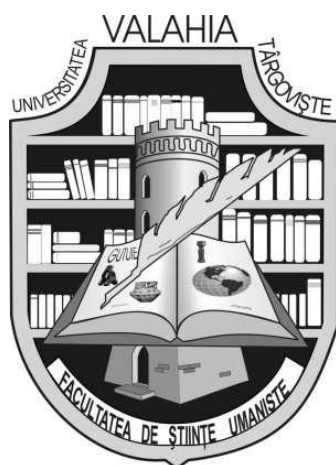


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L'Université Valahia Târgoviște
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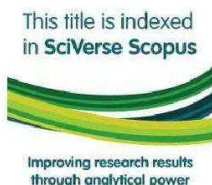
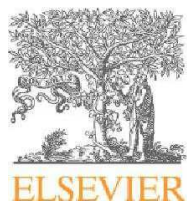
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Bohai population remaining in the Khitan Empire Liao in period 926-1029 (on the basis of Russian and Korean materials)

Alexander Kim*

* Vladivostok State University of Economics and Service, Institute of Law, Department of International Relations and Law, Vladivostok city, Gogol st. 41, Russian Federation; e-mail: kimaa9@gmail.com.

Abstract: The issue of Bohai people in the Liao Empire after the destruction of their state in 926 CE is a very complicated and important one in understanding the fate of ethnic groups in East Asia in the medieval period.

As is known, after 926 many Bohai people remained in the Liao Empire, because they did not want to emigrate to other regions (such as the Koryo kingdom, Japanese Empire or the lands of the Jurchen tribes). Over two centuries the policy of Khitan rulers towards the Bohai population changed several times.

This article considers the specifics of the situation of the population from the former Bohai state in Liao and analyzes the roles of Bohai people in the Khitan state.

The time period of my research in this work is limited to 1029, which saw the biggest rebellion of the Bohai people in the East Capital of Liao. This event demonstrated the altered position of the Bohai population remaining in the Liao Empire.

Keywords: Bohai people, Liao, East Asia, Khitans, history, China.

The state of Bohai (until 713 had another name - Jen, in Russian: Бохай, in Korean: Parhae 발해, in Chinese: Bohai 渤海, in Japanese - Bokkai) existed in what is now the Russian Maritime Region (Primorskij kraj/ Приморский край, in the south part of Russian Far East), North Korea and Northeastern China from the late seventh to the early tenth centuries CE (*Istoriia stran zarubezhnoj Azii v srednie veka*, 1970; A. P. Okladnikov, 1959; A. P. Okladnikov, A. P. Derevianko, 1973). According to Japanese annals “Ruiju-kokushi” (類聚国史), the Bohai state was founded in 698 CE. This state played a major role in relations between China, Japan and the Korean state, Silla. Few written records of the state survive and modern scholars do not know where the border of the Bohai state lay. This state was destroyed by Khitans.

The Liao Empire (dating from 907— as an Empire from 916 — to 1125, in Chinese: 遼朝, in

Russian: Ляо, Korean: 요나라) was the biggest Khitan state, situated in the areas of modern North-eastern China and the south part of Mongolia. Khitans established a dual system of government for the nomadic groups and Chinese population (N. N. Kradin, I. A. Ivliev, 2014). The Liao Empire was destroyed by Jurchen in 1125 (M. V. Vorob`ev, 1975).

The Khitans started a war with the Bohai state at the beginning of the 10th C. For 20 years, the Bohai and Khitans were embroiled in a fierce battle, but due to their effective nomadic cavalry, the Khitans eventually overcame the Bohai in 926 (Ye Longli, 1979; J. Reckel 1995).

Part of the Bohai population emigrated to other regions, such as the Koryo kingdom, but the number of Bohai people who remained in the areas of their state was considerable. They stayed in the areas of the former Bohai state for different reasons: 1) some wanted to stay in their motherland and form a

resistance against the Khitan army; 2) others had an interest in a peaceful life and believed that the Liao Empire could provide it; 3) Bohai officers and other elements in the population hoped to benefit from living under the Khitan state.

Therefore, within one month of the destruction of the Bohai state, some Bohai officers living in the districts near the South Sea, visited the Khitan leader and paid homage to him (*Istoriia Zheleznoj imperii...* 2007, p. 56). As result, in 926 Khitan was able to occupy vast areas with 103 towns and settlements (A. Kim 2011; K.A. Wittfogel, C. Feng, 1949, p. 59). In these important lands they established the Dongdan kingdom (926 - 982, in Chinese: 東丹國, in Korean – 동란, in Khitan language – Dan Gur) (A. L. Ivliev, 2018; P. Crossley, 2016), which was a Khitan puppet state to control the Bohai population. The head of this kingdom was the son of the Khitan ruler, and part of the administrative structure of Dongdan included Bohai officials. However, this proved insufficient to eliminate completely the resistance of many Bohai people against the Liao army.

