 半 空	male kids
17	击 = 屯	彘 卍 化 百 击	male kids four
18	把 = 面	把 利 = 面 关	to inherit the ancestral temple
19	查 = 令 杏	查 日 利 瓦 = 令 杏 关 关 穴	Ye Ri officer (an official title)
20	近 = 公 金	近 卍 = 公 金 空	relatives
21	夷 = 屋	彘 寺 = 屋 丞 弱 矢	manage to
22	彘 = 丞 弱		
23	卷 = 及 杏 / 仍 关	午 寺 卷 = 关 化 矢 及 杏	to supplement a title (to be examined further)
24	丑 = 穴 令	丑 峇 步 = 穴 令 峇 火	morning (to be examined further)
25	传 = 坐	(穴 令 峇 火)	
		丑 峇 传 芝 = 穴 令 峇 坐 峇	morning (to be examined further)

No.	Corresponding relation	Example	Meaning
26	企 = 立半 / 立出	光州企 = 网中立半 / 网中立出	let (somebody) compile (to be examined further)
27	司 = 雨	司丙齐 = 雨先伏	before (to be examined further)
28	丙 = 先		
29	高 = 可	高卯脊 = 可和和	of morning
30 ¹	日 = 尹 齐 = 伏 芝 = 公	日齐芝 = 尹伏公	days
31	宏 = 雨 来 = 安	宏来 = 雨安	army
32	未 = 北 手 = 为尹	未手 = 北为尹	after
33	守 = 又土 仪 = 卡	守仪 = 又土卡	dew
34	早 = 力 正 = 冬 巳 = 全 弓 = 北	早正巳弓 = 力冬全北	to remarry
35	工 = 又 出 = 券	工出 = 又券	now
36	真 = 九及尔 登 = 弓 文 = 太 脊 = 女 / 和	文脊 = 九及尔 弓太女	Guanzhong's (a person's name)

B. Variants

No.	Large Script	Origin	Large Script	Origin
1	利	Line 1 Yelü Zhun 耶律準	利	Line 1 Yelü Xinie 耶律習涅
			利	Line 1 Yongning Jun 永寧郡
2	弓	Line 1 Yelü Zhun 耶律準	司	Line 1 Yongning Jun 永寧郡
			此	Line 2 Tulibu 突裡不
3	此	Line 4 Yelü Zhun 耶律準	此	Line 1 Tulibu 突裡不
			此	Line 2 Tulibu 突裡不
4	司	Line 11 Yelü Zhun 耶律準	司	Line 1 Changyun 昌允
5	真	Line 13 Yelü Zhun 耶律準	真	Line 8 Yelü Qi 耶律祺
6	穴	Line 23 Yelü Zhun 耶律準	穴	Line 36 Yelü Zhun 耶律準

¹ The corresponding relationships of the scripts Nos 30 to 36 have been proved by scholars, so this paper only intends to propose some views on some pairs of compound characters.

C. Pronunciation

No.	Large Script	Pronunciation	Example	
1	大	dai	大 佗 允	imperial palace
2	地	ti	地 叩	Tigin (an official title)
3	月	li	身 月 芥	Telin (a person's name)
4	丞	xa	丞 朮	Khaan (Emperor)
5	朮	yan		
6	持	n	持 汝 皿 脊	of tribes
7	皿	li		
8	乞	sen	乞 辰	Xianzhi (Emperor)
9	辰	ʃ		
10	正	irb ~ ilb	正 辰	Yilibi (an official title)
11	州	tʂʰu ~ ʃʰu	州 芥	Chounü (a person's name)
12	火	h-aʃu	火 芥	Heshuwen (a person's name)
13	回	t	回 焯 芝	Duoluwo (a person's name)
14	焯	lu		
15	击	tur	非 州 佗 百 击	male kids four
16	登	sun~suni	登 日 利 瓦	Ye Ri officer (an official title)
17	近	nam	近 帖	relatives
18	飛	udzu	夷 飛 寺	manage to
19	丑	xis / kis	丑 答 方	
20	传	t	丑 答 传 芝	
21	介	yai / yan (?)	光 州 介	let (somebody) compile
22	司	tʂʰa	真 司	inspector
23	高	ba ~ bai	高 叩 脊	of morning
24	工	ed	工 缶	now

