

The Characteristic of Northern Region Liao Bureaucracy and the Significance of the Hereditary Official System

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The present author has studied various problems concerning the Liao 遼 State which was established by the Khitay (Ch'i-tan 契丹), a nomadic people of Mongol origin at the beginning of the tenth century. The Liao was a state built modelled on Chinese dynasties in a conquered part of North China. It is an undeniable fact that Chinese people (Han-jên 漢人) were a major constituent part of the Liao and that the agricultural economy was an important pillar of state finance. Nevertheless throughout my studies I have consistently advocated that it is precisely for this reason that the Liao should be studied within the context of the history of the various races that rose and fell in North Asia and not within the framework of Chinese dynastic history. Yet despite being aware that an investigation of the bureaucratic system was important for finding out the nature of the state, until now I have not written anything on the subject.

The reasons for my not having done so are as follows. The *Liao-shih* 遼史 (*The History of the Liao Dynasty*), the basic source for any research on the history of the Liao period, is a rare example of a poorly written dynastic history. Many of the official titles of Liao ministers sent to the Sung and Koryŏ as envoys appearing in the *Sung-shih* 宋史 (*The History of the Sung Dynasty*) and the *Ko-ryŏ-sa* 高麗史 (*The History of the Koryŏ Dynasty*) are not listed in the *Pai-kuan-chih* 百官志 (List of officials) of the *Liao-shih*. Also, I was interested in archaeology, and being given the opportunity to be chief investigator of an excavation survey of relics from that period I was well aware that many such official titles not appearing in the *Liao-shih* were recorded in archaeological materials, particularly in the stone and bronze inscriptions. As a result I realised that it was unwise to study the Liao bureaucratic system from the *Pai-kuan-chih* of the *Liao-shih* and desired to examine the bureaucratic system at a later date using these new source materials to fill in the lacunae. As many more stone and bronze inscriptions came to be discovered in China after 1949, I was able to collect numerous unknown official titles from the reports published in journals like *K'ao-ku T'ung-hsün* 考古通訊, *K'ao-ku* 考古, *K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao* (考古學報), *Wên-wu Ts'an-k'ao Tsu-liao* (文物參攷資料), *Wên-wu* (文物). For some time past I had been planning to compile what could be termed a supplement to the *Pai-kuan-chih* by arrang-

ing the newly discovered official titles in their order of appointment within the basic framework of the *Pai-kuan-chih*. But I was forced to reconsider this plan as private letters from my friends in China made it clear that the stone and bronze inscriptions already published represented only a small part of the huge number of stone and bronze inscriptions that had been discovered in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the center of the Liao State. Furthermore by arranging the newly discovered official titles in accordance with the order of appointment, the probability of the correctness of the assumption increased the more frequently the same official title appeared in the sources, and even from the few examples given in my friend's letters there were places where my presumptions had to be revised. But of course no matter how many government offices and official titles had been omitted from the *Pai-kuan-chih* of the *Liao-shih*, that itself would not change the general outline of the bureaucratic system under the Liao to be conjectured from the *Pai-kuan-chih*. So I decided to first clarify the framework of the Liao bureaucratic system of the basis of already available source materials and then proceed on to the compilation of a *Supplement to the Pai-kuan-chih of the Liao-shih* (tentative title). Of course in this study I originally intended to use these newly discovered materials, but if there was even a trace of inadequate data concerning government offices and official titles I have excluded them for the time being. Though there may be mistakes there is no other alternative but to rely on printed source materials.

I. Previous Theories and Problems for Research

The following three periods may be delineated in the development of the bureaucracy in the Liao state; the (1) T'ai-tsu 太祖 (907-926), (2) T'ai-tsung 太宗 (927-947) and Shih-tsung 世宗 (947-951), and (3) Shêng-tsung 聖宗 (982-1031) and Hsing-tsung 興宗 (1031-1055) eras.

During the first period when T'ai-tsu reigned, priority was given to establishing the monarchical power of the Yeh-lü clan (耶律氏) and bringing the Khitay and other pastoral tribes under control by reorganising tribes structure and changing the administrative set-up along those lines, while at the same time arbitrarily appointing Chinese people as Chief of the Political Council (*Chêng-shih-ling* 政事令) and Chief of the Secretarial Council (*Chung-shu-ling* 中書令) in anticipation of their administrative ability. But by the second period when T'ai-tsung and Shih-tsung were on the throne, the Liao had moved into North China and the control of Chinese people had surfaced as a real problem. Moreover from this time onwards the Chinese population in the state was continually increasing and they were gradually getting politically stronger, and it was necessary to devise a more positive way of ruling them. In accordance with this necessity the administrative principle of having Chinese people manage Chinese land and people under the Khitay regime

was set-up, and various institutions from Chinese dynasties were introduced into administrative organisation along these lines, and the dual system of rule which included the Northern (directed towards pastoral people) and the Southern (directed towards agricultural people) regions. The Chinese elements in the bureaucratic system of the Liao State became salient after Hui-t'ung 會同 1 (938) during T'ai-tsung's reign. By the time of Shêng-tsung and Hsing-tsung, the third period, the principle of the dual system of rule had been incorporated intact into a dual system based on a type of despotism in which the Khitay wielded supreme military power and the Chinese attended to civil duties. The *Pai-kuan-chih* of the *Liao-shih* narrates in a dull fashion the dual system of rule that was founded and perpetuated from the second period. The classic work of Dr. Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉, "Ryō no seido no nijū taikai 遼の制度の二重體系 (The double System of the Liao)," (*Mansen Chiri Rekishi Kenkyū Hōkoku* 滿鮮地理歴史研究報告, No. 5, later included in Volume 12 of *Tsuda Sōkichi Zenshū* 津田左右吉全集) which used this account as its main source is still highly appraised today as a study that penetratingly described the characteristics of this dual system of rule (after I commenced using the term dual system, Dr. Tsuda indicated to me in a private letter that dual system was a more appropriate term than double system). But the *Pai-kuan-chih* of the *Liao-shih* as a source material has given rise to confusion and contradictions due to the careless accounts it given of the changes after the third period. Wakagi Hisajirō 若城久治郎 in his "Ryō no Sūmitsuin ni tsuite 遼の樞密院について (The Chancellery of the Liao)," (*Manmōshi Ronsō* 滿蒙史論叢, No. 2) noted the points that confused and mislead Dr. Tsuda and perspicuously analyzed the after-effects wrought by the changes in the third period. In the meantime the present author in part I entitled institutions of his *Ryōdai Shakai Shi Kenkyū* 遼代社會史研究 (*Studies in the Social History of the Liao*) dealt with the establishment of the tribal system in the first period, tracing how the Yeh-lü clan, in the process of their sudden rise, introduced monarchical power into Khitay tribal society, within which relations were formerly on an equal level, and used that as basis for establishing their monarchical power in the societies of other pastoral peoples.

During the Liao period the whole Khitay race were fighting men, a habit common to mounted nomadic peoples, so they were able to act as military officials, and could at the same time as conquerers control the center of administration. Although the Liao had regulations for the selection of officials, there was no system for selecting officials from the Ch'i-tan (The Chinese examination system, the *k'ê-chü* 科舉 was introduced during Shêng-tsung's reign, but it was solely for the Chinese), instead a hereditary official (*shih-kuan* 世官) system was introduced. Chao I 趙翼 in his *Erh-shih-êrh-shih chachi* 二十二史劄記 *Notes on the Twenty-two Histories*, *chüan* 27 under the *Liao-kuan shih-hsüan chih li* 遼官世選之例 entry described this system as follows:

“At the beginning of the Liao meritorious officials (*kung-ch'ên* 功臣) were appointed according to a rule of hereditary selection (*shih-hsüan* 世選) and not [simply] on the basis of the hereditary principle. In the hereditary system descendants inherited [the post] as a birthright while under hereditary selection talented people were chosen from among the descendants.”

Here Chao pointed out that hereditary officials (*shih-kuan*) were not appointed according to a simple hereditary system, but by selecting capable people from among the descendants officials to fill the posts previously held by their forefathers, and found evidence for the main people who were selected and the regulations in the following passage in an edict (*chao* 詔) by Hsing-tsung dated *hsin-yu* 辛酉 of the second lunar month, *Chung-hsi* 重熙 16 (1047):

“Officials appointed according to hereditary selection; chose talented and capable people from the *ch'i-chiu* 耆舊 in each tribe for appointment.”

Strangely enough Japanese scholars have not shown interest in this subject, though it has been studied by two Chinese scholars; Ch'ên Shu 陳述 “Ch'i-tan shih-hsüan kao 契丹世選攷” (A study of the Khitay hereditary selection system) in *Li-shih Yü-yüan Yen-chiu-so Chi-k'an* 歷史語言研究所集刊, VIII-2 and Yao Ts'ung-wu 姚從吾 “Shuo Liao-chao Ch'i-tan-jên te shih-hsüan chih-tu 說遼朝契丹人的世選期度” (A discussion of the Khitay hereditary selection system in the Liao dynasty) in *Kuo-li T'ai-wan Ta-hsüeh Wên-shih-ché Hsüeh-pao* 國立臺灣大學文史哲學報, VI, later included in *Tung-pei-shih Lun-ts'ung, shang-ts'ê* 東北史論叢, 上册. Both of these scholars point out that the hereditary selection system in the Northern Region of the Liao State was related to the old Khitay custom of electing a Great King (*Ta-wang* 大王) and that the selection of a head chief (*chü-chang* 君長) on a rotation system by deliberation was a habit peculiar to northern tribes. Yao proved that the hereditary selection system was the institution used to select Khitay officials throughout the Liao dynasty by amassing examples of all types of hereditary officials from extensive reading in written documents relating to Liao history.

