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The Khitan Names of the Five Capitals

András Róna-Tas
University of Szeged
arontas3@t-online.hu

Abstract

This paper surveys the Khitan names of the so-called "Five Capitals" of the Liao empire (907–1125). In this connection, the lexemes denoting the compass points (north, south, east, west) and related expressions of orientation (right, left, centre) are examined in the light of the information supplied by the relevant historical context and the extant corpus of Khitan Small Script texts. In addition, the dynastic name of the Liao empire is also discussed. The discussion reveals several previously unobserved details of linguistic, philological, historical, and cultural interest, and allows the Khitan system of orientation to be placed in the general context of comparative Mongolic studies.

Keywords

Khitan language – Khitan Small Script – decipherment – compass points – Liao dynastic name

1 Introduction

The deciphering of the Khitan Small Script and the Khitan language is in good progress. The last great step was the publication of the three-volume book by Chinggeltei, Wu Yingzhe and Jiruhe (CWJ 2017), which includes 39 of the major and 17 of the minor inscriptions.[1] The Index to these inscriptions contains

1 There also exist five known but yet unpublished inscriptions in the Khitan Small Script: Shi, ShiZ, Wo, Da and Tian. For the abbreviations of all inscriptions, see Tables 1 and 2 at the end of this paper. This paper has been written within the framework of the Silk Road Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Eötvös Lórant University Budapest and the University of Szeged.

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about 10,000 items and more than 100,000 occurrences. Interestingly enough, we know perhaps more about the morphology of Khitan than its vocabulary. In the present paper I will summarize our knowledge about the Khitan words denoting the directions of orientation.[2] At the same time, this paper is a type of review of CWJ, demonstrating how one can use this excellent work for the daily research.

The Khitans took over the system of the Five Capitals from the Chinese, but according to Wittfogel and Feng (WF 1946: 448) the original model was the organization of Bohai. We read in the Liaoshi: "Taizong [939–947 = Abaoji] made the Imperial capital the *Supreme Capital*, elevated Yu Prefecture to be the *Southern Capital*, and changed the [old] Southern Capital to be the *Eastern Capital*. Shengzong [979–1031] walled the *Central Capital* and Xingzong [1031–1055] elevated the Yün Prefecture to the *Western Capital* [in 1044]. Thus, five capitals were complete" (WF 61, Chinese changed to *pinyin*, dates inserted by me). WF remark in Note 14: "The names of the five capitals indicate their relative geographic position. The Northern capital is not called Beijing 北京 but Shangjing 上京, the Supreme Capital. The name indicates the military and political key position held by the territory of the Supreme Capital." Thus, the five capitals were the following:

(1) Supreme Capital *Shangjing* 上京 (former Northern Capital, *Beijing* 北京) (K119), Mongol *Boro Hoton* (WF62);
(2) Eastern Capital *Dongjing* 東京 (former Southern Capital) (K94), Liao yang administration, *Liaoning* (WF 68);
(3) Southern Capital *Nanjing* 南京 (former Yu Prefecture during the Tang, see WF79n), called also *Yanjing* 燕京 (K119, WF79);
(4) Western Capital *Xijing* 西京 (former Yün Prefecture) (K126), *Datong* county (WF81);
(5) Central Capital, *Zhongjing* 中京 (walled by Shenzong, 1122 the Central Capital was captured by the Jin solders, *Cagan suburgan* (WF 76).

We will now turn to Khitan. The Khitan word for 'capital' is **ging** 𐘪𐘼𐘲 (334.303) ⟨g.ing⟩ a clear loanword from Chinese *jing* 京 LMCh, EMCh *kiajŋ*. In the Khitan Small Script we have a phrase mentioning only Four Capitals: 𐘯𐘪𐘼𐘲 𐘦𐘼𐘴 (369 334.303.254.140) ⟨FOUR g.ing.d.en⟩ 'of the four capitals' (genitive case, Tai19–25/26), excluding the Central Capital.

2 Yasanori Takeuchi (2015) wrote a paper titled the "Direction terms in Khitan". My point of departure and some of my results differ, but at the relevant places I will come back to his views.

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2 The Supreme or North Capital and the Logograph for 'North'

Before we will treat the Khitan name for the Supreme Capital, we have to fix that there exist several words with seemingly the same pronunciation, but written with different glyphs:

(1) **u'ur 𘲢 𘲡** (131.236) ⟨u.ur⟩, occurs in the Index 158 times,
(2) **u'ur 𘲢 𘲡** (372.236) ⟨ū.ur⟩ occurs only once in Xiang2–9,
(3) **u'ur 𘲢 𘲣** (372.097) ⟨ū.úr⟩ occurs 39 times.

The word (2) **𘲢 𘲡** (372.236) ⟨ū.ur⟩ appears in the context: **u'ur ay 𘲢 𘲡 𘲤** ⟨ū.ur ai⟩ 'forefather'. This phrase is present also with **𘲢** (131) as:

- **u'ur ay 𘲢 𘲡 𘲤** (131.236 122) ⟨u.ur ai⟩ 'ancestor, former, first father', (K84, 193, DiX2–11, 2–17, 2–26, 3–5, 3–11, 3–17, Xiang7–5, WJ 57), in genitive case as:
- **u'ur ay-en 𘲢 𘲡 𘲤 𘲥** (131.236 122.140) ⟨u.ur ai.en⟩ 'of the ancestor' (Nan4–11 and so on).

Consequently, the single (2) **u'ur 𘲢 𘲡** (372.236) ⟨ū.ur⟩ in Xiang2–9 is only an orthographical variant, the glyphs **𘲢** (131) and **𘲢** (372) are interchangeable, and we have only two different, seemingly homophonous words. The word (1) **u'ur 𘲢 𘲡** (131.236) has beside the meaning (a) ancestor etc.' also the meaning (b) 'upper, supreme, North' in the following construction:

- **u'ur ging 𘲢 𘲡 𘲦 𘲧** (131.236 334.303) ⟨u.ur g.ing⟩ 'The Supreme capital, *Shang jing* 上京 (K119)', mostly in genitive case:
- **u'ur gingen 𘲢 𘲡 𘲦 𘲧 𘲥** (131.236 334.303.140) ⟨u.ur g.ing.en⟩ 'of the Supreme Capital' (Hong4–30/31, Nan25–13/14, 33–7/8, Tu10-35–11-1, Qing8–38/39). The word for 'capital' ⟨g.ing⟩ may also be in locative case as in: ⟨s.i g.ing. de⟩ (Zhong16–24), ⟨t.le g.ing.de⟩ (Zhong24–41), see below, but ⟨u'ur⟩ does not occur in locative case. However, it occurs in genitive case once in GuD20–13 as ⟨u.ur.en⟩ **𘲢 𘲡 𘲩** (131.236.361) and ten times as ⟨u'ur.ń⟩ **𘲢 𘲡 𘲪** (131.236.222). The palatalized ⟨ń⟩ **𘲪** may point to a final but not written /i/.

The word (1) **u'ur 𘲢 𘲡** (131.236) ⟨u.ur⟩ has further the meaning (c) 'administrative district, division, Ch *yuan* 院'. For this meaning, see e.g.:

- **Six u'ur 𘲫 𘲢 𘲡** (085.131.236) ⟨SIX u.ur⟩ 'the Six Divisions' (Nan4–6, DiX25–3, 26–4),
- **North u'ur 𘲬 𘲢 𘲡** (001.131.236) ⟨NORTH u.ur⟩ 'the North Division' (Nan15–5/6, 17–9/10, 20–33/34, DiX27–15, Xiang11–26),
- **North South u'ur 𘲬 𘲭 𘲢 𘲡** (001 294 131.236) ⟨NORTH SOUTH u.ur⟩ 'the North and South Divisions' (Hong3–17/19),
- **South u'ur 𘲭 𘲢 𘲡** (294 131.236) ⟨SOUTH u.ur⟩ 'the South Division' (Nan20, DiX14–10),

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- **tawun u'ur** 𘮫𘰾 𘲭𘰇 (029.273 131.236) ⟨tau.un u.ur⟩ 'the Five Divisions' (Xiang7–15, 18–22),
- **cigen u'ur** 𘳿𘲦𘲈 𘲭𘰇 (162.334.140 131.236) ⟨ci.g.en u.ur⟩ 'the Left Division' (Xuan2–1/2),
- **Liangan ger u'ur** 𘲈𘲉 𘲱𘲏 𘲭𘰇 (261.314.011 319.341 131.236) ⟨l.iang.an go.er u.ur⟩ 'the district of the Liang House' (Xuan11–3/4).

The above words have to be separated from (3) 𘲭𘲒 ⟨u.úr⟩ 'donation, giving'. This word may be connected with Mong *ög-* 'to give' on which see Róna-Tas (2017: 166, with earlier bibliography). Here only two examples:

- **aymo u'ur** 𘲈𘲍 𘲭𘲒 (122.021 131.097) ⟨ai mo u.úr⟩ 'parental donation' (Nu22–15/17),
  a'ay u'ur 𘲈𘲈 𘲈𘲈 𘲭𘲒 (178 189.122 131.097) ⟨a.ai u.úr⟩ 'what was given by the father(s)' (Chan 10–19/20).

The words for (1a) 'ancestor, the above' and (1b) 'upper, supreme, North' are etymologically of the same origin. The word (1c) 'division, district' and the word (3) 'donation, the given' are of different origins, respectively. A possible etymology for (1) may be:

- **u'ur** 𘲭𘰇 (131.236) ⟨u.ur⟩, **u'ur** 𘲭𘰇 (372.236) ⟨ū.ur⟩ 'the former, the above; supreme' | Mo **uri* in: *urid*, *urida* 'before', *urji edür* 'day before yesterday', DaE *ward*, 'before' (see WJ 57). Kane (2009) read ⟨ú.ur⟩, Chinggeltei (2010), Wu & Janhunen (2010), Yoshimoto (2012 cited by Takeuchi 2015) ⟨u.ur⟩, CWJ (2017) ⟨u'ur⟩, only Takeuchi (2015: 458) read ⟨u.ud⟩. The value ⟨ud⟩ according to Takeuchi appears in the word 𘍞𘲭𘰇 (247.199.236) in the Xiao Zhonggong inscription [AD 1150, Zhong] line 14 according to Ji Shi (1996: 127), which he read as ⟨t.ang.ud⟩. This has to be a misunderstanding. The word occurs twice in the Xuan inscription, lines l0–28, and 11–12, and in both cases it was read correctly by CWJ as ⟨t.ang.ur⟩. The Old Khitan form ***uri** may be the cause why the genitive case is in -⟨ń⟩.