D. Meaning

No.	Large Script	Meaning	Example	
1	尊	the eldest	尊 非 脊	of the Eldest Uncle
2	大	big, large	大 佗 允 地 叩	Tigin of Imperial Palace
3	地	Ti		
4	身 州 芥	Telin (a person's name)	身 州 芥 丞 朮	of Telin Khaan
5	丞 朮	of Khaan (Emperor)		

No.	Large Script	Meaning	Example	
6	持攷皿脊	of tribes	求 持攷皿脊	of six tribes
7	戈戾	Xianzhi (Emperor)	戈 戈戾 函 求	of Dinian Xianzhi Khaan
8	正戾	Yilibi (an official title)	早 勾 之 正 戾	Royal Uncle Yilibi
9	州齐侯	Chounü San (a person's name)	州 齐 侯 大 反	Chounü San (a person's name) Shizhu (an official title)
10	大反	Shizhu (an official title)		
11	大齐	Heshuyin (a person's name)	大 齐 四 炆 之	Heshuyin Duoluwo (a person's name)
12	四炆之	Duoluwo (a person's name)		
13	屏齐	Xiyin (a person's name)	屏 齐 充 充	Xiyin Gaoliu (a person's name)
14	充充	Gaoliu (a person's name)		
15	四炆之	the seventh	四 炆 之 冬 脊	of the seventh generation
16	聿卅	male	聿 卅 仞 百 卅	male kids four
17	卅	four		
18	挹利	to inherit	皿 挹 利	to inherit the ancestral temple
19	登	night	登 日 利 瓦	Ye Ri officer (night and day officer)
20	早纟	died young	早 纟 未 手	after died young
21	未手	after		
22	真司	to inspect	真 司 果	inspector
23	近牝	relatives	近 牝 瓦 聿	relative uncle
24	吏飛寺	manage to	免 吏 飛 寺	manage to
25	雲來	army	雲 云 雲 來	Tianyun Army
26	卷	to confer, to supplement	午 寺 卷	to supplement a title
27	光州公	let compile	卅 脊 坐 寸 卅 四 光 州 公	let somebody compile the epitaph text
28	日齐之	days	司 丙 齐 日 齐 之	□□ days
29	高仰脊	of morning	高 仰 脊 守 仗	morning dew
30	守仗	dew		
31	工叺	now	工 叺 卷 几	now □□

No.	Large Script	Meaning	Example	
32	真登文脊	Guan Zhong (a person's name)	真登文脊	Guan Zhong's (a person's name)
33	早正巴司	to remarry	早正巴司 欠芝	bore after remarry
34	虫至正显	Right Yuan	虫至正显 正工	Right Yuan Yilibi (an official title)
35	早正行	rest in peace	早正行舟	rest in peace tomb

Abbreviations

[1] The Short Names of the Materials in the Khitan Large Script and Their Full Names

Yelü Zhun 耶律準: *Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao* 大遼國常袞耶律準墓誌銘
 Liuyin 留隱: *Epitaph of Taishi Yelü Liuyin* 耶律留隱太師墓誌銘
 Yelü Qi 耶律祺: *Epitaph of Yüyue Yelü Qi* 耶律祺於越墓誌銘
 Yongning Jun 永寧郡: *Epitaph of Princess Yongning Jun* 永寧郡公主墓誌銘
 Xiao Xiaozhong 蕭孝忠: *Epitaph of Jiedushi Xiao Xiaozhong* 蕭孝忠節度使墓誌銘
 Xiao Paolu 蕭袍魯: *Epitaph of Late Northern Chancellor Xiaogong* 故北宰相蕭公墓誌銘
 Tulibu 突裡不: *Epitaph of Yelü Tulibu Langjun* 耶律突裡不郎君墓誌
 Yelü Xinie 耶律習涅: *Epitaph of Jiedushi of Great Tent* 大橫帳節度副使墓誌銘
 Changyun 昌允: *Epitaph of Taishi Yelü Changyun* 耶律昌允太師墓誌名
 Beidawang 北大王: *Epitaph of the Great Prince of the North* 北大王墓誌

[2] The Short Names of the Materials in the Khitan Small Script and Their Full Names