Khitan leaders, though, understood that the Bohai population in the future might resist in greater numbers and create problems for the Liao state. For example, in the 3rd month of 926, three administration centers started to rebel against Khitan, in the 5th month – two (N. N. Kradin, A. L. Ivliev 2014, p. 36) and in the 7th month – one administrative center (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, p. 404, 416; *Istoriia Zheleznoj imperii...* 2007, p. 57). However, all these rebellions were quickly put down by Liao military contingents and their leaders executed (Yu 2000: 95) with the situation in the Bohai lands becoming unstable. After three months, coastal districts rebelled again and Khitan needed to deploy the army for further battles (*Istoriia Zheleznoj imperii...* 2007, p. 57). The Khitans were unable to send military contingents to the eastern areas of the former Bohai state every year to control local population, as they did not have the material and human resources to do so. In 930 the Khitan Emperor said: “These areas are closed by the sea coast are... we could not stay here a long time” (A. L. Ivliev, 2018, p. 180). As a result, the eastern areas of the former Bohai kingdom were freed from Liao administration (A. Kim 2011).

At the same time, Khitan wanted to conduct military operations against China, hoping thereby to gain profits and prestige. The establishment of a strong Chinese state could pose more serious problems for the

Liao Empire than did the Bohai rebellions. In such a case, Khitans would have to take military action in China. Therefore, they needed a strong defensive rear in the east if they were to pursue war in the west. Some Bohai districts had already started rebellions after the war with Khitans, but these were not a serious threat to the Liao Empire and were put down quickly. Clearly, the Khitan nobles did not want to face the problem of a major rebellion by the Bohai people.

The problem of the Bohai population was discussed by Liao officials. As a result, in 928 they reached a final decision. In their concluding discussions Khitan leaders noted: “... when our Khan took control of the Eastern state (Bohai – comment from L.T.), he appointed good supporters and reassured people... in ancient times the Bohai state¹ was a source of worry to the Chinese and took shelter (in the mountains– from L.T.) behind narrow aisles and, for protection, lived in Huhanchen. This city (is located– from L.T.) far from our Upper Capital. At present, these lands are not useful (for us - from L.T.). If we move our border military units from this area, what will we gain? The last Khan (of Khitan – from A.K.) seized the opportunity – conflicts among people in the Bohai state in (his – from L.T.) free time - and attacked (Bohai - - from L.T.), therefore gained victory without fighting ... If at this time we allow the Bohai people to remain in the same lands they will multiply and when they get rich, we might face a threat! The lands near Lianshui (name of river - from L.T.) are the former areas of Bohai people, the soil is fertile. It (This territory- from L.T.) has wood, iron, salt and fish stocks. Now these persons (the Bohai population) are weak and if we now relocate them to Lianshui lands, it will be a wise move which should prove valuable for the next 10 thousands generations. When the Bohai population regain their former lands and exploit the salt, iron, wood and fish resources, they will live in prosperity. In the future we will find among them good warriors to defend our eastern borders...”

As result of this discussion, the Khitan started to deport the Bohai people in the Dunping district (in the future this would be the southern capital of the Liao Empire). However, part of the Bohai population did not have the material resources for this, and rebelled or moved to the lands of the Silla kingdom and Jurchen tribes. Later a Khitan Emperor introduced new rules for this deportation: “If poor persons (from the Bohai deported population – from A.K) don’t have the means for migration, then rich people will have to give them food (for the period during of deportation – from A.K.).

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Afterwards they (the rich people – from A.K.) will be the leaders to those in poverty” (*Istoriia Zheleznoj imperii...* 2007, p. 59).

This information is very important in understanding the situation with the deported Bohai population in the Liao Empire. As we can see, the Khitans did not want to use the material resources of their state for the deportation of the Bohai people. Rather they believed that rich people from deported nations should support the poor during the journey with food. It is likely that at that time the Khitans did not produce enough food or did not have the time to gather it. The Liao army consisted of nomadic military troops (almost entirely cavalry) and had no system for long term food provision. Alternatively, the Khitan rulers underestimated role of the Bohai people in their Empire at that time. The Liao administration considered that this support would allow rich Bohai people to become the leaders of the deported population. In such a case, rich people would form the administration for the Bohai people in the Khitan state. Of course, this situation would suit the Liao leaders, because they could manage the Bohai people through rich families within their society.

