Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series

Denis Sinor, Editor

Volume 173

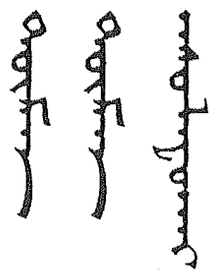


Igor de Rachewiltz

X 108692

The Early Mongols:

Language, Culture and History



Tümen tümen nasulatuγai

STUDIES IN HONOR OF

Igor de Rachewiltz

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY

Edited by

Volker Rybatzki, Alessandra Pozzi

Peter W. Geier and John R. Krueger

Indiana University

The Denis Sinor Institute for Inner Asian Studies

Bloomington, Indiana

2009

Louis Kervyn, Joseph Mullie and the Beginnings of Khitan Studies

Daniel Kane

Everyone with any interest in Khitan knows that the field was initiated with an article by a Belgian priest, Father Louis Kervyn, published in the *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* in 1923. Kervyn's colleague, Joseph Mullie, sent a copy of the article to Pelliot, who published it in *T'oung Pao* in the same year. It was through this article that scholars came to know of the Khitan script, and it marks the beginnings of Khitan studies. Haneda[1] was quick to notice that the script in the Liao imperial tombs at Qingling, attached to Kervyn's article, was the same as the inscription on the stele in front of the tomb of Empress Wu in Xi'an, which was previously thought to be in Jurchen. Equally important was the fact that the inscription in Xi'an, generally known as the Langjun inscription, was clearly a bilingual. This led to many attempts to try to decipher the Liao imperial inscriptions on the basis of the Langjun inscription. This work has proceeded slowly but steadily, but there is still a long way to go. It has taken over eighty years to achieve even a partial translation of the Langjun inscription, and decipherment of the imperial epitaphs is still at its initial stages. Kervyn's article initiated this field. But apart from the fact that he was a Belgian missionary working in Inner Mongolia, practically nothing is known about Kervyn himself.

Louis Kervyn (Chinese name 梅嶺蕊 Mei Lingrui) was born at Hooglede, Belgium on the 3 March 1880. He was educated at the 'minor seminary' (the first four years of high school) at Brugges from 1893-1899. One of his fellow students was Antoine Mostaert, later to achieve fame for his researches into Mongol language and culture. Joseph Mullie was a few years younger. However, as Aubin[2] noted, the CICM congregation at that time prized only missionary achievement, and in no way encouraged intellectual work. It was not expected that Mostaert, Grootaers, Mullie, Henri Serruys, Paul Serruys and other CICM priests would distinguish themselves as scholars.

Kervyn entered the noviatiate of the CICM fathers in 1899. He studied philosophy at Scheut from 1900-05, and theology at the Louvaine Jesuit

[1] Haneda 1925.
[2] Aubin 1999, 31-45.

Seminary from 1902-05. He was ordained on 16 July, 1905 and departed for China on 27 September of the same year. He studied at the Songshuzuizi Language College from 1905-06, was made Deputy Parish Priest at Chaoyang from 1906-08 and Acting Parish priest of Tongjiayingzi from 1908-10.

During this time Kervyn made an enormous effort to compile a huge volume of nearly 900 pages, entitled *Méthode de l'Apostolat moderne en Chine*, which was published in Hong Kong in 1911[3]. The book was granted the *imprimatur* by the Bishop of Eastern Mongolia, Koenraad Abels. It was favourably reviewed (presumably by Mullie) in *Missions Catholiques* in 1912: "*La Méthode de l'apostolat moderne en Chine* est une oeuvre remarquable. Longtemps désirée par tous les missionaires d'Extrême-Orient, elle constitue, pour la première fois, à côté d'une multitude de publications protestantes du même genre, un traité vraiment professional des conditions dans lesquelles s'exerce actuallement la propagation du catholicisime de l'empire chinois ... Grâce à une rare sûreté de méthode et le logique, l'auteur a condensé dans son texte, l'expose substantiel et sans lacune grave de ce qu'il faut savoir... Sur toutes ces questions palpitance d'intérêt de controversées entre missionaires, l'auteur répand de vives lumières avec une surprenante profondeur de coup d'oeil..."[4]. However, as Aubin remarked[5], readers of the late twentieth century feel a sense of discomfort even from reading the table of contents. The mandarinate is a "regime of corruption", a "regime of incompetents", a "regime without honour", "slaves of superstition" and so on. Chapter headings include "pride", "immorality", "egoism", "materialism" and the like, leading to the conclusion that the Chinese are "of an inferior nature". The Chinese clergy also suffer from certain congenital defects: a lack of a sense of administration, ambition for promotion to high office, lack of generosity and so on. Even almost a century after its publication, it is occasionally mentioned as a "negative example". A recent example is Pierre Lefebvre: "A large tome published by Fr. L. Kervyn in Hongkong claimed that «the nature of the Chinese expresses itself in a singular poverty of resources, of virtues and of natural qualities». He asserted that the «indigenous» priests should have «at least the humility or the good spirit to perform the appropriately narrow and minor ministry which is their due, instead of envying the privileges of the immediate superiors and to encroach on their rights and refuse to take