Zongjiao 宗教: *Epitaph of Guangling Junwang of Great Khitan State* 大契丹國廣陵郡王墓誌銘
 Yelü Nu 耶律奴: *Epitaph of Yelü Nu Xiangwen* 耶律奴詳穩墓誌銘
 Tuguci 圖古辭: *Epitaph of Tuguci Shangshu* 蕭圖古辭尚書墓誌銘
 Gaoshi 高十: *Epitaph of Han Gaoshi Linggong* 韓高十令公墓志
 Dilu 敵魯: *Epitaph of Xiao Dilu Fushi* 蕭敵魯副使墓誌銘
 Xu Wang 許王: *Epitaph of Xu Wang of Liao* 遼國許王墓誌
 Zhenguo 鎮國: *Epitaph of Great General Zhenguo* 鎮國上將軍墓誌銘
 Yelü Xiangwen 耶律詳穩: *Epitaph of Yelü Xiangwen* 耶律詳穩墓誌
 Yelü Jue 耶律玦: *Epitaph of Changwen Yelü Jue* 耶律玦敞穩墓誌銘
 Yelü Taishi 耶律太師: *Epitaph of Yelü Taishi* 耶律太師墓誌銘
 Zhixian 智先: *Epitaph of Taiwei Yelü Zhixian* 耶律智先太尉墓誌銘
 Yongqing 永清: *Epitaph of General Xiao Taishan and Yongqing Princess* 蕭太山將軍永清郡主墓誌
 Xiao Chala 蕭查刺: *Epitaph of Xiao Chala Xianggong* 蕭查刺相公墓誌銘
 Wumo 兀沒: *Epitaph of Fubushu Yelü Wumo* 耶律兀沒副部署墓誌銘
 Yelü Dilie 耶律迪烈: *Epitaph of the Late Prince Dilie of Great Liao of Jambu-dvipa* 南瞻部洲大遼國故迪烈王墓誌文

Han Dilie 韓迪烈: *Epitaph of Taibao Yelü (Han) Dilie* 耶律(韓)迪烈太保墓誌銘
Xiao Zhonggong 蕭仲恭: *Epitaph of Prince Xiao Zhonggong of Yue Guo* 越國王蕭仲恭墓誌銘

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APPENDIX I

Yelü Zhun's Family Genealogical Table

Zhun and Jue, who are the epitaph owners of the *Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao* (1068) in Large Script and the *Epitaph of Changwen Yelü Jue* (1071) in Small Script, are cousins. Both of them are the descendants of Dinian Xianzhi Khaan. Referring to the findings of previous studies and our interpretation of these two epitaphs, we have corrected and supplemented Yelü Zhun's family lineage as follows:

Generation	Large Script (<i>Yelü Zhun</i> 耶律準)		Small Script (<i>Yelü Jue</i> 耶律玦)	In English	
The seventh	大书乞庭丞来		令用当 丞 丞 天 令 考 来	Dinian Xianzhi Khaan (Emperor)	
The sixth			坊 及 雨 空 田 欠 来 各 女	Heluyin Dilu (a person's name) Chanwen (an official title)	
The fifth			列 圣 列 元 为 夫	Xiamao (a person's name) Langjun (title)	
The fourth			止 为 圣 用 与 平 雨 安 元 丞 礼	Husa Xieli (a person's name) Yun Army Jinjie (an official title)	
The third	州 齐 侯 天 度		坊 伏 令 为 乃 元 关 弓	Chounü (a person's name) San Shizhu (an official title)	
The second	The elder brother	天 齐 四 炆 芝 亥 卯	列 艾 及 杏 六 丹 芬 令 元 火	Heshuyin Duoluwo (a person's name) Fushu (an official title)	
	The younger brother	husband	或 齐 仗 平 太 允	Xieling Lubugu (a person's name) Taiwei (an official title)	
		wife	英 亥 仿	A Madam	
The father's generation	The elder brother	husband	小 丙 伏 令 令 为 公 丞 来 各 女	Liuyin Pusa'nu (a person's name) Changwen (an official title)	
		wife	令 考 小 交 考 令 丞 伏	Madam Xiaolian	
	The younger brother	husband	屏 齐 无 荒 果 丞	令 艾 雨 凡 央 小 丙 元 来 去 次	Xiyin Gaoliu (a person's name) Shizhong (an official title)
		wife	均 率 亥 仿	令 考 小 交 考 令 丞 伏	Madam Xiaolian
	Cousin ?	husband	共 齐 尚 昇		Yanning (a person's name) Chuangun (an official title)
		wife	户 失 火 亥 仿		Madam □□ Ge

