NEW MATERIALS ON THE KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT
A CRITICAL EDITION OF *XIAO DILU* AND *YELÜ XIANGWEN*

CORPUS SCRIPTORUM CHITANORUM
I

THE LANGUAGES OF ASIA SERIES

Series Editor: Alexander Vovin
University of Hawai'i at Manoa

EDITORIAL BOARD
Wolfgang Behr
University of Zurich
Uwe Bläesing
University of Leiden
Stefan Georg
University of Bonn
Toshiki Osada
Institute of Humanity and Nature (Kyoto)
Bjarke Frellesvig
University of Oxford
Juwon Kim
Seoul National University
Ross King
University of British Columbia
Dongho Ko
Jeonbuk National University
Mehmet Öelmez
Istanbul Technical University
Laurent Sagart
CRLAO, Paris
Claus Schöenig
Freie Universitäet Berlin
Marek Stachowski
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
Yukinori Takubo
Kyoto University
John Whitman
Cornell University

New Materials on the Khitan Small Script

A Critical Edition of *Xiao Dilu* and *Yelü Xiangwen*



WU YINGZHE AND JUHA JANHUNEN
INNER MONGOLIA UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

CORPUS SCRIPTORUM CHITANORUM
I



GLOBAL
ORIENTAL

LANGUAGES OF ASIA SERIES
Volume 9

NEW MATERIALS ON THE KHITAN SMALL SCRIPT
A Critical Edition of *Xiao Dilu* and *Yelü Xiangwen*

By Wu Yingzhe and Juha Janhunen

First published 2010 by
GLOBAL ORIENTAL
PO Box 219
Folkestone
Kent CT20 2WP
UK

www.brill.nl/globaloriental

Global Oriental is an imprint of Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints BRILL, Global Oriental
Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, and VSP.

© Wu Yingzhe and Juha Janhunen 2010

ISBN 978-1-906876-50-0

All rights reserved. No part of this publication
may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any
electronic, mechanical or other means, now known
or hereafter invented, including photocopying and
recording, or in any information storage or retrieval
system, without prior permission in writing from
the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A CIP catalogue entry for this book is available
from the British Library

Printed and bound in England by TJI, Padstow, Cornwall

TO PROFESSORS

CHINGELTEI AND LIU FENGZHU

THE TWO GRAND OLD MEN OF KHITAN STUDIES

WE DEDICATE THIS VOLUME WITH GRATITUDE AND RESPECT

CONTENTS

Preface	9
Technical notes	11
1. Introduction	13
1.1. The Khitan language	14
1.2. The Khitan scripts	17
1.3. Stages of decipherment	20
1.4. The Small Script corpus	25
1.5. The new materials	30
1.6. The graphic system	35
1.7. Romanizing Khitan	38
1.8. The new characters	46
2. Xiao Dilu	49
2.1. The cover stone	50
2.2. The base stone	105
2.3. Partial translation	127
2.4. General conclusions	131
3. Yelü Xiangwen	135
3.1. The base stone	136
3.2. The cover stone	212
3.3. Partial translation	221
3.4. General conclusions	227

Postscript 230
References 233

Chart: List of Characters 259
Index: List of Blocks 273

Plates 373

PREFACE

This work is the result of the combined efforts of the two authors, of whom Wu Yingzhe, of Inner Mongolia University, China, has a training specifically in Khitan script studies, while Juha Janhunen, of the University of Helsinki, Finland, is an Altaist with a broader profile. Their cooperation started during a two-year period, from October 2007 to May 2009, when Wu Yingzhe was staying as a visiting postdoctoral fellow at the Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki, initially as a participant in the bilateral exchange programme between the two universities and subsequently as a recipient of a research grant from the Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation. During his time in Helsinki, Wu Yingzhe completed a draft manuscript for the present volume, which was reworked and edited by Juha Janhunen during the academic year 2009-2010. The authors have also met in Huhhot, Inner Mongolia, where the epigraphic documents that form the object of this publication are currently located.

While Juha Janhunen has worked and published on subjects related to Khitan studies since the late 1980s, Wu Yingzhe entered the field only a few years later at Inner Mongolia University under the supervision of Professors Chingeltei, Chen Naixiong and Wu Hugjiltu. He has since worked, in particular, with Chingeltei, who, together with Wu Hugjiltu, was the principal supervisor of his doctoral project on the grammatical categories of nominals in the Khitan language, completed in 2005. At the same time, Wu Yingzhe

has worked as an editorial assistant to Chingeltei on a number of publication projects carried out during the last few years. Both Wu Yingzhe and Juha Janhunen have also had the good fortune of benefiting from the valuable instruction of Professor Liu Fengzhu, of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing — another great specialist in Khitan Studies, who is known for his mastering of the difficult technique of making rubbings.

On this occasion, the authors wish to express their gratitude to the Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation, as well as to their two home universities, Inner Mongolia University and the University of Helsinki. Among the many teachers, colleagues, students, and friends who in one way or another have contributed to the current project with help and advice, the authors wish to thank especially Daniel Kane (Sydney), Volker Rybatzki (Helsinki), Alexander Vovin (Hawai'i), Wu Hugjiltu (Huhhot), Dabhurbayar (Huhhot), and Jiruhe (Huhhot). Above all, both authors acknowledge their great debt to the two outstanding veterans of Khitan studies, Professors Chingeltei and Liu Fengzhu. As a token of their appreciation, the authors dedicate this volume to them.

June 2010

Wu Yingzhe
Huhhot

Juha Janhunen
Helsinki

TECHNICAL NOTES

The Khitan language material quoted in this book is presented both in the original script and in Romanization. For reproducing the Khitan Small Script, a font prepared by Inner Mongolia Menksoft Software Co., in collaboration with the specialist staff of Inner Mongolia University, has been used. Inevitably, this font (Menksoft Khitan 1), like other similar fonts created for exotic writing systems, involves a certain degree of normalization of the calligraphic variation that is actually present in the original script. An effort has been made to identify all characters in the texts in a correct and unambiguous way, but the possibility of occasional reading errors cannot be ruled out. In cases when a character cannot be reliably identified due to secondary damage, the symbols □ (illegible) and ⋮⋮ (lost) are used.

The principles of Romanization of the Khitan Small Script, modified and expanded from Kane (2009), are explained in detail in the Introduction, as well as in the List of Characters (Chart). In cases of phonetic reconstruction, the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) is used (in square brackets), while quasi-phonemic 'readings' (in italics) are marked †. Chinese is quoted in the non-simplified characters, and Romanized according to the Pinyin system without tone marks. Occasional reconstructions of Middle Chinese and/or Early Mandarin are mainly based on Pulleyblank (1991). Written Mongol is Romanized according to the BJR system (Balk-Janhunen Romanization) (Janhunen 2003a), while for

Japanese (in names and bibliographical references only) the modified Hepburn system is used.

For historical correlations and the occasional Chinese transcriptions of Khitan names and terms, the principal source has been *Liaoshi*, for which the modern standard edition (Beijing 1974) has been consulted. Additional information on the history and geography of the Liao period has been provided by the indispensable secondary tools created by Matsui & Yanai & Inaba (1912-1914) as well as Wittfogel & Fêng (1949). The latter have also been consulted for the English translations of the numerous Khitan official titles. For the conversion of lunar calendar dates to the Gregorian calendar, available internet tools have been used (cf. e.g. http://www.asia-home.com/china/lunarsol.php?lang=en).

As may be seen from the title of the present publication, the authors have opted for the English spelling 'Khitan' (Latin *Chitani*). This choice has been made in order to accommodate both the extant tradition and linguistic considerations. Like most ethnonyms, 'Khitan' should be viewed as a technical term, and as such its orthographical shape need not be directly based on any particular source language. Even so, the shape 'Khitan' is indirectly supported by all those languages where this term has an old historical basis (Mongolic, Turkic and Chinese).

1

INTRODUCTION

Khitan is the name of the historical people who once formed the dominant local population in south-western Manchuria, a region delimited roughly by the main course of the river Liao 遼河 *Liao He* in the east and the Greater Khingan Mountains 大興安岭 *Da Xing'an Ling* in the west. With a gradually expanding population, increasing social consolidation and growing military power, the Khitan emerged in the early tenth century as the founders of the Liao 遼 Dynasty (907/916-1125), which during two centuries was the most important political player in East Asia, superior even to the China of the Northern Song 北宋 *Bei Song* (960-1127). At the height of their power, the Khitan controlled a territory much larger than their original homeland, comprising the whole of Manchuria, significant parts of northern China and much of Mongolia. As a result, the ethnic Khitan were ultimately outnumbered by the other ethnic groups of the country. Out of a total population of perhaps less than four million in the empire, the Khitan probably comprised only one fifth, that is, less than one million individuals. By far the largest ethnic group under Khitan rule was formed by the Chinese.

To administer their empire, the Khitan applied a system of five capitals. Two of these, the Supreme Capital 上京 *Shangjing* and the Central Capital 中京 *Zhongjing* were located in the basins of the rivers Shira Muren 西拉木倫 *Xila Mulun* and Laoha 老哈, western sources of the Liao, in the central part of what is today

Inner Mongolia 內蒙古 *Nei Menggu*. The Eastern Capital 東京 *Dongjing*, the Western Capital 西京 *Xijing*, and the Southern Capital 南京 *Nanjing*, were at the approximate locations of the modern cities of Liaoyang 遼陽, Datong 大同 and Peking 北京 *Beijing*, respectively. Archaeological traces of Khitan culture are most abundant in the region of the Supreme and Central Capitals, where the Liao imperial tombs are also located. The ethnic Khitan themselves seem to have disappeared as a separate people by the end of China's Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644), possibly even earlier. In their homeland, they were assimilated by the Mongols, the modern autochthonous population of the region, while elsewhere in the empire they were absorbed into the Chinese ethnicity. With them, the Khitan language also became extinct, and any knowledge of it was lost for centuries until it was rediscovered in the twentieth century in a corpus of written documents.

1.1. THE KHITAN LANGUAGE

Chinese chronicles relating to the Liao period, notably 契丹國志 *Qidan Guozhi* (mid-thirteenth century) and the official dynastic history 遼史 *Liaoshi* (mid-fourteenth century), but also 金史 *Jinshi*, contain some information on the Khitan language, including names, terms and even small glossaries with Chinese transcription and translation. There are also Chinese transcriptions of Khitan poetic texts, including two mixed Chinese-Khitan (so-called 'macaronic') poems. The quality of the Chinese transcriptions is, unfortunately, extremely poor and the total amount of information very limited, allowing only the identification and approximate reconstruction of perhaps a hundred Khitan lexical items. Even so, the information is sufficient to confirm that Khitan was a language that shared a significant part of its basic vocabulary and grammatical markers with the much better known languages of the Mongolic family, although, at the same time, it had features that distinguished it sharply from regular Mongolic.

At the time when Khitan was used as a spoken language, the present-day languages of the Mongolic family were still represented

by their common ancestral form, Proto-Mongolic (twelfth to thirteenth centuries), or by its immediate predecessor, Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic (tenth to eleventh centuries). With the rise of the historical Mongols (twelfth to thirteenth centuries), Proto-Mongolic also became a dynastic language, documented in several types of sources going under the label of Middle Mongol (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries). However, since Khitan was not identical with the lineage leading to Proto-Mongolic and Middle Mongol, it must have been a language collaterally related to the latter. For this reason, the genetic position of Khitan is best defined by the term Para-Mongolic. It is possible that Khitan was only one of several Para-Mongolic, or Khitanic, languages, but even in that case, it was certainly the most important member of its branch, and the only one on which we have direct information.

Apart from Proto-Mongolic (in the north) and Chinese (in the south), Khitan had two other known neighbours: Tungusic Jurchen (in the east), which became the official language of the subsequent Jin 金 dynasty (1115-1234) of Manchuria and northern China, and Turkic Uighur (in the west), which had been the dynastic language of the Uighur Khanate in Mongolia (742-848). Although Khitan had contacts with all of these neighbouring languages, the two most important contact partners were Jurchen and Chinese. During the Liao dynasty the Jurchen formed a considerable section of the non-Khitan population of the empire, while during the Jin Dynasty the roles were reversed, with the Khitan becoming subordinated to the Jurchen. At the same time, however, both the Khitan and the Jurchen were continuously experiencing ethnic, cultural, and linguistic pressure from the numerically superior Chinese. In spite of the military and political might of the Khitan and Jurchen ethnicities, Chinese was the language most widely spoken and written in the Liao and Jin empires.

The historical parallelism of Khitan and Jurchen is likely also to have been reflected by their taxonomic status in their respective language families. The position of Khitan, or Khitanic, with regard to the Proto-Mongolic lineage is strongly reminiscent of the

position of Jurchen, or Jurchenic, with regard to Ewenic (Ewenki-Ewen), the other major branch of Tungusic. There is a conspicuous typological contrast between Ewenic and Jurchenic, with the latter being in a number of respects 'simpler' and, as it would seem, more innovative than the former. There are indications that Khitan, as opposed to Proto-Mongolic, was likewise innovative, and many of its innovations seem to have had an areal counterpart in Jurchen. This means that we can probably approach some of the features of Khitan linguistic structure through Jurchen, the direct ancestor of the well-documented Manchu language.

In terms of ethnic history, both the Khitan and the historical Mongols may probably be seen as parts of the generic continuum leading from the 'Eastern Barbarians' 東胡 *Donghu* (last centuries BC) to the Xianbei 鮮卑 (first centuries AD). The linguistic ancestors of the Khitan, but apparently not of the Mongols, subsequently entered the lineage leading to the Tabghach 拓跋 *Tuoba*, the founders and dynastic rulers of the Northern Wei 北魏 *Bei Wei* (386-534), the first major centralized state covering southwestern Manchuria. While the Khitan ethnicity was gradually formed in the former Tabghach territory, the historical Mongols ultimately emerged from a different geographical context (further north). Very probably, by the time of the Liao dynasty, the languages of the Proto-Mongolic and Para-Mongolic lineages had become mutually unintelligible. What the absolute time of separation between the two lineages was, cannot yet be determined.

The ethnic name here quoted in the shape Khitan (also spelt Kitan, Qitañ, Qytan) is documented from all the four languages adjacent to Khitan: Chinese 契丹 **khiet-tan* > Modern Mandarin (Pinyin) *qìdān*, Jurchen **kïtan* > †*xitan*, Mongol **kïtan* (~ **katan*) > **kitan* : PL **kita-d*, and Turkic **kïtañ* > *qïtay* (~ *qatay*). This name, which has secondarily also come to refer to China and the Chinese, seems be based on the endonym of the Khitan themselves, but the exact shape, structure, and origin of the corresponding Khitan item remain to be clarified. The name was also used by those Khitan who escaped the destruction of the Liao Dynasty and

founded a successor state in Western Turkestan under the name Khara Khitai 合剌乞答 *Hela Qida* or Western Liao 西遼 *Xi Liao* (1124-1218). The name of the Khara Khitai (also Qara Qitay), conventionally understood as meaning 'Black Khitan', has been subject to etymological speculations, but little certain can be said. In any case, the Khitan language soon disappeared in Western Turkestan, as it did in its Manchurian homeland.

1.2. THE KHITAN SCRIPTS

In 920, the fifth year of the Shence 神冊 reign period (916-922), Emperor Yelü Abaoji 耶律阿保機 trusted two fellow members of the imperial clan, Yelü Tulübu 耶律突呂布 and Yelü Lubugu 耶律魯不古, to create a script for the Khitan language. Assisted by Chinese literati, they created the writing system that subsequently came to be known as the Khitan Large Script 契丹大字 *Qidan Dazi*, today preserved in more than a dozen epigraphic documents of varying lengths dating to between 978 and 1190 (or earlier). Only a few years later, in 924-925, Diela 迭剌, the emperor's younger brother, created another writing system, the Khitan Small Script 契丹小字 *Qidan Xiaozi*, which is today preserved in well over thirty major inscriptions dating to between 1053 and 1175, as well as in a number of shorter epigraphic texts. For most of the time, the two scripts coexisted, with no apparent preference being given to the one or the other, and both continued to be used during the Jin dynasty, until they were officially abolished by Emperor Jin Zhangzong 金章宗 in 1191.

It is today well known that the Khitan Large Script is a logo-syllabic writing system, which contains both logograms and syllabic signs. By origin, this system is clearly an adaptation of the Chinese script. In fact, some elements of the Khitan Large Script are direct borrowings from the Chinese script, while others are modified Chinese characters. Still others, comprising the majority, are symbols following the graphic principles of the Chinese script, but not immediately identifiable with any known Chinese characters. Since the elements of the Khitan Large Script are

written in a simple linear succession, like Chinese characters, this script has also been called the 'linear' script of Khitan. By contrast, the elements of the Khitan Small Script, although also following the graphic principles of the Chinese script, are normally assembled into blocks corresponding to phonological words, which is why this script has also been called the 'assembled' or 'compound' script of Khitan. Even so, the Khitan Small Script is also a logo-syllabic writing system, although the syllabic principle has a much more dominant role in it than in the Large Script.

The total number of distinct characters in the Khitan Large Script was well over a thousand (perhaps even considerably more), while in the Khitan Small Script it was probably less than 500 (including allographs). There seems to be no direct connection between the graphic forms of the two scripts. The Khitan Small Script may therefore be seen as an innovation, in which the personal role of Diela (and his advisors) is likely to have been considerable. It is also obvious that the Small Script is functionally more advanced than the Large Script. The historical sources suggest that the Small Script was inspired by the Uighur script (probably implying the Uighur application of the Semitic alphabet of the Sogdians), but this inspiration must have been of a limited scope, since the Uighur script functions in a very different way. Even so, there are two possible points of inspiration:

(1) The fact that the phonological words in the Khitan Small Script are assembled into blocks may have been inspired by the convention of the Uighur Script of writing most words (though not all) as distinct linear complexes separated from each other by a space. By contrast, in the Khitan Large Script, as in the Chinese script, no word boundaries are indicated.

(2) Also, several of the syllabic signs in the Khitan Small Script actually function as phonograms, denoting either consonants (without a preceding or a following vowel) or vowels (with no adjoining consonant). This incipient understanding of the principles of alphabetic writing may indeed have been inspired by a familiarity with the Uighur script.

Although the Khitan Large Script is traditionally also regarded as an innovation, the element of personal creative involvement in it must have been much less significant. There are reasons to assume that this was actually an extant script which, by imperial order, was normalized and adapted to the contemporary form of the Khitan language. In other words, there had probably existed an old local (Manchurian) variety of the Chinese script that had been in use in the Khitan native territory already before the official creation of the Khitan Large Script. Although no preserved documents in this script are known, there are several circumstances that would seem to support this assumption:

(1) There is historical information, although vague, that the Tabghach already may have had a script of their own, not identical with the regular Chinese script. If this was so, the Tabghach script could well have been a regional variety of the Chinese script that would naturally also have been inherited by the Khitan. There may have been other early entities also using the same, or similar, adaptations of the Chinese script, one of the most likely candidates being the Balhae 渤海 *Bohai* (698-926) kingdom in northern Korea and south-eastern Manchuria.

(2) Historical sources also tell us that the Khitan Large Script was created in a very short time, as a matter of a few months. It is unlikely that a systematic project of transforming the Chinese script and applying it to a new language could have been completed so rapidly unless there already existed some framework from which to start. Such a framework could have been offered by an old local variety of the Chinese script.

(3) It is also important to note that not all characters of the Khitan Large Script are different from the Chinese script. To the contrary, many commonly used characters retain a shape identical with the corresponding Chinese characters. This would not be the case if the scholars who worked on the 'creation' of the new script were consciously and systematically 'modifying' Chinese characters or 'inventing' new ones. Much more likely, they were using the resources of an already extant tradition.

(4) Perhaps most importantly, it was the Khitan Large Script that was adopted by the Jurchen as the basis for their own imperial script. In general, most characters of the Jurchen script represent transparent modifications of the corresponding characters of the Khitan Large Script. The reason why the Jurchen preferred the Large Script, instead of the functionally more advanced Small Script, must have been connected with the inherent status of the Large Script as a system already previously known to the Jurchen and perhaps even used by them, or by their predecessors, including the Balhae. The 'creation' of the Jurchen script is, consequently, likely to have involved a process of normalization and adaptation, rather than actual 'invention', very much like the 'creation' of the Khitan Large Script must have been.

The fact that no pre-Liao documents in anything resembling the Khitan Large Script have been discovered so far should not be taken as a serious argument against the above conclusion. It has to be recalled that even the earliest extant documents in the Khitan Large Script date to a time several decades after the 'creation' of the script. For documents in the Khitan Small Script, the gap is even larger. Documents preserved up to the present day in the Jurchen script are particularly scarce, although this was the latest ethnic script in mediaeval Manchuria. Therefore, one should not expect too much written material to have survived from pre-Liao times. Moreover, there is still the possibility that fresh discoveries can fill some gaps in our current knowledge.

1.3. STAGES OF DECIPHERMENT

Although the documents preserved in the two Khitan scripts constitute by far the largest corpus of information on the Khitan language, this corpus has long remained difficult to use since both the scripts themselves and the underlying language are imperfectly known. Work on the decipherment of the Khitan scripts has therefore been slow, a regrettable situation in view of the potentially huge importance of Khitan to comparative Mongolic studies. Even so, thanks to the combined efforts of several generations of scholars,

it is today possible, albeit only to a certain limited extent, to 'read' and 'translate' Khitan texts, especially those written in the Small Script. Past work on the Khitan scripts is perhaps best summarized in terms of the following six stages:

(1) After the first publications on the Khitan imperial tombs and epitaphs (in the Small Script) by Joseph Mullie (1922, 1930) and Louis Kervyn (1923ab, cf. also Kane 2008a), the analysis of the script was taken up by Haneda Tōru 羽田亨 (1925, cf. also Kotwicz 1925, Ligeti 1927), but it took four decades until the two kinds of script (Large vs. Small) were correctly identified by Jin Guangping 金光平 (1962) and Toyoda Gorō 豐田五郎 (1963, 1964). In the meantime, there were preliminary publications by several Chinese scholars, including Meng Sen 孟森 (1932), Wang Jingru 王靜如 (1933), and Luo Fucheng 羅福成 (1933). Jin Yufu 金毓黻 (1934) edited a collection of studies on the inscriptions from the Liao imperial tombs. On the basis of these materials, some 70 words (blocks or individual characters) of the Khitan Small Script, including numerals, reign titles, cyclic signs and chronological terms, were correctly 'identified', but the 'readings' of these words remained unknown. This was still the situation at the time when Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-shêng 馮家昇 published their classic monograph on the Liao Dynasty (1949, cf. also Fêng 1948). Additional research on relevant issues was carried out by Louis Hambis (1949), Osada Natsuki 長田夏樹 (1951) and Murayama Shichirō 村山七郎 (1951), but many of their conclusions are today obsolete. The same is true of the linguistically focussed monograph of Karl H. Menges (1968).

(2) The issue concerning the study of the language underlying the Khitan Small Script was first systematically taken up by a Russian team of linguists, mathematicians and computer scientists under the leadership of V. S. Starikov. After assigning each distinct unit (syllabic sign or logogram) of the script a numerical value (Starikov & al. 1964, 1970) they compiled a digital transcription (Starikov 1982), a 'grammar' (Arapov 1982), and a 'dictionary' (Probst & al. 1986) of the then available corpus of texts. This was a

significant step towards an actual decipherment of the script, but, unfortunately, the work was discontinued before it had proceeded to the level of phonological reconstruction. Therefore, the subsequent impact of this pioneering enterprise remained minimal. Attempts by other Russian scholars, including L. V. Rudov (1963), Ê. V. Shavkunov (1963), and V. S. Taskin (1963), to 'read' the Khitan syllabic signs and word blocks, were not successful.

(3) A definitive change in the situation took place with the results of the Chinese Khitan Script Research Group 契丹文字研究小組 *Qidan Wenzi Yanjiu Xiaozu* (1977, 1979, 1985), comprising Chingeltei 清格爾泰 *Qinggeertai*, Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥, Chen Naixiong 陳乃雄, Yu Baolin 于寶林, and Xing Fuli 邢復禮. Working systematically on the Chinese personal and place names, official titles, and other terms occurring in the Khitan documents, they assigned preliminary phonetic values to more than 130 Khitan Small Script characters. They then applied these values to analyse some 300 native Khitan words and elements, including grammatical markers, numerals, titles, kinship terms, terms for the zodiac signs, as well as regular lexical items. All subsequent work on the Khitan Small Script has been based on the results of this research. Most of the group members themselves have contributed to the field by publishing progress reports (Liu Fengzhu 1983, 1987ab, 1993b), state-of-the-art summaries of research (Chingeltei 1987, 2002a, Chen Naixiong 1987, 1988, Liu Fengzhu 1999, 2001), collections of essays (Chingeltei 2002b, Chen Naixiong & Bao Lianqun 2005), notes on fieldwork (Liu Fengzhu 2005a), historical and philological investigations (Yu Baolin 1998, Liu Fengzhu 2003), as well as a large number of individual papers on specific issues.

(4) The new results served as an immense stimulus to Khitan studies worldwide. Monographs and summaries of research on the Khitan Small Script have been authored by Ji Shi 即實 (1996), Aisin Gioro Ulhicun 愛新覺羅烏拉熙春 *Aixin Jueluo Wulaxichun* (2004ab, 2006), and Wu Yingzhe 吳英喆 (2003, 2007abc). The Khitan elements preserved in Chinese transcription have been re-examined by Sun Bojun 孙伯君 and Nie Hongyin 聶鸿音 (2008).

Liu Pujiang 劉浦江 has published on Liao history (2008), the history of research (2004), and, with Kang Peng 康鵬 (2005), on the Khitan system of personal names. To corroborate the historical background, the sources on the Khitan in the pre-dynastic period have been surveyed by Xu Elina-Qian 徐謙 (2005), while Michal Biran (2005) has analysed the role of the Khara Khitai in Inner Asian history. Important contributions on various relevant issues have also been made by Wang Hongli 王弘力 (1986), Gao Lujia 高路加 (1988ab), Bao Yuzhu 寶玉柱 (2006), and others. In Japan, apart from Osada (1983) and Toyoda (1991, 1992, 1998, 2000), the Khitan Small Script has been studied by Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄 (1980, 1992), Yoshiike Kouichi 吉池孝一 (2003, 2004ab), and Takeuchi Yasunori 武内康則 (2007).

(5) The progress made in the decipherment of the Khitan Small Script has significantly increased the prospects of understanding also the Large Script. A preliminary corpus of Khitan Large Script materials was already published by the Khitan Script Research Group (Qidan Wenzi Yanjiu Xiaozu 1978), after which individual contributions have been made in China (with Taiwan) by Liu Fengzhu (1981, 1982, 1993a, 1996, 1998), Nie Hongyin (1999), Ruan Tingzhuo 阮廷焯 (1993), Erdenbaatar 額爾敦巴特爾 *Eerdunbateer* (1996), and others. In Japan, work on the Khitan Large Script has been continued by Toyoda (1984, 1995), as well as, more recently, Yoshiike (2007ab). Even so, due to the greater complexity of the system, the Large Script remains considerably less well understood than the Small Script.

(6) Finally, the 'readings' of the Khitan scripts have yielded fresh insights into the Khitan language itself. Comparisons between Khitan and the regular Mongolic languages have been made by Chingeltei (1997ab), Liu Fengzhu (1992), Chimeddorji 齊木德道爾吉 *Qimudedaoerji* (2002), György Kara (1988, cf. also Kara 1987, 1996), and others. In this context, it has occasionally been assumed that Khitan might have been somehow more closely related to Dagur than to the other descendants of the Proto-Mongolic lineage, an assumption which, however, is incompatible with

the general taxonomic framework of Mongolic. The Para-Mongolic status of Khitan, already anticipated by Louis Ligeti (1950, 1970), Herbert Franke (1969, 1976, 1982), Gerhard Doerfer (1969), and S. E. Yakhontov (1986), has been emphasized by Juha Janhunen (1995, 2003b, cf. also Janhunen 1994), as well as, implicitly, by E. A. Kuzmen'kov (1986, 1988, 1997). More recently, work on Khitan and Para-Mongolic has also been done by Alexander Vovin (2003, 2009), Daniel Kane (2004, 2006, cf. also Kane 1989: 11-20), and Andrew E. Shimunek (2007). Kane and Shimunek have also worked on the reconstruction of Liao Chinese, a little known northern variety of Early Mandarin. Most importantly, Kane (2009) has summarized all previous research on the Khitan language and scripts in a comprehensive general handbook, which is used as the basic secondary reference in the present work.

For the Khitan Small Script, Kane (2009: 35-81) lists 380 distinct characters, of which 292 (78.8 per cent) can be given some kind of phonetic, semantic, or 'mnemonic' identification. Even if we disregard the relatively numerous semantic and 'mnemonic' identifications, as well as a number of allographic variants, there are close to 200 distinct characters with a more or less reliably established phonetic 'reading'. With the help of these 'readings', it is possible to reconstruct several hundred native Khitan words and grammatical elements occurring in the database. Unfortunately, many of these words and elements cannot be 'translated', since there is no information concerning their semantics. This is why all new sources of data represent valuable additions to the still very limited corpus of Khitan texts in the two scripts.

The documentation of the primary sources in the Khitan scripts is a continuous process that over the years has involved a large number of scholars, mainly from China. In addition to those already mentioned above, and considering only the Khitan Small Script, the following names should be mentioned: Bao Lianqun 包聯群, Bao Ruijun 包瑞軍, Chengel 清格勒 *Qinggele*, Cong Yanshuang 從豔雙, Cui Song 崔嵩, Dong Xinlin 董新林, Gai Zhiyong 蓋之庸, Gua 高娃 *Gaowa*, Guo Tiangang 郭添剛, Han Baoxing 韓寶興,

Han Shiming 韓世明, Kang Lijun 康立君, Li Dingkui 厲鼎煃, Li Jiankui 李建奎, Li Wenxin 李文信, Liang Zhenjing 梁振晶, Lu Baolin 魯寶林, Lu Yinghong 盧迎紅, Lü Zhenkui 呂振奎, Narangua 娜仁高娃 *Naren Gaowa*, Qi Xiaoguang 齊曉光, Shi Jinmin 石金民, Tang Cailan 唐彩蘭, Wan Xiongfei 萬雄飛, Wang Weixiang 王未想, Wang Yi 王義, Wu Peng 吳鵬, Xin Fa 辛發, Yan Wanzhang 閻萬章, Yang Jie 楊傑, Yu Zemin 於澤民, Yu Zhixin 於志新, Yuan Haibo 袁海波, Zhao Jie 趙傑, Zhao Zhiwei 趙志偉, Zheng Shaozong 鄭紹宗, Zheng Xiaoguang 鄭曉光, Zhou Feng 周峰, Zhou Hongshan 周洪山, as well as Zhu Zhimin 朱志民.

1.4. THE SMALL SCRIPT CORPUS

A detailed list of the extant Khitan Small Script documents was published by Liu Fengzhu (1999: 160-165, 21 items) and subsequently up-dated by Kane (2009: 8-12, 31 items, of which one is mistakenly listed twice). A new corpus publication has recently been started by Liu Fengzhu in collaboration with Tang Cailan and Chengel (2009). The present section is a brief recapitulation of the current situation, with the documents arranged according to their year (season/month) of discovery/recovery. Considering only the major epigraphic documents, the corpus of Khitan Small Script texts communicated prior to the present publication (summer 2010), comprised the following 32 items:

[1] *Xingzong Huangdi* 興宗皇帝: the Eulogy for Emperor Xingzong 興宗皇帝哀册 *Xingzong Huangdi Aice*, dated 1055, discovered 1922. Documentation: Kervyn (1923ab), Mullie (1933), Jin Yufu ed. (1934).

[2] *Renyi Huanghou* 仁懿皇后: the Eulogy for Empress Renyi 仁懿皇后哀册 *Renyi Huanghou Aice*, dated 1076, discovered 1922. Documentation: Kervyn (1923ab), Mullie (1933), Jin Yufu ed. (1934).

[3] *Langjun Xingji* 郎君行記: the Record of the Journey of the Younger Brother of the Emperor of the Great Jin Dynasty

大金皇弟都統經略郎君行記 *Da Jin Huangdi Dutong Jinglüe Langjun Xingji*, dated 1134, identified 1925. Documentation: Haneda (1925), Jin Yufu ed. (1934).

[4] *Daozong Huangdi* 道宗皇帝: the Eulogy for Emperor Daozong 道宗皇帝哀册 *Daozong Huangdi Aice*, dated 1101, discovered 1930. Documentation: Meng Sen (1932), Wang Jingru (1933), Jin Yufu ed. (1934).

[5] *Xuanyi Huanghou* 宣懿皇后: the Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi 宣懿皇后哀册 *Xuanyi Huanghou Aice*, dated 1101, discovered 1930. Documentation: Meng Sen (1932), Wang Jingru (1933), Luo Fucheng (1933), Jin Yufu ed. (1934).

[6] *Xiao Zhonggong* 蕭仲恭: the Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong 蕭仲恭墓志 *Xiao Zhonggong Muzhi*, dated 1150, discovered 1942. Documentation: Zheng Shaozong (1973), Liu Fengzhu & Yu Baolin (1981a), cf. also Kara (1975).

[7] *Xiao Linggong* 蕭令公: the Broken Epitaph of Xiao Linggong 蕭令公墓志殘石 *Xiao Linggong Muzhi Canshi*, dated 1057, discovered 1950. Documentation: Li Wenxin (1954), Li Dingkui (1954).

[8] *Gu Yelü* 故耶律: the Memorial Stone of the Late Mrs. Yelü 故耶律氏銘石 *Gu Yelü Shi Mingshi*, dated 1115, discovered 1969. Documentation: Zhaowuda Meng Wenwu Gongzuozhan 昭烏達盟文物工作站 & Wengniute Qi Wenhuaguan 翁牛特旗文化館 (1981), Liu Fengzhu & Yu Baolin (1981b), cf. also Ji Shi (1997).

[9] *Xu Wang* 許王: the Epitaph of Prince Xu 許王墓志 *Xu Wang Muzhi*, dated 1105, discovered 1975. Documentation: Fuxin Xian Wenhuaju Wenwuzu 阜新縣文化局文物組 (1977), Liu Fengzhu & Yu Baolin (1977), cf. also Ji Shi (1996: 139-179).

[10] *Yelü Renxian* 耶律仁先: the Epitaph of Yelü Renxian 耶律仁先墓志銘 *Yelü Renxian Muzhiming*, dated 1072, discovered 1983. Documentation: Han Baoxing (1991), Ji Shi (1991).

[11] *Yelü Zongjiao* 耶律宗教: the Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao 耶律宗教墓志銘 *Yelü Zongjiao Muzhiming*, dated 1053, discovered 1991 (May). Documentation: Lu Binlin & Xin Fa & Wu

Peng (1993), Yan Wanzhang (1993), Liu Fengzhu & Zhou Hongshan & Zhao Jie & Zhu Zhimin (1995).

[12] *Haitang Shan* 海棠山: the Broken Epitaph of Haitang Shan 海棠山墓志殘石 *Haitang Shan Muzhi Canshi*, undated, discovered 1991 (autumn). Documentation: Lü Zhenkui & Yuan Haibo (1992), Liu Fengzhu (1993b), Lü Zhenkui (1995).

[13] *Zhenguo Shangjiangjun* 鎮國上將軍: the Broken Epitaph of the Supreme General of the Jin Period 金代鎮國上將軍墓志銘殘石 *Jindai Zhenguo Shangjiangjun Muzhiming Canshi*, dated 1170, discovered 1993. Documentation: Zhu Zhimin 1995, Liu Pujiang 1999, cf. also Aisin Gioro (2007).

[14] *Zhuozhou Cishi* 涿州刺史: the Broken Epitaph of the Prefect of Zhuozhou 涿州刺史墓志殘石 *Zhuozhou Cishi Muzhi Canshi*, dated 1108, discovered 1994. Documentation: Wang Weixiang (1999), cf. also Aisin Gioro (2004a: 226-310).

[15] *Han Gaoshi* 韓高十: the Epitaph of Han [Yelü] Gaoshi 韓[耶律] 高十墓志[銘] *Han* [*Yelü*] *Gaoshi Muzhi*[*ming*], incomplete, undated, discovered 1995 (exact date unknown). Documentation: Liu Fengzhu (2002).

[16] *Yelü Yongning* 耶律永寧: the Broken Epitaph of Prince Yelü Yongning 耶律永寧郎君墓志銘殘石 *Yelü Yongning Langjun Muzhiming Canshi*, dated 1088, discovered 1995 (March). Documentation: Zheng Xiaoguang (2002).

[17] *Yelü Fubushu* 耶律副部署: the Epitaph of Deputy Administrator Yelü 耶律副部署墓志銘 *Yelü Fubushu Muzhiming*, dated 1102, discovered 1996 (summer). Documentation: Gai Zhiyong & Qi Xiaoguang & Liu Fengzhu (2008).

[18] *Yelü Hongyong* 耶律弘用: the Epitaph of Yelü Hongyong 耶律弘用墓志銘 *Yelü Hongyong Muzhiming*, dated 1100, discovered 1996 (September). Documentation: Chen Naixiong & Yang Jie (1999), Yang Jie (2003), cf. also Liu Fengzhu & Chengel (2003).

[19] *Han Dilie* 韓敵烈: the Epitaph of Han [Yelü] Dilie 韓 [耶律] 敵烈墓志銘 *Han* [*Yelü*] *Dilie Muzhiming*, dated 1101, discovered 1996 (late autumn). Documentation: Tang Cailan &

Liu Fengzhu & Kang Lijun (2002), Liu Fengzhu & Tang Cailan & Gua (2004).

[20] *Yelü Dilie* 耶律迪烈: the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie 耶律迪烈墓志銘 *Yelü Dilie Muzhiming*, dated 1092, recovered 1997 (spring). Documentation: Lu Yinghong & Zhou Feng (2000), Bao Lianqun (2002).

[21] *Huangtai Shuzu* 皇太叔祖: the Eulogy for the Imperial Grand Uncle 皇太叔祖哀册 *Huangtai Shuzu Aice*, dated 1110, discovered 1997 (May). Documentation: Chengel & Liu Fengzhu (2003).

[22] *Song Wei Guo Fei* 宋魏國妃: the Epitaph of the Late Imperial Consort of the States of Song and Wei 故宋魏國妃墓志 *Gu Song Wei Guo Fei Muzhi*, dated 1110, discovered 1997 (May). Documentation: Liu Fengzhu & Chengel (2003).

[23] *Yelü Cite* 耶律慈特: the Epitaph of Yelü Cite 耶律慈特墓志 *Yelü Cite Muzhi*, dated 1082, discovered 1997 (early summer). Documentation: Liu Fengzhu & Cong Yanshuang & Yu Zhixin & Narangua (2006).

[24] *Yelü Zhixian* 耶律智先: the Epitaph of Yelü Zhixian 耶律智先墓志銘 *Yelü Zhixian Muzhiming*, dated 1094, discovered 1998. Documentation: Zhao Zhiwei & Bao Ruijun (2001).

[25] *Yelü Nu* 耶律奴: the Epitaph of Yelü Nu 耶律奴墓志銘 *Yelü Nu Muzhiming*, dated 1099, discovered 1999. Documentation: Shi Jinmin & Yu Zemin (2001).

[26] *Shilu Taishi* 實魯太師: the Epitaph of Salan Shilu Taishi 撒懶實魯太師墓志碑 *Salan Shilu Taishi Muzhibei*, dated 1100, discovered 2000 (summer). Documentation: Liu Fengzhu & Dong Xinlin (2007).

[27] *Xiao Tuguci* 蕭圖古辭: the Epitaph of Xiao Tuguci 蕭圖古辭墓志銘 *Xiao Tuguci Muzhiming*, dated 1068, discovered 2000 (late summer to early autumn). Documentation: Liang Zhenjing (2003).

[27] *Liang Guo Wang* 梁國王: the Epitaph of the Prince of the State of Liang 梁國王墓志銘 *Liang Guo Wang Muzhiming*, dated 1107, discovered 2001. Documentation: Han Shiming &

Yoshimoto Chieko (2007), Wan Xiongfei & Han Shiming & Liu Fengzhu (2008).

[29] *Yelü Diligu* 耶律迪里姑: the Epitaph of Yelü [Gui An] Diligu 耶律[貴安]迪里姑墓志銘 *Yelü* [*Gui An*] *Diligu Muzhiming*, dated 1102, discovered 2002. Documentation: Liu Fengzhu & Tang Cailan & Gua & Li Jiankui (2006).

[30] *Yongqing Gongzhu* 永清公主: the Epitaph of Xiao Taishan and Princess Yongqing 蕭太山和永清公主墓志 *Xiao Taishan he Yongqing Gongzhu Muzhi*, dated 1095, discovered 2003. Documentation: Yuan Haibo & Liu Fengzhu (2005).

[31] *Xiao Jushi* 蕭居士: the Epitaph of Xiao Jushi 蕭居士墓志銘 *Xiao Jushi Muzhiming*, dated 1175, discovered 2004 (August). Documentation: Guo Tiangang & Cui Song & Wang Yi & Liu Fengzhu (2009).

[32] *Xiao Temei* 蕭特每: the Epitaph of Mrs. Han, the Second Wife of the Imperial Son-in-Law Xiao Temei 蕭特每闊哥駙馬第二夫人韓氏墓志銘 *Xiao Temei Kuoge Fuma Dier Furen Han Shi Muzhiming*, dated 1078, copy (rubbing) obtained 2004 (autumn). Documentation: Liu Fengzhu (2005b).

All these documents are relatively voluminous monumental inscriptions engraved on large tablets of stone used as epitaphs and memorial steles. In addition, samples of Khitan Small Script, produced by a variety of techniques (engraving, casting, painting), have been preserved on minor objects, including coins, bronze mirrors, and pottery pieces, as well as in the form of graffiti on walls and rocks. The total number of preserved separate characters (logograms or syllabic signs, excluding damaged characters), is about 91,000. By comparison, the extant corpus of Khitan Large Script texts comprises some 15,000 separate characters (logograms or syllabic signs). The two Khitan scripts were obviously also in wide use for writing with ink and brush on soft surfaces, especially paper. Unfortunately, almost all of this material has been lost, with only one small fragment of text on paper (in the Khitan Large Script) being known today (Wang Ding 2004).

In the above list of major inscriptions, the items *Xingzong Huangdi* and *Renyi Huanghou* [1-2], *Daozong Huangdi* and *Xuanyi Huanghou* [4-5], as well as *Huangtai Shuzu* and *Song Wei Guo Fei* [22-23] belong pairwise together. Also, the items *Renyi Huanghou* [2], *Daozong Huangdi* and *Xuanyi Huanghou* [4-5], *Xu Wang* [9], *Yelü Renxian* [10], *Yelü Zongjiao* [11], *Huangtai Shuzu* [21], *Song Wei Guo Fei* [22], *Yelü Zhixian* [24], and *Yongqing Gongzhu* [30], have a parallel inscription in Chinese, while the items *Gu Yelü* [8] and *Yelü Dilie* [20] have a shorter Chinese inscription as a cover text. The Chinese texts are, however, never identical with the Khitan versions. The items *Yelü Hongyong* [18], *Han Dilie* [19], and *Liang Guo Wang* [28], are accompanied by a more distantly related Chinese text. The only more or less complete bilingual is *Langjun Xingji* [3], in which the Khitan and Chinese versions are located on the same stele, and which, therefore, has traditionally been used as a starting point for the analysis of the Khitan Small Script and the underlying language (most recently, Vovin 2000, Kane 2009: 185-189).

1.5. THE NEW MATERIALS

Looking at the history of discovery of the Khitan Small Script documents, it is easy to see that there was a drastic change in the situation around 1990. By 1930, five documents had become known [1-5]. During the following six decades, only one new document per decade was discovered, yielding another five documents [6-10], of which the last one was discovered in 1983. The results of the Khitan Script Research Group (1985) were still based on only nine major documents [1-9]. However, between 1991 and 1999, as many as 15 new documents were discovered [11-25]. The trend has continued, with 11 additional documents discovered after 2000, of which 7 [26-32] have already been published. A comparable rise in the size of the corpus during the last two decades has taken place for the Khitan Large Script.

For the moment it seems that the sources of new inscriptions in the two Khitan scripts are not yet exhausted. Factors behind the

constant flow of new discoveries include archaeological research and construction work, as well as the general acceleration of social and economic development, which, in turn, has had a favourable impact on the activities of scholars, dealers, and private collectors. The new finds include both accidental ones, made, for instance, in the course of agricultural activities, and intentional ones, made after deliberate and systematic search operations. Most of the new discoveries come from the regions of the Supreme, Central, and Eastern Capitals of the Liao Empire.

In this context, it has to be mentioned that the recent efforts of archaeologists and art historians have also led to the growth of the general database on Khitan and Liao material culture. The last two decades have seen the publication of major monographs on Khitan and Liao architecture (Steinhart 1997), Buddhist sculpture (Gridley 1993), textiles (Zhao Feng 趙豐 2004), bronze mirrors (Liu Shujuan 劉淑娟 1998), as well as gold and silver objects (Zhu Tianshu 朱天舒 1998). There is also a general survey of the Liao period inscriptions discovered in Inner Mongolia (Gai Zhiyong 蓋之庸 2002). Important exhibitions of artifacts have taken place both in China (Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguan 中國歷史博物館 & Nei Menggu Zizhiqu Wenhuating 內蒙古自治區文化廳 2002) and abroad (Hsüeh-man Shen ed. 2006). Detailed documentations of major excavations, such as the tomb of the Liao Princess of the State of Chen 遼陳國公主 *Liao Chen Guo Gongzhu* (Nei Menggu Zizhiqu Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 內蒙古自治區文物考古研究所 & Zhelimu Meng Bowuguan 哲里木盟博物館 1993), and of the cultural relics found in the region of the Liao Supreme Capital (Tang Cailan ed. 2005), have also been published.

Although there today exists a private market for Khitan epigraphic documents, as also for other categories of Khitan and Liao antiquities, virtually all the documents discovered so far have been successfully incorporated into public collections, including central, provincial and county-level museums. Recently, the School of Mongolian Studies of Inner Mongolia University 內蒙古大學蒙古學學院 *Nei Menggu Daxue Mengguxue Xueyuan* in Huhhot

呼和浩特 *Huhehaote* has played an active role in locating and acquiring newly found documents in the two Khitan scripts. At the time of writing (2010), the museum section of the School has collected 5 original epitaphs and 2 unpublished rubbings in the Khitan Small Script, all of which were acquired directly from rural locations (cf. also Wu Yingzhe & Buyandelger & Jiruhe 2009). It appears that active field surveys with the help of local authorities and excavators are essential in order to secure the preservation of this unique material for future research.

The principal purpose of the present publication is to make available for researchers two recently discovered and previously unpublished Khitan Small Script epigraphic documents, both of which are kept in the collection of the School of Mongolian Studies. Both inscriptions are epitaphs, here identified as *Xiao Dilu* [33] and *Yelü Xiangwen* [34], dating from the years 1114 and 1091, respectively. There has been a brief report on both documents previously (Wu Yingzhe 2008), but the present volume is the first publication of the actual texts.

[33] *Xiao Dilu* 蕭敵魯: the Epitaph of Deputy Commissioner Xiao Dilu 蕭敵魯副使墓志 *Xiao Dilu Fushi Muzhi*, dated 1114, discovered 2002, acquired 2007 (May).

[34] *Yelü Xiangwen* 耶律詳稳: the Epitaph of Field Marshal Yelü 耶律詳穩墓志 *Yelü Xiangwen Muzhi*, dated 1091, acquired 2007 (June).

Although both of these documents [33-34], like all the other previously published Khitan texts [1-32], are certainly genuine samples of Khitan writing from the context of the Liao and Jin Empires, it has to be noted that this is no longer an automatic conclusion when a new epigraphic document is located. The flourishing antiquities business in China has resulted in the professional production of copies and fakes, among which there are also 'Khitan' objects, including even epigraphic documents. Therefore, Khitan objects and documents with an unverified archaeological context or

with an unknown provenance today always require authentification. This situation may also be seen as an interesting technical challenge to Khitan studies. One might think that it is easy to distinguish a fake from an authentic epigraphic inscription, but this is not always so. Factors to be considered include:

(1) Type of stone used: Most of the extant Khitan epigraphic documents are made on medium-hard stone of varying petrological composition (slate, limestone, sandstone). The colour of the stone varies from light to dark, with the latter prevailing. Depending on the hardness of the stone, the surface is or is not polishable, which has an effect on how sharply the characters can be engraved on it. In most cases it may be assumed that the stone is of a local origin, which, in principle, should make it possible to detect its source. Unfortunately, no professional research has been made into the petrological aspects of the Khitan epitaphs.

(2) Age of stone working: Since it is relatively difficult to make a newly cut piece of stone look like old, forgers often use old pieces, which are abundantly available in China. The age of stone working is, therefore, not always a certain indicator of the age of the inscription. This seems also to be the case with the apparent fakes observed by the present authors: the forger(s) may have used old tablets of stone for placing a new inscription. This may have required some reworking of the text surface, which, in principle, should be detectable in a closer examination. However, technical studies of this are lacking.

(3) Quality of engraving: In some forged samples available for inspection today, the modern engraving on the presumably old stone surface was probably made by machine, rather than by the type of hand tools used in Liao times. As a result, the engraving lacks the sharpness otherwise typical of characters produced on stone in mediaeval China. Even so, engraving on stone by hand is still a living tradition, and there is no reason to assume that all forgers would turn to machines when they wish to produce a high-quality fake. Moreover, the sharpness of engraved characters often varies depending on the type of stone used.

(4) Style of calligraphy: Irrespective of how technically perfect the engraved characters may be, they may contain calligraphic errors, which is also the case with the Khitan Small Script forgeries today available for closer examination. Although the graphs of the two Khitan scripts were produced with the same general calligraphic principles as Chinese characters, the forms are not the same, which is why the modern Chinese forger easily overlooks crucial details and misrepresents the true forms or combinations of the Khitan signs. However, to make reliable judgements about this, much more research would be needed on Khitan palaeography, a field that is still almost untouched by scholars.

(5) Linguistic and historical analysis: Obviously, the most reliable and readily available tool for identifying forgeries in the Khitan scripts would be to see whether the text makes sense against what is already known of the Khitan language. Unless it is a question of a copy of an authentic text, this criterion will inevitably yield a correct conclusion, since no forger is sufficiently well versed in the lexical and grammatical details of the extant corpus of Khitan texts, and with the historical context of the Liao period. Even so, to make a correct judgement, every newly discovered document has to be analysed in the light of the extant corpus. The more we understand of the Khitan language and scripts, the more reliable this process will become, but for the moment we should not underestimate the skills of the forger.

The most convenient way to reproduce Khitan documents visually is still by the traditional technique of rubbing 拓片 *tapian*, which yields a clear black-and-white contrast between the background (black) and the script signs (white), whereas even the most advanced photographic reproduction obscures the outlines of the script signs by including a large amount of irrelevant information (shades, shadows, etc.). It happens that a few Khitan epigraphic documents, including two samples presently in the collection of the School of Mongolian Studies, are available only as rubbings, a complication that makes it impossible to study the original stones (perhaps lost) and verify their authenticity.

For the analysis of a Khitan epitaphic text, studying the stone tablet and making a rubbing are only the first steps, which have to be followed by the analysis of the segmental structure of the text in terms of the Khitan script elements, as well as in Romanization. In order to provide a comprehensive documentation of the material, the present publication combines all the principal methods (rubbing, Khitan text, Romanization, textual analysis).

1.6. THE GRAPHIC SYSTEM

Since the two Khitan scripts were formed under the direct influence of the Chinese tradition of writing, both of them may be classified as members of the Sinitic family of scripts in the cultural, historical and geographical sense. The Sinitic nature of the Khitan scripts is particularly evident in the principles of calligraphy, including both the instruments of writing and the aesthetic qualities of the written product. The Khitan Large Script, like the Jurchen script, may also be classified as Sinitic in the genetic sense, in that a significant proportion of its elements are Chinese characters or their direct derivatives. In this respect, the Khitan Small Script is different, and the difference is increased by the fact that the overwhelming part of its relatively small paradigm of distinct elements has primarily a phonetic, rather than a semantic, reference.

With the exception of a few monumental inscription titles (written in seal-script-style modified characters), all texts in the Khitan Small Script represent a systematic distinction between two levels of segmentation, which linguistically may be identified as the levels of 'syllables' and 'words'.

(1) The level of 'syllables' is graphically indicated by the most basic units of the script, many of which may be functionally classified as syllabic signs, or syllabograms. In Chinese scholarship these units are called 'characters' 字 *zi*, or also, more specifically, 'original characters' 原字 *yuanzi*. In Western literature, 'graph' has been used (Kane 2009), but the present publication will adhere to the term 'character'. From the point of view of the written message, all Khitan Small Script characters are independent and indivisible

entities, although some of them are mutually interconnected by rules of graphic derivation, including compounding and diacritic modification. It is important to note that the 'syllables' indicated by the characters are not always identical with actual phonological syllables. Instead, the characters indicate a rather random selection of sound sequences, ranging from a single segment to various types of complex structures, which may or may not have counterparts in the system of phonological syllables.

(2) The level of 'words' is indicated by the blocks of the script, in Chinese occasionally also called 'characters' 字 *zi*, but more properly termed 'composite characters' 合成字 *hechengzi*. Blocks are composed of up to eight characters, normally arranged pairwise from left to right and from top to bottom, and separated from neighbouring blocks by a space. A block is not seldom composed of only a single character, which, then, may or may not function as a logogram. More typically, a block is composed of several characters, which together stand for a complex word of the language, comprising both the stem and any bound morphemes attached to it. In the transcription of Chinese elements, each Chinese syllable is normally written as a single block, which, as a whole, corresponds to the pronunciation of a Chinese character.

Obviously, for the decipherment of the Khitan Small Script, it is essential to start from a taxonomy of the characters. Since, in the beginning, the 'readings' of all characters were unknown, it was only with considerable effort that a paradigm of relevant script signs was established, first by the Russian team under Starikov, and then by the Khitan Script Research Group in China. With a view on both the external form and the distributional properties of the script signs, the Chinese research group produced the currently accepted basic list of Khitan Small Script characters, which comprises 378 distinct entities (nos. 1-378). This list also forms the basis for the discussion by Kane (2009), who has added to it two characters (nos. 379-380) established by later research.

There is reason to keep the numbers thus assigned (nos. 1-380) unchanged, since, in the absence of any further information, it is

always possible to identify a character by its accumulative number in the general list. This means that any new character that may be discovered should be added to the end of the list by giving it a distinct number. In fact, the influx of new data from the inscriptions discovered since the early 1990s has already increased the paradigm of Khitan Small Script characters by as many as 79 new entities, in Chinese scholarship known as the 'new original characters' 新原字 *xin yuanzi*, raising the total number to 459 (for an up-to-date list, cf. the Chart in this volume, pp. 259 ff.). It is likely that the number will continue to grow, albeit slowly, with new discoveries.

The fact that new discoveries yield new characters shows that the Khitan Small Script was never an entirely closed system. There was variation in both time and place, although little research has been done on this issue, and it was apparently possible to increase the paradigm with new characters when necessary. Even so, the number of distinct entities was relatively small, and the number of characters in frequent active use even smaller, which means that the graphic forms are, in general, considerably simpler than those of most Chinese characters. Although surprisingly many Khitan Small Script characters, at least as many as 82 out of 459 (17.9 per cent), have an exact formal analogy in the Chinese script (as is evident from the Chart), it is impossible to detect any direct material link between the two scripts. The Khitan Small Script characters are *not* simplified Chinese characters, but a separate system of writing with a different pool of graphic resources.

Due to their relatively simple graphic forms, most Khitan Small Script characters lack the type of component structure that allows the Chinese characters to be classified in terms of 'radicals' 部首 *bushou*. Therefore, in the traditional list of 378 elements, the Khitan Small Script characters are arranged on the basis of their stroke composition. A new version of this arrangement has recently been presented by Jiruhe and Wu Yingzhe (2009), who operate systematically with the types 筆畫 *bihua* and order 筆順 *bishun* of strokes. As a result, they place the Khitan Small Script characters in a new systematic order, which in their publication covers 437

numbers, a figure that is based on the addition of 70 new characters and the elimination of 11 numbers from the old list. A problem with this system is that the numbering has to be continuously changed, since each newly discovered character will have to be inserted in its systematic place. Takeuchi (2007: 84) has already 438 systematic numbers, and subsequent discoveries have again increased the total by several new items. In the present publication, all new characters are primarily assigned an accumulative number (nos. 379-380, 381-449, and 450-459), while a systematic number is quoted as a secondary reference for those 437 characters that are contained in the list published by Jiruhe and Wu Yingzhe.

The stroke composition of the characters can also be used to create a practical code for each character by listing the types of strokes contained in it. For this purpose, each of the classic Chinese stroke types is indicated by a letter: d for 點 *dian*, g for 鉤 *gou*, h for 橫 *heng*, n for 捺 *na*, p for *pie* 撇, s 豎 for *shu*, t 提 for *ti*, w for 彎 *wan*, x for 斜 *xie*, and z for 折 *zhe*. When also the order of the strokes is considered, most characters receive a unique code ranging from one letter (^{001}h, ^{400}s, ^{211}w, ^{449}x, ^{155}z) to up to eleven letters (^{380}sdphhshdddd). There are, however, cases of two or more characters receiving the same code. Another problem is that it is not always possible to analyse the stroke composition of a character in an unambiguous way, since calligraphic rules allow minor variation in the choice and ordering of the strokes needed to produce a character. Even so, the idea of letter codes could be developed further, and already in its present form this system could be used, for instance, to arrange the Khitan Small Script characters alphabetically, rather than by arbitrary numbers.

1.7. ROMANIZING KHITAN

Tentative Roman or, in some cases, also Cyrillic or phonetic (IPA), 'transcriptions' of Khitan words and characters have been quoted by many scholars since the beginning of Khitan studies. Among the current specialists in the field, in particular, Liu Fengzhu (most recently in Liu Fengzhu & Tang Cailan & Chengel 2009: 451-452)

and Chingeltei (in Chingeltei & Wu Yingzhe & Jiruhe 0000: 141-276) have developed conventions for transcribing the Khitan Small Script characters in Roman letters and/or phonetic symbols. Largely on the basis of the 'readings' of these and other Chinese scholars, an actual system for the Romanization of the Khitan Small Script was designed by Kane (2008b, 2009: 26-33). The present publication will also apply his system, though with minor modifications (not elaborated here, but evident from the Chart, pp. 259 ff.). The basic principle in this system is that each Khitan Small Script character is given a distinct representation in terms of Roman letters. This representation can be either a single letter or a sequence of letters (digraph, trigraph, or a longer sequence). In some cases, diacritically modified letters and/or subscript numbers may also be used. The point is that each Roman letter or sequence of letters has to stand in an unambiguous one-to-one correspondence to one, and only one, Khitan Small Script character.

In most cases, the Romanization of a Khitan character is an approximation of its presumable phonetic value, as established on the basis of the Chinese words (names, terms) occurring in the Khitan texts, occasionally complemented by parallel information from the Chinese transcriptions of Khitan words occurring in Chinese historical documents. It is not a question of actual 'readings', however, for our understanding of the phonetic and phonemic structure of Khitan is still insufficient to allow the language to be 'read' in the strict sense of the word. Moreover, some of the currently used Romanizations may ultimately turn out to be totally incorrect, which means that they are best understood as intermediate labels for the Khitan characters concerned. Even so, the Romanizations are, in principle, not arbitrary codes, for each Romanized sequence is based on a careful collation of the graphic information with actual linguistic substance.

In the cases when there is no information on the linguistic substance at the level of sounds, it is occasionally possible to identify the approximate meaning of a Khitan character. In such cases, the semantic equivalent (glossed by a translation) may be

used as the 'Romanization' of the character in question. Some of these characters are probably true logograms, while others may in reality be regular syllabic signs that just happen to be attested in a single meaning in the extant corpus, without sufficient clues being available concerning their phonetic value. For instance, all the basic numerals, including the items for the tens and the powers of ten, are expressed by single characters of this type. Most of these characters can only be Romanized with reference to their numeral function, but a few of them are also attested in the composition of non-numeral blocks, which in some cases allows a relatively accurate approximation of their phonetic value.

For those elements in the Khitan Small Script for which neither a phonetic nor a semantic identification is available, there only remains the possibility of 'Romanizing' them in terms of arbitrary codes, in which case the best choice is offered by their accumulative three-digit number in the general list of Khitan Small Script characters (currently nos. 001-459). Some of them may also be referred to by the 'mnemonic' Chinese characters with which they share an identical form (cf. Ji Shi 1996: 440-446). It would, however, be misleading to operate with the Chinese pronunciations of these characters (as Kane does), for the available information suggests that the Khitan Small Script characters having a superficial analogy in the Chinese script were, as a rule, *not* pronounced in any way even remotely similar to their Chinese phonetic values.

In view of the type of linguistic and non-linguistic entities they would seem to imply at the level of Romanization, the 378 Khitan Small Script characters in the original list of the Khitan Script Research Group (1985) may be classified into eleven categories, as elaborated below (with the characters quoted together with their respective accumulative numbers):

(1) Characters corresponding to a single consonant segment (C) (arranged alphabetically, 20 items): [311]  *b*, [254]  *d*, [354]  *dz*, [334]  *g*, [283] *k*, [261] *l*, [133] *m*, [251] *n*, [264] *ng*, [222] *ñ*, [295] *p*, [244] *s*, [028]  *sh*, [247] *t*, [031] *ts*, [070]  *w*, [340] *x*, [020] *y*, [258] *z*, [330] *zh*. Note that some of these characters occasionally

seem to be used for sequences of a consonant and either a following (CV) or a preceding (VC) vowel. In spite of this, it is convenient to assign to each of them a single invariant Romanization, rather than a set of alternative Romanizations.

(2) Characters corresponding to a sequence of a consonant and a vowel (CV) (arranged alphabetically, 64 items): [225] 付 *bi*, [196] 生 *bu*, [176] 刘 *bú*, [375] 甬 *ca*, [162] 衣 *ci*, [298] 尚 *co*, [102] 艿 *cu*, [171] 久 *da*, [205] 矢 *de*, [037] 王 *di*, [217] 朱 *do*, [237] 门 *du*, [179] 凡 *dú*, [249] 分 *dû*, [242] 尔 *fu*, [349] 公 *ge*, [146] 乃 *gi*, [319] 曲 *go*, [165] 勺 *gu*, [051] 业 *ha*, [076] 扎 *ho*, [309] 田 *hó*, [151] 列 *hu*, [150] 刘 *ja*, [152] 豹 *ji*, [087] 龙 *jï*, [149] 子 *ju*, [163] 业 *ki*, [178] 几 *ku*, [233] 仉 *kú*, [206] 灰 *li*, [313] 仔 *lo*, [208] 发 *lu*, [228] 仃 *lú*, [021] 丙 *mo*, [191] 丸 *mó*, [224] 仕 *mu*, [220] 行 *mú*, [358] 半 *mû*, [139] 力 *na*, [279] 非 *po*, [241] 分 *pu*, [297] 出 *pú*, [053] 亚 *qa*, [323] 口 *qi*, [168] 勿 *qo*, [169] 欠 *qó*, [246] 余 *qu*, [084] 车 *ra*, [235] 仉 *ri*, [069] 共 *rí*, [083] 廿 *sï*, [041] 卡 *su*, [315] 非 *she*, [180] 飞 *shï*, [229] 仍 *ta*, [213] 生 *to*, [202] 劣 *tu*, [130] 不 *xa*, [268] 圣 *xe*, [057] 夹 *xo*, [036] 玩 *xu*, [321] 虫 *yo*, [089] 尤 *zu*. Many of these characters are also phonetically ambivalent, in that they can occasionally indicate only a single consonant (C) instead of a syllabic sequence (CV).

(3) Characters corresponding to a single vowel segment (V), or also, depending on the phonotactic position, to a vowel preceded by a zero (glottal) anlaut (ØV) (arranged alphabetically, 12 items): [189] 为 *a*, [348] 芬 *e*, [339] 关 *i*, [352] 谷 *í*, [353] 谷 *ï*, [186] 及 *o*, [090] 廾 *ó*, [252] 公 *ô*, [131] 永 *u*, [245] 尘 *ú*, [372] 只 *û*, [226] 仲 *ü*.

(4) Characters corresponding to a sequence of a vowel and a consonant (VC), possibly preceded by a zero (glottal) anlaut (ØVC) (arranged alphabetically according to the consonant), 36 items): (final *d*:) [099] 亦 *ad*, [016] 币 *od*, [344] 火 *ud*, (final *l*:) [098] 方 *al*, [302] 用 *il*, [366] 平 *ul*, (final *m*:) [184] 乃 *am*, [257] 企 *em*, [270] 圣 *ém*, (final *n*:) [011] 买 *an*, [290] 出 *án*, [140] 村 *en*, [361] 当 *én*, [073] 方 *ên*, [018] 雨 *in*, [154] 尔 *on*, [322] 肉 *ón*, [273] 火 *un*, [144] 叉 *ún*, [329] 亦 *ün*, (final *ng*:) [199] 气 *ang*, [280] 业 *áng*, [175] 各 *eng*, [303] 用 *ing*, [071] 点 *ong*, [345] 火 *ung*, [357] 当 *úng*, (final *r*:) [123] 本 *ar*, [341] 关 *er*, [137] 刃 *ir*, [255] 企 *or*, [236] 仉 *ur*, [097] 变 *úr*, (final *s*:) [174] 冬 *as*, [033] 秀 *is*, [068] 共 *us*.

(5) Characters corresponding to combinations of a vowel with a semivowel (glide) in the function of a medial or a final (arranged

according to the last segment, 19 items): (ending in *a*:) [335] 𘤳 *ia*, [274] 𘥣 *iá*, (ending in *e*:) [327] 𘤺 *ie*, [082] 𘥥 *üe*, (ending in *i*:) [122] 𘤽 *ai*, [347] 𘤾 *oi*, [262] 𘤿 *ui*, [080] 𘥦 *ii*, (ending in *u*:) [161] 𘥧 *au*, [210] 𘥨 *aú*, [125] 𘥩 *aû*, [067] 𘥪 *eu*, [019] 𘥫 *iu*, [289] 𘥬 *iú*, [138] 𘥭 *iû*, (ending in a technical *h*:) [338] 𘥮 *ih*, [197] 𘥯 *ah*, [377] 𘥰 *oh*, [172] 𘥱 *uh*.

(6) Characters corresponding to sequences with a more complex structure (arranged alphabetically in groups, 30 items): (syllables with a final consonant:) [288] 𘥲 *bun*, [183] 𘥳 *car*, [075] 𘥴 *hong*, [047] 𘥵 *hor*, [259] 𘥶 *hur*, [014] 𘥷 *húr*, [207] 𘥸 *ming*, [365] 𘥹 *qid*, [074] 𘥺 *tir*, [312] 𘥻 *tum*, [367] 𘥼 *zhung*, (syllables with a final glide:) [061] 𘥽 *bai*, [022] 𘥾 *cau*, [119] 𘥿 *dau*, [101] 𘦀 *deu*, [160] 𘦁 *giu*, [250] 𘦂 *heu*, [015] 𘦃 *jau*, [332] 𘦄 *nai*, [331] 𘦅 *neu* [029] 𘦆 *tau*, [374] 𘦇 *tai*, (syllables with a medial glide:) [314] 𘦈 *iang*, [062] 𘦉 *iáng*, [362] 𘦊 *iau*, [181] 𘦋 *iúng*, [324] 𘦌 *üen*, [143] 𘦍 *xua*, (possible bisyllables:) [355] 𘦎 *udu*, [059] 𘦏 *uni*.

(7) Characters identified by meaning (arranged into semantic groups, 45 items): (numerals and quantifiers:) [026] 𘦐 ONE, [134] 𘦑 TWO, [166] 𘦒 THREE, [368] 𘦓 FOUR, [085] 𘦔 SIX, [141] 𘦕 SEVEN, [007] 𘦖 EIGHT, [240] 𘦗 TEN, [002] 𘦘 TWENTY, [211] 𘦙 THIRTY, [145] 𘦚 FORTY, [155] 𘦛 FIFTY, [266] 𘦜 SIXTY, [300] 𘦝 SEVENTY, [187] 𘦞 MYRIAD, [115] 𘦟 SOME, (compass points:) [001] 𘦠 NORTH, [072] 𘦡 EAST, [040] 𘦢 WEST, [294] 𘦣 SOUTH, (colours and elements) [004] 𘦤 WHITE, [285] 𘦥 GOLD, (units of time:) [159] 𘦦 DAY, [081] 𘦧 MONTH, (society:) [238] 𘦨 BORN, [170] 𘦩 MR, [192] 𘦪 MRS, [248] 𘦫 YOUNG, [333] 𘦬 QUEEN, (administration:) [052] 𘦭 RECORD, [142] 𘦮 MANAGE, [195] 𘦯 CHIEF, [308] 𘦰 COMPOSE, [317] 𘦱 TEXT, [218] 𘦲 SEAL, [371] 𘦳 REGION, (auspicious concepts:) [063] 𘦴 ETERNAL, [243] 𘦵 HEAVEN, [277] 𘦶 LUCK, [373] 𘦷 GREAT, (others:) [006] 𘦸 MOUNTAIN, [188] 𘦹 SMALL, [239] 𘦺 LI, [342] 𘦻 WINE, [378] 𘦼 DITTO.

(8) The so-called 'dotted' characters, formed by adding a diacritic dot to certain regular characters. The dot is normally located either inside or at the right upper corner of the character. There is now a consensus on that the dotted characters often indicate an extra semantic and/or morphological property, which seems to be masculine gender (Wu Yingzhe 2005). The 'dot' (here expressed by ° in the Romanization) is therefore typically attested in characters denoting numerals and terms for cyclic signs (13 items, some

of which may involve errors): (numerals:) [027] 𒐕 ONE°, [135] 𒐖 TWO°, [167] 𒐗 THREE°, [369] 𒐘 FOUR°, [030] 𒐙 *tau*° (also 'five'), [086] 𒐚 SIX°, [008] 𒐛 EIGHT°, [034] 𒐜 *is*° (also 'nine'), [267] 𒐝 SIXTY°° (with two dots), [301] 𒐞 SEVENTY°, (cyclic signs:) [005] 𒐟 WHITE°, [286] 𒐠 GOLD° (also 'yellow'), [209] 𒐡 *lu*° (also 'dragon'). It is reasonable to assume that a dotted variety once existed for all characters of this type, although only a random selection is preserved in the corpus. The dot was, however, also used to indicate other types of modification, as in [241] 𒐢 *pu* : [242] 𒐣 *fu* and [028] 𒐤 *sh* : [330] 𒐥 *zh* (with the dot above the character), possibly also in [081] 𒐦 MONTH : [082] 𒐧 *üe* (cf. Chinese 月 *yue*). On the other hand, there are examples of pairs of characters, such as [020] 𒐨 *y* : [021] 𒐩 *mo* and [344] 𒐪 *ud* : [345] 𒐫 *ung*, in which the dot is not connected with any phonetic or semantic correlation. Even so, the distinction between dotted and non-dotted characters may be used as a tool in the Romanization process.

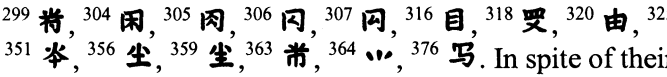
When an undeciphered dotted character has a deciphered non-dotted counterpart, a tentative Romanization is obtained with the help of the latter, as in [184] 𒐬 *am* : [185] 𒐭 *am*°, [172] 𒐮 *uh* : [173] 𒐯 *uh*°, [262] 𒐰 *ui* : [263] 𒐱 *ui*°, 𒐲 *ung* : [346] 𒐳 *ung*° (4 items, though the last one, with two dots, is problematic). Conversely, when a deciphered dotted character has an undeciphered non-dotted counterpart, the absence of the dot (here marked by [x]) may be included in the Romanization of the latter: [047] 𒐴 *hor* : [046] 𒐵 *hor*[x], [133] 𒐶 *m* : [132] 𒐷 *m*[x], [222] 𒐸 *ñ* : [221] 𒐹 *ñ*[x], [224] 𒐺 *mu* : [223] 𒐻 *mu*[x], [327] 𒐼 *ie* : [326] 𒐽 *ie*[x], [371] 𒐾 REGION : [370] 𒐿 REGION[x] (6 items).

(9) Characters that may be classified as allographs of other characters with an established Romanization (here indicated by subscript numbers, arranged according to list number, 38 items): [038] 𒑀 *zhi*$_3$, [049] 𒑁 *ai*$_2$, [060] 𒑂 *bai*$_2$, [064] 𒑃 *lu*$_2$, [092] 𒑄 *ud*$_3$, [100] 𒑅 *én*$_2$, [103] 𒑆 *us*$_2$, [104] 𒑇 *dz*$_2$, [105] 𒑈 *ud*$_2$, [106] 𒑉 *ung*$_2$, [107] 𒑊 *oi*$_2$, [109] 𒑋 *e*$_2$, [112] 𒑌 *ge*$_2$, [113] 𒑍 *ï*$_2$, [114] 𒑎 *î*$_2$, [127] 𒑏 *an*$_2$, [128] 𒑐 *zhi*$_2$, [147] 𒑑 *ju*$_3$, [148] 𒑒 *ju*$_2$, [153] 𒑓 *ji*$_2$, [272] 𒑔 *bú*$_2$, [214] 𒑕 *da*$_2$, [219] 𒑖 *én*$_3$, [234] 𒑗 *ta*$_2$, [253] 𒑘 *ô*$_2$, [256] 𒑙 *em*$_2$, [260] 𒑚 *t*$_2$, [265] 𒑛 *ui*$_2$, [269] 𒑜 *er*$_2$, [275] 𒑝 LUCK$_2$, [276] 𒑞 LUCK$_3$, [278] 𒑟 LUCK$_4$, [287] 𒑠 *to*$_2$, [310] 𒑡 COMPOSE$_2$, [328] 𒑢 *hong*$_2$, [336] 𒑣 *gi*$_2$, [337] 𒑤 *ji*$_3$, [350] 𒑥 *d*$_2$. For some of these, the allographic status is less well

confirmed than for others, which means that some of the characters currently listed as allographs may turn out to be separate entities. On the other hand, there are characters which resemble each other to the extent that they may be allographs of each other, although they are currently listed as separate entities with a more or less identical Romanization, as in [168]  *qo* : [169]  *qó*, [257]  *em* : [270]  *ém*, [224] *mu* : [220]  *mú*, and [314]  *iang* : [062]  *iáng*. In one case, the original list contains a character twice with minimal (if any) allographic variation, allowing the two 'variants' to be treated as a single character [171]  *da* = [215]  *da*. In many other cases, it is not possible to determine which particular allographic variant should be considered as the 'basic' form (the one to be Romanized without a subscript number). Even so, it is practical to incorporate at least part of the allographic variation in the Romanization. It is also important to realize that allography implies non-functional variation, which often depends on external factors such as the style or speed of writing (cursive forms). In this respect, allographs are different from the dotted characters, which are *not* allographs since the dot in them is a functional element.

(10) Composite characters, built of two basic characters. This is a marginal and somewhat controversial category, comprising possibly only the two items [009]  NORTH*d* = [001]  NORTH + [254]  *d* and [360]  *pong* = [295]  *p* + [071]  *ong* (2 items). The relevance of this category lies in the fact that it would seem to confirm the role of conscious graphic design in the Khitan Small Script, as is also evident from the dotted characters.

(11) Characters with no generally accepted phonetic or semantic identification (arranged according to list number, 88 items): [003]  , [010]  , [012] , [013]  , [017]  , [023]  , [024]  , [025]  , [032]  , [035]  , [039]  , [042]  , [043] , [044]  , [045] , [048]  , [050]  , [054] , [055] , [056]  , [058]  , [065]  , [066]  , [077]  , [078] , [079] , [088] , [091] , [093] , [094] , [095] , [096] , [108] , [110] , [111] , [116] , [117] , [118] , [120] , [121] , [124] , [126] , [129] , [136] , [156] , [157] , [158] , [164] , [177] , [182] , [190] , [193] , [194] , [198] , [200] , [201] , [203] , [204] , [212] , [216] , [227] , [230] , [231] , [232] , [271] , [281] , [282] , [284] , [291] , [292] , [293]

 , [296] , [299] , [304] , [305] , [306] , [307] , [316] , [318] , [320] , [325] , [343] , [351] , [356] , [359] , [363] , [364] , [376] . In spite of their large overall number, many of these characters, though not all, are infrequently attested, which is one of the reasons why they remain without a generally accepted Romanization. Some of them are likely to involve errors in the process of writing and copying, which means that not all of them are true elements of the script. Also, the list contains characters that may be allographs of other characters, as well as pairs of dotted and non-dotted characters, such as [117] : [118] and [230] : [231] . It is likely that the lonely undeciphered dotted character [216] also once had a non-dotted counterpart, although it is not attested in the corpus.

A general conclusion from the above is that the role of graphic variation and modification in the Khitan Small Script is relatively significant. If we disregard the composite characters (2) and probable allographs (38 + 1 = 39), we are left with only 337 distinct characters, of which 181 (53.7 per cent) can be given a phonetic approximation, while 45 (13.4 per cent) can be identified semantically. In addition, up to 13 characters (3.0 per cent) are dotted varieties of otherwise identified characters, while the presence or absence of a dot may also be used as a tentative basis for the Romanization of several other characters. Ultimately, only 88 characters (26.1 per cent) remain without any identification for the time being, though even these are likely to involve some cases of allographic variation and diacritic modification.

There are no signs of punctuation in the Khitan Small Script. In the Romanization it is, however, necessary to indicate the boundaries between characters belonging to a single block. Strictly speaking, there are two types of blocks: 'regular' blocks, in which the characters are arranged both horizontally from left to right and vertically from top to bottom, and 'irregular' blocks, in which the characters are arranged only vertically from top to bottom. In the present work, the character boundaries in 'regular' blocks are indicated by the period mark (.), while the character boundaries in 'irregular' blocks are indicated by the colon (:). In practice, it is not

always possible to distinguish 'irregular' blocks from simple sequences of separate characters.

1.7. THE NEW CHARACTERS

To preserve the potential reference value of the accumulative system of numbering, the 81 Khitan Small Script characters that have been discovered after the Khitan Script Research Group completed their work (1985), are best organized in terms of three consecutive stages of documentation: those added and numbered by Kane (2009, nos. 379-380), those added and systematically ordered by Jiruhe and Wu Yingzhe (2009, nos. 381-449), and those established even later (nos. 450-459, with no. 450 included in the list of Takeuchi 2007). It goes without saying that all of these 'new characters' are just as essential parts of the Khitan Small Script writing system as the 'original' 378 characters. The difference is only that the new characters do not occur in the corpus on which the original list was based. In practice, this means that most of the new characters are relatively rare, which, in turn, makes them particularly difficult to 'read'.

For the time being, only rather few new characters can be given a tentative Romanization. These may be classified in categories corresponding to those of the original list:

(1-6) Characters corresponding to various types of possibly identifiable sound sequences (arranged according to list number, 3 items): [397] 𘥁 *jïh*, [438] 𘧊 *fen*, [452] 𘦂 *zhi* (with the Romanizations modified from Chingeltei).

(7) Characters identified by meaning (arranged according to list number, 2 items): [379] 𘦓 TENT, [449] 𘥁 EIGHTY.

(8) Dotted characters (arranged in groups, 7 items): (numerals:) [422] 𘦀 TEN°, [441] 𘦄 SEVEN°, [447] 𘦅 THIRTY°, [424] 𘦆 SIXTY°$_2$, (others:) [393] 𘦇 *ra*°, [427] 𘦈 *ku*°, [431] 𘦉 *car*°. The character [424] 𘦆 SIXTY° (with one dot) seems to be the 'correct' dotted form of what was previously known as [267] 𘤿 SIXTY°° (with two dots). There are also new non-dotted characters that may be tentatively Romanized with the help of their previously known dotted counterparts (2 items): [381] 𘦊

hong^{x}, [406] 𒀭 *tum*^{x} (possibly the non-dotted counterpart of [312] 𒀭 *tum*, also 'ten thousand').

(9) Allographs (arranged in groups according to list number, 9 items): (phonetic:) [382] 𒌑 iû$_2$, [395] 𒀀 ai$_3$, [399] 𒌆 én$_4$, [451] 𒄑 gu$_2$, [454] 𒅔 in$_2$, [455] 𒄩 ih$_2$, (semantic:) [389] 𒁕 RECORD$_2$, [405] 𒁍 COMPOSE$_3$, (undeciphered:) [453] 𒁹 = [129] 𒁹. In at least one case, the tentative Romanization of a new character has helped identify allographs in the original list: [452] 𒁺 zhi = [128] 𒁺 zhi$_2$ = [038] 𒁺 zhi$_3$.

(10) Composite character (1 no.): [380] 𒂵 LUCK$_5$ = [335] 𒅖 ia + [277] 𒀯 LUCK. In this case, however, the structure of the character (postulated by Kane) remains controversial, and it may also be a question of a sequence of two separate characters, 𒅖𒀯 ia.LUCK, though even this 'reading' is problematic, since the motivation behind the combination is unknown.

(11) Characters for which no identification or correlation can be proposed for the time being (arranged according to list number, 57 items): [383] 𒆠, [384] 𒄭, [385] 𒊬, [386] 𒌋, [387] 𒄀, [388] 𒋗, [390] 𒌨, [391] 𒍪, [392] 𒍣, [394] 𒍏, [396] 𒍑, [398] 𒍝, [400] 𒍣, [401] 𒍟, [402] 𒍢, [403] 𒍤, [404] 𒍥, [407] 𒍦, [408] 𒍧, [409] 𒍨, [410] 𒍩, [411] 𒍪, [412] 𒍫, [413] 𒍬, [414] 𒍭, [415] 𒍮, [416] 𒍯, [417] 𒍰, [418] 𒍱, [419] 𒍲, [420] 𒍳, [421] 𒍴, [423] 𒍵, [425] 𒍶, [426] 𒍷, [428] 𒍸, [429] 𒍹, [430] 𒍺, [432] 𒍻, [433] 𒍼, [434] 𒍽, [435] 𒍾, [436] 𒍿, [437] 𒎀, [439] 𒎁, [440] 𒎂, [442] 𒎃, [443] 𒎄, [444] 𒎅, [445] 𒎆, [446] 𒎇, [448] 𒎈, [450] 𒎉, [456] 𒎊, [457] 𒎋, [458] 𒎌, [459] 𒎍. Some of these are also likely to be allographs of other characters.

It may be concluded that, at the current stage of research, only 24 out of the 81 new characters (29.6 percent) have been 'explained' in any possibly acceptable way (phonetic approximation, semantic identification, composite derivation, allographic status). This may be compared with the 290 (76.7 per cent) 'explained' characters out of 378 in the original list. For the current total of 459 characters this gives altogether 314 (68.4 per cent) 'explained' and 145 (31.6 per cent) 'unexplained' characters. Such calculations are, of course, always slightly inexact, as there is a lot of room for subjective judgement concerning the allographic relationships, not to mention the phonetic and semantic identifications. Even so, it has to be said that there is a rough concensus among specialists about

the general principles and results of Khitan Small Script decipherment, a situation that will probably lead to increasingly detailed and reliable results in the future.

At the same time as the number of known Khitan Small Script characters has grown, the probable mistakes and overlappings in the original list have become more obvious. This is why Jiruhe and Wu Yingzhe (2009) suggest to eliminate as many as 11 previously registered characters from the list. These include 9 basic characters (arranged according to list number): [060]  (to be replaced by [061] ), [121]  (probably a mistake for [329]  *ün*, cf. also Kane 2009: 49 §2.121), [126]  (to be replaced by [401] ), [209]  *lu*° (possibly a mistake for [208]  *lu*), [215]  *da* (identical with [171] *da*), [256]  (to be replaced by [257]  *em*), [278]  LUCK$_4$ (to be replaced by [277] LUCK), [281]  (to be replaced by [282] ), and [364]  (an incomplete form, probably standing for [294]  SOUTH). In addition, Jiruhe and Wu Yingzhe do not to recognize the separate status of the two composite characters in the original list, [009]  NORTH*d* and [360]  *pong*, as well as of the additional composite character [380]  LUCK, a decision which, however, is open to discussion.

The present publication strives at taking a realistic look at the past results and future prospects of the Khitan Small Script decipherment process. The goal of a full understanding of the script and the underlying language lies still far ahead. Not too many results should be expected too quickly. On the other hand, even the current corpus is large enough to allow the work to go on. In this situation, every new textual source marks a potential step forward.

2

XIAO DILU

The epigraphic document here identified as the Epitaph of Deputy Commissioner Xiao Dilu (*Xiao Dilu Fushi Muzhi*) comprises two separate pieces, a cover stone and a base stone, both of which contain a Khitan text. Both pieces were obtained by Wu Yingzhe and his colleague Buyandelger of Inner Mongolia University at the beginning of May, 2007, from a local dealer in antiquities based in Tuquan County 突泉縣 *Tuquan Xian* of Khingan League 興安盟 *Xing'an Meng*, Inner Mongolia. According to the dealer (who asked not to be named), the epitaph had been discovered already in the autumn of 2002 at Naiman Banner 奈曼旗 *Naiman Qi* of Tongliao Municipality 通遼市 *Tongliao Shi*, the former Jerim League 哲里木盟 *Zhelimu Meng*, Inner Mongolia. The exact place of discovery and circumstances of excavation are not known, but it may have been a question of an accidental find. The available information suggests that the epitaph had first been stored at a peasant's stable for over three years before the dealer had acquired it. Fortunately, the text faces had apparently been kept protected during that time, so that hardly a single character had suffered any secondary damage. The epitaph is, consequently, in a relatively good state of preservation.

After acquiring the two stones of the epitaph, the dealer kept one of them (the base stone) in his local storeroom, while the other one (the cover stone) was transferred to Changchun 長春, Jilin Province 吉林省 *Jilin Sheng*, several hundred kilometres away. It

was only with considerable difficulties and complicated practical arrangements that the two heavy stones were finally reunited and transported to Huhhot, where they were incorporated into the ethnographical and archaeological collections of the School of Mongolian Studies of Inner Mongolia University. In their new location, the stones have been subjected to a more careful study, which has confirmed their authenticity. At the same time, rubbings have been prepared of the text surfaces.

Both pieces of the epitaph are square tablets of approximately the same size and made of what seems to be grey sandstone (petrological analysis pending):

(1) The cover stone measures 84.5 cm in width, 84.5 cm in height, and 8 cm in thickness. The sides are slanting downwards, so that the top surface forms a smaller square of about 67 x 67 cm. The estimated weight of the stone is about 100 kg. The text is on the smaller (top) surface and comprises 25 lines of Khitan Small Script characters neatly inscribed. The number of blocks per line varies from 17 to 29. Altogether, there are 1,462 characters in 580 blocks, including two damaged characters.

(2) The base stone measures 83-84.5 cm in width, 83 cm in height, and 9-15 cm in thickness. The estimated weight is close to 200 kg. This stone has 26 lines of text in the Khitan Small Script, including 8 lines of poetry. The number of blocks per line varies from 2 to 29. On this stone, there are altogether 1,444 characters in 529 blocks, including one damaged character.

The whole epitaph contains, consequently, 2,903 preserved and 3 damaged Khitan Small Script characters, corresponding to 1,109 blocks and divided into 51 lines. The average block size is relatively large, ranging from 2 x 2 cm for single-character blocks to 3 x 5 cm for multiple-character blocks. Some of the blocks are previously unattested.

2.1. THE COVER STONE

The Khitan text of the cover stone of *Xiao Dilu* is in the following presented in a linearized version, with the characters ordered from

left to right, and with spaces indicating the block boundaries. The text is divided into sections of one or more blocks followed by the corresponding Romanization, a tentative translation (when relevant and possible), and comments. The location of each block is indicated by the number(s) of the line(s) and block(s) in the original document. The comments given are meant to illustrate relevant textological, historical, and linguistic details.

[1-1/2] 刘公 力丑出父村 *bú.d na.ha.án.er.en* 'of the maternal uncles of the other clan'. This phrase was first identified by Ji Shi (1996: 180-200) as being equivalent to Chinese 國舅別部 *guojiu biebu* 'the other clan of the imperial maternal uncles', implying the clan 蕭 *Xiao*, as opposed to the imperial clan 耶律 *Yelü*. The block 力丑出父村 *na.ha.án.er.en* contains the genitive marker [140] 村 *.en* = †-*n*, a cognate of Mongolic */*U-n* (Kane 2009: 132-133 §4.3); a possible plural marker .án.er, which may contain the primary plural marker [290] 出 *.án* = †-(*a*)*n* (Kane 2009: 142 §4.21), but which may also be a cognate of the Mongolic plural marker **-nAr*; and the nominal stem 力丑 *na.ha* 'maternal uncle', which quite certainly is a cognate of Mongolic **naga-* in **nagacu* id. The block 刘公 *bú.d* is likely to contain some reference to 'otherness', but it is unclear whether or not its lexical meaning is 别 *bie* 'other', in which case it could be compared with Mongolic **busu* id. In any case, the final .d in it is likely to represent the regular plural marker [254] 公 *.d* = †-*d* (Kane 2009: 138-140 §4.15), a cognate of Mongolic **-d*.

[1-3/4] 左屮廾反肉 令用攵 *ra.l.ó.o.ón t.il.uh.* These two blocks stand for the names of the person who, in view of the context, must be the tomb owner. Both names are commonly attested in Khitan inscriptions, and for 令用攵 *t.il.uh* there also exists the Chinese transcription 敵魯 *Dilu* (Yuan Haibo & Liu Fengzhu 2005: 207-208). Considering the information given by the text about the clan and names of the person, we may, consequently, identify the tomb owner by the Chinese

name *Xiao Dilu* 蕭敵魯. The details of the Khitan pronunciation of the original name remain, of course, obscure. In particular, we do not know what the value of the segments Romanized with the 'liquid letters' (*l r*) was. Khitan probably had at least two liquid phonemes, while Liao Chinese had only one (Kane 2009: 261 §7.27). Chingeltei (& Wu Yingzhe & Jiruhe 0000) reads [084] 𘥥 as [li] ~ [la] and [302] 𘦦 as [il] ~ [ir], while Liu Fengzhu (& Tang Cailan & Chengel 2009: 451) reads [084] 𘥥 as [ly] and [302] 𘦦 as [li]. For the time being, all such 'readings' remain hypothetical.

[1-5] 𘤪𘥣𘠽 *pu.is.en* 'of the Deputy Commissioner'. This is the genitive form in 𘠽 *.en* of the nominal stem 𘤪𘥣 *pu.is*, which seems to be the Khitan transcription of Chinese 副使 *fushi* 'deputy commissioner', the tomb owner's official title. Although the Khitan Small Script has the special character [180] 𘦇 *shï* and the combination 𘦇𘦂 *shï.ï*, both of which are used to transcribe the Liao Chinese value of the Chinese syllable *shi* in several different items, including 使 *shi* 'envoy, ambassador, commissioner', the title 副使 *fushi* is actually attested in the Khitan shape 𘤪 𘥣 *pu:is* in a passage of *Song Wei Guo Fei* (line 10), which has the sequence 𘦋𘦈𘦑 𘦊𘦁 𘦇𘦋𘦌𘦌 𘤪 𘥣 *y.ie.ên ca.ang g.iu.ung.un pu:is*, corresponding to Chinese 延昌宮之副使 *Yanchang Gong zhi Fushi* 'the Deputy Commissioner of Yanchang Gong' (Liu Fengzhu & Chengel 2003: 205). Incidentally, there is also another title, written in Khitan as 𘤪𘥣𘦀 *pu.is.ñ* and corresponding to Chinese 夫人 *furen* 'lady' (Kane 2009: 104 §3.113). In spite of the superficial similarity, there seems be no connection between 𘤪𘥣𘠽 *pu.is.en* and 𘤪𘥣𘦀 *pu.is.ñ*. It may be noted that the character [033] 𘥣 *is*, as used in these two sequences, has different Chinese values, suggesting that the opposition between the Liao Chinese sounds underlying modern *sh* and *r* was not relevant in Khitan.

[1-6/9] 𘦀𘦊 𘦂𘦋𘦍 ⬚ 𘦊 𘦃𘤿 *m.in* RECORD.*g.én* [Ø]:*in* TEXT.*ú* 'epitaph'. The sequence 𘦀𘦊 𘦂𘦋𘦍 *m.in*

RECORD.*g.én* is also attested in a number of other inscriptions, including *Yelü Fubushu*, *Yelü Hongyong*, and *Yelü Nu*. Another term for 'epitaph' is, however, 𘮩𘮞𘮪 𘮫𘮈𘮜 𘮃𘮪 *n.ra.de* RECORD.*g.én* TEXT.*ú* (Kane 2009: 96 §3.062), which contains the dative form in 𘮪 *.de* of the noun 𘮩𘮞 *n.ra* 'tomb' (Kane 2009: 123 §3.220), yielding the whole phrase the meaning 'text recorded on the tomb [of]'. There are indications, including a passage in *Yelü Fubushu* (line 51), suggesting that the block 𘮘𘮇 *m.in* may also mean 'tomb', though its use in the unmarked form in 𘮘𘮇 𘮫𘮈𘮜 *m.in* RECORD.*g.én* remains to be explained. The meaning of the damaged block ⬚ 𘮇 [Ø]:*in* is also unclear. In principle, the character [018] 𘮇 *in* could also represent the variant 𘮇 *.in* of the genitive marker (Kane 2009: 133-134 §4.4).

