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「グローバル化時代の多元的人文学の拠点形成」31 研究会

ユーラシア古語文献の文献学的研究

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第 8 回、第 9 回研究会が開催されました。

- ◆第 8 回研究会◆ (第 51 回 羽田記念館講演と共催)
日時 2003 年 11 月 15 日(土) 午後 2 時～
場所 京都大学文学部 羽田記念館

「中央アジアにおけるシャマニズム・スーフイズム・イスラムの交差」
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ロシア科学アカデミー東方学研究所 Санктペテルブルグ支所上級研究員

- ◆第 9 回研究会◆ 日時 2003 年 11 月 29 日(土) 午後 2 時～
場所 京都外国語大学 国際交流会館 4 階会議室

「中央アジア古文書のカタログ化に関する諸問題」
ヌリヨグディ・トショフ(Nuryoghdi Toshov)
科学アカデミー東洋学研究所中級研究員
「ヒヴァ市イチャン・カラ博物館古文書収集プロジェクトにおける諸問題」
カミルジャン・フダイベルガーノフ(Kamiljan Khudaiberganov)
イチャン・カラ博物館上級研究員

研究会報告の要旨

1. 第7回研究会(2003年9月19日於京都大学文学部新館第4講義室)
報告者:S. ラシュマン
(ゲッティンゲン科学アカデミー ドイツ所蔵東方古文献統合目録部門)
2. 第8回研究会－① 報告者:T. ザルコヌ
3. 第8回研究会－② 報告者:V. ウスペンスキー
⇒ なお、第9回研究会報告の要旨は次号に掲載いたします。

1. 第7回研究会

The Berlin Collection and the Old Turkish Turfan Texts

Dr. Simone-Christiane Raschmann

The Turkish part of the Berlin Turfan collection is a good example for the great variety of the Turfan texts. It consists of about 8,000 fragments of various size. These fragments are parts of scrolls, leporellos (folded books), Pustaka-books and blockprints. Most of them are written in the so-called Uigur script, which was developed from the Sogdian, some fragments are in Sogdian script. The Turkish Manichaeans used the Manichaean, but also the Uigur script and the Turkish runes, otherwise known only from inscriptions in Siberia and Mongolia, for writing down their texts. A small number of the fragments were written in Syriac, Tibetan and Brāhmī script. The Turkish fragments are preserved under the following shelf numbers in the Berlin collection: “U” for those fragments, which bear only Uigur text; “Ch/U” for fragments on which the Uigur text was written on the unused reverse side of a Chinese text and “Mainz”, a signature for a group of fragments which was separated from the Berlin collection for a certain time and preserved in Mainz. Most fragments of this group are Old Turkish / Uigur texts. The Old Turkish fragments have been almost completely digitised and made available on the internet:

<http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta/index.html>

History of the collection

More than 100 years ago, in 1902, the first of the four German expeditions under the leadership of Albert Grünwedel started to explore the ruins in the deserts of Central Asia. Between 1902 and 1914 German scholars, among them Albert von Le Coq (the leader of the second and fourth expedition) made excavations, mainly in the area of the Turfan oasis. Among the finds were a great number of manuscripts and blockprints, written in roughly 20 languages and scripts. The material used for writing was mostly paper, but also birch bark, palm leaves, wooden tablets, parchment or silk.

The finds of the four German Turfan expeditions were sent home in wooden boxes. At the finding places the discovered manuscripts had already been wrapped in paper by the

members of the expedition. Every package was marked with a notice of the contents together with an abbreviation signifying the number of the expedition and the finding place.

After opening these packages in Berlin, this abbreviation was noted on every fragment. Later the fragments were put between glass plates which were closed with a special kind of adhesive strip. On the glass a second, more detailed, label was glued (in older publications this siglum for the finding place was used). This is the way in which the fragments have been preserved until today.

For the first years after the expeditions, all finds were kept at the Indian Department of the "Museum für Völkerkunde" in Berlin. Later on, in 1926, the texts were separated and the responsibility for the preservation, conservation and edition was given to the Prussian Academy of Sciences until such time, when the publication of these materials would be finished.

Scholarly investigation of the manuscript findings began immediately the return of the first expedition. Some of the texts were written in then unknown or little known scripts. FRIEDRICH WILHELM KARL MÜLLER deciphered some fragments written in a "small script", the Manichaeic Estrangelo. His work, published as early as 1904, was the beginning of a new stage in the investigation of Manichaeism. In the same year, other scholars like RICHARD PISCHEL, KARL F. GELDNER and KARL FOY also published first results of their studies of the manuscripts – among them also Old Turkish manuscripts. ALBERT VON LE COQ himself, besides having a profound knowledge of Central Asian Art, became a good specialist in interpreting some of these languages. After the first sensational publications the "Oriental Commission" at the Berlin Academy of Sciences was founded in March 1912. It was to coordinate research on so called "Turfan Collection".