Generation	Large Script (<i>Yelü Zhun</i> 耶律準)		Small Script (<i>Yelü Jue</i> 耶律玦)		In English	
Of the same generation of the epitaph owner	The sons and daughters of Liuyin Pusanu	The eldest	husband	弱与火 朶各火	Wuzhanwu (a person's name) Changgun (an official title)	
			wife	兀火 兀芬 兮委伏	Madam Guige	
		The second	The third	wife	乃 列 为 尔 火	Lady Amuha (?)
				husband	圣用 又为火	Xieli (a person's name) Langjun (an official title)
		The fourth		充兀芬 尔火	□ Lady	
	The fifth		焚考 龙火 弱与 全牛 兀	□ master		
	Xiyin Gao-liu's sons and daughters	The elder brother	尚齐 兔 亮 文 公	序 牛 用 兀 火 火	Dilie (a person's name) Linggong (an official title)	
		The epitaph owner	俊 夷 齐 尚 昇		Zhun, Zaogu (a person's name) Changgun (an official title)	
		The younger brother	可 齐 俊 夷 将 昇		□ General	
		The younger brother	可 火 亮 岳		Chen'ge (a person's name) Langjun (an official title)	
The younger sister		husband	尚景			
	wife	何 至 圣 吾 臣 火		The Han □□'s		
The younger generation	Sons and daughters of epitaph owner	son	天 牛 将 景		□ General	
		The eldest daughter	wife	亥 火 欠	Lady Fuge	
			husband	亥 否 将 景	General Fu □	
		The second daughter	wife	宝 景 亥 仿	Madam □	
husband	州 火 毋 百 太 景		□ Taishi (an official title)			
Cousin Yelü Jue's sons and daughters	The eldest daughter	wife		北 牛 符 伏 尔 火	Lady Wuluben	
		husband		斗 祭 伏 又 为 火	Hudujin (a person's name) Langjun (an official title)	
	The second daughter	wife		火 充 委 又 尔 火	Lady □	
		husband		谷 用 与 北 火	Di'nian (a person's name) Situ (an official title)	
	The third daughter			至 及 尔 火	Lady Agu	

Generation	Large Script (<i>Yelü Zhun</i> 耶律準)			Small Script (<i>Yelü Jue</i> 耶律玦)	In English
		son	husband	凡古 凡 又 及 分	Gaoshi (a person's name) Zuofu (an official title)
			wife	又 及 又 击 为 出 尔 火	Lady □
		The fourth daughter		火 用 火 央 尔 火	Lady Yongliao (?)

APPENDIX II

Interpretation of the *Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao in Khitan Large Script*

I. Cover Stone

1. 大辽國 (Great Liao State)
2. 常 袞 (Changgun)
3. 耶 律 準² (Yelü Zhun)

II. Text of the Epitaph

1. 大 契 丹 國 之 孟 父 之 常 袞 墓 於 志 銘 序 並
Great Khitan State of Mengfu of Changgun epitaph preface with

大 內 楊 隱 兼 侍 中 晉 國 公 習 撚 撰
Great inside Tigin concurrently Shizhong Jin? Guogong Xi'nian compile

2. 尚 袞 名 準 第 二 連 寧 敵 輦 鮮 質 可 汗 第 七 代 之 子
Changgun name Zhun? the second Zaogu? Di'nian Xianzhi Khaan the seventh generation of son

² According to the online Dictionary of Chinese Character Variants of China's Ministry of Education (<http://dict2.variants.moe.edu.tw/variants/>), this character is the variant of 準.

³ This paper intends to make the English translation correspond to the Khitan graphemes, so the original spaces in the epitaph text, which express respect, emphasis or separation of different contents, are ignored.