There also exists a logograph 𘰾 (001), which according to Kane has the meaning (a) 'ABOVE, NORTH', and according to Wu and Janhunen 'NORTH'. CWJ read it as ⟨hoi⟩. According to Kane (K36) there exists a combined logograph 𘍿 (009) also with the meaning 'NORTH', which, consists of 𘰾 + 𘲱 (001+254), where the second part is the plural ending ⟨d⟩, and according to Kane this glyph 𘍿 (009) occurs in Gu17 where it corresponds to *zhengqi* 正妻 'first wife, senior wife'. However, (009) is not in line 17 of Gu published by CWJ (p. 1019) and the glyph was not included into the Indexes of CWJ. On the other hand -d written separately may occur after NORTH. In some contexts the logograph (001) appears to mean (b) 'ancestors', i.e. those 'above' or 'those who have gone

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before'. In other contexts 一公 (001.254) ⟨NORTH.d⟩ seems to mean 'northern administration, the administration of the upper region' (K36), which occurs 20 times in the Corpus, see Index p. 1621. The two glyphs occur in Xiang11–38 where they figure in a title:

- 一公马刘公今各火 (001.254 147.177.251 254.175.273) ⟨NORTH.d ju_3.ur.n s.eng. un⟩. The reading of (177) is controversial, C read ⟨us⟩, K ⟨ra?⟩, A ⟨uldʒ, uldʒi⟩, CWJ read ⟨úr⟩ (see below). In any case, he (the father of Xiangwen, the owner of the epitaph) was the Fieldmarshal (*sengün*) of the Northern ?Jurchen. This title occurs also in Xiang26–3, where we find that also Xiangwen himself got the same title:
- 一公马刘公今各火 (001.254 147.177.251 254.175.273) ⟨NORTH.d ju_3.ur.n s.eng. un⟩, here according to WJ 'the Fieldmarshal of the Northern Jurchen'. We find further:
- 一及化 (001.131.236) ⟨NORTH u.ur⟩ 'the Northern Division' (*beiyuan* 北院' K109, Nan15–5/6, 17–9/10, 20–33/34, DiX27–15, Xiang11–26),
- 一小及化 (001 294 131.236) ⟨NORTH SOUTH u.ur⟩ 'the North and South Divisions' (Hong3–17/19),
- 一十伏廾交 (001.040 222.090.097) ⟨NORTH WEST ń.ó.úr⟩ 'the northwestern tribes' (DiX4–18, 27–23), also in:
- 永永一十伏廾币 (162.162 001.040 222.090.016) ⟨ci.ci NORTH WEST ń.ó.ad⟩ 'Together with the north-western tribes',
- 为十主夫用一小尺岁 (072 040 328 050 302 001 294 159 347) ⟨EAST WEST $hong_2$ 050.il NORTH.SOUTH DAY.oi/er⟩ (Xiang46–5/11). WJ may be correct that the directions may here refer to the universe, or perhaps rather to the eternity, to where the dead Xiangwen passed.

We have two possibilities: either the logograph 一 (001) has the same pronunciation as the word for 'upper, former, north', and then it has to be read as ⟨u'ur⟩, or it has another reading. In the second case it may be read as ⟨hoi⟩, perhaps connected by CWJ with Mong *qoyina* 'behind, north' ⟨**qoi*⟩: *qoyiči* 'future', *qoyimar* 'the back part, north' etc. It is sure that the logogram denotes an independent word, for it occurs 20 times as **hoid** 一公 (001.254) ⟨hoi.d⟩ as in:

- **hoid tele jur gures** 一公今为圣九交今 (001.254 247.093 134 334.097.244) ⟨hoi.d t.le jur g.úr.s⟩ 'the Northern and Southern two countries' (Xing10–15/18),
- **hoid puun jariqo** 一公介火刘化欠 (001.254 241.273 150.235.169) ⟨hoi.d pu.un ja.ri.qó⟩ 'Commander of the Northern Palace (*fu* 府)' (Ren5–19/21),
- **hoid Ngu** 一公 岌及 (001.254 264.131) ⟨hoi.d ng.u⟩ 'the Northern Wu 吴' (Gu17–29/30). As we see *-d* is here not a plural, as was supposed by Kane K36, nor is it the marker of the locative case; it is the suffix of an adjectivizer and can be connected with Mo *-tu/du*, **qoidu* as was also supposed by Yasanori Takeuchi (2015: 460–462).

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3 The East Capital and the Logograph for 'East'

According to Kane (K94) for the meaning 'east' in the KSS (1) 大化 (105.236) is used. There are two other words which also used to mean 'east': (2) 尢化 (092.236) and (3) 尢夾 (092.097). The word (2) 尢化 (092.236) is now read by CWJ as ⟨om.ur⟩ 'east', the variant (3) 尢夾 (092.097) as ⟨om.úr⟩ also with the meaning 'east'. The glyph 尢 (092) was earlier read by WJ as ⟨ud$_2$⟩, by Chinggeltei as ⟨ju⟩, Kane as ⟨yu?⟩, Aisin Gioro ⟨umu⟩, by Takeuchi (2015, 455) as ⟨um⟩ and now by CWJ as ⟨om⟩. The word (2) 尢化 (092.236) ⟨om.ur⟩ occurs seven times, while the word (3) 尢夾 (092.097) ⟨om.úr⟩ occurs 96 times in the Corpus. The system has two other glyphs, 火 (344) and 大 (105), which CWJ read as ⟨ud⟩ and ⟨ud$_2$⟩, respectively, and which may occur before **ging** 'capital'. Let us see first these. In the Corpus there is no **udur** with 火 (344), but there are two cases with 大 (105), both of which occur in the expression:

- **udur ging** 大化九同 (105.236 344.303) ⟨ud$_2$.ur g.ing⟩ 'East Capital' (Nan19–10/11, Gao25–3/4) glossed in both cases by CWJ as *dongjin* 东京. Both have **ging** in genitive case as **gingen**.

Now, 大 (105) and 火 (344) are beyond any doubt alloglyphs. The glyph (344) was read by all authorities as ⟨ud⟩, and (105) was read as ⟨ud$_2$⟩ by Kane, WJ, CWJ and as ⟨do⟩ by Aisin Gioro. There can be no wonder that (344) does not occur in word initial position in the Index, for it is practically impossible to make any difference between the two glyphs. Now let us see a typical case, where the expression is in genitive case:

- ***udur gingen xubuling** 大化九同村兀只舟只小同 (105.097 334.303.140 036.372 311.372 261.303) ⟨ud$_2$.ur g.ing.en xu.ū b.ū l.ing⟩ 'Director of the ministry of revenue of the eastern capital' (Nan19–10/14); on ⟨xū.ū b.ū⟩ 'ministry of revenue', see K39,
- ***udur gingen leung pa'an** 大化九同村劳水业为夬 (105.097 334.303.140 093.345 295.189.011) ⟨ud.ur g.ing.en le.ung p.a.an⟩ 'the *tongpan* of the eastern capital' (Gao25–3/6),
- **omur gingen leung pa'an** 尢化九同村劳水业为夬 (092.097 334.303.140 093.345 295.189.011) ⟨om.ur g.ing.en le.ung p.a.an⟩ 'the *tongpan* of the eastern capital' (Gao23–3/5).[3]

As we see, in the same inscription on two lines far from each other, we find the same expression with 大 (105) and with 尢 (092). The words **udur** and **omur** are both glossed by CWJ with *dongjing* 東京. The conclusion can only be that these two glyphs are also alloglyphs, and we have to read them in the same way, as

3 Kane (K47, 94) cites **udur ging liušeu** 大化九同小丙又土 (105.097 303.334 261.019 028.067) ⟨ud$_2$.ur g.ing l.iu š.eu⟩ 'the *liushou* of the eastern capital, 東京留守' but gives as source only a paper of Liu Fengzhu (1984a).