The fates of groups in the Bohai population after the destruction of their state were very varied, depending on their relations with the Khitan Empire and their places of residence. Different groups among the Bohai people occupied different ranks within Liao society, and their activities were wide ranging, but Chinese, Koryo and Khitan written sources do not document these in detail. The problem is complicated as in these annals the Bohai population was referred to by different names.

As a result, examining data about the Bohai population after 926 is a complicated task. Chinese officials did not have accurate information about the Bohai people in the Liao Empire and the Bohai population to the east of the Khitan state. The result was that Chinese states did not have exact information and communication with these regions over the great distance from the eastern part of the former Bohai state was difficult. Moreover, at that time Chinese leaders were facing problems with the Liao Empire and consequently took little interest in the furthest reaches of their country.

In Khitan manuscripts there is information about the Bohai people, but these materials show strong political bias, as reflected in information about the condition of the Bohai population and in other ways. Written sources from the Koryo kingdom viewed all

events and processes according to the prevailing political orthodoxy of the state at that time, with the Korean state pursuing political isolation. As result, the Koryo people did not have information about the Bohai population living in the Khitan state, and wrote instead about the Bohai people living in Koryo or otherwise connected with it (such as refugees from Liao or the Korean peninsula).

In modern time scholars from the Republic of Korea (and some historians from DPRK) (S. Park, 1995) are very actively studying the issue of the Bohai population after 926. This arises from their view of the Bohai kingdom as part of the Korean state and the relation of the Bohai population to the processes of ethno-genesis in the areas of the Korean peninsula in medieval periods (G. Han, 1999; J. Jung, 1999). South Korean scholars have looked at five groups of the Bohai people after 926 according to their places of residence and activity.

Bohai people in the first group were those who had migrated to other states. Many of them moved to Koryo with some officials ending up in China and even Japan. Among them were many civil officials and military officers, with some of them emigrating before the destruction of the Bohai state.

The second group was the Bohai aristocracy, which became part of Liao society. This Bohai group played an important role in the relations between the Khitan and other states. They were commanders of the Liao military contingents in wars against Koryo and China and were representatives of Liao officials. Some of these lived and served not only in the Khitan state, but also in the Dongdan areas. They were mediators between the Khitan rulers and the Bohai population (those who remained and those deported). After the liquidation of this puppet kingdom, Bohai officials switched to the Liao Empire. However sometimes they took part in rebellions against the Khitans in different periods of the Empire. In spite of these problems, this Bohai group had an important role for the Liao Empire. They gave support to the bureaucratic apparatus of the Khitan state and taught Liao officials methods of government for the Chinese and Bohai populations. Moreover, they help the Bohai population adapt to Khitan power. This was to have significant consequences in the 11-12th C.

In the opinion of Alexander Ivliev (2018, p. 179), the establishment of Dongdan state was an important measure by the Khitans for the Bohai aristocracy as some of its members received high-level positions. We believe that this action must have reduced support for

resistance by those Bohai people that wanted to fight the Khitans.

The third group consisted of those Bohai inhabitants that were deported to the different regions of the Liao Empire. They resented this decision by the Khitans as they wanted to live in the areas of their former state. This group was distinct from the second but still referred to as “Khitans”. As a result, identification of this group in the Liao Empire is not easy in many cases.

The fourth group comprised descendants of Heishui Mohe – Jurchen (in Korean reading – yojin/ 여진/ 녀진). Some South Korean scholars consider them as belonging to the remaining Bohai population (G. Han, 1994) but this question is still under discussion.

In the fifth group of Bohai people were those who wanted to fight for the re-establishment of their state (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 82-83). They tried to create states not only in the eastern areas of the former Bohai kingdom (such as Dingan 定安 state), but also in the Liao Empire (that is, the Sin Liao Empire and elsewhere) (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 87-90; K. Song, 1999, p. 68). Their activity is outside the scope of this work.

It should be stated that these five categories could not be considered as precisely defined groups within the Bohai population. Individuals might easily switch between the groups. Some Bohai migrants, for example, who escaped to the Koryo kingdom, afterwards moved to the Liao Empire and cooperated with the Khitans. The most famous example was Gao Mou Han, a Bohai aristocrat, a high-ranking official in the Liao Empire and close to Khitan Emperor (A. Kim 2018). Many Bohai people deported to the Liao Empire for different reasons later on became identified with other groups of the Bohai population.