[1-10/11] 𘮈⬚𘮁𘮕 𘮭𘮚𘮈 *ho.[l].b.ñ ci.ge.ii* 'together with [a] preface', a phrase corresponding to Chinese 並序 *bingxu* id., commonly used to conclude the title of an inscription (Kane 2009: 111 §3.155). The second character of the first block is damaged, but can be reconstructed as [261] 𘮋 *l* on the basis of other attestations. Formally, 𘮈𘮋𘮁𘮕 *ho.l.b.ñ* 'preface' < 'first' may probably be analysed as a past (perfect) participle in *.b.ñ* (Kane 2009: 155 §4.43) from a verbal stem 𘮈𘮋 *ho.l.*, perhaps 'to begin'. The exact meaning and structure of 𘮭𘮚𘮈 *ci.ge.ii* is unclear.

[1-12/16] 𘮭𘮚 𘮍𘮏 𘮆𘮞𘮓𘮋 𘮬𘮛𘮐 𘮫𘮓 *ci.e* MOUNTAIN.*o y.ra.u.ud is.iú.ih*$_2$ *n.u.* In accordance with the general structure of Khitan epitaphs, this must be the identification of the person who composed the inscription text, and the sequence 𘮬𘮛𘮐 𘮫𘮓 *is.iú.ih*$_2$ *n.u*, comprising two blocks, is his name. This could be a trisyllabic Chinese name corresponding to *Shu Yi Nu*, but since the first three characters are written as a single block, it could also have a bisyllabic structure of the type *Shui Nu*. In the absence of any confirming information from Chinese sources, the possibility cannot be ruled out that it is a question of a non-Chinese name. It may be

noted that the transcription of the Liao Chinese value of *sh* with the character [033] 𘤽 *is* would be consistent with the use of this same character in 𘤿𘤽 *pu.is* for *fushi* [1-5]. On the other hand, the Chinese syllable *shu* would normally have been written in a number of other ways in Khitan, including 𘥣𘥤 *sh.iú* (Kane 2009: 246-247 §7.21). Another peculiarity in the block 𘤽𘥤𘦂 *is.iú.ih*$_2$ is that the character [455] 𘦂 *ih*$_2$, as attested here, seems to be unique in the extant Khitan Small Script corpus. Its status as an allograph of [338] 𘣿 *ih* is, however, confirmed by the fact that the same name occurs also in the shape 𘤽𘥤𘣿 𘤀𘤍 *is.iú.ih n.u* on the last line of the base stone of this same epitaph [51-10/11]. The sequence 𘥁𘤟𘤍𘥑 *y.ra.u.ud* is the Khitan for 耶律 *Yelü* and stands for the person's clan identification. This is obviously a plural in [344] 𘥑 *ud* = †*-ud*, formally identical with the Mongolic plurals in *(*x*)*U/d*, containing the connective vowel **U*. The actual Khitan reading of the clan name *Yelü* is still unknown. Gao Lujia (1988b) has read the item as [ilaut], but there seems to be no independent evidence supporting such a specific statement (cf. also de Rachewiltz 1974). As for the sequence 𘥓𘤪 𘥈𘤧 *ci.e* MOUNTAIN.*o*, which precedes the clan name, its meaning is unclear, though it might specify some particular group within the Yelü clan. It is also unknown whether the character [006] 𘥈 MOUNTAIN here has a semantic (logogrammatic) or a phonetic (syllabic) function.

[1-17] 𘥈𘦳𘥠𘥍𘤼 ETERNAL.COMPOSE$_2$.*ha.a.ar* 'composed'. This is a finite verb in the past tense form marked by [123] 𘤼 *.ar* (Kane 2009: 145 §4.29). The two preceding characters 𘥠𘥍 *.ha.a.* probably represent a causative marker, a cognate of Mongolic **-gA-* ~ **-xA-* (cf. Kane 2009: 148 §4.34). The verbal base is [310] 𘦳 COMPOSE$_2$, apparently an allograph of [308] 𘦴 and [405] 𘦵. The preceding character [063] 𘥈 ETERNAL would also seem to be a logogram, implying that the whole phrase might mean 'composed for the eternity', though the possibility of a phonetic reading cannot be excluded. The

sequence 𐰴𐰃 ETERNAL.COMPOSE$_2$ is also attested in an analogous context in other inscriptions, including *Han Gaoshi* and *Yelü Dilie*. Altogether, the first line forms an independent introduction to the text and introduces both the tomb owner, Deputy Commissioner Dilu of the Xiao clan, and the author of the epitaph, Shu Yi Nu (?) of the Yelü clan.

[2-1/4] 𐰚𐰾 𐰇𐰀𐰆 𐰋𐰺 𐰃𐰏𐰍𐰆 *pu.is* BORN.*s.g bú.d na.ha.án.er.en* 'the Deputy Commissioner [was] born of the maternal uncles of the other clan'. Apart from the official title [1-5] and clan identification [1-1/2] of the tomb owner this sequence contains the character [238] 𐰇 BORN in the composition of the morphologically unexplained block 𐰇𐰀𐰆 BORN.*s.g*, which is also attested in other inscriptions. The structure (word order) of the clause would suggest that it is a question of a non-finite (participle) form.

[2-5/6] 𐰉𐰍 𐰀𐰇𐰆 *i.ri t.il.uh* '[his] name [was] T.il.uh'. This section repeats the principal personal name of the tomb owner [1-4]. In the Khitan anthroponymic system (Liu Pujiang & Kang Peng 2005) this is the so-called 'first name', although it normally comes after the 'second name'. The term for '(first) name' was correctly read as 𐰉𐰍 *i.ri* by Wang Hongli (1986), and it may now be identified as an apparent cognate of Mongolic **nere* id. In this case, we may be certain that the consonant of [235] 𐰍 *ri* was phonetically [r], since the same character is attested in 𐰃𐰍 *m.ri* 'horse', a cognate of Mongolic **mori* id. (Kane 2009: 102 §3.099). It is more difficult to reconstruct the following vowel, but it may have had the indistinct quality [ə], since it seems to correspond to both **i* and **e* in Mongolic. Assuming that the Khitan word for 'name' was something like †*ere* = [ərə], this might represent the 'original' shape of the word, perhaps **ere*, while the initial **n* of Mongolic **nere* could be due to a secondary prothesis, possibly from a preceding genitive **-n*.

[2-7/8] 𐰢𐰍𐰸𐰃 𐰴𐰺𐰓𐰇 *ci.ur.én.en ra.l.ó.o.ón* '[and his] second name [was] Ra.l.ó.o.ón'. This section repeats the

'second name' of the tomb owner [1-3]. The word referring to the 'second name' is 𐲤𐲰𐲢𐲪 *ci.ur.én.en*, which may be analysed as a genitive in 𐲪 *.en* of 𐲤𐲰𐲢 *ci.ur.én* 'second', itself an ordinal numeral based on the stem 𐲤𐲰 *ci.ur-*. It is generally assumed that the ordinal marker [361]𐲢 *.én* indicates feminine gender, as opposed to [341]𐲡 *.er*, which is supposed to indicate masculine gender (Kane 2009: 143-144 §4.24-25). The actual rules governing the use of these markers are, however, unknown, and there are examples of the type 𐲤𐲰𐲢 𐲭 *ci.ur.én ai* 'second uncle' (Kane 2009: 115 §3.177) suggesting that gender may not have been the only relevant variable. In any case, the sequence 𐲤𐲰𐲢𐲪 *ci.ur.én.en* '[having the] second name' is attested in this form also in other inscriptions. In absolute use, the numeral for 'two' is always written with the characters [134]𐲣 TWO resp. [135]𐲣 TWO°, which, on the other hand, are hardly ever attested in a phonetic function. Even so, it is likely that the basic numeral for 'two' in Khitan had a shape corresponding to 𐲤𐲰 *ci.ur*, in which case it must be a cognate of Mongolic **jir-* (as in **jir-in* 'two females', **jir-gu-xan* 'six'). The fact that Tungusic also has a somewhat similar numeral stem for 'two', as in Manchu *juwe*, may also be relevant, but the details are not clear. In Khitan, the structure of the stem 𐲤𐲰 *ci.ur-* in 𐲤𐲰𐲢 *ci.ur.én* : 𐲤𐲰𐲡 *ci.ur.er* 'second' forms an analogy to the stems 𐲧𐲰 *hu.ur-* in 𐲧𐲰𐲢 *hu.ur.én* : 𐲧𐲰𐲡 *hu.ur.er* 'third' and 𐲬𐲰 *t.ur-* in 𐲬𐲰𐲢 *t.ur.én* : 𐲬𐲰 *t.ur.er* 'fourth', suggesting that all these numerals share a systematic element †*-r*, as also the corresponding Mongolic items **ji-r-*, **gu-r-*, **dö-r-* (Kane 2009: 121 §3.211, 98-99 §3.079). No such element exists in the Tungusic numeral system, and although the Tungusic numeral for 'two' is normally reconstructed with a final **r* (perhaps **jöxer*), this **r* might also be a plural marker (singular **jöxen* : plural **jöxe-r*).

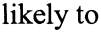
[2-9/10] 𐲫𐲡𐲡 𐲡𐲯𐲪 TEN°*.d.er n.on.en* 'of the tenth generation'. The block 𐲫𐲡𐲡 TEN°*.d.er* 'tenth' has not

been attested before. It contains the dotted character [422] TEN°, followed by *.d.er*, of which [341] *.er* may be recognized as the marked masculine variant of the ordinal numeral marker. The function of [254] *.d* remains unclear, but the complex marker *.d.er*, as a whole, could perhaps be compared with the Mongolic ordinal marker **-DA-xAr* ~ **-DU-xAr* (> modern *+dugaar*), by origin possibly a combination of the dative (dative-locative) and instrumental case endings. It has to be noted, however, that the masculine ordinals for the lower numerals (from 2 to 4 and 6) are normally formed by the marker *.er* without the element *.d*. The phonetic value of the numeral stem for 'ten' remains unknown. Also, it is not known whether the 'masculine' dot in [422] TEN° somehow affected the sounding of the word. The sequence *n.on.en* is a genitive in *.en* from the nominal stem *n.on* 'generation' (Kane 2009: 99 §3.082), a word of unknown connections.

[2-11/14] *u.ur ai ku.û.su hu.mú.or* '[his] forefather [was] [---] Hu.mu.or'. The sequence *u.ur ai* is a well-known term for 'forefather, ancestor' (Kane 2009: 84 §3.002), composed of *u.ur* 'former' and *ai* 'father', where *u.ur* 'former' may be compared with Mongolic **uri-* : **uri-d-* 'formerly'. The block *hu.mu.or* gives the name of the tenth-generation ancestor of the tomb owner, while the element *ku.û.su* here appears to denote some positive or auspicious epithet, tentatively: 'illustrious'.

[2-15/20] *is.d.er n.on.en u.ur ai ku.û.su y.ho.qu* '[his] forefather of the ninth generation [was] [---] Y.ho.qu'. This phrase parallels the preceding one [2-9/14] with the exception that the ordinal numeral here is *is.d.er* 'ninth', which is a previously unattested block containing the ordinal marker *.d.er*, as also in TEN°.*d.er* 'tenth' [2-9]. In this connection, it has to be noted that the Khitan basic numeral [033] *is* (Kane

2009: 39 §0.33), though often compared with Mongol(ic) *is* ~ *yis* ~ *yös* id., can hardly have anything to do with the latter. The Mongolic item represents a replacement for an earlier numeral for 'nine' (Janhunen 1993: 178) and may be reconstructed as Proto-Mongolic **yer-sü/n* (: **yer-e/n* 'ninety). The assumption that it would have been present in Khitan and developed there phonetically along the same lines as in Post-Proto-Mongolic is likely to involve an anachronism. Moreover, we do not know whether the phonetic value of Khitan 033  *is* was really [is], for this same character is also attested in a value corresponding to [si] ~ [ʃi], as in  *pu.is* for *fushi* [1-5]. Th block  *y.ho.qu* is the name of the ninth-generation ancestor of the tomb owner, with *ku.û.su* [2-19] again serving as an epithet.

[2-21/24]  *qid.i x.iu.* 282.*i y.eu.ha.al p.úr.s.* This section contains only one known block, *qid.i* 'Khitan'. In spite of abundant literature on this ethnonym (recently, Chingeltei 2002c, Kane 2009: 162-165), the details of its actual pronunciation in Khitan remain obscure. It is possible that *qid.i* is an abbreviation of *qid.ún.i* id., and that the final *.i* is an attributive marker (Kane 2009: 136 §4.9). Of the other blocks in the section,  *y.eu.ha.al* looks like a converb in *.al* (Kane 2009: 153 §4.39) from a causative stem *y.eu.ha*, while *p.úr.s* is a frequently attested, but so far unidentified, noun (Kane 2009: 201, note 34). Considering the date (1114) and other circumstances of the inscription, the ninth-generation ancestor of the tomb owner would have been alive around the time of the founding of the Liao dynasty (907/916). It is therefore possible that this phrase in some way refers to the rise of the Khitan.

[2-25/27]  EIGHT.*d.er u.ur ai* '[his] eighth forefather [was]'. In this phrase, the longer expression, as used in the previous sections [2-9/12, 2-15/18], is abbreviated by omitting the word *n.on.en* 'of [the] generation'. The

ordinal numeral 𐲪𐲰𐲤 EIGHT.*d.er* is, once again, formed by the complex marker 𐲰𐲤 *.d.er*, implying that this complex marker was used, at least, with the higher basic numerals (from 8 to 10). It may be noted that in the expressions listing the early ancestors of the tomb owner, only the numeral character 𐲢 TEN° occurs with the 'masculine' dot, while both 𐲭 *is* 'nine' and 𐲪 EIGHT are used in their non-dotted shapes. The phonetic value of the numeral stem 𐲪 EIGHT is so far not revealed by the database, since this character is never attested in a phonetic function.

[3-1/2] 𐲘𐲁𐲓 𐲁𐲃𐲤 091.*o.ho sh.a.rí.* 'Court Attendant 091.*o.ho*'. This is the name and official title of the eighth-generation ancestor of the tomb owner. The 'reading' of the first character of the name remains obscure, as does the nameholder's historical person, but the title 𐲁𐲃𐲤 *sh.a.rí* 沙里 *shali* is well known from both Khitan and Chinese sources as the Khitan counterpart of Chinese 朗君 *langjun* 'court attendant' (Kane 2009: 116 §3.184).

[3-3/8] 𐲦𐲠𐲤 𐲰𐲅𐲍 𐲁𐲁 𐲪 𐲁𐲂𐲍 𐲁𐲃𐲤 *da*$_2$*. lo.er n.on.en u.ur ai sh.qó.a sh.a.rí* '[his] forefather of the seventh generation [was] Court Attendant Sh.qó.a'. This section incorporates again the word 𐲰𐲅𐲍 *n.on.en* 'of [the] generation'. The ordinal numeral 𐲦𐲠𐲤 *da*$_2$*.lo.er* 'seventh' has only the marker 𐲤 *.er*, but no 𐲰 *.d*, added to a stem that is also attested without any marker as 𐲦𐲠 *da*$_2$*.lo* 'seven' (Kane 2009: 115 §3.181), although this numeral can also be written with the logograms [141]𐲠 SEVEN resp. [441]𐲠 SEVEN°. The 'spelling' 𐲦𐲠 *da*$_2$*.lo* suggests the 'reading' †*dalo* ~ †*dalu*, which is a more or less perfect cognate of Mongolic **dalu-* in **dalu-xa/n* > **dolu-xa/n* 'seven' (: **dal-a/n* 'seventy', cf. also Chingeltei 1997b). The official title of this forefather was again 𐲁𐲃𐲤 *sh.a.rí* 'court attendant' [3-2], while his name was 𐲁𐲂𐲍 *sh.qó.a.*

[3-9/14] 𐲣𐲤 𐲰𐲅𐲍 𐲁𐲁 𐲪 𐲇𐲁 𐲰𐲤 𐲁𐲋𐲋 𐲁𐲁 SIX°*.er n.on.en u.ur ai* COMPOSE$_3$*.u.er sh.i.ci.u* '[his] forefather

of the sixth generation [was] COMPOSE.u.er Shi.ci.u'. This section follows the pattern of the previous ones, but it may be noted that the ordinal  SIX°.*er* 'sixth' is written with the dotted character [086] SIX° like TEN°.*d.er* 'tenth' above [2-9], but unlike *is.d.er* 'ninth' [2-15], EIGHT.*d.er* 'eighth' [2-25], and *da*$_2$*.lo.er* 'seventh' [3-3]. The item [085] SIX belongs to those basic numerals on whose phonetic value the Khitan Small Script has so far not yielded any direct information. Indirect information suggests that the Khitan numeral for 'six' has no cognate in Mongolic, which uses an innovation (2 x 3 = 6 **jir-guxa/n*). A borrowed reflex of the original numeral, which was probably also present in Khitan in a shape close to **nil-*, has, however, survived in the Jurchenic system for teens (Janhunen 1993: 175-176). The name of the sixth ancestor of the tomb owner consists, like the previous ones, of two parts, one of which (probably, the latter one) could also be a title. The character [405] COMPOSE$_3$ has been identified by Chingeltei (& Wu Yingzhe & Jiruhe 0000) as a probable allograph of [308] COMPOSE, a character that would also seem to have the variant [310] COMPOSE$_2$ [1-17]. However, it is unclear whether this character in the sequence COMPOSE$_3$.*u.er* is used in a semantic or in a phonetic function.

[3-15/18] *t.od.o.ho n.on.en u.ur ai* '[his] forefather of the fifth generation [was]'. The only difference from the beginning part of the preceding phrase [3-9/12] is that we here have the ordinal numeral *t.od.o.ho* 'fifth'. From other inscriptions, the variant *t.ad.o.ho* is also known (Kane 2009: 97 §3.072). Comparing these items with the corresponding cardinal stem [029] *tau* 'five', we can see that the ordinal marker in this case is probably *-d.o.ho*. In fact, this marker, in the variant shape *.d.hu*, is also present *is.d.hu* 'ninth', as attested in *Yelü Dilie* (line 5). It may be concluded that ordinal numerals for masculine gender were formed by at least three

different markers:  *.er* (for 2-4 and 6-7),  *.d.er* (for 8-10), and *.d.hu* (with variants, for 5, but also for 9). The corresponding ordinal numerals for feminine (or, possibly, generic) gender were normally formed by the marker  *.én*, but the item for 'fifth' appears exceptionally in the shape  *t.od.o.ón* (erroneously quoted as *t.od.o.in* in Kane 2009: 144 §4.25). While the element *-d-* in all these markers is probably diachronically connected with the segment **D* (= **d* : **t*) in the Mongolic ordinal marker **-DA-xAr* ~ **-DU-xAr*, there may also be a more specific connection between the Khitan ordinal marker *.d.hu* and the (mainly modern) Mongolic ordinals in **-DA-ki* < **D-A-kï*. To make the picture more complete, it has to be mentioned that there is one additional type of Khitan ordinals, formed by the marker  *.ri.er* (masculine) resp. *.ri.en* (feminine). This type is known from, at least, two examples: EIGHT.*ri.er* 'eighth', as attested in *Han Gaoshi* (lines 9 and 13) and *Yelü Dilie* (line 4), and *is.ri.én* 'ninth', as attested in *Yongqing Gongzhu* (line 26). The element *.ri* in these examples seems to have no easily detectable counterpart on the Proto-Mongolic side.

[3-19/22]  *to.on.ñ* CHIEF.*em* *tai ong* 'Grand Prince To.on.ñ CHIEF.em'. This section gives the name and official title of the fifth-generation ancestor of the tomb owner. The sequence *tai ong* (in two separate blocks) is the Khitan transcription of Chinese 大王 *da*[*i*]*wang* 'great king' = 'grand prince' (Kane 2009: 80 §2.374). The name *to.on.ñ* CHIEF.*em* is probably composed of a 'second name' and a 'first name'. Of these, the 'second name' *to.on.ñ*, with reference to the same person as here, is also attested in *Xiao Tuguci* (line 2). From a comparison of the two texts it becomes clear that this fifth-generation ancestor of Xiao Dilu, was also the grandfather of Xiao Tuguci. The name CHIEF.*em* contains the character [195] , which is here tentatively given the semantic identification CHIEF on the basis

of the sequence 一 为 伏 𠂆 北 𠂇 午 𠂇 𠂆 各 火 NORTH EAST *ñ.ô.ho.en dal.en s.eng.un* in *Yelü Zongjiao* (line 13), which corresponds to Chinese 北東路達領詳穩 *Beidonglu Daling Xiangwen* 'principal military commander of the north-eastern district'. Chingeltei (& Wu Yingzhe & Jiruhe 0000) assumes that Khitan 午 𠂇 is simply a transcription of Chinese 達領 *daling* 'superior commander' and reads [195] 午 as †*dal* = [tal], but this is not necessarily so, since the Chinese final *ing* is never written [140] 𠂇 *en* but always [303] 同 *ing* in Khitan. The block 午 𠂇 is therefore best identified as a genitive in 𠂇 *.en* from a Khitan noun, which might mean something connected with the concepts of 'head, chief'. In the block 午 金 CHIEF.*em*, however, this character is more likely being used in a phonetic function.

[3-23/27] 𠂤 只 𠂤 主 王 雨 非 朱 HEAVEN *û.er hong di:in po.do* 'at the time of the heaven-bestowed emperor'. The headword here is 非 朱 *po.do*, a dative in 朱 *.do* from the nominal stem 非 *po* 'time' (Kane 2009: 122-123 §3.217), preceded by 主 王 雨 *hong di:in*, a genive in 雨 *:in* from the Chinese word 主 王 *hong di* 皇帝 *huangdi* 'emperor' (Kane 2009: 95 §3.059). It may be noted that characters denoting high titles like 主 王 *hong di* 'emperor' or 𠂢 *ong* 'king, prince' are often not combined into 'regular' blocks together with other characters. Instead, sequences like 主 王 雨 *hong di:in* 'of the emperor', as here, are typically written in linear arrangement. The Romanization of [279] 非 *po* is based on the preserved Chinese transcription 𨈆 *po* of this word (Sun Bojun & Nie Hongyin 2008: 92-93), but since this is probably a cognate of Mongolic *on* < (*)*xon* < **pon* 'year', also present in Jurchenic in the shape **pon* > *fon* 'time', the actual Khitan shape of the word may also have been †*pon* = [p^{h}on]. The construction 𠂤 只 𠂤 HEAVEN *û.er* 'heaven-bestowed' contains the logogram [243] 𠂤 HEAVEN, followed by 只 𠂤 *û.er* 'bestowed, granted', which seems to be an adnominally used past tense form (participle) from 只 *û* 'to give' >

'to bestow, to grant' (Kane 2009: 99 §3.083), a probable cognate of Mongolic **ög-* id.

[3-28/29] 𘮬𘮫𘮭 𘮫𘰾 *ku.û.su û.ui.* Only the word 𘮫𘰾 *û.ui* 'gave' > 'bestowed, granted' can be translated here, while 𘮬𘮫𘮭 *ku.û.su*, also used before personal names [2-13, 2-19], would here seem to denote something that can be bestowed (as by a higher official) — therefore, perhaps, some kind of 'favour'. The verbal form 𘮫𘰾 *û.ui* contains the stem 𘮫 *û* 'to give' [3-24] and the marker *-i*, orthographically 𘰾 *.ui.* This type of form has been identified as a converb (Kane 2009: 149-150 §4.36), though our knowledge of Khitan morphosyntax is still too limited to allow a strict distinction to be made between the converbial (adverbal), participial (adnominal), and finite forms of the verb.

[4-1/3] 𘮪𘰀 𘮩子 𘮭久比 *ud$_3$.úr o.ju t.uh.ii.* These three blocks mark the beginning of a more detailed description of the life and work of the fifth-generation ancestor of the tomb owner. Only the first block 𘮪𘰀 *ud$_3$.úr* 'first' can be translated (Kane 2009: 45 §2.092). There have been many speculations about the 'reading' of the character [092]𘮪 *ud$_3$*, but the problem cannot be regarded as solved. It seems likely, however, that [092]𘮪 *ud$_3$* is simply a block-initial variant of [105]𘮦 *ud$_2$*, which itself is an allograph of [344]𘮧 *ud.* It is often difficult to make an unambiguous palaeographical distinction between [105]𘮦 *ud$_2$* vs. [092]𘮪 *ud$_3$*. Thus, while the block 𘮪𘰀 *ud$_3$.úr* 'first' is normally assumed to contain [092]𘮪 *ud$_3$*, the block 𘮦𘮬 *ud$_2$.ur* 'east' (Kane 2009: 94 §3.053) is supposed to contain [105]𘮦 *ud$_2$*. It would be tempting to assume that 𘮪𘰀 *ud$_3$.úr* 'first' = 'before' and 𘮦𘮬 *ud$_2$.ur* 'east' involve the same word ('east' = 'the front side'), but this is not likely in view of the fact that the cardinal directions in both Mongolic and Tungusic are built on a different system of orientation ('the front side' = 'south'). Moreover, 𘮪𘰀 *ud$_3$.úr* 'first' and 𘮦𘮬 *ud$_2$.ur* 'east' cannot have been homonyms, since the second characters are different. The word

 *ud_2.ur* 'east' has been compared with Mongolic **dor/u-n-a* '(in the) east', implying that the phonetic value of [105]  *ud_2* and, hence, [092]  *ud_3* could also have been something like [tu] or [to], but the comparison cannot be regarded as confirmed. The sequence   *o.ju t.uh.ii* can be Romanized but not translated. Possibly, *t.uh.ii* is a converb in *-i* (Kane 2009: 149 §4.36).

[4-4/6]   *s.uni* DAY.*i nai* 'night [and] day official'. This is apparently an official title, based on the noun *nai* 'head' > 'official' (Kane 2009: 109 §3.144) and modified by the words *s.uni* 'night' (Kane 2009: 108 § 3.139) and DAY 'day' (Kane 2009: 53 § 2.159). The element i in DAY.*i* is probably identical with the attributive marker .i [2-21]. The word *s.uni* is strikingly similar to Mongolic **söni*, but this is partly due to the fact that the Romanization of the character [059] *uni* is based on this very item, though it also fits the 'reading' *uni* 'ox', a cognate of Mongolic **üniye/n* 'cow' (Kane 2009: 41 §2.059). The Mongolic cognates suggest that Khitan may have merged the vowels **ö* and **ü* into a uniform [u], a development well known from Jurchenic, and also from several modern Mongolic idioms. Altogether, Khitan, like Manchu, may have had only 5 or 6 vowel qualities in its paradigm, and no distinctive vowel quantity, but the issue remains to be studied. Concerning the phonetic value of the character [159] DAY there have been speculations on the basis of the Chinese transcription (in *Liaoshi*) 捏咿兒 *nieyier* 'day, sun', which might suggest a 'reading' like †*ñar* = [ɲar], a possible cognate of Mongolic **nara/n* 'sun'. Unfortunately, this 'reading' has no support from the Khitan Small Script data.

[4-7/11]      *ta_2.i m.úr ai.$én_2$ ui.de ja.ha.ai.l.ha.ai.* Here, only the word *ui.de* 'in the matter(s)' can be identified as a dative in *.de* from the nominal stem *ui* 'matter' > 'affair(s), management', a possible cognate of Mongolic **üile* id. (Kane 2009:

106 §3.125). The character [122] 𐲀 *ai*, when used as a nominal stem, can denote both 'father' and 'year', but the sequence 𐲀 𐲉 *ai.én*$_2$ may also represent an entirely different item, since the character [100] 𐲉 *én*$_2$ = [361] 𐲊 *én* is difficult to explain as a suffix of nominal declension. In any case, the regular genitive from 𐲀 *ai* 'year' is well attested in the form 𐲀 𐲋 *ai.en* (Kane 2009: 128 §3.245). The blocks 𐲌 𐲍 𐲎 𐲏 *ta*$_2$*.i m.úr* remain unexplained. The analysis of the character [234] 𐲌 *ta*$_2$ as an allograph of [229] 𐲐 *ta* is also somewhat uncertain and may turn out to be incorrect. The six-character block 𐲑 𐲒 𐲀 𐲓 𐲒 𐲀 *ja.ha.ai.l.ha.ai* must be a verbal form incorporating the causative marker 𐲓 𐲒 *.l.ha*, as well as, probably, the converb marker 𐲀*.(a)i.*

[4-12/13] 𐲔 𐲕 𐲖 𐲗 CHIEF *ñ.ó.úr* 'the CHIEF tribe'. This sequence contains the Khitan term for 'tribe', 𐲕 𐲖 𐲗 *ñ.ó.úr*, which is also attested in several other orthographical shapes (Kane 2009: 124 §3.223). Unfortunately, the name of the tribe here cannot be 'read', since it is written with the character [195] 𐲔 CHIEF [3-20], whose phonetic value remains unknown. It is very probably a question of one of the many tribes listed in *Liaoshi* (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 87-111), but the identification is so far impossible.

[4-14/15] 𐲓 𐲘 𐲙 𐲚 𐲛 𐲓 𐲒 𐲜 *l.bu.hu ie*^{x}*.l.ha.ar.* The latter of these two semantically unidentifiable blocks may probably be analysed as a finite past tense form in -(*a*)*r*, orthographically 𐲜 *.ar* [1-17], from a causative stem in 𐲓 𐲒 *.l.ha.* This finite verb governs the previous noun phrase [4-12/13].

[4-16/17] 𐲝 𐲞 𐲟 *qi po.do* 'at that time'. The word 𐲞 𐲟 *po.do* 'at [the] time' [3-27] is here preceded by the demonstrative 𐲝 *qi* 'that' (Kane 2009: 121 §3.210). It has to be noted that this particular Romanization (as proposed by Kane) is rather difficult to substantiate, since there is no demonstrative root of the type **kV* in Mongolic. For this reason, Chingeltei (& Wu Yingzhe & Jiruhe 0000) suggests that the character [323] 𐲝, which is also attested in combination with the character [151]

 *hu* in the block  'that', should actually be read [mun], corresponding to Mongolic **mön* : **mön+kü* 'that very'. Unfortunately, this is also impossible to verify. It would be safest to identify the character [323]  only semantically (THAT), were it not that it is also present in the sequence  *qi.ii.ñ*, which is the Khitan name of the tribe 奚 *Xi*, also known by the Turkic name Qay = **kay*, possibly < **kañ* (cf. also Eberhard 1949). If this identification holds, the Romanization *qi* is more or less correct.

[4-18/20]    NORTH WEST *ñ.ó.úr* 'the northwestern tribe(s)'. The word *ñ.ó.úr* 'tribe' [4-13] is here modified by the two directional logograms NORTH and WEST (Kane 2009: 109 §3.141, 125-126 §3.235), implying a group of tribes occasionally mentioned in historical sources as living in the northwestern parts of the Liao Empire (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 49, 362 note 74). The phonetic values of the corresponding words remain unknown.

[4-21/26]           *hu.üen.is.ó.o.ho p.aû.er zhi$_3$.rí.en s.l.ún gi$_2$* MANAGE.*l.ha.a.án.* Apart from the last word, which must mean something like '[he let] manage, administer', a predicatively used participial form in *-n* (Kane 2009: 155 §4.42) from a causative derivative of [142]  MANAGE (Kane 2009: 51 §2.142 'know'), the meaning of this section remains obscure. On the basis of a later passage [5-11/12] it is, however, possible to identify the sequence   *hu.üen.is.ó.o.ho* as a reference to a particular tribal group, also known by the Chinese name 乙室活 *Yishihuo.*

[5-1/3]      *ui l.bu.hu ie^x.l.ha.ai.* This section contains the word *ui* 'matter' [4-10] followed by a repetition of the sequence   *l.bu.hu ie^x.l.ha.ar* [4-14/15], with the difference that the finite form in *.ar* is here replaced by the converb in  *.ai.* Judging by the context, the whole phrase might mean something like 'after finishing the business successfully'.

[5-4/6] 𘰾 𘰿 𘱀𘰽𘰼 *jau tau b.o.or* 'he became a punitive commissioner'. The two characters 𘰾 𘰿 *jau tau* are here used to transcribe the Chinese official title 招討 *zhaotao* 'punitive commissioner' (Kane 2009: 130 §3.354). The block 𘱀𘰽𘰼 *b.o.or* 'became' is a finite past tense masculine form in *-r*, orthographically 𘰼 *.or* (Kane 2009: 146 §4.31), from the copular verb 𘱀𘰽 *b.o* ~ 𘱀𘰾 *b.u* ~ 𘰻𘰾 *p.u* 'to be, to become' (Kane 2009: 156 §4.45), which probably etymologically corresponds to Mongolic **bü-* id. This may be the same word as 𘰻𘰽 *p.o* 'to be appointed (to), to be promoted (to)' (Kane 2009: 84 §3.003).

[5-7/10] 𘰷𘰺𘰴 𘰹𘰸 𘰵𘰷𘰲 𘰻𘰴 *dz.a.*TENT *zhi*$_3$*.rí g.ui.ún to*$_2$.TENT. This section contains no parts that can be translated. The block 𘰹𘰸 *zhi*$_3$*.rí* seems to represent an unidentifiable nominal stem, which is also attested in the genitive form 𘰹𘰸𘰺 *zhi*$_3$*.ri.en* above [4-23]. The character [379] 𘰴 TENT in the blocks 𘰷𘰺𘰴 *dz.a.*TENT and 𘰻𘰴 *to*$_2$.TENT is apparently used in a phonetic function. Although we do not know the pronunciation of this character, it may be noted that the word for 'house, household' in Khitan is recorded as 𘰶𘰱 *go.er* (Kane 2009: 102 §3.100), which is obviously a cognate of Mongolic **ger* 'tent, house, household'. It is therefore not impossible that this same word was also written with the character [379] 𘰴 TENT.

[5-11/12] 𘰳𘰻𘰮𘰽𘰾𘰸 𘰱𘰽𘰮 *hu.üen.is.ó.o.ho ñ.ó.úr* 'the Hu.üen Is.ó.o.ho tribe'. Here, the block 𘰳𘰻𘰮𘰽𘰾𘰸 *hu.üen.is.ó.o.ho* [4-20/21] is followed by 𘰱𘰽𘰮 *ñ.ó.úr* 'tribe' [4-13], allowing the sequence 𘰮𘰽𘰾𘰸 *.is.ó.o.ho* to be identified with the historically attested tribal name Yishihuo 乙室活 (Wittfogel & Feng 1949: 87). As may be seen, the Romanized Khitan sequence *.is.ó.o.hu* corresponds in this case fairly closely to the Chinese characters, which, moreover, in Liao times may well have been pronounced as something like [iʃiho]. Incidentally, this correspondence supports the reading of the character [033] 𘰮 *is* in initial position as [is] ~ [iʃ]. It is,

however, notable that 列虫丞廾反北 *hu.üen.is.ó.o.ho* is written as a single block (with six characters), suggesting that it denotes a well-established concept. The sequence 列虫 *hu.üen* looks very much like the Khitan transcription of some Chinese syllable with the shape **hüen*, or modern (Pinyin) *xuan*. This may have been an element specifying the name of some subdivision under the Yishihuo tribe.

[5-13/15] 勺尘 仝尤化岑丙 亏为ホ SEAL.356 *s.ud*$_3$*.ur.ge.y al.a.ar*. In this otherwise obscure section the block 亏为ホ *al.a.ar* may again be analysed as a finite past tense masculine form in ホ *.(a)r* = *-r* [1-17]. Judging by the probable meaning of the following section [5-16/20], it is not impossible that the stem 亏为 *al.a* is actually a cognate of Mongolic **ala-* 'to kill', implying that 亏为ホ *al.a.ar* might mean 'he killed'. The character [218] 勺 SEAL is normally assumed to be a logogram referring to 'seal, rite, ritual' (Kane 2009: 114-115 §3.176). However, it might also function as a syllabic sign with a regular phonetic value. If this is so, a block like 勺尘 SEAL.356 may have an independent meaning.

[5-16/20] 穴木 毛 廾 乙 令岑爻 *nai.en* ONE DAY FIFTY *t.ge.ún* 'on the first day fifty [people] died'. The noun [332] 穴 *nai* 'head' is here used in the genitive case in 木 *.en*, yielding 穴木 *nai.en* 'of the head' > (probably:) 'first'. The characters [026] 毛 ONE, [159] 廾 DAY, and [155] 乙 FIFTY are apparently used as logograms, while the block 令岑爻 *t.ge.ún* was identified by Liu Fengzhu (& Chengel 2003), on the basis of the bilingual text on the cover stone of *Song Wei Guo Fei*, as equivalent to Chinese 故 *gu* 'died, deceased' (honorific). This identification is accepted here, with the additional assumption that the character [144] 爻 *ún* might represent a variant of the finite past tense marker more often attested as 屮爻 *.l.ún* (Kane 2009: 146-147 §4.32).

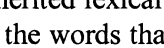
[5-21/24] 仪市 反子业为出 仪九禾 乂木 230:*ad o.ju. ha.a.án* 227.*g.in*$_2$ *sh.en*. In this section, only the block 反子业为出 *o.ju.ha.a.án* 'closed' can possibly be identified as a

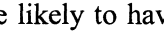
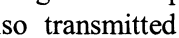
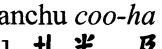
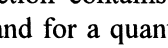
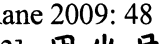
past participial form in 𐲃𐲤𐲰 *.a.án* [4-26] from the causative stem in 𐲰 *.ha* [1-17] of the verb 𐲁𐲠 *o.ju* 'to close, to cover', perhaps also 'to finish' (Kane 2009: 89 §3.026).

[6-1/2] 𐲱𐲦𐲢 𐲅𐲍𐲁𐲠 *ün.s.g k.ii.û.ji.* The block 𐲅𐲍𐲁𐲠 *k.ii.û.ji* is frequently attested in phrase-final position with the presumable meaning of '[is] called'. The element 𐲠 *.ji* here seems to be a converb marker (Kane 2009: 153-154 §4.40), possibly a cognate of Mongolic **-jU* > **-ji.* On the Mongolic side this suffix has also finite functions, meaning that it may have had such functions also in Khitan. The stem 𐲅𐲍𐲁 *k.ii.û* might be etymologically connected with the Mongolic verb **kepe-* > **kexe-* : **keme-* > (modern) *ge-* 'to say'. In this, as in several other examples, the Romanized value *i* in Khitan would seem to correspond to Mongolic **e.* The implications of this correspondence are unknown, and it may also be a question of a graphic illusion created by the Romanization. The meaning of 𐲱𐲦𐲢 *ün.s.g*, possibly a nominal form of a verb, remains unknown.

[6-3/5] 𐲃𐲄 𐲌𐲰𐲄 𐲆𐲠 *b.as m.ha.as cau.ji* 'again [---] fighting a war'. The block 𐲃𐲄 *b.as* 'again, then' (Kane 2009: 83-84 §3.001) is often compared directly with modern Mongol(ic) *bas* 'again, also', but the latter presupposes the Proto-Mongolic shape **basa* with a final vowel. At this point it is unclear whether final vowels were lost also in Khitan. Importantly, this word in Mongolic is a borrowing from Turkic **bas-a* id., a converb from the verb **bas-* 'to press' (as already pointed out by Ramstedt 1952: 135). This particular borrowing is difficult to date, but since the word is also present in Khitan there is the possibility that it was borrowed already into the common ancestor of Proto-Mongolic and Para-Mongolic. The block 𐲌𐲰𐲄 *m.ha.as* is obscure, but 𐲆𐲠 *cau.ji* may be analysed as a converb in 𐲠 *.ji* [6-2] from the verb 𐲆 *cau* 'to fight a war'. A derivative of the same verb is the noun 𐲆𐲬 *cau.úr* 'war, army' (Kane 2009: 125 §3.234), which has a cognate in Mongolic (Middle Mongol) *cau'ur* id. < **cauxur*

< ******cau-pur*. Since the verbal stem is not preserved in Mongolic, it is difficult to determine whether the Mongolic noun is an inherited lexical item or a Khitan loanword. In principle, some of the words that appear to be shared by Khitan and Mongolic are likely to have been borrowed from Khitan (Khitanic) into Mongolic. It happens that the word ******cau-* 'to wage war' was also transmitted to Jurchenic, where it forms the base of Manchu *coo-ha* 'army, soldier'.

[6-6/10]  *ho.úng o.or.én t.or.is* SOME gi_2. Apart from several unidentifiable blocks, this section contains the character [115]  SOME, which seems to stand for a quantifier with the meaning 'some, several, many' (Kane 2009: 48 §2.115).

[6-11/13]  *hó.l.b.ñ* ONE.*i* *eu.ul.ge*$_2$*.y*. The block *hó.l.b.ñ*, which is also known in the Chinese transcription 訛里本 *Eliben* (Kane 2009: 72 §2.309), seems to denote some auspicious concept used in names as well as in the Khitan counterpart of the Jin period reign title Huangtong 皇統 (1141-1150). More specifically, it may also refer to the imperial clan. Formally, this is likely to be a deverbal noun of the same type as  *ho.l.b.ñ* 'preface' [1-11]. The difference in the first character suggests, however, that *hó.l.b.ñ* and *ho.l.b.ñ* were not pronounced identically. The block  *eu.ul.ge*$_2$*.y* contains the causative + converb complex (*u*)*l.ge*$_2$*.y*, the front-vocalic counterpart of  *.l.ha.ai* [4-11]. The stem *eu.ul.ge*$_2$ is reminiscent of  *û.ul.ge* 'to be given in marriage' (Kane 2009: 105 §3.123), a causative (causative-passive) of *û* 'to give' [3-24], but may also be a different item. In the block  ONE.*i*, the character [026] ONE, perhaps used in its numeral function, is followed by the attributive marker *.i* [2-21], which in this context (before a verb) could also be analysed as marking the accusative, forming a possible cognate for the Mongolic accusative ending ******-i*. Altogether, with many

reservations, the whole phrase might mean: 'he married one of the imperial clan'.

[6-14/15] 𐲦 𐲰 𐲥 𐲘 𐲢 𐲘 𐲰 𐲥 *sh.ju.ó.úr.en* dz_2*.s.ii.* Although the meaning of these two blocks is unknown, the former may be compared with the block 𐲦 𐲭 𐲥 𐲘 𐲢 *sh.ul.ó.úr.en*, which occurs in *Xiao Tuguci* (line 2) in connection with a discussion of Grand Prince To.on.ñ, the same person as here. Obviously, there is a possibility of confusion between the relatively similarly looking characters [366] 𐲭 *ul* and [149] 𐲰 *ju.* Considering their presumable phonetic values, the intended character here may actually be [366] 𐲭 *ul.*

[6-16/18] 𐲡 𐲣 𐲤 𐲧 𐲣 𐲤 𐲨 𐲫 *ci.ur.én i.ri.de a.ai* 'was by the second name'. The sequence 𐲡 𐲣 𐲤 𐲧 𐲣 *ci.ur.én i.ri.de* 'second name', which incorporates the dative marker 𐲨 *.de*, possibly in the meaning 'by', shows that the word 𐲧 𐲣 *i.ri* '(first) name' [2-5] can also refer to the 'second name' of a person when preceded by the ordinal 𐲡 𐲣 𐲤 *ci.ur.én* 'second' [2-7]. What is, however, unclear at this stage is whose 'second name' the text is referring to here. Judging by the context, it might be a question of a female person who became the spouse of Grand Prince To.on.ñ. It is also unclear which sequence in the text gives the actual 'second name' In any case, the block 𐲨 𐲫 *a.ai* may be identified as a converbial form of the copula 𐲨 *a* (Kane 2009: 158 §4.48), a cognate of Mongolic **a*- 'to be'.

[6-19/21]. 𐲬 𐲮 𐲢 𐲡 𐲩 𐲱 𐲬 𐲪 𐲫 SEAL.*l.ii ci.ng t.ie.ên.* The blocks 𐲡 𐲩 𐲱 𐲬 𐲪 𐲫 *ci.ng t.ie.ên* represent the Khitan transcription of Chinese Chengtian 承天, the name of the widow of Liao Jingzong 景宗 (reigned 969-982) and the actual ruler of the state (on her, cf. Wright 2007: 327-328). The block 𐲬 𐲮 𐲢 SEAL.*l.ii* may be connected with the name, with the character [218] 𐲬 SEAL being used either as a logogram or as a syllabic sign with a phonetic value.

[7-1/3] 𐲯 𐲲 𐲭 𐲰 𐲳 𐲭 *tai heu.un ku.ung*$_2$*.úr* '[---] of the Empress Dowager'. The first two characters 𐲯 𐲲 *tai heu*

represent the Khitan transcription of the Chinese title 太后 *taihou* 'empress dowager' (Kane 2009: 96 §3.061), here in reference to Cheng Tian [6-20/21]. The latter character is followed by the genitive marker *-n*, orthographically 𘍿 *.un* (Kane 2009: 134-135 §4.6), which means that the following block 𘍽𘍼𘍾 *ku.ung*$_2$*.úr* is probably a noun that functions as its headword, meaning perhaps 'achievement(s)'.

[7-4/6] 𘍻𘍺𘍿𘍼𘍾 𘍽𘍼𘍾𘍿𘍻 𘍿𘍻𘍺 *hu.üen.is.ó.ui ci.aû.qú.ur o.dz.ii.* In this section, the sequence 𘍻𘍺𘍿𘍼𘍾 *hu.üen.is.ó.ui* may be recognized as a variant of the tribal name 𘍻𘍺𘍿𘍼𘍾𘍺 *hu.üen.is.ó.o.ho* [5-11], with the final *-i*, orthographically 𘍾 *.ui*, probably functioning as an attributive marker [2-21]. The variation 𘍿𘍼𘍾𘍺 *.is.ó.o.hu* ~ 𘍿𘍼𘍾 *.is.ó* is present also in Chinese sources, which have both Yishihuo 乙室活 and Yishi 乙室 (Wittfogel & Feng l.c.). The block 𘍽𘍼𘍾𘍻 *ci.aû.qú.ur*, also attested in the attributive form 𘍽𘍼𘍾𘍾 *ci.aû.qú.ui*, was identified as meaning 'Chinese' by Aisin Gioro (2006: 322-326). The final block 𘍾𘍽𘍺 *o.dz.ii* is probably a converb in *-s.ii.*

[7-7/11] 𘍹𘍿𘍼 𘍼𘍽𘍻 𘍻𘍹 𘍾𘍽 *s.ie.ên p.úng.en cau.ji* 232.*i a.ai* 'he was fighting in the avantgarde [and]'. This section ends with the converb 𘍾𘍽 *a.ai* 'being' [6-18] and begins with the Chinese term 𘍹𘍿𘍼 𘍼𘍽 *s.ie.ên p.úng* 先鋒 *xianfeng* 'avantgarde', followed by the genitive marker 𘍻 *.en.* The use of the genitive might imply that 𘍻𘍹 *cau.ji* [6-5] is here used as if it were a nominal headword, but this remains unconfirmed, as the meaning of the block 𘍾𘍿 232.*i* is unknown.

[7-12/14] 𘍾𘍽𘍺 𘍹𘍸𘍾 𘍼𘍽𘍾𘍺𘍽 *sh.o.ho s.ud*$_3$*.de n.o.ju.ha.ai.* Only the general syntactic structure of this section can be recognized, in that the last block 𘍼𘍽𘍾𘍺𘍽 *n.o.ju.ha.ai* has the common causative + converb complex 𘍼𘍽 *.ha.ai* [4-11], though without the element 𘍽 *.l*, while the preceding block 𘍹𘍸𘍾 *s.ud*$_3$*.de* probably incorporates the dative marker 𘍾 *.de.*

[7-15/17] 𘤀𘥂𘤪 𘤁𘥂 𘤀𘥂𘤫𘤇 *tu.úr.bun ud$_3$.úr tu.úr.s.ii* 'he died, [and] after he had died'. The block 𘤀𘥂𘤪 *tu.úr.bun*, with several orthographical variants, is frequently attested as a finitely used participial form meaning (honorifically) 'died, passed away' (Kane 2009: 91 §3.039). The same stem is present in 𘤀𘥂𘤫𘤇 *tu.úr.s.ii* 'after he had died', a converbial form in 𘤫𘤇 *.s.ii* (Kane 2009: 150-151 §4.37). A Mongolic cognate of this verb might be *duur-* < **düxür-* 'to be filled, to be finished'. Comparative evidence suggests that the loss of intervocalic **x* took place in Khitan somewhat earlier than in the Proto-Mongolic lineage, where **x* is still orthographically present in Written Mongol. This means that Khitan 𘤀𘥂 *tu.úr* †*dur* = [tur] stands in a regular correspondence to Proto-Mongolic **düxür-*. The role of the word 𘤁𘥂 *ud$_3$.úr* 'first' [4-1] in this section is unclear.

[7-18/21] 𘤆 𘤈𘤬 𘤪 𘤫𘤭𘤁 𘤀𘤪 HEAVEN *neu.e$_2$.en ci.iá.ra a.án* '[this] was [---] of Heaven and Earth'. The sequence 𘤆 𘤈𘤬 HEAVEN *neu.e$_2$* 'heaven (and) earth', here in the genitive form in 𘤪 *.en*, is a frequently attested phrase in connection with death (Kane 2009: 101-102 §3.097). The block 𘤀𘤪 *a.án* is a participle in 𘤫 *.án* from 𘤀 *a* 'to be' [6-18], suggesting that the block 𘤫𘤭𘤁 *ci.iá.ra* might be a noun denoting something tragic or inevitable, perhaps 'this being the will of Heaven and Earth'.

[7-22/23] 𘤍 𘤂𘤃𘤬 *hong$_2$ hu.ho.ún.* The block 𘤂𘤃 *hu.ho* has been identified as the equivalent of Chinese 烏 *wu* 'crow', though the meaning in Khitan might also be more generally 'bird' (Kane 2009:90 §3.033). The character [144] 𘤬 *ún* is possibly a genitive ending, though one would rather expect [273] 𘤩 *un* (Kane 2009: 134-135 §4.6). The character [328] 𘤍 *hong$_2$* (Kane 2009: 74 §2.328) has been tentatively regarded as an allograph of [075] 𘤍 *hong*, as attested in 𘤍 𘤌 *hong di* 'emperor' [3-25/26]. Supposing that this identification is correct, it might also denote a Chinese syllable of the type *huang* (meaning and character unknown).

[8-1/2] 𘰾𘰀𘰇𘰽 𘰇𘰾𘰋 *p.ir.ud$_3$.úng* 066.*l.ci.* This is another obscure sequence. Possibly, 𘰾𘰀𘰇𘰽 *p.ir.ud$_3$.úng* stands for a noun that functions as the headword for the genitive form of the preceding word [7-23]. In that case, 𘰇𘰾𘰋 066.*l.ci* could be a converbial form in *.ci* ~ *.ji* [6-2].

[8-3/4] 𘰃𘰁𘰼 𘰇𘰍𘰁 *ad.a.an g.úr.en* 'of the kingdom of Ad.a.an'. The sequence 𘰇𘰍𘰁 *g.úr.en* is a genitive in 𘰁 *.en* from the nominal stem 𘰇𘰍 *g.úr* 'country, state, kingdom, empire' (Kane 2009: 89 §3.031). This seems to be identical with Mongolic **gür* 'universal', as in **gür* + **ulus* 'all the people', but the same item is also present in Jurchenic in the shape *gurun* 'country, state', later transmitted to Mongolic (from Jurchen and/or Manchu) as **gürün* > modern *guren* id. Ultimately, it cannot be ruled out that there is a connection with Chinese 國 *guo* < **kwək* id. The block 𘰃𘰁𘰼 *ad.a.an* also looks like a genitive form in 𘰼 *.an* from a nominal stem of the type 𘰃 *ad* or 𘰃𘰁 *ad.a*, but more probably it represents the basic form of the Khitan name for the 'kingdom' of 東丹 *Dong Dan* 'Eastern Dan', an entity established by the Khitan in the former Balhae territory (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 112-113 note 9) and often referred to by the Khitan as 丹 *Dan* (Liu Fengzhu 2004).

[8-5/8] 𘰆𘰉𘰋𘰉𘰀 𘰍𘰋𘰓 𘰆𘰉𘰋𘰽 𘰀𘰉𘰋𘰽 𘰀𘰉𘰋𘰽 *n.ai.ci.l.hu m.ci.e$_2$ d.eu.li* MANAGE.*l.ha.a.án.* The block 𘰆𘰉𘰋𘰉𘰀 *n.ai.ci.l.hu* must be based on 𘰆𘰉𘰋 *n.ai.ci* ~ 𘰆𘰉𘰋𘰍 *n.ai.dz$_2$* 'friendly' (Kane 2009: 99 §3.080), which is a cognate of Mongolic **naiji* 'friend'. In Mongolic, the same root occurs also in the plain form **nai* 'friendship', as well as in a number of other derivatives, including **nai-r* 'peace' and **nai-da-* 'to rely upon', confirming that it is a question of an old inherited item. The block 𘰆𘰉𘰋𘰉𘰀 *n.ai.ci.l.hu* would seem to involve a verbal derivative, possibly with the meaning 'to pacify', with the final element 𘰀 *.hu* being perhaps comparable with the Mongolic futuritive participle marker *-*kU*(*i*). The two blocks 𘰍𘰋𘰓 𘰀𘰉𘰋𘰽 *m.ci.e$_2$*

d.eu.li are obscure, though 𐲀𐲱𐲦𐲢 *d.eu.li* may be compared with the character [101] 𐲱 *deu*, normally used to write the noun for 'younger brother' (Kane 2009: 47 §2.101). Since the block 𐲦𐲢𐲱𐲣𐲀 MANAGE.*l.ha.a.án* means, as a finite form, '[he let] manage, administer' [4-26], or, simply, 'managed, administered', the combination 𐲀𐲱𐲦𐲢 𐲦𐲢 *d.eu.li* MANAGE may perhaps be compared with 𐲱𐲣 𐲦𐲢 *deu.úr* MANAGE, which seems to mean 'to administer together (with)' = 'associate administration' (Kane l.c.).

[8-9/12] 𐲀𐲢 𐲣𐲀𐲤𐲣 𐲤𐲥𐲱𐲣 𐲇𐲢𐲤 HEAVEN *neu.e.de t.bu.y.i* BORN.*l.ún* 'T.bu.y.i was born into Heaven and Earth'. The block 𐲇𐲢𐲤 BORN.*l.ún*, also written 𐲇𐲇𐲤 BORN. *il.ún*, contains the past tense marker 𐲢𐲤 *.l.ún* and means 'was born' (Kane 2009: 86 §3.015). The block 𐲤𐲥𐲱𐲣 *t.bu.y.i* would seem to indicate the name of the person who was born. Incidentally, this same name is also attested in the Chinese transcription 撻不也 *Tabuye* (Wittfogel & Feng 1949: 424), though it must be a case of a different person. The dative marker 𐲣 *.de* after the standard phrase 𐲀𐲢 𐲣𐲀𐲤𐲣 HEAVEN *neu.e* 'Heaven and Earth' = 'universe' must indicate location (here translated as 'into').

[8-13/14]𐲁𐲠 𐲤𐲠𐲥𐲢𐲣 *ku k.ii.û.ji*$_2$. The role of the block 𐲤𐲠 𐲥𐲢𐲣 *k.ii.û.ji*$_2$, which would normally seem to mean '(is) called' [6-2], is unclear here; in Chinese scholarship on Khitan, it is commonly understood as equal to the sentence-final copula 也 *ye* of Chinese. The character [178] 𐲠 *ku*, when used alone (as a single-character block), means 'man' or 'person' (Kane 2009: 105 §3.122) and is probably a cognate of Mongolic **kïxün* ~ **kümün* < **kïpün* id. The general implication of the phrase remains, however, obscure.

[8-15/18] 𐲀𐲦 𐲦𐲧 𐲦𐲩 𐲦𐲩𐲢𐲤 𐲦𐲪 *tai ong:on b.hu.án* FOUR 'the Grand Prince had four children'. The discussion now returns to Grand Prince To.on.ñ [3-19/22] and introduces his children. The sequence 𐲀𐲦 𐲦𐲧 𐲦𐲩 *tai ong:on* 'of the Grand Prince' (written in linear arrangement) contains the genitive

marker 𘰾 *.on* and suggests that the possessor in Khitan is marked by the genitive case. The block 𘰀𘰍𘰽 *b.hu.án* 'children is an idiosyncratic plural in 𘰽 *.án* from 𘰀𘰇 *b.qo* 'child' (Kane 2009: 88, §3.021-022, 142 §4.21). This word has been compared with Mongolic **baga* 'small, child', but the comparison cannot be regarded as confirmed. The fact that the numeral 𘰏 FOUR follows the noun here may be due to a general word order rule (noun + numeral) in Khitan, but it is also possible that the construction should be understood as meaning 'his children were four (in number)'.

[8-19/21] 𘰋 𘰚𘰞𘰓𘰠 𘰇𘰴𘰺 GREAT *ci.qó.ur.l pu.is.ñ* 'the eldest [child was] Lady Ci.qó.ur.l'. The character [373] 𘰋 GREAT (Kane 2009: 101 §3.092) seems to imply feminine gender, here confirmed by the word 𘰇𘰴𘰺 *pu.is.ñ* 'lady' [1-5], leaving the sequence 𘰚𘰞𘰓𘰠 *ci.qó.ur.l* to be identified as the name of the person concerned.

[9-1/4] 𘰚𘰓𘰢 𘰞𘰼 𘰓 𘰇𘰴𘰺 *ci.ur.én x.ing shï pu.is.ñ* 'the second [child was] Lady X.ing Shï'. This section identifies the second child also as a daughter, bearing the Chinese name X.ing Shï = *Xing Shi* (characters unknown). The ordinal for 'second' is in the presumable feminine form 𘰚𘰓𘰢 *ci.ur.én* [2-7], as required by the context.

[9-5/9] 𘰍𘰓𘰡 𘰋𘰀 𘰽𘰢 𘰋𘰃𘰣 𘰽𘰇𘰓 𘰢𘰜 *hu.ur.er m.o.*SMALL *sh.a.rí* SMALL.*qu.dú eu.ui* 'the third [child was] Court Attendant M.o.SMALL, [who] died young'. The 'masculine' form 𘰍𘰓𘰡 *hu.ur.er* 'third' indicates that the third child was a son with the title 𘰋𘰃𘰣 *sh.a.rí* 'court attendant' [3-2]. The personal name 𘰋𘰀𘰽 *m.o.*SMALL contains the same character [188] 𘰽 SMALL as the block 𘰽𘰇𘰓 SMALL. *qu.dú* 'at a young age', which also incorporates the dative marker 𘰓 *.dú* (Kane 2009: 138 §4.12, cf. also Wu Yingzhe 2007a: 65-66). The block 𘰽𘰇 SMALL.*qu*, also written 𘰽𘰞 SMALL.*qó* (Kane 2009: 58 §2.188), has the meaning 'young, small' (of males) and is often regarded as identical with 𘰀𘰇 *b.qo* 'child' [8-18], yielding the 'reading' [188] 𘰽

[pu]. A third item with a similar meaning is [248] 𐰚 YOUNG or 𐰚𐰸 YOUNG.*qú* (Kane 2009: 129 §3.250). The fact that these blocks are systematically written in three different ways suggests that it is a question of three different words. Only one of them, at most, can correspond to Mongolic **baga* 'small, child'. Therefore, it appears safest so far not to assign the character [188] 𐰃 SMALL any phonetic value. The block 𐱃𐰋 *eu.ui* clearly stands for a predicatively used negative existential 'is not / was not' > 'died' and may as such be compared with Mongolic **ügei* ~ *ügüi* '(there is) not'. Alternatively, 𐱃𐰋 *eu.ui* could also be some particular form, perhaps a converb in *-i*, from the basic negative existential 𐰋 *iu* (Kane 2009: 157 §4.47), which might be a cognate of the otherwise unattested 'root' **ü-* in Mongolic **ügei* ~ *ügüi*.

[9-10/13] 𐰖𐰇𐰴 𐰉𐰇𐰆𐰑 𐰴 𐰃𐰉 *t.ur.er oh.ji.ñ tai ong* 'the fourth [child was] Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ'. Again, the use of the 'masculine' form 𐰖𐰇𐰴 *t.ur.er* 'fourth' indicates that this child, also, was a son. His title is given as 𐰴 𐰃𐰉 *tai ong* 'grand prince' [3-21/22], that is, he inherited the title of his father and came to be the fourth-generation ancestor of Xiao Dilu. It happens that information on the children of Grand Prince To.on.ñ is also contained in *Xiao Tuguci* (line 3). However, *Xiao Tuguci* only mentions the two sons, leaving the daughters unmentioned: 𐰴 𐰃𐰉 𐰀 𐰓𐰍𐰃 𐰉 𐰆𐰍 𐰃 𐰆𐰍𐰣 𐰃𐰋𐰣 𐰃𐰚𐰠 𐱃𐰋 𐰠𐰇𐰴 𐰉𐰇𐰆𐰑 𐰴 𐰃𐰉 *tai ong:on b.hu.án* TWO° *m.o.*SMALL *sh.a.rí* SMALL.*qu.do* [*sic*] *eu.ui ci.ur.er oh.ji.ñ tai ong* 'the Grand Prince had two (male) children: the elder one was Court Attendant M.o.SMALL, who died young, and the second one was Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ'. As to the actual 'reading' of the name 𐰉𐰇𐰆𐰑 *oh.ji.ñ*, it is perhaps identical with the name also attested in the Chinese transcription 阿古真 *Aguzhen* (*Liaoshi*), though the person seems to be different. A further point of comparison might be offered by the Old Turkic title *aghïcï* 'treasurer', from *aghï* 'treasure'. These identifications are possibly supported by the

circumstance that the character [377] 𘰾 *oh*, as used in 𘰾𘱈伏 *oh.ji.ñ*, may have denoted a syllable with a velar final (Kane 2009: 80-81 §2.377).

[9-14/15] 𗼇𘰀 𘱖𘲟𘰤 *i.ri s.au.qu.* 'His [first] name [was] S.au.qu'. From this section it may be concluded that 𘰾𘱈伏 *oh.ji.ñ* [9-11], like 𘰇𘰤伏 *to.on.ñ* [3-19], was a 'second name'. Both names end in the character [222] 伏 *ñ*, which is particularly common in 'second names' and has obviously a morphological function. The 'first name' [2-5] of Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ was, then, 𘱖𘲟𘰤 *s.au.qu.*

[9-16/19] 𗹠𗴼 𘱖𗴲 𘰇 𘰾 𘰚 *sh.ng s.úng hong di:in* 'of Emperor Shengzong'. Here, the sequence 𘰇 𘰾 𘰚 *hong di:in* (in linear arrangement) 'of the emperor' [3-25/27] is preceded by the name of the actual emperor 𗹠𗴼 𘱖𗴲 *sh.ng s.úng* 圣宗 *Shengzong* (979-1031).

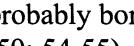
[9-20/23] 𗹡𗼻𗼐𗼯𗼾𗼻 𘲟𗼯𗼾𗼻 𗼾𗼺𘱖𗼎 𗴼𗹢 *tau.su.ó.ul.ha.ai au.ul.ha.ai p.úr.s.en ui.de* 'in [---] matters [of the emperor] [---]'. Since 𗴼𗹢 *ui.de* means 'in the matter(s)' [4-10] and functions as the headword of the genitive ('of the emperor') in the preceding section [9-18/19], the intermediate blocks must specify the type of matters in question, most probably in reference to certain imperial affairs that Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ was in charge of. Unfortunately, both the noun 𗼾𗼺𘱖 *p.úr.s* [2-24], here in the genitive form 𗼾𗼺𘱖𗼎 *p.úr.s.en*, and the blocks 𗹡𗼻𗼐𗼯𗼾𗼻 𘲟𗼯𗼾𗼻 *tau.su.ó.ul.ha.ai au.ul.ha.ai*, probably converbial forms of verbs, are so far unexplained. Formally, 𘲟𗼯𗼾𗼻 *au.ul.ha.ai* could be compared with Mongolic **a-xul-ga-* 'to place', a double causative from **a-* 'to be'.

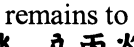
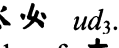
[10-1/2] 𗼆𗼋𗼫𗴲 𗼐𗼾𗼻𗼬𗼾𗼻𗼰 *m.ir.ci.i ja.ha.ai.l.ha.al.* The causative verb 𗼐𗼾𗼻𗼬𗼾𗼻 *ja.ha.ai.l.ha* [4-11], with an unknown meaning, occurs here with the converb marker 𗼰 *.al* [2-23]. The preceding block 𗼆𗼋𗼫𗴲 *m.ir.ci.i* may denote a noun that functions as the object in the clause and bears the accusative marker 𗴲 *.i* [6-12].

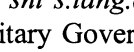
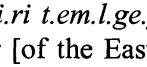
[10-3/6] 𗼇𗼻𗼭 𗼰𗼪𗼬 𗼬𗼻𗽁 𗼪𗼭 *hu.ur.er p.*EAST.*i i.ri.de a.ai.* Superficially, this section would seem to equal the phrase 𗼯𗼻𗼪 𗼬𗼻𗽁 𗼪𗼭 *ci.ur.én i.ri.de a.ai* 'was by the second name' [6-17/20], but there is the difference that 𗼇𗼻𗼭 *hu.ur.er* 'third' is in a 'masculine' form in 𗼭 *.er*, while 𗼯𗼻𗼪 *ci.ur.én* 'second' is in a feminine form in 𗼪 *.én*. The difference may be due to the block 𗼰𗼪𗼬 *p.*EAST.*i*, whose meaning is unknown. Also, in the present section the word 𗼬𗼻 *i.ri* is apparently used in the meaning 'title', rather than 'name'. The character [072] 𗼪 EAST (Kane 2009: 43 §2.072) in 𗼰𗼪𗼬 *p.*EAST.*i* must have a phonetic function, which may or may not be identical with the value of the almost identical character [101] 𗼪 *deu*, as used also for the meaning 'younger brother'. Altogether, it is possible that the whole section should be analysed differently. For instance, 𗼬𗼻𗽁 *i.ri.de* might be not a dative form but a possessive adjective of the same type as Mongolic **nere-tü* ~ **nere-tei* 'having (a) name'. Also, 𗼇𗼻𗼭 *hu.ur.er* might mean not 'third' but 'three'. The section could, then, perhaps mean something like 'he had three (official) titles'.

[10-7/8] 𗼮𗼵𗼪 𗼫𗼿𗼧 *l.ém.a il.b.ún.* Each of these blocks stands for a well-known official title used by the Khitan and known also in Chinese transcription. 𗼮𗼵𗼪 *l.ém.a* ~ 𗼮𗼵𗼇𗼪 *l.ém.hu.a* = 林牙 *linya* < **lim-nga* denotes an educated person of the type 'scribe, secretary, academician' (Kane 2009: 104 §3.115). The word is certainly connected with Turkic *alïmga* ~ *ïlïmga* id. (Menges 1959: 55, Franke 1969: 24), but the direction of borrowing is not unambiguous. In view of the Chinese transcription, the Khitan pronunciation may have been [ləmɣa] or [ləmŋa], which suggests that the Turkic item (with a prothetic vowel) is probably secondary. 𗼫𗼿𗼧 *il.b.ún* is a previously unattested orthographical shape for what is also written 𗼫𗼽 *il.bun* = 夷離畢 *yilibi*, a term for an official in charge of judicial matters, perhaps 'tribal judge' (cf. Sun Bojun & Nie Hongyin 2008: 120-121). This

word was probably borrowed from Turkic *el-beg-i* 'official' (cf. Menges 1959: 54-55), which has an internal Turkic etymology (**el* 'people, state' + **beg* 'leader, ruler').

[10-9/10]  *udu.u.ur húr.ú* 'Court Commander'. If the assumption concerning the syntactic context [10-3/6] is correct, this might well be the third official title of Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ. This is an established term well-known also from other inscriptions, based on the words  *udu* 'court, palace', also written  *ú.dû* (Kane 2009: 77-78 §2.355, 110 § 3.148), and  *húr.ú* 'person in control (of)' (Kane 2009: 37 §2.014). The characters  *.u.ur* in the first block might represent a case marker, perhaps a cognate of the Mongolic instrumental ending **-xAr*, here apparently required by the word  *húr.ú*, which is probably based on a verbal stem. Etymologically,  *udu* is connected with the widespread administrative term *ordu* ~ *urdu*, also attested in Mongolic. It is commonly assumed that the Khitan pronunciation of the word was also close to [ordu] ~ [urdu], but this assumption remains to be verified.

[10-11/12]  *ud*$_3$*.ur g.iu.ung.un* 'of the Eastern Palace'. The orthography of *ud*$_3$*.ur* 'east' confirms that the characters [092]  *ud*$_3$ and [105]  *ud*$_2$ are, at least when used to write this block, allographs, while the block  *ud*$_3$*.úr* 'first' [4-1] must represent a different word. The block  *g.iu.ung.un* is a genitive in *-n* =  *.ún* from the Chinese word  *g.iu.ung* 宮 *gong* 'hall, palace', in Liao Chinese still pronounced as **giong* [kiuŋ] (Kane 2009: 37 §2.019, 249 §7.21.10).

[10-13/18]  *tu.ung g.ün shï s.iang.en i.ri t.em.l.ge.y* 'he was conferred the title of Military Governor [of the Eastern Palace]'. The word  *i.ri* 'name' is here used in the meaning 'title' [10-5], while the final block  *t.em.l.ge.y* 'was conferred' denotes a converbial causative (causative-passive) form from the verbal root  *t.em* 'to confer (a title)'

(Kane 2009: 100 §3.091). The title conferred in this case is the Chinese 𐲓𐲤 𐲀𐲦 𐲁 𐲍𐲢 *tu.ung g.ün shï s.iang* 統軍使相 *tongjun shixiang* 'military governor', here marked by the genitive ending 𐲃 .en. The root 𐲍𐲧 *t.em* has a cognate in Mongolic **tem-deg* 'sign', possibly a habitive participle in **-dAg*. As a loanword, probably from Khitan, it is also present in Manchu *temgetu* 'sign'.

[10-19/22] 𐲀𐲦 𐲅 𐲉 𐲆𐲁 𐲍𐲧𐲣𐲤 𐲉 *g.ün ong:on i.ri t.em.l.ge.y* 'he was conferred the title of Prefectural Prince'. This section copies the previous one [10-13/18] with the difference that the title is now 𐲀𐲦 𐲅 *g.ün ong* 郡王 *junwang* 'prefectural prince', in the genitive form 𐲀𐲦 𐲅 𐲉 *g.ün ong:on* (in linear arrangement).

[10-23, 11-1/4] 𐲍 𐲓 𐲀𐲘𐲤𐲤 𐲓𐲤 𐲀𐲦 𐲍𐲣𐲃 *t*:093 *g.iu.ung.un tu.ung g.ün s.a.ai* 'when he was holding the position of Military Governor of the Southern Palace'. This section parallels the similar phrase above [10-11/14]. The title is, however, here quoted in the 'short' form 𐲓𐲤 𐲀𐲦 *tu.ung g.ün* instead of the long form 𐲓𐲤 𐲀𐲦 𐲁 𐲍𐲢 *tu.ung g.ün shï s.iang* [10-13/16]. The word for 'southern' is written with the two characters 𐲍 𐲓 *t*:093 (in linear arrangement), of which the latter (Kane 2009: 46 §2.093) has no generally accepted phonetic approximation. It is possible that the meaning 'south', normally written with the character [294]𐲢 SOUTH (Kane 2009: 70 §2.294), is connected with the meaning 'lower' (Kane 2009: 104 §3.119), but this does not seem to give any definitive clue to the 'reading' of the undeciphered character [093]𐲓. The verb 𐲍𐲃 *s.a*, here in the converbial form in 𐲣 *.ai* seems to mean 'to hold (an office), to act (as), to be in the position (of)' and might be a cognate of Mongolic **saxu-* 'to sit, to be'.

[11-5/8] 𐲎 𐲘 𐲇 𐲑 𐲠 𐲣 𐲃𐲣 𐲘 𐲤 𐲎 𐲍𐲧 𐲘𐲤 𐲍 𐲉𐲘 𐲘𐲤 *tau.su.ó.ul.ha.ai a.ar.ún s.em.ii.er t.ge.er* 'he [---] fell ill and died'. The block 𐲎 𐲘 𐲇 𐲑 𐲠 𐲣 *tau.su.ó.ul.ha.ai* [9-20] is here followed by the likewise unexplained block 𐲃𐲣 𐲘 𐲤 𐲎

a.ar.ún. The sequence 𘤀𘥂𘤡𘤟 𘤀𘤽𘤟 *s.em.ii.er t.ge.er* 'died of illness' is, however, well known (Kane 2009: 92 §3.041) and seems to contain the verbs 𘤀𘥂𘤡 *s.em.ii* 'to get ill, to contract a fatal illness' and 𘤀𘤽 *t.ge* 'to die' [5-20], both in combination with the same finite past tense (masculine) marker 𘤟 *.er* (Kane 2009: 145 §4.30).

[11-9/13] 𘤀𘤽𘤟𘤲 𘤦 𘤱𘤳𘤴 𘤵𘤧 𘤀𘥂𘤽𘤳𘤵 *t.ge.y shï ju$_3$.ung.un i.ri t.em.l.ge.l.ún* 'after he had died he was conferred the [posthumous] title of Chamberlain'. In the position immediately following the block 𘤀𘤽𘤟 *t.ge.er* 'he died' [11-8], the block 𘤀𘤽𘤟𘤲 *t.ge.y* can hardly be anything but a converbial form in 𘤲 *.y* from the same verb, that is, 'after he had died', though in other contexts this block has occasionally also been attributed the meaning 'again, then'. The rest of the section follows the pattern of similar phrases above [10-13/23], with the difference that the title is now 𘤦𘤱𘤳𘤴 *shï ju$_3$.ung* 侍中 *shizhong* 'chamberlain'.

[11-14/18] 𘤀𘤫 𘤲 𘤦𘤷𘤴 𘤵𘤬 𘤸𘤯 *n.o mo ku.û.un rí.ún ho.de* '[his] wife's [---]'. This section starts the presentation of the family of Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ. The block 𘤀𘤫 *n.o* means 'spouse' (Kane 2009: 119 §.3.200) and might be connected with Mongolic **nökür* 'friend, husband', while the sequence 𘤲 𘤦 *mo ku* 'female person' stands for 'wife' (Kane 2009: 126 §3.238). The block 𘤦𘤷𘤴 *ku.û.un* is obviously the genitive of 𘤦 *ku*, but its reference in the present context is unclear since the meaning of the blocks 𘤵𘤬 𘤸𘤯 *rí.ún ho.de* is unknown.

[11-19/23] 𘤡 𘤬𘤫𘤺 𘤦𘤺𘤵𘤸 𘤲 𘤦 *ia m.o.*SMALL *sh.a.rí.en mo ku* 'the wife of his elder brother, Court Attendant M.O.SMALL'. The character [335] 𘤡 *ia* stands for the noun denoting 'elder brother' (Kane 2009: 75 §2.335), while the sequence 𘤬𘤫𘤺 𘤦𘤺𘤵 *m.o.*SMALL *sh.a.rí* identifies the person as the previously mentioned third child of Grand Prince To.on.ñ [9-6/7], a Court Attendant (with an undeciphered name), who was the elder brother of Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ. The

genitive marker 𗍫 *.en* before 𗹦 𗥃 *mo ku* 'wife' indicates that it is a question of the elder brother's wife, and the probable implication is that Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ married his elder brother's wife after the brother's death.

[11-24/26, 12-1/2] 𗴲𗵘 𗹇𗴢 𗴲𗵘 𗍫 *to*$_2$*.an*$_2$ *sh.i ñ.iú pu.is.ñ.en na.as.l.ún.* This section identifies the wife as Lady To$_2$.an$_2$ Sh.i Ñ.iú. The name is confirmed by the fact that it is also attested, together with a somewhat more detailed family history, in *Xiao Tuguci* (line 4), where it is written 𗴲𗵘𗹇𗴢 *to.an.shi.ñ.u* (in a single block). Incidentally, this parallel attestation also confirms that the character [287] 𗴲 *to*$_2$ is an allograph of [213] 𗴲 *to* (Kane 2009: 60 §2.213). The meaning of the final block 𗹦𗵘𗍫𗹇 *na.as.l.ún* is unknown. Superficially, it looks like a finite past tense form in 𗍫𗹇 *.l.ún* [8-12] of a verbal stem that could be 𗹦𗵘 *na.as*, but the genitive marker 𗍫 *.en* on the preceding title 𗵘𗵘𗴢 *pu.is.ñ* 'lady' [8-21] would seem to suggest that it is rather a question of a nominal word.

[12-3/6] 𗴲𗹦 𗵘 𗹇 𗴲𗵘𗹇 𗴲 *tai ong:on b.hu.án* FOUR 'the Grand Prince had four children'. This is an exact repetition of a previous section [8-15/18], though the reference is now to Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ.

[12-7/11] 𗹇𗹇 𗹇𗹇 𗹇𗹇𗴢 𗹇𗹇 𗴲𗹦 𗹇𗹇 *m.o ia.*LUCK.*ñ tir.bun tai shï* 'the eldest one was Grand Preceptor Ia.LUCK.ñ Tir.bun'. The block 𗹇𗹇 *m.o* means 'big' > 'eldest' with reference to male persons (Kane 2009: 85 §3.008, 95 §3.058). The rest of the section gives the name(s) 𗹇𗹇𗴢 𗹇𗹇 *ia.*LUCK.*ñ tir.bun* and title 𗴲𗹦 *tai shï* 太師 *taishi* 'grand preceptor' of the Grand Prince's eldest son. The block 𗹇𗹇𗴢 *ia.*LUCK.*ñ*, which stands for his 'second name', contains the characters [335] 𗹇 *ia* and [277] 𗹇 LUCK, which together mean 'luck, good fortune'. The arrangement of these characters beside each other (on one line) in a single three-character block containing also the character [222] 𗴢 *ñ* (on the following line) suggests that they are, indeed, separate graphic entities, rather

than a composite character of the type [380] LUCK$_5$ (Kane 2009: 81 §2.380). This also suggests that the character [277] LUCK is here being used in a phonetic value, which, unfortunately, is not known. Provisional 'readings' of the characters *ia*.LUCK and LUCK$_5$ as [hutug] or [qudug] (Kane 2009: 99 §3.085) do not seem to be supported by the Khitan script, though a Khitan word (perhaps another word) for 'fortune' is attested in Chinese sources in the shape 胡覩古 *hudugu*, a cognate of Mongolic **kutug* 'holiness'.

[12-12/14] *mo.d p.ar* TWO 'he had two wives'. Instead of elaborating on the other children of Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ, the text now goes on to present the wives of Grand Preceptor Ia.LUCK.ñ Tir.bun, who was the third-generation forefather, that is, the paternal grandfather of Xiao Dilu. Some more information on the other children (another son and two daughters) is given in *Xiao Tuguci* (lines 4 and 5). In the current section, *mo.d* may be analysed as a plural in *.d* from *mo* 'female, woman, mother' (Kane 2009: 38 §2.021), possibly a cognate of Mongolic **eme* id. The block *p.ar*, which precedes the final numeral TWO, is attested in several inscriptions. Most often, it occurs in exactly the combination *mo.d p.ar* or *mo.t p.ar* 'wives', which seems to be the plural of *mo ku* 'female person, wife' [11-15/16]. In other examples, the block *p.ar* is combined with case endings, which confirms that it is a nominal word. It may be concluded that, most likely, *p.ar* means 'people' and functions as a suppletive plural to *ku* 'person'. If this is so, it is natural to assume that *p.ar* = [p^{h}ar] is a cognate of Mongolic *ard* 'people' < **xarad*, Middle Mongol *hara/n* 'person' : *hara-d* 'people' < Proto-Mongolic **para/n* : **para-d.* This would then be another example illustrating the preservation of initial **p* in Khitan, as is also the case in *po* 'time' [3-28] vs. Mongolic **pon* > **xon* > *on.* Also, assuming that the original root of the word was **para*, this might be an example of the same

type of final vowel loss as is suggested by 𘰾𘰀 *b.as* 'again, then' [6-3] vs. Mongolic **basa* > *bas.*

[12-15/18] 𘰇 𘰚𘰴𘰓 𘰀𘰋 𘰾𘰓𘰴𘰇 GREAT *ci.üe.ên g.e pu.is.ñ* '[his] elder wife [was] Lady Ci.üe.ên G.e'. The character [373] 𘰇 GREAT refers here to the 'first' or 'elder' wife, whose title is given as 𘰾𘰓𘰴𘰇 *pu.is.ñ* 'lady' [8-21], while her name is 𘰚𘰴𘰓 𘰀𘰋 *ci.üe.ên g.e*, equivalent to Chinese *Juan* or *Quan Ge* (characters unknown).

[12-19/27] 𘰁 𘰓𘰲 𘰽𘰉 𘰚𘰀 𘰉𘰽 𘰲𘰽 𘰴𘰀 𘰾 𘰲𘰀 𘰾 𘰓 *ia deu.un* SMALL.*qu ai.en s.ie l.iu tai ui°.en b:qo* '[who was] the daughter of Grand Commandant S.ie L.iu of the junior uncles'. Here we have the concepts 𘰁 𘰓𘰲 *ia deu.un* 'of the elder brothers and younger brothers' and 𘰽𘰉 𘰚𘰀 𘰉𘰽 SMALL.*qu ai.en* 'of the younger fathers', which together indicate descent from the so-called 'junior' or 'younger uncles', a distinct parallel branch of the imperial lineage (Kane 2009: 102 §3.098, 118 §3.194). The word 𘰓 *deu* 'younger brother' looks like an obvious cognate of Mongolic **dexü* id., but it has to be said that the character [101] 𘰓 does not seem to be attested in any other use that would confirm its postulated phonetic value. Curiously, the words 𘰁 *ia* 'elder brother' [11-19] and 𘰚 *ai* 'father' [2-12], which are written with characters whose phonetic values are confirmed by independent evidence, have no cognates in Mongolic. The meaning of 'daughter' is in the present section rendered by the word 𘰾 𘰾𘰀 *b:qo* 'child' [8-17] (here exceptionally in linear arrangement) instead of the more explicit 𘰴 𘰾𘰾𘰀 *mo b.qo* 'female child' (Kane 2009: 90 §3.034). The sequence 𘰴𘰀 𘰾𘰲 𘰲𘰀 𘰾𘰽 *s.ie l.iu tai ui°*, here in the genitive in 𘰉 *.en*, gives the name and title of the wife's father. The name may be identified as Chinese *Xie Liu* (characters unknown), while the title is 太尉 *taiwei* 'grand commandant'. The Khitan transcription of the title confirms that the dotted character [263] 𘰾𘰽 *ui°*, here used for Chinese 尉 *wei*, has the same value as the non-dotted [262] 𘰽 *ui.*

[12-28, 13-1/3] 𘰾𘰇𘰺 𘱇𘱈 𘲍𘲚 𘲟𘳿𘳾 *ci.ur.én y.ang z.ie pu.is.ñ* '[his] second wife was Lady Y.ang Z.ie'. The 'feminine' ordinal 𘰾𘰇𘰺 *ci.ur.én* 'second' [2-7] denotes here 'second wife', who had the title 𘲟𘳿𘳾 *pu.is.ñ* 'lady' [8-21] and the name 𘱇𘱈 𘲍𘲚 *y.ang z.ie*, suggesting the Chinese shape *Yang Jie* (characters unknown). It happens that this record of Lady Yang Jie is in accordance with what is known from other sources. She was the fifth younger sister of Yelü Renxian and Yelü Zhixian. *Yelü Zhixian* (line 11) has the following passage: 𘲗𘲘𘲋𘲙 𘱇𘱈 𘲍𘲚 𘲟𘳿𘳾 𘲢𘲣 𘲤𘲥𘲦𘲧 𘲨𘲩 𘲪 𘲫𘲬𘲭 𘲮𘲯𘲰 *t.od.o.ón y.ang z.ie pu.is.ñ bú.d na.ha.án.er tir.bun tai sh.i.de u.ul.ge*$_2$*.l.ñ* 'the fifth [younger sister], Lady T.od.o.ón Y.ang Z.ie, was given in marriage to Grand Preceptor Tir.bun of the other maternal uncles'. An almost identical passage is found in *Yelü Renxian* (line 8): 𘲗𘲘𘲋𘲙 𘱇𘱈 𘲍𘲚 𘲟𘳿𘳾 𘲢𘲣 𘲤𘲥𘲦𘲧 𘲨𘲩 𘲪 𘲫𘲬𘲭 𘲮𘲯𘲰 *t.od.o.ón y.ang z.ie pu.is.ñ na.ha.án.er il.én*$_4$ *go.er.en ia.*LUCK*.ñ tir.bun tai shï.de u.ul.ge.l.ñ* 'the fifth [younger sister], Lady T.od.o.ón Y.ang Z.ie, was given in marriage to Grand Preceptor Ia.LUCK.ñ Tir.bun of the [---] house of maternal uncles'.

[13-4/11] 𘲫 𘲱𘲲 𘲳𘲴 𘲵𘲶 𘲷𘲸𘲹 𘲺𘲻𘲼 𘲽𘲾𘲿𘳀 𘳁𘳂𘳃 *ia deu.un dau.dû ai.en car°.a.án g.ui.in ja.ri. qu.on b.qo* '[who was] the daughter of Prime Minister Car°.a.án G.ui.in of the middle uncles'. This section repeats the structure of the preceding one [12-18/27] with the difference that the branch of 'uncles' is now 𘲳𘲴 𘲵𘲶 *dau.dû ai* 'the middle fathers'. The name of the father-in-law is given as 𘲷𘲸𘲹 𘲺𘲻𘲼 *car°.a.án g.ui.in*, while his title is 𘲽𘲾𘲿𘳀 *ja.ri.qu* 'prime minister', also attested as 𘲽𘲾𘲿𘳀𘳁 *ja.ri.qó* (Kane 2009: 111 §3.157), followed by the genitive marker 𘳂 *.on.* The person in question is also known from Chinese sources (*Liaoshi*). He was the father of Yelü Renxian, and his 'first name' 𘲺𘲻𘲼 *g.ui.in* is attested in Chinese as

瑰引 *Guiyin.* The word for '(located in the) middle' is written with the two characters [119] 尺 *dau* + [249] 分 *dû*, suggesting a reading of the type †*daudu*, in which †*dau-* might be a cognate of the Mongolic root **du-*, as in **du-m-da* 'middle' : **du-li* 'mediocre', while †*-du* could correspond to the Mongolic suffix **-du*, as in **dumda-du* '(located in the) middle'. However, the Khitan item is also attested in the genitive form 尺交又 *dau.úr.ún* (Kane 2009: 49 §2.119), in which the stem is †*daur-*. This might mean that the character [119] 分 *dû* in 尺分 *dau.dû* has actually the value †*rdu*, suggesting a reading of the type †*daurdu.* It may be noted that the same character is also used in the sequence 兮分 *ú.dû* = [355] 米 *udu* 'court, palace' [10-9], which, in view of external information, is often assumed to have been 'read' [ordu] ~ [urdu] also in Khitan. In the absence of further evidence the question must remain open.

[13-12/18] 丞 尤 兮丈 土化 列业矢 反子 为卡 *tai shï* YOUNG.*qú eu.ur hu.üen.de o.ju a.ai* 'when he was young, the Grand Preceptor [---] to the Hu.üen'. This would seem to be a subordinated clause with 丞 尤 *tai shï* 'Grand Preceptor' [12-9/10] as the subject and the sequence 反子 为卡 *o.ju a.ai*, containing the converbial form 为卡 *a.ai* 'having been' [6-18] as the predicate. The status and function of the block 反子 *o.ju* [4-2] remain unclear. The sequence 兮丈 土化 YOUNG.*qú eu.ur* must mean 'at a young age, when he was young' and contains the word 土化 *eu.ur* '(years of) age', more commonly written 土交 *eu.úr* (Kane 2009: 42 §2. 067), as also later in the current inscription. The block 列业矢 *hu.üen.de* is a dative in 矢 *.de* from 列业 *hu.üen*, which is identical with the initial element in the tribal name 列业禾廾反北 *hu.üen.is.ó.o.ho* [4-21]. Quite possibly, this is a reference to the same tribal entity. The whole phrase would, then, seem to mean: 'when he was young, the Grand Preceptor went to / was sent to / worked [in a certain position] with the tribal entity of Hu.üen'.

[13-19/25] 𘰾𘰚𘰀 𘰀𘰽𘰚 𘱃𘱁𘱂 𘱃𘱇 𘰽𘰚 𘱆𘰾 𘰇𘰽 *l.i.in cau.ur.i hu.she.e hu.rí* 232.*i sh.ha.*TENT *a.án.er.* This section contains the word 𘰀𘰽𘰚 *cau.ur.i*, an attributive (or accusative) form in 𘰚 *.i* from 𘰀𘰽 *cau.ur* 'war', also written 𘰀𘰾 *cau.úr* [28-5], a derivative from 𘰀 *cau* 'to fight a war' [6-5]. The implication is clear: there was a war, but, unfortunately, the rest of this section cannot yet be reliably analysed or translated.

[13-26/27, 14-1/3] 𘰇𘰾𘰚 𘰇 𘰾 𘰽𘰀 𘰇𘰀 𘰇𘰽 𘰚 𘰇𘰽𘰀 𘰇𘰽𘰚𘰀 𘰇𘰽𘰚𘰀𘰾 *t.ai.i s:iang g.ün.en i.ri t.em.l.ge*$_2$*.y* 'he was conferred the title of Grand General'. This section follows the pattern of similar phrases above [10-13/22], with the difference that the title conferred is now 𘰇𘰾𘰚 𘰇 𘰾 𘰽𘰀 𘰇𘰀 *t.ai.i s:iang g.ün* 大將軍 *da jiangjun* 'grand general'.

[14-4/8] 𘰇𘰇𘰚𘰾 𘰚𘰚𘰽𘰇 𘰇 𘰚𘰾 𘰇𘰀 𘰇𘰽 𘰇𘰽𘰀𘰾 𘰇𘰽𘰚𘰀𘰾 *uni.qu.ñ i.ri.s.er a.al xe.ri.*320 *t.em.l.ge.y* 'he was conferred the titles of [---]'. In this section, the word 𘰚𘰽𘰇 *i.ri* 'name, title' is combined with what seem to be the plural marker 𘰇 *.s* (Kane 2009: 141 §4.20) and the instrumental ending 𘰾 *.er.* Assuming that 𘰚𘰽𘰇 *i.ri* 'name, title' [2-5] is a cognate of Mongolic **nere* id., the plural form 𘰚𘰽𘰇𘰇 *i.ri.s* also corresponds directly to the Mongolic plural **nere-s.* The block 𘰇𘰇𘰚𘰾 *uni.qu.ñ* would have to denote some title, possibly with the same structure as 𘰀𘰽𘰇𘰚𘰇 *ja.ri.qu* 'prime minister' [13-10], assuming that the final 𘰾 *ñ* marks a suffix. The blocks 𘰇𘰀 𘰇𘰽𘰀𘰾 *a.al xe.ri.*320 remain unexplained, though 𘰇𘰀 *a.al* looks formally like a converb in 𘰀 *.al* [2-23] from the copular stem 𘰇 *a* [6-18].

[14-9/12] 𘰽𘰚 𘰀𘰽𘰚 𘰽𘰇 𘰽𘰾 𘰚𘰾 SOUTH *u.ur deu.úr* MANAGE.*i* 'he helped administer the Southern Division [and]'. This section ends with 𘰚𘰾 MANAGE.*i*, which is apparently a converb in *-i* from the verb 𘰚 MANAGE [4-26]. The sequence 𘰽𘰇 𘰾 𘰚 *deu.úr* MANAGE is possibly synonymous with 𘰇𘰽𘰚 𘰚 *d.eu.li* MANAGE [8-7/8] and means, in any case, 'to administer together (with)'. Assuming that this expression

is based on the noun 𐰚 *deu* 'younger brother', it could simply mean 'in the capacity of a younger brother', that is, 'as an assistant', with 𐰀 *.úr* marking the instrumental case. The sequence 𐰋 𐰴𐰍 SOUTH *u.ur* has been explained as denoting the 'southern division' 南院 *nanyuan* (Kane 2009: 117 §3.192, 119 §3.198-199). In spite of many proposals, the character [294] 𐰋 SOUTH has no generally accepted phonetic 'reading'. The block 𐰴𐰍 *u.ur*, which is homographic and possibly identical with 𐰴𐰍 *u.ur* 'former' [2-11], means, then, 'division' 院 *yuan* (as a unit of administration), perhaps based on the meaning 'front'.

[14-13/16] 𐰖𐰴𐰇 𐰃 𐰓𐰆𐰘 𐰃𐰣 *do.u.un em t.am.ún em.en* 'of the regions of Do.u(-) and T.am(-)'. The character [257] 𐰃 *em*, when denoting a nominal stem, stands for 'place, region, locality' (Kane 2009: 111 §3.154), possibly also more specifically 'fortified settlement, city'. The present section mentions two localities, specified by the names 𐰖𐰴𐰇 *do.u.un* resp. 𐰓𐰆𐰘 *t.am.ún*, both in the genitive case. The genitive marker 𐰣 *.en* on the latter occurrence of 𐰃 *em* probably refers to both, implying a coordinative attributive relationship to a following nominal headword. The orthographical sequence 𐰓𐰆𐰘 *t.am.ún*, which incorporates the genitive marker 𐰘 *.ún*, rather than 𐰣 *.en*, suggests that the basic form of this toponym may have been †*tamu*, rather than just †*tam.* This seems to be confirmed by the preserved Chinese transcription 塌母 *Tamu* (in *Liaoshi*) of this same name. The toponym underlying 𐰖𐰴𐰇 *do.u.un* has so far not been located in Chinese sources.