- 峯峯 朮 州 齊 侯 天 及 發 峇 芝 天 及 昇 坐 芝 州 天 齊 四 焯 芝
 曾祖 醜女三 世燭 成為 世燭之 第四 子 合術隱 鐸魯軒
 Great-grandfather Chounü San Shizhu became Shizhu of the fourth son Heshuyin Duoluwo
3. 亥 卯 將 公 亥 卯 昇 作 芝 州 屏 齊 充 充 將 景 仁 儀 肖 先 坐 巾 坐 州 升 午
 副樞 相公 副樞之 次子 喜隱 高六 將軍 祇候? 追 封 號
 Fushu Xianggong Fushu's the 2nd son Xiyin Gaoliu General Zhihou? posthumous confer title
景 丞 齊 仁 均 率 亥 仿 坐 州 升 午 美 考 杏 亥 仿 景 丞
 侍中 妻 (人名) 夫人 封 號 國夫人 侍中
 Shizhong wife (name) Madam confer title Guo Madam Shizhong
4. 亥 仿 二 脊 朮 化 百 由 齊 州 一 善 鹵 齊 亮 充 定 公 作 芝 尚 昇 卒 芝
 夫人 二之 諸男 孩子 四女孩 一 長 (人名) 令 公 第二 常袞 第三
 Madam two of males kids four girl one the eldest (name) Linggong the 2nd Changgun the 3rd
可 齊 侯 東 將 昇 坐 芝 可 火 充 岳 仁 儀 肖 凡 仁 凡 凡 充
 陳□ 詳穩 第四 陳哥 郎君 祇候? 金
 Chen □ Xiangwen the 4th Chen Ge Langjun Zhihou? Jin
5. 太 中 脊 州 鹵 景 早 勻 芝 正 庚 吳 人 何 至 王 吾 臣 天 寺 左 斗 升 尚 昇
 太保 女孩 □氏 國舅 夷離畢 韓 骨欲實(?) 于 嫁 常袞
 Taibao girl □'s royal uncle Yilibi Han Guyushi? to marry Changgun
弟 峯 朮 或 齊 仗 平 太 允 英 亥 仿 二 脊 血 把 刑
 叔祖父 解領 魯不古太尉 (人名) 夫人二之 房 承 祧
 granduncle Xieling Lubugu Taiwei (name) Madam two of House to inherit
6. 美 亥 仿 寺 早 正 巳 可 天 芝 州 天 牛 將 景 登 日 刑 凡 吳 脊 芝 化 百 二
 (人名) 夫人 于 續婚? 生 子 實 □ 將軍 夜日之官 成 諸女孩子 二
 (name) Madam to remarry? bore son Shi □ General Ye Ri of officer became girls two
天 亥 火 欠 早 勻 芝 脊 亥 否 將 景 寺 左 斗 升 作 朮
 大福哥 娘子 國舅 之 (人名) 將軍於 嫁 第二
 Dafuge lady royal uncle of (name) General to marry the 2nd
7. 至 景 亥 仿 天 州 早 勻 芝 脊 州 朮 母 百 太 景 寺 左 斗 升 美 亥 仿 脊 押 齊
 □氏 夫人 拔裡? 國舅 太師於 嫁 (人名) 夫人之 故
 □'s Madam Bali? royal uncle Taishi to marry (name) Madam of late
- 求 持 設 血 脊 身 州 脊 丞 求 血 脊 可 火 太 允 脊 州 并 火 住
 六 部之 忒鄰 可汗 房之 陳哥 太尉 之 女 □哥 之
 six Tribes Telin Khaan House of Chen'ge Taiwei of daughter Ge of
8. 天 芝 早 紉 未 手 近 牝 瓦 非 共 齊 尚 昇 脊 仁 尸 史 火 亥 仿 寺 早 忍 乙
 早 卒 後 親屬 伯父 延寧 常袞 妻 □哥 夫人于 續婚?
 Young die after relatives uncle Yanning Changgun wife □ge madam to remarry?
尚 昇 失 仁 儀 肖 吳 吳 允 火 天 芝 丑 廿 一 先 芝
 常袞 初 祇候? 事 歲 二十一
 Changgun early Zhihou? matter age 21