[3] Kervyn 1911.
[4] Quoted in van Hecken 1972, 111-113.
[5] Aubin 2000, 175-176.

directions from them»"[6]. The general aim of Lefebvre's article is to explain that the missionaries saw themselves as part of the *mission civilisatrice*, and the Chinese as "the Other". The way they perceived 'the Other' may appear offensive to people of a later generation, but such was the intellectual and social milieu in which they worked.

It is clear from many contemporary writings that Kervyn was not alone in these attitudes. However, it did not take the sensibility of the late twentieth century to realise the extraordinary offensiveness of this book, even by the standards of the early twentieth century. Van Hecken notes that "there was nevertheless much criticism of this work, and it was declared *taboo* by some people because of the unfavourable description of Chinese customs. The *Missions Catholoqies* gave Kervyn's response to this criticism: "Le R. P. Kervyn ... remercie vivement les missionaires qui ont signalé les lacunes et les défauts de son livre, *Méthode* etc. et leur annonce que l'ouvrage sera remanié à leur entière satisfaction". As van Henken noted[7], this never happened. Van Henken goes on to say that this work "has not always been highly appreciated" by modern missionaries, but that the mentality of missionaries has evolved since Kervyn's day.

Despite its value as a collection of documents on the history of the Church in China, including various imperial edicts and with relevant Chinese characters given in the text, it was removed from the libraries of the CICM libraries, and CICM students training for missionary work in China in the 1920s barely heard of it.[8]

It is not known what effect this episode might have had on Kervyn's career, his relations with his fellow missionaries or his reputation in China. He was recalled to Scheut in September 1912 to lecture in philosophy, and to work in the archives. He was posted back to Eastern Mongolia in September 1913, to a number of posts in fairly rapid succession. In 1919 he was appointed *curé* in Haobaotu (號保圖), the most northern and most desolate of the CICM missions in Eastern Mongolia. At one stage an assistant was sent to keep him company, but that arrangement did not last. He stayed there until 1932, living more or less as a hermit. In his obituary we read, "In this rigorous climate, in this solitude, he was like a hermit in the Sahara, a man who prepared for the conversion of the Mongols in the milieu in which they lived. He also attracted to himself poor Chinese families who had come to find in these northern regions a corner of the earth to eke out a bare existence." Whether or not he went there

[6] Lefebvre 2002.
[7] van Henken 1972, 113-114.
[8] Aubin 2000, 161-184.

voluntarily, or was more or less in exile, is not clear from the records. Haobaotu is 140 *li* to the north of Dayingzi, the location of the Qingling tombs, and 150 *li* from the prefecture of Linxi (Balin), the site of the Liao Supreme Capital.