[14-17/24] 𐰓𐰇 𐰼𐰃 𐰼𐰽 𐰓𐰾 𐰺𐰉𐰣 𐰃𐰺 𐰓𐰇 𐰃𐰾𐰍𐰽 𐰓𐰇𐰼𐰃 𐰓𐰇𐰽𐰴 *t.qó sh.i sh.ang s.iang g.ün.en i.ri t.em.l.ge$_2$.y t.023.ha.ar* 'he was conferred the title of [---] Supreme General'. The main part here is identical with a previous section [13-26/27, 14-1/3], except that the title is now 𐰼𐰽 𐰓𐰾 𐰺𐰉𐰣 *sh.ang s.iang g.ün* 上將軍 *shang jiangjun* 'supreme general'. The sequence 𐰓𐰇 𐰼𐰃 *t.qó*

sh.i seems to represent another title, which is probably identical with Chinese 度使 *dushi*, an abbreviation for 節度使 *jiedushi* 'governor-general' (Wu Yingzhe 2007e: 28). If this identification is correct, the block 令欠 *t.qó* would seem to contain a trace of the original syllable final consonant (**k*) of Chinese 度 *dù* (also *duó*, *tú*), an assumption which, however, involves several unsolved problems. Alternatively, it might be possible that 令欠 *t.qó* is a conventionalized mistake for what should properly be 令只 *t.û*. The final block 令丙 丑木 *t.*023*.ha.ar*, which follows the converbial form 令金 业太丙 *t.em.l.ge*$_2$*.y*, must represent a verb in the finite past tense (masculine) form in 木 *.ar* [1-17]. The meaning of this verb remains unknown.

[14-25/26, 15-1/2] 忒 杰 尔 犴公 反子爻 *tai ong:on cu.n o.ju.ún* 'he was appointed to the office of the Grand Prince'. The genitive form of the initial sequence 忒 杰 尔 *tai ong:on* 'of the Grand Prince' implies that the sequence 犴公 反子爻 *cu.n o.ju.ún* contains a noun or a nominalized verb. The block 反子爻 *o.ju.ún*, which may or may not be connected with 反子 *o.ju* [4-2], has been identified as meaning 除 *chu* 'to (be) appoint(ed) to an official post' (Ji Shi 1996: 117, 472, Kane 2009: 58 §2.186), and the element 爻 *.ún* might be a finite past tense marker [5-20]. The block 犴公 *cu.n* is assumed to correspond to Chinese 院 *yuan* 'office' (Kane 2009: 47 §2.102), but it is not clear whether it represents a transcription of this (or some other) Chinese syllable or only its Khitan semantic equivalent. Assuming that the Romanization of the character [102] 犴 *cu* is correct and approximates its true phonetic value, it is probable that 犴公 *cu.n* is simply a Khitan word meaning 'office'. This assumption is supported by the observation that Chinese 院 *yuan* is normally transcribed in Khitan as either 奴夯 *üe.ên* or 奴 奴虫 *ng.üe.üen* (Kane 2009: 250 §7.21.11a).

[15-3/7] 几土火 企刊 仝为卡 丙爻 屁爻 *g.eu.un em.en s.a.ai hor.ún* MANAGE.*ún* 'he administered the [---] of the

region of G.eu'. The sequence 𘤀𘥥𘤪 𘥣 *g.eu.un em*, with 𘥣 *em* 'place, region, locality' [14-13/16], would seem to refer to a locality by the name 𘤀𘥥 *g.eu*, but its relationship to the sequence 𘤧𘤟𘤽 𘤿𘤁 *s.a.ai hor.ún* is not clear, though the block 𘤧𘤟𘤽 *s.a.ai* may be based on a verbal stem meaning 'to hold (an office) [11-4]. The toponym 𘤀𘥥 *g.eu* has not been found in Chinese sources. The final block 𘤽𘤁 MANAGE.*ún* '(he) administered' must be a finite past tense form of the verb 𘤽 MANAGE.

[15-8/12] 𘥥𘤰 𘤀 𘤾𘤫 𘤿𘤽𘥥𘤽 𘤧𘤽𘤁 *eu.úr* FIFTY EIGHT.*de jau.ul.ha.ai t.l.ún* 'he died at the age of fifty eight'. The sequence 𘥥𘤰 𘤀 𘤾𘤫 *eu.úr* FIFTY EIGHT.*de* 'at the age of fifty eight' is in accordance with a well-attested pattern containing the word for 'age' followed by one or two numerals in the dative case in 𘤫 *.de.* The word for 'age', previously written 𘥥𘤆 *eu.ur* [13-15], is here written 𘥥𘤰 *eu.úr.* The ordering of the numeral characters 𘤀 FIFTY and 𘤾 EIGHT illustrates the fact that the intermediate numerals between the decades in Khitan were formed by the principle of addition (58 = 50 + 8). The final block 𘤧𘤽𘤁 *t.l.ún* contains another expression for 'to die' and should probably be analysed as being composed of the simple stem 𘤧 *t* and the finite past tense marker 𘤽𘤁 *.l.ún* [8-12]. The preceding block 𘤿𘥥𘤽𘤽𘤟 *jau.ul.ha.ai*, in a converbial form in *-i* from the causative stem 𘤿𘥥𘤽𘤽 *jau.ul.ha*, remains semantically unidentified but could here perhaps simply mean 'having come to (the age of)'.

[15-13/16] 𘤪 𘤆𘤌 𘤽𘤀𘤍 𘤁 *tai shï.en b.hu.án tau* 'the Grand Preceptor had five children'. This section follows the pattern of similar phrases above [8-15/18, 12-3/6]. The possessor is here 𘤪 𘤆 *tai shï* 'grand preceptor' [12-10/11], while the number of children is 𘤁 *tau* 'five'.

[15-17/21] 𘤁 𘤌 𘤆𘤀 𘤽𘤀 𘤽𘤟 𘤂 GREAT *mo ku.û.un b.qo* ONE° '[his] elder wife had one son'. Even this section has the same structure as the previous one, with the difference that

the possessor is now 𘰾 𘰺 𘰽 GREAT *mo ku* 'the elder wife' [11-15/16, 12-15] and the number of children is indicated by the dotted character [027] 𘰼 ONE°, indicating that the 𘰿 𘰻 *b.qo* 'child' was a son.

[15-22/25, 16/1-2] 𘱀 𘱁 𘱂 𘱃 𘱄 𘱅 𘱆 𘱇 *t.il.én* 017 *p.u n.u tai shï* '[he was] Grand Preceptor T.il.én 017 P.u N.u'. Apart from the title 𘱆 𘱇 *tai shï* 'Grand Preceptor' [12-10/11] this section contains the name 𘱀 𘱁 𘱂 𘱃 𘱄 𘱅 *t.il.én* 017 *p.u n.u*, in which 𘱀 𘱁 𘱂 *t.il.én* seems to be the 'second name', while 𘱃 𘱄 𘱅 017 *p.u n.u* looks like a Chinese name (characters unknown). The person in question was Xiao Dilu's father.

[16-3/7] 𘱈 𘱉 𘱊 𘱋 𘱌 𘱍 𘱎 𘱏 𘱐 𘱑 *ci.ur.én mo ku.û.un b.hu.án* FOUR '[his] second wife had four children'. This section repeats the one before [15-17/21] except that it is now a question of the 'second wife' 𘱈 𘱉 𘱊 𘱋 𘱌 *ci.ur.én mo ku*, and the number of children is 𘱑 'four'.

[16-8/11] 𘱒 𘱓 𘱔 𘱕 𘱆 𘱇 *m.o ia.*LUCK.*ñ tai shï* 'the eldest one was Grand Preceptor Ia.LUCK.ñ'. As may be seen, this son bore the same title of 𘱆 𘱇 *tai shï* 'Grand Preceptor' as his father [12-7/11] and half-brother [15-22/25, 16/1-2]. Also, his 'second name' 𘱔 𘱕 *ia.*LUCK.*ñ* is the same as that of his father. Interestingly, this is not quite in accordance with what has been observed by Liu Pujiang & Kang Peng (2005) about the Khitan name system. The general rule was that the father's 'first name' became the eldest son's 'second name' in a form resembling the genitive case. Most commonly, the 'second names' end in the character [222] 𘱕 *ñ* [9-11], but the characters [018] 𘱃 *in*, [290] 𘱍 *án*, [322] 𘱋 *ón* and [361] 𘱌 *én* are also attested. It has to be concluded that 𘱔 𘱕 Ia.LUCK.ñ was the eldest son of 𘱔 𘱕 𘱖 𘱗 Ia.LUCK.ñ Tir.bun, and he was born before 𘱀 𘱁 𘱂 𘱃 𘱄 𘱅 T.il.én 017 P.u N.u, the father of Xiao Dilu.

[16-12/14] 𘱈 𘱉 𘱘 𘱙 𘱚 𘱛 𘱜 𘱝 *ci.ur.er qa.ad.i sh.a.rí* 'the second one was Court Attendant Qa.ad.i'. In accordance

with the context, we have here the 'masculine' form 𐲋𐲉𐲍 *ci.ur.er* of the ordinal for 'second', as opposed to the 'feminine' form 𐲋𐲉𐲎 *ci.ur.én* above [16-3]. This son's name is given as 𐲍𐲀𐲃𐲁 *qa.ad.i*, while his title was 𐲁𐲎𐲋 *sh.a.rí* 'Court Attendant' [3-2].

[16-15/16]. 𐲆𐲍 𐲏 *mo.d* TWO '[she also had] two girls'. Although the text is rather ambiguous at this point, meaning literally only 'two women', it must be a question of the two remaining children of Lady 𐲆𐲂 𐲀𐲁 Y.ang Z.ie, the second wife of 𐲀𐲇𐲎 𐲇 𐲌𐲁 𐲍𐲁 T.il.én 017 P.u N.u. These were, then, girls. It may be seen that the simple block 𐲆𐲍 *mo.d* means 'females, women, mothers, girls', while the meaning 'wives' is expressed by the more explicit sequence 𐲆𐲍 𐲌𐲋 *mo.d p.ar* [12-12/13].

[16-17/19] 𐲉𐲐 𐲀𐲁 𐲀𐲉𐲍𐲎 *l.ú z.ie t.l.ge.én* 'L.ú Z.ie died'. The sequence 𐲉𐲐 𐲀𐲁 *l.ú z.ie*, suggesting a Chinese original of the type *Lu Jie* (characters unknown), must be the name of one of the girls. The block 𐲀𐲉𐲍𐲎 *t.l.ge.én*, in a finitely used participial form in *-n* [4-26], is probably another expression for 'died'. It may be connected with one or both of the items 𐲀𐲉𐲏 *t.l.ún* [15-12] and 𐲀𐲍𐲏 *t.ge.ún* [5-20] with the same meaning, but the exact formal relationship remains unclear.

[16-20] 𐲋𐲌𐲋𐲏 *ci.eu.ci.ún* '[the other girl was] Ci.eu.ci.ún. This must be the name of the other girl, possibly suggesting a Chinese original of the type *Zhouzhun*, though the name may also be of a native Khitan origin.

[16-21/24, 17-1] 𐲃 𐲈𐲊 𐲅𐲐 𐲌 𐲄 𐲁𐲓𐲍𐲉𐲋 *ia deu.un dau.dû ai:en u.ul.ge.l.ci* '[she] was given in marriage [to a man] of the middle uncles'. This section combines the concept of 𐲃 𐲈𐲊 𐲅𐲐 𐲌 *ia deu.un dau.dû ai* 'the middle uncles' [13-4/7] with the verb 𐲁𐲓𐲍 *u.ul.ge* 'to be given in marriage', also written 𐲅𐲓𐲍 *û.ul.ge* and possibly identical with 𐲎𐲓𐲀 *eu.ul.ge*$_2$ [6-13]. The suffixal complex 𐲉𐲋 *.l.ci*, probably marking a converb, resembles

the one observed in 土 屮 犮 066.*l.ci* [8-2]. What is curious is that the section contains no dative form that would indicate the man to whom the girl was married. Since the genitive marker 礻 *.en* in the sequence 丰 礻 *ai:en* is not easily compatible with the following verb, it is possible that the male name (in the dative case) was accidentally omitted.

[17-2/9] 令 用 与 雨 业 及 公 及 巫 儿 业 及 交 为 丰 *t.il.én*$_2$ 017 *p.u n.u tai shï p.u.úr a.ai* 'Grand Preceptor T.il.én$_2$ 017 P.u N.u was [---]'. This section starts a more detailed discussion of the life of Xiao Dilu's father, whose 'second name' 令 用 与 *t.il.én*$_2$ was earlier written 令 用 当 *t.il.én* [15-22]. The block 业 及 交 *p.u.úr*, which precedes the final converbial form 为 丰 *a.ai* 'being' [6-18], is obscure but might stand for a nominal predicate.

[17-10/14] 丰 丙 公 公 公 刘 及 邓 为 兴 反 犮 *ai mo.n n.n.bú.u* REGION.*a.iú o.oi*$_2$. This and the following sections contain many unknown details, rendering exact translation impossible for the time being. Even so, in this section several elements can be at least tentatively identified. The sequence 丰 丙 *ai mo*, here in a genitive form in 公 *.n*, means 'parents', literally 'father (and) mother'. In the block 邓 为 兴 REGION.*a.iú*, the character [371] 邓 REGION is apparently used in its semantic value, while the element 为 兴 *.a.iú* is attested as the ending of a local case (Kane 2009: 138 §4.13) that may be termed the 'locative'. The block 公 公 刘 及 *n.n.bú.u* may represent the specification (name) of a particular region, which, unfortunately, is impossible to identify. The final block 反 犮 *o.oi*$_2$, also written 反 炎 *o.oi* is a frequently attested non-finite predicate that seems to mean 'got, became' (Kane 2009: 150), but possibly also 'came'. The whole section may, consequently, be given the tentative translation: 'he came to the region of [---] of his parents [and]'.

[17-15/19] 火 比 及 交 扎 另 佣 关 兀 用 屮 及 平 攴 *ui ii.u.úr ho*.396 BORN.*i sh.il.l.u.ul.ún.* In this section, only the blocks 火 *ui* 'matter(s)' [4-10] and 佣 关 BORN.*i* 'was born',

with the logogram [238] 𘍿 BORN being followed by the converb marker 𘍽 *.i*, can be identified. The final block 𘍾𘍿𘍼𘍻 𘍼𘍻 *sh.il.l.u.ul.ún* is likely to stand for a finite past tense form in 𘍼𘍻 *-(u)l.ún* of an otherwise unknown verbal stem 𘍾𘍿𘍼𘍻 *sh.il.l.u.*

[17-20/24] 𘍹𘍺 𘍷𘍸 𘍴𘍵𘍶 𘍲𘍳 𘍼𘍻 *p.er hu.ia üen.ó.ui mú.*SMALL *s.ho.l.ó.ul.ún.* This section also ends in the finite past tense marker 𘍼𘍻 *-(u)l.ún* [17-19], added to the stem 𘍴𘍵𘍼𘍳 *s.ho.l.ó.* The overall meaning of this and the preceding section remains obscure.

[18-1/5] 𘍰 𘍱𘍲𘍳 𘍷𘍸𘍺 𘍶𘍻 𘍿𘍽 THREE *mo.ci.en n.i.gu* SIXTY°.*tum*^{x} BORN.*i.* This section is concluded by the converbial form 𘍿𘍽 BORN.*i* 'was born [and]'. The same block is attested on the previous line [17-18], suggesting that the immediately preceding sequences might refer to the names or identities of concrete persons who were born. It is unclear whether the sequence 𘍲𘍼𘍻𘍾 𘍲𘍵 *ii.u.úr ho.*396 [17-16/17] can refer to a person, but the sequence 𘍶𘍻 SIXTY°.*tum*^{x} seems to stand for a personal name. The Khitan reading of this name is unknown, but according to Ji Shi (1996: 203-205) the same sequence is attested in *Yelü Renxian* (lines 2-3) as referring to 宣祖 *Xuanzu*, the grandfather of Yelü Abaoji, whose personal name is known from Chinese sources (*Liaoshi*) as 匀德實 *Yundeshi.* The relationship of the characters [424] 𘍶 SIXTY° and [406] 𘍻 *tum*^{x} to [266] 𘍷 SIXTY resp. [312] 𘍵 *tum* 'thousand' remains unconfirmed, but it is interesting to note that both characters in the block 𘍶𘍻 SIXTY°.*tum*^{x} have, at least superficially, a numeral 'connection'. The sequence 𘍰 𘍱𘍲𘍳 𘍷𘍸𘍺 THREE *mo.ci.en n.i.gu* contains two known words, 𘍰 'three' and 𘍷𘍸𘍺 *n.igu* 'gold(en), yellow', but the intermediate block 𘍱𘍲𘍳 *mo.ci.en* is obscure except that it ends in the genitive marker 𘍳 *.en.* The block 𘍷𘍸𘍺 *n.igu* is also used as a Khitan name for the Jurchen (Kane 2009: 165-166 §4.52, cf. also Wu Yingzhe 2004), but since this is probably a translation of the

dynastic name 金 *Jin* 'gold', it is not likely to occur in this meaning in *Xiao Dilu*, which was compiled one year before (1114) the founding of the Jin dynasty (1115).

[18-6/19] 亦与 犮仉爻 乂今杢屮 丙今 久化廾反北 列平刈汲 田 仍关 犮土 釈北峉爻 夾汲火 屮九 尢犴 尢安 反反子 *ün.én*$_2$ *ci.ri.er x.s.ge*$_2$*.l mo.t da.ur.ó.o.ho hu.ul.bú*$_2$*.u hó ta*$_2$*.i ci.eu k.ii.ge.er* 050*.u.ud.l.g ud*$_3$*.ji ud*$_3$*.úr o.o.ju.* This long passage contains too many unknown elements to allow it to be syntactically segmented and morphologically analysed. Identifiable items include the blocks 丙今 *mo.t* 'wives', earlier written 丙爻 *mo.d* [12-12], and 尢安 *ud*$_3$*.úr* 'first' [4-1], possibly also 犮土 *ci.eu* for Chinese 州 *zhou* 'prefecture'.

[18-20, 19-1] 父 邡为兴 HEAVEN REGION*.a.iú* 'in the Heavenly Region'. This is likely to refer to an actual administrative entity, but it is not known from other sources what the exact implication is. The locative form 邡为兴 REGION*.a.iú* 'in the region' is the same as before [17-13].

[19-2/11] 罢屮杢屮九 乂为夫 丰 叉爻 甬勿 乂关 弟 丙斗犮 廿 劣 318*.l.ge*$_2$*.l.g sh.a.rí ai ún.er ca.ang sh.i jau y.ra.ci sï tu.* This section contains three official titles: 乂为夫 *sh.a.rí* 'court attendant' [3-2], 甬勿 乂关 *ca.ang sh.i* 倉史 *changshi* 'directing secretary', and 廿 劣 *sï tu* 司徒 *situ* 'minister over the masses'. It would be natural to assume that the elements preceding these titles are personal names: 罢屮杢屮九 318*.l.ge*$_2$*.l.g*, 丰 叉爻 *ai ún.er*, and 弟 丙斗犮 *jau y.ra.ci.* There are also other possibilities, however, for at least the elements 丰 *ai* 'father' [2-12] resp. 'year' (Kane 2009: 128 §3.245) and 弟 *jau* 'hundred' are also attested as meaningful words. The initial part of the block 丙斗犮 *y.ra.ci* is identical with that of 丙斗汲火 *y.ra.u.ud* = *Yelü* [1-14] and may also be compared with the tribal name 移剌 *Yila.* The block 罢屮杢屮九 318*.l.ge*$_2$*. l.g* looks formally like a nominal form of a verbal stem containing the causative marker 屮杢 *.lge.*

[19-12/17] 𘰾𘰚 𘱈𘰾𘰛 𘰇𘰓 𘰽𘰴 𘰇𘰋𘰚 𘰓𘰾 *p.*EAST *y.eu.ji g.m s.iu g.ün.en o.oi*$_2$. The sequence 𘰇𘰓 𘰽𘰴 𘰇𘰋 *g.m s.iu g.ün* probably transcribes the Liao Chinese pronunciation of 金肅軍 *Jinsujun* < (roughly:) **kim-siuk-kün*, the name of a settlement (*Liaoshi*). The block 𘰾𘰚 *p.*EAST may be identified with the inflected form 𘰾𘰚𘰀 *p.*EAST.*i* [10-4], but its meaning remains obscure. The block 𘱈𘰾𘰛 *y.eu.ji* must be a converb in 𘰛 *.ji* [6-2] from a verbal stem that also underlies the causative 𘱈𘰾𘰣 *y.eu.ha* [2-23]. There are some indications that this might mean 'to move, to settle' (intransive vs. transitive) (Ji Shi 1996: 120), but this possibility remains unconfirmed. The final block 𘰓𘰾 *o.oi*$_2$ might mean 'became' or 'came' [17-14], but its use as a verb after the immediately preceding genitive marker 𘰚 *.en* would seem to call for an explanation.

[19-18/21] 𘰛𘰾 𘰋𘰼𘰾 𘰾𘰉𘰀 𘰽𘰴 *b.as ju*$_3$.177.*e p.in.i s.un.un.* The only element here that can be identified with certainty is 𘰛𘰾 *b.as* 'again, then' [6-3]. However, the block 𘰋𘰼𘰾 *ju*$_3$.177.*e* is also attested in three other inscriptions: *Yelü Yongning* (line 26), *Liang Guo Wang* (line 2), and *Xiao Zhonggong* (line 2). On the basis of the last one, it has been identified with the personal name 術裏者 *Shulizhe* of Chinese sources (*Jinshi*), which is supposed to have been the childhood name of Xiao Zhonggong (Wan Xiongfei & Han Shiming & Liu Fengzhu 2008: 124). Thanks to the relative certainty of this identification it has been assumed that the character [177] 𘰼 denotes a sequence containing at least a liquid and a sibilant (or an affricate), a concrete suggestion being [lus] (Ji Shi 1996: 105). The question is linked with the reading of the sequence 𘰉𘰼 *xu.*177, one of the epithets of the Khitan imperial name (Kane 2009: 163).

[20-1/5] 𘰁 𘰠𘱈𘰽 𘰭 𘰇 𘰲 𘰽 𘰇𘰋 *tai ci.eu.un go:n ca:an cu.n.* This sequence stands for Chinese 泰州觀察院 *taizhou guancha yuan* 'The Supervisory Office of Taizhou Prefecture'. Although the rest of the sequence represents a

direct transcription of the Chinese syllable, the block 𘍞𘍿 *cu.n* [15-1] may well stand for a Khitan word.

[20-6/9] 𘍐𘍽 𘍏𘍑𘍾 𘍿 𘍞 𘍏𘍿𘍾 *ud$_3$.ur iau.ir.i tai:b t.em.er* 'appointed [---] to the position of Grand Guardian [---]'. This section contains the title 𘍿 𘍞 *tai b* 太保 *taibao* 'grand guardian', while 𘍏𘍿𘍾 *t.em.er* must be a finite past tense form in 𘍾 *.er* [11-8] from 𘍏𘍿 *t.em* 'to confer (a title), to appoint' [10-18]. Since this is an active construction, there must be a subject and an object, but these are difficult to identify. Formally, 𘍏𘍑𘍾 *iau.ir.i* could be an object form (accusative), perhaps a name, but it may also be a modifier to the following title. The block 𘍐𘍽 *ud$_3$.ur* 'east' [10-11] would seem to modify 𘍏𘍑𘍾 *iau.ir.i.*

[20-10/16] 𘍏𘍓 𘍠 𘍿 𘍢𘍤𘍾 𘍜 𘍽 𘍋 𘍏𘍓𘍤𘍓 *t.093 hong$_2$ tai ci.eu.un go:n ca y.al.ha.al* 'he became the Supervisor of T.003 prefecture'. The sequence 𘍜 𘍽 𘍋 *go:n ca* (in linear arrangement) stands for 觀察 *guancha* 'supervisor', while 𘍏𘍓 𘍠 𘍿 *t.003 hong$_2$ tai* gives the name of a 𘍢𘍤 *ci.eu* 'prefecture' [18-14], followed by the genitive marker 𘍾 *.un.* The final sequence 𘍏𘍓𘍤𘍓 *y.al. ha.al* may be a mistake for 𘍏𘍤𘍤𘍓 *y.eu.ha.al* [2-23, 19-13], which in this context might mean 'became'.

[20-17/21] 𘍏 𘍑𘍐𘍼𘍽 𘍓𘍤𘍓 𘍞𘍓𘍽𘍤 𘍞𘍏𘍓𘍼 𘍑𘍾𘍽 *t i.ri.s.er a.ha.al b.023.ra.én 318.l.ge$_2$.y* 'after he had been conferred these titles [---]'. In this section, the block 𘍑𘍐𘍼𘍽 *i.ri.s.er* 'with these titles' may be analysed as a plural instrumental in 𘍼𘍽 *.s.er* from 𘍑𘍐 *i.ri* 'name, title' [2-5], while 𘍓𘍤𘍓 *a.ha.al* looks very much like a converb in 𘍓 *.al* [2-23] from a causative in 𘍤 *.ha* [1-17] from the copula 𘍓 *a* 'to be' [6-18]. The meaning of the sequence 𘍞𘍏𘍓𘍼 𘍑𘍾𘍽 𘍑𘍾𘍽𘍓 *b.023.ra.én 318.l.ge$_2$.y* remains obscure, though 𘍑𘍾𘍽𘍓 *318.l.ge$_2$.y* [19-2] is clearly a verb with the converb marker 𘍓 *.y.* The character [247]𘍏 *t*, used alone as a separate block, is attested in several inscriptions before numerals and nominal plurals and seems to stand

for the plural of a proximal demonstrative pronoun, that is, 'these'. *Yelü Zongjiao* (line 12), for instance, has the sequence 𘬼 𘰾𘲭𘬼𘰚 𘲍𘱱 *t i.ri.s.er a.ai* '[he] had these titles'. The actual word underlying 𘬼 *t* 'these', must have contained a vowel either before (VC) or after (CV) the consonant (Wu Yingzhe 2007f, 2009: 28-29). Although the 'reading' †*te* = [t^hə] has been proposed (Kane 2009: 194-195 notes 22-23), it is more likely that the Khitan word was of the type †*ed* = [ət]. This may be explained as a regular plural from a the primary stem **e-*, corresponding to Mongolic **e-d-* in **e-d-e* 'these'. It may be noted that the final **-e* in Mongolic **en-e* 'this' : **e-d-e* 'these' is a secondary deictic element, which need not have been present in the Khitan cognates.

[21-1/5] 𘲭𘳿𘰾 𘬼𘲍 𘱖𘲦𘳿 𘬼𘰚 𘲭𘰾 *g.ui.i t.y ci.eu.un t.qó sh.i* 'the Governor-General of Guide Prefecture'. This section repeats the title 𘬼𘰚 𘲭𘰾 *t.qó sh.i* [14-17/18], corresponding to Chinese 度使 *dushi* 'governor-general'. The preceding sequence 𘲭𘳿𘰾 𘬼𘲍 𘱖𘲦𘳿 *g.ui.i t.y ci.eu.un* is the genitive in 𘳿 *.un* of the Khitan transcription of Chinese 貴德州 *Guide Zhou*, a well-known prefecture name (Matsui & Yanai & Inaba 1912: 14-15).

[21-6/12] 𘲎𘳾 𘲍𘲦𘲋 𘲏𘲗 𘳿𘳿 𘬼𘰚 𘲭𘰾 𘲗𘳾 *b.as y.eu.ji m.o* GOLD°*.un t.qó sh.i o.ón* 'he moved again and became a senior [---] Governor-General'. This section contains the previously attested blocks 𘲎𘳾 *b.as* 'again, then' [6-3] and 𘲍𘲦𘲋 *y.eu.ji* (possibly:) 'moved' (converb) [19-13]. The title 𘬼𘰚 𘲭𘰾 *t.qó sh.i* [21-4/5] is modified by 𘲏𘲗 𘳿𘳿 *m.o* GOLD°*.un*, in which 𘲏𘲗 *m.o* is 'big, eldest, senior' [12-7], while 𘳿𘳿 GOLD°*.un* is possibly based on the logogrammatic meaning 'gold(en), yellow' of the character[286] 𘳿 GOLD° (Kane 2009: 69 §2.285-286). The exact implication of the concept 'senior golden / yellow' is not known. The final block 𘗗𘳾 *o.ón* would seem to be a finite past tense form of the verb (copula) that also underlies the converbial form 𘗗𘳽 *o.oi* 'became' [17-14].

[21-13/16] 𘮫𘮬𘮭𘮮 𘮯𘮰𘮱𘮲𘮳 𘮴 𘮵𘮶𘮷𘮸 *ci.as. ha.an n.n.bú.u ai k.ii.ge$_2$.er.* This section contains the previously attested obscure blocks 𘮯𘮰𘮱𘮲𘮳 *n.n.bú.u* [17-12], 𘮵𘮶𘮷𘮸 *k.ii.ge.er* [18-15] as well as the likewise unknown block 𘮫𘮬𘮭𘮮 *ci.as.ha.an.* The role of 𘮴 *ai* 'father' or 'year' also remains unclear.

[21-17/19] 𘮓 𘮔𘮕𘮖 𘮗𘮘𘮙𘮚 *e i.ri.de s.a.ai* 'while being in this position'. Here we have the noun 𘮔𘮕 *i.ri* 'name, title' [2-5] in a function which may perhaps also be translated 'position', since it is followed by the dative marker 𘮖 *.de* and the verb 𘮗𘮘𘮙𘮚 *s.a.ai* 'to hold (an office, to be (in an office)' [11-4]. Alternatively, 𘮖 *.de* might be a possessive adjectival marker [10-5]. The isolated first character 𘮓 *e* can hardly be anything else but a demonstrative pronoun of the proximal meaning 'this', in which case it has to be identified as the singular form corresponding to the plural 𘮘 *t* [20-17]. The Khitan proximal pronoun may, consequently, have been 𘮓 *e* = †*e* [ə] 'this' : 𘮘 *t* = †*ed* [ət] 'these'.

[21-20/22, 22/1] 𘮛𘮜 𘮝 𘮞 𘮖 𘮟𘮠𘮡𘮢 *eu.úr* SIXTY *tau:de jau.ul.ha.ai* 'at the age of sixty five'. In this section, the block 𘮛𘮜 *eu.úr* 'age' [15-8] is followed by the complex numeral 𘮝 𘮞 SIXTY *tau* 'sixty five'. The assumption that the verb 𘮟𘮠𘮡𘮢 *jau.ul.ha.ai* might have the meaning 'having come (to the age of)' [15-11] would seem to suit the context, but there are other possibilities.

[22-2/8] 𘮣𘮤 𘮥𘮦 𘮧𘮨𘮩 𘮪 𘮫𘮬𘮭𘮮𘮯 𘮰𘮱𘮲𘮳 𘮴𘮵𘮶𘮷𘮸 *pu.i bai.is au.a.an* 316 *t.ud.l.ge.er ún.én.en eu.ul.u.ji.* This long section remains obscure, as none of the blocks can be translated. It is, however, possible to recognize several well-known morphological elements: 𘮭𘮯 *.l.ge* (causative), 𘮵𘮶 *.er* (past tense masculine), 𘮱𘮲 *.en* (genitive), 𘮳 *.ji* (converb), and possibly 𘮩 *.an* (participle).

[22-9/14] 𘮻𘮼 𘮽𘮾𘮿𘯀 𘯁 𘯂𘯃𘯄 𘯅𘯆𘯇𘯈𘯉 𘯊𘯋𘯌𘯍 *mo.t o.ju.ún* ONE BORN.*én$_2$.de hu.*TENT.*ó.o.ón po.od. ha.ai.* The block 𘮽𘮾𘮿𘯀 *o.ju.ún* is previously attested in the

presumable meaning '[he] was appointed' [15-2], but it is not clear how this meaning would suit the present context, in which the previous block is 𐰚𐰃 *mo.t* 'wives' [18-9]. The block 𐰉𐰆𐰴 BORN.*én*$_2$.*de* could, in principle, be a quasi-converbial construction composed of the verbal stem 𐰉 BORN 'to be born' [2-2], the participle marker 𐰆 *.én*$_2$, and the dative ending 𐰴 *.de*, that is, 'after [---] was born', but the relationship of this to the preceding numeral 𐰇 ONE is again unclear. The two blocks 𐰋𐰺𐰓𐰍𐰘 𐰞𐰘𐰢𐰃 *hu.*TENT. *ó.o.ón po.od.ha.ai* are also unknown.

[22-15/17] 𐰢𐰺 𐰃 𐰇 𐰴 *eu.úr* SEVENTY FOUR:*de* 'at the age of seventy four'. This section follows the pattern of similar expressions above [15-8/10, 21-20/22], except that the numeral is now 𐰃 𐰇 'seventy four'.

[23-1/5] 𐰃𐰀𐰏 𐰋 𐰲𐰢𐰴𐰚 𐰃𐰀𐰢 *s.em.ii gi*$_2$ 318.*l.ge*$_2$.*y s.a.al t.ge.er* 'he fell ill and [---] died'. This section may be compared with 𐰃𐰀𐰏𐰺 𐰃𐰀𐰺 *s.em. ii.er t.ge.er* 'he fell ill and died' [11-7/8], though the verb 𐰃𐰀𐰏 *s.em.ii* is now without the finite past tense marker 𐰺 *.er.* The intermediate blocks 𐰋 𐰲𐰢𐰴𐰚 remain obscure, though 𐰲𐰢𐰴𐰚 318.*l.ge*$_2$.*y* is attested earlier [20-21] and 𐰃𐰀𐰢 *s.a.al* may be a converb in 𐰢 *.al* [2-23] from the verb previously attested (in another converbial form) as 𐰃𐰀𐰢𐰍 *s.a.ai* [11-4].

[23-6/12] 𐰸𐰇 𐰴𐰢 𐰴𐰢 𐰉𐰖𐰽 𐰉𐰢𐰢𐰽 𐰃𐰃𐰺𐰢𐰢 𐰴𐰴 𐰸𐰺 𐰖𐰺 *i.ri au.a jï.is.bun hó.l.bun t.*421.*ge.l au.úr.ún ci.er* 'his name [---] was written [---]'. Since the final block 𐰖𐰺 *ci.er* means 'wrote' (Kane 2009:121 §3.241), a finite past tense (masculine) form from the verb 𐰖 *ci* 'to write', 𐰉𐰢𐰽 *hó.l.bun* is possibly also being used in a meaning referring to writing, that is, 'preface' [1-10]. The sequence 𐰸𐰇 𐰴𐰢 𐰴𐰖𐰽 *i.ri au.a jï.is.bun*, with 𐰸𐰇 *i.ri* 'name, title' [2-5], seems to modify this noun, while the sequence 𐰃𐰃𐰺𐰢𐰢 𐰴𐰴 𐰸𐰺 *t.*421.*ge.l au.úr.ún* probably specifies some other details, perhaps even the name of the

person who 'wrote' the preface. It may be noted that 𐘲𐘴𐘼𐘰 *jï.is.bun* contains the rare character [087] 𐘲 *jï*, normally used in Chinese words for the syllable *zhi* (Kane 2009: 45 §2.087) but here attested in a native Khitan word.

[23-13/18] 𐘼𐘴𐘾𐘰𐘯𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘼𐘲𐘰 𐘼𐘴𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 *oi.is.ha.a.ar* 079 *p.u s.*SMALL.*ó.ui.er ku k.ii.û.ji.* In this section, only the final sequence may be recognized as a common sentence-final phrase [8-13/14], though its exact meaning remains unclear.

[24-1/4] 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 *tai shï.en b.hu.án tau* 'the Grand Preceptor had five children'. This is an exact repetition of a previous section [15-13/16], but the reference is now to Grand Preceptor T.il.én$_2$ 017 P.u N.u [17-2/7] and his children, of whom Xiao Dilu was one.

[24-5/6] 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 GREAT *a.an.e* 'the eldest [child was] A.an.e'. The block 𐘲𐘰𐘲𐘴 *a.an.e* gives the name of the eldest child, while the character 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 GREAT [8-19] shows that it is a question of a daughter.

[24-7/19] 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 *ia deu.un* SMALL.*qu ai.en s.in ong:on go.er.en tu n.u tai shï.en go:t u.ul.ge$_2$.én$_2$* 'she was given in marriage to the house of Grand Preceptor Tu N.u of the house of Prince S.in of the junior uncles'. The final block 𐘲𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 *u.ul.ge$_2$.én$_2$* may be recognized as a finitely used participial form in 𐘲𐘰 *.én$_2$* from the verb 𐘲𐘰𐘲𐘴 *u.ul.ge$_2$* 'to give in marriage', earlier written 𐘲𐘰𐘲𐘴 *u.ul.ge* [17-1]. The preceding blocks specify the identity of the husband: he was 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 *tu n.u tai shï* 'Grand Preceptor Tu N.u' of 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 *s.in ong:on go.er* 'the house of Prince Jin', who belonged to the 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 *ia deu.un* SMALL.*qu ai* 'junior uncles' [12-19/22]. The name 𐘾𐘰𐘲𐘴 𐘲𐘰𐘲 *s.in ong* may be identified as Chinese 晉王 *Jin Wang* (Kane 2009: 263 §7.026). It may be seen that 𐘲𐘰𐘲 *go:t* is the dative form of 𐘲𐘰𐘲 *go.er* 'tent, house, household', here used in the genitive 𐘲𐘰𐘲

 go.er.en. Since  *go.er* is likely to be a cognate of Mongolic **ger*,  *go:t* might imply a suffix-initial 'strengthening' of the same type as in the Mongolic dative forms **ger-tür* : **ger-te-*. The Khitan forms would also suggest a morphophonological alternation of the type †*ger* : †*ge-te*, but this might be only an orthographical illusion. The sequence  *go:t* (in linear arrangement) or  *go.t* (as a 'regular' block) is also attested in several other inscriptions. *Yelü Zhixian* (line 11), for instance, has  *qi go:t* 'in that tent', while *Xuanyi Aice* (line 16) has  GOLD *go:t* 'in a golden tent'. Another standard expression seems to be  *m.in go:t* 'into the house of the tomb', as in *Yongqing Gongzhu* (line 20).

[24-20/21] *ci.ur.er t.il.uh* 'the second [child was] Til.uh'. The 'masculine' form  *ci.ur.er* 'second' [16-12] shows that it is now a question of a son. This  *t.il.uh* is, of course, Xiao Dilu, the tomb owner.

[24-22, 25-1] *hu.ur.én s.ui.ún.ge.én* 'the third [child was] S.ui.ún.ge.én'. Here the 'feminine' form *hu.ur.én* 'third', as opposed to the 'masculine' form *hu.ur.er* [9-5], shows that this child was a daughter. Her name is given as  *s.ui.ún.ge.én*.

[25-2/11]           SIX *u.ur xe.il û.n go.er.en s.en.ñ tai ong:on go:t u.ul.ge$_2$.én$_2$* 'she was given in marriage to the house of Grand Prince S.en.ñ of the house of Counsel Xe.il of the Six Divisions'. This section follows the pattern of the analogous one above [24-7/19]. The husband is in this case identified as   *s.en.ñ tai ong* 'Grand Prince S.en.ñ' of the house of  *xe.il û*[-] of the  SIX *u.ur* 'six divisions' = Chinese 六院 *liuyuan*, with  *u.ur* in the meaning 'division' [14-10]. The block  *xe.il* must stand for a personal name, while the element  *û.n* was identified already by the Khitan Script Research Group (1985) as representing the genitive in  *.n* of a Khitan title

rendered in Chinese as 于越 *yuyue* and here translated as 'counsel', an item probably borrowed from Uighur **öge* id. (cf. Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 432) and ultimately based on Turkic (*)ö- 'to think'. The phonetic value of the character [268] 𘍿 *xe* may be approximated on the basis of the block 𘍿𘊹𘌽 *xe.l.ñ*, which in *Song Wei Guo Fei* (line 4) corresponds to the Liao Chinese equivalent of 解里 *Jieli* (or *Xieli*), the name of a great-grandfather of Song Wei Guo Fei (Liu Fengzhu & Chengel 2003: 196, 203-204).

[25-12/14] 𘍿𘈩𘍠 𘌽𘍞 𘍠𘍼 *t.ur.er g.au sh.an*$_2$ 'the fourth [child was] G.au Sh.an$_2$'. Again, the 'masculine' form 𘍿𘈩𘍠 *t.ur.er* 'fourth' [9-10] shows that this child was a son. His name seems to be Chinese, corresponding to *Gao Shan* (characters unknown).

[25-15/19] 𘍿𘐢𘌽𘊹 𘊹𘊛 𘌽𘊰 𘍠𘌽 𘍿𘊹𘍯𘊰 *t.od.o.ho p.ung g.ia n.u t.bu.y.én* 'the fifth [child was] P.ung G.ia N.u T.bú.y.én'. Since 𘍿𘐢𘌽𘊹 *t.od.o.ho* 'fifth' [3-15] also is a 'masculine' form, the text implies that this child was also a son. He had two names: the Chinese name 𘊹𘊛 𘌽𘊰 𘍠𘌽 *p.ung g.ia n.u* = *Peng* (or *Feng*) *Jia Nu* (characters unknown), and the native Khitan name 𘍿𘊹𘍯𘊰 *t.bu.y.én* = *Tabuye*, previously attested as 𘍿𘊹𘍯𘍼 *t.bu.y.i* [8-11]. The name *Tabuye* appears in the Khitan Small Script corpus in at least three different variants. Apart from 𘍿𘊹𘍯𘍼 *t.bu.y.i* and 𘍿𘊹𘍯𘊰 *t.bu.y.én*, the variant 𘍿𘊹𘍯𘍠 *t.bu.y.er*, as in *Song Wei Guo Fei* (line 8), is also attested. The ending 𘍠 *.er* 𘍿𘊹𘍯𘍠 *t.bu.y.er* is identical with the 'masculine' ending of the ordinal numerals and seems to imply that the name belongs to a male person. Similarly, the ending 𘊰 *.én*$_2$ in 𘍿𘊹𘍯𘊰 *t.bu.y.én*$_2$ is identical with the 'feminine' ending of the ordinal numerals and seems to imply that the name belongs to a female person; this is, at least, the case in *Yelü Hongyong* (line 11). Against this information, the present inscription is ambiguous: the ordinal 𘍿𘐢𘌽𘊹 *t.od.o.ho* 'fifth' is, in principle, a 'masculine' form, while the

name 𒀀𒄑𒁍𒌋 *t.bu.y.én* is a 'feminine' form. An explanation might be that 𒀀𒄑𒁍𒌋 *t.bu.y.én* is here a 'second name' in which the ending 𒌋 *.én* has a different function (reminiscent of the genitive case).

[25-20/25] 𒅆𒀀𒋗𒄭 𒁕𒍑𒀀 𒋛𒆪𒋗𒍑 𒀀𒋢𒌨 𒁍𒀭 𒄑𒀀 *x.s.ge$_2$.ud* RECORD.*e.t k.ii.ge$_2$.e pu.is.en mo.d p.ar* TWO 'the Deputy Commissioner [---] had two wives'. This section initiates the discussion of the life of the tomb owner, who is now again titled 𒀀𒋢 *pu.is* 'deputy commissioner' [1-5]. The sentence structure follows the previously attested pattern [12-12/14]. The sequence 𒅆𒀀𒋗𒄭 𒁕𒍑𒀀 𒋛𒆪𒋗𒍑 *x.s.ge$_2$.ud* RECORD.*e.t k.ii.ge$_2$.e* modifies the tomb owner's title, but its meaning is unknown.

2.2. THE BASE STONE

The text on the cover stone, as discussed above, focusses on the family background of Xiao Dilu. This may well have been the intention of the scribe, who reserved the base stone for an elaboration of the personal life of the tomb owner. While the cover stone is filled relatively evenly by 25 lines of roughly equal length, the base stone is divided vertically into two halves. The right half is filled by 16 lines of prose text (with the last line incomplete), while the left half is occupied by 8 lines of poetry, plus a title (on a separate line) and the finishing line (with the date and the scribe's name). The prose text continues directly the text on the cover stone. The character size is also more or less equal on the two stones, but the lines are longer on the base stone due to the larger size of the flat stone surface. In the following, the lines are numbered in direct continuation to those on the cover stone.

[26-1/7] 𒅆 𒌨𒋗𒆠𒃻 𒁇 𒁕𒄿 𒅆𒌦𒀀 𒅆𒃲𒌨𒍑 𒋗𒃻𒌨 GREAT *hu.ên.qo* SIX *u.ur m.ie.*HEAVEN *sh.a.rí.en b.qo* 'the elder [wife was] Hu.ên.qo, [who was] the daughter of Court Attendant M.ie.HEAVEN of the Six Divisions'. This section contains the 'feminine' character 𒅆 GREAT [8-19], which

here implies 'the elder wife', whose name is given as 𗈪𗅋𗆧 *hu.ên.qo*. Her father is identified as a 𗁅𗍫𗊴 *sh.a.rí* 'court attendant' [3-2] by the name 𗂧𗅆𗃞 *m.ie.*HEAVEN of the 𗴢 𗼇𗈪 SIX *u.ur* 'six divisions' [25-2/3].

[26-8/16] 𗍊𗅆 𗕿𗅋𗂧𗋒 𗍊 𗆧𗟻 𗐯𗌭 𗍊𗌠 𗁅𗍫𗊴𗐯 𗐱𗆧 YOUNG.*qú üe.ên.m.an*$_2$ *ia deu.un* SMALL.*qu ai.en ia.*LUCK *sh.a.rí.en b.qo* 'the younger [wife was] Üe.ên.m.an$_2$, [who was] the daughter of Court Attendant Ia.LUCK of the junior uncles'. This section repeats the pattern of the previous one, with 𗍊𗅆 YOUNG.*qú* [13-14] specifying the 'younger wife', whose name is given as 𗕿𗅋𗂧𗋒 *üe.ên.m.an*$_2$. Her father is identified as a 𗁅𗍫𗊴 *sh.a.rí* 'court attendant' [3-2] by the name 𗍊𗌠 *ia.*LUCK and belonging to the 𗍊 𗆧𗟻 𗐯𗌭 𗐱 *ia deu.un* SMALL.*qu ai* 'the junior uncles' [12-19/22]. The name 𗍊𗌠 *ia.*LUCK is identical with the base of the 'second name' of 𗍊𗌠𗏁 𗐱𗐺 𗊬 𗐴 *ia.*LUCK.*ñ tir.bun tai shï* 'Grand Preceptor Ia.LUCK.ñ Tir.bun [12-8/11].

[26-17/20] 𗐱 𗊭𗋒𗍫 𗍿 𗐴𗌠 *ai p.úr.s gi*$_2$ *ci.er.* In this section, only 𗐱 *ai* (here probably:) 'father, male' and 𗐴𗌠 *ci.er* (possibly:) 'wrote' [23-12] can be identified, while 𗊭𗋒 𗍫 *p.úr.s* [2-24] and 𗍿 *gi*$_2$ [23-2] remain unexplained for the time being.

[26-21/24] 𗂧𗅆 𗆪 𗐴𗅋𗌭 𗐱𗆧 YOUNG.*qú mo ku.û.un b.qo* 'the younger wife's daughter'. The sequence 𗆪 𗐴𗅋𗌭 *mo ku.û.un* [11-15/16] may be recognized as the genitive of 𗆪 𗐴 *mo ku* 'wife', while 𗐱𗆧 *b.qo*, also attested as 𗐱 𗆧 *b:qo* 'child' [12-27] is here being used in the meaning 'daughter'.

[26-25/29] 𗌭𗍊 𗎘𗍊𗅋𗌭 𗐴𗍊𗏁 𗎘𗌭 𗴢𗏹𗍊 *i.ri mó.ur.û.én g.mu au.un rí.ún.ho* '[her] name [was] Mó.ur.û.én [---]'. The block 𗌭𗍊 *i.ri* 'name' [2-5] is here followed by 𗎘𗍊𗅋𗌭 *mó.ur.û.én*, which must be the name of 'the younger wife's daughter' [26-21/24]. The sequence 𗐴𗍊𗏁 𗎘𗌭 𗴢𗏹𗍊 *g.mu au.un rí.ún.ho* remains obscure. The

character [191] 丸 *mó*, when used alone, was identified by Liu Fengzhu and Chengel (2003: 18) as meaning 'grandson', while Lu Yinghong & Zhou Feng (2000: 49) suggested the 'reading' 睦 *mu* for it on the basis of the sequence 仃𠂆 丸 𠂆𠂉𠂆 业𠂆 𠂆公 *du.ung mó g.iú.ung p.ung go.n* in *Yelü Dilie* (line 13), which, according to them, corresponds to the Chinese official title 敦睦宫判官 *Dunmu Gong panguan* 'Executive Official of Dunmu Palace'. This interpretation is, however, controversial because the correspondences between 仃𠂆 *du.ung* vs. 敦 *dun* and 业𠂆 *p.ung* vs. 判 *pan* are not regular. Also, the name 敦睦 *dunmu* is attested in the more 'correct' Khitan transcription 𠂆火 半 *d.un mû* in *Yelü Nu* (line 12). Even so, assuming that the value [mu], here Romanized as *mó*, is approximately correct, the Khitan item for 'grandson' may perhaps be compared with Manchu *omolo* id., suggesting that the actual pronunciation might also have been [omo] (Wu Yingzhe 2007f: 46-47).

[27-1/3] 𠂆夭 𠂆丈 土化 *pu.is* YOUNG.*qú eu.ur* 'when the Deputy Commissioner was young'. This section, containing the previously attested phrase 𠂆丈 土化 YOUNG.*qu eu.ur* 'when he was young' [13-14/15], starts a longer discussion of the life of the tomb owner, who is referred to as 𠂆夭 *pu.is* 'deputy commissioner' [1-5].

[27-4/11] 田 仍关 圣 𠂉𠂆𠂆当𠂆 几只卡 只火 列业矢 为币业业本 *hó ta*$_2$*.i* TWO *x.s.ge.úng.er ku.û.su û.ui hu.üen.de a.od.l.ha.ar.* In this section, we can recognize several previously attested blocks and sequences, including 田 仍关 *hó ta*$_2$*.i* [18-12/13], 圣 TWO [12-14], 𠂉𠂆𠂆 *x.s.ge.* = 𠂉𠂆𠂆 *x.s.ge*$_2$. [18-8, 25-20], 几只卡 只火 *ku.û.su û.ui* (possibly:) 'was granted a favour' [3-28/29], and 列业矢 *hu.üen.de* (possibly:) 'at [the place of the tribe of] Hu.üen' [13-16]. The final block 为币业业本 *a.od.l.ha.ar* may be identified as a finite past tense predicate.

[27-12/22] 尼列冬 凿𠂇村 一 及化 火村 又雨伏𠂆 列业半业半 火矢 口𠂇及犴 业𠂆 叔比𠂆𠂆

MANAGE.*hu.as* 343.*b.en* NORTH *u.ur ui.en m.in.ñ.er ja.ha.ai.l. ha.ai ui.de qi.ci.u.ji* RECORD.*e k.ii.ge*$_2$*.er.* The sequence 一 𘬀𘬁 𘬂𘬃 NORTH *u.ur ui.en* means 'of the affairs of the Northern Division', with 一 𘬀𘬁 NORTH *u.ur* [4-18, 14-10] = 北院 *Beiyuan* 'Northern Division', and 𘬂𘬃 *ui* 'matter' (genitive) [4-10]. The sequence 𘬄𘬅𘬆𘬇𘬅𘬆 𘬂𘬈 *ja.ha.ai.l.ha.ai ui.de* may be compared with 𘬂𘬈 𘬄𘬅𘬆 𘬇𘬅𘬆 *ui.de ja.ha.ai.l.ha.ai* [4-10/11]. Finally, the sequence 𘬉𘬊 𘬋𘬌𘬍𘬎 RECORD.e *k.ii.ge*$_2$*.er*, with 𘬋𘬌𘬍𘬎 *k.ii.ge*$_2$*.er* [21-16] as a finite verb, resembles the previously attested adnominal construction 𘬉𘬊𘬏 𘬋𘬌𘬍𘬊 RECORD.*e.t k.ii.ge*$_2$*.e* [25-21/22].

[27-23/27] 一 十 𘬐𘬑𘬒 𘬓𘬔𘬕𘬖 𘬗𘬐𘬑𘬘 NORTH WEST *ñ.ó.úr ci.bu.hu.an* 456.*ñ.ó.uni* 'of the north-western Ci.bu. hu tribe [---]'. This section repeats the phrase 一 十 𘬐𘬑 𘬒 NORTH WEST *ñ.ó.úr* 'the north-western tribe(s)' [4-18/20]. The block 𘬓𘬔𘬕𘬖 *ci.bu.hu.an*, perhaps a plural in 𘬖 *.an*, is based on 𘬓𘬔𘬕 *ci.bu.hu*, also written 𘬓𘬔 𘬙 *ci.bu.qó*, the name of one of the 'north-western tribes', in Chinese known as 直不姑 *Zhibugu* or 术不姑 *Zhubugu* (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 95). This name may ultimately be identical with 阻卜 *Zubu*, the Liao appellation for the Tatar 韃靼 *Dada* confederation (ibid. 101-102). The meaning of the block 𘬗𘬐𘬑𘬘 456.*ñ.ó.uni* is unknown. Also, the first character in this block is calligraphically ambiguous: it may be [456] 𘬗, a rare character with an unknown 'reading', but it might also be [210] 尔 *aú* or even [451] 勺 *gu*$_2$.

[28-1/7] 𘬄𘬅𘬆𘬇 𘬈𘬉𘬊 𘬋𘬌 𘬍𘬎 𘬈𘬒 𘬈𘬏𘬐 𘬅𘬆𘬇 *hu.o.d cau.ji* 232.*i to*$_2$.TENT *cau.úr hor.s.er o.oi*$_2$. In this section, we may immediately recognize the blocks 𘬈𘬒 *cau.úr* 'war', earlier also written 𘬈𘬉 *cau.ur* [13-20], 𘬈𘬉𘬊 *cau.ji* [6-5] 'fighting a war', and 𘬅𘬆𘬇 *o.oi*$_2$ '(be)came' (converb) [17-14]. Other previously attested elements include the block 𘬍𘬎 *to*$_2$.TENT [5-10], as well as the block 𘬋𘬌 232.*i* in the sequence 𘬈𘬉𘬊 𘬋𘬌 *cau.ji* 232.*i* [7-9/10].

[28-8/9] 𒀀𒄑𒈾 𒁀𒌑𒁹𒊑𒄿𒈾𒁀𒆳 230.*an.en ci.od.ó.ul.ha.a.ar.* The block 𒁀𒌑𒁹𒊑𒄿𒈾𒁀𒆳 *ci.od.ó.ul.ha.a.ar* stands for an otherwise unidentified verb containing the causative marker 𒊑𒄿𒈾 *.ul.ha.a.* = 𒁹𒄿 *.l.ha* [4-11] and the finite past tense (masculine) marker 𒁀𒆳 *.ar* [1-17]. The block 𒀀𒄑𒈾 230.*an.en*, like the previously attested block 𒀀𒀭 230.*ad* [5-21], suggests that the undeciphered character [230] 𒀀 denotes a 'syllable' ending in [a].

[28-10/17] 𒌑𒍪𒌦 𒆜 𒁹𒁁𒊏𒌦𒁹𒄿𒈾𒁀𒆳 𒌑𒍪𒌦 𒄑𒄑𒊏𒄿𒈾𒁀𒆳 𒆜 𒄑𒊏𒌦𒄿𒈾𒁀𒆳 *hor.u.un gi*$_2$ *l.she.ó.úr.l.ha.ar hor.u.un sh.ñ.d.u.úr* 230.*an.en gi*$_2$ *sh.ó.un.ha.ar.* This section contains no semantically identifiable blocks. It may be noted, however, that the character 𒆜 *gi*$_2$, which typically stands alone, occurs here twice and is in both cases preceded by a block that seems to contain a genitive ending, either 𒌦 *.un* or 𒀀 *.en*, and followed by a block containing the finite marker 𒁀𒆳 *.ar* [28-9]. The block 𒌑𒍪𒌦 *hor.* u.un is also present twice, while 𒀀𒄑𒈾 230.*an.en* is a repetition from the previous section [28-8].

[28-18/21] 𒋛𒍑 𒄭𒌨𒆗𒀀 𒁹𒋗𒀀 𒅖𒌦 456.MR *ku.û. su.en l.bu.en au.ui.* The block 𒄭𒌨𒆗𒀀 *ku.û.su.en* may be recognized as the genitive in 𒀀 *.en* from 𒄭𒌨𒆗 *ku.û.su* (perhaps:) 'favour' [3-28]. The block 𒁹𒋗𒀀 *l.bu.en* is probably also a genitive.

[28-22/23] 𒌈 𒀕𒀸𒀀 SOME *ai.s.en* 'of many fathers'. The quantifier 𒌈 'some, several, many' [6-9] is here followed by the plural 𒀕𒀸 *ai.s* 'fathers' (Kane 2009: 141-142 §4.20) of 𒀕 *ai* 'father' [2-12]. The genitive ending 𒀀 *.en* connects this sequence with the following nominal phrase [29-1/4], whose meaning is not known.

[29-1/6] 𒈬𒅅𒋫 𒋧𒁹𒊑𒁕𒄘 𒅆𒂍𒉿𒋫 𒋡𒊭𒁕𒊑𒄿𒈾𒁀𒆳 𒁍𒊭𒁕𒀀𒆳 𒀸𒁀𒁕𒊑𒀕 *mó.ui.én rí.l.ha.ad.ún x.zhi*$_2$*.y.én udu.u.ul.ha.án* MANAGE.*i s.a.al.ha.ai* 'he was appointed to administer [---]'. The block 𒁍𒊭𒁕𒀀𒆳 'to administer' (converb) [14-12] is followed by 𒀸𒁀𒁕𒊑𒀕 *s.a.al.ha.ai* (also a

converb), which must be based on a causative (causative-passive) in 𘤽𘥂 *.al.ha* from the verb 𘥂𘤽 *s.a* 'to hold an office' [11-4]. The block 𘤽𘥂𘤽𘥂𘤽 *udu.u.ul.ha.án* also seems to involve a causative verb (participle), also written 𘤽𘥂𘥂 *udu.l.ha* or 𘥂𘥂𘥂 *ú.dû.l.ha* (Kane 2009: 77-78 §2.355), ultimately perhaps based on the nominal stem 𘤽 *udu* 'court, palace' [10-9].

[29-7/9] 𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂 *hu.as m.in* COMPOSE.*l.ha.ai.* The block 𘥂𘥂𘥂 COMPOSE.*l.ha.ai* is again a causative, probably based on the meaning 'to compose' of the character [308]𘥂 COMPOSE. The block 𘥂𘥂 *m.in* has been previously identified as meaning 'tomb' [1-6], but its function in the present section is unclear. A more regular phrase would be 𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 *m.in* RECORD.*g.én* COMPOSE.*l.ha.ai* 'an epitaph was written' [36-4/6]. Possibly, it is simply a question of a scribal error, due to which the block 𘥂𘥂𘥂 RECORD.*g.én* is accidentally missing.

[29-10/13] 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 *b.üen. a.an hor.s.en pu.is b.o*.304.*l.ún* 'he became the Deputy Commissioner of [---]'. This section contains the title 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 *pu.is* 'Deputy Commissioner' [1-5] preceded by the two unknown blocks 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 *b.üen.a.an hor.s.en*, functioning as modifiers, and followed by the block 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 *b.o*.304.*l.ún*, which must be a past tense form in 𘥂𘥂𘥂 *.l.ún* [8-12] from the root 𘥂𘥂𘥂 *b.o* 'to be, to become' [5-6]. The function and phonetic value of the element expressed by the character [304]𘥂 has been subject to much speculation, but there is no generally acceptable conclusion.

[29-14/21] 𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 SOME.*de.i s.*SMALL.*ó. ui.én* MANAGE.*hu.as s.u.*HEAVEN *ta.u x.s.ge*$_2$*.l ir.ém.d t.bu.y.i.* Apart from the name 𘥂𘥂𘥂𘥂 *t.bu.y.i* = *Tabuye* [8-11], this otherwise obscure section contains the block 𘥂𘥂𘥂 SOME.*de.i*, which contains the quantifier 𘥂 'some, several, many' [6-9] and the ending 𘥂𘥂 *.de.i.* The latter has been

identified by Aisin Gioro Ulhicun (2004: 123-146) as an ablative ending, with presumed connections in Jurchen-Manchu. This interpretation has been supported by Wu Yingzhe (2007a: 77-81), but the issue remains unconcluded (Kane 2009: 138 §4.14). In the case of [Khitan characters] SOME.*de.i*, the complex [Khitan characters] *.de.i* could perhaps also be compared with the element **-düi* of the Mongolic quantifiers **e-düi* 'this much' : **te-düi* 'that much' : **ke-düi* 'how much, some, several'. Assuming that [Khitan characters] SOME.*de.i* is a cognate of Mongolic **ke-d/ü-i*, the character [115] [Khitan characters] SOME could be 'read' †*ke* = [k^{h}ə], but even this assumption remains unconfirmed.

[30-1/14] [Khitan characters] EIGHT *x.ci.ñ s.ud*$_3$*.l.b.ñ dau.úr.ún bai.is x.zu.ge.én gi*$_2$ *t.l.ge.l.ún* 320.*u ún.n d.ón.ó.ui dau.a.ar ng.m.ún* COMPOSE.*ún*. In this section, only [Khitan characters] EIGHT [2-25] and [Khitan characters] *dau.úr.ún* 'middle', related to [Khitan characters] *dau.dû* [13-6], can be reliably identified and translated.

[30-15/25] [Khitan characters] *sh.ha.*TENT *al.a.ar xua hu.üen.ta*$_2$*.en* 096.*i sh.ñ.hu.as.en gi*$_2$ *ng.m.*356.*er. hong*$_2$ TENT.*en s.ud*$_3$. In this section, the block [Khitan characters] *al.a.ar* might mean '(he) killed' [5-15], while [Khitan characters] *hu.üen.ta*$_2$*.en* may be connected with the tribal name [Khitan characters] *hu.üen* [13-16]. The rest remains obscure.

[31-1/24] [Khitan characters] *m.ci.e ia.ra ud*$_3$*.úr.l.bun ün.én*$_2$ *ñ.l.û.li.er shï.de* ie^x*.i b.*023.*ún.én bai.d.ha.ai ci.qu.ui* 048.356.*er s.u.*HEAVEN.*en shï shï.en x.l.s* 307.*e húr.ú.dú húr.*356.*u.ji sh.ul.g.s mo.er bai n.i.gu*$_2$ *p.e.ud.én*$_2$ *n.s.b.e.* From here on, the text becomes increasingly difficult to understand, which is why it has to be presented in terms of entire lines, although the division

between lines does not necessarily correspond to the division between clauses, sentences, and other grammatical structures. On the current line, which apparently continues the discussion of the life and activities of Xiao Dilu, only a few blocks and sequences can be recognized. These include [Khitan] *shï* : genitive [Khitan] *shï.en* : dative [Khitan] *shï.de*, which must represent a Chinese syllable of the type *shi* (character unknown), [Khitan] *húr.ú.dú* 'commander' (dative) [10-10], [Khitan] *n.i.gu*$_{2}$ = [Khitan] *n.i.gu* 'gold(en), yellow' [18-3], as well as [Khitan] *ud*$_{3}$*.úr.l.bun* (participle), possibly connected with [Khitan] *ud*$_{3}$*.úr* 'first' [4-1].

[32-1/22] [Khitan text] *t.iu.ir kú ui ii.û.ul.g* 316*.de l.ó.o.ón t.uh.er n.ai.ún.én y.au.ul.hu ün.én.de p.ra ú g.úr.de au.ul.ha.ai ai.ri.i ún.én go:er qa.ha.iú b.*023*.ra.ún p.úr.i m.y.l.g tu.* This is another complete line whose structure and meaning remain obscure. Here, it is possible to identify the blocks and sequences [Khitan] *ui* 'matter' [4-10], [Khitan] *ú g.úr.de* = 吳國 *Wu Guo* 'the state of Wu' (dative), with [Khitan] *g.úr* 'state, kingdom' [8-4], [Khitan] *go:er* = [Khitan] *go.er* 'house' [24-13], as well as [Khitan] *au.ul.ha.ai* (unclear, but perhaps:) 'placed' [9-21]. The block [Khitan] *qa.ha.iú* is apparently a locative in [Khitan] *.iú* [17-13] from the nominal stem also attested as [Khitan] *qa* 'emperor' : genitive [Khitan] *qa.ha.án* (Kane 2009: 103 §3.111).

[33-1/25] [Khitan text] *x.i an y.al.ha.al n.i.gu*$_{2}$ *x.zu.ge*$_{2}$*.én b.as po ung.su.en shï.d* SOME COMPOSE.356*.er shï.en x.l.s* 307*.e*$_{2}$ *sh.a ja.al.hu qa.al x.úr.i* TWO° *l.iau.qu.ur x.eu.s sh.au.a x.dú.ún.én hong*$_{2}$ *s.ud*$_{3}$. On this line, only the blocks [Khitan] *n.i.gu*$_{2}$ 'gold(en),

yellow' [31-22], *b.as* 'again, then' [6-3], and *po* 'time' [3-27], as well as the quantifiers SOME and TWO° (masculine), may be reliably identified. There are also a few other previously attested, but semantically unidentified, blocks and sequences, including *y.al.ha.al* (perhaps:) 'became' [20-16], *x.zu.ge*$_2$*.én*$_2$ [30-6], and *x.l.s* 307.*e*$_2$ [31-15/16]. The block *l.iau.qu.ur* is likely to be connected with the word *l.iau.qu* 'red', or 丙 *bing* in the system of the Ten Heavenly Stems (Kane 2009: 113 §3.166). The sequence *x.i an*, perhaps to be read together with the preceding character *tu* [32-22], looks like the transcription of a Chinese name of the type *tu-hi-an = Tu Xi An (characters unknown). The blocks *shï.d* (plural) and *shï.en* (genitive) are also likely to reflect a term based on the Chinese syllable *shi* (character unknown).

[34-1/26] FOUR°
*y.ar.ha.*TENT *bai.d ui hu.o.ho.s ung.su ud.ún.l.g* GOLD *hu.üen.ta*$_2$*.en po ci.ar g.ui.in* 048.*ún* 096.*i* WHITE *sh.eu.s.en s.ai.d x.i s.ud*$_3$ *bai.is ui.il t.m.hu ci.eu jau.ul.ha.ai pu.i ún.én.* On this line, it is possible to recognize: ui 'matter(s)' [4-10], *hu.üen.ta*$_2$*.en* (possibly: tribal name, genitive) [30-18], and *po* 'time' [3-27]. The block *ci.eu* may also with some probability be identified with the Chinese term for 'prefecture' [18-14], suggesting that the preceding block *t.m.hu* might be a place name. The block *jau.ul.ha.ai* is also attested previously, but only in connection with 'age' [15-11, 22-1]. The block *g.ui.in* is previously attested as a personal name [13-9]. The characters 285 GOLD and 004 WHITE may denote the colours 'yellow' resp. 'white', or also the corresponding cyclic concepts, and, since both are used in their non-dotted forms, the immediately

following blocks 列 业 仍 杓 *hu.üen.ta₂.en* resp. 叉 与 仐 杓 *sh.eu.s.en* (both in the genitive) are likely to denote nouns of the feminine (or unmarked non-masculine) gender. By contrast, the numeral character [369] 乇 FOUR° appears in the dotted form, suggesting that the block 丙 未 圡 艾 *y.ar.ha.*TENT denotes a marked masculine noun. Unfortunately, the rules governing the orthography of the blocks and characters connected with cyclic concepts are not known. It is, for instance, unclear what the functional difference between the logogram 山 GOLD and the corresponding phonetic block 公 关 勺 *n.i.gu₂* = 公 关 勺 *n.i.gu* 'gold(en), yellow' [18-3, 31-22] is.

[35-1/8] 穴 仐 矢 仐 为 丰 与 娈 乙 包 矢 为 乃 采 仐 佥 北 尕 令 岑 尕 *x.s.de s.a.ai eu.úr* FIFTY THREE.*de a.am.an s.em.ii.er t.ge.er* 'While holding an office at [---] he fell ill and died at the age of fifty three'. Since 仐 为 丰 *s.a.ai* apparently means 'he held an office' (converb) [11-4], the preceding block 穴 仐 矢 *x.s.de*, with the dative marker 矢 *.de*, probably indicates the location of the office. The sequence 与 娈 乙 包 矢 *eu.úr* FIFTY THREE.*de* 'at the age of fifty three' follows the previously attested pattern of age expressions [15-8/10], while the sequence 仐 佥 北 尕 令 岑 尕 *s.em.ii.er t.ge.er* (two finite past tense forms) may be recognized as semantically identical with 仐 佥 北 [---] 令 岑 尕 *s.em.ii t.ge₂.er* (converb + finite form) [23-1/5] 'he fell ill and [---] died'. The block 为 乃 采 *a.am.an* must in some way relate to the circumstances of the illness, but its meaning and form remain obscure.

[35-9/24] 丙 几 芡 考 叉 采 火 叉 刭 秃 廾 及 内 彳 用 仍 丙 公 中 汞 叐 专 矢 关 付 冬 业 仕 非 尸 艾 杓 仔 夂 杓 乇 仝 岑 丙 中 汞 廾 犸 *mo ku üe.ên.m.an ui.ún ja.is.ó.ón b.il.ta₂ mo.n l.she.u* SEAL.*de.i b.as p.mu.*282 DAY MONTH.*en ta.uh.en* 156.*d.ge.y l.she.ó.ji* '[his younger] wife Üe.ên.m.an [---] [followed] the female etiquette of mourning and mourned [---]'. In this section, the sequence 丙 几 *mo ku* may be identified as meaning 'wife' [11-15/16], while

𒀀𒈾 *mo.n* looks like the genitive of 𒀀 *mo* 'female, woman, mother' [17-11]. The block 𒅗𒁕𒌦𒄴 *üe.ên.m.an*, also attested as 𒅗𒁕𒌦𒍣 *üe.ên.m.an*$_2$ [26-9], is the name of Xiao Dilu's younger wife. The character [218] 𒂗 SEAL [5-13] means not only 'seal', but also 'rite, ritual' and 'etiquette'. The block 𒂗𒄿𒅖 SEAL.*de.i* contains the 'ablative' marker 𒄿𒅖 *.de.i* [29-14], which might here mean 'in accordance with'. The block 𒌅𒋛𒍑 *l.she.u* is often attested in the sequence 𒁍𒄭𒅔 𒌅𒋛𒍑 *g.en.ún l.she.u* [38-13/14], which seems to correspond to Chinese 嗚呼哀哉 *wuhu aizai* (expression of grief). It seems that both 𒁍𒄭𒅔 *g.en.ún* and 𒌅𒋛𒍑 *l.she.u* mean approximately the same and can be translated as 'sadness, grief, mourning', possibly also 'lament'. The sequence 𒀀𒈾 𒌅𒋛𒍑 𒂗𒄿𒅖 *mo.n l.she.u* SEAL.*de.i* would, then, seem to mean 'according to the female etiquette of mourning'. The block 𒌅𒋛𒉿𒆳 *l.she.ó.ji* looks like a verbal form (converb) based on the stem 𒌅𒋛𒍑 *l.she.u* and meaning 'to mourn, to lament'. Altogether, this section apparently records the actions of the younger wife after the death of the tomb owner. Other recognizable items include the block 𒁀𒋗 *b.as* 'again, then' [6-3], and the logograms [159] 𒌓 DAY and [081] 𒀭 MONTH. The block 𒁹𒄀𒄭 *ta.uh.en* is possibly connected with the meaning '(for a) long (time)', which has been attributed to the character [229] 𒁹 *ta* when used alone (Kane 2009: 62 §2.229).

[36-1/6] 𒄷𒅔𒅖 𒄭𒉡 𒀀𒍪𒍣𒊑𒈬𒄷 𒅔𒇷 𒁕𒈬𒅗𒌦 𒁍𒄭𒅔𒌅𒋛𒍑 *ge.ún.i a.án y.au.o.ón.er m.in* RECORD.*g.én* COMPOSE.*l.ha.ai* '[---] an epitaph was composed'. Here, the sequence 𒅔𒇷 𒁕𒈬𒅗𒌦 *m.in* RECORD.*g.én* [1-6/7] is followed by the verbal form (converb) 𒁍𒄭𒅔𒌅𒋛𒍑 COMPOSE.*l.ha.ai* 'was composed [and]' [29-9]. The block 𒄭𒉡 *a.án* [7-21] could be a participle from 𒄭 *a* 'to be', but the sequence 𒄭𒉡 𒀀𒍪𒍣𒊑𒈬 *a.án y.au.o.ón* could perhaps also stand for a personal name and/or title in what would seem to be the instrumental case in 𒄷 *.er*.

[36-7/13] 𘥁𘥂𘥃𘥄 𘥅 𘥆 𘥇𘥈𘥉𘥊 𘥋𘥌𘥍 𘥎𘥏 𘥐𘥑𘥒 *rí.u.ji.en* MOUNTAIN 227 *x.zu.ge*$_2$*.y ia.ra.dz*$_2$ COMPOSE.*ún* RECORD.*g.ún.* The blocks 𘥎𘥏 𘥐𘥑𘥒 COMPOSE.*ún* RECORD.*g.ún* are probably finite past tense forms meaning 'composed and recorded'. The block 𘥇𘥈𘥉𘥊 *x.zu.ge*$_2$*.y* is clearly connected with the previously attested block 𘥇𘥈 𘥉𘥋 *x.zu.ge*$_2$*.én*$_2$ [30-6, 33-5], and the two blocks may now be identified as two different forms (converb vs. participle) from the otherwise obscure verbal stem 𘥇𘥈𘥉 *x.zu.ge*$_2$ (itself perhaps a causative). The character [006] 𘥅 MOUNTAIN would seem to mean both 'mountain' and 'tomb' (Kane 2009: 36 §2.006), implying that the immediately preceding block 𘥁𘥂𘥃𘥄 *rí.u.ji.en*, in a genitive in 𘥄 *.en*, may be a toponym, perhaps the name of a mountain.

[36-14/23] 𘥁𘥂𘥃𘥄 𘥓𘥔𘥕 𘥖𘥗𘥘𘥙 𘥚𘥛𘥜 𘥝𘥞𘥟 𘥠𘥡𘥢 𘥣𘥤𘥥𘥦 𘥧𘥨𘥩𘥪 𘥫𘥬𘥭 *rí.u.ji.en eu.ñ.er t.ul.u.úr jau.ul.ha.ar gi*$_2$ *al.i ci.i.is.en mo.er l.bu.hu én*$_2$*.y.er.* This section repeats the blocks 𘥁𘥂𘥃𘥄 *rí.u.ji.en* [36-7], 𘥫𘥬𘥭 *mo.er* [31-20], and 𘥠𘥡𘥢 𘥣𘥤𘥥𘥦 *l.bu.hu* [4-14], as well as the isolated character [336] 𘥧 *gi*$_2$ [28-16]. The block 𘥝𘥞𘥟 𘥠𘥡𘥢 *jau.ul.ha.ar* (finite past tense) correlates with the previously attested form 𘥝𘥞𘥟 𘥠𘥡𘥢 *jau.ul.ha.ai* (converb) [34-24]. The block 𘥖𘥗𘥘𘥙 *ci.i.is.en* seems to be a genitive in 𘥄 *.en* from the noun 𘥖𘥗𘥘 *ci.i.is* 'blood, blood relative' (Kane 2009: 85 §3.010), an obvious cognate of Mongolic **cisu/n* 'blood'. It may be noted that this word belongs to a group of monosyllabic nominal roots containing the class marker *-*s*- for 'liquids and liquifiables' (Janhunen 1996: 213-215). The fact that this marker is also found in the Khitan item for 'blood', perhaps †*cis* = [tʃʰis], shows that it was already present in the common Pre-Proto-Mongolic ancestor of the Proto-Mongolic and Para-Mongolic lineages. Since 𘥖𘥗𘥘𘥙 *ci.i.is.en* probably refers to 'blood relatives', the immediately following block 𘥫𘥬𘥭 *mo.er*, attested previously without an identifiable context [31-20],

may or may not be a form (perhaps the instrumental case) of the noun 丐 *mo* 'female, woman, mother' [17-11].

[37-1/21] 为出 丐夬反冉 又刃朴关 屋爻 沙 牛化 廾火 口 令企丐 公尔 盂几丐 矢达廾反冉矢 庆冊亚为本 盂劣 几只火 圮朴 仄为出 圣仉由 伏爻夯公列 令夷屮汲豹 火 冏今比 *a.án y.au.o.ón m.ir.ci.i* MANAGE.*ún* gi_2 456.*ur.ó.ui qi t.em.y n.on* RECORD.*g.y* 204.SOME.*ó.o.ón.de* ETERNAL.COMPOSE$_2$.*ha.a.ar* RECORD.*e ku. û.un ho.ci* MR.*a.án xe.ri.*320 *ñ.ún.e.n.hu t.*050.*l.u.ji*$_2$ *ui* 307.*s.ii.* On this line, only scattered elements can be identified, including 屋爻 MANAGE.*ún* 'administered' [15-7], 口 *qi* 'that' [4-16], 令企丐 *t.em.y* 'conferred' (converb) [20-9], 公尔 *n.on* 'generation' [2-10], 盂几丐 RECORD.*g.y* 'recorded' (converb) [1-7], 庆冊亚为本 ETERNAL.COMPOSE$_2$.*ha.a.ar* (possibly:) 'composed for the eternity' [1-17], 几只火 *ku.û.un* 'person' (genitive) [11-16], and 火 *ui* 'matter(s)' [4-10]. In addition, there are a few previously attested but obscure blocks, including 为出 丐夬反冉 *a.án y.au.o.ón* [36-2/3] (possibly a name), 又刃朴关 *m.ir. ci.i* [10-1], 盂劣 RECORD.*e* [27-21] (possibly a noun from 'to record'), and 圣仉由 *xe.ri.*320 [14/7], as well as the isolated character [336] 沙 gi_2 [28-16]. It is, however, clear that the line relates to the compilation of the epitaph text.

[38-1/20] 乇 佃当 朴夯 仄为艾 汲芬 卅用仍 小 朴 朴关丞朴 仅几 沙 弟 丰 几朴爻 屮卅汲 公岔当 田 可屮亚为本 亏汲豹 乍 土伏 ONE BORN.*én ci.e*$_2$ MR.*a.*TENT *u.*108 *b.il.ta*$_2$ SOUTH:*en ci.i.is.en* 227.*g gi*$_2$ *jau ai g.en.ún l.she.u d.ge.én hó bai.l.ha.a.ar al.u.ji*$_2$ SEAL *eu.ñ.* On this line, the only unambiguous sequence is 弟 丰 几朴爻 屮卅汲 *jau ai g.en.ún l.she.u* 'a hundred years' grief and mourning', with 弟 *jau* 'hundred' [19-8], 丰 *ai* 'year' [19-4], 几朴爻 *g.en.ún* 'sadness, grief, mourning' (Kane 2009: 114 §3.175), and 屮卅汲 *l.she.u* id. [35-16]. Etymologically, 几朴爻 *g.en.ún* has been compared with Mongolic **guni-* 'to grieve', but the connection is uncertain,

since the Mongolic item has the velar vowel **u*, while the Khitan character [334] 𘥁 g normally seems to occur in combination with original palatal vowels. The sequence 𘦂 𘠽 𘍞 ONE BORN.*én* might correspond to Chinese 一生 *yisheng* 'one's whole life', an assumption that would imply that the Khitan character [238] 𘠽 BORN combines the two meanings of Chinese 生 *sheng* 'life; to be born'. The character [294] 𘍞 SOUTH means 'south' [14-9], but also 'tribe' (Kane 2009: 70 §2.294), which means that the sequence 𘍞 𘠈 𘢡𘤿𘣼𘠈 SOUTH:*en ci.i.is.en* might mean 'of tribal blood', or 'of the (same) tribe's blood'. A further possibility is that 𘍞 SOUTH has a phonetic reading that corresponds to the specific personal and tribal name *Diela* 迭剌 (Bao Yuzhu 2006), in which case the meaning would be 'of Diela's (tribal) blood'. The issue may be connected with the preceding block 𘥣𘥑𘥖 *b.il.ta*$_2$, which has been attested before [35-14], but whose meaning remains unknown.

[38-21, 39-1/19] 𘤿 𘤁𘦃𘤟𘥤𘣼 𘦂 𘥣 𘥑𘤿 𘢡𘤿 𘢡𘣼𘣼𘣱 𘣼𘣱𘠽𘥣 𘤟𘤪𘦍 𘠏𘣱𘤿 𘠋𘠈 𘤟𘠈 𘠏𘠽𘤿 𘠈𘤟𘠽 𘠽𘤿𘠽𘠽 𘠽𘠽 HEAVEN *pu.su.û.ul.oi*$_2$ FOUR *ai hu.*TENT. *hu ci.i.is ci.eu.a.ai* TENT.*uh.ur na.al.hu n.ra.en ñ.qó.ju t.ún.em* MOUNTAIN.*en* SEAL *xo.mú.er da.ha.ar o.ju.ha.a.*TENT *gi*$_2$ *qa.al.ó.ji eu.ji.* The sequence 𘤿 𘤁𘦃𘤟𘥤𘣼 HEAVEN *pu.su.û.ul.oi*$_2$, with 𘣼 *oi*$_2$ standing for 𘤟 *er*, must be equivalent to 𘤿 𘤁𘦃𘦂𘤟 HEAVEN *pu.su.l.ge.er*, as attested in *Gu Yelü* (line 25), which is the Khitan counterpart of the Liao reign title Tianqing 天慶 'Heavenly Blessings' (1111-1120) (Kane 2009: 161 §4.50.13). The sequence 𘥣 𘦂 FOUR *ai* means 'fourth year' [8-18, 38-12], which means that the reference is to the fourth year of Tianqing, that is, 1114, which was, consequently, the year of death of Xiao Dilu. The rest of the line deals with the details of the burial. The sequence 𘣼 𘠏 𘤟 𘤪𘦍 𘠽𘤿𘠽 𘤪 𘤟 𘠽 𘠽𘤿 *xo.mú.er da.ha.ar o.ju.ha.a.*TENT may be recognized as meaning 'the

coffin was closed' (Kane 2009: 55 §2.171, 87 §3.019), though the reading and function of the final character 379 [Khitan] TENT is unclear. The sequence [Khitan] [Khitan] *t.ún.em* MOUNTAIN indicates the place of the burial. It is possible, though not confirmed, that [Khitan] *t.ún.em* is the Khitan name of Mount Tan 炭山 *Tan Shan*, frequently mentioned in Chinese sources (*Liaoshi* and *Qidan Guozhi*). This was the name of a local mountain in what is today the central part of Inner Mongolia (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 175 note 2, Bai Guang & Zhang Hanying 1994), apparently in the very region where the epitaph of Xiao Dilu was discovered. The exact location of the mountain is unknown, however. Other recognizable items on this line include [Khitan] *ci.i.is* 'blood, blood relative' [36-20], [Khitan] *n.ra.en* 'tomb' (genitive) (Kane 2009: 123 §3.220), and [Khitan] SEAL 'seal, rite, ritual' [5-13].

[40-1/22] [Khitan] *mo.*d_2*.en t.em.y* RECORD.*g.ún ui.il sh.ad.ñ* gi_2 *ku.ci.l.u.*ji_2 *m.ha.*TENT *y.ie ia.ra ho.i.i sh.ia tum.úr ming ai.en* gi_2 MR.*al.hu.an b.as* 048:*i y.ci.o.ón sh.eu.s* MYRIAD. This line contains three characters with a numeral reference: 312 [Khitan] *tum* 'ten thousand', 207 [Khitan] *ming* 'thousand', and 187 [Khitan] MYRIAD 'ten thousand' > 'large number' (Kane 2009: 72 §2.312, 60 §2.107, 58 §2.158). The relationship between [Khitan] *tum* and [Khitan] MYRIAD is unclarified, but it is possible that [Khitan] *tum* in [Khitan] *tum.úr* is actually used in a phonetic value only. The block [Khitan] *tum.úr* has been attested in the composition of the personal name [Khitan] [Khitan] *tum.úr t.úng.a* in *Yelü Renxian* (line 46) (Ji Shi 1996: 250). Other blocks that may be recognized on the present line include [Khitan] *mo.*d_2*.en* (possibly:) 'of wives' (plural genitive) [12-12], [Khitan] *t.em.y* 'conferred' (converb) [37-8], [Khitan] RECORD.*g.ún* 'recorded' [36-13], [Khitan] *ai.en* 'year' (genitive) [38-12], and [Khitan] *b.as* 'again, then' [6-3]. Previously attested, but

obscure, blocks include 火用 *ui.il* [34-21], 刃斥 *ia.ra* [31-2], and 戈土仝 *sh.eu.s* [34-16].

[41-1/3] 公尔村 令冬田 屋屮廾矛村 *n.on.en t.as.hó* MANAGE.*l.ó.ji*$_2$*.en.* These three blocks finish the main text of the epitaph. The block 公尔村 *n.on.en* may be identified as a genitive in 村 *.en* from 公尔 *n.on* 'generation' [2-10], but the rest of this section remains obscure.

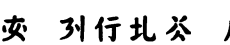
[42-1/2] 重凡当 令勺 RECORD$_2$.*g.én t.gu*$_2$ 'the text / poem says'. This is the standard title used to introduce a section of poetry in Khitan Small Script epitaphs. The Chinese equivalent is 誌曰 *zhiyue* 'the text says', though the construction need not be identical in Khitan. In any case, 重凡当 RECORD$_2$. *g.én* seems to be a participle in 当 *.én* meaning 'recorded', possibly also 'text, poem', while 令勺 *t.gu*$_2$ = 令勺 *t.gu* has been translated as 'said' (Kane 2009: 64 §2.247). The character [389] 重 RECORD$_2$ is previously attested in *Yelü Cite* (line 23) and may now with certainty be identified as an allograph of the more common [052] 盂 RECORD.

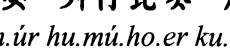
There now follows the poem, arranged in eight lines [43 to 50], with five groups of blocks on each line. Very little is known of the principles of Khitan poetry, and the poetry section here, as also in other Khitan epitaphs, is generally even more difficult to analyse and translate than the prose parts. Even so, it may be assumed that the groups of blocks correspond to semantic and possibly rhythmic entities, with or without more specific stylistic or poetic features. We might say that each of the eight lines of this poem corresponds to one 'strophe' or 'stanza', while each of the five groups of blocks in each 'strophe' corresponds to one poetic 'line'.

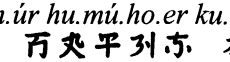
A closer look at the poem reveals that the number of blocks on each poetic line is invariably four, meaning that each strophe consists of 5 x 4 = 20 blocks, that is, words. The size of the blocks themselves varies from one to six characters depending on the phonetic values involved. Since the syllabic structure underlying the currently used Romanization is largely unknown, the exact

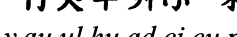
poetic implications of the graphic representation remain unclear. Also, we have no information on the suprasegmental properties of Khitan. It seems, however, that the poetic structure is at least loosely connected with the number of stressed syllables (perhaps four) per poetic line, while there are no clear signs of any type of rhyme, including alliteration (which is common in Mongolic folk poetry). There are, however, some examples of reduplication, a feature already previously attested in Khitan poetry. A more profound study of this and other Khitan poems in the future may reveal other regularities that are still difficult to discern at present. Potentially, poems like this can also be of help in the decipherment process of the script.

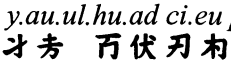
In the following, the division of the poem into strophes ($^{1\text{-}8}$) and poetic lines ($_{1\text{-}5}$) is preserved as in the original, with each line being followed by the Romanization, and with each strophe being accompanied by comments on those blocks and sections that can be recognized and tentatively translated.

[43-1/4] 1.1 
tum.úr hu.mú.ho.er ku.û.un x.s.ge.ud

[43-5/8] 1.2 
tau y.au.ul.hu.ad ci.eu p.e$_2$.er

[43-9/12] 1.3 
ng.ia.ên y.ñ.ir.en ja.al.ha.a.án ci.ri.ñ

[43-13/16] 1.4 
gi$_2$ al.a.ar 050.*u.ul.s k.er*

[43-17/20] 1.5 
MYRIAD *hor.u.un n.n.bú.u ai*

Identifiable and/or previously attested blocks and sequences: *tum.úr* (perhaps a name) [40-13], *ku.û.un* 'of a person' (genitive) [11-16], *x.s.ge* [27-7], *tau* 'five' [15-16], *y.au.ul.hu* [32-9], *ci.eu* 'prefecture' [18-14], *ng.ia.ên* = Chinese syllable of the type *yan* < **ngian* (meaning and character unknown), *gi$_2$* [23-2], *al.a.ar* (possibly:)

'killed' [5-15], 𘰾 MYRIAD 'very many' [40-22], 𘰀𘰾𘰇 *hor.u.un* [28-10], 𘰇𘰇𘰁𘰾 𘰍 *n.n.bú.u ai* [21-14/15] with 𘰍 *ai* standing for either 'father' or 'year'. The overall meaning of this strophe remains obscure.

[44-1/4] 2.1 𘰁𘰋𘰆 𘰁𘰋𘰆 𘰉 𘰀𘰇
g.e.úng g.e.úng GREAT *mo.er*

[44-5/8] 2.2 𘰅𘰂 𘰅𘰂 𘰌𘰃𘰁𘰇 𘰁
*xe.ri xe.ri s.*SMALL.*ó.ui.er ku*

[44-9/12] 2.3 𘰂𘰊 𘰊𘰏子𘰊𘰐 𘰓𘰔 𘰊𘰐
ho.ci b.o.ju.b.ún m.an.en ci.ie.ra

[44-13/16] 2.4 𘰁𘰖 𘰌𘰇𘰆𘰾𘰋 𘰏𘰁 𘰄𘰋
g.úr t.ud.l.u.ji MANAGE.*hu* RECORD.*e*

[44-17/20] 2.5 𘰄𘰄𘰀 𘰊𘰑𘰗𘰇𘰊𘰐 𘰂 𘰄𘰇
qa.ha.iú ci.i.is.d.b.ún 079 *p.er*

Identifiable and/or previously attested blocks and sequences: 𘰉 GREAT 'big, eldest' (in combination with feminine nouns) [8-19], 𘰀𘰇 *mo.er* (possibly:) 'female, woman, mother' [36-21], 𘰅𘰂 *xe.ri* [14-7], 𘰌𘰃𘰁𘰇 𘰁 *s.*SMALL.*ó.ui.er ku* [23-16/17] with 𘰁 *ku* 'person' [8-13], 𘰂𘰊 *ho.ci* [37-15], 𘰁𘰖 *g.úr* 'country' [8-4], 𘰏𘰁 MANAGE.*hu* [27-12], 𘰄𘰋 RECORD.*e* [27-21], 𘰄𘰄𘰀 *qa.ha.iú* 'emperor' (locative) [32-18], 𘰊𘰑𘰗𘰇𘰊𘰐 *ci.i.is.d.b.ún* 'filial piety' (Kane 2004, 2009: 98 §3.074), 𘰂 [23-14], 𘰄𘰇 *p.er* [17-20], cf. also 𘰄𘰇𘰇 *p.e*$_2$*.er* [43-8]. The overall meaning of this strophe remains obscure.

[45-1/4] 3.1 𘰄𘰌𘰃 𘰌子𘰁𘰋𘰇 𘰊𘰀 𘰊𘰇
húr.ú.ui t.ju.ó.ji.d ar.a 039.*is*

[45-5/8] 3.2 𘰌丙刃𘰇 𘰃𘰃𘰋𘰁𘰋 𘰀𘰆𘰇𘰇 𘰊𘰇
t.iu.ir.er au.ui.l.ó.ji$_2$ *x.zu.ge*$_2$*.er ci.er*

[45-9/12] 3.3 𘰍 𘰀伏 𘰎𘰑 𘰓𘰋𘰂
FOUR SEVEN.*ñ hó.de* 391.*l.ii*

[45-13/16] 3.4 𘰊𘰏𘰈 亦𘰋 𘰆𘰑 𘰐 𘰇
ci.ra.qo ün.e rí.i iau:er

[45-17/20] 3.5 𘰌𘰆𘰃 𘰈𘰎𘰁伏 𘰇𘰆 𘰎
*s.u.*HEAVEN *a.ad.b.ñ p.u yo*

Identifiable and/or previously attested blocks and sequences: 𒌑𒋛 *húr.ú* 'person in control (of)' [10-10], 𒋗𒉌𒌦 *t.iu.ir* [32-1], 𒅆𒄭𒍪 *x.zu.ge*$_2$ = 𒅆𒄭𒍪 *x.zu.ge* [36-10], 𒋫𒋛 *ci.er* (possibly:) 'wrote' [23-12], 𒐼 FOUR [8-18], 𒁹𒄿 SEVEN.*ñ* (unidentified form of the numeral 'seven'), 𒋗𒀭𒊭 *s.u.*HEAVEN [29-17], 𒁍𒀭 *p.u* [23-15]. The overall meaning of this strophe remains obscure.