Dr. Wittfogel in his book, *History of Chinese Society-Liao*-, discussed the bureaucratic system of the Liao State, but his work has not advanced our knowledge of the subject beyond the level already attained by Chinese and Japanese scholars.

None of the previous research outlined above adequately explains the establishment and character of the Liao bureaucracy which was of a very special nature. Even if we disregard the bureaucracy of the Southern Region (*Nan-mien* 南面) which undoubtedly was a copy of Chinese dynasty practice, scholars all agree that the Northern Region (*Pei-mien* 北面) bureaucracy was not a mere continuation of pre-Liao practice as the *Pai-kuan-chih* of the Liao

dynasty would have us believe. As stated earlier I have studied the establishment of the tribal system, but that study only covered one part of the Liao local bureaucratic system. The research of Ch'en Shu and Yao T'sung-wu, especially that of the latter, are very important. Nevertheless I cannot help feeling a sense of inadequacy with the way in which Yao, who regards the hereditary official system as an institution that existed throughout the entire Liao period, ends by only tracing the origins of this institution back to an ancient custom peculiar to the Northern tribes.

II. Pre-Liao Khitay Tribal Society

Needless to say, prior to the formation of the Liao State, the Khitay were a tribal society. In the past we only had a vague idea of pre-Liao Khitay society from occasional references to them appearing in the *Wei-shu* 魏書 (*The History of the Wei Dynasty*), *Sui-shu* 隋書 (*The History of the Sui Dynasty*), and the *Hsin and Chiu T'ang-shu* 新·舊唐書 (*The Old and New Histories of the T'ang Dynasty*) and other sources. But recently Otagi Matsuo 愛宕松男 in his *Kitan Kodaishi no Kenkyū* 契丹古代史の研究 (*Studies in Ancient Khitay History*) has presented an originally brilliant interpretation of the establishment, structure and development of pre-Liao tribal society that answers doubts previously held and clarifies the base upon which the Liao State was formed. Otagi's work is a monumental study in the history of North Asian nomadic peoples that ranks with Б. Я. Владимирцов, *Общественный Строй Монголов* (*A History of Mongol Social Institutions*, Leningrad, 1934) in the way in which he has filled the blanks surrounding the lineage-like kinship group (*shih-tsu* 氏族) that preceded feudalism, a topic hitherto studied only in a secondary fashion, by concentrating on the pastoral feudal system.

Special attention should be given to the third part of the book where Otagi develops what appears to be his central argument. In that part Otagi proves that the Yao-lien 遙輦 Khitay which hitherto had been regarded as fictional did exist and holds that in the 9th century the form of a tribal state (部族社會) had already appeared and that it was this tribal state that served as the basis for the formation of the Liao State during the next century. Previously we had called the politically united group, that Otagi termed a tribal state, a confederation of tribes but the definitions of *pu-tsu* 部族 (a lineage as a part of a tribe) and *shih-tsu* 氏族 (a lineage-like kinship group) were exceptionally vague and even the term tribal confederation was prone to be mistakenly used for what properly should have been described as a confederation of *shih-tsu*. Otagi analysed this point and concluded that the eight lineages of the Yao-lien Khitay were neither a typical *shih-tsu* nor a mere high level kin group, but a tribe that was politically united to a minimum degree. As a result he interprets the nine tents of the Yao-lien (*Yao-lien chiu-chang* 遙輦九帳) ap-

pearing in the *Ying-wei-chih* 營衛志 of the *Liao-shih* as families (or lineages) that could provide executors of public power, a form of rule which surpassed the *shih-tsu* principle. I fully agree with this interpretation of Otagi, but I cannot accept that the tribal unification of the Yao-lien clan was achieved by his concept of a tribal state. This is because I cannot completely agree with the first part of his book entitled, *Kitai kyōdō shakai no seitai teki kōzu* キタイ共同社會の靜態的構圖 (The static composition of Khitay communal Society) (I have dealt with this point in my article "Futatabi Kittan no konin ni tsuite 再び契丹の婚姻について (Khitay marriage, revisited), in *Hōritsu Ronsō*, XXIX-2.3), and because I doubt whether the nine tents of the Yao-lien, who belonged to phratry (units of kinship), the left and right large lineages, were a privileged family (or lineage) based on eight cell groups.

Otagi's argument concerning the selection of the Great King, or the rotational election system of tribe chiefs which we mentioned earlier is cleverly devised. But the following passage from Chao Chih-chung's 趙志忠 *Lu-t'ing tsa-chih* 虜延雜記 (*Miscellaneous Records of Lu-t'ing*) suggests a different situation:

"When appointing a king, the chiefs of the various tribes all assemble and select after discussion a chief who has [attained a certain level of] moral achievement. The King does not have to be replaced if natural calamities do not arise, the flocks of grazing animals increase and the people are contented and happy. If this is not the case, the various chiefs assemble the tribes and elect another person as King. Being a Barbarian King (*Fan-wang* 蕃王) the old king is willing to step aside and is not harmed by the people."

The simplicity of the position of the old Khitay leaders that can be conjectured from this passage is fairly different to the image presented by Otagi. Rather I hold that each of the eight lineages was a tribe, a politically united group, and that the nine tents of the Yao-lien were powerful families in each of the lineages that provided executors of public power (we are unable to determine from extant source materials whether they were from each of the eight lineages or only one part of the eight lineages). I also maintain that the Great King or Great Chieftain was nominated from the nine tents of the Yao-lien. As a result I think it is still more appropriate to view the Yao-lien Khitay as a confederation of eight tribes, as I have done in the past, rather than as a unified tribal state. Therefore I cannot accept Otagi's interpretation of the passage from the *Ping-wei-chih* 兵衛志 of the *Liao-shih* which reads:

"Set up two government offices (*fu* 府) to control them [the eight lineages]."

I cannot agree with Otagi who does not view the two government offices simply as the offices of the great lineage chiefs, but sees the two individuals who exercise power as being representatives of the two phratries, or the Left and Right Great Lineages (*Ttso Yu êrh-ta-pu* 左右二大部) into which the eight tribes were divided as indicated in the *Ying-wei-chih* of the *Liao-shih*. Otagi sees the two great lineages in the *Ying-wei-chih* as a social group or phratry, a cell-like kin group positioned above the eight lineages. But I understand the terms Left and Right Government Offices and Left and Right Great Lineages to refer to government offices aiding the Great Chieftain, the difference in terms having arisen during the course of translating the original title into Chinese. In the first chapter of his book Otagi examined Khitay society statically from Liao dynasty source materials and used the fact that during the Liao period there were only two surnames, Yeh-lü 耶律 and Hsiao 蕭 to prove that two phratries, had existed in Khitay society long before the formation of the Liao State. But this does not explain that the Yeh-lü clan, recorded in the *Liao-shih*, was originally nothing more than an insignificant group. Moreover the small nature of the Yeh-lü prior to the Liao period should be regarded as a fact because the extant *Liao-shih*, which is said to be based on Liao period sources, would not have ignored the appearance of the imperial clan and demeaned them. In short, these differences in interpretation between Otagi and myself arise from the dissimilar views we hold towards the question of whether Yeh-lü A-pao-chi 耶律阿保機, the founder of the Liao State, should be regarded as a tribal hero or not. I have got many ideas that I could not have thought of myself from Otagi's research, but I cannot accept all of it. Also there are many problems with Otagi's transhistorical use of source materials, but since a discussion of that problem would take us away from our main point we will not go into it in further detail here.

At any rate Otagi proved that the Yao-lien Khitay, of which little had been previously known, had actually existed. It is also undoubtedly true that their political formation whether a tribal state or a confederation of tribes had the possibility of exercising public power, a form of rule that surpassed the clan principle, and that the government offices and official posts that were set up along with this new system were the beginning of the Liao bureaucracy, especially the Northern Region Central Government (北面中央官制) which was established later. Of course, simply because the existence of the Yao-lien Khitay has been proved we cannot immediately conclude that all references to them in the *Liao-shih* are historical facts, on the contrary we must regard the references, even if there is some doubt about their authenticity to the origin of some of the government officer and official posts in the Liao State found in the *Liao-shih* as portraying some degree of reality, leaving aside the issue of the existence of the Yao-lien Khitay. The proof of the existence of a political group that went beyond kinship ties prior to the formation of the

Liao State increases their authenticity. The key questions are how were the government offices and official posts set up to function in place of the great tribal chiefs incorporated into the Liao State, and what relationship did the Liao bureaucratic institutions and bureaucratic systems which made possible the establishment of autocratic and hereditary powers have to the pre-Liao situation.