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was also supposed by WJ (63). Consequently we have to change the readings above from **udur** to **omur**. Further examples:

- **omur ging** 𐰚𐰃𐰼𐰴 (092.236 334.303) ⟨om.ur g.ing⟩ 'eastern capital' (Wu8–30/31), followed by an undeciphered word. Also:
- **omur gingen lin šiu** 𐰚𐰃𐰼𐰴 𐰃𐰍 𐰴𐰃𐰍 𐰠𐰃𐰺 (092.236 334.303.140 261.018 028.019) ⟨om.ur g.ing.en l.in š.iu⟩ 'the *linšiu* of the Eastern capital' (Yu21–47/48). The word also occurs in other compositions, as in:
- **omur giung** 𐰚𐰃𐰼𐰴 𐰴𐰇 (092.236 334.019.273) ⟨om.ur g.iu.ung⟩ 'Eastern Palace *donggong* 東宮', in the title:
- **omur giungun tunggün ši siangen iri temlegey** 𐰚𐰃𐰼𐰴 𐰴𐰇 𐰚𐰃 𐰴𐰇 𐰚𐰃 𐰴𐰇 𐰚𐰃 𐰴𐰇 (092.236 334.019.273 202. 345 344.329 180 244.314.140 339.235 247.257.261.349.020) ⟨om.ur g.iu.ung.un tu.ung g.ün sï s.iang.en i.ri t.em.l.ge.y⟩ 'he was conferred the title of the Military Governor (*tongjun shixiang* 統軍師相) of the Eastern Palace' (DiX10–18). It occurs also in the meaning: 'beginning':
- **poon mocie omur uul** 𐰚𐰃𐰼𐰴 𐰚𐰃𐰼𐰴 (279.154 133.162.348 092.236 131.366) ⟨po.on m.ci.e om.úr u.ul⟩ 'within a second of time the beginning of the winter (came)' (DiX47–9/12),
- **omur ay** 𐰚𐰃𐰼𐰴 𐰀 (092.097 122) ⟨om.úr ai⟩ 'first year' (Xing2–27, Da05–33, Xuan4–3 etc.).[4]

The glyph 𐰚 (072) EAST is a logograph. According to C and K it is an alloglyph of 𐰚 (101) 'younger brother' and has to be read as *deu* (K94), while according to CWJ 𐰚 (101) should be read as ⟨dor$_2$⟩. This glyph occurs 23 times. In line 42–7/12 of the Xiang inscription we read 𐰚𐰃𐰼𐰴 𐰚𐰃 (119.097.144 295.072. 205) ⟨dau.úr.ún p.EAST.de⟩ followed by 𐰚𐰃𐰼𐰴 𐰚𐰃𐰼𐰴 (294.140 311.151.290 168 162.341) ⟨SOUTH.en b.hu.án THREE ci.er⟩. Here the logograph 𐰚 (072) EAST appears after 𐰚 ⟨p⟩, which means that the word for 'east' has to begin with a vowel. The meaning of this word is yet unknown. The word ⟨p.EAST⟩ 𐰚 (295.072) occurs in two inscriptions (Gu19–12) and (Hu21–22), the word ⟨p.EAST.de⟩ 𐰚 (295.072.205) occurs seven times, read by CWJ as ⟨p.dor$_2$⟩ and ⟨p.dor$_2$.de⟩ respectively. The logogram for 'east' occurs in such expressions as:

- 𐰚 (294.072) ⟨SOUTH.EAST⟩ (Yu33–29/30),
- 𐰚 (001.072) ⟨NORTH.EAST⟩ (Yu13–12/13, Di10–16/17, Cha011–2/3),
- 𐰚 (072.040) ⟨EAST.WEST⟩ (Qing17–19/20),

4 As is known, ⟨ai⟩ 𐰀 (122) is a homoglyph, it represents two independent words: (1) 'father', (2) 'year', two homophonous words, but the word for 'year' has the plural in -s **ayis** and the word for 'father' in -d **ayid**.

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- 𐲢𐲰𐲤𐲪𐲨𐲤𐲰 (250.097.189 185.140) ⟨heu.úr.a am.en EAST⟩ (Qing23–11/13),
- 𐲀𐲤𐲦𐲣 (001.040 222.090.097) ⟨NORTH EAST ń.ó.od⟩ 'the northeastern tribes' (Chao11-/4).

It seems to be here the case that the word for 'east' 𐲇𐲦 (092.236) and the logograph for 'east' 𐲤 (072) have different pronunciations, **omur** and **dor**. Takeuchi (2015: 456) suggested the reading **umud** for 'east'.

4 The South Capital and the Logograph for 'South'

The word for 'south' is according to Kane (K119) written as: (1) 𐲁𐲪 (247.093), (2) 𐲁𐲫𐲪 (247.327.093) and (3) 𐲂𐲪 (254.093). The sequence (1) 𐲁𐲪 (247.093) occurs 33 times in the Corpus (once the glyphs are written one under the other, and in 32 cases side by side), while (2) 𐲁𐲫𐲪 (247.327.093) occurs in two inscriptions (Yu, Jue) five times, and the combination (3) 𐲂𐲪 (254.093) occurs 12 times, from which seven times in Zhong.

The first consonants are 𐲁 ~ 𐲂 ⟨t ~ d⟩, a variation that represents a frequent case in Khitan orthography. The problem is with the second glyph 𐲪 (093). Kane gives ⟨ge⟩ with question mark, Aisin Gioro reads ⟨ær⟩, CWJ ⟨le⟩, and Takeuchi ⟨ɛrd⟩. This glyph occurs only twice in initial position, more precisely isolated (Da09–19, the other in QingS17–2), which does not help us here. The reading of CJW ⟨le⟩ may be accepted.

- **tele/dele** 𐲁𐲪 / 𐲂𐲪 ⟨t.le / d.le⟩ may be connected with Mong *düli* 'half, middle, middle of the day, night, noon', *qoyar düli* 'the two middles: noon and midnight' (L). In Dahur 'midday' is according to Enkhbat (1984: 47) *udur dwand*, Martin (1961: 291) has *udure duande*, similar expressions in the data of Muromski: *udur duandä*, *uduri duańda* 'Mittag' (Kałużyński 1970: 140) and Poppe (1930, 1934/1935). The Mongolian word is a loan from WOT, see Chuv *tĕl*, *tŏl* 'place, time' < **dül*, OT *tüš* 'time, midday, the place for a stop at midday, noon' and Hungarian *dél* 'south, midday' (Róna-Tas & Berta 2011: 291–294). In Dahur 'south' is *əməl* (DaE), *emele* (Martin), *emen*, *emel*, *emüne*, *emende* (Muromski) etc., all connected with Mong *emüne*, *ömüne* 'south, in front, before'. The Khitan word occurs among others in the following expressions:

- **tele ging** 𐲁𐲪𐲉𐲋 (247.093 334.303) ⟨t.le g.ing⟩ called by the Chinese either *Yan jing* 燕京 (K119, *Yan* is the name of a circuit, modern Beijing, see WF Index under Capitals) or '*Nanjing* 南京 the Southern Capital'. In the Corpus the following forms can be found:
- **dele ging** 𐲂𐲪𐲉𐲋 (254.093 334.303) ⟨d.le g.ing⟩ 'the Southern Capital' (Zhong, 16–2/3, Zhen16–48/49),

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- **tiele ging** 令文月八同 (247.327.093 334.303) ⟨t.ie.le g.ing⟩ 'id.' (Yu14–4/5). Further in locative case:
- **tele gingde** 令月八同矢 (247.093 334.303.204) ⟨t.le g.ing.de⟩ (Zhong19–25/26, 24–40/41), in genitive case:
- **tele gingen** 令月八同木 (247.093 334.303.140) t.le g.ing.en⟩ (Yu21–17/18, 21–47/48, 22–54/55, 25–18/19, 39–10/11, Nan23–27/28, Gao18–6, 20–2/3, Tu10–23/24, Gu8–20/21, Jue19–21/22, 26–29/30). The word 令月 ⟨t.le⟩ occurs only once in genitive case in:
- **teleiń** 令月伏而羽父 (247.093.222 022.152.341) ⟨t.le.ń cau.ji.er⟩ 'the solder of the South' (Tu2–12). Also: five times as **tiele** 令文月 ⟨t.ie.le⟩, three times in Yu, twice in Jue:
- **tiele gingen** 令文月八同木 (247.327.093 334.303.140) ⟨t.ie.le g.ing.en⟩ (Yu14–5–6, 37–75/76),
- **tiele gingde** 令文月 八同矢 (247.327.093 334.303.204) ⟨t.ie.le g.ing.de⟩ (Yu11–60).
- **tiele** CHIEF **ńour** 令文月午伏廾夾 (247.327.093 195 221.090.097) ⟨t.ie.le CHIEF ń.ó.ur⟩ 'the Southern Major Tribe' (Jue24–51/53),
- **tiele giungdu** 令文月八丙凡 (247.327.093 334.019.179) ⟨t.ie.le g.iu.ung.dú⟩ 'to the Southern Palace' (Jue24–56/57). 令月 ⟨t.le⟩ (247.093) occurs further in the following contexts:
- **tele giungun tunggün sa'ai** 令月 八丙ㄨ 月ㄨ八亦 令月半 (247.093 334.019.345 202.345 334.329 244.189.122) ⟨t.le g.iu.ung.un tu.ung g.ün s.a.ai⟩ 'when he was holding the position of the Military Governor (*tongjun* 統軍) of the Southern Palace' (DiX10–23, 11–1/4).
- **tele hongtai** 令月主公 (247.093 075 374) ⟨t.le.hong$_2$ tai⟩ 'the Southern Hongtai, name of a prefecture' (DiX20–10).
- **tele hong** 令月主 (247.093 328) 'Southern Hong', an abbreviated name of a prefecture' (Xiang24–35). The glyph for ⟨hong⟩ 主 occurs with the names of directions in Xiang46–5 as: ⟨EAST WEST hong$_2$ 050.il NORTH SOUTH Day.oi/er⟩ (Xiang46–5). With d-公:
- **dele gingen** 公月八同木 (254.093 334.303.140) ⟨d.le g.ing.en⟩ 'of the South Capital' (Zhong1–1/2, 23–46/47, Xian5–26/27),
- **dele gingde** 公月 八同矢 (254.093 334.303.205) 'at the South Capital' (Zhen16–23),
- **dele tagiuren** 公月令丑化木 (254.093 247.160.236.140) ⟨d.le t.giu.ur.en⟩ 'South Tagiur (gen)' (Zhong14–14),
- **dele moer tebuya šurol dele ging šalsen ojuġu** 公月而父令生百又交廾ㄐ 公月又方令木及子列 (254.093 021.341 247.196.020 028.097.252.261 254.09.028.098.244.140 186.149.151) ⟨d.le mo.er t.bu.ya š.úr.o.l d.le ging š.al.s.en o.ju.hu⟩ (Zhong15–57 16–6),

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- **dele pu'un jariqo** 𘮩𘮓𘮬𘮆𘮃𘮇𘮭 (254.093 241.273 150.235.169) ⟨d.le pu.un ja.ri.qó⟩ 'the commander of South Palace (*fu*)' (Xu25–11/13),
- **dele tung gün** 𘮩𘮓𘮏𘮆 (254.093 202.345) ⟨d.le tu.ung [g.ün]⟩ 'south Military [Governor] (*tongjun* 統軍)' (Zhu019–12/13).[5]

There exists also another expression for 'south': **tierad** 𘮆𘮬𘮐𘮩 (247.327.084.254). In:

- **tierad gingen** 𘮆𘮬𘮐𘮩𘮈𘮏𘮋 (247.327.084.254 334.303.140) ⟨t.ie.ra.d g.ing.en⟩ (Wu12–24/25), according to CWJ *Nanjing*.