[46-1/4] 4.1 𒌋𒋫𒀭 𒁀𒋫𒆳 𒋗𒄀𒅔𒍣 𒁍𒋛
l.she.u ja.ri.én t.ún.em.d p.er

[46-5/8] 4.2 𒄭𒅆𒌨 𒄭𒅆𒌨 𒀀𒍪𒇻 𒄿𒆪𒉡
sh.i.m sh.i.m n.ra.en ñ.qó.304

[46-9/12] 4.3 𒊭 𒌦𒇻 𒋗𒆠𒍝𒄭 𒈬 𒋛
ming CHIEF.*en s.eu.úr.ún go:er*

[46-13/16] 4.4 𒅗𒍣𒁕𒌅 𒅗𒍣𒁕𒌅 𒂗 𒌨𒁕𒊏
*dz.d.ha.*TENT *dz.d.ha.*TENT TWO *m.ha.as*

[46-17/20] 4.5 𒄭𒇻𒌋𒋛𒆠 𒉌 𒍝𒅖 𒋗𒌅𒋛
g.en.l.ge.én iu ge$_2$*.de t.ie.er*

Identifiable and/or previously attested blocks and sequences: 𒌋𒋫𒀭 *l.she.u* 'mourning' [35-16], 𒋗𒄀𒅔 *t.ún.em* (toponym) [39-11], 𒁍𒋛 *p.er* [17-20], 𒀀𒍪𒇻 *n.ra.en* 'tomb' (genitive) [39-9], 𒊭 *ming* 'thousand' [40-14], 𒌦𒇻 CHIEF.*en* (genitive) [4-12], 𒈬 𒋛 *go:er* 'house' [32-17], 𒂗 TWO [12-14], 𒄭𒇻𒌨 *m.ha.as* [6-4], 𒄭𒇻𒌋𒋛𒆠 *g.en.l.ge.én* : probably a verb (participle) connected with 𒄭𒇻𒄿 *g.en.ún* 'sadness' [38-13], 𒉌 *iu* : negative existential possibly connected with 𒍝𒄑 *eu.ui* [9-9]. The overall meaning of this strophe remains obscure.

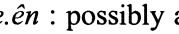
[47-1/4] 5.1 𒅆𒅗𒄩 𒁇𒁺𒍝𒃲𒇻 𒋫𒈾𒆪𒍑𒃲 𒁹𒌅
x.ie.ên MR.*al.ha.a.ar ci.il.uh.ji.a.an û.ul.ún*

[47-5/8] 5.2 𒋗𒆪𒋢 𒁍𒋫𒋫𒁕 𒄭𒁺𒋗 𒋗𒅗𒋛
t.uh.ii em.tum.b.ñ sh.al.s t.ie.er

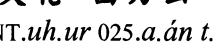
[47-9/12] 5.3 𒉡𒍑 𒄭𒋫𒍣 𒌦𒍝 𒀭𒌋
po.on m.ci.e ud$_3$*.úr u.ul*

[47-13/16] 5.4 𒌑𒇻 𒅆𒄀 𒋫𒆗𒁹𒌅𒋛 𒌑
ai.en i.ri pu.su.û.ul.er ai

[47-17/20] 
5.5 *da.ha.ar o.ón x.s áng*

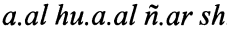
Identifiable and/or previously attested blocks and sequences:  *x.ie.ên* : possibly a Chinese syllable of the type *xian* < **hian* (meaning and character unknown),  *t.uh.ii* [4-3],  *t.ie.er* [46-20],  *po.on* : probably a genitive from  *po* 'time' [3-27], *m.ci.e* [31-1],  $ud_3.úr$ 'first' [4-1],  *u.ul* 'winter', a cognate of Mongolic **öbül* (Kane 2009: 126-127 §3.240),  *ai.en i.ri* 'the name of the year' = 'reign title' [40-15, 2-5], []  [HEAVEN] *pu.su.û.ul.er ai* 'a year of the Tianqing reign' [38-21, 39-1/3],  *da.ha.ar o.ón* '[the coffin] was closed' (participle) [39-15/16],  *x.s* [35-1]. In view of the context, it is not impossible that the block  *m.ci.e*, perhaps †*muce*, could be a cognate of Mongolic **möce* ~ **möci* 'moment, period, interval of time'. The last three poetic lines of this strophe could, then, be translated as: 'the period of time was early winter, it was a year of the Tianqing reign, [when] the coffin was closed'. The beginning part of the strophe remains obscure.

[48-1/4] 
6.1 TENT.*uh.ur* 025.*a.án t.ún.em.en* LI

[48-5/8] 
6.2 *hu.a.al hu.a.al ñ.ar sh.i.*HEAVEN

[48-9/12]
6.3 SIXTY.*tum t.i.ri.er xe.l* $p.oi_2$

[48-13/16] 
6.4 *t.bu.y.én x.s.ge.ud sh.*058.*l.ge.én* $x.ud_3$

[48-17/20] 
6.5 $s.ud_3.ur.ge.er$ *al.u.ji* RECORD.*e nai*

Identifiable and/or previously attested blocks and sequences:  TENT.*uh.ur* [39-7],  *t.ún.em.en* (toponym, genitive) [39-11],  LI 'Chinese mile' (Kane 2009: 63 §2.239),  SIXTY.*tum* formally 'sixty thousand' but perhaps equivalent to  SIXTY°.tum^{x} [18-4], 

t.bu.y.én (name) [25-19], 𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃 *x.s.ge.ud* [43-4], 𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇 *s.ud$_3$.ur.ge* [5-14], 𐲈𐲉 RECORD.*e* [27-21], 𐲊 *nai* 'official' [4-6]. Since Chinese 里 *li* 'Chinese mile' means also 'neighbourhood, place, area', it is possible that the Khitan word underlying the character [239] 𐲋 LI 'Chinese mile' likewise had these meanings (like also Mongolic **gajar*). If this is so, the sequence 𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏 𐲋 *t.ún.em.en* LI might refer to 'the area of Mount T.ún.em'. The overall meaning of this strophe remains obscure.

[49-1/4] 7.1 𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃 𐲀𐲐𐲑𐲒 𐲓𐲔𐲑𐲒 𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙
*x.iú.*282.*i x.úr.s ên.s s.a.ad.i*

[49-5/8] 7.2 𐲚𐲛 𐲜𐲝𐲞 𐲟𐲠 𐲡𐲢 𐲣𐲤
BORN.*u û.ul.ún t.ud po:ho*

[49-9/12] 7.3 𐲥𐲦 𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪 𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯 𐲀𐲂𐲰𐲱𐲲
is ci.i.is.d y.ie.ra.u.ji x.ui.ri.b.ci

[49-13/16] 7.4 𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶 𐲳𐲴𐲷𐲸𐲹 𐲌𐲺𐲻𐲼 𐲽𐲾𐲿𐲤
COMPOSE$_2$.*ge.y* COMPOSE$_2$.*ge.l.g t.iu.ir n.o.ho*

[49-17/20] 7.5 𐲽𐲽𐲀𐲛𐲁 𐲌𐲍𐲳𐲷 𐲌𐲧𐲨𐲩 𐲀𐲂𐲃𐲄
n.n.bú.u.su t.od.ha.ar ci.e$_2$ MR.*eu.hu*

Identifiable and/or previously attested blocks and sequences: 𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃 *x.iú.*282.*i* [2-22], 𐲚𐲛 BORN.*u* : probably connected with the meaning 'to be born' of the character [238] 𐲚 BORN [2-2], 𐲜𐲝𐲞 *û.ul.ún* [47-4], 𐲡𐲢 *po:ho* : possibly from 𐲡 *po* 'time' [3-27], 𐲥 *is* 'nine' [2-15], 𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪 *ci.i.is.d* 'blood, blood relative' (plural) [36-20], 𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯 *y.ie.ra.u.ji* : connected with 𐲫𐲭𐲛𐲁 *y.ra.u.ud* 'the Yelü clan' [1-14], 𐲌𐲍𐲳𐲷 *t.iu.ir* [32-1], 𐲽𐲽𐲀𐲛𐲁 *n.n.bú.u* [17-12], 𐲧𐲨 *ci.e$_2$* [38-3]. The overall meaning of this strophe remains obscure.

[50-1/4] 8.1 𐲌𐲺𐲻 𐲼𐲽 𐲾𐲿𐲤𐲀 𐲡𐲢 𐲣𐲤
d.ge.én s.uni bai.en.en po:ho

[50-5/8] 8.2 𐲻𐲷 𐲸𐲹 𐲸𐲹𐲳𐲴 𐲌𐲺𐲻
eu.su m.o m.o.od.én t.d.ii

[50-9/12] 8.3 𐲁𐲂 𐲃𐲄 𐲀𐲼𐲷𐲛𐲭𐲸 𐲅𐲆
ta.uh MONTH *x.s.l.u.ul.g* 017.*ho*

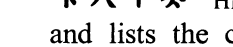
[50-13/16] 𘤀𘥂𘥡 𘤁 𘥣𘦂𘤊𘥣 𘤀𘤃𘤇
8.4 *s.oi.en* HEAVEN *eu.ur.ge*$_2$*.én*$_2$ *t.em.y*

[50-17/20] 𘥂𘥃𘤋 𘥡□𘥂 𘤋𘥣𘥃 𘤋𘥃
8.5 *l.she.u a.*[Ø]*.er da.ha.ar o.ho*

Identifiable and/or previously attested blocks and sequences: 𘥂𘥂𘥣 *d.ge.én* [38-15], 𘤀𘤊 *s.uni* 'night' [4-4], 𘥃𘥡 *po:ho* [49-8], 𘤋𘤋 *m.o* 'big, eldest' [12-7], 𘦂𘤋 *ta.uh* [35-22], 𘤇 MONTH 'moon, month' [35-21], 𘤁 HEAVEN (here possibly used as a logogram) [3-23], 𘤀𘤃𘤇 *t.em.y* 'conferred' (converb) [37-8], 𘥂𘥃𘤋 *l.she.u* 'mourning' [35-16], 𘤋𘥣𘥃 𘤋𘥃 *da.ha.ar o.ho* '[the coffin] was closed' (probably a finite form) [39-15/16]. It may also be noted that the sequence 𘦂𘤋 𘤇 *ta.uh* MONTH must be connected with 𘤇𘥡 𘦂𘤋𘥡 MONTH.*en ta.uh.en* [35-21/22], though the exact meaning is unclear. The block 𘥂𘥂𘥣 *d.ge.én* would seem to be a participle in 𘥣 *.én* from the verbal stem 𘥂𘥂 *d.ge*, which may be identical with 𘤀𘥂 *t.ge* 'to die' [5-20]; if this is so, the sequence 𘥂𘥂𘥣 𘤀𘤊 *d.ge.én s.uni* would mean 'the night on which he died'. The block 𘤈𘥡𘥡 *bai.en.en* seems to mean 'morning' (genitive), a word that has been compared with Dagur **bani-* id. (Wu Yingzhe 2007d). With some reservations, the first poetic line of this strophe might, then, mean: 'On the night on which he died, in the morning time'. The last line must mean approximately: 'He was buried in accordance with the etiquette'. The rest of the strophe remains obscure.

This poem finishes the actual text of the epitaph, but it is followed by the last line, which contains the exact date of the burial and a repetition of the author's name:

[51-1/9] 𘤁 𘤀𘥣𘤏𘤍𘥂 𘤏 𘥣 𘤎 𘤇 𘤈 𘤊
HEAVEN *pu.su.û.ul.er* FOUR *ai* TEN MONTH TWENTY *is* DAY 'on the twenty ninth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of the Tianqing reign'. This section repeats the reign title 𘤁 𘤀

 HEAVEN *pu.su.û.ul.er* = Tianqing [38-21, 39-1], and lists the chronological units  *ai* 'year' [19-4],  MONTH [35-21], and  DAY [4-5], in combination with the non-dotted numeral characters  FOUR [8-18],  TEN (Kane 2009: 63 §2.240),  TWENTY (ibid. 35 §2.002), and  *is* 'nine' [2-15]. When converted to the Gregorian calendar, the date corresponds to December 4, 1114, which is well in accordance with the season of 'early winter', as mentioned in the poem [47-11/12].

[51-10/12]  *is.iu.ih n.u ci.er* 'written by Is.iu.ih N.u'. This final section of the epitaph repeats the name of the author *is.iu.ih n.u*, now written with the character [338]  *ih* instead of [455]  ih_2 [1-15/16], followed by  *ci.er* 'wrote' [23-12].

2.3. PARTIAL TRANSLATION

Below is a tentative translation of the text of *Xiao Dilu*, including both the cover stone and the base stone. As can be seen from the preceding discussion, the text contains many words, phrases and whole passages whose meaning is not yet understood, although many of these sections can be Romanized or also, in some cases, grammatically analysed with relative accuracy. In this situation, any translation of the text can only give a partial insight into the actual contents once intended by the Khitan scribe.

The text below is divided into passages corresponding to the logical structure of the composition, which includes:

(i) an introduction, supplying the names of the tomb owner and the author of the epitaph;

(ii) a list of the tomb owner's more remote ancestors from the tenth to the sixth generations;

(iii) a more detailed discussion of the activities of the tomb-owner's fifth-generation ancestor;

(iv) a list of the children of the fifth-generation ancestor and a discussion of the activities of his youngest son, the tomb-owner's fourth-generation ancestor;

(v) a discussion of the wife and children of the fourth-generation ancestor and the activities of his first son, the tomb-owner's grandfather;

(vi) a more detailed discussion of the children of the tomb owner's grandfather;

(vii) a discussion of the administrative positions and activities of the tomb owner's father;

(viii) a list of the children of the tomb owner's father, that is, the tomb owner's brothers and sisters;

(ix) a list of the tomb owner's personal family members, that is, his wives and daughter;

(x) a detailed discussion of the tomb owner's administrative positions and activities;

(xi) a description of the funeral arrangements after the tomb owner's death;

(xii) a lament in the form of a poem, which incorporates some aspects of the tomb owner's life and work;

(xiii) a conclusion containing the date of burial and, once more, the name of the author of the epitaph.

(i) Text recorded on the tomb of Deputy Commissioner [*fushi*] Ra.l.ó.o.ón T.il.uh [*Dilu*], [a descendant] of the maternal uncles of the other clan [*Xiao*]. Accompanied by a preface. Compiled by Y.ra.u.ud [*Yelü*] Is.iú.ih$_2$ N.u [---].

(ii) The Deputy Commissioner [*fushi*] was born of the maternal uncles of the other clan [*Xiao*]. His first name was T.il.uh [*Dilu*], and his second name was Ra.l.ó.o.ón. His forefather of the tenth generation was [the illustrious] Hu.mu.or. His forefather of the ninth generation was [the illustrious] Y.ho.qu. [There follows a possible reference to the rise of the Khitan.] His eighth[-generation] forefather was Court Attendant [*shali*] 091.o.ho. His forefather of the seventh generation was Court Attendant [*shali*] Sh.qó.a. His forefather of the sixth generation was COMPOSE.u.er Shi.ci.u.

(iii) His forefather of the fifth generation was Grand Prince [*dawang*] To.on.ñ CHIEF.em. At the time of the heaven-bestowed

emperor [*huangdi*] [he received a favour]. First [---] he became a night-and-day official [in charge of] [---] matters [connected with] the tribe [---]. At that time [---] the north-western tribes [---]. He administered [---] the Hu.üan Is.ó.o.ho [*Yishihuo*] [tribe]. [After finishing this business successfully] he became a Punitive Commissioner [*zhaotao*]. [He had to deal with] the Hu.üan Is.ó.o.ho [*Yishihuo*] tribe [---]. He killed [---]. On the first day, fifty people died. He finished [---]. Then he again fought a war. [He married one of the imperial clan] [who was by her second name] [---]. [She was [---] of Empress Dowager [*taihou*] Ci.ng T.ie.ên [*Cheng Tian*] [---]. The Hu.üan Is.ó.[o.hu] [*Yishi*] [tribe] [and the Chinese] [---]. He was fighting in the avantgarde. When he had died [---]. [---] helped administer the kingdom of Eastern Dan [*Dong Dan*] [---]. T.bu.yi [*Tabuye*] was born into Heaven and Earth.

(iv) The Grand Prince [*dawang*] had four children. The eldest one was Lady [*furen*] Ci.qó.ur.l. The second one was Lady [*furen*] X.ing Shï [*Xing Shi*]. The third one was Court Attendant [*shali*] M.o.SMALL, who died young. The fourth one was Grand Prince [*dawang*] Oh.ji.ñ [*Aguzhen*]. His first name was S.au.qu. [He managed] the [---] matters of Emperor [*huangdi*] Shengzong. He had three titles: Academician [*linya*], Tribal Judge [*yilibi*], and Court Commander. He was [also] conferred the title of Military Governor [*tongjun shixiang*] of the Eastern Palace. He was [also] conferred the title of Prefectural Prince [*junwang*]. When he was holding the position of Military Governor [*tongjun*] of the Southern Palace [---] he fell ill and died. After he had died he was conferred the posthumous title of Chamberlain [*shizhong*].

(v) The wife [of Oh.ji.ñ] had [previously] been the wife of his [deceased] elder brother, Court Attendant [*shali*] M.o.SMALL. [She was] Lady [*furen*] $To_2.an_2$ Sh.i Ñ.iú. The Grand Prince [*dawang*] had four children. The eldest one was Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] Ia.LUCK.ñ Tir.bun. He had two wives. His elder wife was Lady [*furen*] Ci.üe.ên G.e [*Juan Ge*], who was the daughter of Grand Commandant [*taiwei*] S.ie L.iu [*Xie Liu*] of the junior uncles. His second wife was Lady [*furen*] Y.ang Z.ie [*Yang Jie*], [who was] the

daughter of Prime Minister Car°.a.án G.ui.in [*Guiyin*] of the middle uncles. When he was young, the Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] [was sent] to the Hu.üen [tribal area]. [There was a war and] he was conferred the title of Grand General [*da jiangjun*]. He was also conferred the titles of [---]. He assisted in the administration of the Southern Division [*Nanyuan*], and he was conferred the title of Supreme General [*shang jiangjun*] and [---] of the regions of Do.u[-] and T.am[-] [*Tamu*], and [---]. He administered [---] the region of G.eu [in a position to which] he had been appointed by the Grand Prince [*dawang*]. He died at the age of fifty eight.

(vi) The Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] had five children. His elder wife had one son. He was Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] T.il.én 017 P.u N.u. His second wife had four children. The eldest one was Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] Ia.LUCK.ñ. The second one was Court Attendant [*shali*] Qa.ad.i. She also had two daughters. [One of the daughters was called] L.ú Z.ie. She died [before marriage]. [The other daughter was called] Ci.eu.ci.ún. She was given in marriage to [a man of] the middle uncles.

(vii) Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] T.il.én 017 P.u N.u was [---]. In the [---] region of his parents [---]. [He was also active] in the Heavenly Region [---]. He [was] appointed to the position of Grand Guardian [*taibao*] of the Supervisory Office of Tai Ci.eu Prefecture [*Taizhou Guancha Yuan*]. He became the Supervisor [*guancha*] of T.003 $Hong_2$ Tai Prefecture. After he had been conferred these titles [---] [he became] the Governor-General of G.ui.i T.y Ci.eu Prefecture [*Guide Zhou*]. [Then] he moved again and became the senior [---] governor-general of [---]. While being in this position, he reached the age of sixty five [---]. At the age of seventy four he fell ill and died. His name was written [---].

(viii) The Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] had five children. The eldest child was [a daughter by the name] A.an.e. She was given in marriage to the house of Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] Tu N.u of the house of Prince S.in [*Jin Wang*] of the junior uncles. The second child was [the son by the name] Til.uh. The third child was [a daughter by the name] S.ui.ún.ge.én. She was given in marriage to

the house of Grand Prince [*dawang*] S.en.eñ of the house of Counsel [*yuyue*] Xe.il of the Six Divisions [*Liuyuan*]. The fourth child was [a son by the name] G.au Sh.an$_2$. The fifth child was [a son by the name] P.ung G.ia N.u [*Peng Jia Nu*] T.bú.y.én.

(ix) The Deputy Commissioner [*fushi*] had two wives. The elder wife was Hu.ên.qo, who was the daughter of Court Attendant [*shali*] M.ie.HEAVEN of the Six Divisions [*Liuyuan*]. The younger wife was Üe.ên.m.an$_2$, who was the daughter of Court Attendant [*shali*] Ia.LUCK of the junior uncles. [---] The younger wife [had] a daughter whose name was Mó.ur.û.én [---].

(x) When the Deputy Commissioner was young he [---] [was active in the] Hu.üen [tribal area]. [He worked in the management of] the affairs of the Northern Division [*Beiyuan*]. [---] of the north-western Ci.bu.hu [*Zhibugu*] tribe [---]. [There was] a war and [---]. He was appointed to administer [---]. He became the Deputy Commissioner of [---]. [---] the state of Wu [---]. While holding an office at [---] he fell ill and died at the age of fifty three.

(xi) His wife Üe.ên.m.an$_2$ [followed] the female etiquette of mourning and mourned [---]. An epitaph was composed [---]. [There follows a lengthy discussion of the funeral arrangements.] The coffin was closed [---] in the fourth year of the HEAVEN pu.su. û.ul.er [*Tianqing*] reign [---].

(xii) The poem says: [There follows the poem, of which only the following fragments can be translated:] The period of time was early winter, it was a year of the HEAVEN pu.su.û.ul.er [*Tianqing*] reign, [when] the coffin was closed. [---] the region of Mount T.ún.em [---]. [---] the night on which he died, in the morning [---]. He was buried in accordance with the etiquette.

(xiii) On the twenty ninth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of the HEAVEN pu.su.û.ul.er [*Tianqing*] reign. Written by Is.iu. ih N.u.

2.4. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The above analysis of *Xiao Dilu* confirms beyond doubt that this is an authentic Khitan epigraphic text, a conclusion suggested also by

a visual appreciation of the actual stones, as well as by the available information concerning their history of discovery. The general arrangement of the text, the formulation of the introduction and the conclusion, and the way of presentation of the textual material, including the poetry section located at the end of the text, are all features well known from other Khitan Small Script inscriptions. The orthographical conventions used in the text, the grammatical structures, and the lexical composition, as well as the calligraphy (not analysed here), are also coherent with what is known from other sources. Altogether, this is a typical piece of Khitan epigraphic literature from the early 12th century.

At the same time, *Xiao Dilu* offers some important additions to the extant Khitan Small Script database. Perhaps most importantly, the text contains references to a large number of Khitan historical persons and their official titles, some of whom have been known from other sources, while others have not. In many cases, the text adds crucial details to the historical information provided by other inscriptions. There are also several toponyms and tribal ethnonyms, some of which, like 𘮩𘰾 𘴰𘲌 𘮩𘱖 *g.m s.iu g.ün* = 金肅軍 *Jinsujun* and 𘲌𘳿𘰾𘮞 *is.ó.o.ho* = 乙室活 *Yishihuo* have not been attested before in Khitan writing.

At the level of words and grammatical structures, the text contains a large number of previously unattested blocks and sequences, some of which can be tentatively explained and translated. It has to be added, however, that the text also reveals the great limitations that still exist in our possibilities of understanding Khitan texts. Apart from the many characters for which neither a phonetic nor a semantic approximation can be proposed, *Xiao Dilu*, like other Khitan Small Script texts, contains numerous vocabulary items and constructions that cannot be translated even in cases in which a tentative Romanization is possible. Clearly, the 'decipherment' of the characters is only a first step towards an understanding of the properties of the Khitan language.

The analysis of *Xiao Dilu* shows that a more or less exact translation is today possible only for sections that contain standard

technical information, including dates, ages, and lists of family members. While important for historical purposes, as well as for making comparisons and collations with other texts, these sections are often linguistically frustratingly trivial. Typically, any sections of a more complicated content are much more difficult to approach, rendering complete translation in most cases impossible for the time being. This is, of course, nowhere as evident as in the poetry section, which is inherently likely to contain a large amount of special vocabulary and exceptional stylistic means, which would normally not be used in a historical document.

As far as the information concerning the lives of historical persons is concerned it is almost ironic that the more detailed the description of their activities becomes in the text, the less we can understand of what is being said. *Xiao Dilu* contains particularly comprehensive accounts of the activities of not only the tomb owner himself, but also of several of his ancestors, but these sections in the text are among those that remain concealed behind a veil of unknown characters and obscure sequences. This leaves a large part of the biographical data actually contained in the text so far unusable for purposes of historical research.

In spite of the lacunae in the translation, the person of the tomb owner Ra.ló.o.ón T.il.uh, or Xiao Dilu, emerges from the text with some clarity. He was a member of the Xiao clan, the 'other' clan, with which the imperial clan of the Yelü was linked by ties of marriage and political partnership. He had two brothers, two sisters, two wives and one daughter. In his lineage, Xiao Dilu seems to have been a somewhat less significant person than some of his direct ancestors had been. This is suggested by the fact that he 'only' reached the rank of *fushi* 'Deputy Commissioner', while several of his ancestors had held the titles of *taishi* 'Grand Preceptor' and *dawang* 'Grand Prince'.

Among Xiao Dilu's most important ancestors were, without doubt, his great-grandfather, Grand Prince Oh.ji.ñ S.au.qu, and the latter's father, Grand Prince To.on.ñ. The text gives extensive accounts of their achievements, but, unfortunately, many details

remain obscure. Even so, it is clear that the intention of the epitaph is also to shed some of the past aura of these illustrious forefathers upon the tomb owner himself. It may be noted that, since he did not have male descendants, Xiao Dilu was to remain the last male representative in his lineage. Also, within a decade from his death, the entire Liao Empire would be collapsing, giving way to the new empire of the Jurchen Jin.

It is perhaps relevant also to note that both Xiao Dilu and many of his ancestors had had official appointments in the 'northwest' of the Liao Empire, where they were engaged in wars against the local tribes, some of which are likely to have been ethnically and linguistically distinct from the Khitan. The analysis of the historical implications of these wars, and of the role of Xiao Dilu and his ancestors in them, remains a task of the future.

3

YELÜ XIANGWEN

At the beginning of June, 2007, soon after the successful acquisition of the Epitaph of Deputy Commissioner Xiao Dilu, Wu Yingzhe and Jiruhe, the latter also from Inner Mongolia University, carried out a field survey in parts of rural Tongliao. It was in the course of this survey that they located another previously unknown Khitan Small Script document, now identified as the Epitaph of Field Marshal Yelü (*Yelü Xiangwen Muzhi*). A local farmer (name withheld) had accidentally discovered it while ploughing his field at a hillside located at the border of Inner Mongolia and Liaoning province 遼寧省 *Liaoning Sheng*. According to his words, he had made the discovery in the middle of May of the same year. To questions as to whether he had any knowledge of the existence of any other epitaphs or inscriptions in the region, including any in the Chinese language, he answered negatively. With the help of a number of local enthusiasts, the epitaph was eventually transported to Huhhot, where it, too, was incorporated into the collections of the School of Mongolian Studies of Inner Mongolia University.

Like *Xiao Dilu* and many other Khitan epitaphs, *Yelü Xiangwen* also consists of a cover stone and a base stone.

(1) The base stone is made of smooth gray slate (petrological analysis pending) and measures 87 cm in width, 73.5-77.5 cm in height, and 12-16 cm in thickness. The estimated weight is close to 250 kg. The text surface is covered with 39 lines of relatively

shallow and small Khitan Small Script characters, with an average block size of less than 2 x 2 cm. The number of blocks per line varies from 27 to 47. Altogether, there are 3,624 characters, including 54 broken ones, arranged into 1,444 blocks. The relatively large number of broken (illegible or lost) characters is due to the shallow engraving, as well as to secondary damage in several parts of the text surface. In general, the design of the text on this epitaph is less well organized than that on *Xiao Dilu.* It seems that the engraver who worked on *Yelü Xiangwen* may originally have planned to place the entire text on the base stone. However, towards the end of the text he was running out of space, which is why the characters become gradually denser and smaller. Finally, the text had to be continued on the cover stone.

(2) The cover stone is made of coarser material with a lighter (gray-white) colour. It measures 82.5 cm in width, 64-69 cm in height, and 15.5-17.5 cm in thickness, with slanting sides, and has a weight of perhaps 150 kg. The upper surface has no text or ornamentation, while the underside has 9 lines of Khitan Small Script characters. The number of characters per line varies from 8 to 27, yielding 417 characters, arranged into 167 blocks. Thanks to the abundant space, the characters, especially on the last line, are very large and clear, with a block size of up to c. 4 x 6 cm.

Altogether, the two stones of *Yelü Xiangwen* contain 3,988 preserved and 54 damaged Khitan Small Script characters, corresponding to 1,611 blocks and divided into 48 lines. Some of the blocks are previously unattested.

3.1. THE BASE STONE

The Khitan text of the base stone of *Yelü Xiangwen* is presented below according to the same principles as applied to *Xiao Dilu* above, that is, in terms of linearized text sequences followed by Romanization, translation, and commentaries (as far as possible). In general, the text sequences quoted will be somewhat longer than in the presentation of *Xiao Dilu.* The palaeographical, semantic, etymological, and bibliographical explanations and/or references

already given in connection with *Xiao Dilu* will not be repeated here, and cross-references will generally be made only within the given text, not between the two texts. Any blocks shared by the two texts can be found in the index.

[1-1/5] 𗼇𗼈𗼉 𗼊𗼋𗼌 𗼍𗼎 𗼏𗼐 𗼑𗼒 *qa.ha.an x.dú.ún go.er dau.dû ai.en* 'of the emperor's middle uncles of the horizontal tents'. This initial phrase precedes the name and title of the tomb owner and defines his position as a member of the lineage of the 𗼏𗼐 𗼑𗼒 *dau.dû ai* 'middle uncles', a branch of the imperial Yelü clan. The phrase 𗼊𗼋𗼌 𗼍𗼎 *x.dú.ún go.er*, preceded by 𗼇𗼈𗼉 *qa.ha.an* 'emperor's' (genitive), is known to correspond to Chinese 橫帳 *hengzhang*, normally translated as 'horizontal tents' (Kane 2009: 102 §3.098). The word 𗼊𗼋𗼌 *x.dú.ún* has been compared with Mongolic **köndelen* ~ **köndülen* 'horizontal', a comparison which, if correct, might imply that the character [179] 𗼋 had actually the value [ndu] ~ [ntu].

[1-6/7] 𗼒𗼓𗼔𗼕 𗼖𗼗𗼘 *l.ie.ên.ñ s.eng.un* 'Field Marshal L.ie.ên.ñ'. This section identifies the tomb owner by the (second) name 𗼒𗼓𗼔𗼕 *l.ie.ên.ñ* and by the official title 𗼖𗼗𗼘 *s.eng.un* 詳穩 *xiangwen*, here translated as 'field marshal'. The sequence 𗼒𗼓𗼔 *l.ie.ên* corresponds to Chinese 練 *lian* in, for instance, 𗼙𗼚 𗼒𗼓𗼔 𗼋 *to.on l.ie.ên shï* 團練使 *Tuan Lian Shi*, as attested in *Song Wei Guo Fei* (line 11), while the sequence 𗼔𗼕 (*ê*)*n.ñ* is transcribed as Chinese 寧 *ning* in, for instance, 𗼀𗼓𗼔𗼕 *y.ie.ên.ñ* 延寧 *Yanning*, as attested in *Yongning Langjun* (line 20). In view of these parallels we may assume that the tomb owner's full name would probably have been transcribed in Chinese as 耶律練寧 *Yelü Lianning*. However, since the Chinese characters are not independently confirmed, and since the person is not known from other sources, we shall refer to the epitaph not by this personal name, but by the name *Yelü Xiangwen*. The title 詳穩 *xiangwen* 'field marshal' seems to

have represented a high tribal rank with both military and administrative functions (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 129 note 42), apparently higher than that of 𘍽𘊱 𘍞𘍿 *s.iang g.ün* = 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general'. The ultimate etymology of 𘍽𘌽𘌼 *s.eng.un* remains unclear. The item is also attested in Uighur as *sengün* (with variants, cf. also Menges 1968: 35), but it is unclear in which of the three languages — Khitan, Uighur, or Chinese — it was present first; it may well derive from some even more ancient local language.

[1-8/11] 𘍽𘌠𘍼 𘍾𘍞𘍸 𘍹𘍾𘍻𘍽𘍿 𘍹𘍺𘍽 *n.ra.de* RECORD.*g.én ci.eu.û.ul.ún ci.ge.ii* 'epitaph and preface', with 𘍽𘌠𘍼 *n.ra.de* 'at [the] tomb [of]' (dative), 𘍾𘍞𘍸 RECORD.*g.én* 'recorded' (participle) = 'recording' (noun), 𘍹𘍺𘍽𘍿 *ci.eu.û.ul.ún* 'preface' and 𘍹𘍽𘍺 *ci.ge.ii* 'together with'. The sequence 𘍹𘍺𘍽𘍿 𘍹𘍽𘍺 *ci.eu.û.ul.ún ci.ge.ii* 'together with a preface' is also attested in *Gu Yelü* (line 1) and replaces here the more common 𘍲𘍼𘍷 𘍸𘍹𘍽𘍺 *ho.l.b.ñ ci.ge.ii* id., as in *Xiao Dilu*, as a counterpart of Chinese 序並 *bingxu.*

[1-12/17] 𘍴𘍻 𘍷𘍾𘍼𘍻 𘍶𘍽 𘍾𘍸 𘍼𘍺 𘍼𘍺𘍷𘍾 𘍴𘍷𘍽𘍾 *bú.d na.ha.án.er* SMALL.*qó* TENT.*en pú.u ir.y.il.ha.ar* 'written by [a person] of the junior maternal uncles of the other clan'. This section gives information on the author of the epitaph, who is identified as 𘍴𘍻 𘍷𘍾𘍼𘍻 𘍶𘍽 𘍾𘍸 𘍼𘍺 *bú.d na.ha.án.er* SMALL.*qó* TENT.*en pú.u* 'pú.u of the junior maternal uncles of the other clan' (genitive), that is, a member of a 'junior' branch of the Xiao clan. The block 𘍼𘍺 *pú.u* in this context might simply stand for the personal name of the author, but it might also represent the Khitan transcription of Chinese 僕 *pu* < **buk* 'servant', an item also transcribed in Khitan as 𘍼𘍾 *p.u* or 𘍷𘍿 *b.uh* (Kane 2009: 55 §2.172, 247 §7.21.5). The block 𘍴𘍷𘍽𘍾 *ir.y.il.ha.ar* is previously unattested, but it obviously means 'wrote' or 'compiled' (finite past tense masculine), being more or less equal to 𘍹𘍻 *ci.er* 'wrote'.

[1-18/20] 𘍿𘌽𘊴 𘍞𘋢𘍠 𘍠𘍼𘌋𘋢 *s.eng.un ci.ur.én l.ie.ên.ñ* 'the second name of the Field Marshal was L.ie.ên.ñ'. Here, 𘍞𘋢𘍠 *ci.ur.én* 'second' (feminine) stands for 'second name'. The block 𘍿𘌽𘊴 *s.eng.un* 'field marshal' appears, as above [1-7], in what would seem to be the basic form of the word, although the context would rather require a genitive; possibly, therefore, the final character 𘊴 *un* contains the genitive marker, implying that the stem of the Khitan noun might actually be †*sengu*(-).

[1-21/23] 𘍠𘋗 𘍼𘋢 𘍤𘍲𘍠 *p.ho i.ri hu.a.án* '[his] first name [was] Hu.a.án'. Here, the block 𘍼𘋢 *i.ri* 'name' is preceded by 𘍠𘋗 *p.ho*, which might mean 'childhood', implying a name used as the principal name during the person's childhood. The similarity between 𘍠𘋗 *p.ho* and 𘍤𘍲 *b.qo* 'child' is, however, probably accidental.

[1-24/28] 𘍼 𘍢𘍿 𘍤 𘍣 𘍞 HEAVEN *húr.ú* TWENTY EIGHT *ai* '[of the] twenty-eighth year of HEAVEN Húr.ú', with 𘍞 *ai* 'year' preceded by the numeral 𘍤 𘍣 TWENTY EIGHT. As is evident from the following passage [2-1/6], this section gives the tomb owner's year of birth. Considering other dates in the inscription, the reference must be to the year 1010, which means that 𘍼 𘍢𘍿 HEAVEN *húr.ú*, with the literal meaning 'heavenly control', must correspond to the Chinese reign title Tonghe 統和 'Government Harmony' (983-1011). It happens that this reign title has been previously identified with Khitan 𘍼 𘍿𘍾𘍬𘍠 HEAVEN *s.bu.u.ho* on the basis of a passage in *Han Dilie* (Tang Cailan & Liu Fengzhu & Kang Lijun 2002, cf. also Kane 2009: 158). It now seems obvious that 𘍼 𘍿𘍾𘍬𘍠 HEAVEN *s.bu.u.ho* actually stands for the immediately preceding reign title, that is, Qianheng 乾亨 'Heavenly Perseverance' (979-983).

[2-1/6] 𘍤 𘍤 𘍣 𘍣 𘍤𘍼 𘍠𘍲 SEVEN MONTH TEN ONE DAY.*de* BORN.*oi*$_2$ 'he was born on the eleventh day of the seventh month'. This section, with the numerals 𘍤 SEVEN and 𘍣 𘍣 TEN ONE = 'eleven' and the units of time 𘍤

MONTH and 𗼻 DAY, completes the date of the tomb owner's birth, which corresponds to August 28, 1010, in the Gregorian calendar. The block 𘍽𗴲 BORN.oi_2 'was born' looks superficially like a converbial form in 𗴲 .oi_2, but the second character is partially damaged and the intended form must have been 𘍽𗺰 BORN.*er*, a regular finite past tense form (masculine) frequently attested in Khitan Small Script inscriptions (Kane 2009: 86 §3.015).

[2-7/15] 𗹐𘓱𗴲 𗽾𗼃𗼎 𗼃𘓱 𗴲 𗼃𗼎𗼃𗼃𗼃 𗼃𘍽𗼻 𗼃𗺰 𗽾𗼃𗼃𗼃𗼃 𗹐𘓱𗼎𗼃 *t.ur.oi s.on.en û.ur ai sh.ho.ha.a.án sh.il.u û.e tau.su.ó.ui t.em.l.ge.én* '[his] forefather of the fourth generation [was] Counsel Sh.ho.ha.a.án Sh.il.u, [who] was granted [---]'. The sequence 𗹐𘓱𗴲 𗽾𗼃𗼎 𗼃𘓱 𗴲 *t.ur.oi s.on.en û.ur ai* obviously means 'fourth-generation forefather', but two characters in it are misspelt: 𗹐𘓱𗴲 *t.ur.oi* should be 𗹐𘓱𗺰 *t.ur.er* 'fourth' (masculine), and 𗽾𗼃𗼎 *s.on.en* should be 𗽾𗼃𗼎 *n.on.en* 'generation' (genitive). The use of the character [347]𗴲 oi for [341]𗺰 *er* in 𗹐𘓱𗴲 *t.ur.oi* = 𗹐𘓱𗺰 *t.ur.er* 'fourth' is reminiscent of the similar use of the character [107]𗴲 oi_2 in 𘍽𗴲 BORN.oi_2 = 𘍽𗺰 BORN.*er* 'was born' above [2-6], and suggests that this inscription was engraved by a person who may not have been completely familiar with the Khitan Small Script, or also, that the work was done quickly, as is also obvious from the somewhat disorganized general structure of the text. The block 𗼃𘓱 *û.ur* in 𗼃𘓱 𗴲 *û.ur ai* 'forefather' is likewise somewhat unexpected, since the common orthography would be 𗼎𘓱 *u.ur*, but the alternation of the characters [372]𗼃 *û* and [131]𗼎 *u* is otherwise frequently attested. The sequence 𗼻𘍽𗼻𗼃𗼎 𗼻𘍽𗼎 *sh.ho.ha.a.án sh.il.u* must stand for a personal name (second name and first name), which probably equals the form 述瀾釋魯 *Shulan Shilu* as attested in Chinese sources (*Liaoshi*). The official title of this forefather is given as 𗼃𗺰 *û.e* 于越 *yuyue* 'counsel'. The final block 𗹐𗽾𗴲𗺰𗼎 *t.em.l.ge.én* 'was conferred'

(causative-passive participle) is preceded by 𘩐𘨆𘦳𘤪 *tau. su.ó.ui*, which remains obscure.

[2-16/24] 𘤪𘤧 𘦳𘤧 𘥕 𘠷 𘨆 𘩷 𘧇𘦋𘤪 𘧇𘧁 𘦳 *s.ui° g.ui° ong ia deu* THREE *ji.en.i dau.dû ku* '[he had the title of] Prince of the State of Sui, [and he was] the middle one among three brothers'. This sentence implies that there were 𘩷 𘠷 𘨆 THREE *ia deu* 'three elder brothers and younger brothers', of whom the tomb owner's ancestor was the 𘧇𘧁 𘦳 *dau.dû ku* 'the middle person', who had the title of 𘤪𘤧 𘦳𘤧 𘥕 *s.ui° g.ui° ong* 隋國王 *Sui Guo Wang* 'Prince of the State of Sui'. This title is, incidentally, historically confirmed for the person of Shulan Shilu. It may be noted that the blocks 𘤪𘤧 𘦳𘤧 *s.ui° g.ui°* are here written with the dotted character [263]𘤧 *ui°*, which, thus, must have had the same phonetic value as the non-dotted character [262]𘤦 *ui.* In the transcription of Chinese 國 *guo* < **kwək* 'state' as Khitan 𘦳𘤧 *g.ui°* = 𘦳𘤦 *g.ui* the text follows the established praxis, which may have been based on actual Liao Chinese pronunciation (Kane 2009: 244 §7.19.3a). The block 𘧇𘦋𘤪 *ji.en.i* has not been satisfactorily explained, but judging from the context it must mean 'among'.

[2-25/33] 𘦍𘧂 𘨆𘦔𘦋𘤪 𘠷𘥕𘧁 𘨆𘥕𘧁𘦋 𘧂𘨆𘦋𘤪 𘦍𘦋𘤪 𘦋𘤪 𘧇𘦋𘤪𘧁 𘦋𘧇 𘦍𘦋𘤪𘧁 RECORD.*e al.l.hu.an p.ul.uh û.úr.ho.en d.eu.li* SOME MANAGE.356.*oi* 307.*y y.gi.*SOME. *ñ.* This section apparently deals with the activities of the fourth-generation ancestor of the tomb owner, but the overall meaning remains unknown. Identifiable blocks in the sequence include 𘦍𘧂 RECORD.*e* (possibly a noun based on 𘦍 RECORD 'to record'), 𘧂𘨆𘦋𘤪 *d.eu.li* (possibly:) 'in association (with)', and 𘦍𘦋𘤪 MANAGE.356.*oi* (perhaps:) = 𘦍𘦋𘤧 MANAGE.356.*er* '(he) managed' (with the role and phonetic value of the character [356]𘦋 being unknown). Also, the block 𘨆𘦔𘦋𘤪 *p.ul.uh* has been identified as meaning 'intercalary month' (Kane 2009: 103 §3.107); since this usage is derived from the basic meaning 'more, excess, extra', it may

be a question of a cognate of Mongolic *iluu* (Written Mongol **vilaguu** ~ **vuilaguu**) < **xilexü* ~ **xülexü* < **pilexü* ~ **pülexü* 'superfluous'.

[3-1/6] 巫 丑 丂 村　北 朱　凡 交 村　火　尤 交 尘　尼 炎 *qa.ha.ad.en po.do g.úr.en ui ud$_3$.úr*.356 MANAGE.*oi* 'he managed the country's affairs at the time of [the] emperors [---]'. Here, the following blocks may be translated: 巫 丑 丂 村 *qa.ha.ad.en* 'of emperors' (plural genitive), 北 朱 *po.do* 'at [the] time' (dative), 凡 交 村 *g.úr.en* 'of the state' (genitive), 火 *ui* 'matter(s)', and 尼 炎 MANAGE.*oi* (converb) 'managed', perhaps an error for 尼 爻 MANAGE.*er* (finite past tense masculine). The block 尤 交 尘 *ud$_3$.úr*.356 is probably based on 尤 交 *ud$_3$.úr* 'first', but the implication is unknown. Since the expression 'emperors' is diffuse as such, it is possible that the last two blocks of the preceding line [2-32/33] actually specify the reference, though we do not know how.

[3-7/9] 才　伏 行 余　仉 凡 村 *ia ñ.mú.qu ri.g.en* '[his] elder brother [was] Tribal Chieftain Ñ.mú.qu'. This section deals with the above-mentioned forefather's 'elder brother', 才 *ia*, whose name is given as 伏 行 余 *ñ.mú.qu* and position as 仉 凡 村 *ri.g.en*. The name may be identified with Chinese 嚴木 *Yanmu*, which is attested (in *Liaoshi*) as the name of the elder brother of the Prince of the State of Sui. The Late Middle Chinese pronunciation of 嚴木 *yanmu* would have been something like **ngiam-məwk* (Pulleyblank 1991: 357, 220) which corresponds surprisingly well to the Khitan spelling 伏 行 余 *ñ.mú.qu* = possibly: †*ñamoq* = [ŋamoq]. It is particularly notable that the Khitan velar stop is rendered with a Chinese syllable-final **k*, which was still preserved at the time when the Chinese transcription of the name was coined (perhaps late eighth century). The title 仉 凡 村 *ri.g.en*, here translated as 'tribal chieftain' and possibly pronounced as †*ergen* = [ərkən] ~ [ərgən], is a well-known tribal rank among the early Khitan (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 398-400, 432), transcribed in Chinese as 夷離堇 *yilijin* (Kane 2009: 128-129

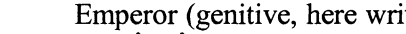
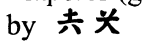
§3.248, cf. also Menges 1968: 54-55). This is another title with a regional distribution, also present in Turkic *erkin* ~ *irkin* ~ *erkän* ~ *irkän* (title) and Mongolic *erkin* ~ *erkim* 'distinguished, noble'. Most likely, the Khitan and Mongolic data represent parallel borrowings from Uighur, which itself may have received the word from some unknown language.

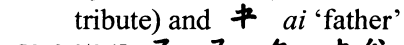
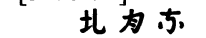
[3-10/13] 田 伏文圣 朱幺为 爪火仝尘公 *hó ñ.ie.ém ci.iá.qo x.ui.d.*356*.er.* This section apparently comments on the activities of Tribal Chieftain Ñ.mú.qu, but none of the blocks can be reliably translated. There are, however, some indications that the character [309] 田 *hó*, when used separately, may stand for a pronoun, perhaps 'he'.

[3-14/18] 为 仝本亚尔伏 化八村 戈卡廾火 及交业 公当 *deu s.ar.ha.ad.ñ ri.g.en tau.su.ó.ui u.úr.l.ge.én* '[his] younger brother [was] Tribal Chieftain S.ar.ha.ad.ñ, who [---]'. This section identifies the forefather's 'younger brother', 为 *deu*, by the name 仝本亚尔伏 *s.ar.ha.ad.ñ* and the title 化八村 *ri.g.en* 'tribal chieftain' [3-9]. This name is attested in Chinese sources (*Liaoshi*) as 撒剌的 *Saladi*. The last two blocks remain obscure, though the block 戈卡廾火 *tau.su.ó.ui* was attested above [2-14].

[3-19/25] 仝万 仝爭 父 山 主王雨 六关 本 *d.y s.ú* HEAVEN GOLD° *hong.di.in rí.i ai* '[he was] the [---] father of D.y S.ú, the Heavenly Golden Emperor'. This section further identifies Tribal Chieftain S.ar.ha.ad.ñ as the father of 仝万 仝爭 *d.y s.ú* = 德祖 *Dezu*, who, in turn, was the father of 太祖 *Taizu*, the founding emperor Yelü Abaoji. The names of the three brothers, 伏行余 Ñ.mú.qu = *Yanmu* (eldest), 戈扎亚为出 戈用及 Sh.ho.ha.a.án Sh.il.u = *Shulan Shilu* (middle), and 仝本亚尔伏 S.ar.ha.ad.ñ = *Saladi* (youngest), are attested also in other Khitan Small Script inscriptions. They were the sons of the imperial grandfather 玄祖 *Xuanzu*. There was also a fourth son, 麻魯 *Malu*, who died young, which is probably the reason why he is not mentioned in *Yelü Xiangwen*. The sequence 父 山 主王

 HEAVEN GOLD° *hong.di.in* 'of the Heavenly Golden Emperor (genitive, here written as a regular block) is followed by *rí.i* (unknown, but apparently some positive attribute) and  *ai* 'father'.

[3-26/34]  *ún* 156 THREE° *ai.d* 320.*ún y.lú.*SOME.*ñ qa.ha.ad.en ho.a.ad n.ad.* In this section, only the sequences   THREE° *ai.d* 'three fathers' (plural) and  *qa.ha.ad.en* 'of the emperors' (plural genitive) [3-1] can be reliably translated. The character [144] *ún*, when used alone, might have a pronominal function, in which case it could possibly be compared with the oblique stem **e-xü-n-* > *uun-* of the Mongolic proximal pronoun **e-* 'this'. Although the overall meaning of this section is unclear, the term 'three fathers' must refer to the role of the above-mentioned three brothers, the sons of Xuanzu, as the founders of the three 'Patriarchal Households', also known as the 'senior', 'middle', and 'junior fathers'. In this context, the imperial lineage initiated by Abaoji was known as the 'Horizontal Tents' (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 192 fig. 4, 399 fig. 37).

[4-1/9]  *bú.en x.de g.ñ*^{x} MOUNTAIN.*hu qa ku.û.un ii.û.ji ta.u.en ci.ge.ii.* Here, it is possible that the initial block  *bú.en* actually belongs together with the final block  *n.ad* of the preceding line [3-34], forming a genitive in  *.en* from *n.ad.bú* 'travelling palace' = 捺鉢 *nabo* (Kane 2009: 108 §3.136). The sequence  *qa ku.û.un* may be identified as a combination of *qa* 'khan' ~ 'khaghan' and *ku.û.un* 'person' (genitive), which means that the immediately preceding blocks may contain a reference to a particular 'khan' ~ 'khaghan' . Since this is so, the sequence  *x.de g.ñ*^{x} is likely to stand for the name of Qinde 欽德 *alias* Hendejin 痕德堇 (901-906), the last ruler of the Yaolian 遙輦 tribal dynasty, the immediate predecessor of the Liao Empire (Wittfogel &

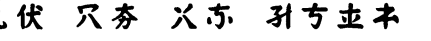
Fêng 1949: 226, 573). It may be noted that the sequence 𐰴𐰺 𐰃𐰴 *x.de g.ñ*^{x} is here written with the non-dotted character [221] 𐰃 *ñ*^{x}, which seems to be functionally equal to the dotted character [222] 𐰉 *ñ*. The block 𐰋𐰇 MOUNTAIN.*hu* functions as an additional attribute and may stand for another name of this person. The sequence 𐰚𐰃𐰀 𐰀𐰍𐰼 𐰞𐰸𐰚 *ii.û.ji ta.u.en ci.ge.ii* remains obscure, though 𐰞𐰸𐰚 *ci.ge.ii*, frequently attested in the phrase 𐰋𐰘𐰀𐰉 𐰞𐰸𐰚 *ho.l.b.ñ ci.ge.ii* 'together with a preface', may represent a postposition, perhaps 'together with'.

[4-10/13] 𐰴 𐰺𐰀 𐰢𐰴𐰚 𐰴𐰸 HEAVEN *neu.e zu.ge.én* MANAGE.*ún* '[he] ruled with the assistance of Heaven and Earth'. In this section, the sequence 𐰴 𐰺𐰀 HEAVEN *neu.e* 'heaven and earth' and 𐰴𐰸 MANAGE.*ún* 'managed, ruled' (past tense) may be unambiguously translated. The sequence 𐰴 𐰢𐰴𐰚 HEAVEN *zu.ge.én* is attested as the Khitan equivalent of the reign title Tianfu 天輔 (1117-1123) of the Jin dynasty (Kane 2009: 45 §2.089), suggesting that 𐰢𐰴𐰚 *zu.ge.én* (perhaps a participle) may mean 輔 *fu* 'to assist, to support'. It has to be noted that the exact phonetic value of the character [089] 𐰢 *zu* is unclear. The block 𐰢𐰴𐰚 *zu.ge.én* is also attested in *Xiao Linggong* (line 17) in the sequence 𐰀𐰴𐰚 𐰢𐰴𐰚 𐰉 𐰃𐰘𐰺𐰇 *au.ge.én zu.ge.én* TWO *ñ.ó.li.en*, which Ji Shi (1996: 93) analyses as meaning 'of the two tribes 奥衍突厥 *Aoyan Tujue* and 隗衍突厥 *Weiyan Tujue*'. If this is so, 𐰢𐰴𐰚 *zu.ge.én* might have a reading phonetically reminiscent of the ethnonym *Tujue* = **türk*(-). Unfortunately, we do not know what the Khitan pronunciation of this ethnonym was.

[4-14/19] 𐰆𐰍𐰺 𐰀𐰇𐰃𐰼 𐰀𐰴𐰀 𐰀𐰴𐰼 𐰀𐰴 𐰃𐰀𐰇 𐰼𐰃𐰇𐰼 *m.in.de s.a.ha.al s.em.ii t.bu.ai ku.û.su p.o.ju. ha.ai.* In this section, only the following blocks can be tentatively identified: 𐰀𐰴 𐰀𐰴𐰼 *s.em.ii* 'fell ill' (converb), 𐰃𐰀𐰇 *ku.û.su* (perhaps:) 'favour', 𐰼𐰃𐰇𐰼 *p.o.ju. ha.ai* (perhaps:) 'was granted' (converb). It is not quite clear

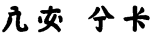
what the reference of the text is in this and the previous passage, but it is probably still a question of the activities of the tomb owner's fourth-generation forefather.

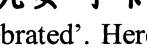
[4-20/28]  *m.i.in is én$_2$.u y.lú.*SOME *ji.en m.o* RECORD.*e ku eu.ui.* Identifiable elements here include *m.o* 'big',  *ku* 'person', and  *eu.ui* 'there is/was not' (negative existential), together perhaps meaning 'the great man passed away'. The block  RECORD.*e* [2-25] functions as an attribute to *ku* 'person' and might therefore mean, for instance, 'famous'. The role of  *is* 'nine' in this context is unclear. The block  *ji.en* is probably connected with  *ji.en.i* 'among' [2-22]. If so, *ji.en* would be a regular genitive in *.en*, while *ji.en.i* could represent a double-declension nominative (genitive + nominative) of the same type as are formed by the element **-ki* in Mongolic (Janhunen 2003c: 88-89).

[4-29/35]  *b.g.ñ û.e$_2$ x.ad ja.al.ha.ar xu* LI RECORD.*e.* Apart from the block  RECORD.e [2-25], this section contains the sequence *b.g.ñ û.e$_2$*, which must be the equivalent of Chinese 阿保謹於越 *Abaojin Yuyue*, where 阿保謹 *Abaojin* stands for a variant of the personal name 阿保機 *Abaoji* of Liao Taizu, who is known to have possessed the title of *yuyue* 'counsel' during his earlier career. The fact that the two Chinese transcriptions mean the same person is, incidentally, confirmed by a passage in 歸田錄 *Guitian Lu* by Ou Yangxiu 歐陽修 (1007-1073), which says: 阿保機盧人實謂之阿保謹 *Abaoji Luren shi weizhi Abaojin* 'Abaoji is actually called Abaojin by the Lu people [a generic ethnonym here referring to the Khitan]' (Liu Pujiang 2008: 203). It may be concluded that the phonetic shape underlying *b.g.ñ* and 阿保謹 *Abaojin* must have been close to †*abogin* = [apokin]. Clearly, the character [311] *b* is here being used in a value comprising both a preceding and a following vowel (VCV).

[5-1/2] *g.úr pu.su.û.ul.ge.ún* 'the country celebrated'. Here, the block *g.úr* may be identified as meaning 'country, state', while *pu.su.û.ul.ge.ún* seems to be a finite form (past tense) from a verbal stem that is also attested in the reign title HEAVEN *pu.su.l.ge.er* ~ HEAVEN *pu.su.û.ul.er* = Tianqing 天慶 'Heavenly Blessings' (1111-1120). It may be concluded that *pu.su.û.ul.ge* must be close in meaning to Chinese 慶 *qing* 'to celebrate, to rejoice'. This is independently confirmed by the toponym *eu.ul pu.su.û.er* in *Huangtai Shuzu* (line 5), which corresponds to Chinese 慶雲山 *Qingyun Shan* 'the Mountain of Joyful Clouds', with *eu.ul* 'cloud' = Mongolic **exüle/n* id. (Kane 2009: 89 §3.027).

[5-3/7] SEAL.*u.ji ud*$_3$.054.*i ho.a qa.ha.an m.in.* In this section, only the blocks *qa.ha.an* 'of the emperor' (genitive) and *m.in* (possibly:) 'tomb' can be identified. If it is a question of an 'emperor's tomb', the block *ho.a* could stand for the name of the emperor in question. The blocks SEAL.*u.ji ud*$_3$.054.*i* remain obscure.

[5-8/13]  *b.g.ñ û.e.de u* 227 *ja.ai t.ge*$_2$*.oi.* Here, the sequence *b.g.ñ û.e Abaojin Yuyue* [4-29/30] is followed by the dative marker *.de.* Of the rest, only the final block *t.ge*$_2$*.oi* may be identified as an obvious mistake for *t.ge.er* '[he] died' (finite past tense masculine).

[5-14/25]  HEAVEN *hong.di* SOUTH:*hu ñ.û.úr ri.g.en p.o.or g.úr.en ui hu.ém.il.ha.ai* MANAGE.*oi*$_2$ 'at that time the Heavenly Emperor became the chieftain of the Diela tribe and generally managed the affairs of the state'. This is a complete sequence of two clauses in which almost all elements can be identified: *qi* 'that' (distal pronoun), *po.do* 'time' (dative),

 HEAVEN *hong.di* 'the Heavenly Emperor',   SOUTH:*hu ñ.û.úr* 'the Diela tribe',  *ri.g.en* 'tribal chieftain' (*yilijin*),  *p.o.or* 'became, was appointed' (finite past tense masculine),  *g.úr.en* 'of the state' (genitive),  *ui* 'matter(s)' [3-4],  MANAGE.oi_2 'managed' (converb), with the last block possibly being a mistake for  MANAGE.*er* (finite past tense masculine). The block *ñ.û.úr*, more commonly written  *ñ.ó.úr* [25-25], involves a previously unattested orthographical variant of the word for 'tribe' (Kane 2009: 124 §3.223); it is, however, unclear whether this orthographical variation implies any phonetic difference of the type †*ñour* ~ †*ñuur*. Since the character [294]  SOUTH means 'south', the sequence  SOUTH:*hu ñ.û.úr* could, in principle, mean 'southern tribe(s)', with  :*hu* as an attributive marker, especially since tribes are often classified in geographical terms in Khitan sources. On the other hand, [294]  SOUTH is also assumed to mean 'tribe' or 'kinship group', in general (Kane 2009: 119 §3.198), and the Diela 迭烈 tribe, in particular (Bao Yuzhu 2006), which means that  SOUTH:*hu ñ.û.úr* can also refer to 'the Diela tribe'. This assumption seems to be confirmed by a comparison of the current text with a passage in *Liaoshi* which says, in reference to the period 901-903: 授大迭烈府夷離堇 [---] 遂拜太祖于越 總知軍國事 *shou Da Diela Fu yilijin* [---] *sui bai Taizu yuyue zong zhi junguo shi* 'he was appointed Chieftain of the Great Diela Tribe [---], then Taizu was conferred the title of counsel, [after which] he generally managed the affairs of the army and the state'. From this passage, it is also possible to conclude that the otherwise unknown block *hu.ém.il.ha.ai*, which may be a verbal form (converb), probably equals in meaning the Chinese expression 總 *zong* 'generally'.

[5-26/32, 6-1/2]   *qa.ha.an tu.úr.b.ñ ho.a.an* SOME *nai hor.u ku.û.un n.ai.jï a.ai.* This section continues the

discussion concerning Abaoji's rise to the throne. The block 𐲱𐲰𐲼𐲽 *qa.ha.an* 'emperor' (genitive) must here refer to the person of Hendejin. Since the block 𐲾𐲽𐲻𐲿𐲽 *tu.úr.b.ñ* means 'died, passed away' (honorific, probably a nominalized verbal form), the block 𐲰𐲾𐲼𐲽 *ho.a.an* might function as a postposition, perhaps 'after'. Among the following blocks we may recognize 𐲹 SOME (quantifier), 𐲻 *nai* 'head' > 'leader, official', 𐲷𐲼𐲻𐲽 *ku.û.un* 'person' (genitive) [4-6], and 𐲾𐲰 *a.ai* 'being' (converb). It is also possible to identify the block 𐲺𐲽 *hor.u* as equal to the personal name Helu 曷魯 of Chinese sources (*Liaoshi*). This was the name of the person who made a formal appeal to Abaoji in order to persuade the latter to accept the throne. After refusing three times, Abaoji agreed and was enthroned (907). All of this means that the block 𐲼𐲰𐲾𐲸 *n.ai.jï* may perhaps also be analysed as being based on the noun 𐲻 *nai* 'head' and meaning '(with him functioning) as the head (of the group)'. If this interpretation is correct, the whole phrase may be tentatively translated as: 'after the death of the emperor, several officials, with Hor.u functioning as the head [---]'.

[6-3/12] 𐲽𐲿𐲼𐲷𐲽 𐲽𐲽 𐲾𐲰𐲺 𐲼𐲽 𐲾𐲿𐲼𐲷𐲽 𐲹𐲿 𐲽𐲽 𐲽𐲿𐲼𐲽 𐲺𐲽 𐲽𐲽𐲼𐲽 𐲽𐲽 𐲽𐲽𐲼𐲽 *u.úr.û.uni* MYRIAD *ai.en ün.e mû.úr.û.uni is tau m.in.de hu.as o.ju.ún.* Identifiable blocks and sequences here include: 𐲽𐲽 𐲾𐲰𐲺 MYRIAD *ai.en* 'of innumerable years' (genitive) = Chinese 萬歲 *wansui*, 𐲹𐲿 𐲽𐲽 *is tau* = Chinese 九五 *jiu-wu* 'nine-five' = 'accession to the throne' (Kane 2009: 109 §3.140), and 𐲽𐲽𐲼𐲽 *o.ju.ún* 'was appointed' (past tense). The structural parallelism of 𐲽𐲿𐲼𐲷𐲽 *u.úr.û.uni* and 𐲽𐲿𐲼𐲷𐲽 *mû.úr.û.uni* is remarkable, but the meanings of these blocks are not known, though the former may perhaps be compared with 𐲽𐲿𐲼𐲽𐲽 *u.úr.û.ui*, which has been analysed by Ji Shi (1996: 463) as meaning 尊爲 *zunwei* 'to be respected [as]' or 居位 *juwei* '[having the] rank [of]'. The sequence 𐲽𐲽𐲼𐲽 𐲽𐲽𐲼𐲽 *m.in.de hu.as* may be compared with 𐲽𐲽𐲼𐲽 𐲽𐲽 *hu.as m.in*, as attested in *Xiao*

Dilu (line 29). In general, the present section must relate to some details connected with the accession of Abaoji to the throne. A partial translation would be: 'they appointed him [in a ceremony of [accession [---]'.

[6-13/14] 王王 𐰀𐰉𐰺 *di.di s.bu.ai.* This section is likely to mean simply 'he was enthroned emperor'. The sequence 王王 *di.di* is apparently a mistake for what should be 主王 *hong.di* 'emperor', while 𐰀𐰉𐰺 *s.bu.ai* must stand for a verb (converb) meaning roughly 'was enthroned'.

[6-15/19] 𐰺𐰀 包𐰋 𐰃𐰓𐰃 业𐰚𐰀 伏只𐰚 *ai.d* THREE°*.en hu.*TENT.*hu p.úr.s ñ.û.úr* 'the [---] lineages of the three fathers'. In this section, the blocks 𐰺𐰀 *ai.d* 'fathers' (plural), 包𐰋 THREE°*.en* 'three' (genitive), and 伏只𐰚 *ñ.û.úr* 'tribe(s)' = 'lineages' [5-19], may be translated, while the blocks 𐰃𐰓𐰃 业𐰚𐰀 *hu.*TENT.*hu p.úr.s* are obscure. The sequence 𐰺𐰀 包 *ai.d* THREE° 'fathers' + 'three' was previously attested as 包 𐰺𐰀 THREE° *ai.d* 'three' + 'fathers' [3-28/29]. In both sequences, the dotted character 包 THREE° implies masculine gender.

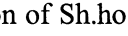
[6-20/21] 𐰇𐰆𐰀𐰚𐰇 𐰋𐰺𐰉𐰺 *sh.ri.ge.de.i* SMALL.*l.ha.ai.* The block 𐰇𐰆𐰀𐰚𐰇 *sh.ri.ge.de.i* is a possible 'ablative' case form from the noun 𐰇𐰆𐰀 *sh.ri.ge*, which must be either a variant of or a mistake for 𐰇𐰆𐰃 *sh.ri.e*$_2$ = 石烈 *shilie*, as identified by Bao Yuzhu (2006). This is a well-known term for a lower-level (subtribal) entity in the Khitan system of civil and military administration (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 48). The section obviously discusses the division of the leading Khitan clan into the three branches deriving from the 𐰺𐰀 包 *ai.d* THREE° 'three fathers' [6-15/16]. However, the meaning of the block 𐰋𐰺𐰉𐰺 SMALL.*l.ha.ai*, apparently a verb (converb), is unknown.

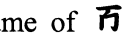
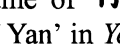
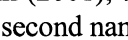
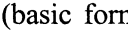
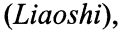
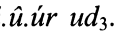
[6-22/27] 𐰀𐰍 分𐰖 𐰃𐰆 𐰚只𐰆 𐰇𐰆𐰃 𐰇𐰆𐰃 𐰇𐰆𐰃 𐰇𐰆𐰃 𐰀𐰍 𐰋 𐰃𐰉𐰇 𐰇𐰆 𐰇𐰆 *ú.dû.o.on ñ.û.ur x.dú.ún ci.ún.y.i s.a.al. ha.rí.oi* 307.*y.* In this section, only the block 𐰇𐰆𐰃 *x.dú.ún* (in the technical sense:) 'horizontal' [1-2] may be identified

with certainty. The block 伏只化 *ñ.û.ur* is possibly another orthographical variant of the word previously attested as 伏只安 *ñ.û.úr* 'tribe' [5-19], though this should not be taken for granted. The characters [236] 化 *ur* and [097] 安 *úr* are often interchangeable, but it has to be noted that all the other variant spellings for 'tribe' attested so far have 安 *úr*, not 化 *ur*. The block 午分反尔 *ú.dû.o.on* may be compared with the reign title 又 午分反肉 GREAT *ú.dû.o.ón*, which corresponds to Chinese Daan 大安 'Great Peace' (1085-1095) (Kane 2009: 158 §4.49), suggesting a meaning 'peace' or 'peaceful'. The overall meaning of the section remains unknown.

[6-28/29, 7-1/2] 乂凡叉 曲 公 仅 朱斗业斗 *x.dú.ún go:er* 227 *ci.ia.áng.ia.* Since 乂凡叉 曲 公 *x.dú.ún go:er* is the established term for 'horizontal tents' [1-2/3], it is likely that the text here refers to the formation of the three parallel lineages in question, in which case the final block 朱斗业斗 *ci.ia.áng.ia* could mean something like 'became' or 'originated', though its formal structure is unclear. If this is so, the block 午为亏业六炎 *s.a.al.ha.rí.oi* in the previous section [6-26] should perhaps be compared with Mongolic **salga-* 'to separate', which would allow the general content of the last few sections to be translated roughly as: 'the [---] lineages of the three fathers [---] [lived at first] peacefully side by side but were [then] separated and became the Horizontal Tents'. This section ends the discussion of the activities of the tomb owner's fourth-generation forefather.

[7-3/9] 父衣 公尔朴 及化 丰 小夬余伏 业灰 点 *hur.oi*$_2$ *n.on.en u.ur ai l.au.qu.ñ to*$_2$*.li ong* '[his] forefather of the third generation [was] Prince L.au.qu.ñ To$_2$.li'. The sequence 父衣 公尔朴 及化 丰 *hur.oi*$_2$ *n.on.en u.ur ai* 'forefather of the third generation' parallels the analogous sequence with the numeral 令化炎 *tur.oi*$_2$ = 令化父 *tur.er* 'fourth' [2-7/10]. Again, the block 父衣 *hur.oi*$_2$ must be a mistake for what should be 父父 *hur.er* 'third' (masculine). The person named 小夬余伏 业灰 *l.au.qu.ñ to*$_2$*.li* and

having the title  *ong* 王 *wang* 'prince', must have been a son of Sh.ho.ha.a.án Sh.il.u. The block  *l.au.qu.ñ* is a variant of *l.au.qó.ñ*, which is attested as the name of  *y.ie.ên ong* 燕王 *Yan Wang* 'Prince of Yan' in *Yelü Nu* (lines 5 and 6), as identified by Shi Jinmin & Yu Zemin (2001), though the person may be different. This is clearly a second name ending in  *ñ*, but the corresponding first name (basic form) is also attested in the Chinese shape 老古 *Laogu* (*Liaoshi*), again for a different person.

[7-10/19]   SOUTH:*hu ñ.û.úr ud$_3$.úr ci.ra.b.s.ii tau.un u.ur* SOUTH:*hu.ar:i ri.g.en ud$_3$.úr p.o.ud.l.ún* 'after the Diela tribe had become divided, he was appointed the chieftain of the Five Divisions of the Diela'. Identifiable blocks and sequences in this section include:  SOUTH:*hu ñ.û.úr* 'southern tribe(s)' = 'the Diela tribe' [5-18/19],  *ud$_3$.úr* 'first', *tau.un* 'five',  *u.ur* 'division', and  *ri.g.en* 'tribal chieftain' [3-9]. The final block must stand for a finite past tense form of an unidentified extended stem of the verb  *p.o* 'to be appointed'. The expression  *tau.un u.ur* SOUTH clearly refers to the 'Five Divisions' 五院 *wuyuan*, which was one of the two branches that were formed when the Diela tribe was divided in 922, the other being the 'Six Divisions' 六院 *liuyuan* (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 87), attested in Khitan as  SIX *u.ur* SOUTH (Kane 2009: 117 §3.192). The reason for the formal difference between  SIX (unmarked) vs.  *tau.un* (perhaps a genitive) 'five' is not known. The exact function and phonetic reading of the character  SOUTH in this context is also unclear; however, if it implies the Diela tribe it has to be noted that the Chinese characters 迭剌, used to write the name of this tribe, have also been read *Yila* (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 59 note 1). The meaning and status of the element  *:hu.ar:i* is likewise problematic; most

probably, it involves a morphological extension of 小 列 SOUTH:*hu* [7-10]. In any case, as the text is referring to the historically confirmed division of the tribe, the block 𐰴𐰺𐰀 𐰃𐰇 *ci.ra.b.s.ii* must mean 'having become divided' (converb), suggesting a verbal stem 𐰴𐰺𐰀 *ci.ra.b* 'to (be) divide(d)'. Finally, the role of the two occurrences of 尤 变 $ud_3.úr$ 'first' is somewhat problematic; possibly the latter occurrence involves a mistake.

[7-20/22] 丙令 业卡 圣 *mo.t p.ar* TWO 'he had two wives'. This is a stereotypical phrase also attested in *Xiao Dilu* (line 12) with the only difference that 丙令 *mo.t* 'women' in the present text has the plural marker 令 *.t* instead of 公 *.d*. The other elements are: 业卡 *p.ar* 'people' and 圣 TWO (unmarked feminine).

[7-23/27] 又 丙 几 圣 乂 伏 尤 GREAT *mo ku* TWO.271.*ñ* MRS '[his] elder wife [was] Mrs. TWO.271.ñ'. This section contains the sequence 丙 几 *mo ku* 'female person' > 'wife', the singular of 丙令 业卡 *mo.t p.ar* 'wives' [7-20/21], preceded by 又 GREAT 'elder' and followed by the name 圣 乂 伏 TWO.271.*ñ*, in which the character [134] 圣 TWO is used in a phonetic value. The character [192] 尤 MRS seems to denote a female title, here translated 'Mrs.'.

[7-28/32] 𐰴𐰉𐰋 丙 几 𐰋𐰃𐰆 丙 *ci.ur.én mo ku hor.ó.uni mo* '[his] second wife [was] Madame Hor.ó.uni'. In this section, the sequence 丙 几 *mo ku* 'wife' [7-24/25] is preceded by the ordinal 𐰴𐰉𐰋 *ci.ur.én* 'second' (feminine) and followed by the name 𐰋𐰃𐰆 丙 *hor.ó.uni mo*. The character [021] 丙 *mo* 'woman', here translated as 'madame', apparently functions as another female title, perhaps of a different status than 尤 MRS [7-27], though it might also be considered to constitute a part of the actual name. The name 𐰋𐰃𐰆 *hor.ó.uni* is attested, with reference to the same person, in *Yelü Nu* (line 6) in the alternative shape 𐰋𐰍伏 *hor.u.ñ*, and it is very probably also the name underlying the Chinese transcription 曷鲁恩 *Heluen* (*Liaoshi*).

[7-33/37] 𘲍 𘲎 𘲏𘲐𘲑𘲒 𘲓𘲔 𘲕𘲖 *bu ai sh.i.*HEAVEN.*ñ tu.ung g.ün* '[his] grandfather [was] Military Governor Sh.i.HEAVEN.ñ'. This section initiates the discussion of the tomb owner's grandfather. The term for 'grandfather' is 𘲍 𘲎 *bu ai* (Kane 2009: 100 §3.089), in which 𘲎 *ai* stands for 'father' and 𘲍 *bu* for 'old (man)'. The latter word should perhaps be read †*ebu*, in which case it might be a cognate of Mongolic **ebü-ge-n* 'old man, grandfather'. The name of the person is given as 𘲏𘲐𘲑𘲒 *sh.i.*HEAVEN.*ñ*, while his title is 𘲓𘲔 𘲕𘲖 *tu.ung g.ün* 統軍 *tongjun* 'military governor'. At this point, it has to be noted that the tomb owner's grandfather is in *Yelü Xiangwen* counted as his second-generation forefather, while the previously mentioned great-grandfather is counted as his third-generation forefather [7-3/9]. In this system, the tomb owner's father will represent the first ancestral generation, which is understandable, since the tomb owner himself cannot possibly represent an ancestral generation for himself. However, the system of counting generations varies in Khitan epitaphs, and there are also texts in which the tomb owner's grandfather is counted as his third-generation forefather. This is the case in, for instance, *Xiao Dilu.* In the latter type of system, the tomb owner's own generation is counted as 'generation one', while his father's generation is counted as 'generation two' (second generation backwards). Obviously, both systems have their internal logic, but the reason why the Khitan did not have a unified system remains to be studied in the future.

[8-1/4] 𘲗𘲘𘲙 𘲚公 𘲛𘲜 𘲝𘲞 *hor.ó.uni mo.n rí.i b.qo* '[he was] the [---] son of Madame Horouni'. Here, the block 𘲝𘲞 *b.qo* 'child, son, daughter' is preceded by the genitive in 公 *.n* of 𘲗𘲘𘲙 𘲚 *hor.ó.uni mo* 'Madame Horouni' [7-31/32] The block 𘲛𘲜 *rí.i* [3-24] functions as a modifier with an unknown (probably positive) meaning.

[8-5/8] 𘲟𘲠𘲡 𘲢公 𘲣余 𘲤 *s.un.ñ û.n* SMALL.*qu deu* '[he was] the younger brother of Counsel S.un.ñ'. Since the

character [101] 𗼇 *deu* by itself means 'younger brother', the presence of the attribute 𗹦𗴲 SMALL.*qu* 'small, young(er)' (masculine) appears to involve a pleonasm. In any case, the implication is that the tomb owner's grandfather, Military Governor Sh.i.HEAVEN.ñ, was the younger brother of 𗰗𗥃𗴲 S.un.ñ, whose title is given as 𗴲𗵘 *û.e* 於越 *yuyue* 'counsel' : genitive 𗴲𗹦 *û.n.* The latter is well known from Chinese sources (*Liaoshi*), which give his name as 耶律休哥 *Yelü Xiuge* 字遜寧 *zi Xunning* 'whose adult name was Xunning' (cf. also Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 259 note 78). Concerning his person, *Yelü Nu* (line 6) mentions the following: 𘓱𘓐𘐯𗴲 𘍞 𘓵 𘍞𘒣𗢳𗍫 𘒣𗦳𗴲 𘒣 𘍞𗼻 𗥤𗍫 𗰗𗥃𗴲 𗴲𗵘 𗹦𗴲 *l.au.qu.ñ tai ong d.*023*.ia.ah hor.u.ñ mo* TWO*.en b.qo s.un.ñ x.iu g.e û.e* 'S.un.ñ X.iu g.e [*Xunning Xiuge*] [who was] the son of Grand Prince L.au.qu.ñ and Madame [---] Hor.u.ñ'.

[8-9/13] 𘒣𘍞 𘍞𗢳𗍫 𗼻𗍫𗦳𗍫 𗼻𘍞𗍫 𗦳𗦳 𘒣𗦳 *mo.d*$_2$ MANAGE.*hu.as.en ai.d.en sh.úr cau.úr.* In this section, only two elements may be identified: 𗼻𘍞𗍫 *ai.d.en* 'of the fathers' (plural genitive), 𘒣𗦳 *cau.úr* 'war, army', suggesting the meaning 'the army of the fathers'. The overall meaning remains obscure.

[8-14/19] 𗼇 𗴲𗵘𗥤 𗽾𗰗𗍫 𗾞𗍫𗢳 𗥃𗍫𗍊 𗥃𗢳 *il û.e.de* ONE.*s.g* RECORD.*g.én p.a.ad y.ie.* This is another obscure section, with only the following two identifiable elements: 𗴲𗵘𗥤 *û.e.de* 'counsel' (dative) [8-6], 𗾞𗍫𗢳 RECORD.*g.én* 'recorded' (participle). The lone character 𗼇 *il* possibly stands for a personal name. Obviously, this and the preceding section deal with the activities of the tomb owner's grandfather Military Governor Sh.i.HEAVEN.ñ.

[8-20/23] 𘒣 𗍫 𗢳𗹠 𗰗𗣼𗦳 *mo ku a.an pu.is.ñ* '[his] wife [was] Lady A.an'. This is a reference to the 𘒣 𗍫 *mo ku* 'wife' of Military Governor Sh.i.HEAVEN.ñ, that is, to the tomb owner's grandmother. Her name and title are given as 𗢳𗹠 *a.an* 𗰗𗣼𗦳 *pu.is.ñ* = 夫人 *furen* 'lady'.

[8-24/28] 𘰾 𘰺𘰽𘰼 𘰻𘰸𘰴 𘰷𘰹𘰲 𘰷𘰹 FOUR *ñ.û.úr* 091.*o.ón il.bun.en b.qo* '[she was] the daughter of Tribal Judge 091.o.ón of the Four Tribes'. This section identifies Lady A.an, the tomb owner's grandmother, as the 𘰷𘰹 *b.qo* (here:) 'daughter' [8-4] of a person bearing the (second) name 𘰻𘰸𘰴 091.*o.ón*. This person had the title 𘰷𘰹𘰲 *il.bun* (here in the genitive) = 夷離畢 *yilibi* 'tribal judge'. His tribal affiliation is given as 𘰾 𘰺𘰽𘰼 FOUR *ñ.û.úr* 'the Four Tribes' [5-19]. Considering the fact that the numeral stem denoting 'four' in Khitan seems to have been 𘰀𘰿 *t.ur* = †*dur* [tur], a cognate of Mongolic **dör-* in **dör-pe/n* id., it is possible that the name of the 'Four Tribes' also survives in Chinese transcription, in which case two possible candidates are offered by the tribal names 圖魯 *Tulu* and 突呂不 *Tulübu* (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 88-89).

[8-29/36] 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 BORN.*il.ha.ar ai b.y.én l.a qa n.u s.iang g.ung*$_2$ '[his] own father [was] Chancellor B.y.én L.a Qa N.u'. This section initiates the discussion of the tomb owner's father. The relationship is expressed by the term 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹 BORN. *il.ha.ar ai* 'born father' or 'birth-giving father' that is, '[his] own father', with 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 BORN.*il.ha.ar* apparently being a participially used form from a causative-passive derivative of the verb 𘰷𘰹 BORN 'to be born'. The name of the person is given as 𘰷𘰹 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 *b.y.én l.a qa n.u*, while his title is 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 *s.iang g.ung*$_2$ = 相公 *xianggong*, here translated as 'chancellor'. The name 𘰷𘰹 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 *b.y.én* is reminiscent of the name 𘰷𘰹 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 *p.y.én* in *Yelü Diligu* (line 6), which Liu Fengzhu (& Tang Cailan & Gua & Li Jiankui 2006: 132) has identified as equivalent to the Chinese transcription 北也 *Beiye*, as attested in the Chinese-language epitaph of Yelü Zongfu 耶律宗福墓誌銘 *Yelü Zongfu Muzhiming*. The name 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 𘰷𘰹𘰲𘰽𘰼 *l.a qa n.u*, on the other hand, is attested in the Chinese shape 羅漢奴 *Luo Han Nu* (*Liaoshi*).

[9-1/6] 𘍞 𘍿 𘍾 𘍽𘍼𘍻 𘍺𘍹 𘍽𘍼𘍹 *ia deu* FOUR° *ji*$_3$*.en.i hur.oi*$_2$ *b.aû.oi*$_2$ '[he was] the third one among four brothers'. All the elements in this section can be identified: 𘍞 𘍿 *ia deu* 'brothers' [2-19/20], 𘍾 FOUR° 'four' (masculine), 𘍽𘍼𘍻 *ji*$_3$*.en.i* = 𘍼𘍻 *ji.en.i* 'from among, of' [2-22], 𘍺𘍹 *hur.oi*$_2$ = (mistake for:) 𘍺𘍸 *hur.er* 'third' (masculine) [7-3], 𘍽𘍼𘍹 *b.aû.oi*$_2$ = (mistake for:) 𘍽𘍼𘍸 *b.aû.er* 'was' (finite past tense masculine). The copular stem 𘍽𘍼 b.aû may or may not be related to 𘍽𘍷 *b.u* ~ 𘍿𘍷 *p.u* 'to be' (Kane 2009: 156 §4.45).

[9-7/14] 𘍴𘍶 𘍞 𘍵 𘍰𘍱 𘍲 𘍿𘍳𘍷 𘍯 𘍮𘍵 *m.o ia ong l.iu* MR *p.úr.s gi ci.oi* '[his] eldest brother [was] Mr. Ong L.iu [---]'. The combination of 𘍴𘍶 *m.o* 'big' (masculine) with 𘍞 *ia* 'elder brother' conveys here the implication of 'eldest brother'. The name of this brother is given as 𘍵 𘍰𘍱 *ong l.iu*, which may be identified with the person of Yelü Wang Liu 耶律王六 of Chinese sources (*Liaoshi*). The same name is also attested in *Xiao Linggong* (line 23) and *Han Dilie* (line 21). The character [170] 𘍲 MR, when used alone after a name, denotes a title identified by Ji Shi (1996: 471) as the equivalent of 生員 *shengyuan* 'licentiate' or 未仕 *weishi* 'mister', here translated as 'Mr.' (Kane 2009: 55 §2.170). The rest of the section is obscure, but the sequence 𘍿𘍳𘍷 𘍯 𘍮𘍵 *p.úr.s gi ci.oi* may be compared with 𘍿𘍳𘍷 𘍶 𘍮𘍸 *p.úr.s gi*$_2$ *ci.er* in *Xiao Dilu* (line 26), in which 𘍮𘍸 *ci.er* possibly means 'wrote, was written' (finite past tense masculine). In any case, this comparison confirms that the character [336] 𘍶 *gi*$_2$ is an allograph of [146] 𘍯 *gi*. Both variants typically occur alone before verbal forms, which suggests that they denote some verb-phrase-related element, possibly a negation particle. If this is so, the meaning of the phrase might be 'did not write' or 'was not written'.

[9-15/19] 𘍮𘍰𘍵 𘍞 𘍫𘍬𘍺 𘍷 𘍱 *ci.ur.oi ia go.n.m tai shï* '[his] second eldest brother was Grand Preceptor Go.n.m'. This section follows the structure of the previous one, except

that the reference is now to 𘤀𘥂𘤪 𘤿 *ci.ur.oi ia* 'the second eldest brother', with 𘤀𘥂𘤪 *ci.ur.oi* being a mistake for 𘤀𘥂𘤟 *ci.ur.er* 'second' (masculine). This brother's name is given as 𘥑𘤟𘤽 *go.n.m*, while his title is 𘤧𘤾 *tai shï* 太師 *taishi* 'grand preceptor'. Incidentally, the same name 𘥑𘤟𘤽 *go.n.m* is also attested, but in reference to a woman, in *Yelü Diligu* (line 17).

[9-20/25] 𘤁𘤣 𘥔𘤫𘤪 𘥄𘤽 𘤽𘤀𘤪𘥑 COMPOSE.*l.hu* '[was] composed [---] in the Khitan and Chinese scripts'. The sequence 𘤁𘤣 𘥔𘤫𘤪 *qid.i jau.qu.ui* may be recognized as meaning 'Khitan and Chinese', with 𘥔𘤫𘤪 *jau.qu.ui* being a variant of 𘤀𘤲𘤧𘤪 *ci.au.qú.ui* 'Chinese' (attributive form). The block 𘥄𘤽 *us.g* is known to mean 'letter(s), character(s), script' (Kane 2009: 42 §2.068), a cognate of Mongolic **üsüg* ~ **üjüg* id. (from Uighur). As the block 𘥑𘤟𘤽 COMPOSE.*l.hu* means 'composed' (form unidentified), the block 𘤽𘤀𘤪𘥑 *jï.is.bun* (participle) is likely to mean some kind of 'document', perhaps a 'memorial inscription'. The latter is also attested in *Xiao Dilu* (line 23) in combination with 𘤦𘤟𘤪𘥑 *ho.l.bun* 'preface'. However, the meaning of the element 𘤀 *mú* [9-24] remains obscure. It is also not clear whether this section is to be understood as a parallel to the phrase 𘤟𘤪𘤫𘤽 𘤁𘤽 𘤀𘥂𘤪 *p.úr.s gi ci.oi* [9-12/14], in which case the block 𘤟𘤪𘤫𘤽 *p.úr.s* might also denote some kind of 'document'. Assuming that this is so, the two phrases would perhaps mean: 'his eldest brother was Mr. Ong L.iu, whose [document] was not written; his second eldest brother was Grand Preceptor Go.n.m, whose [memorial inscription] was composed in the Khitan and Chinese scripts'. There are, however, other possibilities as well.

[9-26/32] 𘤫𘤪𘥄𘤽𘤂 𘤫𘤇𘤽𘤪𘤁 𘤟𘤫𘤽𘤪𘤟 𘤟𘤫𘤽𘤪𘤟𘤀𘤪𘤽𘤀 𘤀𘤪𘤽𘤀𘤪𘤽𘤀 𘤁𘤽𘤪𘤫𘤽 𘤟𘤪𘤫𘤽𘤪𘤟 *t.ie.l.g.en s.*SMALL.*û.ui.i* 356.*a. bu.d.l.ha.ar mó p.úr.s gi* RECORD.*g.oi.* The overall meaning of this section is unknown. However, it must be a question of a

description of the activities of the tomb owner's second eldest brother. The sequence 𗼇𗴲𗹦 𗗙 *p.úr.s gi* [9-12/13] is again followed by a verb related to 'writing' or 'composing', in this case 𗥃 RECORD. The form 𗥃𗍫𗴺 RECORD.*g.oi* must be a mistake for 𗥃𗍫𗵘 RECORD.*g.er.* Of the other elements in this section, the character[191] 𗍫 *mó* is known to occur in the meaning 'grandson', but it might also have some other meaning. The blocks 𗹦𗵆𗧓𗍫𗲟 𗹦𗦳𗤁𗴺𗵘 *t.ie.l. g.en s.*SMALL.*û.ui.i* have not been previously attested in other texts, while the block 𗼇𗲟𗏁𗵘𗧓𗥃𗹨 356.*a.bu.d.l.ha.ar* is attested in *Shilu Taishi* (line 5).

[9-33, 10-1/7] 𗲟 𗴲𗴺 𗧓𗍊 𗠁 𗍫𗵆𗵘 𗼇𗴲𗹦 𗗙 𗲟𗴺 *deu ng.u l.iu du g.ia.ém p.úr.s gi ci.oi* '[his] younger brother [was] Chief Supervisor Ng.u L.iu [---]'. This section repeats the phrase 𗼇𗴲𗹦 𗗙 𗲟𗴺 *p.úr.s gi ci.oi* [9-12/14], which may mean 'his [document] was not written'. The reference is to the tomb owner's 𗲟 *deu* 'younger brother' [2-20]. His name is given as 𗴲𗴺 𗧓𗍊 *ng.u l.iu*, which may be identified with the Chinese form 吳留 *Wu Liu* (*Liaoshi*), while his title is 𗠁 𗍫𗵆𗵘 *du g.ia.ém* = 都監 *dujian* 'chief supervisor', a rank below that of *xiangwen* (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 480).

[10-8/12] 𗍊𗴲 𗍫𗧓𗅋 𗲟𗼃𗴺 𗼇𗾔𗏵 𗧘𗦳𗴺 *cau.úr g.ung.ur ci.én.oi p.mu.*282 *k.em.oi.* In this section, only the block 𗍊𗴲 *cau.úr* 'war, army' [8-13] can be identified with certainty. However, the discussion must refer to the activities of the tomb owner's younger brother. There are indications that the sequence 𗍊𗴲 𗍫𗧓𗅋 *cau.úr g.ung.ur* might mean 'military exploits', with 𗍫𗧓𗅋 *g.ung.ur* possibly being based on Chinese 功 *gong* 'exploit', though the function of the element 𗅋 *ur* (possibly an instrumental marker) is difficult to verify. The blocks 𗲟𗼃𗴺 *ci.én.oi* and 𗧘𗦳𗴺 *k.em.oi* are both likely to be mistakes for what should be 𗲟𗼃𗵘 *ci.én.er* resp. 𗧘𗦳𗵘 *k.em.er*, both of which are attested in other inscriptions. The latter (perhaps also an

instrumental case form) looks like being based on the noun 𘮩𘰾 *k.em* 'imperial edict', the equivalent of Chinese 敕 *chi* (Kane 2009: 94 §3.054). The block 𘰾𘱃𘰚 *p.mu.282* is often attested in Khitan inscriptions, and since it never seems to take any suffixes it might stand for some invariable element, perhaps an adverb.

[10-13/15] 𘲦𘳿𘲭 𘲗𘰾𘰴𘰼 𘲉𘲦𘰴 024.*ó.ul* COMPOSE.*l.ha.ai ir.y.ii.* Here, only the block 𘲗𘰾𘰴𘰼 COMPOSE.*l.ha.ai* 'was composed, was made' (converb), may be identified. The block 𘲉𘲦𘰴 *ir.y.ii* is another frequently attested element that never seems to take further suffixes, though it is possible that it itself contains suffixal elements.

[10-16/23] 𘲍 𘳿𘲦𘲭 𘲏𘲒 𘲉𘲏𘲓 𘲘𘲜𘲎 𘳿𘱇 𘲏𘲒𘲓𘲘 𘲏𘲐𘲘 *ia b.y.én s.iang g.ung.en m.as.qu b.qo qa.hu.a s.eng.un* 'the first son of elder brother Chancellor B.y.én [was] Field Marshal Qa.hu.a'. This section initiates the introduction of the children of the tomb owner's father. Since the tomb owner's father Chancellor 𘳿𘲦𘲭 B.y.én [8-31] was the third in a series of four brothers, he is here identified as the 𘲍 *ia* 'elder brother' [2-19] of the youngest brother, who was the subject of the immediately preceding sections. The sequence 𘲏𘲒 𘲉𘲏𘲓 𘲘𘲜𘲎 𘳿𘱇 *s.iang g.ung.en m.as.qu b.qo* 'the Chancellor's first son' incorporates the elements 𘲏𘲒 𘲉𘲏𘲓 *s.iang g.ung.en* 'chancellor' (genitive), 𘲘𘲜𘲎 *m.as.qu* 'first' > 'eldest' (masculine) (Kane 2009: 95 §3.058), and 𘳿𘱇 *b.qo* 'child' > 'son' [8-4]. This first son's name is given as 𘲓𘲐𘲘 *qa.hu.a*, and his title is 𘲏𘲐𘲘 *s.eng.un* 詳穩 *xiangwen* 'field marshal' [1-7], also held by the tomb owner. A person with the same name 𘲓𘲐𘲘 Qa.hu.a is attested in *Yelü Zhixian* (line 1), where he has the title 𘲐𘲉𘲘𘲏 *ja.ri.qó.on* 'prime minister'. This, again, may be the same person who appears in Chinese sources (*Liaoshi*) under the name Yelü Hege 耶律合葛 and who also had the title 宰相 *zaixiang* 'prime minister'. In view of the different titles it is, however, not certain whether the

person bearing this name in the current text was identical with the one recorded in the other sources.