III. The Formation of the Liao State and the First Adoption of a Chinese Dynastic Name

At this point it is necessary for me to explain a little about the circumstances surrounding the formation of the Liao State. According to the *T'ai-tsu pên-chi* 太祖本紀 (Imperial Annals) of the *Liao-shih* Yeh-lü A-pao-chi adopted the reign title Shên-ts'ê 神冊 and ascended the throne as the Heavenly Emperor (*T'ien-huang-ti* 天皇帝) in 916, though nine years earlier in 907 he had already assumed the position of Head Chief by burning firewood and praying to heaven according to old custom. Naturally this gives rise to the problem of which of these two dates are to be regarded as the time when the first ruler ascended the throne and established the Liao State. A debate over this issue developed between Dr. Hashimoto Masukichi 橋本増吉 and Oga-wa Hiroto 小川裕人, but I hold a different view. I understand the 907 ceremony either as a meeting for the purpose of selecting the next head chief or inaugurating him, or as a religious ceremony conducted prior to a meeting to consult on such great events in nomadic life as military campaigns, plunder, collective hunting and had the meaning of swearing by the gods not to go against the sacredness of the decision of the meeting. On the basis of this viewpoint I have argued that the Liao State was really formed in 907 (see Reisho oyobi Ryôchô shinrei 禮書及び遼朝新禮, Kichirei 吉禮, Shisakugi 柴册儀 in my *Ryôsei no Kenkyû*). At that time due to the nature of my study I did not delve any deeper into the matter, but what I was trying to say was that though the tribal hero Yeh-lü A-pao-chi had broken the system of selecting the head chief on a rotational basis and was exercising autocratic power and the hereditaryness associated with that power, he still ruled the tribe as an old style head chief seeking their willing submission to his rule (see my *Ryô no Shakai to Bunka* 遼の社會と文化 (*Society and Culture in the Liao*)). This point was made abundantly clear in *Ryôsei no Konkyû* where I demonstrated that it was a fact that the Firewood Investiture Ceremony (*Ch'i-ts'ê-i* 柴册儀) changed into the Supreme Ch'i-tan Investiture Ceremony (*Shang Ch'ai-tan ts'ê-i* 上契丹册儀), which is the ceremony where the Emperor receives a Chinese style honorific title (*tsun-hao* 尊號), and that the Emperor Investiture Ceremony (*Huang-ti shou-ts'ê* 皇帝受册), in which the Emperor receives a Chinese style honorific title, were conducted together which shows that while the Liao Emperor maintained the appearance of head chief he was at the same time a

Chinese style Emperor. I also provided some evidence that seems to indicate that even though a hereditary autocratic system had been established as a matter of form it was necessary for the Emperor to preside over the tribal meetings. I still maintain this view today.

Subsequently I hold that the tribal hero Yeh-lü A-pao-chi unified the Khitay tribes and established a tribal state in 907 with the right to rule being the prerogative of his own family. This was then turned into a Chinese style centralised despotic state in 916. The development from a tribal state to a centralised despotic state within a span of nine years may seem to have been exceptionally abrupt, but the adoption of a Chinese dynastic title and ascension to the position of Heavenly Emperor merely indicated that intention and goal. The *T'ai-tsung pên-chi* 太宗本紀 in the *Liao-shih* records:

“On the first day of (*chuo* 朔) ting-i 丁巳 of second lunar month of Ta-t'ung 大同 1 (947) the Chinese dynastic name Great Liao (大遼) was adopted and an amnesty was granted. The reign period name was renamed Ta-t'ung 大同.”

The significance of the dynastic name Great Liao clearly emerges from this passage. Even though the state had been called Ch'i-tan up to this time that was not a formal Chinese style dynastic name. During the reign of T'ai-tsu the various Khitay tribes were unified, the conquest of various nomadic tribes and the overthrow of the Kingdom of Po-hai 渤海 were accomplished. In the reign of T'ai-tsung intrusion into North China became more active and the Yeh-lü clan extended their despotic and monarchial powers and in this way the goal of 916 became a reality and in 947 the dynastic title was changed to Great Liao according to the Chinese fashion. The *T'ai-tsung pên-chi* of the *Ch'i-tan kuo-chih* 契丹國志 (*Record of Ch'i-tan*) writes as follows regarding the question of dynastic titles:

“In Hui-t'ung 會同 1 (938) the reign title was changed to Hui-t'ung 會同 and the dynastic title Great Liao (大遼) [was adopted].”

“The first day of Second lunar month of eleventh year of Hui-t'ung [The tenth year of Hui-t'ung was equivalent to the first year of T'a-t'ung. According to a note inserted in the original text this is equivalent to the first year of T'a-t'ung]. . . Thereupon it was ordered that the Kingdom of Chin 晉 be called Great Liao. An amnesty was granted throughout the country.”

These two passages indicate that the dynastic title Great Liao was adopted in 938, and in 947 the Shih [family of] Chin 石晉, which had been brought under control, was forced to use the title Great Liao. In effect the Chin Emperor was removed and the Kingdom absorbed into the Liao State.

The introduction to *Fu-yin* 符印, in the *I-wei-chih* 儀衛志 3, *chüan* 56 of the *Liao-shih* is of assistance in deciding which of these two dates should be taken as the year when the dynastic title was first used. The relevant passage reads:

“In Hui-t'ung 9 (946) T'ai-tsung subjugated Chin. The last [Chin] Emperor presented the Imperial seal and three golden seals to [the Liao]. The [Liao] Emperor regarded this as an auspicious sign and thereupon returned to Liao.”

In the twelfth lunar month of 946 the Liao captured Pien-ching 汴京, the capital of Chin, accepted the surrender of the Chin Emperor and seized the Imperial seal. During the first lunar month of the following year (in the second month of the tenth years of Hui-t'ung the reign title was changed to Ta-t'ung) T'ai-tsung entered Pien-ching and presided over the ceremony in which the Chin Emperor became a vassal (see the *T'ai-tsung pên-chi* of the *Liao-shih*). It seems appropriate to regard the adoption of a Chinese style reign title in the second lunar month as being due to the fact that T'ai-tsung had acquired the Imperial seal which itself indicates that he had become an orthodox Chinese Emperor.

If we regard the adoption of a Chinese style reign title in the second lunar month of 947 (first year of Ta-T'ung) as a concrete expression of the formation of a centralised despotic state system, as I do, then it is of great significance because it corresponds to the second period in the development of the Liao bureaucratic system, the period when the basis of the bureaucratic system was established as recorded in the *bai-kuan-chih* of the *Liao-shih*.

It is for this reason that *chüan* 7 of the *Ch'i-tan kuo-chih* records the dynastic title being changed to Great Ch'i tan (大契丹) when Shêng-tsung ascended the throne in 938 and according to *chüan* 9 of the same work it was restored to Great Liao in 1066 during the reign of Tao-tsung 道宗. Needless to say, the first introduction of the reign title Great Liao, by T'ai-tsung was an expression of the formation of a Chinese style state and the subsequent changes in reign titles each corresponded with the period when demands to preserve native Khitay traits and correct excessive sinicization appeared (the changeover to the dual system of rule based on the dictatorship of the Khitay in the bureaucracy was a product of this trend) and the period when there was a strong emphasis on unifying the state under a Chinese style system. The *Liao-shih* mentions none of this information. Since it is clear (from Tao-tsung and his Emperess Hsüan-i's 宣懿 *Ch'i-tan wên-ai-ts'é* 契丹文哀冊 that when the Liao State was called by the Chinese appellation Great Liao the Khitay language name equivalent to Great Ch'i-tan was formally used at the same time, even though the reign title was changed it does not create much of a problem. Rather I would argue that the Khitay at that time read the name Great Liao written in Chinese characters with the Khitay pronunciation for Great

Ch'tan. Therefore I regard the first adoption of a Chinese dynastic name as important, and do not make an issue of changes in the dynastic name.

IV. The Characteristics of the Northern Region Central Government

Looking at the *Pai-kuan-chih* of the *Liao-shih* on the basis of the preliminary information given above it is easy to understand the relative importance of organisations directed towards the tent tribes (*chang-tsu* 帳族) along with purely political organisations in the Northern Region Central Government, the central government organs of the Khitay and others nomadic people. This was a distinct characteristic of the bureaucracy in the Northern Regional Government. But prior to discussing this issue I want to explain how I conceive of each of these organs.

(1) Central Government Organs

The *Pei-mien ch'ao-kuan* 北面朝官 in the *Pai-kuan-chih* list eight government office as purely central government organs; (1) The Northern Chancellery (*Pei Shu-mi-yüan* 北樞密院) (2) The Department of the Master of Court Etiquette (*Hsüa-hui-yüan* 宣徽院) (3) The Administration of the Grand Yü-yüeh (*Ta Yü-yüeh-fu* 大于越府) (4) Department of the *I-li-pi* 夷離畢院. (5) Department of the Grand Scribe (*Ta Lin-ya-yüan* 大林牙院) (6) The Office of the *Ti-lieh-ma-tu* 敵烈麻都司 (7) The Office of the Secretariat (*Wên-pan-ssü* 文班司) (8) The *A-cha-ko-chih* 阿札割只. The *Pai-kuan-chih* records that the Administration of the Grand Yü-yüeh was an old official post of the *Yao-lien*, and during the Liao period there were no duties attached to it; it was not conferred if there were no candidates who had performed great acts of merit, and it was similar to the Three Dukes (*San-kung* 三公) of the Southern Regional bureaucracy in that only three people Yeh-lü Hê-lu 耶律曷魯, Yeh-lü Wu-chih 耶律屋質 and Yeh-lü Jên-hsien 耶律仁先 were appointed during the whole of the Liao period. Nevertheless, the Administration of the Grand Yü-yüeh was probably the supreme organ for controlling both military and civil government until the Northern Chancellery was set up as related in the entry for Kui-wei 癸未, eighth lunar month of T'ien-lu 天祿 1 (947) in *Shih-tsung pên-chi* 世宗本紀, *chüan* 5 of the *Liao-shih* which reads:

“An-po 安搏 was chosen as the Chancellor of the Northern Division when it was first established.”

Regarding the *A-cha-ko-chih*, the *Pai-kuan-chih* records:

“It is not known what it administered. It is an old Yao-lien post which

was later incorporated into the Chancellery (*Shu-mi-yüan* 樞密院)."

In the *Kuo-yü-chieh* 國語解 in *chüan* 116 of *Liao-shih* there is the following passage concerning this post:

"*A-cha-ko-chih* is the name of an official post, which ranks below the Chancellery. It was a mat official (*tuen-kuan* 墩官)."