9. 卅乃赤子寺禿刊高吏支眷午涇州封號年以後左院
 at title confer year after Left Yuan
 勿京昇 出景眷 女受 出景眷 都半眷
 京之 統軍之 副使 統軍之 都監之
 Jing of command army of FuShi command army of inspector
10. 免牀三眷司吏之因凡會持景眷 午 涇州帑登定京昇 出支刊牀南
 事 知 大將軍之 號 封 中 京之 同知
 Matter manage great General of title confer Zhong Jing of vice governor
 眷 卷 二帑木眷 殿登定昇 免吏飛寺 乃之
 補 行台之 殿中之 事 知於 授
 supplement Hangtai of Dianzhong of matter manage to confer
11. 委云宏來 將昇 州住吏之真司至午 涇州帑午序因寺夫閉更 光州公
 天雲軍 詳穩 知 觀察之號 封 于初墓(志) 使撰
 Tianyun army Xianwen manage inspector's title confer at early epitaph let compile
 乃之天共昇 眷 先天眷州住五昇正
 授 度使之 五 院
 confer Dushi of Five Yuan
12. 都半 半唐 太女昇午 涇州帑 尚昇州住乃之元岳刊晃 把州公毋安余
 都監 檢校 太傅之 號 封 常袞 授 承
 Dujian Jianjiao Taifu of title confer Changgun confer inherit
 杏火欠愛 乃之發帑元刊 午巴火公委
 國哥娘子 授 諸號
 Guoge lady confer titles
13. 正來 夫飛寺 反因景眷午 涇州帑序半同眷百半眷吏之元弟昇
 清寧 元年于諸 刺史之 號 封 知 兄弟之
 Qingning 1st year at Cishi's title confer manage brothers of
 都半眷州住 真景眷午 涇州帑兄弟昇都
 都監之 禦史之 號 兄弟之 都
 Dujian's censor's title brother of Du
14. 半真司景眷 午 涇州帑 五昇 正五都半 付允 登定京昇 出支
 監 觀察使之 號 封 五 院 都監 事 中 京之 同知
 Jian Inspector's title confer Five Yuan Dujian matter Central Capital's vice governor
 乍南 出人昇先天因凡火人昇 免吏工 卷 五
 左? 同州之度使 鄜州之 事知 補 五
 left? Tongzhou of Dushi Fuzhou of matter manage supplement five
15. 公允牀刊串吏先天印午 涇州帑 由至正五正工州住 假國寺 屈公思
 事 度使之 號 封 右 院 夷離畢 宋國於 使?
 Matter Dushi's title confer Right Yuan Yilibi Song State at Shi?
 刊牀允牀刊 正工 兀左芥乍
 事 夷離畢於越之左
 matter Yilibi Yuyue of Left

16. 王初 半出將景 脊午 益州 蒼芝 季元 央拜 夏 尚昇 乃
 武衛 上 將軍之 號 封 咸雍 元年 夏 常袞 成
 Wuwei Top General's title confer Xianyong 1st year summer Changgun became
飛車 立而 乃沒 身拜 癸月 寺 尚昇 乃沒 尚昇 爭
 該年九月於 敵袞 成 常袞
 that year Sep. at Changgun became Changgun
17. 立 手 文 安 癸 十 火 來 底 云 升 九 假 坐 平 火 无 底 百 脊 來 冬 五 凡 芝 尚 昇
 十 七十五 在 常袞
 ten seventy five be Changgun
尊 拜 消 脊 采 血 脊 州 升 英 國 元 死
 孟父 中之 大房之子 國初
 the eldest uncle's the eldest house's son State early
18. 舍 仁 午 寺 卷 入 牛 力 七 邑 帛 正 來 免 初 工 夫 未 木 四 外 州 華 生 國 脊 免 寺
 人 號於 補 清事 曰 國之事於
 man title to supplement clear matter said state of matter at
王 可 芝 與 及 云 奈 付 沒 兄 弟 昇 七
 甲 兄弟之
 Jia brothers
19. 底 芝 奈 癸 央 及 罕 芝 身 余 炆 兀 丑 脊 方 若 去 帛 舍 免 已 此 坐 寺 刊
 甲九 知 該 諸事 從
 Jia nine manage that matters from
吹 平 失 底 拜 已 芝 命 巴 工 沒 片 戈
 越 諸年
 over Years
20. 脊 芝 采 史 本 显 佐 來 木 公 高 癸 寺 九 均 帛 尤 竹 芝 采 小 拜 手 文 十 安 癸
 於 大 十 九
 at large ten nine
片 而 乃 公 元 刊 初 本 底 百 九
21. 佐 本 冬 坐 帛 戊 若 去 帛 安 百 免 底 九 刊 牀 刊 充 礼 脊 芝 門 元 卷 四 假 十
 七十 事 印 補曰
 seventy matter seal supplement said
充 云 拜 脊 脊 住 午 寺 卷 免 弟 昇 平 弟
 父之 母之 號於 補 兄弟之
 father's mother's title to supplement brothers
22. 内 充 云 季 丑 先 百 元 飛 邑 鹵 田 为 寸 戈 佐 本 五 乘 刊 午 季 穴 三 拜
 天 百 胡睹 號 咸雍 三年
 Heaven hundred Hudu title Xianyong 3rd year
十 月 十 三 日 寺 工 本 丑 來 脊 坐 炆 毋 兄 并 月 芝 荒
 十月十三日於 病 故
 Oct. 13th date on ill died