[10-24/25] 冇 仌 西卝圡亐叉 *go:er* 025.*l.ha.al.ún*. The meaning of this phrase is unknown, though the sequence 冇 仌 *go:er* (in linear arrangement) denotes 'tent, house, household'. A possible implication might be: 'he remained in charge of his parental home'.

[10-26/29] 丸 丹列出 达 关 *mó b.hu.án* SOME *ui*$_2$. This section might mean: 'he had several children and grandchildren', though this interpretation involves many guesses. In any case, 丹列出 *b.hu.án* 'children' is the plural of 丹为 *b.qo* [8-4] 'child', while 丸 *mó* [9-29] is attested in the meaning 'grandson'. The character [115] 达 SOME (quantifier) denotes an indefinite number, perhaps 'many' or 'several', but the role of the character [265] 关 *ui*$_2$ here is unclear.

[10-30/32, 11-1/6] 丹万当 仐并 凡火 仐交考 主村 北朱 几只卡 只衬矢 及太 *b.y.én s.iang g.ung s.ie.ên hong.en po.do ku.û.su û.ji*$_3$*.de o.oi*$_2$ 'during the time of the previous emperor Chancellor B.y.én [was granted a favour]'. The sequence 仐交考 主村 *s.ie.ên hong.en* (genitive) stands for Chinese 先皇 *xianhong* 'former emperor', while 北朱 *po.do* means 'at the time [of]' (dative). The sequence 几只卡 只衬矢 及太 *ku.û.su û.ji*$_3$*.de o.oi*$_2$ may be compared with, for instance, 几只卡 只火 *ku.û.su û.ui* in *Xiao Dilu* (lines 3, 27), which possibly means 'was granted a favour'. If this interpretation is correct, the block 只衬矢 *û.ji*$_3$*.de* might be a form from the verbal stem 只 *û* 'to give' (Kane 2009: 99 §3.083), while 及太 *o.oi*$_2$ (converb) is well attested in the meaning 'got, became'.

[11-7/12] 叔企 丸 北矢 丹冬 卆 叉太 *k.em mó ii.de b.as ai ún.oi*$_2$. Here, only two blocks can be identified: 叔企 *k.em* 'imperial edict' [10-12], and 丹冬 *b.as* 'again, then'. Potentially, it is also possible to translate 丸 *mó* 'grandson' [9-29] and 卆 *ai* 'father' or 'year', but these might also have other meanings. The block 北矢 *ii.de* probably contains the

dative marker 矢 *.de*, while 叉 犬 *ún.oi*$_2$ would seem to stand for a verb in a converbial form, though it could also be a mistake for 叉 父 *ún.er* (finite past tense masculine). The overall meaning of the phrase remains obscure.

[11-13/19] 仝 丱 几 亦 乂 夬 为 廿 伏 只 奕 令 欠 乂 关 业 关 丞 礻 *s.iang g.ün sh.au.a.*TENT *ñ.û.úr t.qó sh.i p.i.is.ci.* This section starts a list of the activities of Chancellor B.y.én in different positions and with different titles. He seems to be identified by the title 仝 丱 几 亦 *s.iang g.ün* = 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general', here perhaps 'in the capacity of a general'. On the other hand, the text tells us that he also held the position of a 令 欠 乂 关 *t.qó sh.i* = [節]度使 [*jie*] *dushi* 'governor-general' among a group that is identified as the 乂 夬 为 廿 *sh.au.a.*TENT 伏 只 奕 *ñ.û.úr* 'tribe' [5-19]. The name 乂 夬 为 廿 *sh.au.a.*TENT, with the character 廿 .TENT probably indicating a suffixal element, must correspond to the ethnonym 稍瓦 *Shaowa*, as attested in Chinese sources (*Liaoshi*). Of this particular tribe it is known that it was specialized in 'catching birds' (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 89), that is, in trading in hunting falcons, and that the name *Shaowa* itself denoted 'falcon' (Kane 2009: 97 §3.068). Since this is so, it is very possible that the root 乂 夬 为 *sh.au.a* is a cognate of Mongolic **siba-xu/n* 'bird'. There might also exist an ethnonymic connection with the *Shibe* tribe, which in later history is Jurchen-Manchu speaking, but which in Liao times very probably spoke Khitan. The final block 业 关 丞 礻 *p.i.is.ci* is obscure but would seem to denote a verb (converb), perhaps 'became'. Altogether, the present section might tentatively be translated as: '[in the capacity of a] general [he became] the Governor-General of the Shaowa tribe'. The phrase is, however, structurally ambiguous.

[11-20/24] 仝 各 业 土 平 企 村 令 余 乂 关 *s.eng.un eu.ul em.en t.qu sh.i* '[in the capacity of] Field Marshal [he was also] the Governor-General of the Eu.ul region'. With two titles, 仝 各 业 *s.eng.un* 'field marshal' [1-7] and 令 欠

𗼻𗴼 *t.qó sh.i* 'governor-general' [11-17/18], this phrase is structurally similar to the previous one. The blocks 𗰜𗹦 𗾞 *eu.ul em* 'Eu.ul region' (genitive) denote an administrative area, which, however, is difficult to identify.

[11-25/27] 𗧓 𗍫𗹬 𗤶𗼇𗥃𗏁 NORTH *u.ur l.ém.hu.a* [he was] an Academician of the Northern Division'. This section shows that Chancellor B.y.én also had the title of 𗤶𗼇𗥃𗏁 *l.ém.hu.a* 林牙 *linya* 'academician' at the 𗧓 𗍫𗹬 NORTH u.ur 北院 *Beiyuan* 'northern division'.

[11-28/33] 𗦳𗅋𗼇 𗁅𗅋𗼇𗾔 𗰜𗖵 𗪘𗍫 𗊴𗏁 𗴼𗶠 *t.ie.ém g.ie^{x}.ém.d én$_{2}$.úr* MANAGE.*u ji$_{3}$.en o.ui* '[he] assisted the Chief Palace Superintendent', Here, the sequence 𗦳𗅋𗼇 𗁅𗅋𗼇𗾔 *t.ie.ém g.ie^{x}.ém.d* corresponds to the Chinese title 點檢 *dianjian* < **tiem-kiem* 'chief palace superintendent' (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 257 note 59), with the final 𗾔 *.d* apparently standing for the dative case marker. The use of the non-dotted character [326] 𗅋 *ie^{x}* in the block 𗁅𗅋𗼇𗾔 *g.ie^{x}.ém.d* instead of the dotted character [327] 𗖵 *ie*, as in 𗦳𗅋𗼇 *t.ie.ém*, is likely to be a mistake; 𗁅𗖵𗼇𗾔 *g.ie.ém.d* is attested in *Han Dilie* (line 20). A mistake is also present in the block 𗰜𗖵 *én$_{2}$.úr*, which should be 𗰜𗪘 *deu.úr* 'in assistance (to)'. The predicative sequence 𗪘𗍫 𗴼𗶠 𗊴𗏁 MANAGE.*u ji$_{3}$.en o.ui* is unclear, but the meaning must be '[he] helped in the management', with 𗴼𗶠 *ji$_{3}$.en* [2-22] possibly functioning as a postposition.

[11-34/37] 𗍫𗤶𗴼 𗏁只𗖵 𗦳𗾞 𗼻𗴼 *u.ul.i ñ.û.úr t.qu sh.i* '[he was] the Governor-General of the U.ul.i tribe'. This section repeats the title 𗦳𗾞 𗼻𗴼 *t.qu sh.i* 'governor-general' [11-17/18], this time in connection with the 𗍫𗤶𗴼 𗏁只𗖵 *u.ul.i ñ.û.úr* 'U.ul.i tribe', whose name is possibly identical with the Chinese (*Liaoshi*) transcription 奥里 *Aoli* (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 89).

[11-38/39, 12-1] 𗧓𗾔 𗲟𗍹𗹦 𗦳𗂧𗅍 NORTH:*d ju$_{3}$.177.n s.eng.un* '[and] the Field Marshal of the Northern Ju$_{3}$.177.n [tribe]'. Here, the sequence 𗧓𗾔 NORTH:*d* could perhaps

also be analysed as the single character [009] 巫 NORTH*d* (Kane 2009: 36 §2.009). In any case, the element 公 :*d* apparently stands for the plural marker, while 一 NORTH can mean not only 'northern', but also 'upper, superior, senior'. The block 弓刹公 *ju*$_3$.177.*n*, followed by the title 伞各火 *s.eng.un* 'field marshal' [1-7], might be a genitive in 公 *.n* and may be compared with the block 弓刹爻 *ju*$_3$.177.*e* in *Xiao Dilu* (line 19), which, in turn, is possibly connected with the personal name 術裏者 *Shulizhe*. The reference of 弓刹 *ju*$_3$.177 in the current text might, however, also be the personal and tribal name 述律 *Shulü*, which, on the other hand, has a complicated position in the Khitan system of names (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 111, 237-239 note 3). Another possibility, originally suggested by Ji Shi (1996: 235), is that the block 弓刹公 *ju*$_3$.177.*n* stands for the Khitan shape of the ethnonym 女真 *Nüzhen* (*Ruzhen*) ~ 女直 *Nüzhi* (*Ruzhi*) 'Jurchen', in which case the sequence 一公 弓刹公 伞各火 NORTH:*d* *ju*$_3$.177.*n* *s.eng.un* might directly correspond to Chinese 北女直詳穩 *Bei Nüzhi Xiangwen* 'Field Marshal of the Northern Jurchen' (*Liaoshi*). Due to the uncertainty concerning the 'reading' of the character [177] 刹, all of these possibilities remain unconfirmed.

[12-2/4] 令 关化伞炎 反子叉 *t i.ri.s.er o.ju.ún* 'with these titles he was rewarded'. The character 令 *t*, when used alone, may now confidently be identified as denoting the plural proximal pronoun 'these'. It is followed by the nominal form 关化伞炎 *i.ri.s.er* 'with [these] names ~ titles' (plural instrumental) and the verb 反子叉 *o.ju.ún* 'was rewarded (with), was appointed (to)' (past tense). This phrase concludes the long list of the positions and titles held by Chancellor B.y.én, the tomb owner's father.

[12-5/8] 而安 凡火化 达 犮炎 *cau.úr g.ung.ur* SOME *ci.oi* '[his] military exploits were much written about'. Assuming that the sequence 而安 凡火化 *cau.úr g.ung.ur* means 'military exploits' [10-8/9], the finite verb 犮炎 *ci.oi* =

(mistake for:) 𐲤𐲰 *ci.er* 'wrote' [9-14] is probably best understood as having the passive meaning 'was written'. The character 𐲳 SOME [2-30] may, then, perhaps also be translated 'many times' = 'much'.

[12-9/12] 𐲱𐲣𐲪 𐲤𐲹 𐲵𐲪𐲬 𐲬𐲧𐲪 *ho.a.an ci.iau l.i.*017 *cau.ur.i* 'in the [---] war of Ho.a.an Ci.iau'. The block 𐲬𐲧𐲪 *cau.ur.i* is clearly a form of 𐲬𐲧 *cau.ur* 'war, army' [8-13]. The element 𐲪 *.i*, when attached to nominal stems, would normally seem to have some kind of attributive ('genitive') function (Kane 2009: 136 §4.9), but here the context would rather suggest an adverbial ('locative') function. The block 𐲵𐲪𐲬 *l.i.*017 must be a mistake for 𐲵𐲪𐲬 *l.i.in*, which is occasionally attested before 𐲬𐲧𐲪 *cau.ur.i*, as also in *Xiao Dilu* (line 13). The exact meaning of the sequence 𐲵𐲪𐲬 𐲬𐲧𐲪 *l.i.in cau.ur.i* is, however, unknown. The preceding sequence 𐲱𐲣𐲪 𐲤𐲹 *ho.a.an ci.iau* looks like a succession of two Chinese syllables, in which case 𐲱𐲣𐲪 *ho.a.an* might correspond to Chinese 乾 *qian* ~ *gan*, as suggested by Liu Fengzhu (& Tang Cailan & Chengel 2009: 218), while 𐲤𐲹 *ci.iau* could perhaps represent a variant spelling of 𐲤𐲷 *ci.eu* for Chinese 州 *zhou* 'prefecture'. There was, in fact, a prefecture by the name 乾州 *Qian Zhou* in the Liao Empire (Matsui & Yanai & Inaba 1912: 14). On the other hand, 𐲱𐲣𐲪 *ho.a.an* could also be a native Khitan word, perhaps meaning 'after(wards)' [5-28], while 𐲤𐲹 *ci.iau* would more regularly correspond to the Chinese value *zhao* (Kane 2009: 248 §7.20.7).

[12-13/15] 𐲷𐲬 𐲭 𐲫𐲦 *eu.úr* SIXTY SEVEN.*de* 'at the age of sixty-seven'. This is a standard expression of age, with 𐲷𐲬 *eu.úr* 'age', 𐲭 SIXTY, and 𐲫𐲦 SEVEN.*de* (dative).

[12-16/18] 𐲬𐲧 𐲯𐲶𐲦 𐲬𐲩𐲮𐲱 *cau.úr ji.en.i* 024.*ó.ui.ii.* In this section, we can identify the blocks 𐲬𐲧 *cau.úr* 'war, army' [8-13] and 𐲯𐲶𐲦 *ji.en.i* 'among' [2-22], while the last block is apparently a verbal form (converb). Tentatively, we might translate the section as: 'being in the center of the

war operations', or even: 'while being caught between [two] armies'. The obscure block 而廾火比 024.*ó.ui.ii* is also attested in *Hai Tangshan* (line 8).

[12-19/20] 又仉 尒伞比 *m.ri on.s.ii* 'while riding on horseback'. Since the block 又仉 *m.ri* is well established in the meaning 'horse', the block 尒伞比 *on.s.ii* is likely to mean 'to ride' (converb). The stem 尒 *on* would then be a cognate of Mongolic **unu-* 'to ride', and the construction in the Khitan phrase would also exactly correspond to Mongolic **mori* + *unu-* 'to ride on horseback'.

[12-21/22] 田 劣奕屮 *hó tu.úr.bun* 'he was killed'. The block 劣奕屮 *tu.úr.bun* is well attested in the meaning 'died, was killed', while the proposed meaning 'he' for 田 *hó* would also seem to suit the context here. The text does not say how, exactly, Chancellor B.y.én died, but the war situation suggests that he was killed in action.

[12-23/27] 令岔丙 伞爭 几爻朴 关仉 令佥屮岔炎 *t.ge.y s.iang g.ung.en i.ri t.em.l.ge.oi* 'when [he] had died [he] was conferred the title of Chancellor'. This section finally shows that the title 伞爭 几爻 *s.iang g.ung* 'chancellor' [8-35/36], by which the tomb owner's father was primarily identified, was a posthumous one. The block 令岔丙 *t.ge.y* is frequently attested in the meaning 'after [he had] died' (converb), while the block 令佥屮岔炎 *t.em.l.ge.oi*, preceded by 关仉 *i.ri* 'name, title' [12-3], must be a mistake for 令佥屮岔爻 *t.em.l.ge.er* 'was conferred' (causative-passive finite past tense masculine).

[12-28/30] 丙令 业禾 圣 *mo.t p.ar* TWO '[he had] two wives'. An exact repetition of [7-20/22], this section initiates the discussion concerning the family of Chancellor B.y.én, the tomb owner's father.

[12-31/36] 又 丙 几 业关 几爿 分忝伏 GREAT *mo ku p.i g.e pu.is.ñ* '[his] elder wife was Lady P.i G.e'. This section repeats the phrase also attested in [7-23/25], followed by the personal name 业关 几爿 *p.i g.e* and the title 分忝伏

pu.is.ñ 'lady' [8-23]. The name seems to correspond to the Chinese transcription 毗哥 *Pige* (*Liaoshi*).

[13-1/6] [Khitan characters] *ci.ur.én mo ku sh.l g.e pu.is.ñ* '[his] second wife [was] Lady Sh.l G.e'. This section repeats the preceding construction with the difference that it is now a question of the [Khitan characters] *ci.ur.én* 'second' (feminine) [1-19] wife, whose name is given as [Khitan characters] *sh.l g.e*, a name which might be identical with Chinese 轄剌哥 *Xialage* (*Liaoshi*).

[13-7/10] [Khitan characters] ONE SOUTH:*en au x.iú*. The expression [Khitan characters] ONE SOUTH:*en* (genitive) has been identified by Ji Shi (1996: 144) as meaning 'of the same parents'. The lone character[161] [Khitan character] *au* denotes 'elder sister' (Kane 2009: 95 §3.057). This suggests that [Khitan characters] *x.iú* stands for 'younger sister', also attested as [Khitan characters] *k.iú* (Wu Yingzhe 2007a: 116), an obvious cognate of Mongolic **keü* 'child'. The translation must, therefore, be: 'they were an elder sister and a younger sister of the same parents'.

[13-11/15] [Khitan characters] *e.hu* 091.*o.ón il.bun.en b.qo.i b.hu.án* '[they were] grandchildren of Tribal Judge 091.o.ón'. The phrase [Khitan characters] *b.qo.i b.hu.án* (plural), literally 'child's children', stands for 'grandchildren' (Kane 2009: 100 §3.087), which in this context must refer to the two sisters and wives P.i G.e and Sh.l G.e. Their grandfather is identified by the name [Khitan characters] 091.*o.ón* [8-26] and the title [Khitan characters] *il.bun* 'tribal judge' [8-27]. It may be seen that the same tribal judge was also the maternal grandfather of Chancellor B.y.én himself; in other words, his two wives, who were sisters, were his cousins. The block [Khitan characters] *e.hu* would seem to function as a pronoun, perhaps 'they', and may be connected with the proximal stem [Khitan character] *e* 'this'.

[13-16/27] [Khitan characters] *l.ie.ên.ñ s.eng.un b.y.én s.iang g.ung.en ci.ur.én mo ku sh.l g.e pu.is.ñ.en b.qo* 'Field Marshal L.ie.ên.ñ [was] the son of Lady Sh.l G.e,

the second wife of Chancellor B.y.én'. All the elements in this section have been attested previously in the current text: 𘰾𘲭𘳿𘲟 𘴰𘱱𘲤 'Field Marshal L.ie.ên.ñ' [1-6/7], 𘲤𘳿 𘳿𘴰 𘲟𘲤𘳿 'Chancellor B.y.én' (genitive) [10-17/19], 𘲤𘲟𘳿 𘳿 𘲟 𘲭𘰾 𘲟𘲤 𘴰𘲤𘲟 *ci.ur.én mo ku sh.l g.e pu.is.ñ* 'second wife Lady Sh.l G.e' (here in the genitive), and 𘲤𘲦 *b.qo* 'child' [8-4].

[13-28/31] 𘳿 𘲟 𘴰𘲭𘳿𘲤 𘴰𘲤𘲟 *mo ku t.ie.ên.e pu.is.ñ* '[his] wife [was] Lady T.ie.ên.e'. This section identifies the tomb owner's wife, 𘳿 𘲟 *mo ku* [7-24/25], by the name 𘴰𘲭𘳿𘲤 *t.ie.ên.e* and the title 𘴰𘲤𘲟 *pu.is.ñ* 'lady' [8-23].

[13-32/37, 14-1/5] 𘲭𘲟𘲟𘲭 𘰾𘲤 𘴰𘳿 𘲭𘲦 𘲟𘲤 𘲭𘲟𘲤𘲤 𘲟𘲤 𘲭𘲤 𘲤𘲤 𘲟𘲟 𘲤𘲦 *m.ri.g.ún l.an$_2$ s.iu pu m.a ca.ang g.e g.ung dz$_2$.iú* TWO.*en b.qo* '[she was] the daughter of Imperial Son-in-Law M.ri.g.ún L.an$_2$ S.iu and Princess Ca.ang G.e'. This section further identifies the tomb owner's wife as the daughter, 𘲤𘲦 *b.qo* 'child' [8-4], of two persons who were 𘲭𘲟𘲟𘲭 𘰾𘲤 𘴰𘳿 M.ri.g.ún L.an$_2$ S.iu (father) and 𘲟𘲤 𘲟𘲤𘲤 Ca.ang G.e (mother). Their titles are given as 𘴰 𘲭𘲦 *pu m.a* = 駙馬 *fuma* 'imperial son-in-law' and 𘲟𘲤 𘲤𘲤 *g.ung dz$_2$.iú* = 公主 *gongzhu* 'princess', respectively. It may be noted that the block 𘲟𘲦 TWO.*en* 'of the two of them' (genitive) here functions as a copulative conjunction in the meaning 'and', a construction also well known from Mongolic. The block 𘲭𘲟𘲟𘲭 *m.ri.g.ún* seems to denote a tribal name, also attested as 𘲭𘲟 𘲦𘲭 *m.ri.gu.i.* This has been identified by Aisin Gioro Ulhicun (2006: 36) as equal to the Chinese transcriptions 密兒紀 *Mierji* and/or 梅裏急 *Meierji* (*Liaoshi*). A comparison could also be made with the well-known Mongolic tribal names *Merkid* and *Mergen* (cf. Rybatzki 2006: 617-618). The name 𘲟𘲤 𘲟𘲤𘲤 *ca.ang g.e* is attested in Chinese sources in the transcription 常哥 *Changge*, though the person may be different. Most interestingly, the same two persons, Imperial

Son-in-Law M.ri.g.ún L.an$_2$ S.iu and Princess Ca.ang G.e, are mentioned in *Yelü Yongning* (line 25) in the following passage: 丙 几 又化勺关 仐 令丙 仐忝伏 屮奂 仐丙 仐 又为 甬忿 几劵 几水 亥兴 圣朷 舟力 *mo ku m.ri.gu.i pu t.y pu.is.ñ l.an$_2$ s.iu pu m.a ca.ang g.e g.ung dz$_2$.iú* TWO.*en b.qo* '[his] wife [was] Lady M.ri.gu.i Pu T.y, [who was] the daughter of Imperial Son-in-Law L.an$_2$ S.iu and Princess Ca.ang G.e'. Clearly, this Lady Pu T.y = 福德 *Fude* in *Yelü Yongning* and Lady T.ie.ên.e in *Yelü Xiangwen* must have been sisters. A comparison of the two passages also suggests that 又化勺关 *m.ri.gu.i* and 又化几叉 *m.ri.g.ún* should perhaps be analysed as the feminine and masculine forms of a the same ethnonym.

[14-6/12] 仐忝伏 田 佣当 令生丙当 兴仐岔火 又幺尘 尘为生仝屮亚为出 *pu.is.ñ hó* BORN.*én t.bu.y.én x.s.ge.ud sh.iá*.356 356.*a.bu.d.l.ha.a.án.* In this section, only the block 仐忝伏 *pu.is.ñ* 'lady' [8-23] can be reliably translated, though 田 *hó* (possibly a pronoun) and 佣当 BORN.*én* 'born' (participle) may also be recognized from other contexts. The sequence 令生丙当 兴仐岔火 *t.bu.y.én x.s.ge.ud* is attested in *Xiao Dilu* (line 48) and may denote a name. The final long block 尘为生仝屮亚为出 356.*a. bu.d.l.ha.a.án* looks like a verbal form (causative-passive participle, possibly in finite use). The overall meaning of the section remains obscure.

[14-13/21] 业雨 又灸 奕为兴 丙坐 舟号当 公丰化 当 业奕仐 令丙 火 *p.in sh.au úr.a.iú mo.d$_2$ b.aû.én n.ai.ri.én p.úr.s t.iu ui.* This is another obscure section, in which only the following blocks may be recognized from previous contexts: 丙坐 *mo.d$_2$* [8-9], 业奕仐 *p.úr.s* [6-18], 火 *ui* (possibly:) 'matter(s)' [3-4].

[14-22/27] 父 令火 丰仐 讶朷 丙 业反子屮伏 HEAVEN *t.ud ai.s ji$_3$.en iu p.o.ju.l.ñ* '[she] passed away during the years of HEAVEN t.ud'. This must be a reference to the tomb owner's wife, which suggests that the preceding two sections

[14-6/21] may also relate to her activities. The sequence 𘤀𘥠𘥣 HEAVEN *t.ud*, followed by 𘥤𘥠 *ai.s* 'years' (plural) and 𘥡𘥢 ji_3*.en* (here apparently:) 'during' [11-32], is known to correspond to the Liao reign title Xianyong 鹹雍 (1065-1075), while the final sequence 𘥣 𘥦𘤀子𘥤伏 *iu p.o. ju.l.ñ* 'passed away' consists of 𘥣 *iu* (negative existential) and 𘥦𘤀子𘥤伏 *p.o.ju.l.ñ* 'became' (unidentified form, perhaps finite past tense feminine).

[14-28/30] 𘥥列出 𘥤𘥟 𘥧 *b.hu.án ai.d* FOUR° '[he/she had] four sons'. Here, the plural form 𘥥列出 *b.hu.án* 'children' [10-27] is followed by 𘥤𘥟 *ai.d* 'fathers, males' (also a plural) and 𘥧 FOUR° (marked masculine), implying 'male children' = 'sons'. This is a reference to the sons of the tomb owner and his wife, Lady T.ie.ên.e. The sons are presented one by one in the following sections.

[14-31/35, 15-1] 𘥢𘥤 𘥨𘥩𘥪 𘥞 𘥦𘥫𘥠 𘥜 𘥬𘥭 *m.o qa.ha.an* MR *p.úr.s gi. ci.oi* 'the eldest son [was] Mr. Qa.ha.an [---]'. This section repeats the structure of [9-7/14] above, where the character [170] 𘥞 MR denotes a title. This means that the block 𘥨𘥩𘥪 *qa.ha.an* is likely to stand for a personal name, although this is somewhat surprising since the same block can also have the meaning 'of the emperor' (genitive) [1-1]. The block 𘥢𘥤 *m.o* 'big, eldest' [4-25] conveys the implication of 'eldest son' (masculine). As for the sequence 𘥦𘥫𘥠 𘥜 𘥬𘥭 *p.úr.s gi ci.oi* [9-12/14], with 𘥬𘥭 *ci.oi* being a mistake for 𘥬𘥟 *ci.er*, it was earlier assumed to mean 'his [document] was not written'. However, from the present context it can be deduced that the implication might also be that the person did not have descendants, or, assuming that 𘥬𘥟 *ci.er* nevertheless means 'was written', that his descendants were not 'written' or 'recorded'. This will be evident from the subsequent sections, which show that the tomb owner's eldest son did not have children, while the other sons had. If this conclusion is correct, the block 𘥦𘥫𘥠 *p.úr.s* should perhaps be compared with Mongolic **püre* >

**xüre* > **üre* > *ur* 'seed' = 'descendant' (also: 'result'), which on the Mongolic side has the plural **püre-s* 'descendants' (also: 'results'). It happens that the meaning 'descendant' would seem to fit well into the sequence 业交今 伏尺交 *p.úr.s ñ.û.úr* (thus possibly:) 'descendant lineages' (of the three founding fathers) [6-18/19].

[15-2/7] 朴化火 列艾及杏 昼为 尺 舟及交 为丰 *ci.ur.oi hu.*TENT.*u.uni car°.a* MR *b.u.úr a.ai* 'the second son [was] Mr. Hu.TENT.u.uni Car°.a [---]'. Here, the sequence 列艾及杏 昼为 *hu.*TENT.*u.uni car°.a* must denote the name of the second son of the tomb owner and Lady T.ie.ên.e, while his title is again 尺 MR [14-33]. The block 朴化火 *ci.ur.oi* is a mistake for 朴化父 *ci.ur.er* 'second [son]' (masculine). The final block 为丰 *a.ai* is a copula (converb), but the block 舟及交 *b.u.úr* is obscure.

[15-8/17] 丙 几 丙困余 尔火 又化九叉 们火 九爷 丞 北和 舟为 *mo ku y.*304.*qu aú.ui m.ri.g.ún du.ung g.e tai shï.en b.qo* '[his] wife [was] Milady Y.304.qu, [who was] the daughter of Grand Preceptor M.ri.g.ún Du.ung G.e'. This section identifies the wife, 丙 几 *mo ku* [7-24/25], of Hu.TENT.u.uni Car°.a by the name 丙困余 *y.*304.*qu* and the noble title 尔火 *aú.ui* (Kane 2009: 60 §2.210), here translated as 'milady' . This title seems to have been equivalent to Chinese 娘子 *niangzi* and might be etymologically connected with Mongolic **abagai* 'wife of a prince, lady'. The wife is further identified as the daughter, 舟为 *b.qo* 'child' [8-4], of 又化九叉 们火 九爷 M.ri.g.ún Du.ung G.e, her father, who had the title 丞 北 *tai shï* 'Grand Preceptor' [9-18/19] and the same tribal identification as the previously mentioned M.ri.g.ún $L.an_2$ S.iu [13-32/34].

[15-18/19] 朴木 丙 *ci.ar iu* '[she] died a long time ago'. This must be a reference to Miss Y.304.qu. The character [019] 丙 *iu*, when used alone, denotes the negative existential 'there is not' = 'is dead' (Kane 2009: 157 §4.47) and must be connected with 与火 *eu.ui* id. [4-28], though the formal relationship is

not clear. The block 𘤀𘤁 *ci.ar* is known to mean 'formerly, a long time ago', as identified by Liu Fengzhu (1987a: 64).

[15-20/24] 𘤂𘤃 𘤄大伏 𘤅𘤆𘤇 𘤈𘤉 𘤊亦 *hur.oi*$_2$ *t.ud*$_2$*.ñ hu.*TENT.*u s.iang g.ün* 'the third son [was] General T.ud$_2$.ñ Hu.TENT.u'. This section identifies the third son of the tomb owner and Lady T.ie.ên.e by the name 𘤄大伏 𘤅𘤆𘤇 *t.ud*$_2$*.ñ hu.*TENT.*u* and the title 𘤈𘤉 𘤊亦 *s.iang g.ün* 'general' [11-13/14]. The block 𘤂𘤃 *hur.oi*$_2$ must be a mistake for 𘤂𘤀 *hur.er* 'third' (masculine).

[15-25/37] 𘤋 𘤊 𘤌𘤍𘤎𘤏 𘤐𘤑 𘤒火 𘤄丙𘤓𘤔 𘤀𘤁𘤕 𘤖𘤗𘤘伏 𘤙𘤚𘤛 𘤜𘤝𘤞 𘤟𘤠𘤡 𘤙𘤛 𘤊𘤓 𘤢𘤣 𘤄各火 𘤌𘤍 *mo ku b.*ETERNAL.*l.ha.án aú.ui t.*023.*ia.ra ci.*458.*ho.ñ qa.ha.an go.oi.en qa.an g.ia n.u s.eng.un b.qo* '[his] wife [was] Milady B.ETERNAL.l.ha.án, [who was] the daughter of Field Marshal Qa.an G.ia N.u of the [---] Emperor's Household'. This section follows the pattern of the similar ones above. The third son's wife is identified by the name 𘤌𘤍𘤎𘤏 𘤐𘤑 *b.*ETERNAL.*l.ha.án* and the title 𘤒火 *aú.ui* 'milady' [15-11]. Her father is identified by the name 𘤙𘤛 𘤊𘤓 𘤢𘤣 *qa.an g.ia n.u* and the title 𘤄各火 *s.eng.un* 'field marshal' [1-7]. He is further said to be 𘤙𘤚𘤛 𘤜𘤝𘤞 *qa.ha.an go.oi.en* 'of the Emperor's Household', in which 𘤜𘤝𘤞 *go.oi.en* is a mistake for 𘤜𘤟𘤞 *go.er.en* 'tent, household' (genitive). The two blocks 𘤄丙𘤓𘤔 𘤀𘤁𘤕 𘤖𘤗𘤘伏 *t.*023.*ia.ra ci.*458.*ho.ñ* are likely to stand for the emperor's name or some other attribute of his, which, unfortunately, cannot be identified. The personal name 𘤙𘤛 𘤊𘤓 𘤢𘤣 *qa.an g.ia n.u* is, however, also attested in the Chinese shape 韓 家奴 *Han Jia Nu* (Liaoshi).

[16-1/5] 𘤄化𘤥 𘤄同伏 𘤦平𘤧反𘤨 𘤩 𘤌 *t.ur.oi t.ing.ñ dau.ul.ó.o.ho tai b* 'the fourth son [was] Grand Guardian T.ing.ñ Dau.ul.ó.o.ho'. This section also follows the pattern of the previous ones. The fourth son's name is given as 𘤄同伏 𘤦平𘤧反𘤨 *t.ing.ñ dau.ul.ó.o.ho*, while his title was 𘤩 𘤌 *tai b* = 太保 *taibao* 'grand guardian'. The

block *t.ur.oi* is, once more, a mistake for *t.ur.er* 'fourth' (masculine).

[16-6/8] *mo.t p.ar* TWO '[he had] two wives'. This is an exact repetition of [7-20/22] and [12-28/30].

[16-9/20] GREAT *mo ku g.il.g aú.ui bú.d na.ha.án.oi* SMALL.*qu* TENT.*en hu.*TENT.*qu sh.a.rí.en b.qo* '[his] elder wife [was] Milady G.il.g, [who was] the daughter of Court Attendant Hu.TENT.qu of the junior tents of the maternal uncles of the other clan'. This section identifies the elder wife, GREAT *mo ku* [7-23/25], of Grand Guardian T.ing.ñ Dau.ul.ó.o.ho by the name *g.il.g* and the title *aú.ui* 'milady' [15-11]. She was the daughter, *b.qo* 'child' [8-4], of Hu.TENT.qu, her father, who had the title *sh.a.rí* = 沙里 *shali* 'court attendant', and who belonged to the SMALL.*qu* TENT 'junior tents' of 'the other clan of the maternal uncles', *bú.d na.ha.án.oi*, that is, the Xiao 蕭 clan, with *na.ha.án.oi* being a mistake for *na.ha.án.er*. The Chinese expression is 國舅別部小翁帳 *Guojiu Biebu Xiao Wengzhang* (cf. Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 237-239 note 3).

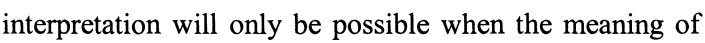
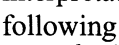
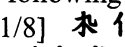
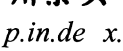
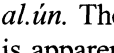
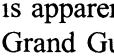
[16-21/22] *ci.ar iu* '[she] died a long time ago'. This is an exact repetition of [15-18/19].

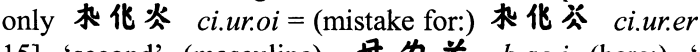
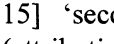
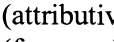
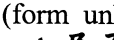
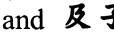
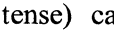
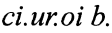
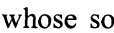
[16-23/36] *ci.ur.én mo ku hó.l.b.ñ aú.ui na.ha.án.er ja.ri.qu.on ia deu.un x.iu g.e l.iúng hu.en b.qo* '[his] second wife [was] Milady Hó.l.b.ñ, [who was] the daughter of Supreme General of the Dragon and Tiger Guards X.iu G.e of the [clan of the] prime ministers of the maternal uncles'. This section focuses on the 'second wife', *ci.ur.én mo ku* [7-28/30], of Grand Guardian T.ing.ñ Dau.ul.ó.o.ho. She had the frequently attested auspicious name *hó.l.b.ñ* = 訛里本 *Eliben* as well as the title *aú.ui* 'milady'

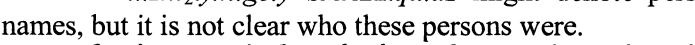
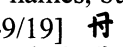
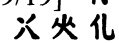
[15-11]. Her father is identified by the name 𐘀𐘁𐘂 𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆 *x.iu g.e* = 休哥 *Xiuge* and the title 𐘇𐘈𐘉 𐘊𐘋𐘌 *l.iúng hu* = 龍虎 *longhu* 'dragon [and] tiger', which is an abbreviation of 龍虎衛上將軍 *longhu wei shang jiangjun*, here translated as 'supreme general of the dragon and tiger guards' (Kane 2009: 99 §3.081). The sequence 𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑 𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗 𐘘𐘙 𐘚𐘛 *na.ha.án.er ja.ri.qu.on ia deu.un* is somewhat ambiguous. Both 𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑 *na.ha.án.er* 'maternal uncles' and 𐘘𐘙 𐘚𐘛 *ia deu* 'elder brothers and younger brothers' can refer to the Xiao clan, which was the clan that supplied the prime ministers for the Liao Empire. On the other hand, it is perhaps not completely impossible that 𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗 𐘘𐘙 𐘚𐘛 *ja.ri.qu.on ia deu.un*, which literally means 'of the elder brothers and younger brothers of the prime minister(s)', implies actual physical kinship, in which case X.iu G.e would have been the brother of a prime minister.

[16-37/39] 𐘀𐘁 𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟 𐘜𐘠𐘡𐘢 *ai s.eng.un s.a.ar* '[the] father held the rank of Field Marshal'. Judging by the context, this section starts a more detailed discussion of the activities of Grand Guardian T.ing.ñ Dau.ul.ó.o.ho, the tomb owner's fourth son, whose two wives were introduced in the immediately preceding sections. The word 𐘀𐘁 *ai* 'father' [3-25] is therefore likely to refer to the tomb owner himself, who had the title 𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟 *s.eng.un* 'field marshal' [1-7]. The block 𐘜𐘠𐘡𐘢 *s.a.ar* (finite past tense masculine) is very probably connected with the verbal stem 𐘜𐘠𐘡 *s.a*, which is well attested in the meaning 'to hold an office'. The syntactic structure of the phrase is, however, somewhat unclear, for the block 𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟 *s.eng.un* could, in principle, belong together with either the preceding noun 𐘀𐘁 *ai* (as an apposition) or with the following verb 𐘜𐘠𐘡𐘢 *s.a.ar* (as a nominal predicate). Also, although it is formally a question of a finite clause, the semantic implication is one of subordination, meaning probably: 'when [his] father was holding (or: had been appointed to) the rank of field marshal'. A definitive

interpretation will only be possible when the meaning of the following sections is properly understood.

[17-1/8]  *ci.ur.oi b.qo.i p.in.de x.zhi$_2$.y.il.ge.y* SMALL.*qu.dz* TWO°.*en* 305.*de o.ju.ha. al.ún.* There now follow several obscure passages, although it is apparently a question of events and persons connected with Grand Guardian T.ing.ñ Dau.ul.ó.o.ho. In the present section, only  *ci.ur.oi* = (mistake for:)  *ci.ur.er* [9-15] 'second' (masculine),  *b.qo.i* (here:) 'son' (attributive) [8-4],  SMALL.*qu.dz* (possibly:) 'small' (form unknown), TWO°.*en* 'of the two' (masculine), and  *o.ju.ha.al.ún* (possibly:) 'finished' (past tense) can be identified. The sequence  *ci.ur.oi b.qo* means 'second son', but it is not immediately clear whose son is meant. Also, the two blocks *x.zhi$_2$.y.il.ge.y* SMALL.*qu.dz* might denote personal names, but it is not clear who these persons were.

[17-9/19]  *b.hu.án x.an$_2$ ci.ci sh.ia tum.û.úr t.p x.ui.ri.ge.ci l.bu eu.ur b.u.úr a.ai.* Only  *b.hu.án* 'children' [10-27],  *ci.ci* 'together with' (Kane 2009: 54 §2.162) = Mongolic *jici* 'and also', and  *a.ai* 'being' (converb) [6-2] can be translated here. The sequence  *b.u.úr a.ai* is also attested earlier [15-6/7], but the meaning of  *b.u.úr* is unknown. The block  *x.ui.ri.ge.ci* would seem to mean 'was transferred' (converb) (Kane 2009: 21 §1.22), in which case it is probably a cognate of Mongolic **kür-ge-* 'to send', a causative from **kür-* 'to reach'. The blocks  *x.an$_2$* and  *sh.ia tum.û.úr* might denote personal names, but the reference is unclear.

[17-20/26]  *ai.de ku.û.su û.úr sh.ha.*TENT *al.a* 305.*de o.oi.* Here, only the blocks  *ai.de* (probably:) 'father' (dative), 

ku.û.su (possibly:) 'favour' [4-18], and 只夾 *û.úr* (probably:) 'gave' (finite past tense masculine, perhaps in non-finite use), can be identified, perhaps meaning: '[---] that was given as a favour to the father'. The block 闲矢 305.*de* was also attested earlier [17-7], while 反炎 *o.oi* is equal to the previously attested 反衣 *o.oi*$_2$ 'got, became' [11-6].

[17-27/34] 爪关 禾 父仉 闩矢 今爻几屮衣当 朱朱 丰公 廿夕化 *x.an*$_2$ *ui*$_2$ HEAVEN.*ri co.de s.ún.g.l.ge*$_2$*.én ci.ci ai.d* TENT.*uh.ur.* Only the blocks 朱朱 *ci.ci* 'together with' [17-11] and 丰公 *ai.d* 'fathers' (plural) can be identified here. The blocks 爪关 *x.an*$_2$ [17-10] and 禾 *ui*$_2$ [10-29] might stand for a name, but the reference is unclear.

[18-1/4] 又廾火为出村 土平炎券 及火 今为木 *sh.ó. un.a.án.en eu.ul.ge.e u.un s.a.ar.* Here, the block 今为木 *s.a.ar* may or may not mean 'held the office [of]' [16-39], while the rest remains again unclear.

[18-5/7] 丙今 丹列出 包 *mo.t b.hu.án* THREE '[he/she had] three daughters'. Since the previous sections have dealt with the four sons of the tomb owner and his wife, Lady T.ie.ên.e, the present section most apparently starts an analogous discussion of their daughters, though formally the context is not completely clear. The concept of 'daughters' is here expressed by the combination of 丙今 *mo.t* 'women' (plural) [7-20] and 丹列出 *b.hu.án* 'children' (plural) [10-27], while the undotted numeral character 包 THREE also implicitly implies females (unmarked feminine).

[18-8/10] 又 今大 尔火 GREAT *t.ud*$_2$ *aú.ui* 'the eldest [daughter was] Milady T.ud$_2$'. This section identifies the tomb owner's eldest daughter by the name 今大 *t.ud*$_2$ and the title 尔火 *aú.ui* 'milady' [15-11]. The character 又 GREAT [7-23] inherently implies feminine gender.

[18-11/17] 乇 伏只夾 今列为出 用屮村 冊炎村 今生丑木矢 只平炎当 FOUR° *ñ.û.úr t.hu.a.án il.bun.en go.oi.en s.bu.ha.ar.de û.ul.ge.én* '[she] was given in marriage to S.bu.ha.ar of the house of Tribal Judge T.hu.a.án of the Four

Tribes'. All elements in this section can be identified: 𗼻 𘝞𘜶𘟙 FOUR° *ñ.û.úr* = 𗼻 𘝞𘜶𘟙 FOUR *ñ.û.úr* 'four tribes' [8-24/25], 𗴲𗹦𗼇 *il.bun.en* 'tribal judge' (genitive) [8-27], 𗾞𗴺𗼇 *go.oi.en* = 𗾞𗴺𗼇 *go.er.en* 'house (-hold)' (genitive) [15-32], 𘜶𗥃𗴺𗍊 *û.ul.ge.én* 'was given in marriage (to)' (causative-passive participle, or possibly finite past tense feminine). The blocks 𗤶𗥤𗰜𗁅 *t.hu.a.án* and 𗤶𗣼𗹨𗍫𗥞 *s.bu.ha.ar.de* (dative) denote personal names. The dotted numeral character 𗼻 FOUR° might be a mistake for the non-dotted 𗼻 FOUR.

[18-18/20] 𗍫𗾔𗍊 𗹨𗴲𗰜𘜶 𗤶𗍘𘜶 *ci.ur.én p.úr.b.ñ pu.is.ñ* 'the second [daughter was] Lady P.úr.b.ñ'. This section identifies the tomb owner's second daughter, 𗍫𗾔𗍊 *ci.ur.én* 'second' (feminine) [1-19], by the name 𗹨𗴲𗰜𘜶 *p.úr.b.ñ* and the title 𗤶𗍘𘜶 *pu.is.ñ* 'lady' [8-23].

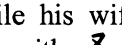
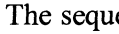
[18-21/31] 𗼇𗴺 𗢳𗾔 𗱕𗤓𘜶𗦳 𗵘𗢳 𗦳 𗹦𗍊 𗰜𗤶 𗤶𗤫𘜶𗴺 𗦳 𗴺𗥞 𘜶𘟙𗍊 *tau.un u.ur eu.g.ñ.uh pú.u tai shï.en b.qo pu.su.û.oi tai ui°.de û.ul.ge.én* '[she] was given in marriage to Grand Commandant Pu.su.û.[er], [who was] the son of Grand Preceptor Eu.g.ñ.uh Pú.u of the Five Divisions'. This section follows the model of [18-11/17] above, with the tribal name 𗼇𗴺 𗢳𗾔 *tau.un u.ur* 'Five Divisions' [7-14/15], the personal names 𗱕𗤓𘜶𗦳 𗵘𗢳 *eu.g.ñ.uh pú.u* and 𗤶𗤫𘜶𗴺 *pu.su.û.oi*, the titles 𗦳 𗹦𗍊 *tai shï.en* 'grand preceptor' (genitive) [9-18/19] and 𗦳 𗴺𗥞 *tai ui°.de* = 太尉 *taiwei* 'grand commandant' (dative), and the regular noun 𗤶𗤓 *b.qo* (here:) 'son' [8-4]. The name 𗤶𗤫𘜶𗴺 *pu.su.û.oi* must be a mistake for 𗤶𗤫 𘜶𗴲 *pu.su.û.er*, which may be identified with the Chinese transcription 普速裏 *Pusuli*, as attested in the Chinese-language epitaph of Princess Yongqing 永清公主墓誌銘 *Yongqing Gongzhu Muzhiming*.

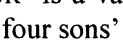
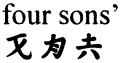
[18-32/34] 𗵘𗍊 𗵘𗢳 𗤶𗍘𘜶 *hur.én pú.u pu.is.ñ* 'the third [daughter was] Lady Pú.u'. This section identifies the tomb owner's third daughter, 𗵘𗍊 *hur.én* 'third' (feminine), by the

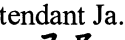
name 出及 *pú.u* and the title 分丞伏 *pu.is.ñ* 'lady' [8-23]. It may be noted that, of the tomb owner's daughters, the eldest one had the title 尔火 *aú.ui* 'milady', while the two younger ones had the title 分丞伏 *pu.is.ñ* 'lady'. This may be indicative of the relative positions of the two titles, but the exact implications are not known.

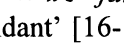
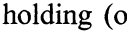
[19-1/9] 令丙刃斥 口比伏 巫业买 曲炎村 付及村 公及 劳火 友矢 只平炎当 *t.*023*.ia.ra qi.ii.ñ qa.ha.an go.oi.en b.u.en n.u tu.ung jï.de û.ul.ge.én* '[she] was given in marriage to Military Governor B.u.en N.u of the Qi.ii.ñ Emperor's household'. This section follows again the model of [18-11/17] above, with the personal name 付及村 公及 *b.u.en n.u* and the title 劳火 友矢 *tu.ung jï.de* = 統軍 *tongjun* 'military governor' (dative). This person is identified as coming from 口比伏 巫业买 曲炎村 *qi.ii.ñ qa.ha.an go.oi.en* 'the Qi.ii.ñ Emperor's household', with 巫业买 *qa.ha.an* 'emperor's' (genitive) [1-1] and 曲炎村 *go.oi.en* = 曲公村 *go.er.en* 'house(hold)' (genitive) [15-32]. The tribal name 口比伏 *qi.ii.ñ* is known to correspond to the ethnonym 奚 *Xi* of Chinese sources (Kane 2009: 73 §2.323), but the preceding block 令丙刃斥 *t.*023*.ia.ra*, possibly also a tribal name, remains without a generally accepted identification. The personal name 付及村 公及 *b.u.en n.u* is also attested in *Yelü Taishi* (line 10) in the shape 业只火 公及 *p.û.un n.u* and corresponds to the Chinese transcription 盆奴 *Pen Nu* (*Liaoshi*).

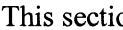
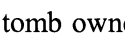
[19-10/17] 昏为 尺 丙困余 尔火 圣村 丰公 付列出 乜 car°.*a* MR*y.*304*.qu aú.ui* TWO*.en ai.d b.hu.án* FOUR° 'Mr. Car°.a and Milady Y.304.qu had four sons'. The text has until now presented the tomb owner's ancestors, wife, sons, and daughters, and proceeds now to his grandchildren. Since the eldest son did not have descendants, the current section deals with the sons of the second son and his wife. The second son's full name was 列艾及杏 昏为 尺 'Mr. Hu.TENT.u.uni Car°.a' [15-3/5], but he is now referred to by the short form

 ‘Mr. Car°.a’, while his wife is  ‘Milady Y.304.qu’ [15-10/11], with  TWO.*en* (genitive) [14-4] functioning as a conjunction. The sequence  *ai.d b.hu.án* FOUR° is a variant of  *b.hu.án ai.d* FOUR° ‘four sons’ [14-28/30].

[19-18/21]  *m.o ja.ang n.u sh.a.rí* ‘the eldest one [was] Court Attendant Ja.ang N.u’. This section identifies the eldest grandson,  *m.o* ‘big’ (masculine) [4-25], by the name  *ja.ang n.u* and the title  *sh.a.rí* ‘court attendant’ [16-19]. The name can be identified with Chinese 章奴 *Zhang Nu* (*Liaoshi*).

[19-22/25]  *bu ai s.eng.un s.a.ar* ‘[when his] grandfather was holding (or: had been appointed to) the rank of field marshal’. This section repeats the structure of [16-37/39] except that the tomb owner is now identified as  *bu ai* ‘grandfather’ [7-33/34]. In both sections the final block  *s.a.ar* would seem to have the form of a finite verb but the function of a converb.

[19-26/29]  *p.iau.oi ku.û.su x.ji₃.de o.ju.ha.al.ún.* This is an obscure section, but the block  *ku.û.su* has been tentatively identified as meaning ‘favour’ [4-18], while the block  *o.ju.ha.al.ún* might mean ‘finished’ [17-8]. On the other hand, the block  *ku.û.su* has been previously attested in combination with the verb  *p.o.ju. ha.ai* (perhaps:) ‘was granted’ (converb) [4-19], suggesting that the stems  *o.ju.ha* and  *p.o.ju.ha* might be somehow mutually connected. In any case, the implication is probably: [he] was granted a favour’.

[19-30/33]  *ci.ur.oi ci.ng n.u sh.a.rí* ‘the second one was Court Attendant Ci.ng N.u’. This section follows the model of [19-18/21] above and identifies the second grandson by the name  *ci.ng n.u* and the title  *sh.a.rí* ‘court attendant’ [16-19]. The block  *ci.ur.oi* is a mistake for *ci.ur.er*

'second' (masculine) [9-15]. The name 𘰾𘰚 𘰀𘰓 *ci.ng n.u* corresponds to Chinese 僧奴 *Ceng Nu* (*Liaoshi*).

[19-34/37, 20-1] 𘰀𘰛 𘰓𘰚 𘰀𘰓 *hur.oi m.a g.ia n.u sh.a.rí* 'the third one was Court Attendant M.a G.ia N.u'. This section also follows the above model, with 𘰀𘰛 *hur.oi* = 𘰀𘰛 *hur.oi*$_2$ = 𘰀𘰛 *hur.er* 'third' (masculine) [7-3] and 𘰓𘰚 *sh.a.rí* 'court attendant' [16-19]. The name 𘰓𘰚 𘰀𘰓 *m.a g.ia n.u* suggests the (modern) Chinese shape *Ma Jia Nu*, but the characters are unknown. It may be noted that the names of all the three brothers 𘰁𘰀 𘰀𘰓 Ja.ang N.u [19-19/20], 𘰾𘰚 𘰀𘰓 Ci.ng N.u [19-31/32] and 𘰓𘰚 𘰀𘰓 M.a G.ia N.u contain the element 𘰀𘰓 N.u = Chinese 奴 *nu* 'slave'. The name of the fourth brother is not mentioned, however.

[20-2/9] 𘰽𘰚 𘰀𘰓 𘰓𘰚 𘰂𘰀𘰓 𘰃𘰚 𘰇𘰽 𘰂𘰽 𘰂𘰀𘰛 𘰃𘰚 𘰁𘰀𘰛 𘰀𘰛 *s.ng n.u sh.a.rí b.u.úr ui*$_2$ *mo.t b.hu.án* TWO 'Court Attendant S.ng N.u [---] had two daughters'. In spite of the different spelling, the person here identified as 𘰽𘰚 𘰀𘰓 𘰓𘰚 *s.ng n.u sh.a.rí* 'Court Attendant S.ng N.u' must be identical with 𘰾𘰚 𘰀𘰓 Ci.ng N.u [19-31/32], the tomb owner's second grandson. He had two daughters, 𘰂𘰽 𘰃𘰚 𘰁𘰀𘰛 *mo.t b.hu.án* 'female children', who were the tomb owner's great-granddaughters. The meaning of the sequence 𘰃𘰚 𘰂𘰀𘰓 𘰇𘰽 *b.u.úr ui*$_2$ is unknown.

[20-10/12] 𘰁𘰀 𘰇𘰀 𘰀𘰛 𘰀𘰚 GREAT 198.*én aú.ui* 'the elder one [was] Milady 198.én'. This section identifies the tomb owner's eldest great-granddaughter by the name 𘰇𘰀 198.*én* and the title 𘰀𘰛 𘰀𘰚 *aú.ui* 'milady' [15-11].

[20-13/15] 𘰾𘰚 𘰀𘰓 𘰇𘰀 𘰁𘰀 𘰀𘰛 𘰀𘰚 *ci.ur.én oh.iú aú.ui* 'the second one [was] Milady Oh.iú'. This section follows the above model and identifies the tomb owner's second great-granddaughter, 𘰾𘰚 𘰀𘰓 𘰇𘰀 *ci.ur.én* 'second' (feminine) [18-18], by the name 𘰁𘰀 𘰀𘰚 *oh.iú* and the title 𘰀𘰛 𘰀𘰚 *aú.ui* 'milady' [15-11]. The name 𘰁𘰀 𘰀𘰚 *oh.iú* is possibly identical with the Chinese transcription 阿古 *Agu* (*Liaoshi*).

[20-16/24] 列艾汞 仝爭 几亦 爿庚屮业为出 尔火 圣朷 丙 爿勿 乇 *hu.*TENT.*u s.iang g.ün b.*ETERNAL. *l.ha.a.án aú.ui* TWO.*en mo b.qo* ONE 'General Hu.TENT.u and Milady B.ETERNAL.l.ha.a.án had one daughter'. This section follows the pattern of [19-10/17], with the names and titles of the tomb owner's third son, 列艾汞 仝爭 几亦 *hu.*TENT.*u s.iang g.ün* 'General Hu.TENT.u' [15-22/24], and his wife, 爿庚屮业为出 尔火 *b.*ETERNAL.*l.ha.a.án aú.ui* 'Milady B.ETERNAL.l.ha.a.án', previously written 爿庚屮业出 B.ETERNAL.l.ha.án [15-27]. They had one daughter: 丙 *mo* 'female' [7-24], 爿勿 *b.qo* 'child' [8-4], 乇 ONE (non-dotted = feminine) [2-4].

[20-25/28] 朵土 几才 公兴 尔火 *ci.eu g.ia n.iú aú.ui* '[she was] Milady Ci.eu G.ia N.iú'. This section identifies the above-mentioned daughter by the title 尔火 *aú.ui* 'milady' [15-11] and the name 朵土 几才 公兴 *ci.eu g.ia n.iú*, suggesting an underlying Chinese shape of the type *Zhou Jia Nu* (characters unknown).

[20-29/38] 尺平廾反扎 丞 爿朷 又 丙 几 几用几 尔火朷 爿勿 乇 *dau.ul.ó.o.ho tai b.en* GREAT *mo ku g.il.g aú.ui.en b.qo* ONE° 'Milady G.il.g, the elder wife of Grand Guardian Dau.ul.ó.o.ho, had one son'. This section repeats the names and titles of 尺平廾反扎 丞 爿 *dau.ul.ó.o.ho tai b* 'Grand Guardian Dau.ul.ó.o.ho' [16-3/5], the tomb owner's fourth son, and his elder wife 几用几 尔火朷 *g.il.g aú.ui* 'Milady G.il.g' [16-9/13], who had one son: 爿勿 *b.qo* 'child' [8-4], 乇 ONE° (dotted = masculine).

[20-39/41] 丙夬 几夯 又为卉 *y.au g.e*$_2$ *sh.a.rí* '[he was] Court Attendant Y.au G.e$_2$'. This is the name of the son mentioned in the previous section. This name would suggest the (modern) Chinese shape *Yao Ge* (characters unknown).

[21-1/5] 田屮爿伏 尔火朷 丙令 爿列出 圣 *hó.l.b.ñ aú.ui.en mo.t b.hu.án* TWO 'Milady Hó.l.b.ñ [had] two daughters'. The discussion now turns to 田屮爿伏 尔火 *hó.l.b.ñ aú.ui* 'Milady Hó.l.b.ñ', the second wife of the tomb

owner's fourth son. She had two daughters: 丙令 𘰾列出圣 *mo.t b.hu.án* TWO [20-7/9].

[21-6/8] 又 𘰾𘰾 尔火 GREAT *ên.s aú.ui* 'the elder one [was] Milady Ên.s'. This section identifies the elder daughter, 又 GREAT [7-23], of Milady Hó.l.b.ñ by the name 𘰾𘰾 *ên.s* and the title 尔火 *aú.ui* 'milady' [15-11].

[21-9/12] 𘰾化当 𘰾同 𘰾谷 尔火 *ci.ur.én ng.ing is.ï aú.ui* 'the second one [was] Milady Ng.ing Is.ï'. This section identifies the younger daughter, 𘰾化当 *ci.ur.én* 'second' (feminine) [1-19], of Milady Hó.l.b.ñ by the name 𘰾同 𘰾谷 *ng.ing is.ï* and the title 尔火 *aú.ui* 'milady' [15-11].

[21-13/22] 𘰾各火 雨仝 𘰾炎杏余矢 土比 仝𘰾火 𘰾业丰 令比 尘为生 乃 𘰾炎 *s.eng.un* 017.*or* 291.*oi.uni.qu.de* 066.*ii em.tum.un b.áng.ai t.ii* 356.*a.bu gi ci.oi.* In this section, only the block 𘰾各火 *s.eng.un* 'field marshal' [1-7] and the sequence 乃 𘰾炎 *gi ci.oi* 'did not write' or 'was not written' [9-13/14], with 𘰾炎 *ci.oi* = 𘰾公 *ci.er*, may be identified. However, with the list of family relations now concluded, this marks the beginning of the discussion of the tomb owner's life and activities.

[21-23/35, 22-1/8] 几 业反仝 丙炎 𘰾才 𘰾叉𘰾 𘰾 𘰾矢 𘰾九𘰾公 又亦令 𘰾𘰾尹矢 尘为生仝𘰾丰 万丰 𘰾幺𘰾 𘰾𘰾 𘰾东方为𘰾 目 业丙𘰾炎 炎卡 尔𘰾利 亦当 列平刈及 *ku p.o.or mo.oi* MOUNTAIN.*ia ci.ún.oi*$_2$ SEAL 164.*de x.zu.ge.er m.ün.s s.dz.* 158.*de* 356.*a.bu.d.l.ai* 003.*ai l.iá.ra* RECORD.*e pu.ad.al.a.iú* 316 *p.*023.*ra.oi ung.su aú.tum*^{x}*.en ün.én hu.ul.bú*$_2$*.u.* This is another long passage that remains without a translation. Identifiable elements include only: 几 *ku* 'man, person' [2-24], 业反仝 *p.o.or* 'became, was appointed' [5-21], and 𘰾 SEAL (here possibly:) 'etiquette'.

[22-9/10] 𘰾𘰾 州余𘰾 *eu.úr* SMALL.*qu.dú* 'at a young age'. Here, the block 𘰾𘰾 *eu.úr* means 'age' [12-13], while 州余𘰾 SMALL.*qu.dú* is a dative in 𘰾 *.dú* from 州余 SMALL.*qu* 'small, young' (masculine).

[22-11/13] 𗍫𗼻𗴂 𗴲 𗴳𗴴 *b.u.úr* 291 *po.do* 'at the time of [---]. This section contains the unambiguous block 𗴳𗴴 *po.do* '(at the) time (of)' (dative) [3-2], while the block 𗍫𗼻 𗴂 *b.u.úr*, though attested above [15-6], and the isolated character [291] 𗴲 remain unclear.

[22-14/22] 𗹦 𗵘𗾔 𗢳𗰗𗼃 𗵘𗰜𗹦 𗵘𗏁𗴲 𗆮 𗰗𗴺 𗆮𗼃𗵆𗼻 𗼃𗹦 *ai s.iang g.ung.en t.ad.ar t.ia.iú ii ui.ñ ho.a.an a.ai.* Here, the sequence 𗹦 𗵘𗾔 𗢳𗰗𗼃 *ai s.iang g.ung.en* 'father field marshal' (genitive) is likely to refer to the tomb owner's father, Chancellor B.y.én L.a Qa N.u, at the time when he in his career was functioning as a field marshal. The block 𗵘𗏁𗴲 *t.ia.iú* would seem to be a locative case form in 𗴲 *.iú* from the nominal stem 𗵘𗏁 *t.ia*, which Ji Shi (1996: 490), on the basis of an attestation in *Yelü Renxian* (line 41), has identified with the meaning 'enemy'. If this is so, the preceding block 𗵘𗰜𗹦 *t.ad.ar* is likely to stand for what it looks like: the name of the historical Tatar 韃靼 *Dada* (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 101-102), an ethnonym widely attested in Eurasia (Olbricht & Pinks 1980: 4-7 notes 1, 4-5, Tatár 2003). Another name used for the Tatar by the Khitan seems to have been 𗽕𗾞𗍊 *ci.bu.qó* ~ 𗽕𗾞 𗼇 *ci.bu.hu*, as in *Xiao Dilu* (line 27). The final block 𗼃𗹦 *a.ai* is a copula (converb), while the preceding block 𗆮𗼃𗵆 *ho.a.an* [5-28] might mean 'after'. The blocks 𗆮 𗴲𗴺 *ii ui.ñ* are obscure, though 𗴲𗴺 *ui.ñ* might be based on 𗴲 *ui* 'matter(s)' [3-4] (perhaps a genitive). Altogether, it is not impossible that the section means approximately: 'after the operations that his father, when he was a field marshal, had conducted against the Tatar enemies [---]'.

[22-23/25] 𗥃𗼃𗰗 𗵆 𗧓𗦳𗼃𗹦 025.*a.al* SOME *on.qu.a.ar.* With the exception of 𗵆 SOME (quantifier), the meaning of this section remains obscure.

[22-26/34] 𗍫 𗰗𗼃𗴑𗴦 𗍫𗴦𗵘 𗾞𗍊 𗼻𗹠 𗵘𗴑𗾔 𗥃𗹠𗍫 𗍫𗍫𗆮 𗾞𗰗 *e al.a.dz.oi u.úr.ún* RECORD.*g* GREAT.*iá.ah* 025.*l.u* SEVENTY°.*y* ONE.*u.ii ha.al.* Here, only 𗍫

e (probably:) 'this' and 𘰾𘰚 RECORD.*g* 'to record' (possibly in nominal use) may be identified. The numeral characters [301] 𘰚 SEVENTY° and [026] 𘰾 ONE in the sequence 𘰚𘰀 𘰾𘰓𘰴 SEVENTY°.*y* ONE.*u.ii* are probably being used in their phonetic values. The overall meaning remains obscure.

[23-1/6] 𘰋𘰛 𘰽 𘰇𘰵 𘰇𘰾 𘰚𘰓 𘰇𘰺𘰴𘰋𘰴𘰸 *ci.iú ui*$_2$ *s.iau s.iang g.ün t.em.l.ge*$_2$*.l.ún.* The final block 𘰇𘰺 𘰴𘰋𘰴𘰸 *t.em.l.ge*$_2$*.l.ún* means unambiguously '[he] was conferred [the title of]' (causative-passive finite past tense). Since 𘰇𘰾 𘰚𘰓 *s.iang g.ün* denotes the title 'general' [11-13/14], the preceding sequence 𘰋𘰛 𘰽 𘰇𘰵 *ci.iú ui*$_2$ *s.iau* must stand for the Chinese syllables 諸衛小 *zhu wei xiao*, as used in the title 諸衛小將軍 *zhuwei xiao jiangjun* 'minor general of the guards'. Incidentally, this confirms that the character [265] 𘰽 *ui*$_2$ functions as an allograph of [262] 𘰛 *ui* and [263] 𘰼 *ui*°, though it is possible that both [263] 𘰼 *ui*° (Kane 2009: 67 §2.263) and perhaps particularly [265] 𘰽 *ui*$_2$ were the preferred choice for writing the Liao Chinese syllable corresponding to modern *wei.* In practice, the calligraphic manifestations of the two variants [263] 𘰼 *ui*° and [265] 𘰽 *ui*$_2$ are not always easy to distinguish from each other. The whole section may, then, be translated as follows: 'he was conferred the title of minor general of the guards'. Apparently, this is a reference to the tomb owner himself.

[23-7/12] 𘰇𘰉𘰜 𘰞𘰁𘰚 𘰇𘰋 𘰚𘰲 𘰚𘰺𘰜𘰴𘰸 𘰓𘰃 𘰜 *s.eng.un* SMALL.*qu.dú s.en au.a ud*$_3$*.úr.l.ún b.*316*.de.* In this section, only the two blocks 𘰇𘰉𘰜 *s.eng.un* [1-7] and 𘰞𘰁𘰚 SMALL.*qu.dú* [22-10], may be identified, together meaning 'when the Field Marshal was young'. The block 𘰇𘰋 *s.en* can in some contexts mean 'long life', the equivalent of Chinese 壽 *shou*, but it can also stand for a name transcribed in Chinese as 義信 *Yixin* (Kane 2009: 104 §3.118). Its role in the present section remains unclear.

[23-13/19] 𘰇𘰀𘰋 𘰓𘰺𘰋𘰸 𘰚 𘰇𘰵𘰱𘰱 𘰓𘰁𘰺 𘰞𘰁𘰲 𘰾𘰲 𘰚𘰲 *t.ud*$_2$*.en b.üe.en.u* FORTY *t.ge*$_2$*.d.ii*

b.û.úr SOUTH:*ha.ar ho.a.an.* In this section, only the numeral 了 FORTY can be reliably identified. The block 扎为灭 *ho.a.an* might mean 'after' [5-28], but it could also stand for a Chinese syllable [12-9]. The block 小 丑木 SOUTH:*ha.ar* is possibly connected with 小 列 SOUTH:*hu* [5-18], which itself is ambiguous but seems to refer to either 'south' or 'the Diela tribe'. The overall meaning remains obscure.

[23-20/23] 父 爭分州丑为木 丁 半矢 HEAVEN *ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar* TWENTY *ai.de* 'in the twentieth year of Chongxi reign'. This is an unambiguous date, with the reign title 父 爭分州丑为木 HEAVEN *ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar*, also written 父 米州丑木 HEAVEN *udu.l.ha.ar*, corresponding to Chinese Chongxi 重熙 'Repeated Splendour' (1032-1055) (Kane 2009: 158 §4.49). The sequence 丁 半矢 TWENTY *ai.de* 'in the twentieth year' (dative) specifies the year as 1051.

[23-24/26] 与交 了 包矢 *eu.úr* FORTY THREE.*de* 'at the age of forty-three'. This section follows the same pattern of age expressions as [12-13/15] earlier, but with the numerals 了 FORTY and 包 THREE. Since it must be a question of the tomb owner, the implication is that he was 43 years old in the year Chongxi 20 (1051). In reality, however, since he was born in the year Tonghe 28 (1010), he can only have been 41-42 years old, depending on the way of counting. The discrepancy may be due to a mistake in the calculation, or it may reflect a special convention. The phrase should perhaps be understood as meaning: 'in his forty- third year of age'.

[23-27/30] 父 爭分州丑为木 主王 丑岑公 HEAVEN *ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar hong.di* RECORD.*ge.d* '[he was] recorded [by] Chongxi'. This section repeats the reign title 父 爭分州丑为木 HEAVEN *ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar* [23-20/21] together with the title 主王 *hong.di* 'emperor' [3-23]. The reference is to the person of the emperor, that is, Xingzong Huangdi Yelü Zongzhen 興宗皇帝耶律宗真 (1031-1055). The block 丑岑公 RECORD.*ge.d* must mean 'recorded' (form unidentified, but possibly a nominal plural). The implication of this and the

preceding sections must be: 'in the twentieth year of Chongxi reign, when he was forty-three years old, [his achievements] were recorded by Emperor Chongxi'. This may be a reference to some more specific imperial favour.

[23-31/34, 24-1] 𘰾𘰀𘰚 𘱇𘰷𘰀 𘰀𘰚 𘱇𘰴𘰽 𘰷𘰴𘰾𘰾 *ai.d.en b.qo.i em.en b.û.úr a.al.ha.ai.* Here, the blocks 𘰾𘰀𘰚 *ai.d.en* 'of the fathers' (plural genitive) [8-11], 𘱇𘰷𘰀 'child, son' (attributive) [13-14], and 𘰀𘰚 *em.en* 'of the region' (genitive) [11-22], may be identified, but their mutual connection is unclear. The block 𘱇𘰴𘰽 *b.û.úr* is also attested before [23-17], but its meaning remains unknown. The final block 𘰷𘰴𘰾𘰾 *a.al.ha.ai* (converb) could theoretically be based on a causative in 𘰴𘰾 *-l.ha* from the copula 𘰷 *a* 'to be', which would give it the meaning 'to make'. If so, a possible translation of this section could be: 'he was [put in charge of] his forefathers' childhood region'. This involves, of course, many uncertainties.

[24-2/7] 𘰽𘰼 𘰘𘰾𘰲 𘰜𘰴𘰾 𘰽𘰴𘰾𘰾 𘰽𘰴𘰾𘰴𘰾 *m.o* LI.*ha.ar xe.*356.*ún s.a.ha.al tau.su.ó.ui au.ui.* This section remains completely obscure with the exception of the block 𘰽𘰼 *m.o* 'big' [4-25].

[24-8/12] 𘰀𘰛 𘰼𘰽 𘰽 𘰱𘰀 𘰲𘰛𘰴𘰾 *s.uni* DAY.*i nai bai.d l.ge*$_2$*.al.ún.* The sequence 𘰀𘰛 𘰼𘰽 𘰽 *s.uni* DAY.*i nai* denotes the specific Khitan title 'night and day official', as also in *Xiao Dilu* (line 4). There are indications that this title may have been the Khitan equivalent of Chinese 起居舍人 *qiju sheren*, which was the title of a person in charge of recording the daily life of the emperor. The sequence 𘰱𘰀 𘰲𘰛𘰴𘰾 *bai.d l.ge*$_2$*.al.ún* is obscure but might also have a meaning close to 'was appointed to the position [of]'.

[24-13/21] 𘰀𘰁𘰜 𘰶𘰷 𘰼𘰼𘰾 𘰻𘰽 𘰲𘰼𘰾 𘰲𘰛𘰾𘰾 𘰲𘰛𘰾𘰷 𘰀𘰾𘰽 𘰾𘰽𘰾 𘰼𘰾𘰾𘰷 *s.eng.un* 305.*en o.o.ai li.xua hu.áng.de* 343.*bun bun.g.s ci.ún.én* 318.*ii.ge.y.* In this section, only 𘰀𘰁𘰜 *s.eng.un* 'field marshal' [1-7], here perhaps functioning as the subject, can be recognized.

[24-22/24] 𗼇 𗼇𗹦 𗽻𗾞 SIX MONTH.*s* *giu.ai* '[he] was appointed for [a period of] six months'. This may refer to some position mentioned in the previous section(s). The block 𗽻𗾞 *giu.ai* has been identified by Liu Fengzhu (& Tang Cailan & Chengel 2009: 490) as meaning 'was appointed' (converb), but its exact function as opposed to several other verbs meaning approximately the same is not known. The sequence 𗼇 𗼇𗹦 SIX MONTH.*s* seems to refer to the duration of the appointment. It may be noted that the noun 𗼇𗹦 MONTH.*s* incorporates the plural marker 𗹦 *.s* in combination with the preceding numeral. In this particular case, the plural marking is necessary because the sequence 𗼇 𗼇 SIX MONTH would mean 'the sixth month [of the year]'.

[24-25/28] 𗍫𗥤𗴲 𗱕 𗋕 𗥤𗏵子𗏴𗍊 *hu.áng.ci sï tu p.o.ju.b.ún* '[then he] became Minister Over the Masses [---]'. Here, the block 𗥤𗏵子𗏴𗍊 *p.o.ju.b.ún* (past participle), based on the same stem as 𗥤𗏵𗧓 *p.o.or* (finite past tense masculine) [5-21], functions as another expression for 'became, was appointed'. The sequence 𗱕 𗋕 *sï tu* stands for the Chinese title 司徒 *situ* 'minister over the masses', but the preceding block 𗍫𗥤𗴲 *hu.áng.ci* is obscure.

[24-29/31] 𗐯𗏴 𗾞 𗅋𗄊𗍫𗴲𗍊 *y.tum ai x.ui.ri.ge*$_2$*.ún* '[he] was transferred [---]'. The block 𗅋𗄊𗍫𗴲𗍊 *x.ui.ri.ge*$_2$*.ún* (past tense) is clearly based on the stem 𗅋𗄊𗍫𗴲 *x.ui.ri.ge*$_2$ [17-15], which seems to mean 'to be transferred'. The block 𗐯𗏴 *y.tum* is obscure, while 𗾞 *ai* can mean either 'father' or 'year'.

[24-32/37] 𗉘𗍯 𗦳平只𗄊 公关勺 令劳 主 业反𗧓 *ho.de mó.ul.û.ui n.i.gu t.*093 *hong*$_2$ *p.o.or.* In this section, only the blocks 公关勺 *n.i.gu* 'gold(en), yellow', 令劳 *t.*093 'southern, lower' (Kane 2009: 119 §3.199), and 业反𗧓 *p.o.or* 'became, was appointed' [5-21] can be recognized. Although the allographic relationship between the characters [328] 主 *hong*$_2$ and [075] 主 *hong* is not fully confirmed, the present context suggests that the sequence 公关勺 令劳 主

*n.i.gu t.*093 *hong*$_2$ denotes some additional title that was conferred to the tomb owner. On the other hand, the sequence 令 劝 主 *t.*093 *hong*$_2$ is also attested in *Xiao Dilu* (line 20) in the context of a prefectural name.

[25-1/3] 九 仉 刃 乂 火 仉 谷 丙 *g.ri gi x.ui.ri.ge.y* '[---] was not transferred'. Here, the verb 乂 火 仉 谷 丙 *x.ui.ri.ge.y* 'was transferred' (converb) [17-15] is preceded by what seems to be the negation particle 刃 *gi* [9-13]. The block 九 仉 *g.ri* is, however, obscure.

[25-4/8] 酒 犮 土 火 廿 爪 业 反 困 屮 爻 *ih ci.eu.un sï shï p.o.*304.*l.ún* '[he] became the Prefect of Yizhou Prefecture'. The block 业 反 困 屮 爻 *p.o.*304.*l.ún* 'became', also written 爿 反 困 屮 爻 *b.o.*304.*l.ún*, as in *Xiao Dilu* (line 29), represents the same verbal stem as 业 反 子 爿 爻 *p.o.ju.b.ún* id. [24-28] and 业 反 仝 *p.o.or* id. [24-37]. The exact functional differences between these forms, all of which occur as finite predicates, are unknown. The sequence 酒 犮 土 火 *ih ci.eu.un* (genitive) has not been attested earlier in Khitan Small Script inscriptions, but it clearly denotes a prefecture with the Chinese name *Yizhou*, implying most probably 懿州, located in the Eastern Capital Circuit (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 74, cf. also Matsui & Yanai & Inaba 1912: 20, 181). The title 廿 爪 *sï shï* = 刺史 *cishi* 'prefect', with no specifying prefix, represents the lowest of several ranks of prefectural leaders (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 65 note 31).

[25-9/10] 乂 仉 矢 乂 火 仉 炎 *i.ri.de x.ui.ri.oi.* The block 乂 仉 矢 *i.ri.de* is formally a dative case form in 矢 *.de* from the nominal stem 乂 仉 *i.ri* 'name, title'. However, as in *Xiao Dilu* (lines 6, 10, 21) it can possibly also represent a possessive adjective in the meaning 'having a name', or perhaps also 'famous'. The block 乂 火 仉 炎 *x.ui.ri.oi* must be a mistake for 乂 火 仉 谷 *x.ui.ri.er* (finite past tense masculine) and is based on the stem 乂 火 仉 *x.ui.ri*, a probable cognate of Mongolic **kür-* 'to arrive, to reach' and the base of the causative (causative-passive) form 乂 火 仉 谷

x.ui.ri.ge 'to be transferred' [17-15]. Irrespective of how 关仉矢 *i.ri.de* is to be analysed, the probable meaning of the section is: 'he became famous'.

[25-11/22] 公廾奕 爿丙乍当 尺平业丰 朱冬为出 反反 六女方关 叔比岔万 冏万 几只卡 令币 反冉 各矢 令久比 *n.ó.úr b.*023.*ra.én dau.ul.ha.ai ci.as.a.án o.o da*$_2$.TENT.*al.i k.ii.ge.y* 307.*y ku.û.su t.od.o.ón eng.li t.uh.ii.* In this long section, only the blocks 几只卡 *ku.û.su* (possibly:) 'favour' [4-18] and 令币反冉 *t.od.o.ón* 'fifth' (feminine) can be recognized. The overall meaning of the section remains obscure.

[25-23/28] 令亦关 戋平屮 伏廾奕 令余 攴关 业反 困屮爻 *t.ad.i tau.ul.bun ñ.ó.úr t.qu sh.i p.o.*304.*l.ún* '[he] became the Governor-General of the [---] tribe'. This section repeats the structure of [25-4/8] above. The sequence 令余 攴关 *t.qu sh.i*, also written 令欠 攴关 *t.qó sh.i* [11-17/18], is now known to stand for the Chinese title 度使 *dushi* 'governor-general'. Since the block 伏廾奕 *ñ.ó.úr*, also written 伏只奕 *ñ.û.úr* [5-19], means 'tribe', the sequence 令亦关 戋平屮 *t.ad.i tau.ul.bun* may represent the name or other specification of an actual tribe.

[25-29/32] 岔 尿禾 爿冬刘 令企炎 *e* MOUNTAIN.*is b.as.hu t.em.oi.* The character [348] 岔 *e*, when used alone, denotes the proximal stem for 'this'. The character [006] 尿 MOUNTAIN in 尿禾 MOUNTAIN.*is* is possibly being used in its semantic value, while 禾 *.is* might contain the plural marker †-*s*. The final block 令企炎 *t.em.oi* = (mistake for:) 令企公 *t.em.er* (finite past tense masculine) is based on the verb 令企 *t.em* 'to confer (a title), to appoint' and would formally seem to imply an active structure. The block 爿冬刘 *b.as.hu* may or may not be based on 爿冬 *b.as* 'again, then' > 'also' [11-10]. With many reservations, the section might, then, have the overall meaning: '[he was] also conferred [the right over] these mountains', though the reference and implications of the 'mountains' remain unclear.

[25-33/34, 26-1/2] [Khitan script] *t.iu.ji*$_3$*.y.én ün.én mó rí.oi*. Here, the block [Khitan script] *rí.oi* must be a mistake for [Khitan script] *rí.er*, which occurs in *Xu Wang* (line 32) and has been identified by Liu Fengzhu (& Tang Cailan & Chengel 2009: 489) as meaning 'gave, bestowed' (finite past tense masculine)'. The isolated character [191] [Khitan script] *mó* may or may not mean 'grandson' [9-29].

[26-3/9] [Khitan script] 436.*bun* 316 457.*ul.û.ui* NORTH:*d ju*$_3$.177.*n s.eng.un p.o.or* '[---] [he] became the Field Marshal of the Northern Jurchen'. The sequence [Khitan script] NORTH:*d ju*$_3$.177.*n s.eng.un* 'Field Marshal of the Northern Jurchen' denotes the same title as was once held by the tomb owner's father, Chancellor B.y.én L.a Qa N.u [11-38/39, 12-1], while the block [Khitan script] *p.o.or* means 'became' [5-21]. The initial part of the section remains obscure.

[26-10/31] [Khitan script] *ku.û.un am.l.ha.ai* 305 *aú.ur.û.ui ui ii.û.ui hó.ú s*.412.*oi*$_2$*.il.ha.ai* 307.*y ci.as.a ji*$_3$*.en ku ii.u.ul.g.en t.uh.t ün.de sh.ul.g.s.en ai.de mo*.108.*l.ge.y* 356.*a.bu.d* 356.*oi*$_2$ *g.ri x.ui.ri. ge.ñ*. This long section, which apparently deals with the tomb owner's activities, also remains without a translation. The few elements that can be identified include: [Khitan script] *ku* 'person' [2-24] : [Khitan script] *ku.û.un* (genitive) [4-6], [Khitan script] *ui* 'matter(s)' [3-4], [Khitan script] *ji*$_3$*.en* = [Khitan script] *ji.en* 'among' [4-24], [Khitan script] *ai.de* (probably:) 'father' (dative), and [Khitan script] *x.ui.ri.ge.ñ* from [Khitan script] *x.ui.ri.ge* 'to be transferred' [17-15]. Other previously attested, but unidentified, blocks are [Khitan script] 307.*y* [2-32] and [Khitan script] *g.ri* [25-1]. Since the overall meaning of the section is unknown, its grammatical structure is also obscure. However, at least some of the blocks ending in [Khitan script] *.ai* ~ [Khitan script] *.ui* ~ [Khitan script] *.y* are likely to stand for subordinated predicates

(converbs). On the other hand, the block 𐲰𐲲 356.oi_2 might also be a mistake for 𐲰𐲩 356.*er*.

[26-32/36, 27-1/4] 𐲦𐲱𐲦 𐲱𐲪𐲲 𐲱𐲪𐲲 𐲭𐲤𐲲𐲦 𐲪𐲤 𐲦𐲱𐲦 𐲱𐲪𐲲 𐲭𐲤 𐲦𐲱𐲦 𐲱𐲪𐲲 𐲭𐲤𐲲𐲦 *ho.y.ii y.qu.oi*$_2$ *z.a.eu.u ji*$_3$*.en* 048.*a* 227 194.*ñ* MANAGE.*i s.a.al.a.ai.* This is another obscure section, in which only 𐲪𐲤 *ji*$_3$*.en* 'among' [4-24] and 𐲭𐲩 MANAGE.*i* 'managed' (possibly converb) can be identified. It may be noted that the character [227] 𐲱 is often used alone, but it remains undeciphered except that there are suggestions that it might in some cases stand for the meaning 'appearance' (Kane 2009: 62 §2.227).

[27-5/11] 𐲭𐲫 𐲱𐲲 𐲰𐲲 □𐲰 𐲭𐲰 𐲱𐲲 𐲭𐲤𐲲𐲦 *l.ing g.ün ui*° [X].*úng s.iang g.ün t.em.l.ge.y* '[he] was conferred the title of [---] Commander General'. As the block 𐲭𐲤𐲲𐲦 *t.em.l.ge.y* means '(he) was conferred (the title of)' (causative-passive converb), the preceding section must stand for the title conferred. This is, however, a title not previously attested in Khitan Small Script documents. It is possible to distinguish the Chinese elements 𐲭𐲫 *l.ing* = 領 *ling* 'to command', 𐲱𐲲 *g.ün* = 軍 *jun* 'army', and 𐲭𐲰 𐲱𐲲 *s.iang g.ün* = 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general' [11-13/14]. Unfortunately, the first character in the block □𐲰 [X].*úng* has an irregular and possibly distorted form, which is why it cannot be reliably identified, leaving the exact phonetic value of the block uncertain. This, in turn, has an impact on how the character 𐲰𐲲 *ui*° = Chinese *wei* should be understood, and how the entire sequence should be segmented. One possibility is that this is a variant of the well-known Liao title 領軍衛大將軍 *ling junwei da jiangjun* 'grand general of the guards', also attested in the forms 左領軍衛上將軍 *zuo ling junwei shang jiangjun* and 右領軍衛上將軍 *you ling junwei shang jiangjun* 'supreme general of the left/right guards' (*Liaoshi*). On the other hand, □𐲰 [X].*úng* clearly has the character [357] 𐲰 *úng* as the second member, suggesting a Chinese syllable with the final *-ong* < *-ung* (Kane 2009: 249-

250 §7.21.10). A possible identification for the sequence 𘰾 □ 𘰺 *ui*° [X].*úng* could, then, be 威戎 *weirong* 'threatening the Western Barbarians', a concept commonly used during the Sui and Tang dynasties. The title 威戎將軍 *weirong jiangjun* is known from, at least, the Sui period. However, it does not seem to be attested in Liao period sources.

[27-12/16] 𘰽 𘰿 𘱀 𘱁 𘱂 𘱃 𘱄 𘱅 𘱆 *b.as* ONE *g.ri hu.*120.*en* 017.304.*l.ún.* Here, only 𘰽 𘰿 *b.as* 'again, then' [11-10] and 𘱀 ONE (unmarked feminine) can be identified. The block 𘱁 𘱂 *g.ri* is also attested above [25-1, 26-30]. The overall meaning remains obscure.

[27-17/19] 𘱇 𘱈 𘱉 𘱁 𘱂 𘱊 𘱋 𘱌 𘱍 *ci.ur.én g.ri x.ui.ri.x.y.* This section once again contains the unknown block 𘱁 𘱂 *g.ri* [27-14], this time in combination with the ordinal 𘱇 𘱈 𘱉 *ci.ur.én* 'second' (feminine) [1-19]. The final block 𘱊 𘱋 𘱌 𘱊 𘱍 *x.ui.ri.x.y* might be a mistake for 𘱊 𘱋 𘱌 𘱎 𘱍 *x.ui.ri.ge.y* 'was transferred' (converb) [25-3].

[27-20/24] 𘱏 𘱐 𘱇 𘱑 𘱒 𘱓 𘱔 𘱕 𘱖 𘱗 𘱘 l.û *ci.eu.un t.qu sh.i p.o.*304.*l.ún* '[he] became the Governor-General of Luzhou Prefecture'. This section follows the pattern of [25-4/8] above, except that the title is now 𘱓 𘱔 𘱕 𘱖 *t.qu sh.i* 'governor-general' [11-17/18], while the prefecture name is 𘱏 𘱐 𘱇 𘱑 *l.û ci.eu*, which most probably stands for 渌州 *Luzhou*, a large and important prefecture that was located in the Eastern Capital Circuit (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 70, cf. also Matsui & Yanai & Inaba 1912: 8-13). The name of this prefecture has not previously been attested in Khitan Small Script materials.

[27-25/30] 𘱙 𘱚 𘱛 𘱜 𘱝 𘱇 𘱑 𘱒 𘱓 𘱔 𘱕 𘱖 𘱗 𘱞 *mó.ul.û.ui ih ci.eu.un t.qu sh.i p.o.or* '[---] [he] became the Governor-General of Yizhou Prefecture'. The initial block 𘱙 𘱚 𘱛 𘱜 *mó.ul.û.ui* (perhaps a converb) [24-33] is obscure, but, judging by the context, it might have a temporal reference, possibly 'then', or 'after finishing (an assignment)'. Otherwise, this section is a repetition of the preceding section,

except that the prefecture is now again 𘲢 𘳿𘱈 *ih ci.eu* = probably 懿州 *Yizhou* [25-4/5], the same prefecture where the tomb owner had already served as a prefect.

[27-31/32] 𘴺𘵘 𘲤𘲤𘵘𘳿𘳾 *g.ri x.ui.ri.ge$_2$.ún* '[then he] was [---] transferred'. This section is a partial repetition of 𘴺𘵘 𘱏 𘲤𘲤𘵘𘳿𘲦 *g.ri gi x.ui.ri.ge.y* 'he was not [---] transferred' [25/1-3]. It may be noted that the obscure block 𘴺𘵘 *g.ri* often occurs in combination with the verb 𘲤𘲤𘵘𘳿 *x.ui.ri.ge* 'to be transferred', as also in [26-30/31, 27-18/19]. One possibility is that the combination 𘴺𘵘 𘲤𘲤𘵘𘳿 *g.ri x.ui.ri.ge* had been lexicalized to some specific meaning, such as, for instance, 'to be promoted'.

[27-33/37] 𘲢𘲦 𘲍 𘱏𘱈𘰾𘲌 𘲎𘲏𘲤 𘱈𘲦𘳾𘲎 *ii.de* FOUR° *ta.ha.ad.en s.eng.un p.o.or* '[then he] became the Field Marshal of the Four [---]'. This section repeats the verbal form 𘱈𘲦𘳾𘲎 *p.o.or* 'became, was appointed' [5-21] and the title 𘲎𘲏𘲤 *s.eng.un* 'field marshal' [1-7]. The combination of 𘲍 FOUR° (masculine) and 𘱏𘱈𘰾𘲌 *ta.ha.ad.en* (plural genitive) may perhaps be identified as the Khitan counterpart of Chinese 四帳 *sizhang* 'Four Tents', a term referring to the four principal lineages of the Liao imperial clan (Wittfogel & Fêng 1949: 438). The title 四帳都詳穩 *sizhang du xiangwen* 'field marshal of the four tents' is also attested in Chinese sources (*Liaoshi*). The block 𘲢𘲦 *ii.de* is obscure, but it might have a temporal meaning like 'then' or 'finally'. In any case, this seems to have been the highest position attained by the tomb owner during his active life.

[27-38/40] 𘴺𘵘 𘱏𘳀 𘲤𘲤𘵘𘳿𘲦 *g.ri gi.hu x.ui.ri.ge.y.* This section is almost identical with [25-1/3]. Since 𘱏 *gi* seems to indicate a negative particle, 𘱏𘳀 *gi.hu* might be a related form, and the whole section could perhaps mean: 'he was no longer transferred (to a new position)'.

[27-41, 28-1/2] 𘴺𘳿𘲎 𘲏𘲌 𘲦𘲧𘲍 *g.eu.un em.en o.ju.ún.* The sequence 𘴺𘳿𘲎 𘲏𘲌 *g.eu.un em.en*, which seems to mean 'of the region of G.eu', is also attested in *Xiao Dilu*

(line 15). It may be noted that 𐘀𐘁𐘂 *em.en* would seem to be a genitive in 𐘂 *.en* from 𐘀 *em* 'region' (possibly also: 'city'), but the reason for the use of the genitive here is unclear. The final block 𐘃𐘄𐘅 *o.ju.ún* would seem to mean 'was appointed (to)' [6-12], perhaps also: 'was presented (with)'. A possible implication might be that the tomb owner was presented with the feudal rights over a certain region. A possible translation could, then, be: 'he was presented with the rights over region of G.eu'. On the other hand, both in *Xiao Dilu* and in *Yelü Xiangwen*, the phrase 𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉 𐘀𐘁𐘂 *g.eu.un em.en* marks the culmination of the tomb owner's career. This might imply that the phrase has a meaning not connected with 𐘀 *em* 'region' at all.

[28-3/6] 𐘊𐘋 𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏 𐘐𐘑𐘎 𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗 *e i.ri.de g.ri x.ui.ri. ge.y* 'to this position he was promoted'. Here, at least, the verb 𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗 *x.ui.ri.ge.y* [25-3] would seem to have the meaning 'to be promoted'. The sequence 𐘊𐘋 𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏 *e i.ri.de* 'to this position' (literally: 'name') (dative) involves the singular counterpart of 𐘘 𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘙𐘚 *t i.ri.s.er* 'these titles' (instrumental) [12-2/3]. The use of the singular here might imply that the reference is to the position mentioned in the immediately preceding section.

[28-7/12] 𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟 𐘠 𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤 𐘥𐘦 𐘧 𐘨𐘟 *mó.ul. û.ui* GREAT *t.iu.ir is ai ju$_3$.un* '[---] in the summer of the ninth year of the Dakang reign'. This section contains a dating with the reign title 𐘠 𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤 GREAT *t.iu.ir*, the numeral 𐘥𐘦 *is* 'nine' [4-21], as well as the chronological terms 𐘧 *ai* 'year' [1-28] and 𐘨𐘟 *ju$_3$.un* 'summer' (Kane 2009: 119 §3.202). The reign title may be identified as equivalent to Chinese Dakang 大康 'Great Prosperity' (1075-1085) (Kane 2009: 158 §4.49), which means that it is a question of the year 1083 in the Gregorian calendar. The block 𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟 *mó.ul.û.ui* [27-25] might again have a temporal reference, perhaps 'then'. The noun 𐘨𐘟 *ju$_3$.un* 'summer' looks like an exact cognate of Mongolic **jun* id. It may be noted that this

stem has a final nasal both in Mongolic and in Khitan, although it is dropped in the Mongolic derivative **ju-sa-* 'to spend the summer'. By contrast, Khitan 𘓱 *po* 'time' [5-15], which is supposed to be a cognate of Mongolic **pon* 'year', has no trace of a final nasal. The reasons for this different representation of the two stems are unknown.