We find the term high mat (*kao-tuen* 高墩) being used with the same meaning:

"The *Liao p'ai-pan t'u* 遼排班圖 (A description of a picture) [notes that officials were ranked upon the mats on which they sat] in the following order; high mats, low mats (*ai-tuen* 矮墩), and square mats (*fang-tuen* 方墩).¹ All officials from the Prime Minister (*Ta Chêng-hsiang* 大丞相) to the *A-cha-ko-chih* were all mat officials."

From these passages we can see that the *A-cha-ko-chih* was a mat official, the lowest ranking official qualified to sit at court when ceremonies were being conducted. As far as I know there is no case of anyone being appointed to this post in contemporary source materials. The origin of this post prior to the Liao and its existence as a sinecure during the Liao are both unclear.

Wakagi in the article quoted above has studied the Northern Chancellery and I have nothing further to add to his research. It was probably established as the supreme official organ for administering all matters pertaining to the military and civil affairs of the nomadic people (the Prime Minister of the Northern and Southern Administration (*Pei Nan Tsai-hsiang-fu* 北南宰相府) and *Chung-chêng-ssü* 中丞司 were attached to it) to match the Southern Chancellery (*Nan Shu-mi-yüan* 南樞密院) which controlled all the affairs of Chinese people when the third Emperor Shih-tsung ascended the throne. According to the *Pai-kuan-chih* the Prime Ministry was an office to assist the administration of the military state. It ranked above the Great King Department of the Northern and Southern Regions (*Pei Nan Ta-wang-yüan* 北南大王院) which exercised general control over the dual division of the tribes (the local administrative units) into military and civilian governments. Regards the *Chung-chêng-ssü* I follow Wakagi who regards it as a supervisory organ equivalent to the Censorate (*Yü-shih-t'ai* 御史臺) of the Southern Region government.

According to the *T'ai-tsung pên-chi* the Department of the Master of Court Etiquette was founded in the eleventh lunar month Hui-t'ung 1 (938). The *Pai-kuan-chih* records that this Department "managed the ceremonial affairs of Emperor" (*chang Yü-ch'ien chih-ying chih shih* 掌御前祇應之事) and the *Tsung-hsü* 總序 mentions that it was equivalent to the Ministry of Public

Works (*Kung-pu* 工部). Though the *chang Yüch'ien chih-ying chih shih* that is the officials who rush about helping at ceremonies (for example the *Tung Hsi Shang-hê-mên* 東西上閣門 officials of the Sung) seems to be very different from the Ministry of Public Works, conjecturing from scattered references in the *Liao-shih*²⁾ we find that those appointed as 掌御前祇應之事 at ceremonies were also in charge of arranging and decorating the hall of ceremony. Therefore it is not unreasonable to say that in nomadic society where there were no large construction projects officials responsible for this sort of building work were likened to the Ministry of Public Works. But as far as we can tell from the source materials the main official responsibilities of this post were those mentioned first.

The *Pai-kuan-chih* states the Department of the *I-li-pi* "was in charge of punishments" and the *Tsung-hsü* mentions that it was equivalent to the Ministry of Justice (*Hsing-pu* 刑部). The *Kuo-yü-chieh* records:

"The Associate director of political affairs (*Ts'an-chih chêng-shih* 參知政事). The Department of the *I-li-pi* was later established to manage the administration of punishments. In a poem by the Sung envoy to the Liao, Tiao Yüeh 刁約 there was a [line], 'a banquet under surveillance in the *I-li-pi*.' [From this] we learn that it was an official in charge of government."³⁾

The name *I-li-pi* frequently appears in the beginning of the *T'ai-tsu pén-chi* and it is not difficult to guess that it existed from pre-Liao times. Furthermore, according to the *Li-chih* 禮志 1 the *I-li-pi* had official duties in the sacrificial offering to the mountain (*Chi-shan-i* 祭山儀), a most important state ceremony that had evolved from an ethnic sacrificial custom. The relevant passage briefly describes his duties as follows:

"When the emperor and empress arrived the *I-li-pi* prepared the ceremonies."

Also the entry in the *Sui-ch'u-i* 歲除儀 contains the following passages:

"On the eve of the last day of the year the emissary and the *I-li-pi* led the responsible court nobles (*lang-chiün* 郎君) to the front of a hall. Salt and sheep fat were placed in a stove for burning. The shamans and head shaman, in accordance with their ranks recited incantations to invoke the god of Fire. The Commissioner of Court Ceremonies (*Ka-mên-shih* 閣門使) asked the emperor to how twice before the fire."

"At first the emperor always worshiped [it] personally himself. From the reign of Tao-tsung the *I-li-pi* was ordered to worship it."

From the *Sang-tsang-i* 喪葬儀 of the *Li-chih* 2 it can be seen that the *I-li-pi* was

ranked exceptionally high in the order in which officials offered libations at Tao-tsung's funeral. The relevant passage reads:

"The *t'i-yin* 惕隱, the three Patriarchs Households (*San-fu-fang* 三父房), the Prime Minister of the Southern Administration, the *Ch'ang-kun* 常袞 of the Yao-lien, the court nobles of the nine *hsi-shou* 奚首, the *I-li-pi*, the *hsiang-wên* 詳穩 of the Imperial Maternal Uncles, the court nobles of the ten *cha-sa* 闡撒, the great King of the Southern Division, and the court nobles made libations, each according to his rank."

According to the *Pai-kuan-chih* the *I-li-pi* is the head of the Department of the *I-li-pi*, but the sources materials presented here allow us to surmise that the *I-li-pi* was originally a person who held an important position in a tribe. The fact that the *I-li-pi* attended the Year removing ceremony (*Sui-ch'u-i* 歲除儀), a ceremony of purification by fire worship, together with the imperial emissaries who represented the Emperor specifically for purification is a good example of the Khitay concept of sin.

The Department of the Grand Scribe *Ta Lin-ya-yüan* 大林牙院 is described as "in charge of literary matters" in the *Pai-kuan-chih* and as "compiling documents and letters" in the *Tsung-hsü*. It was equivalent to the *Han-lin* Academy 翰林院 in China proper. The *Kuo-yü-chieh* describes the word Scribe (*lin-ya* 林牙) as:

"An official in charge of literary matters. Sometimes it was called an amanuensis (*hsüe-shêng* 學生). It was set up by [the Commissioner of] Herds and only managed books and records."

From this passage it seems that the term Scribe 林牙 was a general name for someone dealing with documents and letters and since it frequently appears at the beginning of the *T'ai-tsu pén-chi* we may surmise that this kind of post existed prior to the formation of the Liao State. Though it is not clear when the Department of the Grand Scribe was founded, that Department was connected with the Office of the Secretariat (*Wên-pan-ssü* 文班司). The *Pai-kuan-chih* states, "it is not known what the office of the Secretariat was in charge of", but we can surmise that it was a government office with similar duties to the Department of the Grand Scribe both from the name itself and the following official titles listed in the *Pai-kuan-chih* "Grand guardian of the Secretariat (*Wên-pan t'ai-pao* 文班太保), Scribe of the Secretariat (*Wên-pan lin-ya* 文班林牙), Secretariat *Ya-shu* (文班牙署), Secretariat officials (文班吏). According to the *T'ai-tsung péi-chi* the Secretariat *Ya-shu* was set up in the eleventh lunar month of Huai-t'ung 6 (938). From the wording it would appear to be the name of a government office, but judging from the context in which it is given in the *T'ai-tsung péi-chi* it is undoubtedly the name of an official post.

References in the *Liao-shih* to people who held posts in the Office of the Secretariat are extremely rare in comparison to officials who held posts in the Department of the Grand Scribe. Therefore I surmise that in pre-Liao tribal society there was special work concerning literary matters and the word Scribe was used to refer to learned people. The situation was probably not much different when the Liao State was founded. Two entries under Shên-ts'ê 神冊 5 (920) in the *T'ai-tsu pên-chi* read:

"On the day i-chou 乙丑 of the first lunar month the larger Ch'i-tan script was devised for the first time."

"On the day jên-yin 壬寅 of the ninth lunar month the larger script was completed. An imperial decree ordered it to be circulated."

The following passage in the *Yeh-lü T'u-lü-pu chuan* 耶律突呂不傳 of the *Liao-shih* 75 records the granting of rewards for formulating the Ch'i-tan script:

"T'u-lü-pu agreed wholeheartedly with the formulation of the larger Ch'i-tan script and soon afterwards was made a scribe of the Secretariat."

The *Yeh-lü Lu-pu-ku chuan* 耶律魯不古傳 also records:

"At first T'ai-tsu formulated the Ch'i-tan national characters and Lu-pu-ku was granted [the rank of] Scribe (*Lin-ya* 林牙) because he agreed with the achievement."

These passages all indicate that these posts were given as rewards for achievements related to literary matters. Later the Office of the Secretariat was set up and an official called a Scribe was appointed because of the pressing need for a government organ to manage literary affairs. It is precisely because the Khitay originally did not possess such a post that the Chinese term *Wên-pan-ssü* 文班司 (Office of the Secretariat) was introduced probably just at the time when T'ai-tsu was instituting a Chinese style bureaucracy during the Hui-t'ung reign period. Then during this period the Office of the Secretariat developed into the Department of the Grand Scribe (大林牙) deriving its name from the term Scribe which originally existed in Khitay society. The changeover probably took place fairly early which is why the compiler of the *Pai-kuan-chih* wrote "it is not known what the Office of the Secretariat was in charge of." In other words I believe that it was precisely because the office of the Secretariat had already disappeared by the time the records upon which the *Pai-kuan-chih* were written and only its title was remembered that it was mistakenly added to the list of government offices in the Northern District. This also explains why very few cases of officials appointed to various posts in the Office of the Secretariat are listed in the *Liao-shih*.