The basic word **tiera** 𘮆𘮬𘮐 (247.327.084) ⟨t.ie.ra⟩ occurs 14 times in the corpus, to which I will come back. The form 𘮆𘮬𘮐𘮩 ⟨t.ie.ra.d⟩ (247.327.084.254) occurs three times in the corpus. According to CWJ 443 it has the meaning '*nan*, 南 south'. The glyph 𘮬 (327) is a dotted variant of 𘮭 (326) and was read by all authorities as ⟨ie⟩, in word-initial position it may be read as ⟨ye⟩. More interesting is 𘮐 (084), C first read ⟨li, la⟩, A read ⟨æl, ær⟩, but K and WJ and finally CWJ read ⟨ra⟩. The glyph occurs frequently in word-initial position. It occurs 12 times in the name written **Ralo'on** 𘮐𘮃𘮄𘮏𘮇 (084.261.090.186.322) ⟨ra.l.ó.o.ón⟩, which is the "second name" of the owner of the inscription DiX, whose first name was Tiluh (Dilu). The Khitan sequence was Tiluh Ralo'on, while the Chinese name form is Xiao Dilu. The name occurs further in the inscriptions Hong, Zhi, Di, Liang Xian, and Hu and must have been a frequent name. The name has to be of Khitan origin. Similar and perhaps related words are: ⟨ra.l.ó.ji⟩, ⟨ra.l.ó.o.or⟩, ⟨ra.l.ó.o.on.er⟩, ⟨ra.l.ó.ui⟩, ⟨ra.l.ó.ul.ha.ai⟩, ⟨ra.l.ó.ul.ha.s⟩, ⟨ra.l.ó.ul.ha.a.l⟩, ⟨ra.l.ó.ul.ha.a.án⟩, ⟨ra.l.ó.ul.ir$_2$⟩, ⟨ra.l.ó.ul.hu⟩, ⟨ra.l.ó.ul.ji⟩. Whether it has the same meaning as Ch *xiao* 蕭, the Chinese name of the clan of the imperial consorts is unknown. One is tempted to think that the Khitan word may be connected with the Mong word *arig*, *arigui*, *arigun* 'pure, holy' < **ari-*, but no data has come up until now to corroborate this idea.

In 𘮈𘮬𘮐𘮩 ⟨t.ie.ra.d⟩ (247.327.084.254) the ⟨d⟩ is an adjectivizer suffix, occurring also elsewhere in the names of directions. The three occurrences are once in Wu (see above) and twice in Hu:

- (1) 𘮃𘮁𘮅𘮂 𘮈𘮬𘮐𘮩𘮄𘮀 (295.186.212.080 247.327.084.254 099.189) ⟨p.o.od.ii t.ie.ra.d ad.a⟩ (Hu4–19–20) and
- (2) 𘮋𘮌𘮍 𘮈𘮬𘮐𘮩𘮏𘮆𘮉𘮊𘮎𘮀𘮄𘮀𘮅𘮏𘮀𘮄𘮀 (167.250.097 247.327.084. 254 334.133 170 098.051.198 033 251.184.097.001 339 075) ⟨gur heu.ur t.ie.ra.d g.m MR.al.ha.a.al iši n.am.úr NORTH i hong ju$_2$⟩ (Hu39–1/11).

5 CWJ glossed 同 *tong* 'the same etc.'. But ⟨tu.ung⟩ is the first part of the title ⟨tu.ung g.ün šï s.iang⟩ (see DiX10, WJ p. 80–81), the following word is illegible.

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In (1) above ⟨p.o.od.ii⟩ is not ⟨po⟩ 'time' but *pod 'return' with the converbal marker ⟨ii⟩. The glyph ⟨ad⟩ was read by CWJ as ⟨at⟩, but Index has correctly ⟨ad⟩. This word occurs only twice in the Corpus. The other occurrence is in Tu3–22, where the meaning is also yet not clear. It may be a geographical name, Ad, and an abbreviated form of the existing

- **Ada'an** 丌为夭 (099.189.011) ⟨ad.a.an⟩ 'of Dong Dan, Eastern Dan Ch 東丹 in *Adan guren* 'Kingdom of Adan' (D8–3) || *Adan* or *Dan* (WF112–113note9, WJ74) is the former Bohai. If this is acceptable, then the expression has the meaning, '(he) was returning to South Ada (Bohai)'.

(2) The second occurrence of ⟨t.iera.d⟩ is in a poem. The words are more or less understandable: "three spring *tierad* gold, a verb ending in *-alġaal*, nine autumn north *i hong-ju*". In this poem spring (heu.ur) *tierad* and autumn (n.am.úr) *north* are in a poetic parallel. It may be concluded that tierad has to mean 'south'. The word ⟨tierad⟩ has the same -d adjectivizer as discussed above, the basic word is 今文斥 (247.237.084) ⟨t.ie.ra⟩, which occurs in the Corpus 14 times. There is also a form ⟨t.ie.ra.hu⟩, attested once. The word ⟨t.ie.ra⟩ has also to mean 'south' in the following examples:

- 今文斥分夃 (247.327.084 241) ⟨t.ie.ra pu.u⟩ 'the South Region (*fu* 府)' (Xing25–18),
- 今文斥伙欠子 (247.327.084 221.169.149) ⟨t.ie.ra ń.qó.ju⟩ 'South Ńaqoju' (Ren19–16).
- 今文斥朮土 (247.327.084 162.067) ⟨t.ie.ra c.eu⟩ 'the South Prefecture (*zhou*)' (Chao18–4/5).

Now we are confronted with three denominations for 'south': **tele** 今为 ⟨t.le⟩ (247.093), **tiele** 今文为 (247.327.093) ⟨t.ie.le⟩ and **tiera** 今文斥 (247.327.084) ⟨t.ie.ra⟩. There is, however, also a logograph for 'south', which is 小 (294) 'SOUTH', read by C ⟨em⟩, K ⟨sio?⟩, A ⟨daer⟩. The suggested reading ⟨sio⟩ by Wang Hongli (1986, see K 119) is based on the Chinese mnemonic *xiao* 小 and is improbable as a reading. Takeuchi suggested to read ⟨*dɛr⟩, CWJ read ⟨dele⟩. According to Kane the logograph may also mean 'tribe, ethnic group, kinship group'. The logograph occurs in basic form 70 times in the Corpus. A few examples:

- 小夃化 (294.131.236) ⟨SOUTH u.ur⟩ 'South Division' (Nan20, DiX14–9), see also:
- 小夃化屮丞为 (294.131.236 261.270.189) ⟨SOUTH u.ur l.m.a⟩ 'the *linya* 林牙 of the South District' (Yu7–26/28),
- 小为今屮岔冇 (294.072 247.261.349.020) ⟨SOUTH.EAST t.l.ge.y⟩ (Yu33–29/30). The adjectival form in ⟨.hu⟩ occurs 14 times as in:
- 小列伙廾奕 (294.151 221.372.097) ⟨SOUTH.hu ń.ū.úr⟩ 'the Southern Tribe, the Diela tribe' (Xiang5–18,7–10, Nan5–6, 6–15). The word occurs in genitive

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case 17 times, and in such cases the logograph 小 (294) seems to have the meaning 'equal, the same, of the same patrilineal clan' and is in genitive case:

- 小 村 方 (294.140 101) ⟨SOUTH.en deu⟩ CWJ: '*tongbaodi*, 同胞敵 sibling' (Yu63–21).
- 小 村 才 方 (294.140 335 101) ⟨SOUTH.en ia deu⟩ CWJ: '*tongbao xiongdi* 同胞兄敵 (Song18–22) younger brother'.
- 毛 小 村 方 (026 294.140) ⟨ONE SOUTH.en deu⟩ 'one younger brother of the siblings, CWJ: *tongbao di* 同胞弟' (Hu27–9). We have also:
- 小 列 本 关 才 (294.151.123 335) ⟨SOUTH.hu.ar.i ia⟩ CWJ: *tongfuyi muxiong* 同父異母兄 'sibling from the same father but different mother'.
- 毛 小 村 半 公 (026 294.140 122.254) ⟨ONE SOUTH.en ai.d⟩ 'one male relative (in plural?!)' (Yu6–39/41), cf. also:
- 方 十 主 夫 用 一 小 尺 炎 (072 040 328 050 302 001 294 159 347) ⟨EAST WEST $hong_2$ 050.il NORTH SOUTH DAY.oi/er⟩ (Xiang46–5/11), see above.

SOUTH as a logograph occurs also as a base of further derivations as in:

- 小 丑 本 (294.051.123) ⟨SOUTH.ha.ar⟩ (Xiang23–18, 40–22, 44–11, 46–10),
- 小 列 本 关 (294.151.123.339) ⟨SOUTH.hu.ar.i⟩ (Xiang7–15). This points to the possibility that SOUTH may be backvocalic. Further derivations may be: ⟨SOUTH.ha.al.ha.ai⟩, ⟨SOUTH.ha.al.hu⟩, ⟨SOUTH.ha.al.hu.iú⟩, ⟨SOUTH.ha.ai⟩, ⟨SOUTH.ha.ar⟩, ⟨SOUTH.ha.ar.i⟩, ⟨SOUTH.ha.a.al⟩ ⟨SOUTH.ha.a.án⟩, ⟨SOUTH.ha.án⟩, ⟨SOUTH.ó.ji.en⟩, ⟨SOUTH.ó.ji_2⟩.

