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профессора Е.И.Кычанова*



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Сборник, в который вошли статьи отечественных и зарубежных ученых, посвящен 80-летию известного российского востоковеда, доктора исторических наук, профессора Е.И. Кычанова. Проблематика сборника задана основными доминантами многолетнего исследовательского творчества юбиляра, который, являясь в первую очередь тангутоведом и опираясь на широчайшую источниковедческую базу, блестяще разработал многие актуальные проблемы истории государственности, права, этногенеза, письменного наследия народов Китая и Центральной Азии. Большинство авторов статей постарались показать, как вопросы, поставленные в свое время в работах Е.И. Кычанова, получили дальнейшее развитие в науке.

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


Wu Yingzhe

A Study of the Tribal Name *Diela* in the Khitan Small Script

Introduction

Khitan Diela tribe (契丹迭刺部) was the native tribe of the Taizu emperor Yelü Abaoji (耶律阿保機) of the Liao dynasty, indeed one of the most significant tribes of the early Liao period. The Diela tribe was established approximately during the period of Kaiyuan (開元) or Tianbao (天寶) of the Tang dynasty. At the time, the tribe was not very powerful, therefore it was not one of the “Khitan Ancient Eight Tribes” (契丹古八部). Yet later, Yelü Abaoji was able to rely on the might of his tribe to oust the Yaonianshi clan (遙輦氏), which enabled him to found the Khitan dynasty. Afterwards, because the Diela tribe was becoming too powerful, it was divided into two tribes—*Wuyuanbu* (五院部) and *Liu Yuanbu* (六院部)—by Liao Taizu (遼太祖) in the first year of Tianzan (天贊, 922). The tribe played an important role in the historical transformation of the Khitan society; therefore scholars of Khitan history have paid it much attention. In recent years, with the discovery of new materials and other advances within Khitan studies, some new information is available for the study of this tribal name. This paper will discuss the meaning and pronunciation of a character in the Khitan small script possibly indicating “Diela,” according to the character denoting “tribe” and to analysis of the newly found epitaph of Yelü Jue (耶律玦). The author dedicates this paper to Professor Evgeniy Kychanov’s 80th birthday with gratitude and respect.

1. The block denoting “Tribe” in the Khitan small script

Jishi (1996) first introduced the idea that the block  (*Xiao Linggong* 蕭令公, 17) could mean “tribe,” while  (*Yelü Renxian* 耶律仁先, 40) means “road” (路). Toyoda Gorō (1998) suggests that  denotes “surface” (面) *ni-'ur*. Wang

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Weixiang (1999) considers that $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$ means “tribe.” Liu Fengzhu concurs with the above scholars, also considering that $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$ denotes “tribe.”¹ According to these views, we can see that both $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$ and $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$ denote “tribe.” Within them, the characters 升 and 安 have similar pronunciations *u* or *o* that have been established by earlier research.

However, we are still left exploring the grammatical meaning of the block $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$. In my opinion, it means $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$ (“tribe”), with an added plural suffix 安 and a possessive case marker 升. I believe that the Khitan small script had a following spelling rule: the last consonant of a word will fall off when that word takes a suffix, i.e. $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix} + \text{安} + \text{升} = \begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$ ($nu:r + li + \partial n = nu:lien$); 升 升 *gər* (帳 “tent”) + 升 升 (locative case) = 升 升 *gəd* (“in a tent”). Like Khitan script, Mongolian script also observes a similar rule of the last consonant falling off, for instance 升 升 [noxör] “comrade, friend” + 升 升 *d* (plural suffix) = *nohöd* 升 升 “comrades, friends.” Examination of the extant materials of the Khitan small script reveals that the block $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$ appears 8 times, $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$ 3 times, while blocks $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$ and $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{安} \end{smallmatrix}$ never appear. Similarly, the block 升 升 appears 22 times, while the block 升 升 never appears.