The *Pai-kuan-chih* records that the Office of the *Ti-lieh-ma-tu* 敵烈麻都 "was in charge of ceremonies" and the *Tsung-hsü* regards it as equivalent to the Ministry of Rites (*Li-pu* 禮部). Since as a rule a shaman was originally appointed to the post, it must have been different to posts held by secular officials.

From the general survey presented above, the organs of central government can be divided into two groups. The first group includes government offices that developed from the official organs of chieftains that existed from the pre-Liao period, such as the Administration of the Grand *Yü-yüeh*, the Department of the *I-li-pi*, the Office of the *Ti-lieh-ma-tu* and the *A-cha-ko-chih*. The second group includes government organs founded during the reigns of T'ai-tsung and Shih-tsung such as the Northern Chancellery, the Department of the Master of Court Etiquette, the Department of the Grand Scribe and the Office of the Secretariat. In the primaeval state prior to the establishment of the Liao the office and officials of the following government organs all functioned well; the Administration of the Grand *Yü-yüeh* (the *A-cha-ko-chih* was probably subordinate to the office) which assisted the great chieftain and controlled the administration of military and civil affairs, the Office of the *Ti-lieh-ma-tu* which dealt with shamanistic ethnic sacrifices, and the Department of the *I-li-pi* which was in charge of punishments. For the ethnic sacrifices of a nomadic people organs like the Department of the Master of Court Etiquette were not specially necessary, nor would such organs as the Department of the Grand Scribe or the Office of the Secretariat be regarded as important. But this proved inadequate after the Liao State was founded, especially after the aims of the new state were proclaimed in *Shên-ts'ê* 神冊 1 (916) as explained above. It is at that point that powerful central government organs of the second group such as the Northern Chancellery were founded. This also explains why the Northern Chancellery and its subordinate organs occupy an exceptionally important position in the bureaucracy of the Northern Region. The Northern Chancellery was copied from the Chinese bureaucracy. Under the Tang bureaucratic system the Commissioner of the Inner Chancellery (*Nei Shu-mi-yüan* 內樞密使) was merely a post within the palace filled by eunuchs, but by the Five Dynasties period (*Wu-tai* 五代) it had become an organ in charge of official military expenses that matched the Secretarial Council (*Chung-shu* 中書) an organ of administration to which literati (*ssü-jên* 士人) were appointed. The Chancellery (樞密院) of the Liao was a powerful organ of government which combined the functions of both the Five Dynasties period Chancellery and Secretarial Council, anticipating Sung institutions which also attached importance to these two Five dynasty organs. The Liao probably selected these two organs from the Chinese bureaucracy because as a state of nomadic people they were particularly concerned with military matters and these organs provided a system by which civilian administration could be included within a military regime. The first group of

government institutions were of course organised and reinforced during this period. The Yeh-lü clan was able to use these institutions to extend their dictatorial and monarchical powers which as noted above resulted in the adoption of a Chinese dynastic name in Ta-t'ung 大同 14) (947), the completion of the appearance of a centralized despotic state and the achievement of the Second stage of development.

Looked at in this way the reigns of T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung were a transitional period in which the primaeval pre-Liao State rapidly changed into a centralized despotic state by late T'ai-tsung times. Only impromptu changes were made to pre-Liao bureaucratic institutions during the T'ai-tsu period, but the military and economic power accumulated during that period were the basis for the positive progress and near completion of preparations that led to the development in second period, the reign of T'ai-tsung.

(2) Central Government Organs Controlling the Tent Tribes (*Chang-tsu* 帳族)

Apart from the Imperial tent officials (*Yü-chang-kuan* 御帳官) appointed as the Emperors bodyguards and the Palace official (*kung-kuan* 宮官) appointed to attend to the Emperors abode while travellings (*Orda*, *Wo-lu-to* 斡魯朵)⁵⁾ the central government organs controlling the tent tribes also included (1) the Office of the Grand *T'i-yin* (*Ta T'i-yin-ssü* 大惕隱司) and the Office of the Grand Imperial *T'i-yin* (*Ta-nei T'i-yin-ssü* 大內惕隱司), (2) the Office of the Grand *Ch'ang-kun* of the Nine tents of the Yao-lien (*Yao-lien chiu-chang ta Ch'ang-kun-ssü* 遙輦九帳大常袞司), (3) the Office of the Grand Imperial Maternal Uncles (*Ta-kuo-chiu-ssü* 大國舅司), (4) the Office of the Tents of Po-hai (*Po-hai Ch'ang-ssü* 渤海帳司), (5) Officials of the attached tents (*Choch'ang-kuan* 著帳官). I have presented my views on these government posts in the *Seido hen*, part one of my book, *Ryōdai Shakaishi Kenkyū* and will give a summary of those views below. The Office of the Grand *T'i-yin* and the Office of the Grand Imperial *T'i-yin* dealt with the imperial tribe (*Huang-tsu* 皇族) and tents of the imperial tribe (*Huang-tsu-ch'ang* 皇族帳) (people attached to the imperial tribe), "the Office of the Grand *T'i-yin* was in charge of the administrative and religious [affairs] of the imperial tribe" in the bureaucracy of the Northern Region, "the Office of the Grand Imperial *T'i-yin* was in charge of the administrative and religious [affairs] of the four tents of the imperial tribe" as an attached household in the Northern Region, and "the responsibility for the Hall of the Imperial clan (*Tsung-ch'eng-ssü* 宗正寺) belonged to the Office of the Grand *T'i-yin*" in the bureaucracy of the Southern Region. The Office of the Grand *Ch'ang-kun* of the Nine tents of the Yao-lien was an organ of the Yao-lien clan and Yao-lien tents, the old power-holders in Khitay society. This office was included as a tent official in the Northern Region, the origin of which was described as follows:

“Tai-tsu received a rank in the Yao-lien. The nine tents were positioned above the single tent of the Imperial tribe and the Office of the *Ch'ang-kun* was set up to serve them and officials. *The officials were not able to interfere with them.*”

It began as an autonomous organisation for controlling the tribal people subordinate to the Yao-lien and in due course as the Liao policy towards the Yao-lien clans came to take effect it turned into an organisation for controlling the Yao-lien clans. The Office of the Grand *Ch'ang-kun* of the Nine tents of the Yao-lien of course refers to the latter function of this organ. Office of the Grand Imperial Maternal Uncle was directed towards the imperial maternal uncles tribes (*Kuo-chiu-tsu* 國舅族) (families that provided the emperor's spouse) and the imperial maternal uncles tents. It originated from the Office of the Imperial Maternal Uncles which appears in the entry for the ping-hsü 丙戌 day fourth lunar month, T'ien-hsien 天顯 10 (935) in the *T'ai-tsung p'ei-chi* and turned into a state organ for controlling the imperial maternal uncles tents and tribes as related in the entry for i-hai 乙亥 day, sixth lunar month K'ai-t'ai 開泰 3 (1014) in the *Shêng-tsung p'ei-chi*. Regards the Office of the Tents of Po-hai the *Pai-kuan-chih* states “the official system is unknown,” and it is not clear whether it was set up to serve the Regal tribe (*Wang-tsu* 王族) who had been sent to live in the Supreme capital in the Lin-huang Administration (*Shang-ching Lin-huang-ssü* 上京臨潢司) after the fall of the Po-hai Kingdom, or was mistakenly recorded as a control institution set up in the former capitals of the Po-hai Kingdom, Hu-han-ch'êng 忽汗城 or Liao-yang 遼陽. Judging from the fact that the names of the King of Hsi Administration (*Hsi-wang-fu* 奚王府) and the *I-shi-wang* 乙室王 Administration who were originally tribes officials (local officials) were recorded at the end of the list of tent officials in the Northern Region together with the Office of the Tents of Po-hai, there is a strong possibility that the Office under consideration was a control institution in a former Po-hai Kingdom capital. Officials of the attached tents was a general term for an institution that controlled nomadic households (*you-mu-hu* 遊牧戶) whose status had been confiscated because of crimes committed as stated in the *Kuo-yu-jie*:

“All hereditary officials (*Shih-kuan* 世官) and *chu-sê-jên* 諸色人 whose status has been confiscated due to crime were made into households attached to the camps.”

This term referred to the Department of Courtiers attached to the Camps (*Cho-ch'ang lang-chün-yüan* 著帳郎君院) and the Office of the Household attached to the Camps (*Cho-ch'ang-hu-ssü* 舊帳戶司). Since it was a Liao custom to always assign households attached to the camps as low-grade officials in the court the former institution was responsible for controlling the various bureaus

which had their own duties while the latter institution dealt with the civilian administration of the ordinary households attached to the camps. Due to the fact that it was also a rule under the Liao system to appoint households attached to the camps as officials of attached tents, such officials were not permitted to be transferred to posts in the central and local bureaucracies.