During the last years of World War II (in autumn 1943) the Turfan collection was sent to various places in Germany for safekeeping, for instance to the salt mines at Winthershall, Solvayhall and Schönebeck/Elbe. Thus, they mostly were saved from destruction.

As result of the division of Germany after World War II, the Turfan collection was split as well. Those parts which had been sent to places in the later Soviet zone of occupation were returned by the Soviet forces in August 1945 to the rooms of the "Oriental Commission" in Berlin, Unter den Linden. In 1947 the Institut für Orientforschung (Institute of Oriental Studies) was founded as part of the German Academy of Sciences, giving the Turfan collection a new home.

Other parts of the collection including those from places in the western zones of occupation (the later West Germany), for instance Ansbach, were handed over to the "Mainzer Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur" only in 1947.

A large proportion of the fragments (about one third) wherever they found themselves, had to be restored after World War II, as the glass plates were broken during the various

transports. Further tasks were the restoration of order and the cataloguing of the various parts of the collection.

After the Second World War the lack of catalogues and unambiguous signatures for the fragments became a serious problem.

In Mainz ŞINASI TEKIN (in collaboration with ANNEMARIE VON GABAIN, OMELIAN PRITSAK and KAARE GRØNBECH) wrote a provisional catalogue of all fragments preserved there. It was finished in 1956. Although this catalogue is unpublished, copies of it are still used today.

With the consent of the “*Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*” the “*Union Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in German Collections*” was founded in 1958 and admitted to the priority programmes of the “*German Research Foundation*”. The catalogues are published in the „*Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*„ (VOHD). In 1989 the *Catalogue Project* (KOHD) was admitted to the Academy Programme financed jointly by the German Federal government and the German states (“Länder”), administered by the *Academy of Sciences Göttingen*.

Research work on the large group of Sanskrit texts was done during the first years after World War II in cooperation between the University of Göttingen under the direction of ERNST WALDSCHMIDT and Berlin, where his pupil DIETER SCHLINGLOFF was working up to 1961 and where the main part of fragments of this text group was preserved. (A small number of texts were sent to Göttingen.) Also under the direction of ERNST WALDSCHMIDT and with the support of the "Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen" several publication series concerning the Sanskrit Turfan texts were founded, for instance the "Sanskrit Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden".

In the GDR (i.e. the eastern part of Germany) WOLFGANG STEINITZ and GEORG HAZAI founded the Turfanforschungsgruppe (Turfan Study Group) in the Institute of Oriental Studies (Institut für Orientforschung) in 1965. From 1969 to 1991 work on the Turfan texts was situated in the department „Alter Orient“ of the Central Institute for Ancient History and Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.

After the reunification of Germany in 1990, the Turfan collections were also reunited and are now being cared for by the Oriental Department of the State Library at Berlin.

Today, two research groups are working on the Berlin Turfan texts, one of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities editing Turkish and Iranian texts, the second of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences working on catalogues of the same text groups. Both groups are working together in close cooperation.

2. 第8回研究会

**The Encounter between Shamanism, Sufism and Islam
in Central Asia and Xinjiang**

Thierry Zarcone

Muslim Shamanism is the result of an encounter between Islam and Shamanism but it is more since the doctrines and practices of Islam and Sufism, as we will demonstrate, are the vassals of Shamanism. However the term “shaman” doesn’t exist in Central Asia and it is under the title of “baksy / bakhshi” or “emchi” that the Muslim shamans are well known. This word is widespread in all ex-Soviet central Asia, in Northern Afghanistan - former Afghan Turkestan - and in the Uyghur Autonomous District of Xinjiang in China. In Xinjiang, Muslims shamans can be found among the Uyghurs in the Southern oases (Kashgar, Yarkand, Khutan) and also among the Kazakhs in the Kazakh Autonomous District in the Tian-Chan ranges, north of the city of Urumchi.

