# The First Century of Hungarian Khitanology<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** Hungarian scholarship has traditionally shown a deep interest in East Asian philology, and as a result has achieved several significant results in this field. Ever since the first written records of the Khitan (formerly also known as "kitaj" in Hungarian literature) were discovered at the beginning of the 20th century, Hungarian philologists have paid particular attention to these discoveries. The first scientific article on the subject in Hungarian was a 1927 study by Lajos (Louis) Ligeti. In this paper, we would like to give an overview of almost a century of research on the Khitans in Hungary.

**Keywords:** Archaeology, Hungarian scholars, Khar bökh balgas, Khitans, Khitan language and writing

Research on the Khitans (the term Khitanology will be used henceforth) has come a long way since the time when even the mere identification of the language written in the Khitan writing systems was not a self-evident task. There have also been stages on this long road when the two Khitan writing systems, i.e. the so-called "Khitan small script" (or Khitan Assembled Script cf. Kara 1987, 2005) and "Khitan large script" (or "Khitan Linear Script" cf. Kara 1987, 2005) were thought to be quite different by researchers from what they are thought of today: for example, the Khitan small script was previously identified as the Uyghur-Mongolian writing.

It was a time when scholars' knowledge of the Khitan language was limited by the sources that were available, which were in fact only linguistic data preserved as glosses in Chinese language works, and thus filtered through Chinese linguistic and literary barriers, and which, in their scarcity, provided little information for making sound conclusions about the Khitan language. The first fifty years of Khitanology therefore saw the discovery of the language and its scripts progressed mainly in small steps, and, apart from the few European scholars, it was mainly Japanese and Chinese researchers who were involved.

Hungarian scholars have traditionally shown a deep interest in East Asian philology, and as a result they have been able to produce several significant results in this field.

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In 1927, at the dawn of scientific research into the Khitan people and language, Lajos Ligeti summarised the knowledge and assumptions about the Khitans in his study entitled A kitaj nép és nyelv⁴ [The Khitan people and language]. Ligeti also reported on the archaeological discoveries of Louis Kervyn, a Belgian missionary, during his expeditions to the newly-forming China between 1928 and 1931.⁵ By the time, researchers were not yet able to distinguish between the two Khitan writing systems. In his book Sárga istenek, sárga emberek [Yellow Gods, Yellow People] in 1934, Ligeti recounts his expedition to Inner Mongolia and mentions that he bought some Khitan coins in the town of Ulaanhad (Chinese: Chifeng 赤峰), but unfortunately the whereabouts of the coins are now unknown. Throughout his long and prolific academic career, Ligeti kept abreast of the latest developments in the field of Khitanology and returned to the subject every now and then (Ligeti 1950-1951, 1955, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1970), yet many of his findings on the Kithan language remain unpublished.

To process his unpublished manuscripts preserved in the Manuscript Archives of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, they were made available to researchers in 2017, in accordance with Ligeti's will. To complete this task the Hungarian Academy of Sciences established a committee to process Ligeti's manuscripts in 2018.<sup>6</sup> The committee asked the author of these lines to review Ligeti's notes on Khitan, and since that time a couple of articles on Ligeti's reconstructions of the Khitan numerals were published.<sup>7</sup>

Ligeti's former students, György Kara and András Róna-Tas, also made significant contributions to our knowledge of the Khitan language and writing.

### György Kara (1935-2022)

Kara's studies (1975, 1977, 1987, 1988, 2000, 2002, 2021) have helped to confirm the relationship of the Khitan language to the Mongolic languages by scientific methods. In 1996, he summarised the views of the time on the Khitan writing systems for a wider audience (Kara 1996). In his inaugural paper as an academician of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences titled "On the Writing, Religion and Power in the History of the Mongolian Peoples", presented in 2001, he also addressed the question of the Khitan writing systems. Shortly before his passing away in 2022 he has published a seminal article on his reconstructions of a few Khitan words based on their rhyming patterns.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A kitaj nép és nyelv. *Magyar Nyelv* 23: 293–310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ligeti 1933

The members of the committee were: György Kara, András Róna-Tas (chair), István Vásáry, Ágnes Birtalan, Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Apatóczky 2020, 2021b.