(3) The Characteristics of the Central Bureaucracy of the Northern Region

As stated at the beginning of the article the tent officials occupied a fairly important position in the central government institutions in the Northern Region. Furthermore all institutions such as the Imperial tribe tents, the Imperial Maternal Uncle tents and the Yao-lien tents originally began as individual government offices or official posts. Needless to say the first two of these were privileged families that co-operated and rendered outstandingly meritorious service to the Yeh-lü clan when they began to increase their power, while the Yao-lien tents were a group of old powerful Khitay families that each possessed people bonded to them personally and their own property. While these groups may be regarded as powerholders that were either left over by the Yeh-lü clan in the course of their rise in order to appease and pacify the former powerholder, or emerged as the result of rewards granted to lineages that co-operated with them, it should also be noted that they were forced out of the State structure. The reason that the imperial family possessed vast numbers of imperial tent officials, palace officials, especially households attached to the camps and the officials of the attached tents⁶⁾ that controlled them was because there were groups that did not completely submit to the dictatorial and monarchial powers of the Yeh-lü clan. Of course later when the monarchial power of the Liao family was extended, the Imperial tribe, the Imperial Maternal Uncle and Yao-lien tents became no different to tribes under the Liao system, and the tent officials were also incorporated into the state structure and as if in response to this change the system of appointing officials, who were subordinate to the palace officials to attend to the emperor's abode while travelling, was formalised. I have discussed this change in great detail in *Ryōdai Shakaishi Kenkyū* (part one *Seido hen*) and I will not repeat what I have written there, but suffice it to say that it is thought to have occurred during the K'ai-t'ai 開泰 reign period of Shêng-tsung 聖宗. However, despite this the tent officials still continued as a state institution for controlling privileged families and the households that belonged to them until the end of the Liao dynasty.

Looked at in this way even though the centralised despotic state system was completed by the late years of T'ai-tsung's life, in reality there still existed various groups, the internal structure to which Liao family monarchial power did not extend, and this is the reason that the tent officials occupied an important position in the central government organs of the Northern Re-

gion along with the other purely administrative government organs. One of the characteristics of the Northern Region bureaucracy under the Liao was that these tent officials still continued as special organs not subordinate to the Northern Chancellery despite losing the governmental function of the original privileged group itself after the K'ai-t'ai period in the reign of Shêng-sung.

V. The Significance of the Hereditary Official System

Next let us look again at the hereditary official system and hereditary selection (*shih-hsüan* 世選) appointment system keeping in mind the fact that one characteristic of the Liao system was that apart from purely administrative government institutions in the Central government of the Northern Region, the government offices set up for the purpose of controlling each of the tent tribes were also important. Previous scholars including Chao I, Ch'en Shu and Yao Ts'ung-wu have not simply viewed the hereditary side of the hereditary official system, but have paid great attention to the point that appointments were made by selecting talented officials from among the children of officials. But we find that the view of Yao Ts'ung-wu who discussed the merits and demerits of the system in which the eldest son of the legitimate wife succeeded his father is based on the fact that a hereditary system of official appointment was not established. Any number of cases of bloody struggles frequently occurring among compatriots over the standard used to select the abstract thing known as talent can be found in the *Liao-shih*. Of course, hereditary officials or the appointment of officials according to a rule of hereditary selection was a characteristic feature of the Liao System, but it is vitally important to note that appointment to official posts were only made from amongst the members of a certain type of family, known as a hereditary official family (*shih-kuan chih chia* 世官之家) to which those posts had been attached. Previous scholars have taken this into consideration in their studies, though none of them have discussed its significance.

According to the *Liao-shih* hereditary official families were granted all kinds of privileges. Here follow a series of examples indicating the principal privileges; in an Imperial decree dated ping-wu 丙午 day, sixth lunar month, Chung-hsi 重熙 12 (1043) in *Hsing-tsung pén-chi* 興宗本紀 2, *chüan* 19 of the *Liao-shih* we find the following passage:

"It was decreed that families who had a hereditary claim on the posts of prime minister and commanding prefect, as well as the families of those personally acting as commanding prefects are permitted to use silver utensils."

An entry recorded in the first lunar month, Tao-tsung 道宗 Ch'ing-ning 清寧 2 (1056), *Pu-tsu-piao* 部族表 in *chüan* 69 of the same work reads:

“The Emperor decreed that those selected as *Erh-nü-ku-pu* 二女古部 and prime ministers and commanding prefects from [families] with hereditary claims on that post were to be exempted from service in the *P'i-shih* 皮室 army.”⁷⁾

An entry under Shêng-tsung 聖宗 T'ung-hê 29 (1011) in the *Hsing-fa-chih* 1 in *chüan* 61 of the same book records:

“According to ancient law, prime ministers and commanding prefects and the descendants of families who have the hereditary prerogative to selection that commit crimes are to be sentenced to hard labour and beaten in the same way as the common people, but exempted from tattooing on the face. It was decreed that from now [they] should be treated in the same way as the common people for crimes that require the punishment of tattooing on the face.”

Also the following passage appears in the memorials from officials in *chüan* 61:

“If officials in service, and the families of prime ministers and commanding prefects who have the hereditary prerogative to selection and their descendants are sentenced to hard labour for unlawful acts, are they to be exempted from tattooing on the face or not?”⁸⁾

It is easy to surmise from the sources cited above that the families supposed to provide prime ministers and commanding prefects had already been determined. It goes without saying that the Prime Ministry refers to the head officials of the Northern and Southern Prime Ministries. The following passages in the *Pai-kuan-chih* deal with these two organs:

“The Northern Prime Ministry... the four tents of the Imperial tribe enjoy the hereditary prerogative of selection to this [post].”

“Southern Prime Ministry... the five tents of the Imperial Maternal Uncles enjoy the hereditary prerogative of selection to this [post].”

The *Hsiao Ssü-wên chuan* 蕭思溫傳, in *chüan* 78 of the *Liao-shih* records concerning the chancellor the highest ranking official in the Northern Region:

“At the beginning of the Pao-ning 保寧 reign period (969–978) [Hsiao] was made Chancellor of the Northern Region, and at the same time held the post of prime minister of the North. An order was issued to the effect that [his descendants] have the hereditary prerogative of selection to these posts.”

Also an Imperial decree dated the chia-shên 甲申 day of the second lunar month Ta-k'ang 大康 3 (1077) in the *Tao-tsung pên-chi* 3, *chüan* 23 of the *Liao-shih* states:

["The descendants of] Yeh-lü I-hsin 耶律乙辛, chancellor of the Northern Region, his elder brother by the same mother Ta-nu 大奴, and his younger brother by the same mother, A-ssü 阿思, are granted the hereditary prerogative of selection to the post of Chancellor in the Northern and Southern Regions."

The term Prime Minister most probably referred to Chancellors as well as Prime Ministers. Under the Liao system Commanding Prefects were the head officials in the tribes,⁹⁾ but from the line in the Imperial decree of the ping-wu 丙午 day of the sixth lunar month 1043 quoted above which reads "families of those personally acting as commanding prefects" it is possible that people who were not from hereditary official families could also be appointed to this post. From the passages in *Hsiao Ssü-wên chuan* and the Imperial decree dated the chia-shên 甲申 day of the second lunar month, 1077, both cited above, we know that this kind of special privilege was granted by the Emperor. According to his biography in *chüan* 78 of the *Liao-shih*, Hsiao Hu-ssü 蕭護思 derived from a family that "for generations had been an official in the Northern Region", in the early years of the Ying-li 應曆 reign period (951-968) he was transferred to the post of Left Commissioner of the Guest Council (*Tso Ke-shêng-shih* 左客省使), and was promoted to Chancellor of the Northern Region for distinguished service. This is clear from the following:

"It was ordered that [his descendants] be given the hereditary prerogative of selection to the post of Prime Minister. Hu-ssü declined saying, 'Your humble servant does not know whether his descendants will be intelligent or not. I am content with attaining [the rank of] Commissioner of the Guest Council (*Ke-shêng-shih* 客省使).' His request was granted."

But these privileges were only able to be granted by the Emperor after the monarchical power of the Liao had expanded. This, as the *Pai-kuan-chih* records, was possible because the nobility, that is the Imperial tribes and Maternal Uncle tribes, held birthrights to the position of Prime Minister. Let us consult the *Liao-shih* again. Hsiao Hu-ssü presented above was from a family that "for generation had been an official in the Northern Region". Here follow some more examples. The *Hsiao Ti-lu chuan* 蕭敵魯傳 in *chüan* 73 records:

“Hu-mu-li 胡母里, the fifth generation ancestor [of Hsiao Ti-lu] during the Yao lien clan period was sent as an envoy to the T’ang. He was detained at Yü-chou 幽州 by the T’ang. One night he broke through the passes and fled home. Thereafter [the members of his family] held the hereditary position of judges.”

The following passage appears in *Yeh-lü Chie-li chuan* 耶律解里傳 in *chüan* 76:

“[The members of his family] had hereditarily held the position of low officials . . . In the early Ying-li period (951–968) during the reign of Mu-tsung 穆宗, the position of *ling-wên* 令穩 was established within his tribe. Chie-li was given the hereditary privilege to that position.”

The *Yeh-lü Pa-kê chuan* 耶律人哥傳 in *chüan* 80 states:

“During the T’ung-hê period (983–1011) [Yeh-lü Pa-kê] had the hereditary prerogative to the position of an official in his tribe.”

The *Yeh-lü A-hsi-pao chuan* 耶律阿息保傳, *chüan* 101 relates:

“[He] had a hereditary prerogative to the position of an official in the Punitive Office (*Chao-t’ao-ssü* 招討司).”

Also the *Hsiao Hu-tu chuan* 蕭胡篤傳 in *chüan* 101 states:

“Thereafter [Hsiao and his family] enjoyed the hereditary prerogative of selection to the post of Grand Physician (*T’ai-i* 太醫). Many of his descendants who enjoyed the same privilege entered government service.”