We have, then, four basic words in Khitan for 'south', three of which are written by syllabic glyphs: (1) 今 方 ⟨t.le⟩ / 公 方 ⟨d.le⟩, (2) 今 文 方 (247.327.093) ⟨t.ie.le⟩ and (3) 今 文 斥 ⟨t.ie.ra⟩, and one with a logograph, (4) 小 (294), which is also used for other meanings and as a verbal base. When it is used as verbal base it takes back vocalic suffixes. It is almost sure, that the first three are the same word written in different ways and are orthographical variants of a Khitan form ***dele**.

5 The West Capital and the Logograph for 'West'

According to Kane (K126) 'western' is in Khitan 今 关 (244.339), which is a Chinese loanword, ⟨s.i⟩ 'western' ← Ch *xi* 西, LMCh *siaj*, EMCh *sɛj*, so also Takeuchi (2015, 457). The logograph is 十 (040). It is interesting that the logograph is a part of the glyph ⟨s⟩ 今. The reading of 今 has to be ⟨se⟩ and the word is rather /sei/ if this is a loanword from Chinese. The word occurs as an independent form 28 times in the Corpus, as in:

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- **sei ging** 𐰴𐰃 𐰇𐰉 (244. 339 334.303) ⟨s.i g.ing⟩ 'the Western Capital' *Xi jing* 西京' (K126, Jue16–51/52),[6]
- **sei gingde** 𐰴𐰃 𐰇𐰉𐰍 (244. 339 334.303) ⟨s.i g.ing.de⟩ 'in the Western Capital' (Zhong16–23/25),
- **sei güren** 𐰴𐰃 𐰇𐰚 (244.339 334.097.140) ⟨s.i g.ur.en⟩ 'of the West State' (Ren25–16/17),
- **sei du günen baqa** 𐰴𐰃 𐰓𐰇 𐰇𐰚 𐰉𐰆 (244.339.237 334.329.140 311.168) ⟨s.i.du g.ün.en b.qo⟩ 'of the son of the West Military Governor (*dujun* 督军)' (Yu6–25/28),
- **sei gui** 𐰴𐰃 𐰇𐰤 (244.339 334.262) ⟨s.i g.ui⟩ 'the Western state (*guo* 國)' (Han5–14/15),
- **sei gui tai ong baqa** 𐰴𐰃 𐰇𐰤 𐰉𐰃 𐰆𐰚 𐰉𐰆 (244.339 334.262 374 071.154 311.168) ⟨s.i g.ui tai ong b.qo⟩ 'the son of the great king (*dai wang*) of the West state (*guo* 國)' (Qing5–30/34).
- **sei gui ongon baqa** 𐰴𐰃 𐰇𐰤 𐰆𐰚 𐰉𐰆 (244.339 334.262 071.154 311.168) 'the son of the king (*wang*) of the West state' (Cha7–1/4, 7–34/37),
- **sei giu** 𐰴𐰃 𐰇𐰣 (244.339 334.019) ⟨s.i g.iu⟩ 'the Western Palace' in:
- **sei giuun liu šeu polor** 𐰴𐰃 𐰇𐰣 𐰚 𐰞 𐰣 𐰇 𐰋 𐰴 (244.339 334.019.273 261.019 028.067 295.186.157.076) ⟨s.ei g.iu.un l.iu š.eu p.o.l$_3$.or⟩ '(he) became the liushei (*liushou*) of the western Palace' (Jue20–54/58). The sequence ⟨s.i⟩ 𐰴𐰃 (244.339) occurs also in transcriptions of other Chinese words, as far as I can judge, always with the rhyme *-ei* or similar.

The logograph for 'west' is 𐰣 (040). As we have seen, it is a part of the glyph for ⟨s(e)⟩ 𐰴 (244). It occurs 40 times as an independent word in the Corpus. C and CWJ read ⟨ör⟩ based on Mongolian *örüne* 'west'. In Chao line 20–26 we find 𐰣 𐰴 (040.051) ⟨WEST.ha⟩ in a phrase ⟨gi WEST.ha a.án an …⟩. The following two blocks are not entirely preserved, so it is difficult to decide what the meaning is, but WEST has to be here a back vocalic word. In another passage (Yu40–43) we find ⟨WEST.u.ji⟩ in an unclear context. This may be a converbal form in -ji of a verb, but no more help is available. Forms as ⟨WEST.li⟩, ⟨WEST.i⟩ ⟨WEST.er⟩ ⟨WEST.er.en⟩ are of no help either. Some examples:

- 𐰚 𐰣 𐰋 𐰓 𐰆 (001.040 222.090.097) ⟨NORTH WEST ń.ó.úr⟩ 'the NorthWest tribe' (DiX4–18–20),
- 𐰚 𐰣 𐰋 𐰓 𐰆 𐰢 𐰉 𐰇 𐰴 (001.040 222.090.097 162.196.151.011) ⟨NORTH WEST ń.o.úr ci.bu.hu.an⟩ 'The Northwest tribe Cibuhuan, a name of a tribe'.

6 In: 𐰴𐰃 𐰇𐰉 𐰃𐰃 𐰣 𐰴 𐰇 𐰓 𐰴 𐰇 𐰢 𐰃 𐰴 𐰇 𐰋 𐰃 (244. 339 334.303 294 134 028 098 244.254.140 184.244 370.189) ⟨si.i g.ing SOUTH WEST TWO sh.al s.d.en am.s REGION.a⟩ '(was promoted), the West Capital and the south and west, two border regions (jiangchang) of the Shalsad (?) …", (Jue16–51/59).

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(DiX27–23), perhaps plural of *Cibuhu*, Ch *Zhibugu* or *Zhubugu* may be identical with Zubu, the name of the Tatar confederation (WJ 108).

- 为十主夷用一小尺炎 (072 040 328 050 302 001 294 159 347) ⟨EAST WEST $hong_2$ 050.il NORTH SOUTH DAY.oi/er⟩ (Xiang46–5/11), see above.
- 一公令为圣几交仝 (001.254 247.093 134. 334.097.244) ⟨NORTH.d t.le TWO g.úr.es⟩ 'North and South, (the) two countries' (Xing10). This logograph occurs once with the marker of the genitive case:
- 十当帅令 (040.361 319.247 ⟨WEST.én go.t⟩ 'the Houses of the West' (Zhen51–3/4). In the accusative or instrumental case:
- 十当公又交令生方业艾 (040.361.341 028.097 247.196. 098.051.082) ⟨WEST.én.er š.úr t.bu.al.ha.aju⟩. The word ⟨š.ur⟩ occurs in Xiang8–9/13 in the expression ⟨ai.d.en š.úr cau.úr⟩ 'the ? army of the fathers'. The logograph is also used for a syllable of other words as in: ⟨WEST.ha⟩, ⟨WEST.u.ji⟩, ⟨WEST.li⟩, all three occurring only once each.

6 The Central Capital

The Central Capital *Zhong jing* 中京 is not mentioned by Kane. In the Corpus we find **cung / jung ging**. This is the Khitan transcription of the Chinese name of the Central City *Zhong jing* 中京. The Khitan word used for 'central' is, among others, ⟨ju.ung⟩ 马火 (147.345), which occurs in the Corpus 38 times:

- **jung ging** 马火 几同 (147.345 334.303) ⟨ju_3.ung g.ing⟩ 'the Central Capital' (Zhen19–2/3), in genitive case:
- **jung gingen** 马火 几同村 (147.345 334.303.140) ⟨ju_3.ung g.ing.en⟩ 'of the Central Capital' (Ling11–9, Nan18–30/31, Nu17–12/13), as e.g. in:
- **jung gingen liušeu** 马火 几同村 业丙 又土 (147.345 334.303.140261.019 028.067) ⟨j.ung g.ing.en l.iu š.eu⟩ 'the *liusheu* of the Central Capital' (Ling11–9/12). The sequence is frequently used in transcriptions, such as:
- **šï jung** 儿马火 (180 147.345) ⟨šï ju_3.ung⟩ 'Chamberlain, Ch *shizhong* 侍中' (WJ82) (DiX11–10/11), also:
- **šï jung** 儿谷马火 (180.353 147.345) ⟨šï.ï ju_3.ung⟩ 'id.' (Xu6–20/21),
- **jung pu** 马火分 (147.345 241) ⟨ju_3.ung pu⟩ 'The central prefecture/palace (*fu* 府)' (Guang16–3/4, Cha5–17/18),
- **junghun tonggim** 马火列火为火几亦 (147.345 151.273 202.345 334.329) ⟨ju_3.ung hu.un tu.ung g.im⟩ 'a title' (Hong4–10/12),
- **tungjung šiumen** 为火马火又片及村 (202.345 135.345 028.289 132. 140) ⟨tu.ung ju_3.ung š.iú m.en⟩ 'a title' (Nan1–20/23, 23–19/21),
- **geren giem jung šiu ling xai gui gung ong** 帅公村几文仝马火又片业同 乂丰几火几火点 (319.34.140 334.327.270 147.345 028.289 261.303 340.122

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334.262 334.345 071) ⟨go.er.en g.ie.ém ju_3.ung š.iú l.ing x.ai g.ui g.ung ong⟩ (Ga01–13/21),

- **jung ong 弓火杰** (135.345 071) ⟨ju_3.ung ong⟩ 'the middle or the loyal king (*wang*)' (Cha12–41/42).
- **jung jïng günzie 弓火友同几亦伞文** (147.345 087.303 334.329 258.327) ⟨ju_3.ung jï.ing g.ün⟩ (Nan20–24/27). According to CWJ **jung** is here *zhong* 忠 'loyal'. The sequence is also written as: **朴土火** ⟨c.eu.ung⟩ in:
- **ceung gingen 朴土火几同村** (162.067.345 334.303.140) ⟨c.eu.ung g.ing.en⟩ 'of the Central Capital' (Tu9–17/18, Hu13–18/19) glossed by CWJ: 中 *zhong*. The transcription or rendering ⟨c.eu.ung⟩ occurs in four more cases: once in the inscription Wu and three times in Jue in transcriptions of different Chinese titles. The sequence ⟨c.eu⟩ is otherwise the transcription of the Chinese term *zhou* 州 'prefecture'.