#### András Róna-Tas (1931-)

András Róna-Tas in his inaugural paper at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences analysed the structural parallels between the  $10^{th}$  century Khitan and Hungarian societies during the period of their respective conquests. Later, he identified the Tibetan origin of the Khitan word pi li 2000 (Old Tibetan 2000) 'marmota' 1000 Hi diminutive suffix) (2014). In the second decade of the 2000 Some of his recent articles (2016a, 2000) provide insights into the characteristics of the dotted and undotted glyphs of the Khitan Small Script, as well as into the etymology of the Khitan numerals and the etymology of the Khitan ethnonym. For the latter, he proposed a tripartite system on the basis of historical linguistic data: singular: 1000 100

Róna-Tas initiated a research cooperation between the Department of Altaic Studies of the University of Szeged (SZTE) and the Department of Khitanology of the Inner Mongolian University (IMU), which resulted in a continuous scholarly dialogue and cooperation since 2015. In the first phase of the cooperation, Hungarian researchers tried to collect the most important pieces of Khitanological literature published in China, however difficult this task was in itself, as in China alone hundreds of publications of significantly varying quality appear every year. The Inner-Mongolian scholars operate the largest and one of the strongest centres for Khitanology in the world, and they are of course the first to have access to the latest related archaeological findings. Accordingly, cooperation with the Inner-Mongolian centre is of paramount importance to Western researchers, and their acceptance of Hungarian colleagues to participate in the work demonstrates that they are aware of the scientific achievements of Hungarian Khitanology to date. As an important step of the cooperation, SZTE researchers participated in the First International Symposium on Ancient Scripts of Northern Nationalities, held in Hohhot, Inner-Mongolia in December 2016, and published a paper on the presentations given there. 10 As a further result of this collaboration, several joint and related studies have already been, and many others will be published in the future.

A state-of-the-art article on the most recent results of Khitanology was published in the 2017 special issue of *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* on Khitanology (Apatóczky-Kempf 2017). In the same issue, András Róna-Tas published a paper on the vowels of the Khitan Small Script, and representing the Chinese side of the partnership Wu Yingzhe [= Oyuunchi] 吴英喆, Jiruhe 吉如何. and Peng Daruhan

<sup>8</sup> Róna-Tas 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Data in *Hua-Yi yiyu* and *Beilu yiyu* are results of textual corruption (乞塔惕 >乞塔), therefore they cannot be taken into consideration here, as both sources lost the diacritic惕 character; see Kuribayashi 2003: 36; Apatóczky 2009: 133 and the revised data of the latter in Apatóczky 2021a.

<sup>10</sup> Apatóczky 2016

彭鞑茹罕 wrote about the interpretation of the Khitan Large Script epitaph tomb inscription of *Changgun Yelü Zhun* 常袞耶律準.<sup>11</sup>

Since then, joint research has continued, with the most recent result being a paper on the labial final tone marking of the Khitan Small Script (Róna-Tas-Wu 2020). Róna-Tas has also published studies on the position of Khitan among the Altaic languages (2018a), on the Khitan names of the "Five capitals" and the related Khitan names of the cardinal directions (2019a), on the Turkish elements in Khitan language monuments (2019b), on the representation of dental plosives in the Khitan Small Script (2020). Besides, he wrote an article reflecting the current state-of-the-art for the general public (2019c). In 2019 an article reviewing and introducing one of the most important Chinese-language summaries of the achievements of the last few years by Chinggletei–Wu Yingzhe–Jiruhe, was published (Apatóczky-Róna-Tas 2019).

#### The Khi-Land project

Almost parallel to the SZTE-IMU cooperation, the research project called *Khi-Land landscapes in Mongolia* of the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (currently Research Centre for the Humanities, Eötvös Loránd Research Network (ELKH)) started in 2016. The research was carried out as part of the *Cooperative Agreement on the Mongolian and Hungarian Joint Research – Khitan Landscapes in Mongolia Project 2017–2023*, signed in 2017, by the Institute of Ethnology of the Research Centre for the Humanities in cooperation with the Institute of History and Ethnology (until 2019 Institute of History and Archaeology) of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. The participants of the project together with the experts of the Mongolian Scientific and Technological University<sup>12</sup> have been researching the Khitan cemeteries from the 10th -12th centuries in Mongolia, their place in the landscape and the cultural phenomena connected to them using the most modern landscape archaeological and computer methods.