These examples clearly show that not all the posts to which the hereditary prerogative of selection was attached were high ranking ones. Furthermore from the passage in the *Hsiao Ti-lu chuan* it is possible to conjecture that this hereditary selection system existed prior to the formation of the Liao State. Following this line of thought I surmise that the Khitay under Liao rule were subject to a system in which the initial appointment to an official post was determined by the rank of the family and subsequent promotion was based on the ability of the individual. The fact that all the examples presented above indicate that officials did not remain in the posts to which they had hereditary prerogatives, but advanced up through the ranks is more than anything else proof of the validity of my claim.¹⁰⁾ As indicated in the *Hsiao Hu-ssü chuan* and *Hsiao Chie-li chuan* it was possible in some cases to raise the rank to which one’s descendants would be initially appointed by rendering meritorious

service. Appointment according to hereditary selection is significant because it did not follow as a matter of course that the eldest son of the legitimate wife would automatically take office regardless of official rank. But these are not the hereditary official families mentioned in the *Liao-shih*. That is the reason why the materials presented above contain the phrases, "the families of prime ministers and commanding prefects who have the hereditary prerogative to selection" (*Chai-hsiang chieh-tu-shih shih-hsüan chih chia* 宰相節度使世選之家) and "families who had a hereditary claim on the posts of prime minister and commanding prefect" (*shih-hsüan chai-hsiang chieh-tu-shih tsu-shu* 世選宰相節度使族屬). My view is that selection was made according to talent in both the system in which the initial official appointment was made in accordance with the rank of the family and in determining the families that had a hereditary prerogative to the posts of prime ministers and commanding prefects.¹¹⁾ Previous researchers have confused these two cases. The several prerogatives mentioned above were bestowed on hereditary official families.

Looked at in this way we may surmise that there was clear social stratification in Khitay society during the Liao dynasty. If the passage in the *Hsiao Ti-lu chuan* is true, we may conjecture that it is possible that there was an increase in stratification after the formation of the Liao State because that passage proves that there were families that had hereditary privileges on the post of judge, apart from those that were tribal chiefs, which in turns indicates that social fragmentation had progressed to a great degree even in the pre-Liao State period. But the so-called "hereditary official family" system is different. Special privileges were probably granted to the nobility as a compromise policy to gain their co-operation at a time when the monarchial power of the Yeh-lü clan was not fully developed. The reason that these privileges had to be granted, even to local officials like commanding prefects, was due to the fact that monarchial power had not yet grown powerful enough to penetrate the internal structure of the various Khitay tribes. Looked at from this point of view the great importance that the various tent tribe organs occupied in the central government organisation of the Northern Region indicates the limit of Yeh-lü clan monarchial power. But this situation, as I have already indicated, created a change. Though several special privileges like those enumerated above still continued to be granted, some restrictions were added. Let us examine some specific cases. In an Imperial decree dated ping-wu day, sixth lunar month, 1043 in *Hsing-tsung pên-chi* 2, *chüan* 19 of the *Liao-shih* we find the following:

"It was decreed that families who had a hereditary claim on the posts of prime minister and commanding prefect, as well as the families of those personally acting as commanding prefects are permitted to use silver utensils, *but are forbidden to kill animals for sacrifices in the burials.*"

The following two passages in an entry for the twelfth lunar month, T'ai-p'ing 8 (1028) in *Shêng-tsung pên-chi* 8, *chüan* 17 of the *Liao-shih* indicate that this occurred earlier:

"On the ting-hai 丁丑 day a decree that although the sons of concubines were freemen (*liang* 良) they were not permitted to hold hereditary claims to official positions."

"On the ting-hai 丁亥 day a decree was issued to the Two Imperial Maternal Uncles and the Southern and Northern King administrations (*Nan Pei Wang-fu* 南北王府) to the effect that lowly and common members of the nobility in the state were not to be appointed as officials in their tribes."

This shows that decrees refusing the appointment of low born people to official positions were issued. I interpret these decrees as clearly indicating that monarchical power had penetrated the nobility, and do not see them, as previous researchers have done, as being obligations necessary for the nobility. Nevertheless, the entry for the hsing-yu 辛酉 day, the second lunar month, Chung-hsi 16 (1047) in *Hsing-tsung pên-chi* 3, *chüan* 20 of the *Liao-shih* reads:

"It is decreed that officials with hereditary claims on positions are to select able and talented people from the elders of each tribe and appoint them."

This shows that the right for selecting able and talented people lay with the nobility. It means that we have to attach all the more importance to the significance of the decree of 1028.

From the argument presented above I conclude that even though a centralized despotic state system was established with the introduction of a Chinese-dynastic name in the late years of T'ai-tsung's reign, that state system was in reality achieved by compromises between the new and old power holders in Khitay society. Even later, the Liao had to bestow the special privileges of hereditary officials on people who had rendered meritorious service as officials because the nobility, the old and new power holders in society, continued to exist as a potential source of power that could oppose the Imperial family. Even though these people were different from the already existing nobility in that they were highly dependent on the court from the beginning, the differences between the ranks of each family were not solely based on this point, but must have been founded in the pastoral economy. The existing nobility and the newly risen nobility that were parasitic on the court, gained their authority exclusively monopolising the subordinate people and cattle by tribute and confiscation in the case of the former, and as gifts from the

court in the case of the latter. Also they were not able to completely break out of the bonds of the old kinship relations.

Conclusion

This article contains my views about the characteristics of the central bureaucracy of the Northern Division of the Liao based on the results of research conducted by scholars in the past and myself. For a detailed examination of individual government offices and official posts the reader should refer to the relevant chapters in my book *Ryōchō Kansei no Kenkyū* (*Studies on the bureaucracy of the Liao Dynasty*).

I hold that a form of control which extended further than kinship bonds had already been in existence prior to the formation of the Liao State. I have examined what relationship the government offices and official posts that grew up with the exercise of public power had to the bureaucracy of the Liao State, in this case the central bureaucracy of the Northern Division. At the same time I also examined what policy the Yeh-lü clan, which founded the Liao, adopted towards the families that were able to produce executors of such public power, and how they won dictatorial and hereditary rights and established their regal authority. Regarding the first problem the characteristics of the establishment process of the central bureaucracy of the Northern Division, and for the second problem the hereditary official system was studied. Though the latter problem is especially closely related to the extension of the monarchical power of the Liao family that was seen in the establishment process of the local bureaucracy in the Northern Region, as mentioned in the first part of *Ryōdai Shakaishi Kenkyū*, I have omitted it here to avoid repetition. On the basis of this research I was able to verify that the Liao dynasty, the Khitay Imperial State did to a large extent retain vestiges of the tribal state which were peculiar to North Asian tribes, rather than present a picture of the Emperor's power towering above and dictatorial and hereditary rights being established on top of a Chinese style bureaucratic system. The Liao can be considered as a political group founded by a compromise between the old and new power holders, and the Yeh-lü clan who were at the top. It is precisely this point which proves that it is impossible to regard the Liao as a dynasty established by the conquest of a particular Chinese dynasty or China proper. The existence of government offices within central government organs alongside genuine government organs dealing with the various tent tribes to which much importance was attached, and the setting up of the hereditary official system is a concrete manifestation of this compromise. Hereditary official families and *chu-sé-jên* were by no means Chinese style aristocrats or bureaucratic aristocrats parasitic on the court, they were general terms for families which in one respect had an exclusive monopoly

over subordinate people and cattle and in which old kinship relations continued to play an important function as before.

Notes

- 1) The entry for jên-tzu 壬子 of the sixth lunar month, Ta-an 大安 2 (1086) in *Tao-tsung pên-chi* 道宗本紀 4, *chüan* 24 *Liao-shih*:

"The brothers and children of county magistrates (*hsüan-ling* 縣令) and record keepers (*lü-shih* 錄事) under [the rank of] mat officials are all permitted to be employed."

In the *Li-chih* 6, *chüan* 53 of the *Liao-shih* there are the following two passages:

"Low mat (*ai-tuen* 矮墩) and higher ranking [officials] may attend court at . . . the celebrators ceremonies at court for the winter solistice."

"Low mat and higher ranking [officials] may enter the court . . . at the ceremony marking the beginning of spring. Imperial conferred seating arrangement . . . can be 合班 in the vermillion garden with low mat and higher ranking [officials], ministers from the Northern and Southern [Regions]. They kneel on the left knee, receive varicoloured sticks (*ts'ai-chang* 綵杖), stand up straight and bow again."

The *Kuo-yü-chieh* 國語解, *chüan* 116 *Liao-shih* reads as follows:

"At Imperial banquets low ranking officials sit on Square mats (*fang-tuen* 方墩), in the court. Those not allowed into the court are permitted to sit on the left and right sides of the court (*to-tien* 朵殿)."

From these passages we can conclude that the terms 墩·墩·褥 were probably all translations from the Khitay language meaning cushions and mats. Therefore the term mat official *tuen-kuan* 墩官 refers to officials permitted to enter the palace to participate in ceremonies. These officials were ranked according to the form of matting upon which they sat. It is known that by the late Liao, Tao-tsung had extended the *yin* 蔭 privilege to the brothers and sons of common *tuen-kuan*. The *to-tien* appearing in the passage quoted above is explained in the *I-wei-chih* 儀衛志 of the *Sung-shih* 宋史 in the following way:

"The East and West [sides] of the Palace are called *to-tien*."