23. 丑 於二 五件本 委穴 卅乘 二月十葬日寺更出把高寺允安忍荼
 歲 六十二 第二 咸雍 四年 二月十七日於 事 甲
 age sixty two the 2nd Xianyong 4th year Feb. 17th date on matter Jia
 工出伍炆亥忍灰仁奎昇國寺乃昇允忍
 今 人之 國於
 now man's state to
24. 舍瓜峇奕奕消峇 丸另 乃乃行 奕 天百瓜 消峇 吳乃乃行
 官之九 成為 百官中之 仲 成為
 Officer nine became hundred officers of second became
 夷州焉 早正行 脊亥仿州 天作將軍 二舟峇坐寸本
 知 安息? 妻夫人子 實將軍 二墓 志
 manage rest in peace wife madam son Shi General two epitaph
25. 四 光州公岳飛峇塞亞為 小 市乃出 序本 早吳允之 舍夷之 雲允吳之
 銘 使撰 習撰 知事
 Epigraph let compile Xi'nian governor
 夫次昇 爽 來長云 迺司 丙芥 日
 雲 諸日?
 cloud days
26. 芥之工本岳寺佳州 凡芒 市夏水序 卷 一日 登去 允舍疾來牀 巨疾
 墓 補 一日夜 事
 tomb supplement one day night matter
 卒本日 显月 杆允 伴之月寺 崇久而
 第三日 事 第二月於 甲壬
 the 3rd day matter the 2nd month in Jia Ren
27. 乃沒戈 佑州 余至上 七巨 余吳 吳本 无弃 刑天州 弁 仁奎 侯
 大 祇候?
 great Zhihou?
 真登 尺昇 因 未來 刑 高 允 瓦 至 允 天州 市
 管 仲之 兄 三十
 Guanzhong's elder brother thirty
28. 匪百身 之 凡坐 火 岳 余 之 舟 寺 坐 寸 本 四光 乙 四倍
 墓 志 銘 撰 銘曰
 epitaph compile epigraph said
29. 尺 岳 伍 亥 突 登 斗 舍 舟 侯 休 余 允 允 牀 刑 岳 安 乙 丑
 成
 became
 包 迺 牀 飛 允 真 夙 託 巨 兔 允 美 飛 夷 兩 口 邑 兔
30. 尊 公 巨 余 安 失 出 寺 具 疾 崇 尼 句 包 出 迺 牀 飛 勇 丑 岳
 芥 允 己 毗 之 羊 州 市 若 芥 尚 昇 宰 万 仁 允 寺
 諸事 常 衰 萬人 事於
 matters Changgun ten thousands matter at

31. 元飛失本打誘 舍傷妻飛不庫 午巴芝亞百庄今芝仁斗幼
 以諸號
 by titles
 消脊勇步 卞为七邑勾平常妻忍来亥
 中
 of
32. 充牝本命州亞百高癸支 序州寧 脊芝竹安空包另 委穴为
 道 天
 rule Heaven
 荒寒米弓 岳均充云 佳冬竹初本
 補
 supplement
33. 尊飛丑土未云蒼芝最登 自田为寸岳岳汶青瓦乘刊午 委为
 孟父歲 胡睹 號 天
 the eldest uncle age Hudu title Heaven
 寸戈传芝百元飛邑 茶工出峯几
 百
 hundred
34. 山脊何安本拿 早正行 元寺荃另 本因未登斗寧冬癸高仰脊
 山之 六 安息 金於 朝
 mountain's six rest in peace Jin at morning
 守儀 怕州余岳吳来山考登脊北
 露 夜之
 dew night of
35. 五万 罪已 冬巴芝安 王发左飛 徒史脊尚昇早正行 舟至另
 千萬 諸年 諸代 常袞 安息? 墓是
 thousand ten thousand years generations Changgun rest in peace tomb be
36. 委元 卅飛二月十葬日 尊飛脊外脊尚昇 岳子
 咸雍 四年二月十七日 孟父之(人名) 常袞
 Xianyong the 4th year Feb. 17th date the eldest uncle of (name) Changgun
 受山脊 岳脊血脊仔巴元脊凡史凡芝
 夷離董房之 子 書丹
 Yilijin House's son write in red ink