Khitans sent Bohai artisans famous for their industrial products to areas of the Liao Empire (A. L. Ivliev, 1988; K.A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, p. 195). In total, according to the Russian scholar Alexander Ivliev, Khitan deported 94 thousand Bohai families, approximately 470 thousand people (A. L. Ivliev, 1988). Some South Korean scholars hold that after deportation by the Khitan army, large numbers of Bohai people, with nearly 20,000 Bohai families from areas of the former Bohai state, lived in the Liao Empire (G. Han, 2001, p. 67).

As a result of this, Bohai people played a major role in the agriculture and industry of the Liao Empire. In terms of the number of inhabitants, they were

second (after Chinese) in the Khitan state (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, p. 46; A. L. Ivliev, 1988). Part of the Bohai population worked as herders. 40 thousand families lived in Shanjin and Chunjin, and in the territory of former Bohai lands, there were registered 41400 adult men as members of the militia, mobilized from nearly 60 thousand families (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, p. 54).

Khitan administration passed some discriminatory laws aimed at the Bohai people. For example, the Bohai were not allowed to play polo to prevent the possibility that they might form a cavalry (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, p. 404). Only after 1038 was this law repealed.

The number of Bohai people in the Liao Empire increased in 10 - 12th C. This happened not only as a result of deportations but also for demographic reasons. Moreover, some of the Bohai people were in the structure of the Khitan Hordes. These people were not registered in the list of population in Liao Empire and considered differently (A. L. Ivliev 1988; K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, p. 58).

If in the first half of 10th C. the number of Bohai representatives in Khitan administration was small (as already mentioned by Gao Mou Han), some 20 - 30 years after the destruction of their state the number of Bohai officials increased. One part of the Bohai population assimilated with the Chinese (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 9-10). Khitans moved the Bohai population in small groups to many places throughout the Empire. Because of this the Bohai people could not organize resistance and had instead to concern themselves with survival. Some Bohai people lived in the western part of the Liao Empire, in the territory of modern Mongolia (N. N. Kradin, A. L. Ivliev, 2008).

Some Bohai families were registered as prisoners of war, but others as members of the Khitan Hordes (K. A. Wittfogel; C. Feng, 1949, p. 510-511). Probably, how they were designated depended on the degree of resistance by the Bohai population. Moreover, members of the Hordes took part in military expeditions of the Liao. The Bohai population, however, did not always stay in the same Horde, depending on the policy of the Khitan state, and so some Bohai people were able to move from one Horde to another (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng, 1949, p. 78).

We believe that this depended not on the loyalty of the Bohai population to the Khitans, but rather on the policy of the Liao Empire, or on the increasing power of some Khitan Hordes at different periods of the Liao Empire. Bohai people were good artisans,

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peasants and soldiers and so they were important to the Horde and could increase profits in different areas for the Khitan aristocracy.

Up to the beginning of the 11th C. a major part of Bohai people come to terms with Khitan power in the Liao Empire. From 921 (before the destruction of the Bohai state) Khitan officials registered Bohai people as Chinese (the most disenfranchised ethnic group in the Liao Empire) but later on the status of Bohai people improved (A. Kim 2011; K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, p. 195). We believe that it was Khitan policy that allowed the Bohai to pursue careers in the Liao Empire.

Resistance by the Bohai population in the Khitan state became weaker with every year. Of course, some Bohai people rebelled and fought against the Liao Empire. For example, in 975 Bohai general Yan-po rebelled against the Khitan administration, but his army was destroyed and he escaped to the east, outside the Liao Empire (A. L. Ivliev 2018; K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, p. 130, 405). In 995 Yan-po with military contingents from Wure tribe² attacked Te-li (the name of a tribe, under the rule of the Liao Empire) (A. L. Ivliev 2018, p. 180). In 983 five Bohai commanders, who were heads of the military troops of Xia (the name of a nomadic tribe that lived in the Liao Empire), moved from Khitan to the Chinese side. Their families who remained in the Liao Empire were punished and became slaves (*Istoriia Zheleznoj imperii...* 2007, p. 87).

The Bohai population was divided into several groups in the Liao Empire. Those who lived near the Yalu river were called Bohai. The Bohai population deported to the modern Heilongjiang had another name – North-western Bohai people (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, p. 96). We have no information about their relation with the Khitans, and it is likely they were independent. Some Bohai groups lived in border towns in the north-western part of the Liao Empire, served in military groups and had to defend the Khitan state from the west.