At that time, of course, neither Kervyn nor anyone else knew that. However, another Belgian priest, Joseph Mullie, had been on the track of the location of the Liao Supreme Capital and the Liao tombs for more than a decade. Mullie visited Baitazi in 1911 and 1912, but the local mandarin assured him he had seen no Khitan inscriptions there. The study of the travel notes of Chinese travellers to the Khitans translated by Chavannes[9] led Mullie to a second visit to Balin in 1920. He also visited Baitazi, where he was shown a large subterranean cave full of water, in which the roofs of some buildings could be seen, and around which were the ruins of other buildings. Mullie suspected the Liao imperial tombs might be found under the water, but there was no way to access whatever it was. Mullie noted that "the Christians in Haobaotu" in 1920 knew that there was an underground cavern full of water near Baitazi. The location stood well with the historical texts. Mullie came to the conclusion that Baitazi was not the Supreme Capital of the Liao, but Qingzhou, the location of the imperial tombs. Presumably Kervyn came to know of Mullie's views at this time.

Mullie wrote up the results of his research in a very substantial article, "Les Anciennes Villes de l'Empire des Grands Leao au royaume Mongol de Bārin", published in *T'oung-Pao* in 1922. In the same year, local Chinese decided to try to get at the treasures they presumed to be in the imperial tomb.

At this point in the story one cannot help but recall the Chinese proverb about "the old man at the mountain pass lost his horse: how was he to know this was not his good fortune". It was the hermit of Haobaotu, Louis Kervyn, in exile either self imposed or otherwise, who was on the spot when the local Chinese decided to open the tomb to access whatever treasures might be in it. It is certainly to Kervyn's credit that he hurried to the site of the excavations. His article published in the *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* makes exciting reading. Kervyn thought the tomb belonged to Daozong, thus the title. Mullie later pointed out that the tomb must have been that of Shengzong, the emperor preceding Daozong. Kervyn remarks that the local people suspected there were 'treasures of inestimable value' in the cave. Mullie suggests it was *he* who gave them the idea that the cave might contain a tomb of a Liao emperor. As Kervyn related the series of events, "In the spring of the year 1922 it occurred to the Chinese, who had

[9] Chavannes 1897-98.

settled not far from this Mongol territory, to try to get their hands on these treasures ... The tomb was a vast subterranean chamber, build into a mountain of granite. It was full of water. The cave was about 5.5-5.6 metres deep, and about 9 metres across. The top of an ornamental gate with an imperial dragon was on the northern side. The grave robbers tried to siphon out the water, but had to resort to using buckets, which took many days. Eventually they found only a lot of debris, which also had to be cleared away. To their distress, it was clear that it had been pillaged before. The coffin of the emperor was found, opened, in the last chamber. His skeleton, deprived of its head, was strewn on the ground. Not having found any treasures, the grave robbers decided to take the wood used for the imperial coffins, which could fetch a high price."

Kervyn followed these excavations from a distance, but he knew from "un confrère familiarisé avec l'étude du *Leao-che*" (presumably Mullie) that some "documents" should be found in the emperor's tomb. Kervyn must have been referring to the epitaphs. But, as Kervyn went on, "How to get ones hands on them? On the one hand, the circumstances of the opening of the tomb were seen in a bad light, but from a linguistic and archaeological point of view the [texts] were invaluable". The grave robbers had been chased away by Mongol soldiers at the beginning of their work, but returned after the danger had disappeared. They quarrelled amongst themselves, government soldiers threatened to stop their work, eventually Chinese soldiers sent by the Magistrate of Linxi (who wanted to exploit the tomb for his own benefit) arrested the ringleaders and detained them in the local *yamen*. Taking advantage of the lull in the grave robbing, Kervyn arranged for three Chinese to copy the inscriptions of the texts engraved on four stelae which were discovered at the bottom of the mud. The three were not strong enough to lift the stelae, which Kervyn estimated to weigh 600-600 kilograms. They were about six metres from ground level, and it was not possible to bring them to the surface where they could be photographed. None of the Chinese copyists knew how to make a rubbing, so they had to copy them by hand, one unfamiliar character at a time. The job had to be done accurately, and lasted five days. After two days, the grave robbers, having been released from jail, returned to the tomb. The three copyists had to take precautions. While one sat perched above the inscription, copying stroke by stroke, his two companions guarded him with drawn daggers.