Furthermore, the block $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{升} \end{smallmatrix}$ may mean “tribes.” This block appears on the 11th line of the *Yelü Cite* (耶律慈特): 一 升 $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{升} \end{smallmatrix}$ this passage meaning “northeast tribe,” as deciphered by Liu Fengzhu et al. (2006). The exact meaning of $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{伏} \\ \text{升} \\ \text{升} \end{smallmatrix}$ may be

¹ Liu Fengzhu et al. 2009.

“tribes,” its root being 伏 升 矣 . Consequently, we can see 伏 介 化 (Yelü Dilie 耶律迪烈, 6) denoting “tribes.”

The blocks 伏 只 矣 and 伏 只 化 appear on the 5th and 6th line of the Epitaph of Yelü Xiangwen (耶律詳穩). I argue that both these blocks mean “tribe,” because the characters 升, 介 and 只 are pronounced similarly as “u,” whereas 矣 and 化 are pronounced *ur*. In addition to this, we can also assume that the block 伏 只 充 (Xiao Zhonggong 蕭仲恭, 13) denotes “in a tribe.”

According to extant materials, we can conclude that the characters meaning “tribe” with its various declensions are written in the Khitan small script as follows:

Khitan script	伏 介 矣	伏 介 化	伏 升 矣	伏 只 矣
pronunciation	ni:ur	ni:ur	ni:ur	ni:ur
meaning	tribe	tribe	tribe	tribe
Khitan script	伏 介 矣	伏 升 矣	伏 只 充	伏 升 币
pronunciation	nu:li	nu:li	nu:d	nu:d
meaning	tribes	tribes	in tribes	in tribe
Khitan script	伏 升 矣 矣	伏 介 化 矣	伏 升 矣 矣	伏 升 矣 矣 矣
pronunciation	ni:urən	ni:uri:	ni:uri:s	ni:uri:sər
meaning	tribe (possessive case)	tribe (objective case)	tribe (plural suffix)	tribes (instrumental case)

2. The block meaning “Diela” in the Khitan small script

Based on the context of the following passage, scholars have argued that its meaning is related to “Diela tribe”:

令 忒 小 伏 升 全 列 安	<i>Yelü Gui</i> 耶律貴, 2	令 忒 小 伏 升 全 列 安	<i>Gu Yelü</i> 故耶律, 4
全 忒 小 伏 升 全 列 安	<i>Yelü Zhixian</i> 耶律智先, 5	令 忒 小 伏 介 全 列 安	<i>Yelü Nu</i> 耶律奴, 5
令 忒 小 伏 介 全 列 化 关	<i>Yelü Taishi</i> 耶律太師, 2	□□ 小 列 伏 介 □ 列 安	<i>Yelü Dilie</i> 耶律迪烈, 5

Above, the first blocks 令 忒 全, 全 忒 全 and 令 忒 全 and the second blocks 小 列 and 小 列 also may have similar meanings respectively, although their character patterns or writing conventions are different from each other. The pronunciation and meaning of the third blocks have been mentioned before. However, up to now there is disagreement as to which block denotes the tribal name “Diela.” Bao Yuzhu (2006) argues that the first block means “big” which is equivalent to [tegüs] (“complete, satisfactory”) in Mongolian, the second block meaning “Diela” [delègo]. Liu Fengzhu et al. (2009) argues that the first block means “Diela” and the second one means “born of the same parents” (同胞). Yet Aisin Gioro Ulhicun (2006) maintains that the first two blocks record an alternative name of “Diela,” the pronunciation of 令 丙 全 丙 and 令 丙 全 丙 is *dəliæ*, and they may denote “Diela.”