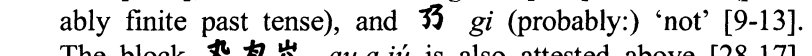
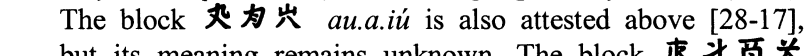
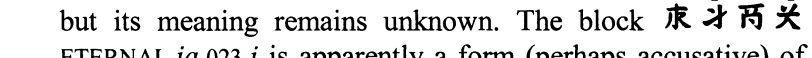
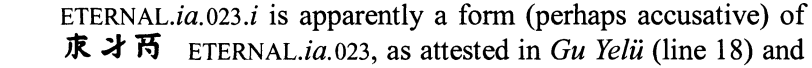
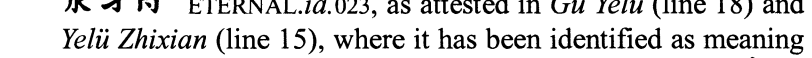
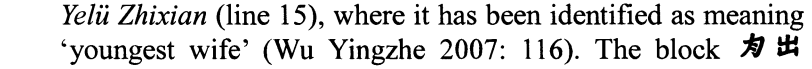
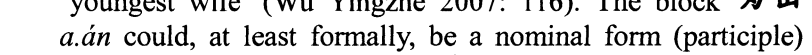
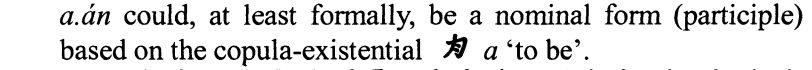
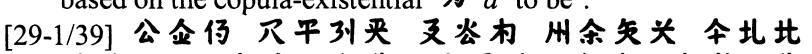
[28-13/16] 𘟙𘕕 𘓄 𘖵𘖘 𘍞𘐇𘟙𘐉 *eu.úr* SEVENTY *tau.de jau.ul.ha.ai* 'at the age of seventy-five'. This section, which refers to the tomb owner's old age, contains the regular formula for age expressions [12-13/15], with the non-dotted numeral characters [300] 𘓄 SEVENTY and [029] 𘖵 *tau* 'five' (dative). The final block 𘍞𘐇𘟙𘐉 *jau.ul.ha.ai* must represent a verbal predicate (converb) and might mean simply 'having come to [the age of]', as in *Xiao Dilu* (lines 15 and 21), or perhaps also: '[he] retired'. As above [23-24/26], there is a discrepancy in the chronological calculation. In the year Dakang 9 (1083) the tomb owner (born in 1010) would have been 73-74 years old, depending on the way of counting. Therefore, the section could perhaps also be translated: 'when he had reached his seventy-fifth year of age'.

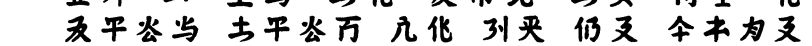
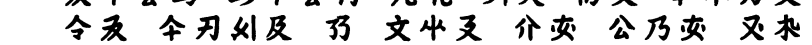
[28-17/18] 𘘽𘐣𘐴 𘕿𘐆𘖚 *au.a.iú* 212.*l.ún.* The meaning of these two blocks remains obscure. The latter block 𘕿𘐆𘖚 212.*l.ún* appears to stand for a finite verb (past tense), while the former block 𘘽𘐣𘐴 *au.a.iú* would formally seem to be in the locative case in 𘐣𘐴 *.a.iú.*

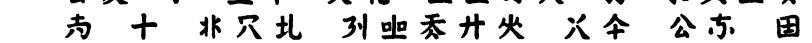
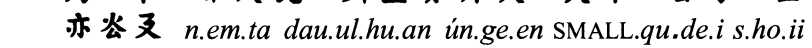
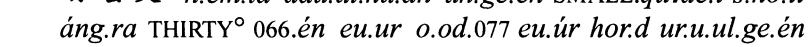
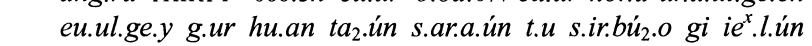
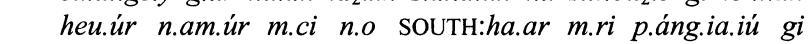
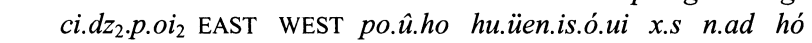
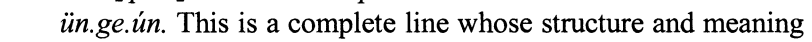
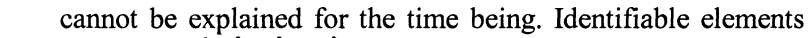
[28-19/20] 𘐀𘐋𘐴 𘍞𘐇𘟙𘐉 *s.eng.un jau.ul.*066*.ai.* The block 𘐀𘐋𘐴 *s.eng.un* 'field marshal' [1-7] is here followed by 𘍞𘐇𘟙𘐉 *jau.ul.*066*.ai*, which looks very much like 𘍞𘐇𘟙𘐉 *jau.ul.ha.ai* [28-16], though the characters [066] 𘟙 and [051] 𘟙 *ha* are normally not confused. Since 𘍞𘐇𘟙𘐉 *jau.ul.ha.ai* is often encountered in connection with age expressions, a very tentative translation of the current section might be: 'the Field Marshal grew old'.

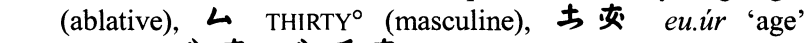
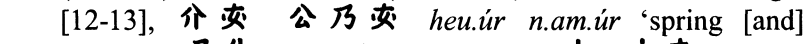
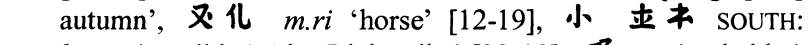
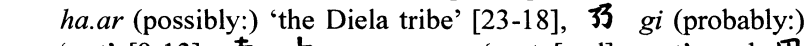
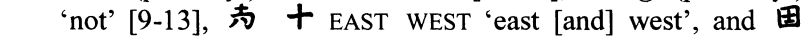
[28-21/42] 𘕿𘐏 𘐪 𘐇𘐉 𘐀𘟙 𘘽𘐣𘐴 𘐓𘐊 𘐏𘐆 𘟙𘖚 𘖵𘖚𘖚 𘐪𘐉 𘐇𘐉𘐣 𘐉𘐉𘐣 𘐉𘐉𘐣𘐴 𘐉𘐉𘐣𘐴

212.*én ri* 459.*she s.ha au.a.iú o.ón ji.en eu.uh* ONE.*uh.de g.iu ün.uni.oi*$_2$ *hó* 164 *hu.she.a m.hu.al ci.*299 ETERNAL.*ia.*023.*i* RECORD.*g.ún a.am.ñ a.án.de.i gi* 356. In this long section, only the following elements may be tentatively identified: *ji.en* 'among' [4-24], *hó* (possibly:) 'he' [3-10],  RECORD.*g.ún* '[was] recorded' (probably finite past tense), and *gi* (probably:) 'not' [9-13]. The block  *au.a.iú* is also attested above [28-17], but its meaning remains unknown. The block  ETERNAL.*ia.*023.*i* is apparently a form (perhaps accusative) of  ETERNAL.*ia.*023, as attested in *Gu Yelü* (line 18) and *Yelü Zhixian* (line 15), where it has been identified as meaning 'youngest wife' (Wu Yingzhe 2007: 116). The block  *a.án* could, at least formally, be a nominal form (participle) based on the copula-existential *a* 'to be'.

[29-1/39] 









n.em.ta dau.ul.hu.an ún.ge.en SMALL.*qu.de.i s.ho.ii áng.ra* THIRTY° 066.*én eu.ur o.od.*077 *eu.úr hor.d ur.u.ul.ge.én eu.ul.ge.y g.ur hu.an ta*$_2$*.ún s.ar.a.ún t.u s.ir.bú*$_2$*.o gi ie*^{x}*.l.ún heu.úr n.am.úr m.ci n.o* SOUTH:*ha.ar m.ri p.áng.ia.iú gi ci.dz*$_2$*.p.oi*$_2$ EAST WEST *po.û.ho hu.üen.is.ó.ui x.s n.ad hó ün.ge.ún.* This is a complete line whose structure and meaning cannot be explained for the time being. Identifiable elements include: SMALL.*qu.de.i* 'from young age' (ablative), THIRTY° (masculine), *eu.úr* 'age' [12-13],   *heu.úr n.am.úr* 'spring [and] autumn', *m.ri* 'horse' [12-19], SOUTH: *ha.ar* (possibly:) 'the Diela tribe' [23-18], *gi* (probably:) 'not' [9-13], EAST WEST 'east [and] west', and

hó (possibly:) 'he' [3-10]. The block *eu.ur* may or may not be equivalent to *eu.úr*: both shapes seem to be attested in the meaning 'age' in, for instance, *Xiao Dilu*. It is perhaps also possible, though less likely, that the block *g.ur* could be an orthographical variant of *g.úr* 'country'. Most interestingly, the present line contains the block *hu.üen.is.ó.ui*, which is also attested as what seems to be a tribal name in *Xiao Dilu* (line 7). Although the details are not understood, it seems that the line deals with the impact of the tomb owner's activities during his last years of life. It also has to be noted that the blocks *heu.úr* 'spring' and *n.am.úr* 'autumn' (Kane 2009: 119 §3.201, 84 §3.005) are diachronically important since they are exact cognates of Mongolic **kabur* resp. **namur.* It seems that these items originally contain the same Pre-Proto-Mongolic suffixal element **-BUr*, that is, **ka-BUr* resp. **na-BUr.* The intervocalic **-B-* was nasalized after a syllable beginning with a nasal consonant. The development **na-BUr* > **na-mur* is, thus, an innovation that is common to Khitan (Khitanic) and Proto-Mongolic and must, consequently, derive from their common Pre-Proto-Mongolic ancestor.

[30-1/27] *ta.i x.s.ge.l ün.e ci.ra.b.i* MANAGE.*i* FOUR *po.dz xe.*356.*i t.ge_2.l.oi.y ku.û.un hó t.ir.$bú_2$.u.ui* 318.*y ci.an hu.ar.e* MONTH.*s t.em.jï* SOUTH:*ha.ar dz_2.ui.oi au.a.iú* TEN *n.em.ai.s ir.i* ONE *x.zu.oi.gu gi y.eu.ur.ii.* This is another long section whose overall meaning remains obscure. Identifiable elements include the numerals FOUR, TEN, and ONE, as well as the blocks MANAGE.*i* 'managing' (converb), *ku.û.un* 'person' (genitive) [4-6], *hó* (possibly:) 'he' [3-10], MONTH.*s* 'months' (plural) [24-23], *t.em.jï* (possibly:) 'conferred' (converb)

[25-32], 小 丑 SOUTH:*ha.ar* (possibly:) 'the Diela tribe' [23-18], and 刃 *gi* (probably:) 'not' [9-13]. The unexplained block 丸 为 火 *au.a.iú* [28-17] is also present. The sequence 乇 非 为 FOUR *po.dz* has been identified as meaning 'the four seasons' (Kane 2009: 98 §3.079). Here, 非 为 *po.dz* seems to represent the plural form of 非 *po* 'time' [5-15], but the morphological structure is not clear, since the same stem has also the regular plural form 非 币 *po.od*, as used in the meaning 'hours' (ibid. 141 §4.18).

[30-28/35] 又 爭 分 反 肉 斥 丰 亦 艾 𠂉 尹 矢 GREAT *ú.dû.o.ón* SEVEN *ai* SIX MONTH THIRTY DAY.*de* 'on the thirtieth day of the sixth month of the seventh year of the Daan reign'. This section provides the date of the tomb owner's death. The elements are: 又 爭 分 反 肉 GREAT *ú.dû.o.ón* = Daan 大安 [6-22], 斥 SEVEN [2-1], 丰 *ai* 'year' [1-28], 亦 SIX [24-22], 艾 MONTH [2-2], 𠂉 THIRTY, and 尹 矢 DAY.*de* (dative) [2-5]. A minor problem is that the sixth lunar month of the seventh year of the Daan reign had only 29 days, not 30. The 29th day would correspond to the Gregorian date of July 24, 1091, so it may be assumed that the tomb owner died either on this or on the following day.

[30-36/39] 马 火 止 丰 舟 伏 止 当 仝 爻 𠂆 仝 矢 关 ju_3.*un p.ar.b.ñ p.úng.s.ún x.s.de.i.* Here, only the block 马 火 ju_3.*un* 'summer' [28-12] can be identified. It must be a question of a phrase that states the fact that the tomb owner's death took place in the summer.

[31-1/4] 土 交 ㄅ 圣 矢 为 交 中 *eu.úr* EIGHTY TWO.*de* *tu.úr.bun* '[he] died at the age of eighty-two'. This section follows the pattern of [12-13/15], with the numerals ㄅ EIGHTY and 圣 矢 TWO.*de* (dative) [7-22]. The character [449] ㄅ EIGHTY is a recently identified new character, also attested in *Liang Guo Wang* (line 18). The final block 为 交 中 *tu.úr.bun* stands for 'died' [12-22]. Since the tomb owner was born on August 28, 1010 [1-24/28, 2-1/6] he had, strictly speaking, not yet filled 81 when he died on July 24-25, 1091. This suggests a

discrepancy of two years, as also observed in two other sections above [23-24/26, 28-13/16]. Obviously, the author of *Yelü Xiangwen*, perhaps following an established principle among the Khitan, systematically added two years to a person's physical age, one year representing the year of birth and the other representing the year that was to come.

[31-5/21] 𘮩𘰾𘲭𘰚 𘳿𘲤 𘴰𘱱 𘵘𘮩𘲦𘴉 𘲍𘲤 𘲦𘳀 𘲍𘲤𘴰 𘴰𘲤𘲦 𘴰𘲤𘲦𘴰 𘲤𘳀𘲦 𘲤𘳀𘲦𘴰 𘲤𘳀𘲦𘴰 𘲤𘳀𘲦𘴰 *eu.ul.g.en* 017.*or x.s ci.ad.y.oi* MANAGE.*hu* RECORD.*e* ONE *hu.áng.de ri.l.ún n.iû.úr gi xe*.356.*u.ji*$_3$ *ku al.oi*$_2$ *b.hu.án t.od.ha.ar p.a.rí.l.hu.* Identifiable elements here include only: 𘲦𘳀 *gi* (probably:) 'not' [9-13], 𘲤𘳀 *ku* 'person' [2-24], 𘲍𘲤𘴰 *b.hu.án* 'children' [10-27]. The blocks 𘲍𘲤 MANAGE.*hu* and 𘳿𘲤 RECORD.*e* [2-25] may or may not denote words connected with their respective logographic meanings. The overall meaning remains obscure.

[31-22/38] 𘲦 𘵘𘲦 𘱱𘲭𘰾 𘲤𘲦 𘲦 𘲦𘲦𘲦 𘰾𘱱 𘱱𘲭 𘲦 𘲦𘲦 𘲭𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲦𘲦 HEAVEN *neu.e* MR.*a*.066 ETERNAL.*is* DAY MONTH.*de.i ii.û.ui.én m* 156.*u s.uni. de ci.ju s.û.e.ci ta x.s.de ul.ún ci.ge.l.ge.ci k.ii.û.ji*$_3$. Identifiable elements here include: 𘲦 𘵘𘲦 HEAVEN *neu.e* 'heaven and earth' [4-10/11], 𘲦 DAY [2-5], 𘲦𘲦 𘲦 MONTH.*de.i* (ablative) [2-2], 𘲦𘲦 𘲦 *s.uni.de* 'night' (dative) [24-8], and 𘲦𘲦𘲦 *k.ii.û.ji*$_3$, also written 𘲦𘲦𘲦 *k.ii.û.ji* '[is] called, [is] said' (perhaps a phrase-final particle with a quotative, evidential, or emphatic function). This section might deal with the circumstances of the tomb owner's death, but the overall meaning remains obscure.

[32-1/9] 𘲦𘲦 𘲤𘲦𘲦 𘲦 𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲦𘲦 𘲦𘲦𘲦 *ún.e p.a.ui.oi t.iu mu.u.ji*$_3$*.en eu.uni hó.d g.ui.i sh.iá.ah* COMPOSE.*a.án.* In this section, the final block 𘲦𘲦𘲦 COMPOSE.*a.án* would seem to mean 'was composed, was made', while the preceding sequence 𘲦𘲦𘲦

 *g.ui.i sh.iá.ah* must denote the object of the verb and is possibly the Khitan transcription of a Chinese bisyllabic word. A tentative identification might be 貴冊 *guice* 'tablet of honour'. The transcription of 貴 *gui* as *g.ui.i* is confirmed by the toponym Guide 貴德, as in *Xiao Dilu* (line 21), while 冊 *ce* ~ *chai* is also attested in the Khitan transcription *ci.ah* (Kane 2009: 245 §7.21.4). However, the sequence *sh.iá.ah* is also attested in other Khitan Small Script texts and might equally well represent some native Khitan word. Two other blocks that can be identified in this section are *ún.e* 'now; the present one' (Kane 2009: 109 §3.142) and *mu.u.ji*$_3$, also written *mu.u.ji*$_2$ or *mu.u.ji* 'sacred, holy' > 'emperor' (ibid. 114 §3.174), which together mean 'the present emperor' (here in the genitive). The blocks *p.a.ui.oi t.iu* may denote other attributes of the emperor, while the block *eu.uni* could perhaps stand for some category of official. Finally, the block *hó.d* (perhaps a dative case form) might be connected with *hó* 'he' [3-10]. Altogether, a tentative translation of this section would be: 'the present emperor's [official] composed a tablet of honour for him'. Of course, this translation involves many uncertainties that remain to be confirmed.

[32-10/17] *y.qu.oi*$_2$ BORN.*il.g.en ia.*LUCK 194.*ia t.ém.is* SOME 307.*y t.ge.én.* Here, the block *ia.*LUCK corresponds to what has also been analysed as the composite character [380] LUCK$_5$ 'luck, fortune, happiness' (Kane 2009: 81 §2.380), while the character [115] SOME probably functions as a quantifier. The blocks BORN.*il.g.en* and *t.ge.én* would seem to be participles from the verbal stems BORN.*il* 'to be born' [8-29] resp. *t.ge* 'to die' [12-23]. The blocks *y.qu.oi*$_2$ [26-33] and 307.*y* [2-32] are also attested previously in the current text, but their meaning remains obscure.

[32-18/33] 𘍏𘍐 𘍑𘍒𘍓𘍔 𘍕𘍖𘍗 𘍘𘍙𘍚 𘍛𘍜𘍝 𘍞𘍟𘍠 𘍡𘍢𘍣 𘍤𘍥𘍦 𘍧𘍨𘍩 𘍪𘍫𘍬 𘍭𘍮𘍯 𘍰𘍱𘍲 𘍳𘍴𘍵 𘍶𘍷𘍸 𘍹𘍺𘍻 *s.on p.od.u.ji iu rí.i dau.ul.u.ji*$_3$ *ci.eu.û.ul.ún giu.tum.b.ui k.ge.y ta.u* 156*.u.un s.tum mo.t* 320*.ún neu.e.en t.ul.ge.ii dz*$_2$*.eu.s.oi.* Here, identifiable elements include only: 𘍕 *iu* 'died' (negative existential) [14-26], 𘍘𘍙 *mo.t* 'women' (plural) [7-20], and 𘍶𘍷𘍸 *neu.e.en* 'earth' (genitive) [4-11]. The block 𘍘𘍗 *rí.i* has been attested earlier as an attribute with an apparently positive meaning [3-24, 8-3]. It may or may not be connected with the verb 𘍘 *rí* 'to give, to bestow', as attested in the block 𘍘𘍹 *rí.oi* = 𘍘𘍺 *rí.er* [26-2]. The overall meaning of the section remains obscure.

[32-34/40, 33-1] 𘍼𘍽 𘍾𘍿𘎀 𘎁𘎂𘎃 𘎄𘎅𘎆 𘎇𘎈𘎉 𘎊𘎋𘎌 𘎍𘎎𘎏 𘎐𘎑𘎒 *ai.d mo.t b.hu.án* MOUNTAIN*.o.od b.as hu.*MONTH*.u.un ci.i.is* MANAGE*.oi.* Identifiable elements include: 𘍼𘍽 *ai.d* 'fathers, males' (plural) [3-29], 𘍾𘍿𘎀 *mo.t* 'mothers, females' (plural) [7-20], 𘎁𘎂𘎃 *b.hu.án* 'children' (plural) [10-27], 𘎁𘎓 *b.as* 'again, then' > 'and' [11-10], as well as 𘎍𘎎𘎏 *ci.i.is* 'blood, blood relative'. The first three blocks together mean obviously 'sons and daughters', while the two unidentifiable blocks 𘎄𘎅𘎆 MOUNTAIN*.o.od* and 𘎇𘎈𘎉𘎊𘎋𘎌 *hu.*MONTH*.u.un* might denote some particular lineages or groups of other relatives. The final block 𘎐𘎑 MANAGE*.oi* is probably a mistake for 𘎐𘎔 MANAGE*.er* (finite past tense masculine) and means 'managed, administered'. The approximate implication of the section might be: '[the funeral arrangements] were administered by his sons and daughters as well as other relatives'.

[33-2/18] 𘎕𘎖𘎗𘎘𘎙𘎚 𘎛𘎜𘎝𘎞 𘎟𘎠𘎡 𘎢𘎣𘎤 𘎥𘎦𘎧 𘎨𘎩𘎪 𘎫𘎬𘎭 𘎮𘎯𘎰 𘎱𘎲𘎳 𘎴𘎵𘎶 𘎷𘎸𘎹 𘎺𘎻𘎼 𘎽𘎾𘎿 𘏀𘏁𘏂 𘏃𘏄𘏅 𘏆𘏇𘏈 𘏉𘏊𘏋 𘏌𘏍𘏎 𘏏𘏐𘏑 *l.iu.ui ir.i.a.ai* GREAT *xo.mú kú* SEAL*.oi*$_2$ *ci.i.is ñ.an b.as m.an s.en û.su.oi u.úr.û.l.ó.is x.ui m.ur.l.hu.a.ji* MOUNTAIN *au.li.ha.l.ha.ai.* This section probably continues the discussion concerning the

funeral arrangements for the tomb owner, but the meaning remains unknown. Among the few identifiable elements are: 𘲡𘳿𘳼 *ci.i.is* 'blood, blood relative' [32-40], 𘲢𘳾 *b.as* 'again, then' [11-10], and 𘳽𘲠 *s.en* (possibly:) 'long life' [23-9]. It is also likely that the characters and blocks 𘳿 GREAT 'big' (feminine) [7-23], 𘲣𘳻 SEAL.oi_2 = 𘲣𘳺 SEAL.*er* 'seal' > 'etiquette' (possibly instrumental), as well as 𘲟 MOUNTAIN 'mountain' ~ 'tomb', are used in their approximate logographic values.

[33-19/22] 𘲁𘲠𘲦𘲁 𘲦𘲤𘳽 𘳺 𘲃𘳺𘳹𘲇 *g.en.l.g l.iau.t* HEAVEN 156.*d.ge.y.* Here, the block 𘲁𘲠𘲦𘲁 *g.en.l.g* (probably a nominalized denominal verb) must be related to the well-known item 𘲁𘲠𘳿 *g.en.ún* 'sadness, grief, mourning', suggesting a meaning connected with 'sorrow'. The lone character 𘳺 HEAVEN [1-24] is probably being used in its logographic function.

[33-23/28] 𘲂 𘲧 𘲅 𘲫 𘲆 𘲬𘳻 *qi ai* TEN MONTH SIX DAY.*de* 'on the sixth day of the tenth month of that [same] year'. This is an unambiguous dating with the elements: 𘲂 *qi* 'that' [5-14], 𘲧 'year' [1-28], 𘲅 TEN [2-3], 𘲫 MONTH [2-2], 𘲆 SIX [24-22], and 𘲬𘳻 DAY.*de* (dative) [2-5]. It must be a question of the tomb owner's year of death, which yields the Gregorian date November 25, 1091. It seems that this was the date when the tomb owner's final burial took place, some four months after his death.

[33-29/41] 𘲫𘳑𘲈 𘲠𘲡𘲋 𘳽𘲢𘲎𘲠 𘲟𘳻 𘲇 𘲁𘲠 𘲡𘳾𘲉𘲠 𘳑𘲇 𘲫𘲦𘲉𘲦 𘲣𘲦𘲁𘳺 𘲡𘲧𘲈𘲠𘲢出 非朱 𘲆𘲢𘲧 𘳑子𘲢𘲧 TENT.*uh.ur a.al.hu t.ge*$_2$*.bú*$_2$*.u* MOUNTAIN.*de mo ku pu.is.ñ.en m.in ñ.l.û.ui n.ai.ri.a.ha.án po.do da*$_2$*.ha.ar o.ju.ha.ar.* This section concludes with the phrase 𘲆𘲢𘲧 𘳑子𘲢𘲧 *da*$_2$*.ha.ar o.ju.ha.ar* 'the coffin was closed' = 'he was buried' (Kane 2009: 55 §2. 171). Another recognizable sequence is 𘲇 𘲁𘲠 𘲡𘳾𘲉𘲠 𘳑𘲇 *mo ku pu.is.ñ.en m.in*, which must mean 'the tomb of his wife, the Lady', with 𘲇 𘲁𘲠 *mo ku* 'wife' [7-24/25], 𘲡𘳾𘲉𘲠

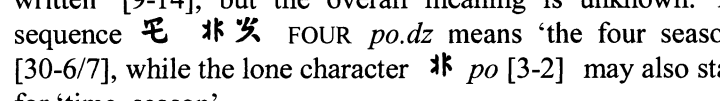
pu.is.ñ.en 'lady' (genitive) [13-26], and 又雨 *m.in* 'tomb' [5-7]. Since the character 尿 MOUNTAIN means basically 'mountain' (here in the dative) [33-17], the preceding block 令太刈汲 *t.ge$_2$.bú$_2$.u* might stand for the name of the mountain where the tomb was located. On the other hand, 尿 MOUNTAIN can also mean 'tomb', while 令太 *t.ge$_2$* is attested as the stem of the verb for 'to die' [5-13], suggesting that the sequence 令太刈汲 尿 *t.ge$_2$.bú$_2$.u* MOUNTAIN could perhaps mean 'burial mountain', or also 'tomb of burial'. The function of 北朱 *po.do* 'at [the] time' (dative) [3-2] remains unclear in this context. In any case, the implication of the sequence would seem to be that Field Marshal Yelü was buried at a place somehow connected with the tomb of his wife, Lady T.ie.ên.e, who, as we know, had died earlier [14-22/27]. A tentative partial translation could be: 'he was buried [in connection with] the tomb of his wife, the Lady'.

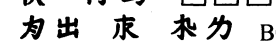
[34-1/2] 凡朴叉 凡朴叉爻 *g.en.ún g.en.ún.e* '[it is so] sad'. This seems to be a standard expression of grief, perhaps to be understood as an exclamation, based on a repetition of the block 凡朴叉 *g.en.ún* 'sadness, grief, mourning' (Kane 2009: 114 §3.175).

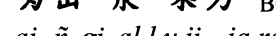
[34-3/11] 仍汲 尹 乂火关 刁布廾讷 八矢 令九 艾 为化屮关 犮炎 *ta.u* DAY *x.ui.i ia.ra.ó.ji$_3$* LI.*de s.ud$_3$* MONTH EAST.*ur.l.i ci.oi.* Although not a regular dating, this section contains the chronological terms 尹 DAY [2-5] and 艾 MONTH [2-2]. Another possibly identifiable block is 八矢 LI.*de* (dative), in which 八 LI could mean either 'Chinese mile' or 'place, area'. The final block is 犮炎 *ci.oi* = 犮爻 *ci.er* 'wrote, was written' [9-14], but its connection with the rest of section remains unclear.

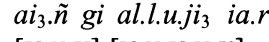
[34-12/22] 丑卅 乂讷 北 乍 北乞 令仕岔比朴 土平太爻 尿 乃 丐土化汲讷朴 犮炎 *giu.tum x.ji$_3$ po* FOUR *po.dz t.mu.ge.ii.en eu.ul.oi$_2$.e* MOUNTAIN *am*° *y.eu.ur.u.ji$_3$.en ci.oi.* Like the preceding section, this one also ends with the block 犮炎 *ci.oi* = 犮爻 *ci.er* 'wrote, was

written' [9-14], but the overall meaning is unknown. The sequence  FOUR *po.dz* means 'the four seasons' [30-6/7], while the lone character  *po* [3-2] may also stand for 'time, season'.

[34-23/44]  BORN.*il.g.en ci.û* 291 *p.o.*158.*ii m.y.il.ku ai*$_3$*.ñ gi al.l.u.ji*$_3$ *ia.ra* MR.*ia mo ci.ün* [X.X].*ñ* COMPOSE$_3$.*én* [X.X.X] [X.X.X.X.X] *gi hu.mú* [X.X].*ñ a.án* ETERNAL *ci.qo.* Due to the shallowness of the engraving, this section contains several illegible characters, and the overall meaning remains completely obscure. Identifiable elements include: BORN.*il.g.en* (possibly:) 'born' [32-11], COMPOSE$_3$.*én* (possibly:) 'composed', *gi* (probably:) 'not' [9-13],  *mo* 'female' [7-24],  *a.án* (possibly:) 'been' [28-40], and ETERNAL (probably used as a logograph).

[35-1/4]  *ci.û sh.en ñ.u gi.* The reference of these blocks is obscure. The three blocks *ci.û sh.en ñ.u* might represent the transcription of a Chinese name, possibly of the type *Zhu Shen Nu* (characters unknown), while *gi* may or may not indicate a negative particle [9-13]. The connection with the preceding and following sections also remains unclear.

[35-5/6]  *us.g t.gu* 'the scripture says'. In accordance with the general structure of Khitan epitaphs, there now seems to follow a more literary summary of the tomb owner's life. The block *t.gu* 'said' is used to introduce poetry sections, as in *Xiao Dilu* (line 42), though the present epitaph minimizes the use of actual poetry. The block *us.g* [9-22], on the other hand, means 'letter(s), character(s), script', hence also 'written text, scripture'. In the current case, this refers to the following proverb.

[35-7/10]  *ku* BORN.*i jau.en eu.úr.* This is clearly a four-element proverb-like expression with *ku*

'person, man' [2-24], BORN.*i* '[having been] born' (possibly a converb), 𘍿𘍞 *jau.en* 'hundred', 𘍠𘍿 *eu.úr* 'age' [12-13]. It is also obvious that the character 𘍞 BORN has here the dual meaning of Chinese 生 *sheng* 'to be born; life', as in *Xiao Dilu* (line 38), which makes the entire phrase equivalent to the Chinese quadrisyllable 人生百歲 *rensheng baisui* 'human life [is equal to] a hundred years'. The apparent implication is: 'a long life contains many events', a reference to the (by Khitan standards) exceptionally long life of the tomb owner. The formal structure of the phrase 𘍿𘍞 𘍠𘍿 *jau.en eu.úr* 'a hundred years' is notable, since the ending 𘍞 *.en* is not only identical with the regular genitive marker of nouns, but also reminiscent of the unstable */n* present in the corresponding Mongolic numeral stem **jaxu/n.* This has potential implications to Mongolic historical morphology.

[35-11/17] 𘍤𘍿 𘍥𘍢𘍧 𘍨𘍞𘍣𘍤 𘍦 𘍪𘍫𘍬 𘍭 *t.úr bú*$_2$*.u.ji*$_3$ 356*.a.bu.d.i* SEVENTY *zu.qi.û.ji* SOUTH *x.i.* This section possibly recounts the tomb owner's life, but the meaning remains obscure. Identifiable elements include only the two logograms 𘍦 SEVENTY (numeral) [28-14], and 𘍭 SOUTH 'south; tribe' [5-18].

[35-18/32] 𘍤𘍮𘍯 𘍩 𘍫𘍬𘍱 𘍲 𘍳𘍤 𘍨𘍞𘍯 𘍞𘍭 𘍮𘍭 𘍞𘍰𘍱 𘍫𘍬𘍳 𘍯 𘍴𘍵𘍶 𘍷𘍸𘍹𘍺 𘍻𘍼 𘍽𘍾 𘍿𘍤 𘍥𘍢𘍧 𘍻𘍼𘍞𘍣 *s.eng.un* THIRTY° 066*.l.ún* TWO *ai.s ge.a.oi a.án p.mu.*282 ETERNAL *k.ho.û.ji*$_3$ *húr.ú x.s.ge.l* [X]*.or co.do.û.ji*$_3$ *p.a.ar.ii.* Identifiable elements include: 𘍩 THIRTY° (masculine) [29-8], 𘍲 TWO [7-22], 𘍳𘍤 *ai.s* 'years' (plural) [14-24], 𘍫𘍬𘍳 *a.án* (possibly:) 'been' [28-40], 𘍯 ETERNAL [34-43], and 𘍻𘍼 *húr.ú* 'control, command' [1-25]. The overall meaning remains obscure.

[35-33/38] 𘍶 𘍷𘍸 𘍹𘍺 𘍻𘍼 𘍽𘍾 𘍿𘍤 ONE *hó.en ci.eu ia.*LUCK *rí.ñ mo.d*$_2$. Here, only 𘍶 ONE (numeral) [2-4], 𘍹𘍺 *ci.eu* 'prefecture' [25-5], and 𘍻𘍼 *ia.*LUCK 'luck, fortune, happiness' [32-12] may be identified with some certainty. The block 𘍽𘍾 *rí.ñ* is frequently attested in Khitan

Small Script inscriptions and may or may not be connected with the verbal stem [Khitan] *rí* 'to give, to bestow' [26-2]. The overall meaning of the section remains obscure.

[35-39/45] [Khitan] *s.eng.un l.bu ai.ur o.od.ii ung₂.a p.*MONTH.*ar* [X].*ur.* This section remains completely obscure with the exception of the block [Khitan] *s.eng.un* 'field marshal' [1-7].

[36-1/36] [Khitan] *mu.u.*[Ø.Ø] *qa.ha.iú ir.l.ge.y i.ri.s* 307.*y hó.l.bun eu.úr ci.ie.ên ta x.ui.d.l.ún b.hu.án* [X.X.X] [Ø.Ø] *sh.ha.ad.en ja.ri.ha.ar* [X.X].*oi ci.eu ia.*LUCK *x.s.ge.ud m.o k.ii.û.ji*₃ 320.*ún ún.e m.de x.ui.ri.en mo.*108.*l.ge.y* 356.*a.bu.d* MR *x.d b.eu.ji*₃ *ku.û.un hó.en.én hor.do.i* 066.*a.rí.l.hu ci.ie.*271.*ñ n.ai.ri.oi*₂*.ji*₃. In this complete line, exactly one third of the blocks (12 of 36) may be identified: [Khitan] = obviously: [Khitan] *mu.u.ji*₃*.en* 'sacred, holy' > 'present' (emperor) [32-4], [Khitan] *qa.ha.iú* 'emperor' (locative) [1-1], [Khitan] *i.ri.s* 'titles' (plural) [12-3], [Khitan] *eu.úr* 'age' [12-13], [Khitan] *ta* (possibly:) 'long (time)', [Khitan] *b.hu.án* 'children' [10-27], [Khitan] *ci.eu* 'prefecture' [25-5], [Khitan] *ia.*LUCK 'luck, fortune, happiness' [32-12], [Khitan] *m.o* 'big' [4-25], [Khitan] *k.ii.û.ji* '[is] called, [is] said' [31-38], [Khitan] *ún.e* 'now' [32-1], [Khitan] MR (title) [9-11], [Khitan] *ku.û.un* 'person' (genitive) [4-6]. The sequence [Khitan] *ci.eu ia.*LUCK [35-35/36] might also involve a fixed phrase with an unknown meaning. Moreover, it is possible that the block [Khitan] *x.ui.ri.en* is based on the verbal stem [Khitan] *x.ui.ri* 'to arrive' [25-10], while the block [Khitan] *ja.ri.ha.ar* (causative finite past tense masculine) might be connected with [Khitan] *ja.ri.qó* 'prime minister', though the

exact formal and semantic relationship is unclear. Also, the block 𘰾𘰀𘰽𘰾 356.*a.bu.d*, which precedes the title 𘰚 MR, might stand for a personal name. In general, there is no doubt that the discussion continues to be about the tomb owner's life. Even so, the structure and overall meaning of the line remains impossible to translate for the time being. The difficulties are increased by the fact that several characters and blocks are illegible or even completely lost.

[37-1/5] 𘰴 𘰇𘰀 𘰵𘰁 𘰇𘰁 𘰇𘰀𘰽𘰾 *ui* MOUNTAIN.*en m.o iúng m.hu.*282. Since the basic meaning of character [006] 𘰇𘰀 MOUNTAIN (here in the genitive) is 'mountain', the preceding 𘰴 *ui* might in this sequence stand for the name of an actual mountain. This allows the sequence 𘰇𘰁 𘰇𘰀𘰽𘰾 *m.o iúng m.hu.*282 to be tentatively connected with the Chinese oronym 老翁嶺 *Lao Weng Ling* (*Liaoshi*), which was the Liao name of a mountain ridge located in Qingzhou 慶州 Prefecture. This identification is based on the circumstance that 𘰇𘰁 *m.o* 'big' [4-25] can also mean 'old, eldest' = 老 *lao*, while the character [181] 𘰇 *iúng* could perhaps stand for a Khitan syllable transcribed in Chinese as 翁 *weng*. Otherwise, 𘰇 *iúng* is only attested in the block 𘰀𘰇 *l.iúng* 'dragon' [16-34], a transcription of Chinese 龍 *long*. It is normally assumed that this syllable had a palatal medial (**-i-*) in Liao Chinese, and that this medial was also present in the phonetic value of 𘰇 *iúng* (Kane 2009: 249-250 §7.21.10), but there seems to be no independent evidence in support of this assumption. In any case, if the above conclusions are correct, the block 𘰇𘰽𘰾 *m.hu.*282 would have to denote the Khitan equivalent of Chinese 嶺 *ling* 'mountain ridge'.

[37-6/25] □□□ ⬚⬚𘰴 𘰀𘰽 □□𘰽 𘰀𘰽𘰾 [X.X.X] [Ø.Ø].*ui p.ia.*[X.X].*ji*$_3$ *ku.û.un hó p.úr.s s.ên ri.eu.ai n.on.oi* DITTO *s.bu.ai ra.l.û.ji*$_3$ *x.ie.áng.ie ge.en.oi hor.do.u.*[X] *p.o.*158.*ii ii.a*

tau.su. ó.ul.hu 231.*bú*$_2$ *k.ii.û.ji*$_3$. This section contains several illegible or lost characters, and even some of the actual readings proposed above are somewhat uncertain. Identifiable elements include: 𘞙𘟀𘟂 *ku.û.un* 'person' (genitive) [4-6], 𘞴 *hó* (possibly:) 'he' [3-10], 𘟥𘟇𘟈 *p.úr.s* (possibly:) 'descendants' [6-18, 14-34], 𘟃𘟀𘟂 *n.on.oi* = probably a mistake for 𘟃𘟀𘟈 *n.on.er* 'generation' (perhaps an instrumental case form) [7-4], 𘟇 DITTO (marking the repetition of the preceding block), and 𘟈𘟤𘟀𘟊 *k.ii.û.ji* '[is] called, [is] said' [31-38]. The overall meaning remains obscure. Concerning the repetition symbol 𘟇 DITTO (Kane 2009: 81 §2.378) it may be noted that it corresponds to (and possibly derives from) Chinese 々 (marking the repetition of a character). Although it normally occurs alone, it can in some cases also function as the initial member of a block, as in 𘞙𘟂𘟄 𘟇𘟇 *g.en.ún* DITTO.*e*, which is attested in *Yelü Renxian* (line 70) as the equivalent of the more common 𘞙𘟂𘟄 𘞙𘟂𘟄𘟇 *g.en.ún g.en.ún.e* '[it is so] sad' [34-1/2].

[37-26/28] 𘟊𘟋 𘟥𘞙𘟅 𘟀𘟁 *b.as us.g.de t.gu* 'it is also said in the scripture'. This is a repetition of [35-5/6], with the exception that 𘟥𘞙𘟅 *us.g.de* 'scripture' is here in the dative case form. The block 𘟊𘟋 *b.as* means 'again, then' > 'also' [11-10]. The section implies that the following section contains a fixed phrase or quotation.

[37-29/35] 𘟦𘟁𘟂 𘟁𘟂𘟃 𘟁𘟀 𘟊𘟌𘟁𘟂 𘟊𘟌𘟃𘟂 𘟋𘟍 𘟊𘟃𘟂 RECORD.*a.án* COMPOSE.*a.án* COMPOSE.*t b.*TENT.*a sh.iá.ah b.hu.án ci.oi.* This section ends with the block 𘟋𘟍 *ci.oi* = 𘟋𘟀 *ci.er* 'wrote, was written' [9-14], which confirms that the preceding six blocks belong to the fixed phrase, perhaps a proverb, anticipated in the preceding section. It may be noted that three of the elements in this phrase rhyme: 𘟦𘟁𘟂 RECORD.*a.án* (possibly:) 'recorded, epitaph', 𘟁𘟀𘟂 COMPOSE.*a.án* 'composed', and 𘟊𘟌𘟃𘟂 *b.hu.án* 'children' [10-27], suggesting that it may be a question of a native Khitan saying. Unfortunately, the meaning of the

blocks 𗍫𗤁 𗥃𗼻𗰜 𗹦𘜶𗴲 COMPOSE.*t b.*TENT.*a sh.iá.ah* is not known. Tentatively, a translation like 'an epitaph is to be composed by the children [of the deceased]' may be proposed, but this remains, of course, unconfirmed.

[37-36/38] 𗴲 𗴼𗫂 𗏁𗤁𗍊 291 *x.zhi*$_2$ TEXT.*s.ii.* The meaning of this sequence remains obscure. The character [317] 𗏁 TEXT is normally attested in the block 𗏁𗤁 TEXT.*ú* 'text', as in *Xiao Dilu* (line 1), but its function in other contexts is unknown.

[37-39/40] 𗤁𗧓𗴺 𗤁𗰜𗥤 *s.eng.un s.a.ai.* This seems to be a repetition of [16-38/39], meaning 'when [he] held the rank of Field Marshal'.

[37-41/43, 38-1/6] 𗖵𗣫 𗰜𗎭 𗖵𗍫 𗤁𗧘 𗤁𗹦𗖵 𗟻𗱕𗤁 𗟻𗵆 𗂧𗍫 𗅋𗍊𗍫𗴺 *y.au a.án mo.er t.ud*$_3$ *s.hu.ji sh.eu.s sh.ia ún.ô*$_2$ *k.ii.ge.oi.* None of the blocks here can be reliably identified, though 𗰜𗎭 *a.án* could formally represent a copula [28-40]. On the other hand, 𗖵𗣫 𗰜𗎭 *y.au a.án* could also stand for a Chinese name of the type *Yao An* (characters unknown).

[38-7/17] 𗥃𗹦𗎭 𗟻𗱕𗴲 𗾞𗤶𗂧𗋕 𗐯𗶠𗐉 𗖵𗱕𗴲 𗍫𗋕𗴺 𗅋𗋕 𗹦𗍊𗍫 𗹦𗍊𗥃𗂧 𗅋𗍊𗋕 *b.hu.án sh.iá.ah p.ul.uh.ji*$_3$ *co.do.én* ETERNAL.*ñ sh.iá.ah n.en.oi ia.*LUCK *rí.l.hu hu.bu.b.u k.ii.ge.ji*$_3$. With the exception of 𗥃𗹦𗎭 *b.hu.án* 'children' [10-27] and 𗐉𗤁 *ia.*LUCK 'luck, fortune, happiness' [32-12], none of the blocks in this sequence can be reliably identified.

[38-18/23] 𗂧𗍊 𗾞𗱕𗍫𗤁𗥃𗾞 𗥃𗹦𗎭 𗅋𗰜 𗴲 𗾞𗾞 *ún.e ci.i.is.d.b.ci b.hu.án car°.a* MR *ci.ci* 'now his filial children Mr. Car°.a and others'. Here, all elements can be identified: 𗂧𗍊 *ún.e* 'now' [32-1], 𗾞𗱕𗍫𗤁𗥃𗾞 *ci.i. is.d.b.ci* 'filial', 𗥃𗹦𗎭 *b.hu.án* 'children' [10-27], 𗅋𗰜 𗴲 *car°.a* MR 'Mr. Car°.a' [15-4/5], 𗾞𗾞 *ci.ci* 'together with' = 'and others' [17-11]. The exact morphological structure of the block 𗾞𗱕𗍫𗤁𗥃𗾞 *ci.i.is.d.b.ci*, here translated as 'filial', is unclear, but it is obviously an item related to the well-known term 𗾞𗱕𗍫𗤁𗥃𗂧 *ci.i.is.d.b.ún* 'filial piety',

the equivalent of Chinese 孝 *xiao*. It may be recalled, that Mr. Car°.a was the tomb owner's second son and apparently the eldest male descendant present at the funeral, which is why it is natural that his name is mentioned here as the principal representative of the tomb owner's children.

[38-24/41] [Khitan script] *x.ie.ên hó ho.ci* MR.*al.ha.a.án* ETERNAL 156.*u.dú* GREAT *rí.ul.û.ún t.tum.ho.a.*TENT *bu* [X.X].*de ia.ra tum.û.úr pu.u* [X].*l.ge*$_2$.*y ci.*043.*eu.ri.ii ci.*[X] *b.iau.ún.* In this long section, only the logograms [Khitan script] ETERNAL and [Khitan script] GREAT, as well as the lone characters [Khitan script] *hó* (possibly:) 'he' [3-10] and [Khitan script] *bu* 'old (man)' [7-33] can be identified. The block [Khitan script] *pu.u* may or may not stand for a Chinese syllable like *pu fu* (character unknown). The block [Khitan script] *tum.û.úr* has been attested earlier [17-13] and might denote a name.

[39-1/9] [Khitan script] [ø] 227 *ra.u.un s.u.ji.en* [X.X].*oi* [ø.ø.ø.ø] [X.X].*us* [X].*a.án ci.oi.* This section initiates the last line of the base stone. The text on this line, especially in the upper left corner of the stone, is more seriously damaged than elsewhere, and the exact number of lost characters cannot be determined with certainty. The block boundaries are also difficult to establish in some cases. Under such conditions, only the block [Khitan script] *ci.oi* = [Khitan script] *ci.er* 'wrote, was written' [9-14] can be identified here.

[39-10/13] [Khitan script] *k.rí.y n.*[X].*en* RECORD.*g.én* COMPOSE.*i*. Here, the sequence [Khitan script] RECORD.*g.én* COMPOSE.*i* would seem to mean 'a record was composed', with [Khitan script] RECORD.*g.én* [8-17] functioning as a nominal object and [Khitan script] COMPOSE.*i* as a subordinated predicate (converb).

[39-14/37] [Khitan script]

丙坐村 金村 犭 尔化 汉火 犭 令金丙 为半 口夫 只火 丙与业亏 业几夫 *x.ur.úr* 227 *x.zu.ge.y ún.e* 307.*y gi hu.áng hu.an.ém* MANAGE.TENT.*oi ci.i.is.en ui.oi*$_2$ 230.*l.ñ mo.d*$_2$*.en em.en gi aú.ur u.ui gi t.em.y a.ai qi.oi*$_2$ *û.ui y.eu.ha.al* RECORD.*g.oi*$_2$. In this section, the following elements can be identified: 又劣 *ún.e* 'now' [32-1], 犭 *gi* (probably:) 'not' [9-13], 朴关丞村 *ci.i.is.en* 'blood, blood relative' (genitive) [32-40], 火夫 *ui.oi*$_2$ = (probably:) 火公 *ui.er* 'matter(s)' (instrumental) [3-4], 金村 *em.en* 'region' (genitive) [11-22], 令金丙 *t.em.y* 'conferred' (converb) [25-32], 为半 *a.ai* 'being' (converb) [6-2], 口夫 *qi.oi*$_2$ = (probably:) 口公 *qi.er* 'that' (instrumental) [5-14], 业几夫 RECORD.*g.oi*$_2$ = (probably:) 业几公 RECORD.*g.er* 'recorded' (finite past tense masculine) [1-9]. The block 丙与业亏 *y.eu.ha.al* might mean 'became' (converb), as in *Xiao Dilu* (line 20). The overall meaning remains obscure.

[39-38/39] 业几与 令勺 RECORD.*g.én*$_2$ *t.gu* 'the text says'. The block 业几与 RECORD.*g.én*$_2$ functions here as a noun as above in [39-12], while 令勺 *t.gu* [35-6] would seem to introduce a quotation, the meaning of which (in the following section) is, unfortunately, not fully understood.

[39-40/47] 业劣 只公 刃丙比 公尔 □□ 仉几村 □□□ □□ RECORD.*e û.n ir.y.ii n.on* [X.X] *ri.g.en* [X.X.X] [X.X]. These are the last few blocks of text on the base stone, which again contain several illegible characters, making it difficult to determine the location of the last block boundary on the basis of this evidence alone. The same text is, however, repeated on the first line of the cover stone [40-3/10], which yields a full reading. As far as only the present section is considered, the following elements can be identified: 业劣 RECORD.*e* (possibly:) 'famous' [2-25, 4-26], 只公 *û.n* = *yuyue* 'counsel' (genitive) [8-6], 公尔 *n.on* 'generation' [7-4], and 仉几村 *ri.g.en* = *yilijin* 'tribal chieftain' [3-9]. This means that there are apparently two tribal titles here, *yuyue* and *yilijin*, which might refer to the tomb owner's

fourth-generation ancestor and his two brothers, who had these titles. Obviously, the present section summarizes the illustrious origins of the tomb owner.

3.2. THE COVER STONE

As already mentioned above, the size of the characters and also the distances between the lines on the base stone of *Yelü Xiangwen* become increasingly reduced towards the end of the text. By contrast, the text on the cover stone is engraved in exceptionally large, evenly-sized, and generally clear characters. The 8 lines of actual text and the final line containing a date fill only the right half of the stone surface, leaving the rest empty.

[40-1/10] 𘰾𘰀𘰴 𘰽𘰇 𘰾𘱃 𘰀𘰴 𘰾𘱅𘰇 RECORD.*g.én t.gu* RECORD.*e û.n ir.y.ii n.on* MANAGE.*hu ri.g.en n.i.gu go:oi.* As can be seen, this is an exact repetition of [39-38/47] of the last line of the base stone. The repetition is probably accidental, though we do not know the circumstances behind it. Perhaps, seeing that the space on the base stone was finished, the scribe decided to re-use this particular section as an introduction to the remaining lines on the cover stone. It is also possible that the scribe was not happy with the result on the base stone, as the last few blocks, unclear as they are, may have contained scribal errors from the beginning. In any case, the phrase 𘰾𘰀𘰴 𘰽𘰇 RECORD.*g.én t.gu* is normally used to introduce a separate section of poetry, as in *Xiao Dilu* (line 42). In the case of *Yelü Xiangwen*, however, the text that follows does not seem to be poetic in form, though it may be a question of a fixed phrase with a literary connotation. The present section allows also those elements that were illegible on the preceding line to be Romanized. These include: 𘰀𘰴 𘰽𘰇 *n.i.gu* 'gold(en), yellow' and 𘰾𘰀 𘰽𘰇 *go:oi* = 𘰾𘰀 𘰽𘰇 *go:er* 'tent, house, household' [6-29], as well as 𘰾𘰀𘰴 MANAGE.*hu.* The latter might represent some positive attribute similar to 𘰾𘰀𘰴

 RECORD.*e* (possibly:) 'famous', though it might also stand for a meaning connected with the logographic value of the character [142]  MANAGE. Indicentally, the two characters are attested together in the sequence  MANAGE.*hu* RECORD.*e* [31-9/10]. The sequence    *n.i.gu go:er* 'golden tent' apparently also represents a poetic reference to some positive concept, which, unfortunately, cannot be identified. The same concept is present in the sequence  GOLD *go:t* (dative), as attested in *Xuanyi Aice* (line 16). Due to the many uncertainties it is impossible to establish a reliable translation for the section, though the principal elements would seem to be: 'the generation of the [famous] counsel', 'the [---] tribal judge', as well as 'the golden tent'. The block *n.on* might, however, also have a meaning other than 'generation', perhaps 'descendant'.

[40-11/14]    *t.ge*$_2$*.oi*$_2$ *nai l.ie.ên.ñ s.eng.un* 'Field Marshal L.ie.ên.ñ, the leader, has died'. This section, corresponding to a finite clause, begins interestingly with the predicate   *t.ge*$_2$*.oi*$_2$ =   *t.ge*$_2$*.er* '[has] died' (finite past tense masculine) [5-13]. The subject is    *l.ie.ên.ñ s.eng.un* 'Field Marshal L.ie.ên.ñ' [1-6/7], preceded by the apposition  *nai* 'head' > 'leader, official' [5-30].

[40-15/18]     *e s.a.ad.i* BORN.*i aû.oi*$_2$ 'he was born of this [place]'. Judging by the context, the sequence   BORN.*i aû.oi*$_2$ would seem to mean 'he was born', but the grammatical construction remains to be explained. Possibly,   BORN.*i* [35-8] is a converb in *.i*, though it might also be an accusative in *.i* from a nominalized verb. In either case,   *aû.oi*$_2$ =   *aû.er* is a finite form (past tense masculine) and might mean 'to take', yielding the meaning 'he took his birth'. If this conclusion is correct, the stem *aû* would be an obvious cognate of Mongolic **ab*- 'to take'. As the lone character *e* stands for the pronoun 'this' [22-26], the following block

仐为亣关 *s.a.ad.i* must denote a noun in what would seem to be an ablative form in †-*di*, orthographically 亣关 *.ad.i*, a positional variant of the more commonly attested sequence 矢关 *.de.i*. The stem 仐为 *s.a* would seem to mean some kind of 'place' and might be connected with the verbal stem 仐为 *s.a* 'to hold an office' [16-39]. The general implication of the section remains unclear: possibly, it means 'he was born from this official background', but there are also other possibilities. It happens that an almost identical sequence is attested in *Yongqing Gongzhu* (line 28), which has: 夯 仐为亣关 佃万关 号公 e_2 *s.a.ad.i* BORN.*y.i* *aû.er*. The difference between the spellings 佃关 BORN.*i* and 佃万关 BORN.*y.i* is potentially important and is probably connected with some segmental feature of the underlying verbal stem 佃 BORN, the phonetic shape of which is unknown.

[40-19/22, 41-1/10] 令丬冇芬 圠大 乏 小 公及 币叐 村仐冇芬 令丙刃 丙炎 丬未仐 仐岁予朾 迖矢关 业平夂 万本 *t.l.b.e ho.*ud_2 *tau* SOUTH *n.o od.u ci.s.b.e t.iu.ir mo.oi l.she.ú s.dz.*158*.en* SOME*.de.i p.ul.uh* 003*.ar.* This is probably a section corresponding to a finite clause, since the final block 万本 003*.ar* would seem be in a finite form (past tense masculine), though its meaning is not known. Identifiable elements include: 乏 *tau* 'five' [6-9], 小 SOUTH 'tribe' [5-18], 公及 *n.o* (possibly:) 'spouse', and 业平夂 *p.ul.uh* 'more, excess, extra' [2-27]. Obviously, the sequence 乏 小 *tau* SOUTH means 'five tribes', but it is unclear whether this implies the same entity as 乏火 叐化 小 *tau.un u.ur* SOUTH 'Five Divisions' [7-14/16] or something different. Assuming that 迖矢关 SOME*.de.i* is an ablative form from the quantifier 迖 SOME [2-30], the sequence 迖矢关 业平夂 SOME*.de.i p.ul.uh* might mean 'more than many', that is, 'superior to many others' = 'outstanding'. The block 令丙刃 *t.iu.ir* is identical with the second element in the reign title 又 令丙刃 GREAT *t.iu.ir* 'Great Prosperity' [28-8/9], while 丬未仐 *l.she.ú* must be

equivalent to 𗼻𗴢𗥃 *l.she.u* 'sadness, grief, mourning, lament', as in *Xiao Dilu* (lines 35, 38, 46, 50). The overall meaning of the section remains obscure, though it is clearly a question of the rituals performed by the family members in connection with the tomb owner's funeral.

[41-11/17, 42-1-4] 𗼻𗍊𗢳 𗈪𗏁𗂧𗅋𗧓 𗱕𗐯𗅋 𗋕𗍫𗼻𗼻 𗴢𗈪𗧓𗱕𗱕𗴢 𗅋𗍊𗅋 𗋕𗍫𗼻𗼻 𗴢𗈪𗧓𗱕𗱕𗴢 *l.iá.ra s.*SMALL.*ô*$_2$*.ui.oi*$_2$ *b.e.oi ho.*396 *ci.i.is.d.b.ñ x.s.ge.ud* 356*.a.bu.d.l.ha.ai* 320*.bú*$_2$*.u y.eu.ha.al.ci a.eu ci.oi*$_2$. In this section, identifiable elements are only: 𗴢𗅋𗧓𗱕𗱕𗴢 *ci.i.is.d.b.ñ* 'filial piety', also attested as 𗴢𗅋𗧓𗱕𗱕𗴢 *ci.i.is.d.b.ún*, and 𗴢𗼻 *ci.oi* = 𗴢𗱕 *ci.er* 'wrote, was written' [9-14]. Also, the block 𗍫𗈪𗥃𗏁𗴢 *y.eu.ha.al.ci* (perhaps a double converb) is obviously connected with the previously attested 𗍫𗈪𗥃𗏁 *y.eu.ha.al* (possibly:) 'became' [39-36].

[42-5/6] 𗅋𗋕 𗍫𗼻𗋕𗱕𗴢 *i.ri x.ui.ri.b.ún* 'fame arrived'. This must be a phrase more or less equivalent to 𗅋𗋕𗧓 𗍫𗼻𗋕𗼻 *i.ri.de x.ui.ri.oi* [25-9/10], which has been tentatively translated as 'he became famous'. The block 𗍫𗼻𗋕 𗱕𗴢 *x.ui.ri.b.ún*, like also the block 𗴢𗅋𗧓𗱕𗱕𗴢 *ci.i.is.d.b.ñ* [41-15], may be identified as a finitely used nominal form of a verb (Kane 2009: 147 §4.33).

[42-7/12] 𗍫𗗙𗴢 𗥃𗏴𗧓 𗰗 𗐯 𗱕𗹦𗼻 𗉘 𗴢𗱕 *dau.úr.ún p.*EAST*.de* SOUTH:*en b.hu.án* THREE° *ci.er* 'three sons of the middle [---] tribe wrote [---]'. The block 𗍫𗗙𗴢 *dau.úr.ún*, related to 𗍫𗍊 *dau.dû* [1-4], is well attested in the meaning 'middle', while 𗰗 𗐯 SOUTH:*en* (genitive) must here mean 'tribe' or also 'lineage' [13-8]. Altogether, the section must refer to the lineage 'of the emperor's middle uncles of the horizontal tents' [1-1/5], to which the tomb owner and his descendants belonged. Both the character 𗉘 THREE° (dotted for marked masculine) [3-28] and the block 𗴢𗱕 *ci.er* 'wrote, was written' (finite past tense masculine) [9-14] indicate that the block 𗱕𗹦𗼻 *b.hu.án* 'children' [10-27]

means here ‘sons’. The reference is probably to the tomb owner’s three younger sons who, as it seems, were present at the funeral, the eldest son having died earlier without descendants. The implication of [Khitan] *ci.er* ‘wrote’, lacking an overt object, is not immediately clear in this context , and it cannot be ruled out that this frequently attested verb has also some other meaning.

[42-13/18, 43-1] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] *xe.ri.e hó* MR.*eu.ha.a.án ta t.ir.bú*$_2$*.u.dú x.s.ge.ud ja.ri.ha.ar.* In this section, only the lone characters [Khitan] *hó* (possibly:) ‘he’ [3-10] and [Khitan] *ta* (possibly:) ‘long (time) [36-9] can be tentatively identified. Also, the block [Khitan] *ja.ri.ha.ar* [36-15] might be related to [Khitan] *ja.ri.qó* ‘prime minister’.

[43-2/14] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] *hó.l.b.ñ mo.oi g.en.ún.e t.od.ha.ar û.ô*$_2$*.l.u.am° l.she.ú x.ui.ri ci.ju.en p.ra ô*$_2$*.ur.hó s.aû.oi l.bu.qu t.ge*$_2$*.l.ún.* Identifiable elements in this section include: [Khitan] *g.en.ún.e* ’sad’ [34-2] (form unidentified), [Khitan] *l.she.ú* ’mourning’ [41-6], [Khitan] *x.ui.ri* ‘arrived’ (perhaps a converb in †*-i*, though the suffix is not orthographically segmentable) [25-10], and [Khitan] *t.ge*$_2$*. l.ún* ‘died’ (past tense) [5-13]. The block [Khitan] *hó.l.b.ñ* [16-26] is previously attested as the name of Milady Hó.l.b.ñ, the second wife of Grand Guardian T.ing.ñ Dau.ul.ó.o.ho, the fourth son of the tomb owner. This suggests that the block [Khitan] *mo.oi*, probably a mistake for [Khitan] *mo.er*, at least in this case, is connected with the noun [Khitan] *mo* ‘female, woman, mother’, or also ‘madame’ [7-32]. The implication may be that Milady Hó.l.b.ñ was present at the funeral, but the overall meaning remains obscure.

[43-15/18, 44-1/19] [Khitan]

𐼷𐼰𐼰 𐼰𐼰𐼰 SEVENTY.*en ün.e uni.qu.ji hó.eu úr.oi*$_2$ *jau.en yo b.qo p.*SMALL.*l.ha.ai ui giu úr.u* 305.*a.án* 316 SOUTH *s.en û.su cu.ji eu.ul da.ha.ar ñ.an b.as do.ci.* This is another long section whose overall meaning remains obscure. Apparently, it is a question of poetic language with little factual information content. Identifiable elements include: 𐼰𐼰 *jau.en* 'hundred' (genitive or attributive) [35-9], 𐼷𐼰 *b.qo* 'child' [8-4], 𐼰 *ui* 'matter(s)' [3-4], 𐼰 SOUTH (here probably:) 'tribe, lineage' [13-8], 𐼰𐼰 *s.en* (possibly:) 'long life' [23-9], 𐼰𐼰 *eu.ul* 'cloud', and 𐼷𐼰 *b.as* 'again, then' [11-10]. The block 𐼰𐼰𐼰 *da.ha.ar* or 𐼰𐼰𐼰 *da*$_2$*.ha.ar*, is often attested in the sequence 𐼰𐼰𐼰 𐼰𐼰𐼰 *da*$_2$*.ha.ar o.ju.ha.ar* 'he was buried', but its exact meaning and form, including even part of speech (noun or verb), remain unclear.

[44-20/21] 𐼰𐼰 𐼰𐼰 *p.ul.u p.ul.ún.e.* This is clearly a repetitive structure reminiscent of 𐼰𐼰 𐼰𐼰 *g.en.ún g.en.ún.e* '[it is so] sad' [34-1/2]. In the present section the base might be 𐼰𐼰 *p.ul.uh* 'more, excess, extra' [2-27], but the difference in the spelling makes this somewhat uncertain. The overall meaning is also unclear.

[44-22/27, 45-1/2] 𐼰 𐼰𐼰 GREAT *ú.dû.o.ón* SEVEN ai TEN MONTH SIX DAY '[on] the sixth day of the tenth month of the seventh year of the GREAT Ú.dû.o.ón reign period'. As already known from an earlier section [33-23/28], this is the lunar calendar date of the tomb owner's funeral. In the present section, the character 𐼰 DAY lacks the dative marker 𐼰 *.de.*

[45-3/6] 𐼰𐼰 𐼰𐼰 𐼰𐼰 RECORD.*e s.ai.en n.ai.ri.ha.án po.* This is another chronological expression, with 𐼰 *po* 'time' [3-2]. In fact, the sequence 𐼰𐼰 𐼰𐼰 *n.ai.ri.ha.án po.do* (dative) is attested earlier [33-38/39] in reference to the time of the final burial. Formally, 𐼰𐼰 *n.ai.ri.ha.án* looks like a participle from the causative stem 𐼰𐼰 *n.ai.ri.ha.* The corresponding non-causative stem 𐼰𐼰 *n.ai.ri* is also attested, as in

𘰾𘰽𘰿𘱀𘱁 *n.ai.ri.én* [14-18], but its meaning remains unknown. Another previously attested element is 𘱂𘱃 RECORD.*e* (possibly:) 'famous' [2-25, 4-26]

[45-7/14] 𘰾𘰿 𘰽𘱃𘱄𘱅 𘱆𘰸𘱄 𘰾𘱇 𘱈𘱉𘱃 𘰾𘱇 𘱈𘱉𘱃 𘱊𘱋 *n.o pu.is.ñ.en a.am.ñ n.ra ci.i.is ci.eu* GREAT *xo.mú.oi*$_2$. This section also recalls the earlier one [33-29/41], in which the tomb owner's burial is discussed in the context of his wife's tomb, possibly suggesting that he was buried in the same tomb as his wife, who had died earlier. The combination 𘰾𘰿 𘰽𘱃𘱄𘱅 [---] 𘰾𘱇 *n.o pu.is.ñ.en* [---] *n.ra* 'the tomb of his spouse, the Lady', with 𘰾𘰿 *n.o* 'spouse' [41-1] and 𘰾𘱇 *n.ra* 'tomb' [1-8], is analogous to the earlier 𘰻 𘰼 𘰽𘱃𘱄𘱅 𘰺𘰹 *mo ku pu.is.ñ.en m.in* 'the tomb of his wife, the Lady' [33-33/36]. Other identifiable elements include 𘱈𘱉𘱃 *ci.i.is* 'blood, blood relative' [32-40] and 𘱊𘱋 *ci.eu* 'prefecture' [25-5]. The sequence 𘱈𘱉𘱃 𘱊𘱋 *ci.i.is ci.eu* is, however, likely to have some specific meaning, since it is also elsewhere attested in discussions concerning burials, as in *Xiao Dilu* (line 39). The sequence 𘰺𘰹 𘱌𘱍𘱎𘱏 GREAT *xo.mú.oi*$_2$ = 𘰺𘰹 𘱌𘱍𘱎𘱐 GREAT *xo.mú.er* has been identified as meaning 'coffin of an emperor' (Kane 2009: 87 §3.019), but its meaning in the present section is ambiguous: it could imply a direct connection with an imperial tomb, since the tomb owner's wife had been of imperial descent, but it might perhaps also function as a general honorific expression for 'coffin'.

[45-15/16] 𘱑𘱒𘱓 𘱑𘱒𘰾𘰼 COMPOSE$_2$.*ge*$_2$.*y* COMPOSE$_2$.*ge*$_2$.*l.g.* This is another repetitive construction, in which the character [310] 𘱑 COMPOSE$_2$ is probably being used in its logographic function. The exact meaning of the phrase and its connection with the preceding and/or following sections are, however, unclear.

[45-17/23] 𘱔𘱕𘱖 𘱗 𘱖𘱘 八 𘱖𘱙𘱚𘱛 𘱕𘱜 𘱝𘱞𘱟 LI *s.úr.ud.en eu.ul g.e.*356. In this section, only 八 LI (possibly:) 'place, area' [34-7] and 𘱕𘱜

eu.ul 'cloud' [44-15] can be identified. The character [321] 𐲢 *yo* is typically attested in the blocks 𐲢𐲦 *yo.u* ~ 𐲢𐲪 *yo.iú* 'black' (Kane 2009: 73 §2.321, 85 §3.009), which suggests that 𐲢 *yo*, when used alone, as also in [44-3], functions as a logograph for 'black'. This cannot be confirmed, however, and the reading †*yo*, as incorporated in the Romanization, is also somewhat preliminary, since it is only based on the fact that the Khitan word for 'black' is transcribed in Chinese sources as 姚 *yao*. Bao Yuzhu (2006) has pointed out that the sequence 𐲢𐲯𐲭 *yo.ha.ai* seems to denote a place name transcribed in Chinese as 霞瀨益 *Xialaiyi*, but the implications of this observation remain controversial. A complicating factor is also that the distinction between the characters [321] 𐲢 *yo* and [320] 𐲣 (undeciphered) is not always easy to make. The formal similarity of 𐲢 and 𐲣 with the Chinese character 由 *you* is probably of no consequence here.

[46-1/4] 𐲤 𐲢 𐲫𐲰 𐲯𐲱𐲧 HEAVEN *yo hu.ho p.od*.356.*i* 'the heavenly [black] bird went back'. In this section, the lone character 𐲢 *yo* [45-18] is preceded by 𐲤 HEAVEN [1-24] and followed by 𐲫𐲰 *hu.ho* 'crow' ~ 'bird', suggesting the translation 'heavenly black bird', though the meaning of 𐲢 *yo* remains somewhat uncertain. In any case, this is a previously unattested mythological concept whose exact implications remain unknown for the time being. An analogous sequence well-known from earlier research is 𐲩 𐲫𐲰 GOLD° *hu.ho* 'golden bird' = 金烏 *jinwu* (Kane 2009: 90 §3.033). The final block 𐲯𐲱𐲧 *p.od*.356.*i* is clearly connected with the stem 𐲯𐲱 *p.od* 'to return, to go back' (Kane 2009: 114 §3.171). The formal structure of 𐲯𐲱𐲧 *p.od*.356.*i* and its relationship to the regular converbial form 𐲯𐲱𐲦 *p.od.i* 'returning' is, however, unclear.

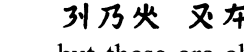
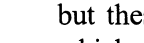
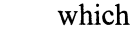
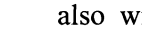
[46-5/11] 𐲬 𐲭 𐲮 𐲵𐲶 𐲷 𐲸 𐲹𐲺 EAST WEST $hong_2$ 050.*il* NORTH SOUTH DAY.*oi*. The listing of the characters 𐲬 EAST, 𐲭 WEST, 𐲷 NORTH, and 𐲸 SOUTH probably functions as some kind of reference to the universe, but the

exact implication is unknown. The block 𘤪𘥣 DAY.*oi* must be a mistake for 𘤪𘤽 DAY.*er* (instrumental). The sequence 𘥤 𘥦𘤷 *hong*$_2$ 050.*il* remains obscure.

[46-12/21] 𘤷𘤽𘤪𘤲 𘤸𘥡𘤿 𘥤𘥦 𘤷𘥦 𘤷𘤪𘤽 𘤪𘤲 𘤷𘤪 𘤲𘤪 *bi.d.u.ji m.in.i p.li ho.ci b.*291 *t.oi*$_2$*.b.u* MOUNTAIN *us.g.en* RECORD.*g.s.ii a.án.* Identifiable elements include: 𘤸𘥡𘤿 *m.in.i* 'tomb' (attributive) [5-7], 𘤲 MOUNTAIN 'mountain' ~ 'tomb' [33-17], 𘤪𘤲 𘤪𘤷 *us.g.en* 'letter(s), character(s), script' (genitive) [9-22], 𘥤𘤪𘤽𘤲 RECORD.*g.s.ii* 'having recorded' (converb) [9-32], and 𘤪𘤷 *a.án* (possibly:) 'been' [28-40]. The block 𘤽𘤽 𘤷𘤪 *t.oi*$_2$*.b.u* might stand for the name of a mountain. The overall meaning remains obscure.

[46-22/23, 47-1/2] 𘤽𘤷𘤪 𘤴𘤪𘥣 𘤽𘤲𘤽𘤪 𘤴𘤲𘤴 *s.ri.g car°.a.iú* CHIEF.*hu.s.g a.eu.hu.* In this sequence, as far as it is correctly delimited, only the block 𘤴𘤪𘥣 *car°.a.iú* may be identified as a locative form in 𘥣 *.iú* from 𘤴𘤪 *car°.a* [15-4], the name of the tomb owner's second son. Obviously, he was leading the funeral arrangements and may have been the principal author of the epitaph, though it is not unambiguously mentioned in the text.

[47-3/11] 𘤲 𘤹 𘤫 𘥤𘥦 𘤽𘥦𘤹 𘤲𘤹𘤽 𘤲𘤹𘤪𘤷 𘤷𘤪𘤷 𘤽𘤷 𘤲𘤹𘤪𘤷 𘤽𘤷𘤪𘤷 𘤷𘤪 ETERNAL *ming* MYRIAD *p.on n.on.de.hu hó.l.b.ñ tum.u.úr hu.am.ui m.ra.* Here, it is immediately possible to identify the lone characters 𘤲 ETERNAL [34-43], 𘤹 *ming* 'thousand', and 𘤫 MYRIAD [6-4]. In addition, 𘥤𘥦 *p.on* possibly stands for the genitive of 𘤽𘤷 *po* 'time' > 'era, season', while 𘤲𘤹𘤽𘤷 *n.on.de.hu* would seem be a nominativized dative of 𘤲𘤹 *n.on* 'generation' [7-4]. The suffixal complex 𘤽𘤷 *.de.hu* is probably identical with the elements 𘤸𘤷 *.d.hu* and 𘤲𘤪𘤷 *-d.o.ho*, as attested in ordinal numerals of the type 𘤽𘤸𘤷 *is.d.hu* 'ninth' resp. 𘤽𘤲𘤪𘤷 *t.od.o.ho* 'fifth', and it might also correspond to the Mongolic complex suffix **-DA-ki.* The meaning of the blocks in the sequence 𘤲𘤽𘤷𘤪 𘤷𘤪𘤽

 *hó.l.b.ñ tum.u.úr hu.am.ui m.ra* is not known, but these are all likely to denote auspicious concepts, among which  *hó.l.b.ñ* [16-26] and  *tum.u.úr*, also written  *tum.u.úr* [17-13], have been attested earlier as personal names. Although we cannot translate the latter part of the section, the overall meaning may perhaps be approximated as something like: 'may there be eternal [auspicious circumstances] during [future] generations of a thousand myriads of eras'.

[48-1/8]  GREAT *ú.dû.o.ón* SEVEN *ai* TEN MONTH TWO DAY '[on] the second day of the tenth month of the GREAT Ú.dû.o.ón reign period'. This date corresponds to the Gregorian date November 21, 1091, and precedes the previously given date [44-22/27, 45-1/2] by four days. Apparently, one of the dates refers to the actual funeral service, while the other may refer to the writing and/or completion of the epitaph text. If so, the present section probably indicates the date of writing.

3.3. PARTIAL TRANSLATION

The translatable parts of *Yelü Xiangwen* are presented below as a single running text comprising the contents of both the base stone and the cover stone. As in the case of *Xiao Dilu*, large sections of the epitaph remain beyond translation. Even so, the logical structure of the text is relatively unambiguous and may be divided into the following principal passages:

(i) an introduction, supplying the name of the tomb owner and presenting the author of the epitaph; the latter's identity remains, however, somewhat obscure;

(ii) a renewed presentation of the tomb owner's full names and his date of birth;

(iii) a lengthy discussion of the origins and activities of the tomb owner's fourth-generation ancestor;

(iv) a shorter discussion of the activities of the tomb owner's third-generation ancestor;

(v) another short discussion of the activities of the tomb owner's grandfather;

(vi) a general presentation of the tomb owner's father, his brothers, and his elder son;

(vii) a detailed discussion of the activities and achievements of the tomb owner's father;

(viii) a presentation of the two wives of the tomb owner's father;

(ix) a specification of the tomb owner's mother, as well as a presentation of his own wife;

(x) a presentation of the tomb owner's four sons and their wives;

(xi) a presentation of the tomb owner's three daughters and their husbands;

(xii) a presentation of the children of the tomb owner's three surviving sons;

(xiii) a detailed discussion of the tomb owner's activities and achievements during his active life;

(xiv) a discussion of the tomb owner's old age, death, and of the funeral arrangements for him;

(xv) a lament with literary quotations in honour of the tomb owner;

(xvi) a date, probably corresponding to the date of completion of the epitaph.

(i) Epitaph, together with a preface, at the tomb of Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] L.ie.ên.ñ [*Lianning*] of the emperor's middle uncles of the Horizontal Tents. Written by [a person from the clan] of the other uncles [*Xiao*].

(ii) The second name of the Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] was L.ie.ên.ñ [*Lianning*]. His first name was Hu.a.án. He was born on the eleventh day of the seventh month of the twenty-eighth year of the HEAVEN Hur.u [*Tianhe*] reign.

(iii) His forefather of the fourth generation was Counsel [*yu-yue*] Sh.ho.ha.a.án Sh.il.u [*Shulan Shilu*], who was granted [---].

[He had the title of] Prince of the State of Sui [*Sui Guo Wang*]. [He was] the middle one among three brothers. [---] He managed the country's affairs at the time of emperors [---]. His elder brother was Tribal Chieftain [*yilijin*] Ñ.mú.qu [*Yanmu*] [---]. His younger brother was Tribal Chieftain [*yilijin*] S.ar.ha.ad.ñ [*Saladi*] [---]. [The latter] was the [---] father of D.y S.ú [*Dezu*], the Heavenly Golden Emperor. The three fathers [---]. [---] of the travelling palace [*nabo*] of Khan X.de G.ñ^{x} [*Hendejin*] [---]. [---] ruled with the assistance of Heaven and Earth. [Then] the great man died. Counsel [*yuyue*] B.g.ñ [*Abaojin*] [---]. The country celebrated. [---] At that time the Heavenly Emperor became the chieftain of the Diela tribe and generally managed the affairs of the state. After the death of the emperor [*Hendejin*], several leaders, with Hor.u [*Helu*] functioning as the head [---] appointed him [in a ceremony of] accession [---] [and] he was enthroned emperor. The [---] lineages of the three fathers [---] [lived at first] peacefully side by side but were [then] separated and became the Horizontal Tents.

(iv) His forefather of the third generation was Prince [*wang*] L.au.qu.ñ To$_2$.li. After the Diela tribe had become divided, he was appointed the chieftain of the Five Divisions [*wuyuan*] of the Diela. He had two wives. His elder wife was Madame TWO.271.ñ. His second wife was Madame Hor.ó.uni [*Heluen*].

(v) His grandfather was Military Governor [*tongjun*] Sh.i. HEAVEN.ñ. He was a son of Madame Horouni [*Heluen*] and the younger brother of Counsel [*yuyue*] S.un.ñ [*Xunning Xiuge*]. The army of the fathers [---]. His wife was Lady A.an. She was the daughter of Tribal Judge [*yilibi*] 091.o.ón of the Four Tribes.

(vi) His own father was Chancellor [*xianggong*] B.y.én [*Beiye*] L.a Qa N.u [*Luo Han Nu*]. He was the third one among four brothers. His eldest brother was Mr. Ong L.iu [*Wang Liu*], who did not have [descendants]. His second eldest brother was Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] Go.n.m, whose [memorial inscription] was composed in the Khitan and Chinese scripts. [---] [descendants] were not recorded. His younger brother was Chief Supervisor [*dujian*] Ng.u L.iu [*Wu Liu*] [---]. [Military exploits] [by an imperial

edict] [---] were composed [---]. The first son of elder brother Chancellor [*xianggong*] B.y.én [*Beiye*] was Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] Qa.hu.a [*Hege*]. [He remained in charge of his parental home. He had several children and grandchildren.]

(vii) During the time of the previous emperor [*xianhong*] Chancellor [*xianggong*] B.y.én [*Beiye*] [was granted a favour]. [---] [In the capacity of a] general [*jiangjun*] [he was appointed] the Governor-General [*dushi*] of the Sh.au.a.TENT [*Shaowa*] tribe. [In the capacity of a] Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] [he was appointed] the Governor-General [*dushi*] of the Eu.ul region. [Additionally he had the rank of] Academician [*linya*] of the Northern Division [*Beiyuan*]. He assisted the Chief Palace Superintendent [*dianjian*]. [He was also] the Governor-General [*dushi*] of the U.ul.i [*Aoli*] tribe [and] the Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] of the Northern Jurchen. With [all] these titles he was rewarded. His military exploits were much written about. In the [---] war of Ho.a.an Ci.iau, at the age of sixty-seven, while riding on horseback, he was killed in action. After he had died he was conferred the posthumous title of Chancellor [*xianggong*].

(viii) He had two wives. His elder wife was Lady [*furen*] P.i G.e [*Pige*]. His second wife was Lady [*furen*] Sh.l G.e [*Xialage*]. They were an elder sister and a younger sister of the same parents. They were grandchildren of Tribal Judge [*yilibi*] 091.o.ón.

(ix) Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] L.ie.ên.ñ [*Lianning*] was the son of Lady [*furen*] Sh.l G.e [*Xialage*], the second wife of Chancellor [*xianggong*] B.y.én [*Beiye*]. His wife was Lady T.ie.ên.e. She was the daughter of Imperial Son-in-Law [*fuma*] M.ri.g.ún $L.an_2$ S.iu and Princess [*gongzhu*] Ca.ang G.e [*Changge*]. [---] She passed away during the years of HEAVEN t.ud [*Xianyong*].

(x) He had four sons. The eldest son was Mr. Qa.ha.an, who did not have [descendants]. The second son was Mr. Hu.TENT.u.uni Car°.a [---], whose wife was Milady Y.304.qu, the daughter of Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] M.ri.g.ún Du.ung G.e. She died a long time ago. The third son was General [*jiangjun*] $T.ud_2$.ñ Hu.TENT.u, whose wife was Milady B.ETERNAL.l.ha.án, the daughter of Field Marshal

[*xiangwen*] Qa.an G.ia N.u [*Han Jia Nu*] of [---] Emperor's Household. The fourth son was Grand Guardian [*taibao*] T.ing.ñ Dau.ul.ó.o.ho, who had two wives. The elder wife was Milady G.il.g, who was the daughter of Court Attendant [*shali*] Hu.TENT.qu of the junior tents of the maternal uncles of the other clan [*Guojiu Biebu Xiao Wengzhang*]. She died long ago. The second wife was Milady Hó.l.b.ñ [*Eliben*], who was the daughter of Supreme General of the Dragon and Tiger Guards [*longhu wei shang jiangjun*] X.iu G.e [*Xiuge*] of the [clan of the] prime ministers of the maternal uncles [*Xiao*]. When the father was holding the rank of field marshal [*xiangwen*], he [---]. [---] that was given as a favour to the father [---].

(xi) He also had three daughters. The eldest daughter was Milady T.ud$_2$, who was given in marriage to S.bu.ha.ar of the house of Tribal Judge [*yilibi*] T.hu.a.án of the Four Tribes. The second daughter was Lady [*furen*] P.úr.b.ñ, who was given in marriage to Grand Commandant [*taiwei*] Pu.su.û.er [*Pusuli*], the son of Grand Preceptor [*taishi*] Eu.g.ñ.uh Pú.u of the Five Divisions [*Wuyuan*]. The third daughter was Lady [*furen*] Pú.u, who was given in marriage to Military Governor [*tongjun*] B.u.en N.u [*Pen Nu*] of the Qi.ii.ñ [*Xi*] Emperor's household.

(xii) Mr. Car°.a and Milady Y.304.qu had four sons. The eldest one was Court Attendant [*shali*] Ja.ang N.u [*Zhang Nu*]. When his grandfather was holding the rank of field marshal [*xiangwen*], he was granted a favour. The second one was Court Attendant [*shali*] Ci.ng N.u [*Ceng Nu*]. The third one was Court Attendant [*shali*] M.a G.ia N.u [*Ma Jia Nu*]. Court Attendant S.ng N.u [*Ceng Nu*] [---] had two daughters. The elder one was Milady 198.én, while the second one was Milady Oh.iú [*Agu*]. General [*jiangjun*] Hu.TENT.u and Milady B.ETERNAL.l.ha.a.án had one daughter. She was Ci.eu G.ia N.iú [*Zhou Jia Nu*]. Milady G.il.g, the elder wife of Grand Guardian Dau.ul.ó.o.ho, had one son. He was Court Attendant [*shali*] Y.au G.e$_2$ [*Yao Ge*]. Milady Hó.l.b.ñ [*Eliben*] had two daughters. The elder one was Milady Ên.s, while the second one was Milady Ng.ing Is.ï.

(xiii) The Field Marshal [---]. [---] was not written. [---] at a young age [---] at the time of [---]. After the operations that his father, when he was a Field Marshal [*xiangwen*], had conducted against the Tatar enemies [---], he was conferred the title of minor general [*zhuwei xiao jiangjun*]. When the Field Marshal was young [---]. In the twentieth year of HEAVEN Ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar [*Chongxi*] reign, when he was forty-three years old, [his achievements] were recorded by Emperor [*huangdi*] HEAVEN Ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar [*Chongxi*]. He was [put in charge of] his forefathers' childhood region. [---] [Then he was appointed to the position of] Night-and-Day official [*qiju sheren*]. The Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] [---] was appointed for a period of six months [---]. Then he became Minister Over the Masses [*situ*] [---]. Then he was transferred [---]. He became [---]. [---] he was not transferred. He became the Prefect [*cishi*] of Ih Ci.eu [*Yizhou*] Prefecture. He became famous. Then he became the Governor-General [*dushi*] of the [---] tribe. [---] [He was also conferred the right over these mountains.] [---] He became the Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] of the Northern Jurchen. [---] He was conferred the title of [---] Commander General [*lingjun weirong jiangjun*]. He was transferred [---]. Then he became the Governor-General [*dushi*] of L.û Ci.eu [*Luzhou*] Prefecture. [After finishing this assignment] he became the Governor-General [*dushi*] of Ih Ci.eu [*Yizhou*] Prefecture. Then he was [again] transferred. He became the Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] of the Four [Tents] [*sizhang*]. After this he was no longer transferred. [He was presented with the rights over the region of G.eu.] To this position he was promoted.

(xiv) In the summer of the ninth year of the GREAT T.iu.ir [*Dakang*] reign, when he had reached his seventy-fifth year of age, [he retired]. [The Field Marshal had grown old.] [---] On the thirtieth day of the sixth month of the seventh year of the GREAT Ú.dû.o.ón [*Daan*] reign, in the summer [---], he died at the age of eighty-two. [---] The present emperor's [official] composed a tablet of honour [*guice*] for him [---]. [The funeral arrangements] were administered by his sons and daughters as well as other relatives [---]. [He was buried] on the sixth day of the tenth month of that

same year [---]. He was buried [in connection with] the tomb of his wife, the Lady.

(xv) It is so sad. [---] The scripture says: human life is equal to a hundred years [*rensheng baisui*]. The Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] [---] for thirty-two years [---]. The present emperor [---]. It is also said in the scripture: [An epitaph is to be composed by the children of the deceased]. When he held the rank of Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] [---] Now his filial children, Mr. Car°.a and others [---]. A record was composed [---]. The record says: the generation of the [famous] counsel [*yuyue*], [---] the [---] tribal judge [*yilijin*] [---], the golden tent [---]. Field Marshal [*xiangwen*] L.ie.ên.ñ [*Lianning*], the leader, has died. He was born from this [place]. [The funeral was arranged in accordance with] female etiquette [and with] filial piety [---]. He became famous. The three sons of the middle [---] tribe wrote [---]. [He was buried] on the sixth day of the tenth month of the seventh year of the GREAT Ú.dû.o.ón [*Daan*] reign period [in connection with] the tomb of his spouse, the Lady [---]. The heavenly [black] bird went back. May there be eternal [auspicious circumstances] during [future] generations of a thousand myriads of eras.

(xvi) [Written] on the second day of the tenth month of the seventh year of the GREAT Ú.dû.o.ón [*Daan*] reign period.

3.4. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

As also in the case with *Xiao Dilu*, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of *Yelü Xiangwen.* Both the technical details and the contents are in accordance with the facts and dates given in the epitaph. Some of the persons, places, and reign titles mentioned in the text are known from other Khitan Small Script documents, or also from Chinese sources, while others are not, which means that *Yelü Xiangwen* offers important additions to the previous database of Khitan names and historical chronology.

At the same time, it has to be noted that, once again, many of the most important parts of the epitaph remain poorly understood due to the circumstance that so much of the Khitan lexicon and

grammar used in the text is not supported by comparative information from any bilingual sources. While the lists of family lineages are generally easy to decipher, the passages dealing with the activities of the tomb owner and his ancestors, as well as with the funeral arrangements, remain obscure in the details. Although all Khitan Small Script epitaphs are fairly stereotypical in their structure and choice of expressions, the factual basis varies, and each new epitaph contains previously undocumented constructions, blocks, and occasionally even unknown characters.

In this context, we should consider the practical circumstances under which epitaphs like *Yelü Xiangwen* were created. We do not know how widespread literacy was in Khitan society, but it may be assumed that many male members of the elite were more or less literate in both Chinese and the two Khitan scripts. Academic examinations were an important path of career promotion. Even so, the literary formulation and the calligraphic realization of the epitaph texts may often have been the task of professional scribes, whether family members or not. These probably produced the first version of the epitaph text, written in ink on paper.

At the next stage, the text was transferred from paper to stone, which task was probably performed by engravers, who represented the artisan class. The stone surfaces may have been prepared by other artisans, while the engravers worked specifically with the texts. It is possible that among the artisans there were many Chinese, who may not have been fluent in Khitan, which probably explains at least some of the mistakes and inconsistencies encountered in the texts, including *Yelü Xiangwen.*

Historically, Field Marshal Yelü seems to have been an important person. He belonged to a branch of the imperial clan, and among his direct ancestors there were persons holding the ranks of *wang* 'prince' and *tongjun* 'military governor'. His own father had a particularly diversified career, covering both military and administrative, as well as academic, appointments. Field Marshal Yelü likewise distinguished himself in many fields. His impact was increased by the fact that he enjoyed a long life.

Field Marshal Yelü had also distinguished descendants. By the time of his death, three of his sons, mentioned in the epitaph, had reached important positions. It happens that, after the discovery of *Yelü Xiangwen*, the epitaph of one of his sons was discovered in June, 2009, and is now in the possession of Inner Mongolia University. This is the epitaph of T.ud$_2$.ñ Hu.TENT.u, the third son of Field Marshal Yelü. In *Yelü Xiangwen* he is referred to by the title *jiangjun* 'general', but he later reached the rank of *taishi* 'grand preceptor' and died in 1101, ten years after his father. Although broken (and still unpublished), his epitaph confirms many of the names and facts mentioned in *Yelü Xiangwen.*

Due to the compactness of the Khitan ruling elite, composed of members of the Yelü and Xiao clans, the persons mentioned in Khitan epitaphs form a coherent group of individuals interrelated by descent and marriage. It is an important task of Khitan studies to create a comprehensive database of the personal names and titles recorded in the epitaphs. By now it is already clear that the Khitan epitaphs contain references to many individuals who are not mentioned in the extant Chinese sources. A further study of this onomastic corpus will quite certainly open up new horizons on our way towards a more profound understanding of the historical context of the epitaphic material.

POSTSCRIPT

There was a time in the past when it was commonly thought that Khitan Small Script studies was a field in need of a 'breakthrough', a single general solution that would immediately open the entire corpus of texts for detailed philological and historical analysis. We now know that this is not so: the process of decipherment progresses slowly, and each new discovery raises new unsolved questions. With each new text, including those published in the present volume, it is possible to identify a small selection of new words, forms, translations, and readings, as well as an accompanying set of historical data, but, at the same time, the number of unsolved issues continues to grow.

We might also say that the breakthrough has already been achieved. We now know for certain that the Khitan Small Script is a relatively advanced system of writing, in which most script signs represent more or less invariant phonemic segments or sequences. A large majority of these script signs, especially of those in frequent use, can also be 'read' in terms of concrete 'phonetic' entities, though the exact constellation of the Khitan system of sounds is still insufficiently understood. As a result, long continuous passages of Khitan Small Script texts can today be 'read' and, hence, Romanized, as has been done in the present volume.

Khitan Small Script studies is also in the fortunate position that the corpus of texts is relatively extensive, and the individual texts are generally well preserved. Moreover, most of these texts are no

mere fragments, but large coherent pieces of writing, with complete sentences and complex grammatical structures. A problem is, however, that all the texts are rather stereotypic documents of the epitaphic type, with little variation in the choice of themes. Even so, most texts contain, in addition to mechanically arranged genealogical lists, also descriptions of historical events and even sections of poetry. It is only the lack of a translation that makes the use of these sections so frustratingly difficult.

As it is, the real challenge of Khitan Small Script studies today is no longer the script, but the Khitan language. Although in most respects Khitan is a typical 'Altaic' or 'Ural-Altaic' language, it also incorporates several areally 'strange' typological features, such as a system of grammatical gender, whose role in Khitan grammar and lexicon is not yet fully understood. Most importantly, Khitan, as a Para-Mongolic language, is often surprisingly different from what we know of the Proto-Mongolic lineage, which means that many items of Khitan vocabulary have simply no points of comparison in any other known language in the region.

In this situation, much more work is required on the available corpus of texts. In fact, most 'publications' of Khitan epigraphic documents so far have been of a very modest standard, amounting to not much more than the mere announcement of the existence of a text, accompanied by a preliminary interpretation of only a small selection of details. One aim of the present volume is to raise the standard in this respect. It is not only the newly discovered Khitan Small Script texts, but also those that have been 'published' earlier, that should be made available in systematic critical text editions covering the entire contents of each given text, and discussing all the relevant lexical, grammatical, historical, and palaeographical details of, in principle, every single word in the texts.