Two of the stelae were in Chinese, two in Khitan. The Khitan inscriptions were 583 and 856 words in length. The stelae were four feet wide and 8 inches thick. To protect them they were covered with stones of

equal size, and the two separated by coins with the reign title *Qingning yuannian* (1055-56) and *Dakang* (1095-85). "The discovery was marvellous. A real treasure had been unearthed in China. Eventually, when everything of any value, including the wood for the coffins, had been removed, the grave robbers left. The stelae were recovered with earth, and water began to seep into the cave again. The water of the mountain regained its rights in this old subterranean empire."

Mullie sent Kervyn's article to Pelliot, who published most of it (without the photographs) in *T'oung-Pao,* thus making the discovery known to the scholarly world at large. A photo of one of the Khitan inscriptions was attached to Kervyn's article in the *Bulletin catholique de Pékin.* Immediately after its publication, Mullie wrote a long article, "Les Sépultures de K'ing des Leao", providing a partial translation of the Chinese inscription with a detailed philological, geographical and historical commentary. He also included photographs of both Khitan inscriptions and the text of four Chinese inscriptions. (The photographs in Kervyn's original article were not reproduced in the *T'oung-Pao* reprint, apparently for technical reasons.) Mullie sent his article to Pelliot in 1924. However, it was apparently lost in Pelliot's library, and not found until 1931. It eventually appeared in *T'oung-Pao* in 1932 with a photo of a rubbing of a third inscription, provided by Tang Zuozong to Mullie in 1931. In 1930 Tang Zuozong, the son of Tang Yulin, the governor of Rehe, removed the four inscriptions from the tomb of Daozong and Xuanyi, and had them transferred to Mukden (Shenyang). Mullie explained that he had been waiting in vain for rubbings of the stelae discovered at Qingling, but water had invaded the tomb and it was not possible to repeat the long and costly work which the Chinese undertook in 1921. He goes on to say that "through the intermediary of Reverend Father L. Kervyn, the curate of Haobaotu to the south of Baitazi (the Qingzhou of the Liao), I received however a copy of the two Khitan steles and three Chinese steles." Mullie went on to mention Kervyn's article in the *Bulletin catholique.* He pointed out that the tomb could not have been that of Daozong, as Kervyn thought, but of Shengzong and his two wives, Rende and Qin'ai. He says Kervyn had been misled by the dates on the coins separating the epitaphs from their covers, from the Qingning and Dakang periods. Mullie notes, "Here there is an obvious mistake. On the coins, of which I have been able to make a hastily traced copy, there are the following characters: *Qingning yuanbao* and *Dakang tongbao:* the words *yuanbao* and *tongbao* indicate clearly that these are coins. They were sold to a goldsmith in Chifeng county; only two were able to escape from the melting pot." Again, there is more to this than meets the eye, as we shall see from some excerpts from Mullie's diary given below.

Mullie went on to say, "Reading Kervyn, one has the impression that the people of that area knew for generations the history of Qingzhou and of Qingling. That is by no means the case. One can ask in vain a local Mongol or Chinese the name of the ruins of Baitazi, but no one can answer. Some individuals learnt of the historical significance of Qingzhou and Qingling since the excavations began at Bārin ... The guides who accompanied me in my visit to Qingling in 1919 were naturally intrigued by the numerous vestiges of superb monuments and above all the presence of the room of water in the mountain. This room of water, of which the local Christians had already advised Reverend Father L. Heyns, curate of Dayingzi (Bārin) ... was itself the main cause of my excursion in the valley Warīn maňga. To establish that Baitazi was indeed Qingzhou and not Shangjing, it was necessary to find the Qingling tombs, because there was no Qingzhou without Qingling. From the first question on the subject of ancient tombs in the environs of Baitazi, Father Heyns told me about this famous room of water, of which people had told him many beautiful things. This indication gave me the hope to find the Qingling tombs there. I was not deceived. In running through the ruins of Baitazi, and those of Qingling, which excited general curiosity, my guides made all possible suppositions, to laugh about them five minutes later. Evidently they could not help thinking what interest these ruins might have for me, and by way of conversation they asked me questions. I would not say that their intention was to know the objective truth, but I had no reason to hide my opinion about Baitazi and its environs, especially as they showed themselves very devoted, and gave me from their side very useful information on the country, which they had run through in the course of their hunting. *This 'indiscretion' on my part ran its course,* (emphasis added) and two years later, in 1922, when two successive bad harvests introduced hard conditions, even famine at certain families, some remembered Qingling, because they hoped to find there the means to procure some money to buy the food which was lacking in so many hearths."