In the extant materials, 令 忒 全 appears 9 times, 全 忒 全 2 times and 令 忒 全 1 time. These blocks are only used to embellish 小 列. However, 令 忒 全, 全 忒 全 and 令 忒 全 do not always appear in front of the block 小 列 or 小 列. For example:

止 及 子 丑 小 列 伏 介 方 安	<i>Yelü Dilie</i> 耶律迪烈, 6	化 凡 小 伏 介 相 列 安	<i>Yelü Taishi</i> 耶律太師, 3
Become tribe		Irgin tribe	
主 王 小 伏 只 列 安	<i>Yelü Xiangwen</i> 耶律詳穩, 5	杰 小 伏 只 列 安	<i>Yelü Xiangwen</i> 耶律詳穩, 7
Emperor tribe		King tribe	

What this means is that 小𠬞 (小𠬞) must be the head of the phrase, while 令𠬞 (令𠬞, 令𠬞) must be a modifier. In my opinion, the first block does not mean “big.” Since we are familiar with the character 又 modifying “country” and the character 𠬞𠬞 modifying “Khitan,” both of them meaning “big,” the blocks 令𠬞 (令𠬞, 令𠬞) cannot mean “big.” In addition, scholars have read the block 令𠬞 as [tegüs] which is equivalent to “complete, satisfactory” in the Mongolian language, so 令𠬞 (令𠬞, 令𠬞) does not seem to mean “big.”

From the point of view of phonetics, 令𠬞 (令𠬞, 令𠬞) cannot be read as *Diela*. According to earlier research, 令 sounds *d*, 𠬞, 𠬞 *uei* or *ei*, and 𠬞 *s*, so the above may be read as *dueis*, *deis* or *duise*. The phonetic change of the Chinese characters 迭刺 is as follows:

	Old Chinese (上古)	Middle Chinese (中古)	Modern Chinese (近代)
迭:	diet④	diet④	tiɛ②
刺:	lat④	lat④	la④

Based on the above pronunciations, we can assume that the actual sound of 迭刺 may be *dietlat* or *tiɛla*. The tribal name 迭刺 is sometimes recorded as 迭刺葛 in *The History of the Liao Dynasty*,² so the tribal name may also have the phonetic form *dietlatg*, *tiɛlag*. However, these pronunciations are different from *dueis*, *deis* or *duise* of 令𠬞 (令𠬞, 令𠬞). It means that the block 小𠬞 (小𠬞) means “Dela”, rather than 令𠬞 (令𠬞, 令𠬞).

² Liao shi 1974, vol. 1, ch. 33, p. 393; Ibid., vol. 2, juan 46, p. 764.

According to previous research, the second character 𐰇 of 𐰇𐰏 reads [y], however, the pronunciation of 小 is unclear. There is evidence from the newly discovered materials for deciphering the character 小. There are 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰐 伏𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 in the 2nd line of the *Yelü Jue* (耶律玦). From the reference to the *Big miegu shilie* (大蔑孤石烈) of the *Wuyuanbu* (五院部) in *The History of the Liao Dynasty*, we know the passage means “Diela tribe big miegu shilie.”³ The sound of the block 𐰇𐰐 may equal to 小𐰇 (𐰇𐰏). We know the first character 𐰇 reads as *t'*, *t* and the second 𐰐 as *li*, *la* and the last as 𐰏 *xi*, *x*, so the entire block may be read as *telax* or *delaag*. These phonetic interpretations are similar to the pronunciation of Chinese characters 迭刺 “*dietlatg*,” “*tielag*”.

We also know that 𐰏 *xi*, *x* and 𐰇 [y] are similar, so we can read 小 as *tela* or *dela*, according to the sound of 𐰇𐰐.

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³ The *Diela* tribe 迭刺部 was divided into two smaller tribal units in 922 (天贊元年), known as the Five and Six Divisions (*Wuyuanbu* 五院部 and *Liuyuanbu* 六院部). The Five Divisions tribe was subdivided into four *shilie* 石烈: *Big miegu shilie* 大蔑孤石烈, *Small miegu shilie* 小蔑孤石烈, *Oukun shilie* 甌昆石烈 and *Yixiben shilie* 乙習本石烈 (Liao Shi, vol. 1, ch. 33, p. 384). There are different interpretations of the meaning of the word *shilie* in *The History of the Liao Dynasty*: it is translated as “county” (縣) in the 百官志 section (Ibid., vol. 2, ch. 45, p. 718), though it is translated as “village” (鄉) in the 國語解 section (Ibid., vol. 3, juan 116, p. 1534).

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