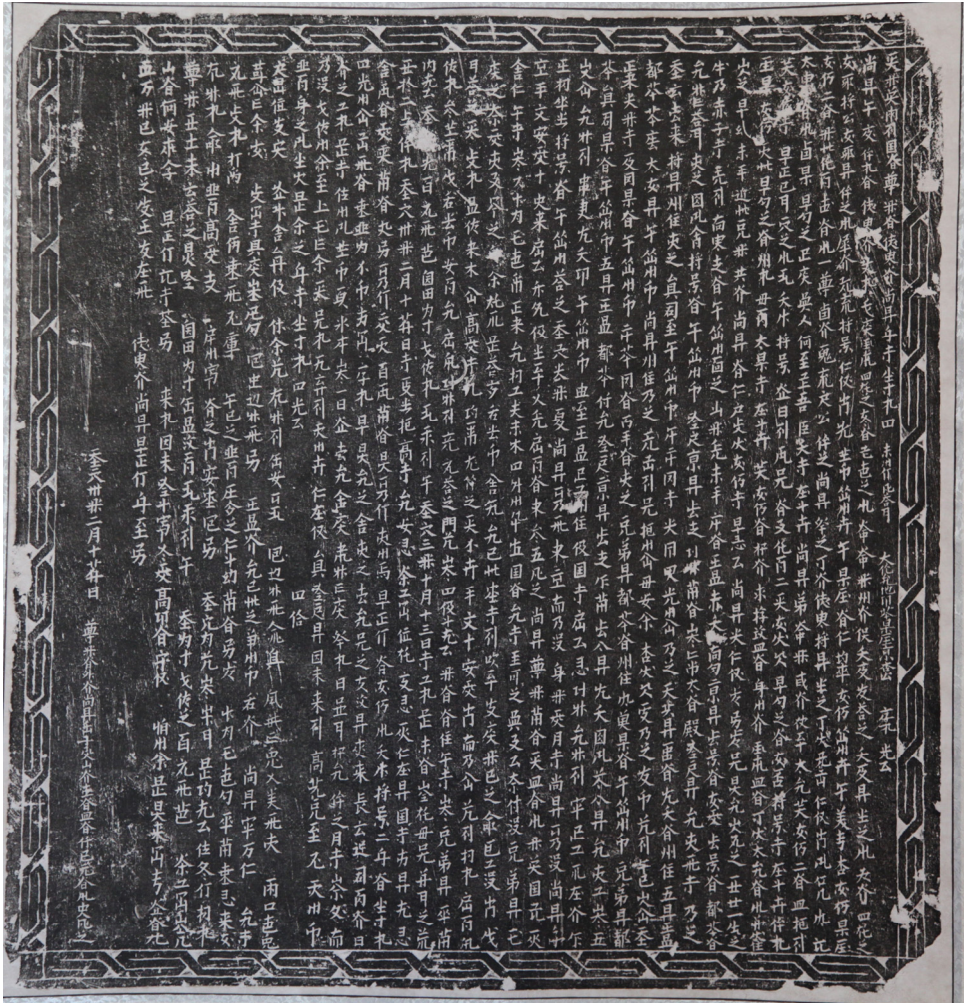
APPENDIX III

Pictures of the Rubbing of the *Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao* in Khitan Large Script⁴



Rubbing of the Cover Stone of the *Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao* in Khitan Large Script

⁴ The pictures of the rubbing have been provided by Shao Guotian, the former curator of the Aohan Banner Museum and Yang Xiaoming, curator of the Xinzhou Museum. We express our heartfelt thanks to them.



Rubbing of the Base Stone of the Epitaph of Changgun Yelü Zhun of Great Liao in Khitan Large Script