Mullie's article was sober scholarship, and a reassertion of his sinological acumen, historical research and actual fieldwork. But in Kervyn's article one can still feel the sense of excitement of discovery, and the realisation that this was a find of great value. Yet Kervyn was never to mention the matter again, at least not in any of his books or articles. One can only wonder why. Some clues to this may be found in the

diaries of Joseph Mullie preserved in the KADOC archives. The following entries are relevant:

17 July 1922. Oude sapeken gevonden om te identificeren. (Old coins found, to be identified.)

10 December 1922. P. Dewolf ook gepasseered, & L. Kervyn, L. Heyns & Raf Verbois, L. Kervyn had sapeken uit de keizerlijke K'itangraven (Barin) mee. Eischte 27$ voor 27 stuk: anders scheur ik er mijn broek aan. Had ze mij eerst verkocht aan 0.10$ per stuk. Hij verkocht ze te Hata aan een zilversmid en ze werden gesmolten. (Fr. Dewolf also came by, together with L. Kervyn, L. Heyns and Raf Verbois. L. Kervyn had some coins from the royal Khitan tombs (at Barin) with him. He demanded $27 for 27 pieces. Otherwise I would be tearing my trousers. (Cf. I would be ripped off: I would suffer a financial loss). They had first been offered at 10 cents each. He sold them in Hada to a silversmith, and they were melted.)

23 June 1923. P. L Kervyn verkocht mij de K'itanopschriften (een alschaft) en geeft ze dan zelf uit! Vraagt foto's ...? Om uit te geven? Wie betaalt? (Fr. L. Kervyn sold me the Khitan incriptions and then published them himself! He asked about the photos...? So as to publish them? Who is paying?)

10 December 1923. De 2 K'itan pei's laten fotografeeren in de staadt. 't is duur. (I had the two Khitan stelae photographed in the city. It was expensive.)

26 May, 1924. P. Schotte vraagt foto van de K'itan opschiften voor 't museum. (Fr. Schotte asked for a photo of the Khitan inscriptions for the museum.)

There do not seem to be any further diary entries after that. Mullie was called back to Belgium to teach in 1926. From these entries we can derive the following insights:

(1) Kervyn sold Mullie photographs of the Khitan inscriptions, and then published them himself. Mullie was writing for *T'oung-Pao,* Kervyn for the *Bulletin catholique de Pékin*. Mullie was clearly angry that Kervyn had published the photos after having sold them to him. Mullie had been working on the location of the Liao tombs for years. Kervyn 'scooped' him in a local publication.

(2) Kervyn offered to sell Mullie some silver coins from the tombs, at a price ten times what had apparently been agreed to before. Mullie did not buy the coins. So Kervyn sold them to a silversmith and they were melted down for the value of the silver. Mullie does not say what happened to the proceeds of this sale.

In addition to *Méthode,* Kervyn published a number of other books, mainly of a devotional or ethnographical nature, and eighteen articles[10]. His obituary[11] says he also published many articles under pseudonyms, because "Fr. Kervyn wanted above all else to pass his life unnoticed". Only one article was on the Liao tombs; two if one includes the reprint in *T'oung-Pao*. After these, Kervyn seems never to have mentioned this discovery again. Amongst Kervyn's later publications, from the point of view of the present article, the most interesting is *L'Empire chinois et les Barbares,* published in Beijing in 1933 as part of a series *Politique de Pékin*. In this booklet of 74 pages, which covers China's relations with the Xiongnu, Khitans, Jurchens, Mongols and Manchus, four pages are devoted to the Liao. Kervyn notes the early references to them in the Chinese histories, the rise of Abaoji, the establishment and expansion of the Liao state and its relations with the Song, the Koreans and the Tanguts. He notes the rise of the Jurchens and the eventual defeat of the Liao. But there is not a single word in this book about the discovery of the Liao tombs at Qingling, or the Khitan script, or any reference to the significance of that discovery.