7 The Khitan Words for 'Left', 'Right', and 'Middle'

As we can see from the above material, **jung**, with some orthographical variants, is used for Chinese *zhong* 中 'middle, center' and also for Chinese *zhong* 忠 'loyal'. However, at least in the Corpus, this term is attested only for rendering Chinese concepts and the corresponding foreign words, and not as a part of the genuine Khitan word stock. This is also the case with **sei** or **si** for 'west'. Therefore we now have to investigate the usage of the actual Khitan words for 'left', 'right' and 'middle'.

As earlier studies (K104, Rykin 2014) have established, the Khitan word for 'left' is **jigen**, also attested in the orthographical variant **cigen**:

- ♦ **jigen 支几村** (104.334.140) ⟨dzi.g.en⟩, **朴几村** (/162.334.140) ⟨ci.g.en⟩ | Mo *jegün* 'east, left'. Da has *solegoi*, DahM *solhoi* <**solugai* ← Mo *solugai* 'left hand, side' (cf. OT *sol* 'left'), Todaeva *jun*. The form **jigen 支几村** ⟨dzi.g.en⟩ (104.334.140) occurs only twice in the Corpus, both times in Hong, while the form **朴几村** (162.334.140) ⟨ci.g.en⟩ occurs 14 times. Examples:
- **jigen u'ur pungca-en iri temlun 支几村及化业当朴为村关化今金业艾** (104.334.140 131.236 295.357 375.189.140 339.235 247.256.261.144) ⟨dzi.g.en u.ur p.úng c.a.en i.ri t.em.l.ún⟩ 'he was granted the title of *fang cha* 訪察 of the left division' (Hong7–10/15, K104),
- **jigen u'ur sien 支几村及化今文** (104.334.140 131.236 244.327 ⟨dzi.g.en u.ur s.ie.én⟩ 'the thousand (*qian* 千) of the left division' (Hong8–5/7).
- **cigen u'ur 朴几村及化** (162.334.140 131.236) 'the left division' (Da02–1/2, Xuan2–1/2, Xu12–38/39, Yu9–62/63, Guang14–7/8, GuD6–17, Wu2–2/3, Liang7–1/2, 8–17/18, Hu1–26/17, PU5–30/31, 13–5/6, Jue13–33/34, Cha8–23/24).

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There are also two attestations of a similar item written as 𐲤𐲁𐲃 (162.334.361) ⟨ci.g.én⟩, that is with ⟨én⟩ 𐲃 (361), both in Qing7–21, 7–45. In both cases this sequence is a part of a name, because it occurs in an enumeration of the sons of the deceased and begins with the word **baqa** 𐲀𐲆 (311.168) ⟨ba.qo⟩.

- **jigen Ng Ge puma** 𐲤𐲁𐲃𐲈𐲉𐲁𐲅𐲆𐲊𐲁 (162.334.361 264 334.348 241 132.189) ⟨ci.g.én ng g.e pu m.a⟩. The title ⟨pu.ma⟩ is Ch *fuma* 駙馬 'imperial son-in-law,' Ng may be the transcription of the Chinese name Wu (Qing7–21/25). In the second case we find:
- [**Gung Dziuun mo baqa**] ONE **jaur pi jigen puma** 𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲁𐲅𐲆𐲊𐲁 (026 015.097 295.339 162.334.361 241 133.189) ⟨ONE jau.úr p.i ci.g.én pu m.a⟩. The word **pi** 𐲅𐲆 (015.097) may represent here, according to CWJ, Ch *fei* 妃 'royal wife or first concubine'; it occurs also as the transcription of Ch *bei* 碑 'memorial stele,' but also in other cases as a part of names. For ⟨pi ci.g.én⟩ the reading **bicigen** is also possible. In this case. it can be connected with Mo *bičі-* 'to write', *bičig* 'script, inscription, letter etc.', *bičigeči* 'scribe' (< OT *biti-*). This would be then a parallel to Tabgach *bidezhen* 比德貞, LMCh *pji* / *pĥji*, EMCh *pji* / *bji*, LMCh *təăk*, EMCh *tək*, LMCh *tʂin*, EMCh *tɕin*. Tabgach **bitigčin*, on which see Ligeti (1970), Vovin (2007), Shimunek (2017: 156–157). However, this is less probable. The sequence **jigen puma** looks more like a title, a class of the imperial son-in-laws. The daughter (**mo baqa**) of Gung Dziu was the first wife of an imperial son-in-law of the left.

The Khitan word for 'right' is also attested in two orthographical variants, **bara'an** and **bara'ian**:

- (1) **bara'an** 𐲀𐲉𐲁𐲊 (311.084.189.011) ⟨ba.ra.a.an⟩, (2) **bara'ian** 𐲀𐲉𐲁𐲋 (311.084.335.011) ⟨ba.ra.ia.án⟩ 'right side' (K72, 114)[7] | Mo *baragun* 'right-hand side, west', Da *baren*, DaE *bar*^{y}. The form **bara'an** occurs six times:
- **bara'an u'ur** 𐲀𐲉𐲁𐲊 𐲌𐲓 (311.084.189.011 131.236) ⟨b.ra.an u.ur⟩ 'the Right Division' (Zhong19–12/13, 19–39/40, Guang21–7/8, Hong9–3/4, Ga017–24/25, Wu21–20/21).

The form **bara'ian** occurs only once in the Corpus:

- **bara'ian u'ur šarid sengun** 𐲀𐲉𐲁𐲋 𐲌𐲓 𐲍𐲀𐲉𐲆 𐲍𐲁𐲉𐲆𐲊 (311.084.335.011 028.198.069 244.175.273) ⟨ba.ra.ia.an u.ur š.a.rí.d s.eng.un⟩ 'the *xiangwen* of the court attendant of the right division' (Nu14–3/6, K114). This confirms that the form 𐲀𐲉𐲁𐲋 ⟨b.ra.ia.an⟩ is only an orthographical variant.

According to Kane (K107) and Wu and Janhunen (WJ87) the Khitan word for 'middle' is: **dawur** 𐲈𐲓 (119.097) ⟨dau.úr⟩:

- **dawur** 𐲈𐲓 (119.097) ⟨dau.úr⟩ 'middle' K107, WJ 87 | cf. Mo *dumda*, Da *Daure* 'Dagur', *duande* 'middle', DaE *dwand*, *dwannə*, cf. Ch *zhong* 中 as 'middle, the

7 The glyph (311) 𐲀 has to be read here as ⟨ba⟩ and not ⟨bo⟩ as in K, or as ⟨eb-är-aa-an⟩ **bäraan** (Ót 201).

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Middle, China', on *daġur* = *Khitan* see Kane (K162–165).[8] This word occurs in the expression

- 𐲍𐲁𐲗𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘 (373 119.097.144 036.177. 365.339 389) ⟨GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.ur qita.ún.i RECORD⟩ 'The record of the Great Liao Khitan of the Middle' (Dao canopy1–2).

Thus, ⟨dau.úr⟩ denoted not only the word 'middle' in space or time, but also the 'center' of the world, and thus the Central Empire, the Empire of the Middle, like *zhong* in Chinese *Zhongguo* 中國. This may be the origin of the ethnic name Dagur, Dahur, Daur. Ivanovski (1894) registered the form *Dayúr*, Poppe (1930) *Daġūr*, *Dayūr*, Muromski (Kałużyński 1969) *dahuru*, Martin (1961) *Daure*. In the Dagur language the CM *-aġu-* bisyllable became *-au-*, cf. LM *daġu* 'voice' > Da *dau*. The ethnic name is written in the Uighur-Mongolian script as , but this may be a modern form of the ethnic name. Enkhbat (1984) is cautious: in all other similar cases he gives a written Mongolian form, but in the case of Daur he does not. The modern Chinese transcription is *dawoer* 达斡尔 which represents a pronunciation [dawur] or [dawor]. Although we have to pay attention to the notions of Muromski and Poppe, at the time being I cannot decide whether the sequence ⟨u.u⟩ in ⟨dau.úr⟩ denoted a long vowel or not, i.e., whether we have to reconstruct *dawur* or **dawūr*.

The word ⟨dau.úr⟩ occurs four more times, once written vertically and three times side by side in block. In the first case (Dao20–35) the two following words are not yet deciphered (244.125 325.169), and even two of the glyphs (125, 325) have an unknown reading. In the next example **daur** stands before a title:

- 𐲍𐲁𐲗𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘 (119.097 254.222 241 028.067.131 254.020 028.067.131 133.140⟩ ⟨dau.úr d.ń pu š.eu.u da.y š.eu.u m.en⟩ (Xu51–8). Interesting is the following passage:
- 𐲍𐲁𐲗𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘 (084.261.090.186.322 009.097 020.274.084.339 328.140 133.186 061.140.140 028.067.041) ⟨ra.l.ó.o.ón da.úr y.iá.ra.i hong$_2$.en m.o bai.en.en š.eu.su⟩ (Hong22–28/33, 23–1). As we have seen above, **Raloon** occurs 12 times in the Corpus and is the name of the Xiao tribe (WJ51–52). The word ⟨y.iá.ra.i⟩[9] is in genitive case. This form occurs three times; in one of the other cases we have:
- **gi yiarai** 𐲍𐲁𐲗𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘 (336 020.274.084) ⟨gi$_2$ y.iá.ra.i⟩ (Yu30–6/7); in the second we find:

8 A similar idea was formulated by G. Kara in one of his lectures at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

9 *Yara* has to be the name of the ruling clan of the Khitan, which occurs in the plural as Yarud 𐲍𐲁𐲗𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘 (020.064.131.344) ⟨y.ra.u.ud⟩. This form occurs 23 times in the Corpus in nominative, in further 11 cases in genitive case: 𐲍𐲁𐲗𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘𐲍𐲉𐲁𐲎𐲁𐲘 (020.064.131.344.339) ⟨y.ra.u.ud.i⟩.