To anticipate and stimulate the production of the proposed type of critical text editions, the authors of the present volume launch the term *Corpus Scriptorum Chitanorum*, which may be understood as denoting an informal project that, with time, should result in a growing database of systematically arranged and mutually collated

Khitan texts (in both scripts). Needless to say, this is an enterprise that will require the combined efforts of many individual scholars over a long period of time. The critical publication of texts may also be seen as a prerequisite for more distant and comprehensive goals, like the compilation of a Khitan dictionary.

In this context, it is good to recall that our understanding of the Khitan scripts and texts involves a constantly evolving process of trial and error. Therefore, many of the solutions concerning the identification, segmentation, translation, and/or Romanization of the individual Khitan characters, blocks, and words, as applied and proposed in the present volume, are also subject to further judgement and revision, if necessary. It is only the general principles that should prevail, while the details will change to reflect the gradually rising level of documentation.

REFERENCES

Aisin Gioro Ulhicun 愛新覺羅・烏拉熙春 *Aixin Jueluo Wulaxichun* 2004a. *Qidan Yuyan Wenzi Yanjiu* 契丹語言文字研究 [Research on the Khitan Script and Language]. Kyouto 京都: Nippon Toua Rekishi Bunka Kenkyuukai 日本東亞歷史文化研究會.

—— 2004b. *Liao Jin Shi yu Qidan, Nüzhen Wen* 遼金史與契丹女真文 [Liao-Jin History and the Khitan and Jurchen languages]. Kyouto 京都: Nippon Toua Rekishi Bunka Kenkyuukai 日本東亞歷史文化研究會.

—— 2006. *Kittanbun Boshi yori Mita Ryoushi* 契丹文墓志より見た遼史 [Liao History as seen from the epitaphs in the Khitan script]. Kyouto 京都: Shoukadou Shoten 松香堂書店.

—— 2007. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Jindai Bozhou Fangyushi Muzhiming» muzhu fei Yila Woliduo—jianlun Jinchao chuqi wu "Nüzhen Guo" zhi guohao' 契丹小字〈金代博州防禦使墓誌銘〉墓主非移剌斡裏朵—兼論金朝初期無"女真國"之國號 [The tomb owner of the Epitaph of the Defense Commissioner of Bozhou of the Jin period in the Khitan Small Script was not Yila Woliduo, and the dynasty name 'Nüzhen Guo' did not exist at the beginning of the Jin period]. *Manyu Yanjiu* 滿語研究 2007, no. 1, pp. 78-72.

Arapov, M. V. 1982. 'Leksika i morfologiia tekstov malogo kidan'-skogo pis'ma' [The lexicon and morphology of the Khitan Small Script]. In: *Zabytye sistemy pis'ma: Materialy po deshif-*

rovke [Forgotten Systems of Writing: Materials on Decipherment]. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo «Nauka», pp. 211-239.

Bai Guang 白光 & Zhang Hanying 張漢英 1994. 'Liaodai "Tan Shan" kao' 遼代炭山考 [A study of Mount Tan of the Liao period]. *Beifang Wenwu* 北方文物 1994, no. 2, pp. 77-81.

Bao Lianqun 包聯群 2002. '«Nan[zhan] Buzhou Daliao Guo Gu Dilie Wang Muzhiwen» de buchong kaoshi' 〈南[瞻]部洲大遼國故迪烈王墓誌文〉的補充考釋 [A supplementary study of the Epitaph of the Late Prince Dilie of the Great Liao]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexueban*) 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 2002, no. 3, pp. 15-19.

Bao Yuzhu 寶玉柱 2006. 'Qidan Xiaozi 虫 ji qi tihuanzi yanjiu' 契丹小字 虫 及其替換字研究 [Research on the Khitan Small Script character 虫 and its variants]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexueban*) 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 2006, no. 1, pp. 8-12.

Biran, Michal 2005. *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World.* Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chen Naixiong 陳乃雄 1987. 'Jin shinian lai woguo Qidanzi yanjiu' 近十年來我國契丹字研究 [Research on the Khitan script in our country over the past ten years]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexueban*) 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 1987, no. 3, pp. 105-133.

—— 1988. 'Qidanzi yanjiu shulüe' 契丹字研究述略 [A brief survey of research on the Khitan script]. In: *Languages and History in East Asia.* A Festschrift for Tatsuo Nishida on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday. Kyoto: Shokado, pp. 237-287.

Chen Naixiong 陳乃雄 & Bao Lianqun 包聯群 2005. *Qidan Xiaozi Yanjiu Lunwen Xuanbian* 契丹小字研究論文選编 *Gidav Baqh e vUisug uv Sudulqhav u vUigulal uv Suvgqhumal* [Research on the Khitan Small Script: A Selection of Papers]. Huhehaote 呼和浩特: Nei Menggu Renmin Chubanshe 內蒙古人民出版社.

Chen Naixiong 陳乃雄 & Yang Jie 楊傑 1999. 'Wurigentala Liaomu chutu de Qidan Xiaozi muzhiming kaoshi' 烏日根塔拉遼墓出土的契丹小字墓誌銘考釋 [A study of the epitaph in the Khitan Small Script excavated from the Liao tomb at Wurigentala]. *Xibei Minzu Yanjiu* 西北民族研究 1999, no. 2, pp. 72-88.

Chengel 清格勒 Qinggele & Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 2003. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Huangtai Shuzu Aicewen» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈皇太叔祖哀冊文〉考釋 [A study of the Khitan Small Script Eulogy for the Imperial Grand Uncle]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 2003, no. 5, pp. 13-19.

Chimeddorji 齊木德道爾吉 *Qimudedaoerji* 2002. 'Cong Yuan Mengguyu dao Qidanyu' 從原蒙古語到契丹語 [From Proto-Mongolic to Khitan]. *Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Xuebao* 中央民族大學學報, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 132-138.

Chingeltei [Cavggaldai] 1987. 'Gidav vuisug uv sudulqhav u sin e bajidal' [The new situation in the study of the Khitan script]. *vUibur Muvgqhul uv Yagae Surqhaqhuli jiv vRdam Sivzilgav u Satgul* 1987, no. 3, pp. 106-132.

—— [Chingêltêi] 1997a. 'Kidan xêl xiigêêd mongol xêlnii arvan xoër zhil' [The names of the twelve years of the Zodiac in the Khitan and Mongolian languages]. *Altai Hakpo*, vol. 7, pp. 156-160.

—— [清格爾泰 *Qinggeertai*] 1997b. 'Qidanyu shuci ji Qidan Xiaozipin dufa' 契丹語數詞及契丹小字拼讀法 [The Khitan numerals and the reading of the Khitan Small Script graphic combinations]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexueban*) 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 1997, no. 4, pp. 1-9.

—— 2002a. 'On the problems of reading Kitan characters.' *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, vol. 55, pp. 99-114.

—— [清格爾泰 *Qinggeertai*] 2002b. *Qidan Xiaozi Shidu Wenti* 契丹小字釋讀問題 [Problems of the decipherment of the Khitan Small Script]. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and

Africa.

—— [清格爾泰 *Qinggeertai*] 2002c. 'Guanyu Qidan Xiaozi 'Da Qidan Guo' de shidu wenti' 關於契丹小字〈大契丹國〉的釋讀問題 [The question concerning the decipherment of the term 'Great Khitan State' in the Khitan Small Script]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexueban*) 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 2002, no. 0, pp. 9-14.

Chingeltei 清格爾泰 *Qinggeertai* & Wu Yingzhe 吳英喆 & Jiruhe 吉如何 Ji Ruhe 0000. *Qidan Xiaozi Zaiyanjiu* 契丹小字再研究 [Renewed Research on the Khitan Small Script]. Forthcoming.

Doerfer Gerhard 1969. 'Altaische Scholien zu Herbert Frankes Artikel «Bemerkungen zu den sprachlichen Verhältnissen im Liao-Reich».' *Zentralasiatische Studien*, vol. 3, pp. 45-49.

Eberhard, Wolfram 1949. 'Sinologische Bemerkungen über den Stamm der Kay.' *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 12, pp. 204-223.

Erdenbaatar 額爾敦巴特爾 *Eerdunbateer* 1996. 'Jianlun Qidan Dazi he Nüzhen wenzi de bijiao yanjiu' 簡論契丹大字和女真文字的比較研究 [Comparative research on the Khitan Large and Jurchen scripts: A brief discussion]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexueban*) 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 1996, no. 3, pp. 50-58.

Fêng Chia-shêng [馮家晟 Feng Jiasheng] 1948. 'The Ch'i-tan script.' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 14-18.

Franke, Herbert 1969. 'Bemerkungen zu den sprachlichen Verhältnissen im Liao-Reich.' *Zentralasiatische Studien*, vol. 3, pp. 7-43.

—— 1976. 'Two Chinese-Khitan Macaronic poems.' In: *Tractata Altaica Denis Sinor Sexagenario Optime de Rebus Altaicis Merito Dedicata*, ed. by Walther Heissig & John R. Krueger & Felix J. Oinas & Edmond Schütz. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, pp. 175-180.

—— 1982. 'Randnotizen zu einigen Worten der Khitansprache im Lichte neuerer Arbeiten.' *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, vol. 36,

pp. 173-182.

Fuxin Xian Wenhuaju Wenwuzu 阜新縣文化局文物組 1977. 'Liaoning Fuxin Xian Liao Xu Wang Mu Qingli Jianbao' 遼寧阜新縣遼許王墓清理簡報 [A brief report on the inventory of the tomb of the Liao Prince Xu in Fuxin, Liaoning]. *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan* 文物資料叢刊 1977, no. 1, pp. 84-87.

Gai Zhiyong 蓋之庸 2002. *Neimenggu Liaodai Shikewen Yanjiu* 內蒙古遼代石刻文研究 [Research on the Stone Inscriptions of the Liao Period in Inner Mongolia]. Huhehaote 呼和浩特: Nei Menggu Daxue Chubanshe 內蒙古大學出版社.

Gai Zhiyong 蓋之庸 & Qi Xiaoguang 齊曉光 & Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 2008. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Yelü Fubushu Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈耶律副部署墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Deputy Administrator Yelü in the Khitan Small Script]. *Nei Menggu Wenwu Kaogu* 內蒙古文物考古 2008, no. 1, pp. 81-111.

Gao Lujia 高路加 1988a. 'Qidan Xiaozi fushu fuhao tansuo' 契丹小字複數符號探索 [A study of the plural markers in the Khitan Small Script]. *Neimenggu Daxue Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexueban*) 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 1988, no. 2, pp. 18-23.

—— 1988b. 'Qidan xingshi Yelü yinyi xintan' 契丹姓氏耶律音義新探 [A new investigation into the pronunciation and meaning of the Khitan surname Yelü]. *Neimenggu Daxue Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexueban*) 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 1988, no. 4, pp. 70-82.

Gridley, Marilyn Leidig 1993. *Chinese Buddhist Sculpture Under the Liao* (*Free Standing Works* in situ *and Selected Examples from Public Collections*). Śata-Piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, vol. 368. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.

Guo Tiangang 郭添剛 & Cui Song 崔嵩 & Wang Yi 王義 & Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 2009. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Xiao Jushi Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈蕭居士墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Xiao Jushi in the Khitan Small Script]. *Wenshi*

文史 2009. no. 1, pp. 227-256.

Hambis, Louis 1949. 'Premier essai de déchiffrement de la langue khitan.' *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (Séance du 27 mars), Paris, pp. 121-134.

Han Baoxing 韓寶興 1991. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Yelü Renxian Muzhi» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈耶律仁先墓誌〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Yelü Renxian in the Khitan Small Script]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexueban*) 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 1991, no. 1, pp. 70-78.

Han Shiming 韓世明 & Yoshimoto Chieko 吉本智慧子 [Jiben Zhihuizi = Aisin Gioro Ulhicun 愛新覺羅・烏拉熙春 *Aixin Jueluo Wulaxichun*] 2007. 'Liang Guo Wang Muzhi mingwen chushi' 梁國王墓誌銘文初釋 [A first study of the Epitaph of the Prince of Liang]. *Minzu Yanjiu* 民族研究 2007, no. 2, pp. 85-89.

Haneda Tōru [Tooru] 羽田亨 1925. 'Kittan moji no shin shiryou' 契丹文字の新資料 [New data on the Khitan script]. *Shirin* 史林, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 82-97.

Janhunen, Juha 1993. 'The teens in Jurchen and Manchu revisited.' In: *Festschrift für Raija Bartens*, ed. by Ulla-Maija Kulonen. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, vol. 215, pp. 169-184.

—— 1994. 'On the formation of Sinitic scripts in mediaeval northern China.' *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, vol. 85, pp. 107-124.

—— [Yuha Yanfunen] 1995. 'Kittanjin ha nanigo wo hanashite ita ka' 契丹人はなに語をはなしていたか [What language did the Khitan speak?]. *Minpaku Tsuushin* 民博通信, vol. 68, pp. 82-85.

—— 1996. 'Prolegomena to a comparative analysis of Mongolic and Tungusic.' In: *Proceedings of the 38th Permanent International Altaistic Conference* (PIAC) (Kawasaki, Japan: August 7-12, 1995), ed. by Giovanni Stary. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 209-218.

—— 2003a. 'Written Mongol.' In: *The Mongolic Languages.* Rout-

ledge Language Family Series, vol. 5. Routledge: London & New York, pp. 83-101.

—— 2003b. 'Para-Mongolic.' In: *The Mongolic Languages.* Routledge Language Family Series, vol. 5. Routledge: London & New York, pp. 391-402.

—— 2003c. 'On the taxonomy of nominal cases in Mongolic.' *Altai Hakpo*, vol. 13, pp. 83-90.

Ji Shi 即實 1991. '«Jiulin Muzhi» jiaochaoben ji qita'〈糾鄰墓誌〉校抄本及其它 [The edited copies of the Epitaph of Jiulin and other matters]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* (*Zhexue Shehui Kexueban*) 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 1991, no. 1, pp. 79-106.

—— 1996. *Milin Wenjing: Qidan Xiaozi Jiedu Xincheng* 謎林問徑 — 契丹小字解讀新程 [Seeking a Path through a Forest of Riddles — A New Stage in the Decipherment of the Khitan Small Script]. Shenyang 瀋陽: Liaoning Minzu Chubanshe 遼寧民族出版社.

—— 1997. '«Gu Yelü Shi Mingshi» gaishi shuze'〈故耶律氏銘石〉改釋數則 [Some reinterpretions concerning the Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü]. Unpublished paper presented at: Zhongguo Minzu Guwenzi Yanjiuhui Diwuci Xueshu Taolunhui 中國民族古文字研究會第五次學術討論會 [The Fifth Symposium of the Society for the Study of the Ancient Ethnic Scripts of China] (Beijing, December 1997). 13 pp.

Jin Guangping 金光平 1962. 'Cong Qidan Da, Xiaozi dao Nüzhen Da, Xiaozi' 從契丹大，小字到女真大，小字 [From the Khitan Large and Small Scripts to the Jurchen Large and Small Scripts]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* 內蒙古大學學報 1962, no. 2, pp. 9-14.

Jin Yufu 金毓黻 ed. 1934. *Liao Ling Shike Jilu* 遼陵石刻集録 [Collection of Inscriptions from the Liao Tombs]. Fengtian 奉天: Guoli Fengtian Tushuguan 國立奉天圖書舘.

Jiruhe 吉如何 Ji Ruhe & Wu Yingzhe 吳英喆 2009. 'Qidan Xiaozi yuanzi zixing guifan yu yuanzi zongbiao' 契丹小字原字字形規範與原字總表 [The standardization of the Khitan Small

Script character forms and a general list of the characters]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue Shehui Kexueban)* 內蒙古大學學報 (哲学社会科学版) 2009, no. 3, pp. 127-132.

Kane, Daniel 1989. *The Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters.* Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 153. Bloomington: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.

—— 2004. 'A note on *Čisdeben.' *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 48, pp. 223-225.

—— 2006. 'Khitan and Jurchen.' In: *Tumen Jalafun Jecen Akū: Manchu Studies in Honour of Giovanni Stary*, ed. by Alessandra Pozzi & Juha Antero Janhunen & Michael Weiers. Tunguso-Sibirica, vol. 20. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 121-132.

—— 2008a. 'Louis Kervyn, Joseph Mullie and the beginnings of Kitan studies.' In: *The Early Mongols: Language, Culture and History.* Studies in Honour of Igor de Rachewiltz on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday, ed. by Volker Rybatzki & Alessandra Pozzi & Peter W. Geier & John R. Krueger. Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 173. Bloomington: Indiana University, pp. 79-90.

—— 2008b. 'A transcription system for texts in the Qidan small script.' Handout presented at: International Conference on Qidan, Tangut, Jurchen and Mongolian Historical Documents 遼夏金元歷史文獻國際研討會 *Liao Xia Jin Yuan Lishi Wenxian Guoji Yantaohui* (Beijing, 2008.11.3-5). 17 pp.

—— 2009. *The Kitan Language and Script.* Handbook of Oriental Studies, sect. VIII, vol. 19. Brill: Leiden & Boston.

Kara, György 1975. 'A propos de l'inscription de 1150 en écriture khitane.' *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis, Sectio Linguistica*, vol. 6, pp. 163-167.

—— 1987. 'On the Khitan writing systems.' *Mongolian Studies*, vol. 10, pp. 19-24.

—— [Qaradurzi] 1988. 'Gidav u baqh e bicig tuduragix Muvgqhul vuigas (Tubcilal) [Mongol words in the Khitan Small Script

(Abstract)]'. *vUibur Muvgqhul uv Yagae Surqhaqhuli jiv vRdam Sinzilgav u Satgul*, 1988, no. 1, pp. 55-56.

—— 1996. 'Siniform scripts in Inner Asia: Kitan and Jurchin.' In: *The World's Writing Systems*, ed. by Peter T. Daniels & William Bright. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 230-238.

Kervyn, Louis 1923a. 'Le tombeau de l'empereur Tao-tsong (1101) — Une découverte intéressante.' *Bulletin catholique de Pékin*, vol. 10 (118), pp. 237-243.

—— 1923b. 'Le tombeau de l'empereur Tao-tsong des Leao et les premières inscriptions connues en écriture K'itan.' *T'oung-Pao*, vol. 23, pp. 298-301.

Kotwicz, Władysław 1925. 'Les «Khitaïs» et leur écriture.' *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, vol. 2, pp. 248-251.

Kuz'menkov, E. A. 1986. 'Kidan'skie elementy v man'chzhurskom i dïalektnaia baza staromongol'skoi pis'mennosti' [The Khitan elements in Manchu and the dialectal basis of Written Mongol]. In: *Istoriko-kul'turnye kontakty narodov altaiskoi iazykovoi obshhnosti* [Historical and Cultural Contacts of Altaic Peoples]. Tezisy dokladov XXIX sessii Postoiannoi mezhdunarodnoi altaïsticheskoi konferencii (Tashkent, sentiabr', 1986 g.), vol. 2 (Lingvistika). Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR & Akademiia Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR, pp. 71-72.

—— 1988. 'Mongol'skie elementy v man'chzhurskom i dïalektnaia baza staromongol'skoi pis'mennosti' [The Mongolic elements in Manchu and the dialectal basis of Written Mongol]. *Voprosy iazykoznaniia* 1988, no. 4, pp. 117-122.

—— 1997. 'Kidan'skii iazyk.' In: *Iazyki Mira: Mongol'skie iazyki, tunguso-man'chzhurskie iazyki, iaponskii iazyk, koreiskii iazyk*, ed. by V. M. Alpatov & I. V. Kormushin & G. C. Piurbeev & O. I. Romanova. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Indrik", pp. 87-90.

Li Dingkui 厲鼎煃 1954. 'Yixian chutu Qidanwen muzhiming kaoshi' 義縣出土契丹文墓誌銘考釋 [A study of the Khitan epitaph excavated at Yixian]. *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 1954, no. 8, pp. 203-211.

Li Wenxin 李文信 1954. 'Yixian Qinghemen Liaomu fajue bao-

gao' 義縣清河門遼墓發掘報告 [Report on the discovery of a Liao tomb at Qinghemen, Yixian]. *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 1954, no. 8, pp. 163-202.

Liang Zhenjing 梁振晶 2003. 'Fuxin Sijiazi Liaomu fajue jianbao' 阜新四家子遼墓發掘簡報 [A brief report on the excavation of the Liao tomb at Sijiazi, Fuxin]. In: *Liaoning Kaogu Wenji* 遼寧考古文集. Shenyang 瀋陽: Liaoning Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 遼寧省文物考古研究所, pp. 121-130.

Ligeti, Louis [Lajos] 1927. 'A kitaj nép és nyelv.' *Magyar Nyelv*, vol. 23, pp. 301-310.

—— 1950. 'Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise. '*Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, vol. 1, pp. 141-188.

—— 1970. 'Le tabghatch, un dialecte de la language sien-pi.' In: *Mongolian Studies.* Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, vol. 14, pp. 265-308.

Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 1981. 'Qidan Dazi he Xiaozi de qubie' 契丹大字和小字的區別 [The difference between the Khitan Large and Small Scripts]. *Neimenggu Shehui Kexue* 內蒙古社會科學 1981, no. 5, pp. 105-112.

—— 1982. 'Qidan Dazi zhong de jinian kaoshi' 契丹大字中的紀年考釋 [A study of the year notations in the Khitan Large Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 1982, no. 2, pp. 49-53.

—— 1983. 'Qidan Xiaozi jiedu zaitan' 契丹小字解讀再探 [The Khitan Small Script: a reinvestigation]. *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 1983, no. 2, pp. 255-270.

—— 1987a. 'Ruogan Qidan Xiaozi de jiedu' 若干契丹小字的解讀 [The decipherment of some Khitan Small Script characters]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 1987, no. 1, pp. 62-65.

—— 1987b. 'Qidan Xiaozi jiedu santan' 契丹小字解讀三探 [The Khitan Small Script: a third investigation]. In: *Lianhe Shuyuan Sanshi Zhounian Jinian Lunwenji* 聯合書院三十周年紀念論文集, pp. 153-161. Hong Kong 香港: The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學.

—— 1992. 'Lüelun Qidanyu de yuxi guishu yu tedian' 略論契丹語的語系歸屬與特點 [A brief discussion on the genetic position

and special features of the Khitan language]. *Dalu Zazhi* 大陸雜誌, vol. 84, no. 5, pp. 19-26.

—— 1993a. 'Ruogan Qidan Dazi de jiedu ji qita' 若干契丹大字的解讀及其它 [The decipherment of some Khitan Large Script characters and other matters]. *Hanxue Yanjiu* 漢學研究 *Chinese Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 383-398.

—— 1993b. 'Qidan Xiaozi jiedu sitan' 契丹小字解讀四探 [The Khitan Small Script: a fourth investigation]. In: *Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference* 第三十五屆世界阿爾泰學會會議紀錄 *Di Sanshiwujie Shijie Aertai Xuehui Huiyi Jilu* (September 12-17, 1992, Taipei, China), ed. by Chieh-hsien Ch'en [陳捷先 Chen Jiexian]. Taipei: National Taiwan University, pp. 543- 568.

—— 1996. 'Qidan Dazi zhong ruogan guanming he diming zhi jiedu' 契丹大字中若干官名和地名之解讀 [The decipherment of some official titles and place names in the Khitan Large Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 1996, no. 4, pp. 37-44.

—— 1998. 'Qidan Dazi liushi nian zhi yanjiu' 契丹大字六十年之研究 [Sixty years of research on the Khitan Large Script]. *Zhongguo Wenhua Yanjiusuo Xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 1998, no. 7, pp. 313-338.

—— 1999. 'Seventy years of Khitan Small Script studies.' In: *Writing in the Altaic World*, ed. by Juha Janhunen & Volker Rybatzki. Studia Orientalia, vol. 87. Helsinki, pp. 159-169.

—— 2001. 'Zuijin 20 nian lai de Qidan wenzi yanjiu gaikuang' 最近 20 年來的契丹文字研究概況 [A survey of research on the Khitan scripts during the last 20 years]. *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, N.S., vol. 11, pp. 205-246.

—— 2002. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Han Gaoshi Muzhi» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈韓高十墓誌〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Han Gaoshi in the Khitan Small Script]. In: *Yifenji: Zhang Zhenglang Xiansheng Jiushi Huadan Jinian Wenji* 揖芬集〈張政烺先生九十華誕紀念文集〉[Festschrift for Professor Zhang Zhenglang]. Beijing 北京: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe 社會科學文獻出版社, pp. 517-522.

—— 2003. 'Jiedu Qidan wenzi yu shenhua Liaoshi yanjiu' 解讀契丹文字與深化遼史研究 [Deciphering the Khitan script and deepening the research on the history of the Liao dynasty]. *Shixue Huikan* 史學彙刊, vol. 18, pp. 187-201.

—— 2004. 'Cong Qidan wenzi de jiedu shuo «Dong Dan» guohao' 從契丹文字的解讀說〈東丹〉國號 [Explaining the dynasty name of «Dong Dan» on the basis of the decipherment of the Khitan script]. *Dongbei Shi Yanjiu* 東北史研究 2004, no. 1, pp. 41-42.

—— 2005a. *Bianfang Qidan Wenzi Hua Tabei* 遍访契丹文字话拓碑 [Surveying Khitan Script Monuments and Discussing the Methods of Making Rubbings]. Beijing 北京: Huayi Chubanshe 華藝出版社.

—— 2005b. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Xiao Temei / Kuoge Fuma Dier Furen Han Shi Muzhiming» kaoshi 契丹小字〈蕭特每・闊哥駙馬第二夫人韓氏墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Mme. Han, the Second Wife of the Imperial Son-in-Law Xiao Temei in the Khitan Small Script]. In: *Jin Qicong Xiansheng Shishi Zhounian Jinian Wenji* 金啓孮先生逝世周年紀念文集 [Volume in memory of Professor Jin Jicong]. Kyouto 京都: Nippon Toua Rekishi Bunka Kenkyuukai 日本東亞歷史文化研究會, pp. 191-197.

Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 & Chengel 清格勒 *Qinggele* 2003. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Song Wei Guo Fei Muzhiming» he «Yelü Hongyong Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈宋魏國妃墓誌銘〉和〈耶律弘用墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of the Late Imperial Consort of the States of Song and Wei and the Epitaph of Yelü Hongyong in the Khitan Small Script]. *Wenshi* 文史 2003, no. 4, pp. 194-208.

Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 & Cong Yanshuang 從豔雙 & Yu Zhixin 於志新 & Narangua 娜仁高娃 *Naren Gaowa* 2006. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Yelü Cite / Wuliben Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈耶律慈特・兀裏本墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Yelü Cite / Wuliben in the Khitan Small Script]. *Yanjing Xuebao* 燕京學報, New Series, vol. 20, pp. 255-277.

Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 & Dong Xinlin 董新林 2007. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Salan / Shilu Taishi Muzhibei» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈撒懶・室魯太師墓誌碑〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Salan / Shilu Taishi in the Khitan Small Script]. *Kaogu* 考古 2007, no. 5, pp. 69-73.

Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 & Tang Cailan 唐彩蘭 & Chengel 清格勒 *Qinggele* 2009. *Liao Shangjing Diqu Chutu de Liaodai Beike Huiji* 遼上京地區出土的遼代碑刻匯輯 [A Collection of Inscriptions on Steles Excavated from the Supreme Capital of the Liao Dynasty]. Beijing 北京: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe 社會科學文獻出版社.

Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 & Tang Cailan 唐彩蘭 & Gua 高娃 *Gaowa* 2004. 'Liaodai Xiao Wuluben deng sanren de muzhiming kaoshi' 遼代蕭烏盧本等三人的墓誌銘考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Xiao Wuluben and two others of the Liao period]. *Wenshi* 文史 2004, no. 2, pp. 99-118.

Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 & Tang Cailan 唐彩蘭 & Gua 高娃 *Gaowa* & Li Jiankui 李建奎 2006. 'Liaodai «Yelü Longyou Muzhiming» he «Yelü Gui Muzhiming» kaoshi' 遼代〈耶律隆祐墓誌銘〉和〈耶律貴墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Yelü Longyou and the Epitaph of Yelü Gui of the Liao period]. *Wenshi* 文史 2006, no. 4, pp. 116-142.

Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 & Yu Baolin 于寶林 1977. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Xu Wang Muzhi» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈許王墓誌〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Prince Xu in the Khitan Small Script]. *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan* 文物資料叢刊 1977, no. 1, pp. 88-104.

—— 1981a. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Xiao Zhonggong Muzhi» kaoshi 契丹小字〈蕭仲恭墓誌〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong in the Khitan Small Script]. *Minzu Yanjiu* 民族研究 1981, no. 2, pp. 35-39.

—— 1981b. '«Gu Yelü Shi Mingshi» bawei'〈故耶律氏銘石〉跋尾 [Comments on the Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü]. *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan* 文物資料叢刊 1981, no. 5, 175-179.

Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 & Zhou Hongshan 周洪山 & Zhao Jie 趙

傑 & Zhu Zhimin 朱志民 1995. 'Qidan Xiaozi jiedu wutan' 契丹小字解讀五探 [The Khitan Small Script: a fifth investigation]. *Hanxue Yanjiu* 漢學研究, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 313-348.

Liu Pujiang 劉浦江 1999. 'Nei Menggu Aohan Qi chutu de Jindai Qidan Xiaozi muzhi canshi kaoshi' 內蒙古敖漢旗出土的金代契丹小字墓誌殘石考釋 [A study of the broken epitaph of the Jin period excavated in Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia]. *Kaogu* 考古 1999, no. 5, pp. 85-89.

—— 2004. *Ershi Shiji Liao Jin Shi Lunzhu Mulu* 二十世紀遼金史論著目绿 [A Catalogue of Research on Liao and Jin History in the Twentieth Century]. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe 上海辞書出版社.

—— 2008. *Song Mo zhi Jian: Liao Jin Qidan Nüzhen Shi Yanjiu* 松漠之間。遼金契丹女真史研究 [Between Forest and Desert: Research on the history of the Khitan and Jurchen of the Liao and Jin]. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局.

Liu Pujiang 劉浦江 & Kang Peng 康鹏 2005. 'Qidan ming, zi chutan: Wenhua renleixue shiyexia de fu zi lianmingzhi' 契丹名，字初探。文化人類學視野下的父子連名制 [A preliminary study of Khitan names: The linkage between the names of father and son from the point of view of cultural anthropology]. *Wenshi* 文史 2005, no. 3, pp. 219-256.

Liu Shujuan 劉淑娟 1998. *Liaodai Tongjing Yanjiu* 遼代铜镜研究 [Research on the Bronze Mirrors of the Liao period]. Shenyang 瀋陽: Shenyang Chubanshe 瀋陽出版社.

Lu Baolin 魯寶林 & Xin Fa 辛發 & Wu Peng 吳鹏 1993. 'Beizhen Liao Yelü Zongjiao mu' 北鎮遼耶律宗教墓 [The tomb of Yelü Zongjiao of the Liao at Beizhen]. *Liaohai Wenwu Xuekan* 遼海文物學刊 1993, no. 2, pp. 36-42.

Lu Yinghong 盧迎紅 & Zhou Feng 周峰 2000. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Yelü Dilie Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈耶律迪烈墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie in the Khitan Small Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 2000, no. 1, pp. 43-52.

Lü Zhenkui 呂振奎 1995. 'Haitangshan Qidan Xiaozi muzhi canshi bushi' 海棠山契丹小字慕誌殘石補釋 [Corrections

concerning the Khitan Small Script broken epitaph of Haitangshan]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 1995, no. 4, pp. 51-53.

Lü Zhenkui 呂振奎 & Yuan Haibo 袁海波 1992. 'Liaoning Fuxin Haitangshan faxian Qidan Xiaozi zaoxiangbei' 遼寧阜新海棠山發現契丹小字造像碑 [The stele with a Khitan Small Script inscription discovered at Haitangshan, Fuxin, Liaoning]. *Kaogu* 考古 1992, no. 8, pp. 766-768.

Luo Fucheng 羅福成 1933. 'Liao Xuanyi Huanghou aice shiwen' 遼宣懿皇后哀冊釋文 [An explanation of the Epitaph of Empress Xuanyi of the Liao]. *Manshuu Gakuhou* 滿洲學報 1933, no. 2, pp. [1-7].

Matsui H[itoshi] [松井等] & Yanai W[atari] [箭内互] & Inaba I[wakichi] [稻葉岩吉] 1912-1914. *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie der Mandschurei*. I-II Band + Karten. Veröffentlichungen der historisch-geographischen Studienabteilung der Südmandschurischen Eisenbahn A.G. Herausgegeben von Shiratori K[urakichi] [白鳥庫吉]. Tokio: Verlag der Südmandschurischen Eisenbahn A.G.

Meng Sen 孟森 1932. 'Liaobei jiuzhong fubawei' 遼碑九種附跋尾 [Additional comments on nine kinds of Liao steles]. *Beijing Daxue Guoxue Jikan* 北京大學國學季刊, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 397-419.

Menges, Karl H. 1968. *Tungusen und Ljao.* Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 38,1. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner GmbH.

Mullie, Jos[eph] 1922. 'Les anciennes villes de l'empire des grands Leao 大遼 au royaume mongol de Bārin.' *T'oung Pao*, vol. 21, pp. 105-231.

—— 1933. 'Les sépultures de K'ing des Leao 遼慶陵'. *T'oung Pao*, vol. 30, pp. 1-25.

Murayama Shichirō [Shichirou] 村山七郎 1951. 'Kittanji kaidoku no houhou' 契丹字解読の方法 [The method of deciphering the Khitan script]. *Gengo Kenkyuu* 言語研究, vol. 17-18, pp. 47-70.

Nei Menggu Zizhiqu Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 內蒙古自治區文物

考古研究所 & Zhelimu Meng Bowuguan 哲里木盟博物館 1993. *Liao Chen Guo Gongzhu Mu* 遼陳國公主墓 [The Tomb of the Liao Princess of the State of Chen]. Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社.

Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音 1999. 'Qidan Dazi jiedu qianyi' 契丹大字解讀淺議 [A brief discussion on the decipherment of the Khitan Large Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 1999, no. 4, pp. 51-57.

Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄 1981. 'Kittan moji: sono kaidoku no shin tenkai' 契丹文字。その解讀の新展開 [New developments in the decipherment of the Khitan script]. *Gekkan Gengo* 月刊言語, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 112-119, no. 2, pp. 106-112, no. 3, pp. 109-116.

—— [Xitian Longxiong] 1992. 'Guanyu Qidan Xiaozi yanjiu zhong de jibenxing wenti' 關於契丹小字研究中的基本性問題 [About some fundamental issues in the research on the Khitan Small Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 1992, no. 2, pp. 10-13.

Olbricht, Peter & Elisabeth Pinks 1980. *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237.* Asiatische Forschungen, vol. 56. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Osada Natsuki 長田夏樹 1951. 'Kittan moji kaidoku no kanousei' 契丹文字解読の可能性 [The possibility of deciphering the Khitan script]. *Koube Gaidai Ronsou* 神戸外大論争, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 44-66.

—— 1983. 'Kittango kaidoku houhouron josetsu' 契丹語解讀方法論序說 [An introduction to the methodology of the decipherment of the Khitan language]. In: *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, vol. 1, pp. 1-49.

[Probst. M. A. & al.] 1986. 'Slovar' kidan'skoi leksiki XI-XII vv.' [Dictionary of the Khitan lexicon of the 11th to 12th centuries]. In: *Drevnie sistemy pis'ma: Êtnicheskaia semiotika.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo «Nauka», pp. 182-231.

Pulleyblank, Edwin G. 1991. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early*

Mandarin. Vancouver: UCB Press.

Qidan Wenzi Yanjiu Xiaozu 契丹文字研究小組 1977. 'Guanyu Qidan Xiaozi yanjiu' 關於契丹小字研究 [About research on the Khitan Small Script]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue Shehui Kexueban)* 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 1977, no. 4, pp. (6,) 1-97.

—— 1978. *Qidan Dazi Ziliao Huiji* 契丹大字資料匯輯 [Collection of Materials on the Khitan Large Script]. [s.l.]

—— 1979. *Qidan Xiaozi Yanjiu Fangfa Jianlun* 契丹小字研究方法簡論 [The Methods of Research on the Khitan Small Script]. Nei Menggu Daxue Menggu Yuwen Yanjiushi 內蒙古大學蒙古 語文研究室.

—— 1985. *Qidan Xiaozi Yanjiu* 契丹小字研究 [Reseach on the Khitan Small Script]. Beijing 北京: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社.

de Rachewiltz, Igor 1974. 'Some remarks on the Khitan clan name Yeh-lü ~ Ila.' *Papers on Far Eastern History*, vol. 9, pp. 187-204.

Ramstedt, G. J. 1952-1966. *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft.* I. Lautlehre. II. Formenlehre. III. Register. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Pentti Aalto. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, vol. 104.1-3. Helsinki.

Ruan Tingzhuo 阮廷焯 1993. 'Ruogan Qidan Dazi zhi Jiedu' 若干契丹大字之解讀 [The decipherment of some Khitan Large Script characters]. In: *Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference* 第三十五屆世界阿爾泰學會會議紀錄 *Di Sanshiwujie Shijie Aertai Xuehui Huiyi Jilu* (September 12-17, 1992, Taipei, China), ed. by Chieh-hsien Ch'en [陳捷先 Chen Jiexian]. Taipei: National Taiwan University, pp. 517-524.

Rudov, L. N. 1963. 'Problemy kidan'skoi pis'mennosti' [Problems of Khitan writing]. *Sovetskaia êtnografiia*, 1963/1, pp. 399-413.

Rybatzki, Volker 2006. *Die Personennamen und Titel der mittelmongolischen Dokumente: Eine lexikalische Untersuchung.*

Publications of the Institute for Asian and African Studies, vol. 8. Helsinki.

Shavkunov, Ê. V. 1963. 'K voprosu o rasshifrovke maloi kidan'-chzhurchzhên'skoi pis'mennosti' [On the question concerning the decipherment of the Khitan-Jurchen Small Script]. *Êpigrafika Vostoka*, vol. 15, pp. 149-153.

Shen, Hsüeh-man [沈雪曼 Shen Xueman] ed. 2006. *Gilded Splendor: Treasures of China's Liao Empire* (907-1125). New York: Asia Society and Museum & Milan: 5 Continents Editions.

Shi Jinmin 石金民 & Yu Zemin 於澤民 2001. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Yelü Nu Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈耶律奴墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Yelü Nu in the Khitan Small Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 2001, no. 2, pp. 61-68.

Shimunek, Andrew A. 2007. *Towards a Reconstruction of the Kitan Language, with Notes on Northern Late Middle Chinese Phonology.* MA Thesis, Indiana University, Department of Linguistics & Department of Central Eurasian Studies.

Starikov, V. S. 1982. 'Prozaïcheskie i stixotvornye teksty malogo kidan'skogo pis'ma XI-XII vv.' [Prosaic and poetic texts in the Khitan Small Script of the 11th-12th cc.] In: *Zabytye sistemy pis'ma: Materialy po deshifrovke* [Forgotten Systems of Writing: Materials on Decipherment]. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo «Nauka», pp. 99-210.

Starikov, V. S. & M. Arapov & A. Karapet'ianc & Z. Malinovskaia & M. Probst 1970. *Materialy po deshifrovke kidan'skogo pis'ma* [Materials on the Decipherment of the Khitan Script], vols. 1-2. Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR.

Starikov, V. S. & V. M. Nadeliaev & M. A. Probst 1964. *Predvaritel'noe soobshhenie o deshifrovke kidan'skogo pis'ma* [A preliminary communication about the decipherment of the Khitan script]. Moskva: Vsesoiuznyi institut nauchnoi i texnicheskoi informaciï AN SSSR & Institut êtnografiï AN SSSR.

Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman 1997. *Liao Architecture.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Sun Bojun 孙伯君 & Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音 2008. *Qidanyu Yanjiu*

契丹語研究 [Research on the Khitan Language]. Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Wenku Wenxue Yuyan Yanjiu Xilie 中國科學院文庫文學語言研究系列. Beijing 北京.

Takeuchi Yasunori 武內康則 2007. *Kittan Shouji de Hyouki Sareta Kanjion kara Mita Kittango On'in Taikei no Kenkyuu* 契丹小字で表記された漢字音から見た契丹語音韻体系の研究 [Research on the Sound System of the Khitan Language as Seen from the Sounds of the Chinese Characters Expressed by the Khitan Small Script]. MA Thesis, Kyoto University: Kyouto Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyuuka 京都大學大學院文學研究科.

Tang Cailan 唐彩蘭 ed. 2005. *Liao Shangjing Wenwu Xieying* 遼上京文物擷英 [Selected Cultural Relics of the Liao Period]. Huhehaote 呼和浩特: Yuanfang Chubanshe 遠方出版社.

Tang Cailan 唐彩蘭 & Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 & Kang Lijun 康立君 2002. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Han Dilie Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈韓敵烈墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Han Dilie in the Khitan Small Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 2002, no. 6, pp. 29-37.

Taskin, V. S. 1963. 'Opyt deshifrovki kidan'skoi pis'mennosti' [An attempt to decipher the Khitan script]. *Narody Aziï i Afriki*, vol. 1, pp. 127-147.

Tatár, Maria Magdolna 2003. 'The first Tatars in Europe.' In: *Altaica Budapestinensia MMII. Proceedings of the 45th Permanent International Altaistic Conference* (Budapest, Hungary, June 23-28, 2002), ed. by Alice Sárközi & Attila Rákos. Budapest: Research Group for Altaic Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences & Department of Inner Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, pp. 328-352.

Toyoda Gorō [Gorou] 豐田五郎 1963. 'Kittan reijikou: Joshin moji no genryuu' 契丹隸字考。女真文字の源流 [The Khitan Assembled Script and the origin of the Jurchen script]. Touyou Gakuhou 東洋學報, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 1-39.

—— 1964. 'An analysis of the Major Ch'i-tan Characters.' *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, vol. 23, pp.

119-135.

—— [Fengtian Wulang] 1984. 'Guanyu Qidan Dazi de riqi' 關於契丹大字的日期 [About the dating system in the Khitan Large Script]. *Kyouto Sangyou Daigaku Kokusai Gengo Kagaku Kenkyuujo Shohou* 京都產業大學國際言語科學研究所所報, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 56-65.

—— [Fengtian Wulang] 1991. 'Guanyu Qidan Xiaozi de jidian tansuo' 關於契丹小字的幾點探索 [About some investigations into the Khitan Small Script]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue Shehui Kexueban)* 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版)1991, no. 3, pp. 105-114.

—— [Fengtian Wulang] 1992. 'Guanyu Qidan Xiaozi de fangwei he yixie shuci' 關於契丹小字的方位和一些數詞 [About the directions and some numerals in the Khitan Small Script]. In: Zhongguo Minzushi Yanjiu 中國民族史研究 [Research on the Ethnic History of China], ed. by Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 & Lu Xun 盧勛 & Hua Zugen 華祖根. Beijing 北京: Gaige Chubanshe 改革出版社, vol. 4, pp. 71-81.

—— [Fengtian Wulang] 1995. 'Jiedu Qidan Dazi de xiansuo' 解讀契丹大字的線索 [A clue to the decipherment of the Khitan Large Script]. In: *Zhongguo Beifang Gudai Wenhua Guoji Xueshu Taolunhui Lunwenji* 中國北方古代文化國際學術討論會論文集 [Collection of Papers from the International Conference on Ancient Cultures in Northern China], ed. by Su He 蘇赫 & Tian Guanglin 田廣林 & Xue Zhiqiang 薛志強. Beijing 北京: Zhongguo Wenshi Chubanshe 中國文史出版社, pp. 298-313.

—— [Fengtian Wulang] 1998. 'Qidan Xiaozi dui siji de chenghu' 契丹小字對四季的稱呼 [The names of the four seasons in the Khitan Small Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 1998, no. 1, pp. 78-81.

—— 2000. 'Kittan Shouji no shinzoku shougou ni tsuite' 契丹小字の親族称号について [About kinship terms in the Khitan Small Script]. *Altai Hakpo*, vol. 10, pp. 209-219.

Vovin, Alexander 2000. 'A modest proposal on the decipherment of

the Khitan-Chinese bilingual text of the 1134 (the Langjun inscription).' Handout presented at: The 43rd Annual Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (Chateau Pietersheim, Belgium, September 3-8, 2000). 5 pp.

—— 2003. 'Once again on Khitan words in Chinese-Khitan mixed verses.' *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, vol. 56, nos. 2-4, pp. 237-244.

—— 2009. 'Once again on the Tabgač language.' *Mongolian Studies*, vol. 29, pp. 191-206.

Wan Xiongfei 萬雄飛 & Han Shiming 韓世明 & Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 2008. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Liang Guo Wang Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈梁國王墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of the Prince of the State of Liang in the Khitan Small Script]. *Yanjing Xuebao* 燕京學報, New Series, vol. 25, pp. 123-159.

Wang Ding [王丁] 2004. 'Ch3586 — ein khitanisches Fragment mit uigurischen Glossen in der Berliner Turfansammlung.' In: *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, ed. by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst & Simone-Christiane Raschmann & Jens Wilkens & Marianne Yaldiz & Peter Zieme. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, pp. 371-379.

Wang Hongli 王弘力 1986. 'Qidan Xiaozi muzhi yanjiu' 契丹小字墓誌研究 [Research on epitaphs in the Khitan Small Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 1986, no. 4, pp. 56-70.

Wang Jingru 王靜如 1933. 'Liao Daozong ji Xuanyi Huanghou Qidan guozi aice chushi' 遼道宗及宣懿皇后契丹國字哀冊初釋 [A preliminary explanation of the eulogies for Daozong and Empress Xuanyi in the Khitan national script]. *Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo Jikan* 歷史語言研究所集刊, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 467-478.

Wang Weixiang 王未想 1999. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Zezhou Cishi Muzhi» canshi kaoshi' 契丹小字〈澤州刺史墓誌〉殘石考釋 [A study of the Khitan Small Script broken epitaph of the prefect of Zezhou]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 1999, no. 2, pp.

78-81.

Wittfogel, Karl A. & Fêng Chia-shêng [馮家晟 Feng Jiasheng] 1949. *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, vol. 36. Philadelphia.

Wright, David C. 2007. 'The political and military power of Kitan empress dowagers.' In: *The Role of Women in the Altaic World.* Permanent International Altaistic Conference, 44th Meeting (Walberberg, 26-31 August 2001), ed. by Veronika Veit. Asiatische Forschungen, vol. 152. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 325-335.

Wu Yingzhe 吳英喆 [vU Yivg Jex] 2003. 'Gidav vuisug gigat Gidav vuisug uv sudulul' [The Khitan script and its research]. *Muvgqhul uv Sudulul* 2003, no. 2, pp. 51-54.

—— 2004. 'Guanyu Qidan Xiaozi zhong de «Da Jin Guo» de «Jin»' 關於契丹小字中的 "大金國" 的 "金" [On the character «Jin» in the name of the «Great Jin Empire» in the Khitan Small Script]. *Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue Shehui Kexueban)* 中央民族大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 2004, no. 6, pp. 113- 116.

—— 2005. 'Qidan Xiaozi «xing» de yufa fanchou chutan' 契丹小字 "性" 的語法範疇初探 [Preliminary research on the grammatical category of gender in the Khitan Small Script]. *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue Shehui Kexueban)* 內蒙古大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 2005, no. 3, pp. 25-28.

—— 2007a. *Qidanyu Jingci Yufa Fanchou Yanjiu* 契丹語靜詞語法范畴研究 [Research on the grammatical categories of the noun in the Khitan language]. Huhehaote 呼和浩特: Nei Menggu Daxue Chubanshe 內蒙古大学出版社.

—— 2007b. 'Qidan Xiaozi yanjiu gaikuang' 契丹小字研究概況 [An outline of research on the Khitan Small Script]. *Kotonoha* 言の葉, vol. 52, pp. 1-7.

—— 2007c. 'Kittan Shouji kenkyuu no genzai' 契丹小字研究の現在 [Present state of Khitan Small Script Studies]. *Ryuukoku Shidan* 龍谷史壇, vol. 127, pp. 1-17.

—— 2007d. 'Gidav baqh e vuisug uv «vuirlugae jiv sigudari suni jiv sara» gagu galalgae jiv tajilburi' [An explanation of the expression «Morning dew, Night moon» in the Khitan Small Script]. *vUibur Muvgqhul uv Yagae Surqhaqhuli jiv vRdam Sivzilgav u satgul* 2007, no. 3, pp. 1-5.

—— 2007e. 'Qidan Xiaozi zhong de Hanyu rusheng yunwei de henji' 契丹小字中的漢語入声韻尾的痕迹 [Traces of Chinese rhymes with the entering tone in the Khitan Script]. *Hanzi Wenhua* 漢字文化 2007, no. 3, pp. 26-29.

—— 2007f. 'Qidan Xiaozi zhong de «yuanyin fujiafa»' 契丹小字中的 "元音附加法" [The principle of vowel attachment in the Khitan Small Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 2007, no. 4, pp. 40-51.

—— 2008. 'Recent discoveries of Khitan Small Script materials.' Handout presented at: International Conference on Qidan, Tangut, Jurchen and Mongolian Historical Documents 遼夏金元歷史文獻國際研討會 *Liao Xia Jin Yuan Lishi Wenxian Guoji Yantaohui* (Beijing, 2008.11.3-5). 2 pp.

—— 2009. 'A brief discussion on the vowel attachment in the Khitan Small Script.' *Voprosy filologii: Uralo-altaiskie issledovaniia / Journal of Philology: Ural-Altaic Studies*, no. 1, pp. 26-30.

Wu Yingzhe 吳英喆 & Buyandelger 寶音德力根 *Baoyindeligen* & Jiruhe 吉如何 Ji Ruhe 2009. 'Guanyu xinjin faxian de jijian Qidanwen muzhi ji yiwang fabiao de Qidanwen ziliao' 關於新近發現的幾件契丹文墓志及以往發表的契丹文資料 [About several recently discovered Khitan epitaphs and previously published Khitan materials]. *Altai Hakpo*, vol. 19, pp. 139-154.

Xu Elina-Qian [徐謙 *Xu Qian*] 2005. *Historical Development of the Pre-Dynastic Khitan.* Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki. Publications of the Institute for Asian and African Studies, vol. 7. Helsinki.

Yakhontov [Iaxontov], S. E. 1986. 'Iazyki severnyx sosedei kitaicev v 1 tys. do n.e.' [The languages of the northern neighbours of

the Chinese in the 1st millennium BZ]. In: *Istoriko-kul'turnye kontakty narodov altaiskoi iazykovoi obshhnosti* [Historical and Cultural Contacts of Altaic Peoples]. Tezisy dokladov XXIX sessii Postoiannoi mezhdunarodnoi altaïsticheskoi konferenciï (Tashkent, sentiabr', 1986 g.), vol. 1 (Istoriia, literatura, iskusstvo). Moskva: Akademiia Nauk SSSR & Akademiia Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR, pp. 73-75.

Yan Wanzhang 閻萬章 1993. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Yelü Zongjiao Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈耶律宗教墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao in the Khitan Small Script]. *Liaohai Wenwu Xuekan* 遼海文物學刊 1993, no. 2, pp. 112- 117.

Yang Jie 楊傑 2003. 'Wurigentala Liaomu chutu de Qidan Xiaozi muzhiming zaikao' 烏日根塔拉遼墓出土的契丹小字墓誌銘再考 [A reexamination of the epitaph in the Khitan Small Script excavated from the Liao tomb at Wurigentala]. *Xibei Minzu Yanjiu* 西北民族研究 2003, no. 4, pp. 68-70.

Yoshiike Kouichi 吉池孝一 2003. 'Shisetsu kaikou seibo kei no Kangoon wo arawasu Kittan Shouji ni tsuite' 止摂開口章母系の漢語音を表わす契丹小字について [About the Khitan Small Script characters expressing the Chinese syllable **tsi*]. *Kotonoha* 言の葉, vol. 13, no. 12, pp. 18-21.

—— 2004ab. 'Kango no seibokei ji on wo arawasu Kittan Shouji ni tsuite' 漢語の章母系字音を表わす契丹小字について [About the Khitan Small Script characters expressing the Chinese syllable *zi*]. *Kotonoha* 言の葉, [a] vol. 14, pp. 11-14. [b] vol. 15, pp. 11-14.

—— 2007a. 'Kittan Daiji no kaidoku' 契丹大字の解讀 [The decipherment of the Khitan Large Script]. *Kotonoha* 言の葉, vol. 57, pp. 18-25.

—— 2007b. 'Ryuushi no Kittan Daijihyou onsetsu moji setsu ni tsuite' 劉氏の契丹大字表音節文字說について [About the conception of syllabic characters in Liu Fengzhu's table of Khitan Large Script]. *Kotonoha* 言の葉, vol. 58, pp. 16-23.

Yu Baolin 于寶林 1998. *Qidan Gudaishi Lungao* 契丹古代史論

稿 [A Draft of Khitan Ancient History]. Hefei 合肥: Huangshan Shushe 黃山書社.

Yuan Haibo 袁海波 & Liu Fengzhu 劉鳳翥 2005. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Xiao Dashan he Yongqing Gongzhu Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈蕭大山和永清公主墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Xiao Dashan and Princess Yongqing in the Khitan Small Script]. *Wenshi* 文史 2005, no. 1, pp. 207-221.

Zhao Feng 趙豐 2004. *Liao Textile & Costumes* 遼代絲綢 *Liaodai Sichou.* Hong Kong 香港: Muwen Tang 沐文堂.

Zhao Zhiwei 趙志偉 & Bao Ruijun 包瑞軍 2001. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Yelü Zhixian Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈耶律智先墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Yelü Zhixian in the Khitan Small Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 2001, no. 3, pp. 34-41.

Zhaowuda Meng Wenwu Gongzuozhan 昭烏達盟文物工作站 & Wengniute Qi Wenhuaguan 翁牛特旗文化館 1981. 'Nei Menggu Shanzuizi «Gu Yelü Shi» mu fajue baogao' 內蒙古山嘴子〈故耶律氏〉墓發掘報告 [A report on the excavation of the tomb of the Late Mme. Yelü in Inner Mongolia]. *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan* 文物資料叢刊 1981, no. 5, pp. 167-171.

Zheng Shaozong 鄭紹宗 1973. 'Xinglong Xian Zimulinzi faxian de Qidanwen muzhiming' 興隆縣梓木林子發現的契丹文墓誌銘 [A Khitan epitaph discovered at Zimulinzi, Xinglong County]. *Kaogu* 考古 1973, no. 5, pp. 300-399.

Zheng Xiaoguang 鄭曉光 2002. 'Qidan Xiaozi «Yelü Yongning Langjun Muzhiming» kaoshi' 契丹小字〈耶律永寧郎君墓誌銘〉考釋 [A study of the Epitaph of Prince Yelü Yongning in the Khitan Small Script]. *Minzu Yuwen* 民族語文 2002, no. 2, pp. 63-69.

Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguan 中國歷史博物館 & Nei Menggu Zizhiqu Wenhuating 內蒙古自治區文化廳 2002. *Qidan Wangchao: Nei Menggu Liaodai Wenwu Jingpin* 契丹王朝。內蒙古遼代文物精品 [The Khitan Dynasty: Masterpieces of Liao Period Relics from Inner Mongolia]. Beijing 北京: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe 中國藏學出版社.

Zhu Tianshu 朱天舒 1998. *Liaodai Jinyinqi* 遼代金银器 [Gold

and Silver Objects of the Liao Period]. Beijing 北京: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社.

Zhu Zhimin 朱志民 1995. 'Nei Menggu Aohan Qi Laohugou Jindai Bozhou Fangyushi mu' 內蒙古敖漢旗老虎溝金代博州防禦使墓 [The tomb of the Defense Commissioner of Bozhou of the Jin period at Laohugou, Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia]. *Kaogu* 考古 1995, no. 9, pp. 802-807.

CHART

LIST OF CHARACTERS

Order of presentation: ① accumulative number, ② Khitan Small Script character, ③ Romanization, ④ derivational relationship, ⑤ mnemonic Chinese character, ⑥ stroke composition, ⑦ systematic number.

①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
001		NORTH		一 *yi*	h	001
002		TWENTY		丁 *ding*	hg	069
003					hzpd	119
004		WHITE	> 005		hgzpn	071
005		WHITE°	< 004		hgzpnd	072
006		MOUNTAIN			hgpzn	073
007		EIGHT	> 008		hpnhsh	109
008		EIGHT°	< 007		hpnhshd	110
009		NORTHd	= 001+254		hpnpnsh	
010					hdphpn	112
011		an	= 127		hdphpn	113
012					hhhpn	006
013					hszpn	067
014		húr			hszhsh	061
015		jau			hszgzg	068
016		od		币 *bi*	hszs	062
017					hszhs	063

018	𘰾	in	= 454		hszspn	065
019	𘰿	iu		丙 *bing*	hszpn	066
020	𘱀	y	> 021		hpsz	104
021	𘱁	mo	< 020		hpszd	105
022	𘱂	cau			hpszhs	106
023	𘱃				hdpszd	114
024	𘱄			而 *er*	hpszss	107
025	𘱅				hpszssh	108
026	𘱆	ONE	> 027		hhg	018
027	𘱇	ONE°	< 026		hhgd	019
028	𘱈	sh			hxp	134
029	𘱉	tau	> 030		hhxp	020
030	𘱊	tau°	< 029		hhxpd	021
031	𘱋				hhxpn	017
032	𘱌			天 *tian*	hhpn	012
033	𘱍	is	> 034		hhpnpn	013
034	𘱎	is°	< 033		hhpnpnd	014
035	𘱏				hhpnsh	015
036	𘱐	xu			hhstpg	007
037	𘱑	di			hhhsh	005
038	𘱒	zhi_3	= 128		hphg	103
039	𘱓			开 *kai*	hhpg	016
040	𘱔	WEST		十 *shi*	hs	022
041	𘱕	su		卡 *ka*	phsn	213
042	𘱖				hsw	059
043	𘱗				hswd	060
044	𘱘				hdpg	116
045	𘱙			支 *zhi*	hszn	132
046	𘱚	hor^x	> 047		hssz	041
047	𘱛	hor	< 046		hsszd	042
048	𘱜				hshs	028
049	𘱝	ai_2	= 122	市 *shi*	hszs	043
050	𘱞				hszpn	055
051	𘱟	ha			hsdph	052
052	𘱠	RECORD	= 460		hszsh	053

053	巫	qa			hspnpnh	044
054	木			木 *mu*	hspn	045
055	本				hspnh	046
056	朮				hpnsh	047
057	夾	xo			hspnhpn	049
058	朸				hspns	050
059	杏	uni		杏 *xing*	hspnszh	051
060	㚔	bai_2	= 061		hzhg	
061	㚔	bai	= 060		hszhg	070
062	並	iáng			hssdph	036
063	朿	ETERNAL			hgpzn	074
064	皮	lu_2	= 208		hpszn	100
065	夾		= 116	夾 *jia*	hpnpnpn	091
066	土			土 *tu*	hsh	023
067	圡	eu			hsz	056
068	兆	us	= 103		hszgd	058
069	共	rí			hshpn	024
070	兲	w			hshddd	025
071	兲	ong	> 360		hshdddd	026
072	为	EAST			hszpn	057
073	劳	ên			hshzp	029
074	幷	tir			hshss	027
075	主	hong	= 328		hhsh	004
076	北	ho		北 *ya*	hstg	030
077	北				hstdg	031
078	北				hsthhg	032
079	地				hstzdg	033
080	北	ii			hstg	034
081	艾	MONTH	> 082		hspn	039
082	艾	üe	< 081		hspnd	040
083	廿	sï			hssn	037
084	斗	ra	> 393		hphs	077
085	六	SIX	> 086		hppn	080
086	六	SIX°	< 085		hppnd	081
087	龙	jï			hpzn	098

088	𘥦				hzp	118
089	𘥧	zu			hpz	097
090	𘥨	ó		廾 *gong*	hps	079
091	𘥩				hpx	101
092	𘥪	ud_3	= 105		hpg	099
093	𘥫				hxp	121
094	𘥬				hxp	122
095	𘥭			女 *nü*	wph	422
096	𘥮				wphpn	423
097	𘥯	úr			wphdd	424
098	𘥰	al			hx	123
099	𘥱	ad			hxtd	124
100	𘥲	$én_2$	= 361		hxh	125
101	𘥳	deu			hxpn	126
102	𘥴	cu			hxx	130
103	𘥵	us_2	= 068		hxdg	131
104	𘥶	dz_2	= 354		hxn	133
105	𘥷	ud_2	= 344	大 *da*	hpn	082
106	𘥸	ung_2	= 345	太 *tai*	hpnd	083
107	𘥹	oi_2	= 347		hpnpn	089
108	𘥺				hpnpn	090
109	𘥻	e_2	= 348		hpnzp	092
110	𘥼				hpnsh	086
111	𘥽				hpnsh	087
112	𘥾	ge_2	= 349		hpnwd	095
113	𘥿	$ï_2$	= 353		hpnszh	088
114	𘦀	$î_2$	= 352		hpnwss	094
115	𘦁	SOME			hpnw	093
116	𘦂		= 065		hddpn	115
117	𘦃	$qú^x$	> 118	丈 *zhang*	hpn	084
118	𘦄	qú	< 117		hpnd	085
119	𘦅	dau			zpn	371
120	𘦆				zpn	372
121	𘦇				zgpn	
122	𘦈	ai	= 395		zhs	363

123		ar			zhds	364
124					zhpn	365
125		aû			zhx	366
126			= 401		zsh	
127		an_2	= 011		znhpn	373
128		zhi_2	= 452		zhsh	102
129			= 453		zz	117
130		xa		不 *bu*	zsd	370
131		u			zzn	379
132		m^x	> 133	又 *you*	zn	374
133		m	< 132		znd	375
134		TWO	> 135		znsh	376
135		TWO°	< 134		znshd	377
136				刀 *dao*	zp	383
137		ir			zph	384
138		iû	= 382		zhsz	381
139		na		力 *li*	zp	385
140		en			zspn	382
141		SEVEN	> 441		zhphs	367
142		MANAGE			zhphsh	369
143		xua			zzn	408
144		ún		乙 *yin*	zzn	409
145		FORTY		了 *liao*	zg	397
146		gi	= 336		zgzg	401
147		ju_3	= 148		zgh	399
148		ju_2	= 149		zgddd	410
149		ju	= 147	子 *zi*	zgh	398
150		ja			zgts	400
151		hu			zgds	405
152		ji	= 337		zgtzgd	402
153		ji_2	= 152		zgtpzd	403
154		on			zgpn	404
155		FIFTY		乙 *yi*	z	411
156					zh	412
157					zhs	389

158					zhg	391
159		DAY			zhpn	392
160		giu			zhsh	390
161		au			zpn	395
162		ci			zgpn	393
163		ki			zsdph	394
164					pzpn	304
165		gu	= 451	勺 *shao*	pzd	288
166		THREE	> 167		pzhhg	276
167		THREE°	< 166		pzhhgd	277
168		qo			pzp	287
169		qó		欠 *qian*	pzpn	279
170		MR			pgpn	307
171		da	= 215	久 *jiu*	pzn	280
172		uh	> 173	夂 *zhi*	pzn	281
173		uh°	< 172		pznd	282
174		as			pznpn	283
175		eng		各 *ge*	pznszh	284
176		bú	= 272		pzds	285
177					pzdds	286
178		ku	> 427	几 *ji*	pz	289
179		dú			pzp	293
180		shï			pzdp	294
181		iúng			pzhs	298
182					pzzzn	300
183		car	> 431		pzhhsh	296
184		am	> 185	乃 *nai*	zzp	406
185		am°	< 184		zzpd	407
186		o		及 *ji*	pzzn	305
187		MYRIAD			pzznh	306
188		SMALL			pdsds	275
189		a			zpdd	386
190					zpdds	387
191		mó			pzd	302
192		MRS			pzp	301

193					dpz	341
194					pzsh	303
195		CHIEF		午 *wu*	phhs	194
196		bu			phhsh	195
197		ah			phhgpn	197
198					phhpn	199
199		ang			phzpn	200
200					phzp	205
201					phzp	206
202		tu			phzp	208
203					phpz	209
204				矢 *shi*	phhpn	198
205		de			phzpn	204
206		li			phszpn	202
207		ming			phdphpn	203
208		lu	> 209		phszn	210
209		lu°	< 208		phsznd	
210		aú			phgpn	201
211		THIRTY	> 447		w	413
212					whp	414
213		to	= 287		wsh	415
214		da_2	= 215		wpn	419
215		da	= 171	久 *jiu*	pzn	280
216					wpnd	421
217		do			wgpn	418
218		SEAL			wx	433
219		$én_3$	= 100		wxh	434
220		mú			pshhg	217
221		$ñ^x$	> 222		pshpn	219
222		ñ	< 221	伏 *fu*	pshpnd	220
223		mu^x	> 224	仕 *shi*	pshsh	214
224		mu	< 223		pshshd	215
225		bi		付 *fu*	pshgd	218
226		ü			pszhs	222
227					pszn	223

228	仃	lú	> 229		pszg	228
229	仂	ta	< 228		pszgd	230
230	仅		< 231	仅 *jin*	pszn	224
231	伙		< 230		psznd	225
232	伋				pszzn	231
233	仉	kú			pspz	221
234	仍	ta_2	= 229		pszgs	229
235	化	ri			psg	232
236	化	ur			pspng	233
237	们	du			psz	226
238	伸	BORN			pszhs	227
239	八	LI		八 *ba*	pn	236
240	伞	TEN	< 422		pnhg	247
241	分	pu	> 242		pnhg	243
242	分	fu	< 241		pnhgd	244
243	父	HEAVEN			pnhpn	246
244	仐	s	> 258	仐 *san*	pnhs	237
245	爷	ú			pnhhs	238
246	余	qu			pnhgpd	245
247	令	t	= 260		pnzd	261
248	孚	YOUNG			pnzgh	259
249	务	dû			pnzp	260
250	介	heu			pnps	251
251	公	n		公 *gong*	pnwd	262
252	仝	ô	= 253		pnpn	252
253	公	$ô_2$	= 252		pnpn	253
254	仝	d	= 350		pnpnsh	254
255	仝	or			pnsh	249
256	佥	em_2	= 257		pnsws	
257	金	em	= 256		pnsdph	255
258	伞	z	< 243	伞 *san*	pndphs	256
259	灸	hur			pndppn	257
260	令	t_2	= 247		pndd	258
261	半	l			pnpns	269
262	火	ui	> 263		pnpnpn	271

263		ui°	< 262		pnpnpnd	272
264		ng			pnpnwp	274
265		ui_2			ddpnpnpn	315
266		SIXTY	> 424	乂 *yi*	pn	263
267		SIXTY°°	< 266		dpnd	265
268		xe			pnhsh	266
269		er_2	< 341		pnpn	268
270		ém			pnsh	267
271					wp	425
272		$bú_2$	= 176		wpds	426
273		un			wpdd	427
274		iá		幺 *yao*	wwd	435
275		$LUCK_2$	= 277		wdhsdph	429
276		$LUCK_3$	= 275		wdzhds	432
277		LUCK	> 380		wdpnhgpn	430
278		$LUCK_4$	= 276		wdpnwd	
279		po			sdtspn	138
280		áng			sdspnh	139
281			= 282		sdtshhh	
282			= 281	非 *fei*	shhtshhh	140
283		k			sddtzn	141
284					sh	136
285		GOLD	> 286	山 *shan*	sws	189
286		GOLD°	< 285		swsd	190
287		to_2	= 213		pzsh	278
288		bun		中 *che*	wss	416
289		iú			swspn	191
290		án		出 *chu*	swsws	417
291					gpzn	150
292					szpnz	193
293					szpnhpn	193
294		SOUTH		小 *xiao*	gpn	149
295		p	> 360		sdph	142
296					sdpz	143
297		pú			sdpws	145

298	尚	co			sdpszd	147
299	将				sdphpszd	146
300	冂	SEVENTY	> 301	冂 *jiong*	sz	151
301	冋	SEVENTY°	< 300		szd	152
302	用	il			szhs	154
303	同	ing			szhhs	153
304	困				szhspn	156
305	肉			肉 *rou*	szpnpn	157
306	闪				szw	159
307	闷				szwd	160
308	冈	COMPOSE	= 405		szdppn	158
309	田	hó			szhshh	173
310	冊	$COMPOSE_2$	= 308		szhs	155
311	冉	b			szhd	171
312	冉	tum	< 406		szhd	172
313	冉	lo			szhp	168
314	将	iang			szhdp	170
315	朩	she			szhpn	169
316	目			目 *mu*	szhhh	163
317	月	TEXT			szzh	164
318	罢				szsshpn	177
319	巾	go			szss	176
320	由		= 410	由 *you*	szhsh	174
321	虫	yo			szhsh	175
322	肉	ón			szspn	178
323	口	qi		口 *kou*	szh	179
324	虺	üen			sszhszhh	180
325	屯				szhg	188
326	文	ie^x	> 327	文 *wen*	dhpn	309
327	文	ie	< 326		dhpnd	310
328	主	$hong_2$	= 075	主 *zhu*	dhhsh	308
329	亦	ün			dhpgpn	311
330	戈	zh	< 028		dhxp	312
331	穴	neu			dzpn	361
332	穴	nai		穴 *xue*	ddzpn	349

333		QUEEN			dwgpd	362
334		g		凡 *fan*	dpz	342
335		ia	> 380		dtg	316
336		gi_2	= 146		dgx	314
337		ji_3	= 153		dtspzd	313
338		ih			ddthpszhhh	346
339		i			dphpn	320
340		x			dppn	328
341		er			dppnpn	329
342		WINE			dpszhsh	326
343					dpszhshh	327
344		ud	= 092	火 *huo*	dppn	330
345		ung	= 106		dppnd	331
346		ung_2	= 345		dppndd	332
347		oi	= 107		dppnpn	336
348		e	= 109		dppnzp	337
349		ge	= 112		dppnwd	339
350		d_2	= 254		dppnsh	333
351					dppnhs	334
352		í	= 114		dppnwss	338
353		ï	= 113		dppnszh	335
354		dz	= 104		dpxn	343
355		udu			dphgpn	319
356					pnhsh	240
357		úng			dphsz	317
358		mû		半 *ban*	pnhhs	241
359					pnhhsh	242
360		pong	= 295+071		sdphhshdddd	
361		én	= 399		dpxh	344
362		iau			dphx	324
363					dphszs	318
364			= 294		ddp	
365		qid			dzhpn	353
366		ul			dzhs	350
367		zhung			dzhgpd	352

368		FOUR	> 369		dzhg	354
369		FOUR°	< 368		dzhgd	355
370		REGION^{x}	> 371		szhpg	181
371		REGION	< 370		szhpgd	182
372		û			dzpn	357
373		GREAT			dzpn	358
374		tai			dzpnsh	359
375		ca			dzszhs	356
376					dzxh	360
377		oh			dzhsh	351
378		DITTO			dd	437
379		TENT			hspn	038
380		LUCK$_5$	= 335+277		dtgwdpnhgpn	
381		hong^{x}	> 328	王 *wang*	hhsh	002
382		iû$_2$	= 138		hhsz	003
383				干 *gan*	hhs	008
384					hhgdtpn	009
385					hhspnhpn	010
386					hhsgdppn	011
387				廿 *ershi*	hssh	035
388					hspnhh	048
389		RECORD$_2$	= 052		hszhsh	054
390					hszhhs	064
391					hgpzn	075
392					hgdtn	076
393		ra°	< 084		hphsd	078
394					hpdph	096
395		ai$_3$	= 049	平 *ping*	hdphs	111
396					hxph	120
397		jïh			hx	127
398					hxh	128
399		én$_4$	= 219		hxhs	129
400				丨 *shu*	s	135

401			= 126		hssh	137
402					sdphpn	144
403					sg	148
404					szh	161
405		COMPOSE$_3$	= 310	月 *yue*	szhh	162
406		tum^x	> 312		szh	165
407					pzhhh	166
408					szhh	167
409					szhs	183
410			= 320		szhsh	184
411				巾 *jin*	szs	185
412					szsh	186
413					szshddd	187
414				生 *sheng*	phhsh	196
415					phzpd	207
416					phhs	211
417					phdphs	212
418					pshshpn	216
419					pszhs	234
420				白 *bai*	pszhh	235
421					pnhsh	239
422		TEN°	< 240		pnhgd	248
423					pnssg	250
424		SIXTY°	< 266		pnd	264
425					pnpnsh	270
426					pnpnpnzp	273
427		ku°	< 178	凡 *fan*	pzd	290
428					pzhh	291
429					pzhhh	292
430				儿 *er*	pg	295
431		car°	< 183		pzhhshd	297
432					pzpn	299
433			> 434		dphpn	321
434			< 433		dphpnd	322
435					dpnhpn	323

436					dpszhh	325
437					dpzzd	340
438		fen		汁 *zhi*	ddths	345
439					ddthpszd	347
440					ddtphpn	348
441		SEVEN°	〈 141		zhphsd	368
442					znddszh	478
443					zh	380
444					zpd	388
445					zpn	396
446					wpn	420
447		THIRTY°	〈 211	厶 *si*	wd	428
448					wddhs	431
449		EIGHTY			x	436
450					hshw	
451		gu_2	= 165	勺 *shao*	pzt	
452		zhi	= 038		hphsh	
453			= 129	万 *wan*	hzp	
454		in_2	= 018		hzspn	
455		ih_2	= 338		hpzhhs	
456					wsp	
457				九 *jiu*	zp	
458					dpzg	
459					hspn	
000	□	[X]	[ILLEGIBLE]		szh	
000	⬚	[Ø]	[LOST]		szh	

INDEX

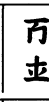
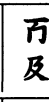
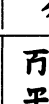
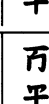
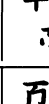
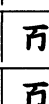
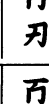
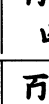
LIST OF BLOCKS

Order of presentation: ① accumulative number(s) of characters in the left column of the Khitan block, including single characters on a line, ② accumulative number(s) of characters in the right column of the Khitan block, ③ Khitan block, ④ Romanization, ⑤ total number of occurrences, ⑥ places of attestation (line-block) in *Xiao Dilu* (D) and *Yelü Xiangwen* (X).

①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
001			NORTH	5	D4-18 27-14 27-23 X11-25 46-9
001 254			NORTH:d	2	X11-38 26-6
002			TWENTY	3	D51-7 X1-26 23-22
003	122		003.ai	1	X21-34
003	123		003.ar	1	X41-10
004			WHITE	1	D34-15
006			MOUNTAIN	4	D36-8 X33-17 34-19 46-18
006	033		MOUNTAIN.is	1	X25-30
006	140		MOUNTAIN.en	2	D39-12 X37-2

006	151		MOUNTAIN.hu	1	X4-4
006	186		MOUNTAIN.o	1	D1-13
006 016	186		MOUNTAIN.o.od	1	X32-37
006	205		MOUNTAIN.de	1	X33-32
006	335		MOUNTAIN.ia	1	X21-26
007			EIGHT	2	D30-1 X1-27
007	205		EIGHT.de	1	D15-10
007 341	254		EIGHT.d.er	1	D2-25
011			an	1	D33-2
014	245		húr.ú	3	D10-10 X1-25 35-28
014 179	245		húr.ú.dú	1	D31-17
014 262	245		húr.ú.ui	1	D45-1
015			jau	3	D5-4 19-8 38-11
015	140		jau.en	2	X35-9 44-2
015 262	246		jau.qu.ui	1	X9-21
015 051	366 122		jau.ul.ha.ai	4	D15-11 22-1 34-24 X28-16
015 051	366 123		jau.ul.ha.ar	1	D36-17
015 066	366 122		jau.ul.066.ai	1	X28-20

016	131	帀 夂	od.u	1	X41-2
017		甬	017	2	D15-23 17-3
017	076	甬 北	017.ho	1	D50-12
017	255	甬 厶	017.or	2	X21-14 31-6
017 261	304 144	甬 困 丬 叉	017.304.l.ún	1	X27-16
019		丙	iu	5	D46-18 X14-26 15-19 16-22 32-20
020 051	067 098	万 土 亚 方	y.eu.ha.al	2	D2-23 X39-36
020 051 162	067 098	万 土 亚 方 朵	y.eu.ha.al.ci	1	X42-2
020 152	067	万 土 豹	y.eu.ji	2	D19-13 21-7
020 236	067 080	万 土 化 北	y.eu.ur.ii	1	X30-27
020 236 337	067 131 140	万 土 化 夂 讷 朮	y.eu.ur.u.ji$_3$.en	1	X34-21
020 246	076	万 北 余	y.ho.qu	1	D2-20
020 131	084 344	万 冇 夂 火	y.ra.u.ud	1	D1-14
020 162	084	万 冇 朵	y.ra.ci	1	D19-9

020 051	098 098		y.al.ha.al	2	D20-16 33-3
020 051	123 379		y.ar.ha.TENT	1	D34-2
020 115	146 222		y.gi.SOME.ñ	1	X2-33
020	161		y.au	2	X20-39 37-41
020 186	161 322		y.au.o.ón	1	D37-2
020 186 341	161 322		y.au.o.ón.er	1	D36-3
020 366	161 151		y.au.ul.hu	1	D32-9
020 366 099	161 151		y.au.ul.hu.ad	1	D43-6
020 186	162 322		y.ci.o.ón	1	D40-20
020	199		y.ang	1	D13-1
020 137	222 140		y.ñ.ir.en	1	D43-10
020 115	228		y.lú.SOME	1	X4-23
020 115	228 222		y.lú.SOME.ñ	1	X3-31

020 107	246		y.qu.oi$_2$	2	X26-33 32-10
020 246	304		y.304.qu	2	X15-10 19-12
020	312		y.tum	1	X24-29
020	327		y.ie	2	D40-9 X8-19
020 084 152	327 131		y.ie.ra.u.ji	1	D49-11
021			mo	22	D11-15 11-22 15-18 16-4 26-22 35-9 X7-24 7-29 7-32 8-20 12-32 13-2 13-22 13-28 15-8 15-25 16-10 16-24 20-22 20-33 33-33 34-33
021 261 020	108 349		mo.108.l.ge.y	2	X36-26 26-27
021 140	162		mo.ci.en	1	D18-2
021	247		mo.t	10	D18-9 22-9 X7-20 12-28 16-6 18-5 20-7 21-3 32-29 32-35
021	251		mo.n	3	D17-11 35-15 X8-2
021	254		mo.d	3	D12-12 16-15 25-24
021	341		mo.er	4	D31-20 36-21 44-4 X37-43
021	347		mo.oi	3	X21-25 41-5 43-3
021	350		mo.d$_2$	3	X8-9 14-16 35-38

021 140	350		mo.d_2.en	2	D40-1 X39-26
022	097		cau.úr	5	D28-5 X8-13 10-8 12-5 12-16
022	152		cau.ji	3	D6-5 7-9 28-2
022 339	236		cau.ur.i	2	D13-20 X12-12
024 262	090 080		024.ó.ui.ii	1	X12-18
024 366	090		024.ó.ul	1	X10-13
025 098	189		025.a.al	1	X22-23
025 290	189		025.a.án	1	D48-2
025 051 144	261 098		025.l.ha.al.ún	1	X10-25
025 131	261		025.l.u	1	X22-31
026			ONE	10	D5-17 22-11 38-1 X2-4 13-7 20-24 27-13 30-24 31-11 35-33
026 080	131		ONE.u.ii	1	X22-33
026 205	172		ONE.uh.de	1	X28-29
026 334	244		ONE.s.g	1	X8-16

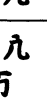
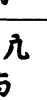
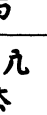
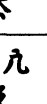
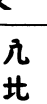
026	339		ONE.i	1	D6-12
027			ONE°	2	D15-21 X20-38
028 099	051 140		sh.ha.ad.en	1	X36-14
028 379	510		sh.ha.TENT	3	D13-24 30-15 X17-23
028 261 361	058 349		sh.058.l.ge.én	1	D48-15
028 244	067		sh.eu.s	3	D40-21 X38-3 45-17
028 244	067 140		sh.eu.s.en	1	D34-16
028 051 290	076 189		sh.ho.ha.a.án	1	X2-11
028 273 123	090 051		sh.ó.un.ha.ar	1	D28-17
028 273 290	090 189 140		sh.ó.un.a.án.en	1	X18-1
028	097		sh.úr	1	X8-12
028 244	098		sh.al.s	1	D47-7
028 222	099		sh.ad.ñ	1	D40-5

028	127	𘤪 𘥥	sh.an$_2$	1	D25-14
028	140	𘤪 𘥣	sh.en	2	D5-24 X35-2
028 090 140	149 097	𘤪 𘤽 𘥁 𘥦 𘥣	sh.ju.ó.úr.en	1	D6-14
028	161	𘤪 𘥦	sh.au	1	X14-14
028 189	161	𘤪 𘥦 𘥤	sh.au.a	1	D33-22
028 189	161 379	𘤪 𘥦 𘥤 𘥧	sh.au.a.TENT	1	X11-15
028 189	169	𘤪 𘥨 𘥤	sh.qó.a	1	D3-7
028 076	186	𘤪 𘥩 𘥪	sh.o.ho	1	D7-12
028	189	𘤪 𘥤	sh.a	1	D33-15
028 069	189	𘤪 𘥤 𘥫	sh.a.rí	10	D3-2 3-8 9-7 16-14 19-3 X19-33 19-21 20-1 20-4 20-41
028 069	189 140	𘤪 𘥤 𘥫 𘥣	sh.a.rí.en	4	D11-21 26-6 26-15 X16-19
028	199	𘤪 𘥬	sh.ang	1	D14-19
028 151 140	222 174	𘤪 𘥭 𘥮 𘥯 𘥣	sh.ñ.hu.as.en	1	D30-20
028 254 097	222 131	𘤪 𘥭 𘥰 𘥱 𘥁	sh.ñ.d.u.úr	1	D28-14

028 349 339	235 205	𠂤化 ⿰⿱𠂤夭 ⿱𠂤大	sh.ri.ge.de.i	1	X6-20
028	261	𠂤屮	sh.l	2	X13-4 13-24
028	264	𠂤⿰𠂤𠂤	sh.ng	1	D9-16
028 197	274	𠂤幺 ⿱𠂤朱	sh.iá.ah	4	X32-8 37-33 38-8 38-12
028 356	274	𠂤幺 ⿱𠂤尘	sh.iá.356	1	X14-11
028 131	302	𠂤用 ⿱𠂤攴	sh.il.u	1	X2-12
028 261 366	302 131 144	𠂤用 ⿱屮攴 ⿱平攴	sh.il.l.u.ul.ún	1	D17-19
028	335	𠂤寸	sh.ia	3	D40-12 X17-12 38-4
028	339	𠂤⿱𠂤大	sh.i	11	D11-25 14-18 19-7 21-5 21-11 X11-18 11-24 11-37 27-23 25-27 27-29
028 133	339	𠂤⿱𠂤大 ⿱𠂤又	sh.i.m	2	D46-5 46-6
028 162	339 131	𠂤⿱𠂤大 ⿱𠂤攴	sh.i.ci.u	1	D3-14
028 243	339	𠂤⿱𠂤大 ⿱𠂤父	sh.i.HEAVEN	1	D48-8
028 243	339 222	𠂤⿱𠂤大 ⿱𠂤父 伏	sh.i.HEAVEN.ñ	1	X7-35

028 334	366 244		sh.ul.g.s	1	D31-19
028 334 140	366 244		sh.ul.g.s.en	1	X26-25
029			tau	6	D5-5 15-16 24-4 43-5 X6-9 40-21
029 090	041 262		tau.su.ó.ui	3	X2-14 3-17 24-6
029 090 051	041 366 122		tau.su.ó.ul.ha.ai	2	D9-20 11-5
029 090 151	041 366		tau.su.ó.ul.hu	1	X37-23
029 205			tau:de	1	D21-22
029	205		tau.de	1	X28-15
029	273		tau.un	2	X7-14 18-21
029 288	366		tau.ul.bun	1	X25-24
033			is	5	D49-9 51-8 X4-21 6-8 28-10
033 341	254		is.d.er	1	D2-15
033 338	289		is.iú.ih	1	D51-10
033 455	289		is.iú.ih$_2$	1	D1-15

033	353	禾谷	is.ï	1	X21-11
036		玊	xu	1	X4-33
036	140	玊木	xu.en	1	X16-35
037 018		王 雨	di:in	2	D3-26 9-19
037	037	王王	di.di	1	X6-13
038	069	尺卉	zhi$_3$.rí	1	D5-8
038 140	069	尺卉 木	zhi$_3$.rí.en	1	D4-23
039	033	死禾	039.is	1	D45-4
040		十	WEST	4	D4-19 27-24 X29-33 46-6
047 059	090	冇廾 杏	hor.ó.uni	2	X7-31 8-1
047	131	冇及	hor.u	1	X5-31
047 273	131	冇及 火	hor.u.un	3	D28-13 28-10 43-18
047	144	冇叉	hor.ún	1	D15-6
047 131	217 000	冇朱 及□	hor.do.u.[X]	1	X37-20
047 339	217	冇朱 关	hor.do.i	1	X36-33
047 140	244	冇伞 木	hor.s.en	1	D29-11
047 341	244	冇伞 爻	hor.s.er	1	D28-6
047	254	冇公	hor.d	1	X29-12

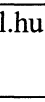
048	144		048.ún	1	D34-13
048	189		048.a	1	X26-36
048 339			048:i	1	D40-19
048 341	356		048.356.er	1	D31-11
050 344 334	131 261		050.u.ud.l.g	1	D18-16
050 366	131 244		050.u.ul.s	1	D43-15
050	302		050.il	1	X46-8
051	098		ha.al	1	X22-34
052 290	189		RECORD.a.án	1	X37-29
052	334		RECORD.g	1	X22-29
052 020	334		RECORD.g.y	1	D37-10
052 100	334		RECORD.g.$én_2$	1	X39-38
052 107	334		RECORD.g.oi_2	1	X39-37
052 144	334		RECORD.g.ún	3	D36-13 40-3 X28-38
052 244	334 080		RECORD.g.s.ii	1	X46-20

052 347	334		RECORD.g.oi	1	X9-32
052 361	334		RECORD.g.én	6	D1-7 36-5 X1-9 8-17 39-12 40-1
052	348		RECORD.e	12	D27-21 37-13 44-16 48-19 X2-25 4-26 4-35 22-1 31-10 39-40 40-3 45-3
052 247	348		RECORD.e.t	1	D25-21
052 254	349		RECORD.ge.d	1	X23-30
053			qa	2	X4-5 8-33
053	011		qa.an	1	X15-33
053 011	051		qa.ha.an	6	X1-1 5-6 5-26 14-32 15-31 19-3
053 099	051 140		qa.ha.ad.en	2	X3-1 3-32
053 289	051		qa.ha.iú	3	D32-18 X36-2 44-17
053	098		qa.al	1	D33-17
053 090	098 152		qa.al.ó.ji	1	D39-18
053 339	099		qa.ad.i	1	D16-13
053 189	151		qa.hu.a	1	X10-22
057	220		xo.mú	1	X33-5

057 107	220		xo.mú.oi$_2$	1	X45-14
057 341	220		xo.mú.er	1	D39-14
059 152	246		uni.qu.ji	1	X43-17
059 222	246		uni.qu.ñ	1	D14-4
061			bai	1	D31-21
061	033		bai.is	3	D22-3 30-5 34-20
061 140	140		bai.en.en	1	D50-3
061	254		bai.d	2	X24-11 34-3
061 051	254 122		bai.d.ha.ai	1	D31-9
061 051 123	261 189		bai.l.ha.a.ar	1	D38-17
063			ETERNAL	4	X34-43 35-26 38-28 47-3
063	033		ETERNAL.is	1	X31-25
063	222		ETERNAL.ñ	1	X38-11
063 051 123	310 189		ETERNAL.COMPOSE$_2$ .ha.a.ar	2	D1-17 37-12
063 023	335 339		ETERNAL.ia.023.i	1	X28-37

066	080		066.ii	1	X21-16
066 069 151	189 261		066.a.rí.l.hu	1	X36-34
066 144	261		066.l.ún	1	X35-20
066 162	261		066.l.ci	1	D8-2
066	361		066.én	1	X29-8
067	041		eu.su	1	D50-5
067	059		eu.uni	1	X32-5
067	097		eu.úr	12	D15-8 21-20 22-15 35-3 X12-13 22-9 23-24 28-13 29-11 31-1 35-10 36-7
067	152		eu.ji	1	D39-19
067	172		eu.uh	1	X28-28
067	222		eu.ñ	1	D38-20
067 341	222		eu.ñ.er	1	D36-15
067	236		eu.ur	4	D13-15 27-3 X17-17 29-9
067 112	236 100		eu.ur.ge$_2$.én$_2$	1	D50-15
067	262		eu.ui	2	D9-9 X4-28
067 222	334 172		eu.g.ñ.uh	1	X18-23

067	366		eu.ul	3	X11-21 44-15 45-22
067 107	366 348		eu.ul.oi$_2$.e	1	X34-18
067 112	366 020		eu.ul.ge$_2$.y	1	D6-13
067 131	366 152		eu.ul.u.ji	1	D22-8
067 334	366 140		eu.ul.g.en	1	X31-5
067 349	366 020		eu.ul.ge.y	1	X29-14
067 349	366 348		eu.ul.ge.e	1	X18-2
068	334		us.g	2	X9-22 35-5
068 140	334		us.g.en	1	X46-19
068 205	334		us.g.de	1	X37-27
069 152	131 140		rí.u.ji.en	2	D36-7 36-14
069	144		rí.ún	1	D11-17
069 076	144		rí.ún.ho	1	D26-29
069	222		rí.ñ	1	X35-37
069 051 144	261 098		rí.l.ha.al.ún	1	D29-2

069 151	261		rí.l.hu	1	X38-15
069	339		rí.i	4	D45-15 X3-24 8-3 32-21
069	347		rí.oi	1	X26-2
069 372	366 144		rí.ul.û.ún	1	X38-31
071			ong	5	D3-22 9-13 X2-18 7-8 9-9
071 154			ong:on	6	D8-16 10-20 12-4 14-26 24-12 25-9
072			EAST	2	X29-32 46-5
072 261	236 339		EAST.ur.l.i	1	X34-10
073	244		ên.s	2	D49-3 X21-7
074	288		tir.bun	1	D12-9
075			hong	2	D3-25 9-18
075	037		hong.di	2	X5-17 23-29
075 018	037		hong.di.in	1	X3-23
075	140		hong.en	1	X11-2
076 080	020		ho.y.ii	1	X26-32
076	105		ho.ud$_2$	1	X40-20
076	162		ho.ci	4	D37-15 44-9 X38-26 46-15
076	189		ho.a	1	X5-5

076 011	189		ho.a.an	4	X5-28 12-9 22-21 23-19
076 099	189		ho.a.ad	1	X3-33
076	205		ho.de	2	D11-18 X24-32
076 339	339		ho.i.i	1	D40-11
076	357		ho.úng	1	D6-6
076	396		ho.396	2	D17-17 X41-14
076 311	000 222		ho.[l].b.ñ	1	D1-10
079			079	2	D44-19 23-14
080			ii	1	X22-19
080 097	131		ii.u.úr	1	D17-16
080 366 140	131 334		ii.u.ul.g.en	1	X26-22
080	189		ii.a	1	X37-22
080	205		ii.de	2	X11-9 27-33
080 152	372		ii.û.ji	1	X4-7
080 262	372		ii.û.ui	1	X26-15
080 262	372 361		ii.û.ui.én	1	X31-28

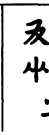
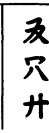
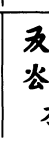
080 366	372 334	𠂤只 平几	ii.û.ul.g	1	D32-4
081		女	MONTH	8	D50-10 51-6 X2-2 30-33 33-26 34-9 44-27 48-6
081	140	女木	MONTH.en	1	D35-21
081 339	205	女矢 关	MONTH.de.i	1	X31-27
081	244	女仝	MONTH.s	2	X24-23 30-16
082 133	073 011	奴耂 又灭	üe.ên.m.an	1	D35-11
082 133	073 127	奴耂 又殳	üe.ên.m.an$_2$	1	D26-9
083		辻	sï	3	D19-10 X24-26 25-6
084 273	131	𠂆及 火	ra.u.un	1	X39-3
084 090 322	261 186	𠂆屮 廾反 冉	ra.l.ó.o.ón	2	D1-3 2-8
084 372	261 337	𠂆屮 只讷	ra.l.û.ji$_3$	1	X37-17
085		亣	SIX	6	D25-2 26-3 X24-22 30-32 33-27 45-1
086	341	亣公	SIX°.er	1	D3-9
087 288	033	龙黍 屮	jï.is.bun	2	D23-8 X9-23
087	205	龙矢	jï.de	1	X19-8

089 372	323 152		zu.qi.û.ji	1	X35-15
089 361	349		zu.ge.én	1	X4-12
091 076	186		091.o.ho	1	D3-1
091 322	186		091.o.ón	2	X8-26 13-12
092 339	054		ud_3.054.i	1	X5-4
092	097		ud_3.úr	6	D4-1 7-16 18-18 47-11 X7-12 7-18
092 261	097 144		ud_3.úr.l.ún	1	X23-11
092 261	097 288		ud_3.úr.l.bun	1	D31-3
092 356	097		ud_3.úr.356	1	X3-5
092	152		ud_3.ji	1	D18-17
092	236		ud_3.ur	2	D10-11 20-6
096	339		096.i	2	D30-19 34-14
097	107		úr.oi_2	1	X44-1
097	131		úr.u	1	X44-8
097 289	189		úr.a.iú	1	X14-15
098	107		al.oi_2	1	X31-18