Mullie left China in 1926 to become one of the major figures in European sinology. He was eventually awarded the Medal of Commander of the Order of Orange-Nassau by the Queen of the Netherlands (1956); elected to the Royal Flemish Academy (1955) and Grand Officer of the Order of Leopold (1958). He retired from the Academy in 1972 and was appointed Honorary Member of the Academy in the same year.

Kervyn stayed in Haobaotu until 1932, when the mission passed from the hands of the CICM fathers to another order. He was posted to Chaoyang, in Rehe, succeeding his brother, Joseph. Kervyn's health continued to deteriorate, and he was transferred to Xiaomiao'ergou (小廟兒溝). He had few duties, and spent most of his time in the church praying for others. He died there on the 24 January, 1939. A brief obituary[12] appeared in the journal *Missions de Scheut*:

> "In 1905, he embarked for the Diocese of Eastern Mongolia where his brother Joseph was already working. During the 33 years which he passed in this area, most of his time was spent in the ministry of various Christian communities, except during the period from 1908 to 1909, during which he taught theology in the seminary at Songshuzuizi. Even before he had heard of Fr. de Foucauld, Fr.

[10] Grootaers & van Coillie 1939, 57-58.
[11] *In Memoriam* 1939.
[12] *Ibid.*

Kervyn chose a life of prayer and penance as the main means of conversion. He was deeply convinced of the impotence of the missionary to lead even a single soul to the faith. Trusting in the merciful aid of God, he consecrated many hours to prayer every day, and led a life extraordinary for its poverty and mortification. From 1919 to 1932, he was *curé* at Haobaotu, the most northerly and most distant mission in the Parish of Rehe. In this rigorous climate, in this solitude, he was like a hermit in the Sahara, a man who prepared for the conversion of the Mongols in the milieu in which they lived. He also attracted to himself poor Chinese families who had come to find in these northern regions a corner of the earth to eke out a bare existence. Father Kervyn was spiritually gifted, and wanted to leave his *confrères* the fruits of his meditations and his readings of the Holy Fathers. He edited two works: *Acts of Grace after the Holy Mass* and *The Priestly Blessing*, which give witness to a life of intense spirituality. We are also indebted to him for his work and his erudition on various studies of ethnology, which were published in journals such as *Politique de Pékin, Missions catholiques* and others. Most of the time these works were published under a pseudonym, because Fr. Kervyn wanted above all else to pass his life unnoticed. He continued his life of study, prayer and penance until the end. Only God knows how many souls his virtues gained for the Church. Like Moses praying on the mountain and obtaining victory for the Israelites fighting on the plain, Fr. Kervyn was the unknown aide of many missionaries who were struggling with the numerous difficulties of the practical apostolate. His prayers surely obtained the grace of Heaven for many pagans which led them to the Church of Christ."

In this obituary, there is not a word about *Méthode,* the tome of nearly 900 pages, nor about Kervyn's articles about the Liao tombs, or the Khitan inscriptions, the main reason his name is remembered today.

In a seminar paper entitled "De K'i-Tan inscripties van de graven der Liao-dynastie (907-1125)" given to the Eighth Congress of the Oriental Association of the Netherlands, held in Leiden from 6-8 January, 1936, Mullie discussed the circumstances of the discovery of the inscriptions. Here he revealed that he sent Pelliot a copy of Kervyn's article, who reproduced most of it but without the photograph, and that he had written another article which he sent to Pelliot in 1924. This, however, was mislaid in Pelliot's library, and was not found until 1931, and was eventually published in *T'oung-Pao* in 1933. Mullie summarised his own

researches, in particular his having located the location of the Liao tombs, and mentions in passing that Kervyn was able to obtain some rubbings of the Khitan inscriptions from the tombs after they had been opened by grave robbers. Professor Duyvendak "made some observations, and expressed his appreciation of the initiative of Prof. Mullie, who is to be thanked for the discovery of the Liao inscriptions".[13]