1. Historical overview of the Islamised Shamanism (bakhshi/emchi) in Central Asia

In 13th century, the first to mention the word bakhshi was the traveller Marco Polo who met some of them in the Palace of the king Qubilay Khan. However we don’t know if these “bakhshi” were genuine shamans or Buddhist. But in general, among the Mongols, the word bakhshi referred to the Buddhist priests. According to its etymology, the word come from the Sanskrit *bikhshu* which means a Buddhist monk. After the disappearance of Buddhism, bakhshi was used to designate the Mongol bureaucrats. It is only in the early 14th century that the word bakhshi referred to Muslim shamans. Nowadays, the Muslim shaman lived usually in rural areas. He is one of the major religious and spiritual authorities of the village, i.e. the imam, representative of Islam, and the shaykh or the ishan who are representatives of Sufism. The role of the Bakhshi is to heal physical or psychic sicknesses. The villagers, according to the seriousness of their disease, appeal either to the imam, or to the bakhshi, or to the Sufi ishan, and sometimes to every one of them. The disease is considered as the result of an action done by evil spirits - a view which is inherited from ancient Shamanism; so the shaman operate in the world of the spirits like his Siberian counterpart. This is the demonstration that this old religion of the Turks didn’t totally disappear when Islam established itself in Central Asia and that some of its elements have survived under the cloak of the religion of the Prophet. Contrary to the numerous other religions adopted by the Turks in the course of their history - Manicheism, Christianity (Nestorianism), Buddhism - and of which some beliefs only have survived, Shamanism has kept one of his essential function: “healing”; although Bakhshism is far from the primitive, “Great” Shamanism and deeply mingled with Muslim traditions and practices. Mention should be made here that the other word to refer to Islamised shaman in Central Asia and

particularly in nomadic areas, less influenced by Islam than elsewhere is the region, is the term “emchi”. This word is composed of the Mongol root “Em-” which means “to heal, to cure”.

The original Siberian Shaman is known to chase the souls in the world of the “Surnature”, i.e. the world above the ordinary one where the spirits are living and the death roaring. The reasons of this hunting are various: animals souls hunting, unborn baby souls hunting, sick souls hunting, etc. We can see the same for the bakhshi although his sphere of activities is more limited; first of all the bakhshi is a healer who use Islam and Shamanism to cure, and also a soothsayer who help for example people researching the lost things or persons. Nevertheless, contrary to the Siberian Shaman, the Bakhshi doesn't administrate periodical rituals to the advantage of the Community. More, there is no “horse sacrifice”-as among the Altaic peoples- and no “aerial and infernal travels”

2. Aim and Ceremonies

The ritual directed by the bakhshi is a healing ceremony and not a religious ritual dedicated to a community; this is another major difference between the Islamised shaman and its Siberian counterpart. As an expert of the world of the spirits, he is of course a healer because the diseases come from evil spirits. The bakhshi knows how to expel the evil spirit outside the corpse of the sick. He can success only with the help of good spirits, usually called *jinn*s - angels in Arabic - and he read prayers and make sacrifices of animals. Prayers are mostly evocations of pre-Islamic and Biblical deities as well as great Sufi or Muslim figures. The pantheon of spirits and *jinn*s evocated by the bakhshi is wide. These spirits have various origins and belong to several religions, particularly to Zoroastrism which was widespread in ancient Central Asia; this is the case of the *pari*, Iranian deities.

The rituals performed by the bakhshis are quite homogeneous and there is differences only between the bakshi of the sedentary areas (now Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, oases of Xinjiang) and those of the ancient nomadic areas (Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Kazakh and Khirghiz district of Xinjiang). Also the bakhshi are usually female in sedentary areas because Islam is powerful there; since women are not allowed to attend public celebrations at the mosque, they play conversely a major role in the administration of saint veneration rituals, as in popular Sufism and in shamanism. In the contrary, in the ancient nomadic areas, the shamans - called emchi - are men for the most part; one of the reason for that is the close link between Muslim public celebrations and saint or spirits veneration; the nomadic area is more than the sedentary one open to the animistic and shamanistic belief in the world of spirits. Also, different musical instruments are used during the rituals by the shamans of these two areas: drum (*dojra*) in the sedentary one; violin (*qobuz*) in the nomadic area. However in Xinjiang, there are hybrids rituals influenced by both sedentary and nomadic shamanist traditions.

The healing is the result of a fighting between beneficent and evil spirits. During the

ritual, the shaman performed sometimes extraordinary achievements: walking with bare feet into a pile of burning coals, manipulation of white-hot iron, licking knife and placing it in their mouth, etc. The most important instrument used during this ritual by the bakhshi in the sedentary area is the drum/*dojra* which is considered as a receptacle of the spirits and is used to call them. Drum play also a notable role in Northern Asia and Siberian shamanism and the shaman “ride” it like a horse when he travels throughout the world of spirits. The drum of the bakhshi is a 30-40 centimetres circle made of mulberry tree wood with small metal bells and rings suspended. The drumskin which is generally of goat skin allow the bakhshi to make rustle. In nomadic areas, the musical instrument used by the emchi/bakhshi have a bow but it is sometimes a string instrument. Under the name of qobuz, the instrument is very venerated by the Kazakhs. It has a camel skin et is about 1 metre or 1 metre and half. The emchi play it as a cello. At the top of the handle, there are metal pendants suspended which produce rustle like the metal bells and rings of the drum of the bakhshi. More, in nomadic areas, one can find also emchi/bakhshi performing the healing ritual with a wipe, a knife and a rosary.