- 2) *Pai-jih-i* 拜日儀, *yeh-miao-i* 謁廟儀, *Li-chih* 1, *chüan* 49 *Lian-shih*; *Shang-shih-ts'ê-i* 上謚册儀, *Chi-chên-i* 忌辰儀, *Sung-shih chi-tien-tiao-wei-i* 宋使祭奠弔慰儀, *Sung-shih chin-i-liu-li-wu-i* 宋使進遺留禮物儀, *Li-chih* 2; *Wên-shêng-t'ê-i* 問聖禮儀, *Ch'ê-chia huai-chiug-i* 車賀還京儀, *K'an-ch'ien-i* 勘箭儀, *Sung-shih chien-Huang-t'ai-hou-i* 宋使見皇太后儀, *Sung-shih chien-Huang-ti-i* 宋使見皇帝儀, *Sung-shih Ch'ao-tz'ü-Huang-ti-i* 宋使朝辭皇帝儀, *Kao-li-shih ju-chien-i* 高麗使入見儀, *Ch'ü-yen Kao-li-shih-i* 曲宴高麗使儀, *Li-chih* 4; *Huang-ti shou-ts'ê-i* 皇帝受册儀, *Ts'ê Huaug-t'ai-hou-i* 册皇太后儀, *Li-chih* 5; *Huang-t'ai-hou shêng-ch'ên Ch'ao-hê-i* 皇太后生辰朝賀儀, *Huang-ti shêng-ch'ên Ch'ao-hê-i* 皇帝生辰朝賀儀, *Huang-hou shêng-ch'ên Ch'ao-hê-i* 皇后生辰朝賀儀, *Tsai-hsiang chung-hsieh-i* 宰相中謝儀, *Hê-shêng-Huang-tzu-i* 賀生皇子儀, *Hê-Hsiang-jui-i* 賀祥瑞儀, *Hê-p'ing-nan-i* 賀平難儀, *Chêng-tan Ch'ao-hê-i* 正旦朝賀儀, *Li-chih* 6.

- 3) Otagi on page 312 of his book quoted earlier confuses the *i-li-chin* 夷離菴 with the *I-li-pi* 夷離畢. From the following passage in the *Kuo-yü-chieh* it is clear that *i-li-chin* was originally a common noun used to refer to the chief of a tribe:

"An important official in charge of army horses. At the beginning of the Hui-t'ung [reign period the post] was renamed Great King (*Ta-wang* 大王)."

But beginning from the entry for the eleventh lunar month of Hui-t'ung 1 (938) in the *T'ai-tsung pên-chi* quoted below the appellation *i-li-chin* was gradually changed.

The relevant passage reads:

"The Northern and Southern Division and *i-li-chin* of the I-shih 乙室 were promoted to [the rank of] King (王)."

I have elsewhere surmised the extent to which the monarchial power of the Yeh-lü clan had penetrated Khitay society on the basis of the order of these title changes. (cf Shimada, *Ryōdai Shakaishi Kenkyū*. Part I, Seido hen 制度篇). Otagi's mistake, therefore is not merely due to confusion arising from carelessness, but is also inconsistent with the evidence he offers for the growth of bureaucratic officials in the tribal state.

- 4) The title of the reign period was changed to Ta-t'ung on the first day of the second lunar month Hui-t'ung 10 (947) and T'ai-tsung died on ting-ch'ou 丁丑 day of the fourth lunar month and Shih-tsung ascended the throne on the wu-yin 戊寅 day of the next day. T'ai-tsung youngest brother Li Hu 李胡 who had been supported by the Empress was over thrown by Shih-tsung's ascension and the reign title was changed to T'ien-lu 天祿 on the ting-mao 丁卯 day of the ninth lunar month after T'ai-tsung was buried at *Huai-ling* 懷陵 on the first day of the same month. As noted earlier the Chinese style dynastic style was adopted at the same time as the change of reign titles on the first day of the second lunar month and the Northern Chancellery was founded on the kui-wei 癸未 day of the eighth lunar month. Therefore though the statement made in the main text may be understood as occurring in an opposite time sequence, the establishment of the Northern Chancellery in the eighth lunar month was undoubtedly undertaken with T'ai-tsung's consent. Since the source material quoted earlier stated, "the Chancellor of the Northern Chancellery was appointed" in the eighth lunar month we may conclude that the Northern Chancellery was set up when the Chinese dynastic title was adopted for the first time in the second lunar month and that the appointment of the top official in the Chancellery was announced in the eighth lunar month. At any rate my view which holds that the adoption of the Chinese dynastic title prior to the commencement of the functioning of the Northern Chancellery marked the beginning of the centralized despotic state system is not temporally negated by the explanation given above.
- 5) Imperial tent officials (*Yü-chang-kuan* 御帳官) was a general term referring mainly to the Emperor's bodyguards who were divided into the Office of Bodyguards (*Shih-wei-ssü* 侍衛司), the Administration of the North and South Bodyguards (*Pei Nan Hu-wei-fu* 北南護衛府), the Office of the *Ying-chai* 硬寨 were equivalent to the *Liu-wei-fu* 六衛府 of Chinese dynastic regimes. Palace official (*kung-kuan* 宮官) was a general term for officials appointed to attend to the emperor's abode while travelling (*Orda*, *Wu-lu-to* 斡魯朵) and co-ordinated the work of attending to the emperor's abode while travelling which was within the jurisdiction of the *Chu-hsing-kung tu-po-shu-yüan* 諸行宮都部署院 in the central government and the *Ch'i-tan hsing-kung chu-po-shu-yüan* 契丹行宮諸部署院 and the *Han-érh hsing-kung chu-po-shu-ssü* 漢兒行宮諸部署司 which belonged to this office. It was a post that was in charge of people privately bonded to the Emperor and his property, and as such it was originally a special post that was separate from State organisation. Later submitting to pressure from the State, Palace officials were appointed in the same way as any other officials. This change probably took place during the K'ai-t'ai 開泰 period [1012-1020] in the reign of Shêng-tsung. For further details on the Palace Official see Shimada, *Ryō-dai Shakaishi Kenkyū* (First part *Seido hen*).
- 6) Prior to the foundation of the Liao State families such as tribal chiefs undoubtedly possessed subordinate households. Prisoners taken during wars could be either owned jointly by the tribe or were the private property of the tribal chiefs. In other words class division was fairly well-defined, and tribal chief families became increasingly privileged because of the military and economic power that they acquired from subordinate households by tribute offerings. But since this still did not go as far as establishing (making hereditary) the position of the tribal chief in the family, the Yeh-lü clan needed to monopolise such groups as households attached to the camps in order to establish their regal authority as both a dictatorial and hereditary power. The fact the *Pai-kuan-chih* relates that the Officials of the attached tents existed from the

Yao-lien clan Khitay period is proof that there were government offices and officials for the purpose of controlling subordinate households held in great number by these privileged households.

- 7) According to the *Ping-wei-chih* 兵衛志 of the *Liao-shih* 35, the *Pi-chih* army comprised of crack troops was set up by T'ai-tsung, and was also known as the Imperial tent Guards (*Yü-chang ch'in-chün* 御帳親軍). It was under the direct control of the Emperor and functioned as his personal army. It was divided in five units South, North, Left, Right and Yellow.
- 8) From the memorial of 1033 we may conjecture that the Imperial decree of 1011 in reality was not put into effect. Furthermore, Hsing-tsung's decree in response to this memorial is understood as signalling a general end to face tattooing. But it is not clear whether the new measures were applied to criminals in hereditary official families in accordance with the Imperial decree of 1011. The new measures were described in the following way:
- "Hereafter criminals sentenced to hard labour for life shall be tattooed only on the neck. If slaves (*nu-pi* 奴婢) steal their masters' possessions while escaping, masters may not tattoo their faces without permission, but are allowed to tattoo the arms and necks. People who commit theft or robbery for the first time are to be tattooed on the right arm, the second time on the left arm, the third time on the right side of the neck, and the fourth time on the left side of the neck, the fifth time they are to be sentenced to death."
- 9) The head officials in the tribes were divided into Great Kings 大王, *I-li-chin* and Commanding Prefects according to their sizes, and Commanding Prefect was used as a term contrasting with Prime Minister. Here follow some examples. At the end of the Imperial decree dated chia-shên 甲申 day, second lunar month, 1077, record in *Tao-tsung pên-chi* 3, *chüan* 23 of the *Liao-shih* we find the following:
- "His (Yeh-lü I-hsin 耶律乙辛) brothers by different mothers had the hereditary privilege of selection to the positions of *I-li-chin*."
- An entry dated hsin-hai 辛亥 day, seventh lunar month, 1077 in the same source records:
- "Ch'a-la 查剌 who was a bodyguard of the Grand Guardian (*T'ai-pao* 太保) and *Chen-kuo ta-chiang-chün* 鎮國大將軍 had the hereditary privilege of selection to the position of Commanding Prefect of T'u-lü-pu tribe 突呂不部."
- The *Yeh-lü Hsieh-li chuan* 耶律諧理傳 in *chüan* 85 of the *Liao-shih* has:
- "[He] was a member of the T'u-chü tribe 突舉部 . . . because of meritorious service rendered it was decreed that [he] have the hereditary privilege of selection to the position of Commanding Prefect."
- Since it was a principle rule that the Great King held both the positions of Prime Minister of the North and South, we will not enumerate all the example.
- 10) Or else it may have originally remained as a hereditary official the whole time. Since people with biographies in the *lieh-chuan* 列傳 were all personages worthy of special note, we can say that the method of promotion according to ability was open to these people, as mentioned in the main text, and that in cases where exceptionally meritorious service was rendered, their hereditary official rank was raised, a point which is made later in the text.
- 11) Under the entry for *Cho-ch'ang*, *kuo-yü-chieh*, *chüan* 116 of the *Liao-shih* there is a passage which reads:
- "All hereditary official families and *chu-sê-jên* whose possessions and rank have been confiscated due to crimes they committed were made into households attached to the camps (*Cho-ch'ang-hu* 著帳戶).

The *chu-sê-jên* was probably a general term used in opposition to the hereditary official families to refer to all other families who have hereditary claims upon official positions. It seems that the term *ch'i-min* 齎民 which appeared in the passage from the *Hsing-fa-chih* quoted above was the general appellation at this time for the common

people. People from hereditary official families and *chu-sê-jên* whose possessions and rank had been confiscated due to crimes committed were allotted to households attached to the camps. This treatment distinguished them from the common people.