It is ironic that *Méthode*, the work which the young Kervyn presumably thought would be his *magnum opus*, was consigned to oblivion except for an occasional negative mention, whereas the article on the Khitan inscriptions for which he is most remembered seems to have been one which he either regarded as of no importance, or which he preferred not to mention. The biographical and bibliographical sketch compiled by the Kervyn family[14] mentions several of Kervyn's books, but not his article on the Liao tombs. Kervyn's article will still be justly remembered for its announcement of the discovery of stelae in the Khitan script, but Kervyn only knew about the location of the Liao tombs due to the exhaustive researches of Mullie. Kervyn was the man on the spot, and arranged for copies of the stelae to be made: this was his great contribution. But Mullie's research paved the way. It is equally ironic that Kervyn's article, which Mullie probably regarded as a footnote to his own two scholarly articles, is now mentioned in almost every study of Khitan, while Mullie's works on this discovery are mentioned rarely.

We can conclude that the discovery of the location of the tombs can be attributed to Mullie, the excavations done by grave robbers, and the initiative in arranging for copies to be made of the Khitan inscriptions to Kervyn. Merit for the discovery and publication of the first Khitan inscriptions belongs to all.

Bibliography

Aubin, F. 1999. 'The young Father Mostaert's Forerunners'. In: K. Sagaster (ed.), *Louvain Chinese Studies IV, Antoine Mosteart (1881-1971), C.I.C.M. Missionary and Scholar* · Volume One: Papers. Leuven, 31-45.

— 2000. 'Quelques échoes des prêtres chinois dans les missions de Scheut (Mongolie-Interiéure et Chine occidentale, Dix-neuvième-vingtième siècles)'. In: K. De Ridder (ed.), *Footsteps in Deserted Valleys - Missionary Cases, Strategies and Practice in Qing China.* (Louvain Chinese Studies VIII.) Leuven, 175-176.

Chavannes, E. 1897-98. 'Voyageurs Chinois chez les Khitan et les Jouchen'. *Journal Asiatique,* Ser. 9/9, 377-422; Ser. 9/11, 361-439.

[13] Concluding comments to Mullie 1936, 59.
[14] Kervyn de Meerendré 1978.

Grootaers, W. A. & D. van Coillie 1939. *Proeve eener Bibliographie van de Missionarissen van Scheut*. Brussels, 57-58.

Haneda Toru 1925. 'Kittan moji no shin shiryō' [New materials for the study of the Khitan script]. *Shirin* X/1. [Reproduced in *Haneda Hakushi shigaku rombusho* (Collected articles on history by Doctor Haneda), Vol. II. Kyoto 1957, 420-434.]

'In Memoriam R.P. Louis Kervyn'. *Missions de Scheut* No. 2, February 1939, 60.

Kervyn, L. 1911. *Méthode de l'Apostolat Moderne en Chine*. Hongkong.

— 1923. 'Le tombeau de l'empereur Tao-tsong (1101), une découverte intéressante'. *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* X/118, 236-243, 2 photos.

— 1923. 'Le tombeau de l'empereur Tao-tsong des Leao et les premières inscriptions connues en écriture K'i-tan'. *T'oung-Pao* XXII, 292-301.

— 1933. *L'Empire chinois et les Barbares*. Pékin.

Kervyn de Meerendré, H. *Des Kervyn dans l'Eglise. Fragments biographiques rassemblés pour l'Association Kervyn*. [Privately printed, June 1978.]

Lefebvre, P. 2002. 'L'Autre dans la tradition missionaire récente'. *Expérience et recherches missionaires* 168/September. [Reproduced SEDOS Bulletin (www.sedos.org).]

Mullie, J. 1922. 'Les Anciennes Villes de l'Empire des Grands Leao 大遼 au Royaume Mongol de Bārin'. *T'oung-Pao* XXI, 105-231.

— 1933. 'Les Sépultures de K'ing des Leao'. *T'oung-Pao* XXX, 1-25.

— (no date). 'De K'i-Tan inscripties van de graven de Liao-dynastie (907-1125)'. Oostersch genootschap in Nederland, *Verslag van het Achtste Congres*. Leiden, 6-8 January 1936, 57-59.

van Hecken, J. 1972. *Documentatie betreffende de Missiegeschiednis van Oost-Mongolia, Je-Ho-Erh*, Deel VII. Leuven, 111-113.