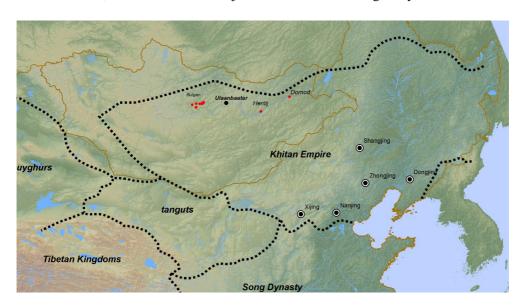
Although in some of the fortified settlements from the Khitan period in Mongolia archaeological excavations have already been performed, their environment and their connection with the settlement network of that period have not been researched in detail. Due to the technological development of landscape archaeology and its scientific approach, the research was not focussed only on one site, but using non-invasive methods, their environment, their location in the landscape and their effect on it, and the relationships of particular settlements were also scrutinized. Topographic surveys, aerial photos made by drones and the knowledge gained by analysing the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Róna-Tas 2017 and Wu-Ji-Peng 2017

From the Hungarian part, the research is led by Zsolt Szilágyi, from the Mongolian part, by Prof. Sampildondov Chuluun. The research team is made up of the following members: Lkh. Erdenebold, Katalin Tolnai, András Harmath, József Laszlovszky, Csilla Siklódi. In the first two years of the research programme project, Gergely Csiky and Jambajantsan D. Amina also participated.

3D models made on the basis of the data gleaned in this manner, as well as exploring the objects that belonged to the settlements but that were found outside them (tumuli (mound tombs), traces of cultivated land, ditches, ceramic furnace etc.) also played an important role in the research.

Surveys made by UAVs (Unmanned Aerial Vehicle) and aerial photography were (and are) done according to preliminary plans. During the imagery the coordinates of more than 500,000 surface points were determined by photogrammetric method. The data of aerial photos, GPS data, topographic surveys were processed in GIS (Geographic information system), which enables the information gained from various sources to be analysed in one platform. The data such gained will complete the information gathered through historical research, field surveys and traditional archaeological field work, and by analysing them in a comprehensive system, an exact picture not only of the location, size, the internal road network and the buildings of a settlement, but also about the objects in their surroundings may be reached.



The territory of the Khitan Empire and the sites researched in the Khi-Land project (marked red)

In the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries the Khitans occupied the south-eastern and central parts of present-day Mongolia and established important settlements. To the present stage of our knowledge, they established more than 150 towns and fortified settlements and the remains of some significant ones can be found in the valley of the River Kherlen in the east, but there are sites also at the west of Öndörkhaan (recently, the name of the town has been changed to Chinggis), in Khentii province, too. The sites at Chin tolgoi balgas, Ulaan kherem, Tsagaan üzüüriin kherem in Bulgan province and other settlements of the Orkhon Valley are also of major significance. The sites excavated

so far constitute a special chain near the northern edge of the steppe regions of the so-called border state established by the Khitan Liao-dynasty (916-1125), therefore the research of the fortified settlements dating from the Khitan period may help understand their role in the history of the empire, how sedentary and nomadic cultures interacted and what links were created with their help between the representatives of the different cultures.

The above-mentioned towns and fortified settlements or their remains were used after the fall of the Khitan Empire too, so findings hold a lot of interesting objects in terms of archaeology and cultural history. A good example is given by the sites excavated in Bulgan province in the Khi-Land Project, where remains of settlements and buildings dating from the 10<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> centuries and from the 16<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> centuries could be excavated in the same area, in some cases not far from other archaeological sites that can be dated to even earlier periods. The excavations may answer questions raised by the landscape archaeological approach like why these areas were chosen to establish settlements, what changes were generated in different ages by human intervention, how they functioned and what their later fate was.

At the same time, besides the landscape archaeological research, investigations to observe the processes in heritage protection and the retention of national traditions in present day Mongolia can also be done, and they might help to understand the current social and academic discourse about the creation of heritage. Moreover, they shed light also on the sacralisation of excavation sites and facilitate ethnological research of the role of these sites in local and regional identity.

In recent years in many cases families leading a nomadic way of life in these areas were assigned with some tasks concerning local heritage protection. These activities are supervised and coordinated by the Mongolian Heritage Protection Centre (Soyoliin Öviin Töv). Dashinchilen sum in Bulgan province is one of the richest regions in archaeological remains, therefore the protection of this area is important not just in terms of outstanding archaeological excavation sites, but also for the Chin Tolgoi ovoo (sacrificial site) too (Erdenebold et al. 2018).