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- **ONE üi bodlu yiarai** 𘰾 𘰇 𘰚𘰽 𘰽𘰼 𘰾𘰼 𘰽𘰾 𘰾𘰽 (026 262 309. 261.131 020.274.084) ⟨ONE üi bod.l.u y.iá.ra.i⟩ (Gu22–8/9). ⟨bod⟩ is a new reading by CWJ, former ⟨hó⟩. The Corpus also has twice ⟨y.iá.ra.l.ha.ai⟩, and once ⟨y.iá.ra.b.ud⟩.

The genitive case of **dawur** is **dawurun** 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇𘰀 (119.097.144) ⟨dau.úr.un⟩ (K22, 107, 149, 189 DiX30–4, Xiang42–7) as in the following phrase:

- **dawur-un u'ul** 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇𘰀 𘰾𘰼 (119.097.144 131.366) ⟨dau.úr.ún u.ul⟩ 'mid-winter (month)' (Lang5–4, CWJ read the glyph 𘰀 (144) as ⟨ir$_2$⟩, the word as ⟨dau.úr.ir$_2$⟩, which occurs 23 times.

The word is also attested in the dative-locative case, or with the suffix **-du**: **dawdu** 𘰾𘰽 (119.249) ⟨dau.dū⟩ 'in the middle, the middle one, etc.' with the loss of -r, or at least without an overt ⟨r⟩. This occurs 35 times in the Corpus. A few examples:

- **dawdu ai** 𘰾𘰽 𘰽𘰾 (119.249 122) ⟨dau.dū ai⟩ 'the middle uncle' (DiX13–6, 16–23, Xiang1–4),
- **dawdu ku** 𘰾𘰽 𘰽𘰼 (119.249.178) ⟨dau.dū ku⟩ 'the middle person (sibling)' (Xiang2–23). Is **ku** here an emphatic particle? (Among the brothers he was the middle?),
- **dawdu baqa** 𘰾𘰽 𘰽𘰾 (119.249 311.168) ⟨dau.dū ba.qa⟩ 'the middle sibling' (Hong2–17/18).

Until now no expression like ***dawur ging** or ***dawdu ging** has been found in the Corpus in Khitan Small Script. Also, one would expect that beside 𘰾𘰇 (119.097) ⟨dau.úr⟩ there existed also a form 𘰾𘰈 ⟨dau.ur⟩ (119.236), with the same second glyph as **u'ur** and **omur**. In the Index there are only two cases which may pertain here: **daurli** 𘰾𘰇 (119.097.080) ⟨dau.ur.li$_2$⟩, which occurs only once in Song17–4 and **daurlihu** 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 (119.236.261.151), which occurs six times. Nevertheless I suppose that the final **-ur** in **dawur** is the same petrified locative as in **u'ur** and **omur**. This may have the same origin as the suffix -r in Mongolian in *gadar* 'outside' cf. *gadaga* 'outside', *gadana* 'outer' etc., and perhaps the suffixal element in *degere* 'on above', *dotora* 'within', *inaru* 'before', *činaru* 'after' (Poppe 1954: 59). The word occurs as **dawur** 𘰾𘰇 (119.097) ⟨dau.úr⟩ 'middle' four times, while ⟨ta.úr⟩ 𘰾𘰇 (229.097) is attested once (⟨ta.úr.en⟩ Xu11–18), and ⟨taw.úr⟩ 𘰾𘰇 (029.097) two times, once in Qing26–26, and once as ⟨taw.úr.un⟩ in Ling3–11. Note that in Mongolian 'centre, central' is *töb*.

There is also a Khitan word for 'central' in the name of the Khitan State, Guang1:

- 𘰀 𘰾𘰽 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 𘰾𘰇 (373 247.362.249 365.339 036.177 334.097.140) ⟨GREAT t.iau.dū qid.i xu.ur g.ur.en⟩ 'the Great Central Khitan Liao State'. Wu1, 48, Nan1, Jue1, Gao1:

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- 又令㚔分玏刻买关几交村 (373 247.362.249 036.177 334.097.140) ⟨GREAT t.iau.dū xu.ur qid.i g.ur.en⟩ 'The Great Central Liao Khitan State'. Zhi1, Hu1:
- 又令㚔分买关几交村 (373 247.362.249 365.339 334.097.140) ⟨GREAT t.iau.dū qid.i g.ur.en⟩ 'The Great Central Khitan State'. Hui1:
- 又仝㚔分玏刻买关几交村 (373 254. 362.249 365.339 036. 177 334.097.140) ⟨GREAT d.iau.dū xu.ur qid.i g.ur.en⟩ 'The Great Central Liao Khitan State'. Hu1:
- 又令㚔分买关几交村刘仝公业出叉村 (373 247.362.249 365.339 334.097.140 144.272 254.251.051.290.140) ⟨GREAT t.iau.dū qid.i g.ur.en bú.d n.ha.án.er/un.en …⟩ 'The Great Central Khitan State's Uncle's …'

As we have seen above, we have in one case in place of ⟨t.iau.du⟩, which is in locative case or has the suffix -du, the expression ⟨dau.úr.ún⟩, which is in genitive case, Da01:

- 又尺交叉玏刻买叉关亩 (373 119.097.144 036.177 365.144.339 389) ⟨GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.ur qid.ún.i RECORD⟩ 'The record of the Great Liao Khitan of the Middle'.

It may be concluded that **tiaudu** 令㚔分 (247.362.249) ⟨t.iau.dū⟩ 'central' (K164), CWJ: *zhongyang* 中央 'Central', once (Hui1) 仝㚔分 (254.362.249) ⟨d.iau.dū⟩ is possibly the same word as **daudu** 尺分 (119.249) ⟨dau.dū⟩ 'middle'. After **t.iau** 令㚔 (247.362) ~ **d.iau** 仝㚔 (254.362) and **dau** 尺 ⟨dau⟩ -r disappears before suffixes beginning with consonants. The variation **dau** ~ **diau** ~ **tiau** resembles the variation **te** ~ **tie** above in the case of 'south', as well as the variation **-ra** ~ **ria** in the case of 'right'. It is possible that this is a hint of the "palatal character" of Khitan vocalism, as mentioned earlier by many scholars.

8 The Khitan Word for Liao

In almost all inscriptions quoted above there occurs an enigmatic word, 玏刻 (036.177), which I translated as 'Liao':

- **xuur** 玏刻 (036.177) ⟨xu.ur⟩. The problem is here with the reading of the second glyph: 刻 (177). C read ⟨us⟩, Kane ⟨ra?⟩, Aisin Gioro ⟨uldʒ, uldʒi⟩ and now CWJ ⟨ur⟩. The word ⟨xu.ur⟩ occurs 23 times in the Corpus. Another form, 玏伇 (036.236) ⟨xu.ur⟩, occurs once (Pu15–7), where it is a name:
- ⟨c.ur.er ba.qó xu.úr eu.ur TEN. EIGHT⟩ 'the age of the second son Xuur was 18'.

Kane (K164) who read ⟨xu.ra?⟩ summarized the earlier ideas on the readings and meanings of **xuur** 玏刻 (036.177) ⟨xu.ur⟩, which include **hulus*, **hola* (= xara), but none of them is convincing. Kane is probably right when he suggests that

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⟨xu.ur⟩ is the same as, or equal to, 'Liao'. ⟨xu.ur⟩ occurs, as we see above, before the name Khitan ⟨xu.ur qid.i g.ur⟩ and after the ethnic name ⟨qid.i xu.ur g.ur⟩, that is, 'the Liao Khitan State' and the 'Khitan Liao State', respectively. Kane also quotes Liu Fengzhu (2006) who claimed that ⟨xu.ur⟩ is the "word for Liao" (K163). The Chinese character for Liao is 遼 EMCh, LMCh *liaw*, which has the basic meaning 'distant', and it is also the name of the great river that has its source from the Khara Mören in Inner Mongolia. According to the present geographical descriptions, the Liao river is the confluence of Laoha River (老哈河) flowing from the southwest and the Xar Moron (Shira Mören) River (西拉木伦河) flowing from the west (Wikipedia).

If the dynastic name originated from the name of the river Liao, as is usually claimed, then there is a possibility that ⟨xu.ur⟩ is the name of the same river in Khitan. Kane (K163) also thought, that perhaps it was the Khitan name of the river Liao. Liu Fengzhu (2006/Kane 163), however, suggested that the word might not refer to the river, but to the more basic sense of the character 遼, as in *liaokuo* 'broad, wide'. It is less probable that ⟨xu.ur⟩ is the word for 'black' which occurs later in the name of the Khara Khitans. For the time being, we may assume that ⟨xu.ur⟩ is the Khitan name of or for Liao.

Perhaps the word ⟨xu.ur⟩ may be connected with Mongolian *qogor* in *qogor dumda* 'right in the middle, among themselves', a hendiadyoin, cf. further *qogurumdu*, *qogurundu* 'between, in between, in the middle', Khalkha *xoor* (Kara 1998), Kalm *xōr* 'Mitte (?)' (Ramstedt 1935), *xoornd* 'v promežutke, meždu' (Kalm Djangar, Todaeva 1976: 459), Ord *xormok* 'qui n'est ni sec ni humide' (< *qogor* 'entre, au milieu'), *xorondu* 'au milieu' (Mostaert 1968), Bur *xoorondo* 'meždu' (Čeremisov 1973), etc. On the idea that 'center, middle' and 'river' may represent two meanings of the same word cf. Mong *goul*/*gol* (1) 'center, main, axis etc.' and (2) 'river, riverbed, valley'. Thus ⟨xu.ur⟩ may have been the Khitan name of the Liao river, but we need further data and arguments.