098 152	131		al.u.ji	1	D48-18
098 153	131		al.u.ji$_2$	1	D38-18
098	189		al.a	1	X17-24
098 123	189		al.a.ar	3	D5-15 30-16 43-14
098 354	189 347		al.a.dz.oi	1	X22-27
098 131	261 337		al.l.u.ji$_3$	1	X34-29
098 151	261 011		al.l.hu.an	1	X2-26
098	339		al.i	1	D36-19
099 011	189		ad.a.an	1	D8-3
100 341	020		én$_2$.y.er	1	D36-23
100	097		én$_2$.úr	1	X11-30
100	131		én$_2$.u	1	X4-22
101			deu	5	X2-20 3-14 8-8 9-2 9-33
101	097		deu.úr	1	D14-11
101	273		deu.un	6	D12-20 13-5 16-22 16-31 24-8 26-11
102	152		cu.ji	1	X44-14
102	251		cu.n	2	D15-1 20-5

104 244	067 347		dz_2.eu.s.oi	1	X32-33
104 080	244		dz_2.s.ii	1	D6-15
104 347	262		dz_2.ui.oi	1	X30-19
104	289		dz_2.iú	1	X14-3
106	189		ung_2.a	1	X35-43
112	205		ge_2.de	1	D46-19
115			SOME	9	D6-9 28-22 33-10 X2-30 5-29 10-28 12-7 22-24 32-15
115 339	205		SOME.de.i	2	D29-14 X41-8
119 144	097		dau.úr.ún	2	D30-4 X42-7
119 123	189		dau.a.ar	1	D30-12
119	249		dau.dû	4	D13-6 16-23 X1-4 2-23
119 051	366 122		dau.ul.ha.ai	1	X25-13
119 090 076	366 186		dau.ul.ó.o.ho	2	X16-3 20-29
119 131	366 337		dau.ul.u.ji_3	1	X32-22
119 151	366 011		dau.ul.hu.an	1	X29-2

122			ai	31	D2-12 2-18 2-27 3-6 3-12 3-18 17-10 19-4 21-15 26-17 38-12 39-3 43-20 47-16 51-4 X1-28 2-10 3-25 7-6 7-34 8-30 11-11 16-37 19-23 22-14 24-30 28-11 30-31 33-24 44-25 48-4
122	100		ai.én$_2$	1	D4-9
122	140		ai.en	8	D12-22 13-7 24-10 26-13 40-15 47-13 X1-5 6-5
122	205		ai.de	3	X17-20 23-23 26-26
122 339	235		ai.ri.i	1	D32-15
122	236		ai.ur	1	X35-41
122	244		ai.s	2	X14-24 35-22
122 140			ai:en	1	D16-24
122 140	244		ai.s.en	1	D28-23
122	254		ai.d	6	X3-29 6-15 14-29 17-33 19-15 32-34
122 140	254		ai.d.en	2	X8-11 23-31
123	189		ar.a	1	D45-3
125	107		aû.oi$_2$	1	X40-18
131			u	1	X5-10
131 144	097		u.úr.ún	1	X22-28

131 261 361	097 349		u.úr.l.ge.én	1	X3-18
131 372	097 059		u.úr.û.uni	1	X6-3
131 372 090	097 261 033		u.úr.û.l.ó.is	1	X33-14
131	108		u.108	1	D38-5
131	236		u.ur	14	D2-11 2-17 2-26 3-5 3-11 3-17 14-10 25-3 26-4 27-15 X7-5 7-15 11-26 18-22
131	262		u.ui	1	X39-30
131	273		u.un	1	X18-3
131	366		u.ul	1	D47-12
131 112	366 100		u.ul.ge$_2$.én$_2$	1	D24-19
131 112	366 361		u.ul.ge$_2$.én	1	D25-11
131 339	366		u.ul.i	1	X11-34
131 349 162	366 261		u.ul.ge.l.ci	1	D17-1
133			m	1	X31-29
133	011		m.an	1	X33-11

133 140	011	又 木	m.an.en	1	D44-11
133	018	又雨	m.in	5	D1-6 29-8 36-4 X5-7 33-36
133 205	018	又雨 矢	m.in.de	2	X4-14 6-10
133 222	018 341	又雨 伏	m.in.ñ.er	1	D27-17
133 339	018	又雨 关	m.in.i	1	X46-13
133 261	020 334	又 丩	m.y.l.g	1	D32-21
133 302	020 178	又 用	m.y.il.ku	1	X34-27
133 174	051	又 冬	m.ha.as	2	D6-4 46-16
133 379	051	又 艾	m.ha.TENT	1	D40-8
133	084	又 𠂇	m.ra	1	X47-11
133	097	又 𡈼	m.úr	1	D4-8
133 162	137 339	又 𠂤	m.ir.ci.i	2	D10-1 37-3
133 098	151	又 亏	m.hu.al	1	X28-35
133 282	151	又 非	m.hu.282	1	X37-5
133	162	又 𠂤	m.ci	1	X29-25

133 109	162	𘤀𘥠 𘥥	m.ci.e$_2$	1	D8-6
133 348	162	𘤀𘥠 𘥥	m.ci.e	2	D31-1 47-10
133 246	174	𘤀𘥣 𘥤	m.as.qu	1	X10-20
133	186	𘤀𘥦	m.o	11	D12-7 16-8 21-8 50-6 X4-25 9-7 14-31 19-18 24-2 36-20 37-3
133 016	186 361	𘤀𘥦 𘥧𘥨	m.o.od.én	1	D50-7
133 188	186	𘤀𘥦 𘥩	m.o.SMALL	2	D9-6 11-20
133	189	𘤀𘥪	m.a	2	X13-36 19-35
133	205	𘤀𘥫	m.de	1	X36-24
133	235	𘤀𘥬	m.ri	2	X12-19 29-28
133 334	235 144	𘤀𘥬 𘥭𘥮	m.ri.g.ún	2	X13-32 15-12
133 261 189	236 151 152	𘤀𘥯 𘥰𘥱 𘥪𘥲	m.ur.l.hu.a.ji	1	X33-16
133 243	327	𘤀𘥳 𘥴	m.ie.HEAVEN	1	D26-5
133 244	329	𘤀𘥵 𘥶	m.ün.s	1	X21-31
133 018	339	𘤀𘥷 𘥸	m.i.in	1	X4-20

134		𠫓	TWO	12	D12-14 16-16 25-26 27-6 46-15 X7-22 12-30 16-8 20-9 21-5 35-21 48-7
134	140	𠫓 𠂇	TWO.en	3	X14-4 19-14 20-21
134	205	𠫓 𠂉	TWO.de	1	X31-3
134 222	271	𠫓 𠂆 伏	TWO.271.ñ	1	X7-26
135		𡈼	TWO°	1	D33-19
135	140	𡈼 𠂇	TWO°.en	1	X17-6
137 080	020	刃 丌 圴	ir.y.ii	3	X10-15 39-42 40-5
137 302 123	020 051	刃 丌 用 亚 木	ir.y.il.ha.ar	1	X1-17
137 349	261 020	刃 屮 𠂤 丌	ir.l.ge.y	1	X36-3
137 254	270	刃 厶 公	ir.ém.d	1	D29-20
137	339	刃 𠂒	ir.i	1	X30-23
137 189	339 122	刃 𠂒 为 丰	ir.i.a.ai	1	X33-3
139 290	051 341	力 亚 出 公	na.ha.án.er	2	X1-13 16-28
139 290 140	051 341	力 亚 出 公 𠂇	na.ha.án.er.en	2	D1-2 2-4

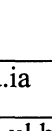
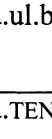
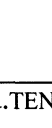
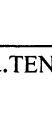
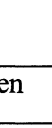
139 290	051 347		na.ha.án.oi	1	X16-15
139 151	098		na.al.hu	1	D39-8
139 261	174 144		na.as.l.ún	1	D12-2
141			SEVEN	4	X2-1 30-30 44-24 48-3
141	205		SEVEN.de	1	X12-15
141	222		SEVEN.ñ	1	D45-10
142	107		MANAGE.oi$_2$	1	X5-25
142	131		MANAGE.u	1	X11-31
142	144		MANAGE.ún	3	D15-7 37-4 X4-13
142	151		MANAGE.hu	3	D44-15 X31-9 40-7
142 174	151		MANAGE.hu.as	2	D27-12 29-16
142 174	151 140		MANAGE.hu.as.en	1	X8-10
142 051 290	261 189		MANAGE.l.ha.a.án	2	D8-8 4-26
142 090 140	261 153		MANAGE.l.ó.ji$_2$.en	1	D41-3
142	339		MANAGE.i	4	D14-12 29-5 X27-3 30-5
142	347		MANAGE.oi	2	X3-6 33-1

142 347	356		MANAGE.356.oi	1	X2-31
142 347	379		MANAGE.TENT.oi	1	X39-22
143			xua	1	D30-17
144			ún	1	X3-26
144	107		ún.oi$_2$	1	X11-12
144	251		ún.n	1	D30-10
144	253		ún.ô$_2$	1	X38-5
144	341		ún.er	1	D19-5
144	348		ún.e	4	X32-1 36-23 38-18 39-17
144 140	349		ún.ge.en	1	X29-3
144	361		ún.én	2	D32-16 34-26
144 140	361		ún.én.en	1	D22-7
145			FORTY	2	X23-15 23-25
146			gi	17	X9-13 9-31 10-6 14-35 21-21 25-2 28-41 29-21 29-30 30-26 31-15 34-29 34-39 35-4 39-19 39-28 39-31
146	151		gi.hu	1	X27-39
147 251	177		ju$_3$.177.n	2	X11-39 26-7
147 348	177		ju$_3$.177.e	1	D19-19

147	273		ju_3.un	2	X28-12 30-36
147 273	345		ju_3.ung.un	1	D11-11
150 090 322	033 186		ja.is.ó.o.ón	1	D35-13
150 122 051	051 261 098		ja.ha.ai.l.ha.al	1	D10-2
150 122 051	051 261 122		ja.ha.ai.l.ha.ai	2	D4-11 27-18
150 051	098 123		ja.al.ha.ar	1	X4-32
150 051 290	098 189		ja.al.ha.a.án	1	D43-11
150 151	098		ja.al.hu	1	D33-16
150	122		ja.ai	1	X5-12
150	199		ja.ang	1	X19-19
150 051	235 123		ja.ri.ha.ar	2	X36-15 43-1
150 246	235 154		ja.ri.qu.on	2	D13-10 X16-29
150 361	235		ja.ri.én	1	D46-2

151	011		hu.an	1	X29-16
151 270	011		hu.an.ém	1	X39-21
151	069		hu.rí	1	D13-22
151 168	073		hu.ên.qo	1	D26-2
151	076		hu.ho	1	X46-3
151 144	076		hu.ho.ún	1	D7-23
151 131	081 273		hu.MONTH.u.un	1	X32-39
151 140	120		hu.120.en	1	X27-15
151 348	123		hu.ar.e	1	X30-15
151	174		hu.as	2	D29-7 X6-11
151 262	184		hu.am.ui	1	X47-10
151 076	186 244		hu.o.ho.s	1	D34-5
151 254	186		hu.o.d	1	D28-1
151 098	189		hu.a.al	2	D48-5 48-6
151 290	189		hu.a.án	1	X1-23

151 311	196 131		hu.bu.b.u	1	X38-16
151	220		hu.mú	1	X34-40
151 076	220 341		hu.mú.ho.er	1	D43-2
151 255	220		hu.mú.or	1	D2-14
151 341	236		hu.ur.er	2	D9-5 10-3
151 361	236		hu.ur.én	1	D24-22
151 302 122	270 051		hu.ém.il.ha.ai	1	X5-24
151	280		hu.áng	1	X39-20
151 162	280		hu.áng.ci	1	X24-25
151 205	280		hu.áng.de	2	X24-17 31-12
151 189	315		hu.she.a	1	X28-34
151 348	315		hu.she.e	1	D13-21
151 033 186	324 090 076		hu.üen.is.ó.o.ho	2	D4-21 5-11

151 033 262	324 090		hu.üen.is.ó.ui	2	D7-4 X29-35
151 205	324		hu.üen.de	2	D13-16 27-10
151 234	324 140		hu.üen.ta$_2$.en	2	D30-18 34-9
151	335		hu.ia	1	D17-21
151 272	366 131		hu.ul.bú$_2$.u	2	D18-11 X22-8
151 090 322	379 186		hu.TENT.ó.o.ón	1	D22-13
151 131	379		hu.TENT.u	2	X15-22 20-16
151 131	379 059		hu.TENT.u.uni	1	X15-3
151 151	379		hu.TENT.hu	2	D39-4 X6-17
151 246	379		hu.TENT.qu	1	X16-18
152	140		ji.en	2	X4-24 28-27
152 339	140		ji.en.i	2	X2-22 12-17
154 080	244		on.s.ii	1	X12-20

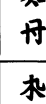
154 189	246 123		on.qu.a.ar	1	X22-25
155			FIFTY	3	D5-19 15-9 35-4
156			156	1	X3-27
156	131		156.u	1	X31-30
156 179	131		156.u.dú	1	X38-29
156 273	131		156.u.un	1	X32-27
156 349	254 020		156.d.ge.y	2	D35-23 X33-22
159			DAY	7	D5-18 35-20 51-9 X31-26 34-4 45-2 48-8
159	205		DAY.de	3	X2-5 30-35 33-28
159	339		DAY.i	2	D4-5 X24-9
159	347		DAY.oi	1	X46-11
160			giu	1	X44-7
160	122		giu.ai	1	X24-24
160	312		giu.tum	1	X34-12
160 311	312 262		giu.tum.b.ui	1	X32-24
161			au	1	X13-9
161 144	097		au.úr.ún	1	D23-11
161	189		au.a	2	D23-7 X23-10

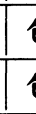
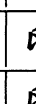
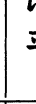
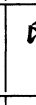
161 011	189		au.a.an	1	D22-4
161 289	189		au.a.iú	3	X28-17 28-25 30-20
161 051 051	206 261 122		au.li.ha.l.ha.ai	1	X33-18
161	262		au.ui	2	D28-21 X24-7
161 261 153	262 090		au.ui.l.ó.ji_2	1	D45-6
161	273		au.un	1	D26-28
161 051	366 122		au.ul.ha.ai	2	D9-21 32-14
162	011		ci.an	1	X30-14
162 090 051 123	016 366 189		ci.od.ó.ul.ha.a.ar	1	D28-9
162 067 080	043 235		ci.043.eu.ri.ii	1	X38-39
162	067		ci.eu	7	D18-14 34-23 43-7 X20-25 35-35 36-17 45-12
162 162	067 144		ci.eu.ci.ún	1	D16-20
162 189	067 122		ci.eu.a.ai	1	D39-6

162 273	067		ci.eu.un	6	D20-2 20-13 21-3 X25-5 27-21 27-27
162 372 144	067 366		ci.eu.û.ul.ún	2	X1-10 32-23
162 073	082		ci.üe.ên	1	D12-16
162 168	084		ci.ra.qo	1	D45-13
162 311 080	084 244		ci.ra.b.s.ii	1	X7-13
162 311	084 339		ci.ra.b.i	1	X30-4
162 020	099 347		ci.ad.y.oi	1	X31-8
162 295	104 107		ci.dz$_2$.p.oi$_2$	1	X29-31
162	107		ci.oi$_2$	1	X42-4
162	109		ci.e$_2$	2	D38-3 49-19
162	123		ci.ar	3	D34-11 X15-18 16-21
162 118	125 236		ci.aû.qú.ur	1	D7-5
162 020	144 339		ci.ún.y.i	1	X6-25
162 107	144		ci.ún.oi$_2$	1	X21-27

162 361	144	𠂤 又 𠂇	ci.ún.én	1	X24-20
162	149	𠂤 子	ci.ju	1	X31-32
162 140	149	𠂤 子 冇	ci.ju.en	1	X43-9
162	162	𠂤 𠂤	ci.ci	3	X17-11 17-32 38-23
162	168	𠂤 勹	ci.qo	1	X34-44
162 236	169 261	𠂤 欠 化 屮	ci.qó.ur.l	1	D8-20
162 051	174 011	𠂤 冬 亚 灭	ci.as.ha.an	1	D21-13
162 189	174	𠂤 冬 为	ci.as.a	1	X26-19
162 189	174 290	𠂤 冬 为 出	ci.as.a.án	1	X25-14
162 151	196 011	𠂤 生 列 灭	ci.bu.hu.an	1	D27-26
162 222	235	𠂤 化 伏	ci.ri.ñ	1	D43-12
162 341	235	𠂤 化 爻	ci.ri.er	1	D18-7
162 341	236	𠂤 化 爻	ci.ur.er	2	D16-12 24-20
162 347	236	𠂤 化 炎	ci.ur.oi	4	X9-15 15-2 17-1 19-30

162 361	236		ci.ur.én	13	D6-16 9-1 12-28 16-3 X1-19 7-28 13-1 13-21 16-23 18-18 20-13 21-9 27-17
162 361	236 140		ci.ur.én.en	1	D2-7
162 311	244 348		ci.s.b.e	1	X41-3
162 262	246		ci.qu.ui	1	D31-10
162	264		ci.ng	2	D6-20 X19-31
162 084	274		ci.iá.ra	1	D7-20
162 168	274		ci.iá.qo	1	X3-12
162	289		ci.iú	1	X23-1
162	299		ci.299	1	X28-36
162 172 189	302 153 011		ci.il.uh.ji$_2$.a.an	1	D47-3
162	327 073		ci.ie.ên	1	X36-8
162 084	327		ci.ie.ra	1	D44-12
162 271	327 222		ci.ie.271.ñ	1	X36-35
162	329		ci.ün	1	X34-34

162 280	335 335		ci.ia.áng.ia	1	X7-2
162 033	339		ci.i.is	4	D39-5 X32-40 33-8 45-11
162 033	339 140		ci.i.is.en	3	D36-20 38-8 X39-23
162 033	339 254		ci.i.is.d	1	D49-10
162 033 311	339 254 144		ci.i.is.d.b.ún	1	D44-18
162 033 311	339 254 162		ci.i.is.d.b.ci	1	X38-19
162 033 311	339 254 222		ci.i.is.d.b.ñ	1	X41-15
162	341		ci.er	5	D23-12 26-20 45-8 51-12 X42-12
162	347		ci.oi	9	X9-14 10-7 12-8 15-1 21-22 34-11 34-22 37-35 39-9
162	348		ci.e	1	D1-12
162 080	349		ci.ge.ii	3	D1-11 X1-11 4-9
162 261 162	349 349		ci.ge.l.ge.ci	1	X31-37

162 347	361		ci.én.oi	1	X10-10
162	362		ci.iau	1	X12-10
162	372		ci.û	2	X34-24 35-1
162 076	458 222		ci.458.ho.ñ	1	X15-30
162	000		ci.[X]	1	X38-40
164			164	1	X28-33
164	205		164.de	1	X21-29
166			THREE	3	D18-1 X2-21 18-7
166	205		THREE.de	2	D35-5 X23-26
167			THREE°	2	X3-28 42-11
167	140		THREE°.en	1	X6-16
170			MR	6	X9-11 14-33 15-5 19-11 36-28 38-22
170 051 290	067 189		MR.eu.ha.a.án	1	X42-15
170 151	067		MR.eu.hu	1	D49-20
170 051 123	098 189		MR.al.ha.a.ar	1	D47-2
170 051 290	098 189		MR.al.ha.a.án	1	X38-27

170 151	098 011	𠂆 𠂇 𠂉 𠂊	MR.al.hu.an	1	D40-17
170 066	189	𠂆 𠂈 𠂋	MR.a.066	1	X31-24
170 290	189	𠂆 𠂈 𠂌	MR.a.án	1	D37-16
170 379	189	𠂆 𠂈 𠂍	MR.a.TENT	1	D38-4
170	335	𠂆 𠂎	MR.ia	1	X34-32
171 123	051	𠂏 𠂐 𠂑	da.ha.ar	4	D39-15 47-17 50-19 X44-16
171 090 076	236 186	𠂏 𠂒 𠂓 𠂔 𠂕	da.ur.ó.o.ho	1	D18-10
175	206	𠂖 𠂗	eng.li	1	X25-21
176	140	𠂘 𠂙	bú.en	1	X4-1
176	254	𠂘 𠂚	bú.d	4	D1-1 2-3 X1-12 16-14
178		𠂛	ku	24	D8-13 11-23 23-17 35-10 44-8 X2-24 4-27 7-25 7-30 8-21 12-33 13-3 13-23 13-29 15-9 15-26 16-11 16-25 20-34 21-23 26-21 31-17 33-34 35-7
178 097	106	𠂛 𠂜 𠂝	ku.ung$_2$.úr	1	D7-3
178 261 153	162 131	𠂛 𠂞 𠂟 𠂠 𠂡	ku.ci.l.u.ji$_2$	1	D40-7

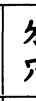
178 041	372	𘟙𘟥 𘟣	ku.û.su	9	D2-13 2-19 3-28 27-8 X4-18 11-4 17-21 19-27 25-19
178 041	372 140	𘟙𘟥 𘟣𘠅	ku.û.su.en	1	D28-19
178 273	372	𘟙𘟥 𘟤	ku.û.un	12	D11-16 15-19 16-5 26-23 37-14 43-3 X4-6 5-32 26-10 30-10 36-31 37-9
180		𘟦	shï	11	D9-3 10-15 11-10 12-11 13-13 16-2 16-11 17-7 31-13 X9-19 25-7
180	140	𘟦𘠅	shï.en	7	D15-14 24-2 24-17 31-14 33-12 X15-16 18-26
180	205	𘟦𘡊	shï.de	1	D31-6
180	254	𘟦𘡎	shï.d	1	D33-9
181		𘟧	iúng	1	X37-4
184 051	261 122	𘟨𘟩 𘟪𘟫	am.l.ha.ai	1	X26-11
185		𘟨	am°	1	X34-20
186 077	016	𘟬𘟭 𘟮	o.od.077	1	X29-10
186 080	016	𘟬𘟭 𘟯	o.od.ii	1	X35-42
186	076	𘟬𘟰	o.ho	1	D50-20
186	107	𘟬𘟱	$o.oi_2$	4	D17-14 19-17 28-7 X11-6
186	149	𘟬𘟲	o.ju	2	D4-2 13-17

186 051 144	149 098	𖬀子 𖬀方 𖬀又	o.ju.ha.al.ún	2	X17-8 19-29
186 051	149 123	𖬀子 𖬀木	o.ju.ha.ar	1	X33-41
186 051 290	149 189	𖬀子 𖬀勻 𖬀出	o.ju.ha.a.án	1	D5-22
186 051 379	149 189	𖬀子 𖬀勻 𖬀廿	o.ju.ha.a.TENT	1	D39-16
186 144	149	𖬀子 𖬀又	o.ju.ún	5	D15-2 22-10 X6-12 12-4 28-2
186	186	𖬀𖬀	o.o	1	X25-15
186 122	186	𖬀𖬀 𖬀丰	o.o.ai	1	X24-15
186 149	186	𖬀𖬀 𖬀子	o.o.ju	1	D18-19
186 361	255	𖬀𠂤 𖬀当	o.or.én	1	D6-7
186	262	𖬀火	o.ui	1	X11-33
186	322	𖬀冏	o.ón	3	D21-12 47-18 X28-26
186	347	𖬀炎	o.oi	1	X17-26
186 080	354	𖬀𠂢 𖬀北	o.dz.ii	1	D7-6
187		𖬀	MYRIAD	4	D40-22 43-17 X6-4 47-5

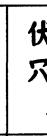
188	169		SMALL.qó	1	X1-14
188	246		SMALL.qu	5	D12-21 24-9 26-12 X8-7 16-16
188 205	246 339		SMALL.qu.de.i	1	X29-4
188 179	246		SMALL.qu.dú	3	D9-8 X22-10 23-8
188 354	246		SMALL.qu.dz	1	X17-5
188 051	261 122		SMALL.l.ha.ai	1	X6-21
189	011		a.an	1	X8-22
189 348	011		a.an.e	1	D24-6
189 261 123	016 051		a.od.l.ha.ar	1	D27-11
189 098	051		a.ha.al	1	D20-19
189	067		a.eu	1	X42-3
189 151	067		a.eu.hu	1	X47-2
189	098		a.al	1	D14-6
189 051	098 122		a.al.ha.ai	1	X24-1
189 151	098		a.al.hu	1	X33-30

189 311	099 222		a.ad.b.ñ	1	D45-18
189	122		a.ai	10	D6-18 7-11 10-6 13-18 17-9 X6-2 15-7 17-19 22-22 39-33
189 144	123		a.ar.ún	1	D11-6
189 011	184		a.am.an	1	D35-6
189 222	184		a.am.ñ	2	X28-39 45-9
189	290		a.án	7	D7-21 36-2 37-1 X34-42 35-24 37-42 46-21
189 205	290 339		a.án.de.i		X28-40
189 341	290		a.án.er	1	D13-25
189	379		a.TENT	1	X11-16
189 341	000		a.[Ø].er	1	D50-18
191			mó	4	X9-29 10-26 11-8 26-1
191 372	236 361		mó.ur.û.én	1	D26-26
191 361	262		mó.ui.én	1	D29-1
191 372	366 262		mó.ul.û.ui	3	X24-33 27-25 28-7
192			MRS	1	X7-27

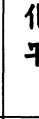
194	222		194.ñ	1	X27-2
194	335		194.ia	1	X32-13
195			CHIEF	1	D4-12
195	140		CHIEF.en	1	D46-10
195 244	151 334		CHIEF.hu.s.g	1	X47-1
195	257		CHIEF.em	1	D3-20
196			bu	3	X7-33 19-22 38-33
198	361		198.én	1	X20-11
202			tu	4	D19-11 24-14 24-27 32-22
202 244	097 080		tu.úr.s.ii	1	D7-17
202 288	097		tu.úr.bun	3	D7-15 X12-22 31-4
202 311	097 222		tu.úr.b.ñ	1	X5-27
202	345		tu.ung	4	D10-13 11-2 X7-36 19-7
204 090 322	115 186 205		204.SOME.ó.o.ón.de	1	D37-11
205	339		de.i	1	X28-41
206	143		li.xua	1	X24-16
207			ming	3	D40-14 46-9 X47-4
210	236		aú.ur	1	X39-29

210 372	236 262		aú.ur.û.ui	1	X26-13
210	262		aú.ui	12	X15-11 15-28 16-13 16-27 18-10 19-13 20-12 20-15 20-20 20-28 21-8 21-12
210 140	262		aú.ui.en	2	X20-36 21-2
210 140	406		aú.tum^{x}.en	1	X22-6
211			THIRTY	1	X30-34
212 144	261		212.l.ún	1	X28-18
212	361		212.én	1	X28-21
213 222	154		to.on.ñ	1	D3-19
214 123	051		da$_2$.ha.ar	1	X33-40
214 341	313		da$_2$.lo.er	1	D3-3
214 098	379 339		da$_2$.TENT.al.i	1	X25-16
217 273	131		do.u.un	1	D14-13
217 000	131		do.u.[X]	1	X37-21
217	162		do.ci	1	X44-19
218			SEAL	3	D38-19 39-13 X21-28

218	107	𘰾𘱃	SEAL.oi$_2$	1	X33-7
218 152	131	𘰾𘰀 𘰍	SEAL.u.ji	1	X5-3
218 339	205	𘰾𘰪 𘰁	SEAL.de.i	1	D35-17
218 080	261	𘰾𘰓 𘰋	SEAL.l.ii	1	D6-19
218	356	𘰾𘰠	SEAL.356	1	D5-13
220		𘰽	mú	1	X9-24
220	188	𘰽𘰿	mú.SMALL	1	D17-23
222	011	𘰼𘰪	ñ.an	2	X33-9 44-17
222 097	090	𘰼𘰇 𘰫	ñ.ó.úr	5	D4-13 4-20 5-12 27-25 X25-25
222	123	𘰼𘰓	ñ.ar	1	D48-7
222	131	𘰼𘰀	ñ.u	1	X35-3
222 109 151	144 251	𘰼𘰭 𘰱𘰉 𘰈	ñ.ún.e$_2$.n.hu	1	D37-18
222 149	169	𘰼𘰬 𘰲	ñ.qó.ju	1	D39-10
222 304	169	𘰼𘰬 𘰴	ñ.qó.304	1	D46-8
222 246	220	𘰼𘰽 𘰵	ñ.mú.qu	1	X3-8

222 372 341	261 206		ñ.l.û.li.er	1	D31-5
222 372	261 262		ñ.l.û.ui	1	X33-37
222	289		ñ.iú	1	D11-26
222 270	327		ñ.ie.ém	1	X3-11
222 097	372		ñ.û.úr	7	X5-19 6-19 7-11 8-25 11-16 11-35 18-12
222 236	372		ñ.û.ur	1	X6-23
224 337	131 140		mu.u.ji$_3$.en	1	X32-4
224 000	131 000		mu.u.[Ø.Ø]	1	X36-1
225 131	254 152		bi.d.u.ji	1	X46-12
227			227	6	D36-9 X5-11 7-1 27-1 39-2 39-15
227	334		227.g	1	D38-9
227 454	334		227.g.in$_2$	1	D5-23
229			ta	3	X31-34 36-9 42-16
229 099	051 140		ta.ha.ad.en	1	X27-35
229	131		ta.u	3	D29-18 X32-26 34-3

229 140	131		ta.u.en	1	X4-8
229	172		ta.uh	1	D50-9
229 140	172		ta.uh.en	1	D35-22
229	339		ta.i	1	X30-1
230 140	011		230.an.en	2	D28-8 28-15
230 099			230:ad	1	D5-21
230 222	261		230.l.ñ	1	X39-25
231	272		231.bú$_2$	1	X37-24
232	339		232.i	3	D7-10 13-23 28-3
233			kú	2	D32-2 X33-6
234	144		ta$_2$.ún	1	X29-17
234	339		ta$_2$.i	3	D4-7 18-13 27-5
235			ri	1	X28-22
235 122	067		ri.eu.ai	1	X37-13
235 144	261		ri.l.ún	1	X31-13
235 140	334		ri.g.en	6	X3-9 3-16 5-20 7-17 39-45 40-8

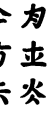
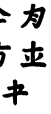
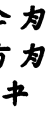
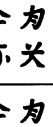
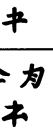
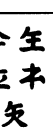
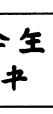
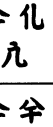
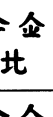
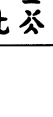
236 366 361	131 349		ur.u.ul.ge.én	1	X29-13
237			du	1	X10-3
237	345		du.ung	1	X15-13
238 205	100		BORN.$én_2$.de	1	D22-12
238	107		BORN.oi_2	1	X2-6
238	131		BORN.u	1	D49-5
238 334	244		BORN.s.g	1	D2-2
238 144	261		BORN.l.ún	1	D8-12
238 051	302 123		BORN.il.ha.ar	1	X8-29
238 334	302 140		BORN.il.g.en	2	X32-11 34-23
238	339		BORN.i	4	D17-18 18-5 X35-8 40-17
238	361		BORN.én	2	D38-2 X14-8
239			LI	3	D48-4 X4-34 45-20
239 123	051		LI.ha.ar	1	X24-3
239	205		LI.de	1	X34-7
240			TEN	6	D51-5 X2-3 30-21 33-25 44-26 48-5
241			pu	1	X13-35

241	033		pu.is	3	D2-1 27-1 29-12
241 140	033		pu.is.en	2	D1-5 25-23
241 222	033		pu.is.ñ	11	D8-21 9-4 12-18 13-3 X8-23 12-36 13-6 13-31 14-6 18-20 18-34
241 222	033 140		pu.is.ñ.en	4	D12-1 X13-26 33-35 45-8
241 372	041 347		pu.su.û.oi	1	X18-28
241 372 107	041 366		pu.su.û.ul.oi$_2$	1	D39-1
241 372 341	041 366		pu.su.û.ul.er	2	D47-15 51-2
241 372 349	041 366 144		pu.su.û.ul.ge.ún	1	X5-2
241 098 289	099 189		pu.ad.al.a.iú	1	X22-2
241	131		pu.u	1	X38-37
241	339		pu.i	2	D22-2 34-25
243			HEAVEN	17	D3-23 7-18 8-9 18-20 38-21 50-14 51-1 X1-24 3-21 4-10 5-16 14-22 23-20 23-27 31-22 33-21 46-1
243	235		HEAVEN.ri	1	X17-29

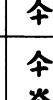
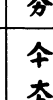
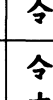
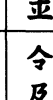
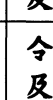
244	018	𒋗𒅔	s.in	1	D24-11
244	019	𒋗𒅖	s.iu	2	D19-15 X13-34
244	051	𒋗𒅕	s.ha	1	X28-24
244	059	𒋗𒅎	s.uni	3	D4-4 50-2 X24-8
244 205	059	𒋗𒅎 𒌨	s.uni.de	1	X31-31
244 097	067 144	𒋗𒆳 𒍪𒁕	s.eu.úr.ún	1	D46-11
244	073	𒋗𒆠	s.ên	1	X37-12
244 080	076	𒋗𒁍 𒁾	s.ho.ii	1	X29-5
244 261 366	076 090 144	𒋗𒁍 𒌅𒁲 𒊩𒁕	s.ho.l.ó.ul.ún	1	D17-24
244	092	𒋗𒃲	s.ud$_3$	4	D30-25 33-25 34-19 X34-8
244 205	092	𒋗𒃲 𒌨	s.ud$_3$.de	1	D7-13
244 236 020	092 349	𒋗𒃲 𒅗𒍣 𒁹	s.ud$_3$.ur.ge.y	1	D5-14
244 236 341	092 349	𒋗𒃲 𒅗𒍣 𒍣	s.ud$_3$.ur.ge.er	1	D48-17
244 261 222	092 311	𒋗𒃲 𒌅𒁺 𒁺	s.ud$_3$.l.b.ñ	1	D30-3

244 344	097 140		s.úr.ud.en	1	X45-21
244 140	122		s.ai.en	1	X45-4
244 254	122		s.ai.d	1	D34-17
244 051 222	123 099		s.ar.ha.ad.ñ	1	X3-15
244 189	123 144		s.ar.a.ún	1	X29-18
244 347	125		s.aû.oi	1	X43-12
244 152	131 140		s.u.ji.en	1	X39-4
244 243	131		s.u.HEAVEN	2	D29-17 45-17
244 243	131 140		s.u.HEAVEN.en	1	D31-12
244 272	137 186		s.ir.bú$_2$.o	1	X29-20
244	140		s.en	3	X23-9 33-12 44-12
244 222	140		s.en.ñ	1	D25-7
244 334 112	144 261 361		s.ún.g.l.ge$_2$.én	1	X17-31

244 152	151		s.hu.ji	1	X38-2
244	154		s.on	1	X32-18
244 140	154		s.on.en	1	X2-8
244 246	161		s.au.qu	1	D9-15
244	172		s.uh	1	X45-19
244 273	175		s.eng.un	19	X1-7 1-18 10-23 11-20 12-1 13-17 15-36 16-38 19-24 21-13 23-7 24-13 26-8 27-36 28-19 35-18 35-39 37-39 40-14
244 090 341	188 262		s.SMALL.ó.ui.er	2	D23-16 44-7
244 090 361	188 262		s.SMALL.ó.ui.én	1	D29-15
244 253 107	188 262		s.SMALL.$\hat{o}_2$.ui.oi_2	1	X41-12
244 372 339	188 262		s.SMALL.û.ui.i	1	X9-27
244 051	189 098		s.a.ha.al	2	X4-15 24-5
244 098	189		s.a.al	1	D23-4

244 098 069	189 051 347		s.a.al.ha.rí.oi	1	X6-26
244 098 122	189 051		s.a.al.ha.ai	1	D29-6
244 098 122	189 189		s.a.al.a.ai	1	X27-4
244 099	189 339		s.a.ad.i	2	X40-16 49-4
244 122	189		s.a.ai	5	D11-4 15-5 21-19 35-2 X37-40
244 123	189		s.a.ar	3	X16-39 18-4 19-25
244 051 205	196 123		s.bu.ha.ar.de	1	X18-16
244 122	196		s.bu.ai	2	X6-14 37-16
244 334	235		s.ri.g	1	X46-22
244	245		s.ú	1	X3-20
244 080	257		s.em.ii	2	D23-1 X4-16
244 080	257 341		s.em.ii.er	2	D11-7 35-7

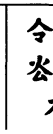
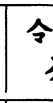
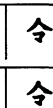
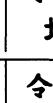
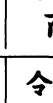
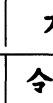
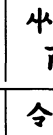
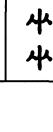
244 144	261		s.l.ún	1	D4-24
244 144 361	262 349		s.ui.ún.ge.én	1	D25-1
244	263		s.ui°	1	X2-16
244	264		s.ng	1	X20-2
244 222	273		s.un.ñ	1	X8-5
244 273	273		s.un.un	1	D19-21
244	312		s.tum	1	X32-28
244	314		s.iang	12	D14-20 X8-35 10-18 10-31 11-13 12-24 13-19 15-23 20-17 22-15 23-4 27-9
244 314			s:iang	1	D13-27
244 140	314		s.iang.en	1	D10-16
244	327		s.ie	1	D12-23
244 073	327		s.ie.ên	2	D7-7 X11-1
244 140	347		s.oi.en	1	D50-13
244 158	354 140		s.dz.158.en	1	X41-7

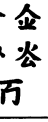
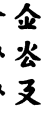
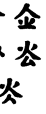
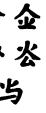
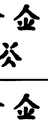
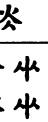
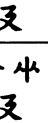
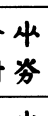
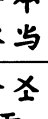
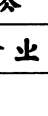
244 158	354 205		s.dz.158.de	1	X21-32
244	357		s.úng	1	D9-17
244	362		s.iau	1	X23-3
244 348	372 162		s.û.e.ci	1	X31-33
244 107 051	412 302 122		s.412.oi$_2$.il.ha.ai	1	X26-17
245			ú	1	D32-12
245 186	249 154		ú.dû.o.on	1	X6-22
245 186	249 322		ú.dû.o.ón	3	X30-29 44-23 48-2
245 261 189	249 051 123		ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar	2	X23-21 23-28
247			t	2	D20-17 X12-2
247 051	016 123		t.od.ha.ar	3	D49-18 X31-20 43-5
247 186	016 076		t.od.o.ho	2	D3-15 25-15
247 186	016 322		t.od.o.ón	1	X25-20
247	019		t.iu	2	X14-20 32-3
247 137	019		t.iu.ir	4	D32-1 49-15 X28-9 41-4

247 137	019 341	𒀭𒉿 𒄑𒌦	t.iu.ir.er	1	D45-5
247 337 361	019 020	𒀭𒉿 𒌨𒁀 𒁹	t.iu.ji$_3$.y.én	1	X25-33
247	020	𒀭𒁀	t.y	1	D21-2
247 051	023 123	𒀭𒁀 𒁲𒉡	t.023.ha.ar	1	D14-24
247 335	023 084	𒀭𒁀 𒅗𒍑	t.023.ia.ra	2	X15-29 19-1
247 261 153	050 131	𒀭𒄭 𒀀𒁕 𒌨	t.050.l.u.ji$_2$	1	D37-19
247	080	𒀭𒆳	t.ii	1	X21-19
247	092	𒀭𒅇	t.ud$_3$	1	X38-1
247 093		𒀭 𒍪	t:093	1	D10-23
247	093	𒀭𒍪	t.093	2	D20-10 X24-35
247	097	𒀭𒍑	t.úr	1	X35-11
247 123	099	𒀭𒀜 𒉡	t.ad.ar	1	X22-17
247 339	099	𒀭𒀜 𒄆	t.ad.i	1	X25-23
247	105	𒀭𒌑	t.ud$_2$	1	X18-9
247 140	105	𒀭𒌑 𒈬	t.ud$_2$.en	1	X23-13

247 222	105	𘤪𘤗 𘤙	t.ud$_2$.ñ	1	X15-21
247 311	107 131	𘤪𘤟 𘤓𘤗	t.oi$_2$.b.u	1	X46-17
247 107	112	𘤪𘤟 𘤟	t.ge$_2$.oi$_2$	1	X40-11
247 254	112 080	𘤪𘤟 𘤠𘤛	t.ge$_2$.d.ii	1	X23-16
247 261	112 144	𘤪𘤟 𘤞𘤔	t.ge$_2$.l.ún	1	X43-14
247 261 020	112 347	𘤪𘤟 𘤞𘤠 𘤁	t.ge$_2$.l.oi.y	1	X30-9
247 272	112 131	𘤪𘤟 𘤙𘤗	t.ge$_2$.bú$_2$.u	1	X33-31
247 347	112	𘤪𘤟 𘤠	t.ge$_2$.oi	1	X5-13
247 339	122	𘤪𘤞 𘤘	t.ai.i	1	D13-26
247	131	𘤪𘤗	t.u	1	X29-19
247 151	133	𘤪𘤖 𘤚	t.m.hu	1	D34-22
247 272 179	137 131	𘤪𘤑 𘤙𘤗 𘤀	t.ir.bú$_2$.u.dú	1	X42-17

247 272 262	137 131		t.ir.bú$_2$.u.ui	1	X30-12
247 257	144		t.ún.em	1	D39-11
247 140	144 257		t.ún.em.en	1	D48-3
247 257	144 254		t.ún.em.d	1	D46-3
247 090 254	149 152		t.ju.ó.ji.d	1	D45-2
247 189	151 290		t.hu.a.án	1	X18-13
247	165		t.gu	4	X35-6 37-28 39-39 40-2
247	169		t.qó	4	D14-17 21-4 21-10 X11-17
247 080	172		t.uh.ii	3	D4-3 47-5 X25-22
247 247	172		t.uh.t	1	X26-23
247 341	172		t.uh.er	1	D32-7
247 309	174		t.as.hó	1	D41-2
247 144	184		t.am.ún	1	D14-15

247 020	196 339		t.bu.y.i	2	D8-11 29-21
247 020	196 361		t.bu.y.én	3	D25-19 48-13 X14-9
247 122	196		t.bu.ai	1	X4-17
247 349 140	224 080		t.mu.ge.ii.en	1	X34-17
247 341	236		t.ur.er	2	D9-10 25-12
247 347	236		t.ur.oi	2	X2-7 16-1
247	246		t.qu	5	X11-23 11-36 25-26 27-22 27-28
247 080	254		t.d.ii	1	D50-8
247 020	257		t.em.y	4	D37-8 40-2 50-16 X39-32
247 087	257		t.em.jï	1	X30-17
247 261 020	257 112		t.em.l.ge$_2$.y	2	D14-3 14-23
247 261 261	257 112 144		t.em.l.ge$_2$.l.ún	1	X23-6

247 261 020	257 349		t.em.l.ge.y	4	D10-18 10-22 14-8 X27-11
247 261 261	257 349 144		t.em.l.ge.l.ún	1	D11-13
247 261 347	257 349		t.em.l.ge.oi	1	X12-27
247 261 361	257 349		t.em.l.ge.én	1	X2-15
247 341	257		t.em.er	1	D20-9
247 347	257		t.em.oi	1	X25-32
247 112 144	261 261		t.l.ge$_2$.l.ún	1	D30-8
247 144	261		t.l.ún	1	D15-12
247 311	261 348		t.l.b.e	1	X40-19
247 349	261 361		t.l.ge.én	1	D16-19
247 033	270		t.ém.is	2	D6-8 X32-14
247	295		t.p	1	X17-14

247 100	302		t.il.én$_2$	1	D17-2
247 172	302		t.il.uh	3	D1-4 2-6 24-21
247 361	302		t.il.én	1	D15-22
247 222	303		t.ing.ñ	1	X16-2
247 076 379	312 189		t.tum.ho.a.TENT	1	X38-32
247 073	327		t.ie.ên	1	D6-21
247 073	327 348		t.ie.ên.e	1	X13-30
247 261 140	327 334		t.ie.l.g.en	1	X9-26
247 270	327		t.ie.ém	1	X11-28
247 341	327		t.ie.er	2	D46-20 47-8
247 289	335		t.ia.iú	1	X22-18
247 235	339 341		t.i.ri.er	1	D48-10
247	344		t.ud	2	D49-7 X14-23

247 261 152	344 131		t.ud.l.u.ji	1	D44-14
247 261 34	344 349 1		t.ud.l.ge.er	1	D22-6
247 020	349		t.ge.y	2	D11-9 X12-23
247 144	349		t.ge.ún	1	D5-20
247 341	349		t.ge.er	3	D11-8 23-5 35-8
247 361	349		t.ge.én	1	X32-17
247 131	366 097		t.ul.u.úr	1	D36-16
247 349	366 080		t.ul.ge.ii	1	X32-32
247 349	421 261		t.421.ge.l	1	D23-10
247	451		t.gu_2	1	D42-2
248	118		YOUNG.qú	4	D13-14 26-8 26-21 27-2
250	097		heu.úr	1	X29-23
250	273		heu.un	1	D7-2
251	084		n.ra	1	X45-10
251 140	084		n.ra.en	2	D46-7 39-9

251 205	084	公 𠂇 矢	n.ra.de	1	X1-8
251 097	090	公 廾 𡈼	n.ó.úr	1	X25-11
251	099	公 亦	n.ad	2	X3-34 29-37
251 087	122	公 丰 友	n.ai.jï	1	X6-1
251 144	122 361	公 丰 叉 当	n.ai.ún.én	1	D32-8
251 162 151	122 261	公 丰 𠂤 屮 列	n.ai.ci.l.hu	1	D8-5
251 235	122 051 290	公 丰 化 𠂤 出	n.ai.ri.ha.án	1	X45-5
251 235 337	122 107	公 丰 化 𠂤 𠂉	n.ai.ri.oi_2.ji_3	1	X36-36
251 235 051	122 189 290	公 丰 化 为 𠂤 出	n.ai.ri.a.ha.án	1	X33-38
251 235	122 361	公 丰 化 当	n.ai.ri.én	1	X14-18
251	131	公 𠂢	n.u	13	D1-16 15-25 17-5 24-15 25-18 51-11 X8-34 15-35 19-6 19-20 19-32 19-37 20-3
251 097	138	公 习 𡈼	n.iû.úr	1	X31-14

251 347	140	公 木 灬	n.en.oi	1	X38-13
251	154	公 不	n.on	3	D37-9 X39-43 40-6
251 140	154	公 不 木	n.on.en	7	D2-10 2-16 3-4 3-10 3-16 41-1 X7-4
251 205	154 151	公 不 矢 刘	n.on.de.hu	1	X47-7
251 347	154	公 不 灬	n.on.oi	1	X37-14
251 097	184	公 乃 ⺼	n.am.úr	1	X29-24
251	186	公 反	n.o	4	D11-14 X29-26 41-1 45-7
251 076	186	公 反 扎	n.o.ho	1	D49-16
251 149 122	186 051	公 反 子 业 丰	n.o.ju.ha.ai	1	D7-14
251 311	244 348	公 仝 忖 芬	n.s.b.e	1	D31-24
251 176	251 131	公 公 刘 攴	n.n.bú.u	3	D17-12 21-14 43-19
251 176 041	251 131	公 公 刘 攴 卡	n.n.bú.u.su	1	D49-17
251 122	257 244	公 金 丰 仝	n.em.ai.s	1	X30-22

251 229	257		n.em.ta	1	X29-1
251	289		n.iú	1	X20-27
251 165	339		n.i.gu	3	D18-3 X24-34 40-9
251 451	339		n.i.gu_2	2	D31-22 33-4
251 140	000		n.[X].en	1	X39-11
253 309	236		$ô_2$.ur.hó	1	X43-11
254	020		d.y	1	X3-19
254 206	067		d.eu.li	2	D8-7 X2-29
254 090	322 262		d.ón.ó.ui	1	D30-11
254 361	349		d.ge.én	2	D38-15 50-1
257			em	1	D14-14
257	140		em.en	6	D14-16 15-4 X11-22 23-33 28-1 39-27
257 273	312		em.tum.un	1	X21-17
257 311	312 222		em.tum.b.ñ	1	D47-6
258 067	189 131		z.a.eu.u	1	X26-34

258	327		z.ie	2	D13-2 16-18
259	107		hur.oi$_2$	3	X7-3 9-5 15-20
259	347		hur.oi	1	X19-34
259	361		hur.én	1	X18-32
261	019		l.iu	3	D12-24 X9-10 10-2
261 262	019		l.iu.ui	1	X33-2
261 186	090 322		l.ó.o.ón	1	D32-6
261 098	112 144		l.ge$_2$.al.ún	1	X24-12
261	127		l.an$_2$	1	X13-33
261 246	161 222		l.au.qu.ñ	1	X7-7
261	181		l.iúng	1	X16-34
261	189		l.a	1	X8-32
261	196		l.bu	2	X17-16 35-40
261 140	196		l.bu.en	1	D28-20
261 151	196		l.bu.hu	3	D4-14 5-2 36-22
261 246	196		l.bu.qu	1	X43-13
261	245		l.ú	1	D16-17
261 151	270 189		l.ém.hu.a	1	X11-27

261 189	270		l.ém.a	1	D10-7
261 084	274		l.iá.ra	2	X21-35 41-11
261	303		l.ing	1	X27-5
261 090 261 123	315 097 051		l.she.ó.úr.l.ha.ar	1	D28-12
261 090	315 152		l.she.ó.ji	1	D35-24
261 131	315		l.she.u	4	D35-16 38-14 46-1 50-17
261 245	315		l.she.ú	2	X41-6 43-7
261 073	327 222		l.ie.ên.ñ	4	X1-6 1-20 13-16 40-13
261 017	339		l.i.017	1	X12-11
261 018	339		l.i.in	1	D13-19
261 246	362 236		l.iau.qu.ur	1	D33-20
261 247	362		l.iau.t	1	X33-20
261	372		l.û	1	X27-20

262			ui	11	D5-1 17-15 32-3 34-4 37-20 X3-4 5-23 14-21 26-14 37-1 44-6
262	107		ui.oi$_2$	1	X39-24
262	140		ui.en	1	D27-16
262	144		ui.ún	1	D35-12
262	205		ui.de	3	D4-10 9-23 27-19
262	222		ui.ñ	1	X22-20
262	302		ui.il	2	D34-21 40-4
263			ui°	1	X27-7
263	140		ui°.en	1	D12-26
263	205		ui°.de	1	X18-30
264	131		ng.u	1	X10-1
264	133 144		ng.m.ún	1	D30-13
264 356	133 341		ng.m.356.er	1	D30-22
264	303		ng.ing	1	X21-10
264 073	335		ng.ia.ên	1	D43-9
265			ui$_2$	4	X10-29 17-28 20-6 23-2
266			SIXTY	2	D21-21 X12-14
266	312		SIXTY. tum	1	D48-9
268	235		xe.ri	2	D44-6 44-5

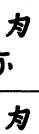
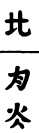
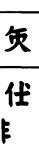
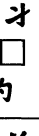
268 320	235		xe.ri.320	2	D14-7 37-17
268 348	235		xe.ri.e	1	X42-13
268	261		xe.l	1	D48-11
268	302		xe.il	1	D25-4
268 131	356 337		xe.356.u.ji$_3$	1	X31-16
268 144	356		xe.356.ún	1	X24-4
268 339	356		xe.356.i	1	X30-8
272 337	131		bú$_2$.u.ji$_3$	1	X35-12
279			po	4	D33-7 34-10 X34-14 45-6
279 051	016 122		po.od.ha.ai	1	D22-14
279 076			po:ho	2	D49-8 50-4
279	154		po.on	1	D47-9
279	217		po.do	7	D3-27 4-17 X3-2 5-15 11-3 22-13 33-39
279	354		po.dz	2	X30-7 34-16
279 076	372		po.û.ho	1	X29-34
280			áng	1	D47-20

280	084		áng.ra	1	X29-6
283 020	069		k.rí.y	1	X39-10
283 372	076 337		k.ho.û.ji$_3$	1	X35-27
283 112	080 341		k.ii.ge$_2$.er	2	D21-16 27-22
283 112	080 348		k.ii. ge$_2$.e	1	D25-22
283 349	080 020		k.ii.ge.y	1	X25-17
283 349	080 337		k.ii.ge.ji$_3$	1	X38-17
283 349	080 341		k.ii.ge.er	1	D18-15
283 349	080 347		k.ii.ge.oi	1	X38-6
283 372	080 152		k.ii.û.ji	2	D6-2 23-18
283 372	080 153		k.ii.û.ji$_2$	1	D8-14
283 372	080 337		k.ii.û.ji$_3$	3	X31-38 36-21 37-25
283	257		k.em	1	X11-7
283 347	257		k.em.oi	1	X10-12
283	341		k.er	1	D43-16

283 020	349	 	k.ge.y	1	X32-25
285			GOLD	1	D34-8
286			GOLD°	1	X3-22
286	273		GOLD°.un	1	D21-9
287	127		to_2.an_2	1	D11-24
287	206		to_2.li	1	X7-9
287	379		to_2.TENT	2	D5-10 28-4
288 244	334	 	bun.g.s	1	X24-19
291			291	3	X22-12 34-25 37-36
291 059 205	347 246	  	291.oi.uni.qu.de	1	X21-15
294			SOUTH	5	D14-9 X35-16 40-22 44-11 46-10
294 051	123	 	SOUTH:ha.ar	3	X23-18 29-27 30-18
294 140		 	SOUTH:en	3	D38-7 X13-8 42-9
294 151		 	SOUTH:hu	2	X5-18 7-10
294 151 123	339	  	SOUTH:hu.ar:i	1	X7-16
295 131	016 152	 	p.od.u.ji	1	X32-19

295 356	016 339	𒀀𒌦 𒄑𒀸	p.od.356.i	1	X46-4
295	018	𒀀𒌦	p.in	1	X14-13
295 205	018	𒀀𒌦 𒅇	p.in.de	1	X17-3
295 339	018	𒀀𒌦 𒀸	p.in.i	1	D19-20
295 084	023 347	𒀀𒍑 𒁍𒄭	p.023.ra.oi	1	X22-4
295	072	𒀀𒆳	p.EAST	1	D19-12
295 205	072	𒀀𒆳 𒅇	p.EAST.de	1	X42-8
295 339	072	𒀀𒆳 𒀸	p.EAST.i	1	D10-4
295	076	𒀀𒁕	p.ho	1	X1-21
295 123	081	𒀀𒀭 𒀜	p.MONTH.ar	1	X35-44
295	084	𒀀𒁍	p.ra	2	D32-11 X43-10
295 244	097	𒀀𒅖 𒄩	p.úr.s	9	D2-24 26-18 X6-18 9-12 9-30 10-5 14-19 14-34 37-11
295 244	097 140	𒀀𒅖 𒄩𒈬	p.úr.s.en	1	D9-22
295 311	097 222	𒀀𒅖 𒁾𒉡	p.úr.b.ñ	1	X18-19
295 339	097	𒀀𒅖 𒀸	p.úr.i	1	D32-20

295	107		p.oi$_2$	1	D48-12
295 341	109		p.e$_2$.er	1	D43-8
295	123		p.ar	5	D12-13 25-25 X7-21 12-29 16-7
295 311	123 222		p.ar.b.ñ	1	X30-37
295 341	125		p.aû.er	1	D4-22
295	131		p.u	4	D15-24 17-4 23-15 45-19
295 097	131		p.u.úr	1	D17-8
295 092	137 357		p.ir.ud$_3$.úng	1	D8-1
295	154		p.on	1	X47-6
295 149 122	186 051		p.o.ju.ha.ai	1	X4-19
295 149 222	186 261		p.o.ju.l.ñ	1	X14-27
295 149 144	186 311		p.o.ju.b.ún	1	X24-28
295 158	186 080		p.o.158.ii	2	X34-26 37-21
295 255	186		p.o.or	6	X5-21 21-24 24-37 26-9 27-30 27-37

295 304 144	186 261		p.o.304.l.ún	3	X25-8 25-28 27-24
295 344 144	186 261		p.o.ud.l.ún	1	X7-19
295 261 122	188 051		p.SMALL. l.ha.ai	1	X44-5
295 069 151	189 261		p.a.rí.l.hu	1	X31-21
295 099	189		p.a.ad	1	X8-18
295 123	189 080		p.a.ar.ii	1	X35-32
295 262	189 347		p.a.ui.oi	1	X32-2
295	206		p.li	1	X46-14
295 282	224		p.mu.282	3	D35-19 X10-11 35-25
295 335	280 289		p.áng.ia.iú	1	X29-29
295 000 337	335 000		p.ia.[X.X].ji$_3$	1	X37-8
295	339		p.i	1	X12-34

295 033	339 162		p.i.is.ci	1	X11-19
295	341		p.er	3	D17-20 44-20 46-4
295	345		p.ung	1	D25-16
295 344	348 100		p.e.ud.én$_2$	1	D31-23
295 140	357		p.úng.en	1	D7-8
295 244	357 144		p.úng.s.ún	1	X30-38
295 347	362		p.iau.oi	1	X19-26
295 131	366		p.ul.u	1	X44-20
295 144	366 348		p.ul.ún.e	1	X44-21
295 172	366		p.ul.uh	2	X2-27 41-9
295 172	366 337		p.ul.uh.ji$_3$	1	X38-9
297	131		pú.u	3	X1-16 18-24 18-33
298	205		co.de	1	X17-30
298 361	217		co.do.én	1	X38-10
298 372	217 337		co.do.û.ji$_3$	1	X35-31

300		冂	SEVENTY	3	D22-16 X28-14 35-14
300	140	冂 木	SEVENTY.en	1	X43-15
301	020	冂 丆	SEVENTY°.y	1	X22-32
302		用	il	1	X8-14
302 140	288	用 屮 木	il.bun.en	3	X8-27 13-13 18-14
302 144	311	用 寸 又	il.b.ún	1	D10-8
305		肉	305	1	X26-12
305	140	肉 木	305.en	1	X24-14
305 290	189	肉 为 出	305.a.án	1	X44-9
305	205	肉 矢	305.de	2	X17-7 17-25
307	020	冈 丆	307.y	7	X2-32 6-27 25-18 26-18 32-16 36-5 39-18
307	109	冈 夯	307.e_2	1	D33-14
307 080	244	冈 仝 北	307.s.ii	1	D37-21
307	348	冈 岁	307.e	1	D31-16
308	144	冈 又	COMPOSE.ún	2	D30-14 36-12
308 290	189	冈 为 出	COMPOSE.a.án	1	X32-9 37-30
308	247	冈 令	COMPOSE.t	1	X37-31
308 051	261 122	冈 屮 圭 羊	COMPOSE.l.ha.ai	3	D29-9 36-6 X10-14

308 151	261		COMPOSE.l.hu	1	X9-25
308	339		COMPOSE.i	1	X39-13
308 341	356		COMPOSE.56.er	1	D33-11
309			hó	12	D18-12 27-4 38-16 X3-10 12-21 14-7 28-32 29-38 30-11 37-10 38-25 42-14
309	067		hó.eu	1	X43-18
309	140		hó.en	1	X35-34
309 361	140		hó.en.én	1	X36-32
309	205		hó.de	1	D45-11
309	245		hó.ú	1	X26-16
309	254		hó.d	1	X32-6
309 288	261		hó.l.bun	2	D23-9 X36-6
309 311	261 222		hó.l.b.ñ	5	D6-11 X16-26 21-1 43-2 47-8
310 020	112		COMPOSE$_2$.ge$_2$.y	1	X45-15
310 261	112 334		COMPOSE$_2$.ge$_2$.l.g	1	X45-16
310 020	349		COMPOSE$_2$.ge.y	1	D49-13
310 261	349 334		COMPOSE$_2$.ge.l.g	1	D49-14

311		𠂤	b	2	X16-5
311 361	020	𠂤 𠂉	b.y.én	4	X8-31 10-17 10-30 13-18
311 084	023 144	𠂤 𠂉	b.023.ra.ún	1	D32-19
311 084	023 361	𠂤 𠂉	b.023.ra.én	2	D20-20 X25-12
311 144	023 361	𠂤 𠂉	b.023.ún.én	1	D31-8
311 261 189	063 051 290	𠂤 𠂉 𠂉	b.ETERNAL.l.ha.a.án	1	X20-19
311 261 290	063 051	𠂤 𠂉 𠂉	b.ETERNAL.l.ha.án	1	X15-27
311 337	067	𠂤 𠂉	b.eu.ji$_3$	1	X36-30
311 140	082 131	𠂤 𠂉	b.üe.en.u	1	X23-14
311 107	125	𠂤 𠂉	b.aû.oi$_2$	1	X9-6
311 361	125	𠂤 𠂉	b.aû.én	1	X14-17
311 097	131	𠂤 𠂉	b.u.úr	4	X15-6 17-18 20-5 22-11
311 140	131	𠂤 𠂉	b.u.en	1	X19-5

311	140		b.en	1	X20-31
311 290	151		b.hu.án	20	D8-17 12-5 15-15 16-6 24-3 X10-27 13-15 14-28 17-9 18-6 19-16 20-8 21-4 31-19 32-36 36-11 37-34 38-7 38-20 42-10
311 168			b:qo	1	D12-27
311	168		b.qo	18	D13-11 15-20 26-7 26-16 26-24 X8-4 8-28 10-21 13-27 14-5 15-17 15-37 16-20 16-36 18-27 20-23 20-37 44-4
311 339	168		b.qo.i	3	X13-14 17-2 23-32
311	174		b.as	12	D6-3 19-18 21-6 33-6 35-18 40-18 X11-10 27-12 32-38 33-10 37-26 44-18
311 151	174		b.as.hu	1	X25-31
311 149 144	186 311		b.o.ju.b.ún	1	D44-10
311 255	186		b.o.or	1	D5-6
311 304 144	186 261		b.o.304.l.ún	1	D29-13
311 122	280		b.áng.ai	1	X21-18

311	291		b.291	1	X46-16
311 234	302		b.il.ta$_2$	2	D35-14 38-6
311 205	316		b.316.de	1	X23-12
311 189	324 011		b.üen.a.an	1	D29-10
311 222	334		b.g.ñ	2	X4-29 5-8
311 347	348		b.e.oi	1	X41-13
311 144	362		b.iau.ún	1	X38-41
311 097	372		b.û.úr	2	X23-17 23-34
311 189	379		b.TENT.a	1	X37-32
312	097		tum.úr	2	D40-13 43-1
312 097	131		tum.u.úr	1	X47-9
312 097	372		tum.û.úr	2	X17-13 38-36
316			316	4	D22-5 X22-3 26-4 44-10
316	205		316.de	1	D32-5
317 080	244		TEXT.s.ii	1	X37-38

317	245	月 𠂉	TEXT.ú	1	D1-9
318	020	罗 丙	318.y	1	X30-13
318 349	080 020	罗 北 𠂤 丙	318.ii.ge.y	1	X24-21
318 112	261 020	罗 丵 𠂤 丙	318.l.ge$_2$.y	2	D20-21 23-3
318 112 334	261 261	罗 丵 𠂤 丵 几	318.l.ge$_2$.l.g	1	D19-2
319 133	251	𠂆 公 又	go.n.m	1	X9-17
319 247		𠂆 今	go:t	2	D24-18 25-10
319 251		𠂆 公	go:n	2	D20-3 20-14
319 341		𠂆 𠂤	go:er	4	D32-17 46-12 X6-29 10-24
319	341	𠂆 𠂤	go.er	1	X1-3
319 140	341	𠂆 𠂤 木	go.er.en	2	D24-13 25-6
319 347		𠂆 𠂤	go:oi	1	X40-10
319 140	347	𠂆 𠂤 木	go.oi.en	3	X15-32 18-15 19-4
320	131	由 𠂤	320.u	1	D30-9
320	144	由 叉	320.ún	3	X3-30 32-30 36-22

320 131	272	由 刈 攴	320.bú$_2$.u	1	X42-1
321		虫	yo	4	D45-20 X44-3 45-18 46-2
323		口	qi	4	D4-16 37-7 X5-14 33-23
323 222	080	口 北 伏	qi.ii.ñ	1	X19-2
323	107	口 夂	qi.oi$_2$	1	X39-34
323 131	162 152	口 糸 攴 殆	qi.ci.u.ji	1	D27-20
324 262	090	虺 廾 火	üen.ó.ui	1	D17-22
326 051	261 122	文 屮 虫 羊	ie^x.l.ha.ai	1	D5-3
326 051	261 123	文 屮 虫 木	ie^x.l.ha.ar	1	D4-15
326 144	261	文 屮 又	ie^x.l.ún	1	X29-22
326	339	文 关	ie^x.i	1	D31-7
328		主	hong$_2$	6	D7-22 20-11 30-23 33-24 X24-36 46-7
329 107	059	亦 杏 夂	ün.uni.oi$_2$	1	X28-31
329	100	亦 与	ün.én$_2$	2	D18-6 31-4
329	205	亦 矢	ün.de	1	X26-24
329 334	244	亦 仝 几	ün.s.g	1	D6-1

329	348		ün.e	4	D45-14 X6-6 30-3 43-16
329 144	349		ün.ge.ún	1	X29-39
329	361		ün.én	2	X22-7 25-34
329 205	361		ün.én.de	1	D32-10
331 140	109		neu.e_2.en	1	D7-19
331	348		neu.e	2	X4-11 31-23
331 140	348		neu.e.en	1	X32-31
331 205	348		neu.e.de	1	D8-10
332			nai	5	D4-6 48-20 X5-30 24-10 40-12
332	140		nai.en	1	D5-16
334	019		g.iu	1	X28-30
334 345	019 273		g.iu.ung.un	2	D10-12 11-1
334 273	067		g.eu.un	2	D15-3 X27-41
334	097		g.úr	2	D44-13 X5-1
334 140	097		g.úr.en	3	D8-4 X3-3 5-22
334 205	097		g.úr.de	1	D32-13
334	106		g.ung$_2$	1	X8-36

334	109	𒌋𒄭	g.e$_2$	1	X20-40
334	133	𒌋𒅗	g.m	1	D19-14
334 144	140	𒌋𒀀 𒅔	g.en.ún	2	D38-13 X34-1
334 348	140 144	𒌋𒀀 𒅔𒄭	g.en.ún.e	2	X34-2 43-4
334 261	140 334	𒌋𒀀 𒁾𒌋	g.en.l.g	1	X33-19
334 261 361	140 349	𒌋𒀀 𒁾𒄩 𒆠	g.en.l.ge.én	1	D46-17
334	161	𒌋𒊭	g.au	1	D25-13
334	221	𒌋𒆪	g.ñ^x	1	X4-3
334	224	𒌋𒁕	g.mu	1	D26-27
334	235	𒌋𒍪	g.ri	7	X25-1 26-30 27-14 27-18 27-31 27-38 28-5
334	236	𒌋𒍑	g.ur	1	X29-15
334	263	𒌋𒄯	g.ui°	1	X2-17
334 018	262	𒌋𒄿 𒅀	g.ui.in	2	D13-9 34-12
334 144	262	𒌋𒄿 𒅔	g.ui.ún	1	D5-9
334 339	262	𒌋𒄿 𒅖	g.ui.i	2	D21-1 X32-7
334 334	302	𒌋𒈬 𒌋	g.il.g	2	X16-12 20-35

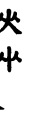
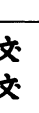
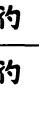
334 270	326 254		g.ie^{x}.ém.d	1	X11-29
334	329		g.ün	10	D10-14 10-19 11-3 X7-37 11-14 15-24 20-18 23-5 27-6 27-10
334 140	329		g.ün.en	3	D14-1 14-21 19-16
334	335		g.ia	4	D25-17 X15-34 19-36 20-26
334 270	335		g.ia.ém	1	X10-4
334	345		g.ung	2	X10-32 14-2
334 140	345		g.ung.en	4	X10-19 12-25 13-20 22-16
334 236	345		g.ung.ur	2	X10-9 12-6
334	348		g.e	7	D12-17 X12-35 13-5 13-25 14-1 15-14 16-33
334 356	348		g.e.356	1	X45-23
334 357	348		g.e.úng	2	D44-1 44-2
335			ia	13	D11-19 12-19 13-4 16-21 24-7 26-10 X2-19 3-7 9-1 9-8 9-16 10-16 16-30
335	84		ia.ra	4	D31-2 40-10 X34-31 38-35
335 090	084 337		ia.ra.ó.ji$_3$	1	X34-6

335 104	084		ia.ra.dz_2	1	D36-11
335	277		ia.LUCK	5	D26-14 X32-12 35-36 36-18 38-14
335 222	277		ia.LUCK.ñ	2	D12-8 16-9
336			gi_2	15	D4-25 6-10 23-2 26-19 28-11 28-16 30-7 30-21 36-18 37-5 38-10 39-17 40-6 40-16 43-13
337	140		ji_3.en	4	X11- 32 14-25 26-20 26-35
337 339	140		ji_3.en.i	1	X9-4
338			ih	2	X25-4 27-26
339	235		i.ri	13	D2-5 9-14 10-17 10-21 11-12 14-2 14-22 23-6 26-25 47-14 X1-22 12-26 42-5
339 205	235		i.ri.de	5	D6-17 10-5 21-18 X25-9 28-4
339 244	235		i.ri.s	1	X36-4
339 244	235 341		i.ri.s.er	3	D14-5 20-18 X12-3
340	019		x.iu	1	X16-32
340 244	067		x.eu.s	1	D33-21
340 112	089 020		x.zu.ge_2.y	1	D36-10

340 112	089 100		x.zu.ge$_2$.én$_2$	1	D30-6
340 112	089 341		x.zu.ge$_2$.er	1	D45-7
340 112	089 361		x.zu.ge$_2$.én	1	D33-5
340 347	089 165		x.zu.oi.gu	1	X30-25
340 349	089 020		x.zu.ge.y	1	X39-16
340 349	089 341		x.zu.ge.er	1	X21-30
340	092		x.ud$_3$	1	D48-16
340 244	097		x.úr.s	1	D49-2
340 339	097		x.úr.i	1	D33-18
340	099		x.ad	1	X4-31
340	127		x.an$_2$	2	X17-10 17-27
340	128		x.zhi$_2$	1	X37-37
340 020 349	128 302 020		x.zhi$_2$.y.il. ge.y	1	X17-4
340 020	128 361		x.zhi$_2$.y.én	1	D29-3
340 222	162		x.ci.ñ	1	D30-2

340 144	179		x.dú.ún	3	X1-2 6-24 6-28
340 144	179 361		x.dú.ún.én	1	D33-23
340	205		x.de	1	X4-2
340 097	236		x.ur.úr	1	X39-14
340	244		x.s	3	D47-19 X29-36 31-7
340 112	244 261		x.s.ge$_2$.l	2	D18-8 29-19
340 112	244 344		x.s.ge$_2$.ud	1	D25-20
340 205	244		x.s.de	2	D35-1 X31-35
340 205	244 339		x.s.de.i	1	X30-39
340 261 366	244 131 334		x.s.l.u.ul.g	1	D50-11
340 349	244 261		x.s.ge.l	2	X30-2 35-29
340 349	244 344		x.s.ge.ud	6	D43-4 48-14 X14-10 36-19 41-16 42-18
340 349 341	244 357		x.s.ge.úng.er	1	D27-7
340	254		x.d	1	X36-29

340 244	261		x.l.s	2	D31-15 33-13
340	262		x.ui	1	X33-15
340 235	262		x.ui.ri	1	X43-8
340 235 144	262 112		x.ui.ri.ge$_2$.ún	2	X24-31 27-32
340 235	262 140		x.ui.ri.en	1	X36-25
340 235 144	262 311		x.ui.ri.b.ún	1	X42-6
340 235 162	262 311		x.ui.ri.b.ci	1	D49-12
340 235 020	262 340		x.ui.ri.x.y	1	X27-19
340 235	262 347		x.ui.ri.oi	1	X25-10
340 235 020	262 349		x.ui.ri.ge.y	3	X25-3 27-40 28-6
340 235 162	262 349		x.ui.ri.ge.ci	1	X17-15

340 235 222	262 349		x.ui.ri.ge.ñ	1	X26-31
340 254 144	262 261		x.ui.d.l.ún	1	X36-10
340 254 341	262 356		x.ui.d.356.er	1	X3-13
340 339	262		x.ui.i	1	X34-5
340	289		x.iú	1	X13-10
340 282	289 339		x.iú.282.i	2	D2-22 49-1
340	303		x.ing	1	D9-2
340 073	327		x.ie.ên	2	D47-1 X38-24
340 280	327 327		x.ie.áng.ie	1	X37-18
340	337		x.ji_3	1	X34-13
340 205	337		x.ji_3.de	1	X19-28
340	339		x.i	3	D33-1 34-18 X35-17
343	288		343.bun	1	X24-18
343 140	311		343.b.en	1	D27-13

344 261	144 334		ud.ún.l.g	1	D34-7
345	041		ung.su	2	D34-6 X22-5
345 140	041		ung.su.en	1	D33-8
347 051 123	033 189		oi.is.ha.a.ar	1	D23-13
348			e	5	D21-17 X22-26 25-29 28-3 40-15
348	151		e.hu	1	X13-11
349 347	140		ge.en.oi	1	X37-19
349 339	144		ge.ún.i	1	D36-1
349 347	189		ge.a.oi	1	X35-23
354 379	189		dz.a.TENT	1	D5-7
354 051	254 379		dz.d.ha.TENT	2	D46-13 46-14
355 236	131		udu.u.ur	1	D10-9
355 366 290	131 051		udu.u.ul.ha.án	1	D29-4
356			356	1	X28-42

356 107	尘 夫	356.oi$_2$	1	X26-29
356 189 196	尘 为 生	356.a.bu	1	X21-20
356 189 196 254	尘 为 生 公	356.a.bu.d	2	X26-28 36-27
356 189 196 254 261 051 122	尘 为 公 生 业 业	356.a.bu.d.l.ha.ai	1	X41-17
356 189 196 254 261 051 123	尘 为 公 生 业 业	356.a.bu.d.l.ha.ar	1	X9-28
356 189 196 254 261 051 189 290	尘 为 公 生 业 业 为 出	356.a.bu.d.l.ha.a.án	1	X14-12
356 189 196 254 261 122	尘 为 公 生 业 业	356.a.bu.d.l.ai	1	X21-33
356 189 196 254 339	尘 为 公 生 关	356.a.bu.d.i	1	X35-13
358 097 372 059	业 变 只 杏	mû.úr.û.uni	1	X6-7
362 137 339	号 刃 关	iau.ir.i	1	D20-7
362 341	号 公	iau:er	1	D45-16

365	339		qid.i	2	D2-21 X9-20
366	144		ul.ún	1	X31-36
368			FOUR	9	D8-18 12-6 16-7 39-2 45-9 51-3 X8-24 30-6 34-15
368 205			FOUR:de	1	D22-17
369			FOUR°	6	D34-1 X9-3 14-30 18-11 19-17 27-34
371 289	189		REGION.a.iú	2	D17-13 19-1
372	041		û.su	1	X44-13
372 347	041		û.su.oi	1	X33-13
372	097		û.úr	1	X17-22
372 076	097 140		û.úr.ho.en	1	X2-28
372	109		û.e_2	1	X4-30
372	236		û.ur	1	X2-9
372	251		û.n	4	D25-5 X8-6 39-41 40-4
372 261 185	253 131		û.$\hat{o}_2$.l.u.am°	1	X43-6
372	262		û.ui	3	D3-29 27-9 X39-35
372 205	337		û.ji_3.de	1	X11-5
372	341		û.er	1	D3-24

372	348		û.e	1	X2-13
372 205	348		û.e.de	2	X5-9 8-15
372 144	366		û.ul.ún	2	D47-4 49-6
372 349	366 361		û.ul.ge.én	3	X18-17 18-31 19-9
373			GREAT	20	D8-19 12-15 15-17 24-5 26-1 44-3 X7-23 12-31 16-9 18-8 20-10 20-32 21-6 28-8 30-28 33-4 38-30 44-22 45-13 48-1
373 197	274		GREAT.iá.ah	1	X22-30
374			tai	25	D3-21 7-1 8-15 9-12 12-3 12-10 12-25 13-12 14-25 15-13 16-1 16-10 17-6 20-1 20-12 24-1 24-16 25-8 X9-18 15-15 16-4 18-25 18-29 20-30
374	311		tai:b	1	D20-8
375			ca	1	D20-15
375 127			ca:an$_2$	1	D20-4
375	199		ca.ang	2	D19-6 X13-37
377 222	152		oh.ji.ñ	1	D9-11
377	289		oh.iú	1	X20-14

378			DITTO	1	X37-15
379	140		TENT.en	3	D30-24 X1-15 16-17
379 236	172		TENT.uh.ur	4	D39-7 48-1 X17-34 33-29
389 361	334		RECORD$_2$.g.én	1	D42-1
391 080	261		391.l.ii	1	D45-12
395	222		ai$_3$.ñ	1	X34-28
405 341	131		COMPOSE$_3$.u.er	1	D3-13
405	361		COMPOSE$_3$.én	1	X34-36
410 131	356 152		410.356.u.ji	1	D31-18
422 341	254		TEN°.d.er	1	D2-9
424	406		SIXTY°.tum^x	1	D18-4
431	189		car°.a	3	X15-4 19-10 38-21
431 289	189		car°.a.iú	1	X46-23
431 290	189		car°.a.án	1	D13-8
436	288		436.bun	1	X26-3
447			THIRTY°	2	X29-7 35-19
449			EIGHTY	1	X31-2
456	170		456.MR	1	D28-18

456 090	222 059		456.ñ.ó.uni	1	D27-27
456 090	236 262		456.ur.ó.ui	1	D37-6
457 372	366 262		457.ul.û.ui	1	X26-5
459	315		459.she	1	X28-23
000			[Ø]	1	X39-1
000 018			[Ø].in	1	D1-8
000 290	189		[X].a.án	1	X39-8
000	236		[X].ur	1	X35-45
000	255		[X].or	1	X35-30
000 112	261 020		[X].l.ge$_2$.y	1	X38-38
000	357		[X].úng	1	X27-8
000	000		[X.X]	2	X39-44 39-47
000	000		[Ø.Ø]	1	X36-13
000 068	000		[X.X].us	1	X39-7
000 205	000		[X.X].de	1	X38-34
000 222	000		[X.X].ñ	2	X34-35 34-41
000 262	000		[X.X].ui	2	X34-35 34-41

000 347	000	□□ 炎	[X.X].oi	2	X36-16 39-5
000 000	000	□□ □	[X.X.X]	4	X34-37 36-12 37-6 39-46
000 000	000 000	⬚⬚ ⬚⬚	[Ø.Ø.Ø.Ø]	1	X39-6
000 000 000	000 000	□□ □□ □	[X.X.X.X.X]	1	X34-38

PLATES

Plate 1: *Xiao Dilu*, cover stone, lines 1 to 13, rubbing 374
Plate 2: *Xiao Dilu*, cover stone, lines 13 to 25, rubbing 375
Plate 3: *Xiao Dilu*, base stone, lines 26 to 41, rubbing 376
Plate 4: *Xiao Dilu*, base stone, lines 42 to 51, rubbing 377
Plate 5. Detail of *Xiao Dilu*, lines 16 to 19, size 1 : 1 378
Plate 6. Detail of *Xiao Dilu*, lines 43 to 44, size 1 : 1 379

Plate 7: *Yelü Xiangwen*, base stone, lines 1 to 20, rubbing 380
Plate 8: *Yelü Xiangwen*, base stone, lines 20 to 39, rubbing 381
Plate 9. *Yelü Xiangwen*, cover stone, lines 40 to 48, rubbing 382
Plate 10. Detail of *Yelü Xiangwen*, lines 14 to 17, size 1 : 1 383
Plate 11. Detail of *Yelü Xiangwen*, line 48, size 1 : 1 384



Plate 1. *Xiao Dilu*, cover stone, lines 1 to 13, rubbing.



Plate 2. *Xiao Dilu*, cover stone, lines 13 to 25, rubbing.



Plate 3. *Xiao Dilu*, base stone, lines 26 to 41, rubbing.

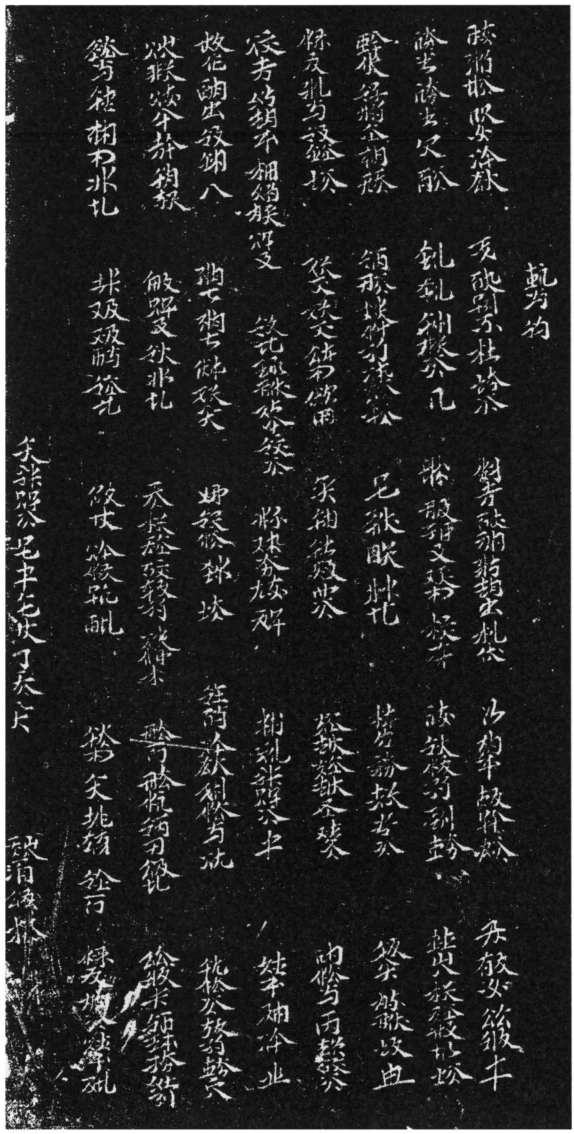


Plate 4. *Xiao Dilu*, base stone, lines 42 to 51, rubbing.



Plate 5. Detail of *Xiao Dilu*, lines 16 to 19, size 1 : 1.

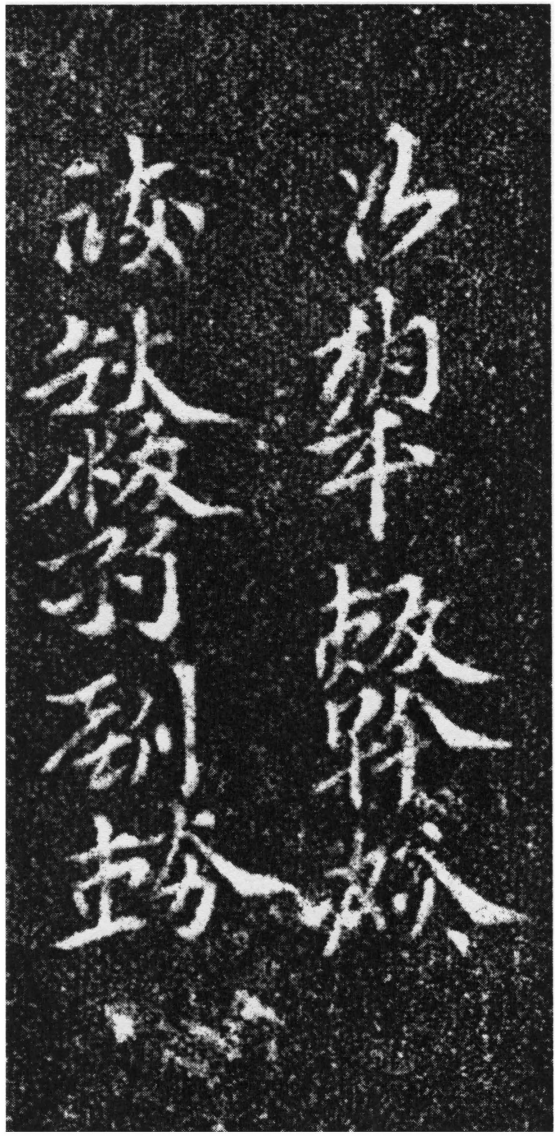


Plate 6. Detail of *Xiao Dilu*, lines 43 to 44, size 1 : 1.

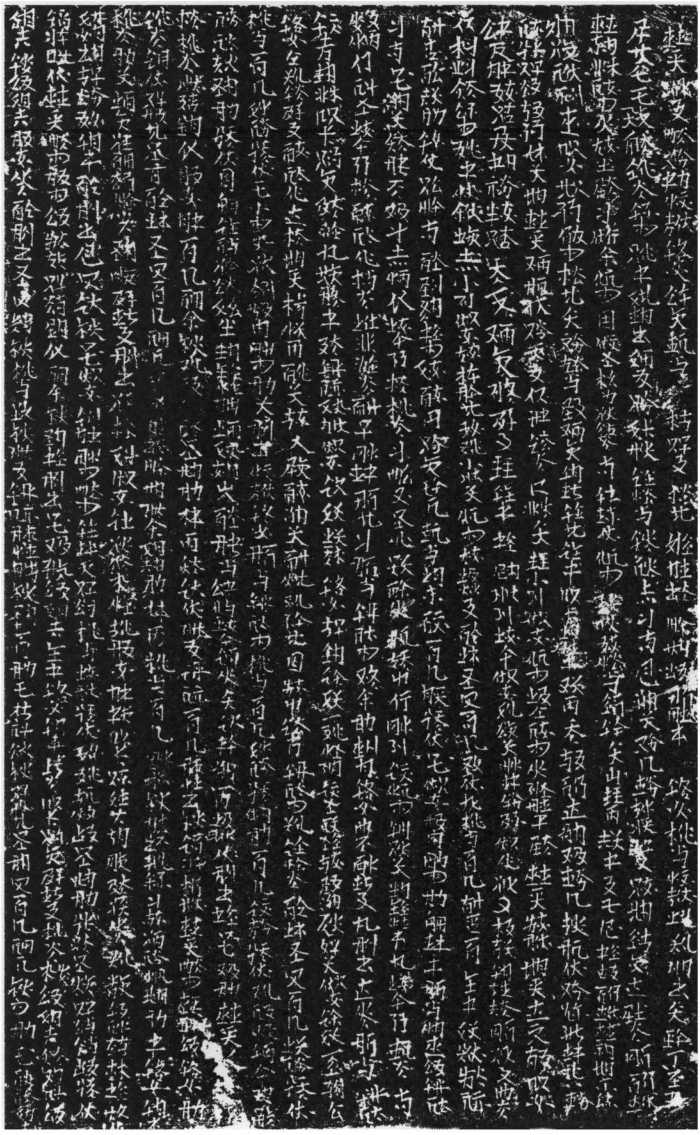


Plate 7. *Yelü Xiangwen*, base stone, lines 1 to 20, rubbing.

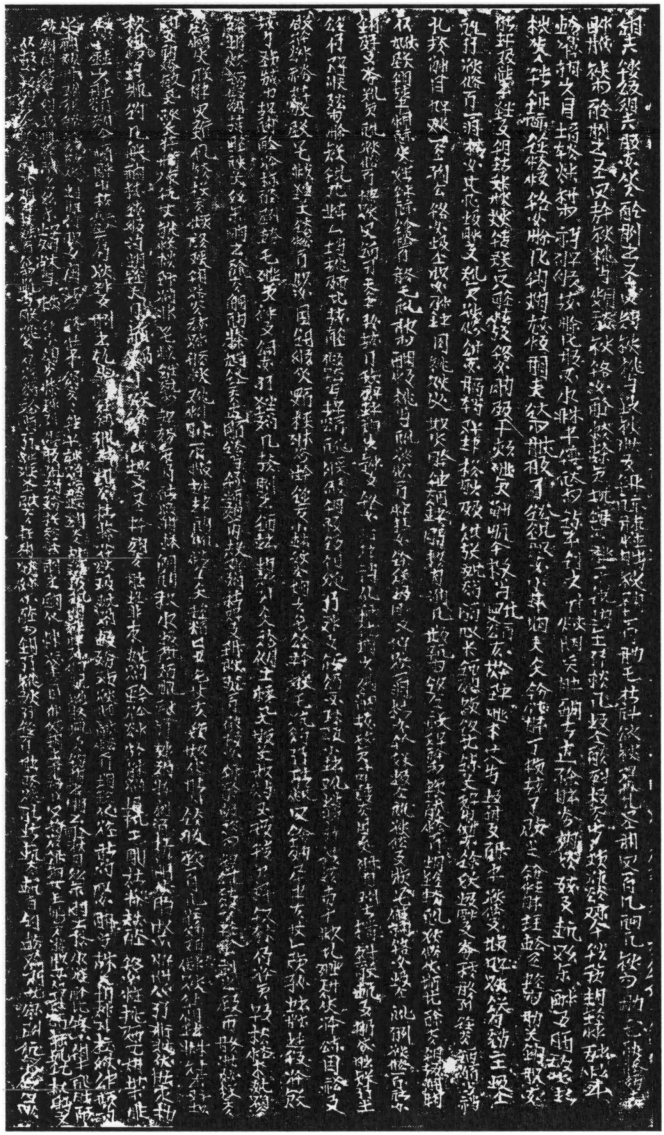


Plate 8. *Yelü Xiangwen*, base stone, lines 20 to 39, rubbing.

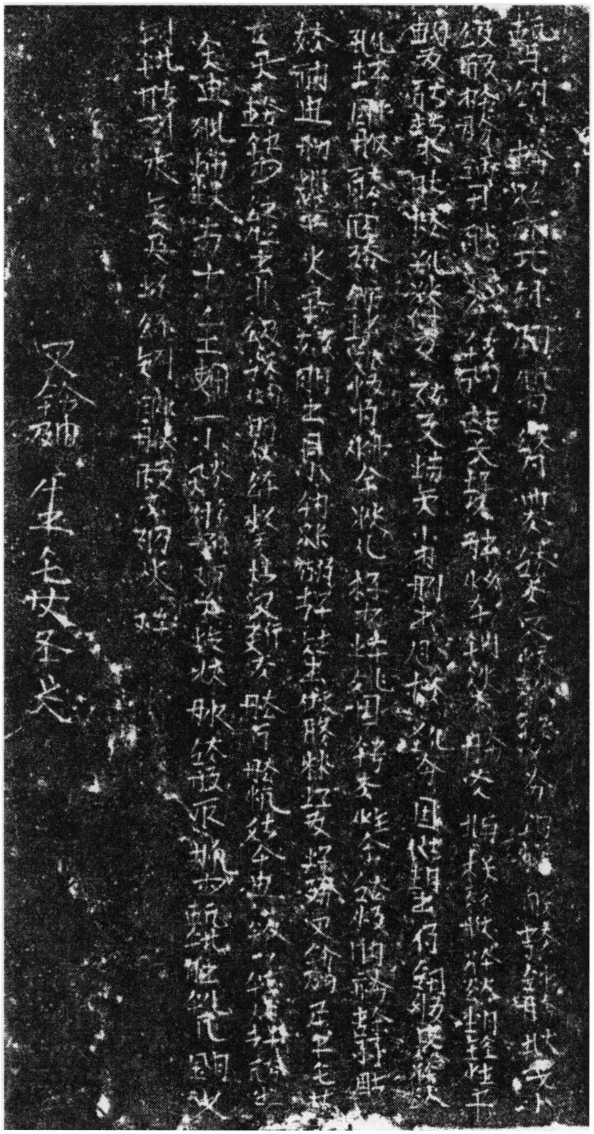


Plate 9. *Yelü Xiangwen*, cover stone, lines 40 to 48, rubbing.



Plate 10. Detail of *Yelü Xiangwen*, lines 14 to 17, size 1 : 1.

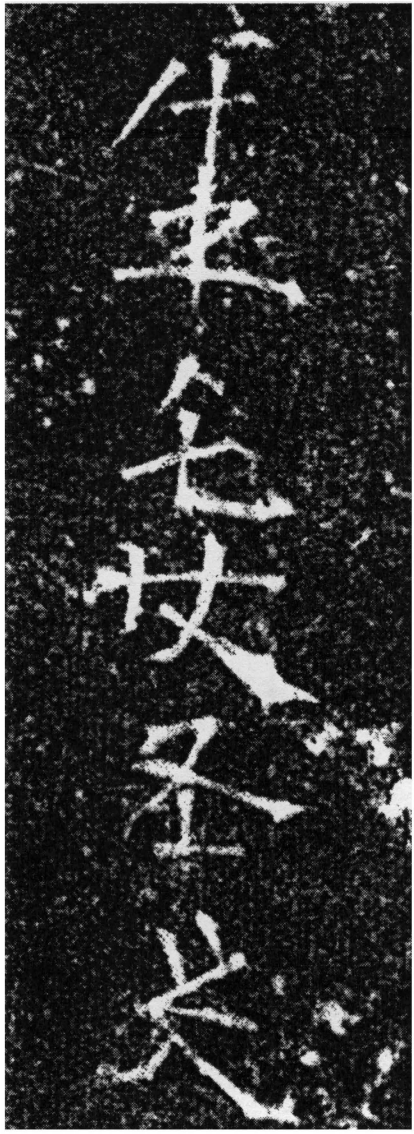


Plate 11. Detail of *Yelü Xiangwen*, line 48, size 1 : 1.