As we can see, the relationship of the Khitan leaders with the Bohai people changed. After the destruction of Bohai, the Liao officials considered Bohai people as enemies. However, during wars with China this position was revised. For the Liao Empire the most important enemy became the Chinese states. During several military conflicts Khitans occupied many districts with a Chinese population. They could not manage local populations though, because they had adapted to a nomadic style of life. The Liao Empire, on the other hand, needed industry to grow and the

economy to expand not only to support the taxable population but for the benefit of Khitans too.

As result, they had to recruit experienced officials to control and govern these inhabitants. Khitans had to choose between Bohai and Chinese administrative staff in this area. They noted that the Bohai state was already destroyed, and their population had no sense of nationhood, while Chinese states still existed. Because of this, Liao rulers could not trust Chinese officials who might very easily switch their allegiance to the Chinese. The work done by Bohai officials in this field was more effective than by Khitan specialists; they were familiar with the administrative system of towns, industry and other fields not only in the Bohai state, but in the Dongdan kingdom and other states too. As a result, the Khitan government started to use Bohai people in administrative posts in the western areas. Of course, this policy represented an improvement for the Bohai population in the Liao Empire.

Bohai soldiers were members of three military contingents of the Liao Empire – militia, Khitan tribal groups and troops of Khitan Hordes. The Bohai served as operators of catapults, and among archers and swordsmen. Moreover, some Bohai soldiers worked in the palace service of the Khitan state (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, 546).

As result of the internal policy and crisis of the Khitan state in 12th C. the Bohai military contingents were dominant in the Liao army. Khitans sent them as the vanguard in wars and other conflicts, as was demonstrated in military activity with Jurchen tribes in period 1114-1125³.

Liao officials wanted to support the material position of the Bohai people in the empire. For example, they issued an order that “poor people” need not pay land tax (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng 1949, p. 195). This fact highlights the material differences present among the Bohai population in the Liao Empire and shows the attempts of the Khitan administration to support the Bohai taxable population in the state.

The policy of the Liao officials had an important effect not only on internal policy, but on international relations too. In 10th to the first half of the 11th C. In the struggle with Khitans, the Bohai pursued a policy of military support of the Koryo and reestablishment of the Bohai state, but later this tendency disappeared among the Bohai population in the Liao Empire. Koryo had hopes of acquiring some lands of the Khitan state, but did not have the material and military resources for conflict with Khitans (A. Kim, 2018). Moreover, Bohai

people lived in the Korean Peninsula in poor conditions, unlike the situation with the Bohai people in the Liao Empire.

The Khitan state accepted Bohai people from Koryo kingdom and these migrants could expect to advance their careers in their Empire (as in 1010 when a Bohai official Yu Chung Jong, who held high rank in Koryo, fled to the Liao Empire (K. So, 2000)). Bohai officials from Koryo were considered by the Khitans as skilled specialists in state management too. Many of them worked in the administrative apparatus over a long time and Khitan leaders considered them as an important part of the Liao official system.

Bohai officials were members of the Khitan ambassadorial missions in Japan, despite the fact these Bohai did not like Khitans and openly said so (Z. N. Matveev, 1929).

Furthermore, the Bohai supplied representatives to many Khitan ambassadorial missions, and there were also Bohai officials working in the Liao Empire as heads of diplomatic groups in the Koryo.

For example, according to medieval Korean annals “Koryo sa”, five Bohai from the Liao Empire arrived in Koryo as heads of the Khitan ambassadorial missions. These facts demonstrate a high degree of the loyalty by Bohai to the Liao state and evidence that Khitan trusted Bohai officials at that time.

In 1039, an official from the Eastern capital of Liao, Dae Gyong Jae (in Korean 대경제), arrived as head of mission in Koryo, in 1073 - the governor of Injou (name of city in the Liao Empire), Dae Thaek (대택), in 1093 – an official from Injou, Dae Kwi In (대귀인), in 1109 - Dae Young Sin (대영신) and in 1111 - Dae Jung Song (대중선) arrived in the state of Korean Peninsula (K. So, 2000, p. 206). As we can see, two of the five Bohai representatives appointed as ambassadors of the Khitan state were from Injou, as probably, this city was home to a community of Bohai and Injou had trade interests with Koryo. In such a situation, Bohai leaders supported not only the position of the Liao Empire in international relations, but also the interests of the local population (including the Bohai).