9 Summary

At this point we have to quote the Liao shi (49 4b, see WF p. 267): "It was the Liao custom to face the east and esteem the left. The imperial tent faced the east, the nine tents of Yao-lian faced the south, and the Three Patriarchal Tents of the imperial clan faced the north. The east-west line was the warp; the north-south line was the woof. Hence the imperial camp was called the Horizontal Tents" [*hengzhang* 橫帳, from *heng* 橫 'crosswise, east to west, horizontal' and *zhang* 帳 'tent'].

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Wittfogel and Fêng added in note 130 that the Song envoys, who visited the Liao empire, noticed that the huts and houses, as well as tents and cart tents all faced the east. From this it is understandable why Taizong "changed the old Southern Capital to be the Eastern Capital". He changed the old Chinese main direction to the old Khitan main direction. Looking to the east, the left, that is the north, became the Supreme direction and the North Capital the Supreme Capital. The Three Patriarchal Tents, that is, the clans related to the empress, faced the north. The warp was the imperial Khitan line (east—west) and the woof the (north—south) line of the clan of the empress, the imperial consort, the clan of the Xiao, the Uighurs.

For the Mongols of the present time the main direction is the south, while for the Turkic tribes the original main direction was the east.

If a tent looks to the east, the left side of the tent is the northern one, this is the part of the family, the side of the mother.[10] This very old custom had been preserved by the Khitan, and this same system is mirrored by the system of the Capitals. The empire was the Great Tent.

We could identify two old suffixes: *-d and *-r, both of which have their parallels in Mongolian. For 'left' we have Khitan **jigen** while Mongolian has **jegün**, for 'right' we have Khitan **bara'an**, while Mongolian has **baragun**, in both cases we have an old suffix ***-gVn** common to Khitan and Mongolian. In the case of Khitan **u'ur**, **omur**, **dawur** we find the same suffix *-**ur**. Typical are the alternative usages of ⟨t⟩ ~ ⟨d⟩, ⟨c⟩ ~ ⟨j⟩ / ⟨dz⟩. There are hints to the "palatal" character of the words **tiele**, **tiera**, **tiau**, **baraian**. Three of the five names of the Capitals are of Khitan origin, in two cases the Khitans used Chinese loanwords. The reading of the logographs is yet only a suggestion made by CWJ, it needs further corroboration. As to the Khitan words, it is visible, that their orthography is in many cases variable and uncertain (see Table 3 below).

10 For a detailed description of the structure of the inside of the Mongolian and Turkic tents see Róna-Tas (1964: 160–163). This book was originally written and published in Hungarian, later translated and published in Russian, Polish and Japanese. There exists a second Russian translation, made from the Polish and published in 2015 under the title *Mongolija sledami nomadov*. Neither the translator nor the editor and the publisher knew that there exists a former Russian translation, and of course nobody asked me.

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TABLE 1 Sigla of the major inscriptions in Khitan Small Script

No	Sigla	Ch	ChS	Date	CWJ page photo	CWJ page
1	Xing	興	兴	1055	603	866
2	Ren	仁	仁	1076	606	880
3	Lang	郎	郎	1134	610	893
4	Dao+gai 'canopy'	道+蓋	道+盖	1101	612	898
5	Xuan+gai	宣+蓋	宣+盖	1101	621	921
6	Ling	令	令	1057(?)	631	935
7	Zhong+gai	仲+蓋	仲+盖	1150	634	945
8	Xu+gai	許+蓋	许+盖	1105	642	979
9	Gu	故	故	1115	652	1012
10	Yu	於	于	1072	658	1023
11	Hai	海	海	unknown	671	1093
12	Guang	廣	广	1053	672	1099
13	Zhen	鎮	镇	1170	679	1115
14	Hong	弘	弘	1100	682	1139
15	Zhuo	涿	涿	1108	691	1159
16	Nan	南	南	1092	692	1165
17	Nu	奴	奴	1099	699	1189
18	Zhi	智	智	1094	710	1208
19	Yong	永	永	1088	716	1224
20	Gao	高	高	unknown	721	1238
21	Di	迪	迪	1101	727	1250
22	Tu	圖	图	1068	735	1274
23	Tai+gai	太+蓋	太+盖	1110	741	1286
24	Song+gai	宋+蓋	宋+盖	1110	749	1302
25	Qing	清	清	1095	757	1315
26	Han	韓	韩	1078	763	1337
27	Chao+gai	抄+蓋	抄+盖	1082	767	1350
28	GuD	姑	姑	1102	773	1365
29	Sa+é 'front piece'	撒+額	撒+额	1100	779	1381
30	Wu	兀	兀	1102	781	1387
31	Liang	梁	梁	1107	792	1410
32	Xian+gai	顯+蓋	显+盖	1175	799	1430
33	DiX	敵	敌	1114	805	1449
34	Xiang	詳	详	1091	815	1470

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TABLE 1 Sigla of the major inscriptions in Khitan Small Script (*cont.*)

No	Sigla	Ch	ChS	Date	CWJ page photo	CWJ page
35	Hu	胡	胡	1091	823	1496
36	Pu+gai	蒲+蓋	蒲+盖	1105	828	1517
37	Jue	玦	玦	1071	834	1531
38	Hui+gai	回+蓋	回+盖	1080	841	1564
39	Cha	查	查	1113	847	1577
40	Shi	師	师	1101	not in CWJ	
41	ShiZh	侍	侍	1091		
42	Wo	斡	斡	1099		
43	Da	大	大	1073		
44	Tian	天	天	1109		

TABLE 2 Sigla of the minor inscriptions in the Khitan Small Script

S1	QingS	慶	庆	unknown	853	1593
S2	GuoS	槨	椁	unknown	not in CWJ	1598
S3	YuanS	圓	圆	unknown	855	1599
S4	BaoS	寶	宝	unknown	856	1601
S5	WanS	完	完	unknown	857	1602
S6	YuS	玉	玉	unknown	858	1603
S7	ShouS	壽	寿	unknown	858	1604
S8	Yu yiS	魚一	鱼一	unknown	858	1604
S9	Yu erS	魚二	鱼二	unknown	858	1605
S10	YanS	硯	砚	unknown	860	1606
S11	Ta yiS	塔 一	塔一	unknown	861	1606
S12	Ta erS	塔 二	塔二	unknown	862	1608
S13	Ba yiS	巴 一	巴一	unknown	863	1608
S14	Ba er	巴 二	巴二	unknown	not in CWJ	1610
S15	Ba sanS	巴 三	巴三	unknown	863	1611
S16	WuS	烏	圆	unknown	not in CWJ	1612
S17	YeS	葉	叶	unknown	864	1612

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TABLE 3 Summary of the Khitan words discussed in this paper

Direction	Glyph	Reading	Logograph	CWJ reading
North, Supreme (Capital)	𘥁𘥂 (131.236) ⟨u.ur⟩	**u'ur**	一 (001)	⟨hoi⟩
East (Capital)	𘥂𘥂 (092.236) ⟨om.ur⟩	**omur**	方 (072)	⟨dor⟩
South (Capital)	𘥃𘥄 (254.093) ⟨d.le⟩	**dele**	小 (294)	⟨dele⟩
	𘥅𘥄 (247.093) ⟨t.le⟩	**tele**		
	𘥅𘥆𘥄 (247.327.093) ⟨t.ie.le⟩	**tiele**		
	𘥅𘥆𘥇 (247.327.084) ⟨t.ie.ra⟩	**tiera**		
West (Capital)	𘥈𘥉 (244.339) ⟨s.i⟩	**sei**	十 (040)	⟨ör⟩
Central (Capital)	𘥊𘥋 (147.345) ⟨ju_3.ung⟩	**jung**		
	𘥌𘥍𘥋 (162.067.345) ⟨c.eu.ung⟩	**ceung**		
Left	𘥎𘥏𘥐 (104.334.140) ⟨dzi.g.en⟩	**jigen**		
	𘥌𘥏𘥐 (/162.334.140) ⟨ci.g.en⟩	**cigen**		
Right	𘥑𘥒𘥓𘥔 (311.084.189.011) ⟨ba.ra.a.an⟩	**bara'an**		
	𘥑𘥒𘥕𘥔 (311.084.335.011) ⟨ba.ra.ia.án⟩	**bara'ian**		
Middle, Central	𘥖𘥗 (119.097) ⟨dau.úr⟩	**dawu-r**		
	𘥘𘥗 (229.097) ⟨ta.úr⟩	**tau-r**		
	𘥙𘥗 (029.097) ⟨tau.úr⟩	**tawu-r**		
	𘥚𘥛𘥜 (247.362.249) ⟨t.iau.dū⟩	**tiau-du**		

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Abbreviations

Languages and Scripts

Bur	Buryat
Ch	Chinese
ChS	Simplified Chinese characters
Da	Dahur, according to Martin (1961)
DaE	Dahur, according to Enkhbat (1984)
DaM	Dahur, according to Muromski in Kałużiński (1969–1970)
EMCh	Early Middle Chinese, according to Pulleyblank (1991)
Kalm	Kalmuck
KSS	Khitan Small Script
LMCh	Late Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991)
Mong	Literary Mongolian according to Lessing (1960)
Ord	Ordos
OT	Old Turkic

Sources

A	Aisin Gioro (2012)
C	Chinggeltei (2002)
Corpus	the material in CWJ (2017)
CWJ	Chinggeltei & Wu & Jiruhe (2017)
Index	the index of CWJ (2017)
K	Kane (2009)
Ō	Ōtake (2017)
Shimunek	Shimunek (2017)
WF	Wittfogel & Fêng (1949)
WJ	Wu & Janhunen (2010)
WOT	Róna-Tas & Berta (2011)

Signs

- ♦ Independent word
- ❖ Derivation, secondary stem, suffixed item
- ■ Example from the Corpus

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