Khar bökh balgas, which is considered to be one of the most important research sites of the Khi-Land project, is among the big fortified settlements. The ruins are situated at 47° 52' 249" longitude and 103° 53' 051" latitude, 1015 m above sea level. The settlement is surrounded by rammed earthen walls with a perimeter wall of almost 700m x 700m. The four gates were connected by wide roads in north-south and east-west directions within the walls. The roughly 30 m wide roads divided the inner area of the fortified settlement into four quarters.



The ruins of a 16<sup>th</sup> century monastery within the perimeter walls at Khar bökh balgas site. (*Khi-Land project*, 2018)

The ruins of Khar bökh balgas were first excavated by Russian and then by Mongolian researchers in the 19th century. More recently, in 2002-2003 and in 2011–2012, smaller sections of the younger layers of the town were excavated by the Mongolian archaeologists A. Ochir and Lkh. Erdenebold. (Ochir – Erdenebold – Enkhtör 2015). Inside the perimeter walls of the former Khitan settlement, a Buddhist monastery operated in the  $16^{th} - 17^{th}$  centuries, the buildings of which were built of stone slabs and its walls still stand 2-3 meters high. The ruins of the monastery consists of several buildings. During the excavations conducted in the central shrine, numerous objects such as Buddha depictions, textile and metal remains were unearthed. Some perfectly preserved manuscripts found under the ruins were a special discovery of these excavations. The monastery must have had close connections with the Tsagaan baishin palace, built approximately 30 km away from here at the end of the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Tsogt taij (1581-1637), a local Khalkha Mongolian nobleman. Both buildings were important centres of Mongolian Buddhism at that time, and the present-day monastery is an important remain of the 17th century architecture and also considered a sacral place of the reviving religious life today.



Tsagaan baishin (Khi-Land project, 2018)

In Bulgan province, near Khar bökh balgas several fortified settlements are known from the Khitan Era, which have been excavated in the field research of the project so far. Before the field research, the sites were identified with the help of Google Earth satellite images and also the earlier research results of the Mongolian colleagues were taken into account (Ochir et al. 2015). Based on the detailed data from the maps, flight plans have been drawn up not just for these but also for the research of other objects in the region. Thus in the field work of the Khi-Land project performed so far, several sites have been surveyed, which can only be listed briefly here: Tsagaan üzüüriin kherem, the outer settlement next to Chin tolgoi balgas, Ulaan kherem 1-2, Khermen denj and Tsagaan denj. These are discussed in more detail in the summary of the 2018 research report (Erdenebold et al. 2018).

Some important elements of the network of Khitan period settlements in Mongolia can be found east of Ulaanbaatar: in Khentii and Dornod provinces, too. In Khentii province two large fortified settlements from the Khitan period now called Zuun kherem ('Eastern rampart'), and Baruun kherem ('Western rampart') were detected in 2019. The two sites situated close to each other were earlier excavated by the great Mongolian archaeologist, Kh. Perlee in 1952-53 (Perlee 1961: 62–66.), and a few simple surveys were published by him about the sites. According to the written sources, the two walled settlements must have been founded around 1015, in one of them people doing economic activities were settled, while in the other were inhabited by soldiers (Tolnai et al. 2019).

In Dornod province, the remains of three settlements dated to the Khitan period were excavated by Perlee (Perlee 1961: 62), the largest of them was Kherlen bars khot. The most notable element of the site is the stupa erected around the 10<sup>th</sup>

century. This multi-storey brick building was restored with the financial support of the Chinese National Office of Cultural Heritage and with the help of the members of the Cultural Heritage Academy of China and the Mongolian Cultural Heritage Centre in 2015-2016, after a comprehensive survey. The renovation was carried out by using materials that are available in the surrounding area, the bricks used were made and burned on site, for which a brick burning kiln was also built. Thank to these efforts the building, which is the only monument of the Khitan Empire in the territory of present-day Mongolia still standing, is in safe condition again.

In the 2019 field survey of the Khi-Land project, a number of data that do not fit in the theories thought about this site earlier were found (Tolnai et al 2019). The analysis of the drone images and the creation of the 3D models is still in progress, and more definite consequences concerning the emerging new questions may only be drawn after a detailed process of the data and a comparison of the new information gained.



The renovated stupa in Kherlen bars (Khi-Land projekt, 2019)

The field research done so far, along with the research findings have already yielded important results and they also provide grounds for planning the next phases of the research, which are being elaborated in detail at present. In the field research season of 2021-2023 excavation works are carried out at the Khar bökh balgas site in Hungarian-Mongolian cooperation, which may trigger a new phase in the earlier bilateral research, after an interval of nearly half a century.

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