Over a long time, Khitans had no fleet and so the Liao Empire used Bohai sailors and ships for attacks in China and for ambassadorial missions. Only in 11th C. did the Khitan state start to build a fleet of their own (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng, 1949, p. 161).

In 983 the old Khitan Emperor died and a Bohai official in the Liao Empire, Se-li, asked to be buried with him (*Istoriia Zheleznoj imperii...* 2007, p. 84). Clearly, this Bohai individual was prepared to make a sacrifice of himself, and although the new Liao ruler refused Se-li his request, he rewarded him with money and silk for his loyalty to the dead Emperor.

Another famous Bohai representative in the Khitan state in this period was Gao Tan In (in another reading – Gao Yan In). In 937, he was translator from Chinese to the Liao Emperor. We can reasonably assume that he had a good knowledge of the Khitan language too, because the Liao Emperor did not know the Bohai language. Moreover Gao Tan In was a specialist in Chinese traditions in Liao society (L. Ye, 1979, p. 68, 253). Khitan leaders regarded him positively in spite of some lapses. Gao Tan In was a valuable official, and so in 947 he participated in the military activity of the Liao against the Chinese (L. Ye, 1979, p. 92-93). He was made head of Syanjou- city, which was sacked by the Khitan army during the conflict, and he played an important role in deciding strategy.

Bohai soldiers took an active part in the wars of the Liao Empire against Koryo. We must note that at this time some Bohai migrants served in the Koryo army, therefore Bohai people fought against each other on both sides. Khitan fought several wars with the Koryo kingdom (J. An, 2003). In 1018 Liao military troops attacked Koryo again; the leader of one these contingents was a Bohai general, Go Yong Myong (in Korean 고영명). In one battle, however, the Khitan army was defeated and this Bohai general killed by Koryo soldiers. When the Liao Emperor learnt of this battle, he announced.

In manuscripts we can see name of the another key Bohai individual – general Da Gang I, who was commander of the garrison Huanlun in the Khitan state. This city controlled tribes, located in the eastern parts of the region. This general was active in the period 1016-1020, and was successful with the Yulidinaï tribes (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng, 1949, p. 100).

As we can see, the Bohai people were able to attain the rank of general in the Liao Empire and Khitan rulers clearly regarded them very highly.

It is clear that the number of Bohai leaders in the Liao Empire was very significant: other periods in the history of the Khitan state will be considered in another work.

**Bohai population remaining in the Khitan Empire Liao in period 926-1029
(on the basis of Russian and Korean materials)**

Khitans made some concessions to the Bohai people in the Liao Empire, and accepted their methods of work in the state, public management and other areas.

Moreover, elements of Bohai culture had an impact in Khitan society, even within the imperial court of the Liao. For example, during banquets of the top Khitan aristocracy, famous Bohai pastries were served (K. A. Wittfogel, C. Feng, 1949, p. 270).

It is evident then that almost the entire Bohai population in the Liao Empire recognized Khitan power. In spite of some rebellions, Bohai people served in the civil and military administration of the Liao Empire and had prospects of a successful career. This was the result of Khitan policy towards the Bohai population, as Liao officials relied on the expertise of Bohai officials.

Bohai soldiers fought for the Liao Empire, especially against Chinese states. It is likely that Khitans used anti-Chinese sentiments among the Bohai population in these cases. We can observe similar phenomena in the 12th C. when Jurchen leaders destroyed the Liao Empire, exploiting the ill-feelings of the Khitans against the North Song Empire (M. V. Vorob'ev, 1975).

Of course, the Bohai population still had conflicts with the Liao administration and policy on many occasions. But up to the 11th C. the triggers for confrontation were not political, but economic. While political considerations might naturally have played some part in the rebellions of the Bohai too, it was the economy that was of primary importance, as clearly demonstrated by the rebellion by Da Yan-lin in 1029 - 1030.

Notes:

1. This was the situation in the 690s-700s., the earliest period of the Bohai state. At that time, Bohai had hostile relations with Tang Empire.

2. Liao officials did not recognize the Dingan state and wrote about it as wure tribes. Therefore, in Khitan materials we see only name of wure. South Korean scholars are divided about this state – some specialists from the Republic of Korea believe that it same with Hou Parhae (Later Bohai/ 후 발해/ 後渤海), others think that it was two different states. We shall consider this problem in another work.

3. We consider this question in the work “Bohai population in the Liao Empire in period 1031-1115”.

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