There is two ways to perform the healing ceremony; one is to expel the evil spirit, the second if to relocate the evil spirit in another place. In the first one, the bakhshi try to expel by violence the evil spirit out of the corpse of the sick. In nomadic areas, this ritual is sometimes quite impressive because the bakhshi howls and uses knives or whip. His aim is to impress and terrify the spirit in order to push him away. The second way to expel the evil spirit is softer; the bakhshi try to relocate the evil spirit in a lively creature, a dove or a hen, or in a lifeless object like an animal skull, water, or eggs.

3. Who become Shaman and How?

There is usually three ways to become a shaman; 1. by heritage; 2. by spiritual election; 3. after a voluntary quest. 1. By heritage: in this first case, it means that a man can inherit from his father or relatives the art of healing. Usually, the transmission occurred after the death of the shaman or few time before he died, and the art of healing is communicated by the spirit of the living or dead shaman through the dreams of the new one. 2. by spiritual election: its means that the new bakhshi is contacted by a spirit or that he fight with a spirit. After this experience he is initiated in the art of healing. 3. after a voluntary quest: whoever wanting to become a shaman have to make contact with the spirits when sleeping and particularly when sleeping near a saint tomb. Saint veneration is major among the Kazakhs who believe that the dream is the link with the spirits of their ancestors.

To sum up, there two ways to become a shaman; in one case, it is a solitary quest, without any ceremony of initiation, since the new bakhshi is instructed by the spirits only, like his Siberian counterpart, in order to know how controlling the invisible world. However, under the influence of Islam, some rituals of initiation have appeared clearly influenced by Sufism and Futuwwah (ritual of the belt). Nevertheless, no one can become a shaman, even if he passed an initiation ritual, unless he is called, elected by

the spirits. It is the election by the spirits which make the shaman, not the ritual of initiation. This election take generally the form of a divine disease. This uncommon disease is the sign for a man who want to become a shaman that the spirits grant his request. But in some case, this disease affect men who doesn't want to become a shaman and means that the sick man is predestined to do this job. So in some cases, a sick can learn in the course of the ceremony that his sickness is divine and that the healing ritual become by force an initiation ritual. In another hand, the new shaman can be instructed by a living shaman who both teach and heal him. The instructions are in general: the way to organise a healing ceremony; the playing of the drum or the violin, the use of the whip, the songs and prayers repertoire for the calling of the spirits.

4. How Islam and Sufism are mixed with Shamanism

Regarding the relations between Islam, Sufism and Shamanism, one can keep in mind first that the religion of the Prophet is only a veneer of Muslim traditions which give Bakhshism an Islamic identity only in order to avoid religious persecutions. The Kuran for example is rarely in the hands of the bakhshi but we can find verses of this book mentioned in the prayers addressed to the spirits. Actually, as we'll see below, it is through Sufism that Islam was mingled with Shamanism. Among the spirits invoked by the bakhshis, there is several famous Sufi saints: Ahmad Yasavî, Bahâ' al-Dîn Naqshband and 'Abd al-Qâdir Jîlânî.

One of the most important loan by Shamanism to Sufism is the Sufi litany (*dhikr*), a major exercise in Islamic mysticism. We can detect the Sufi *dhikr* in the Islamised shamanism where it has adopted more or less degenerate forms. In shamanism, *Dhikr* bears also a new function. In Sufism, *dhikr* is the best way to reach God through the repetition of a formula. This is the way this exercise is performed nowadays by the Sufis in Central Asia. However, although this exercise is performed in respect of its genuine principles among the Sufis of Central Asia, it is performed by the Shamans according to a ritual more or less perfect and with a new aim, a new function. Indeed the purpose of the Islamised shamans is not the contemplation of God but the healing of a sick. The repetition of Arabic formula acts as a magic formula in order to force the spirits to help the shaman. Among the magic formulas used by the shamans we recognized numerous formulas employed by the Sufis (for instance « Allâh Hu » which is very popular among the Yasawi Sufis).

It is astonishing that in Kazakh area, the term *dhikir* was given to the shamanist ceremony. It is a sign of the great popularity of Sufism in the past and also of the popularity of this very exercise to such an extent that the shamans decided to name their ceremonies *dhikir*. In 1996, I was told by a female shaman in Southern Kazakhstan (Chimkent - Jambul) that she follow two ways for healing ; the first is the *dhikir*, the second, the *tespîh* [*tasbih*], the Islamic rosary. Concerning the *tasbih* she told me that this object permits her to have a contact with the spirits. Nevertheless during the healing ceremony to which I attend I didn't hear any kind of *dhikr* with the exception of the

name Allâh integrated to a song. In fact there was no repetition of Islamic word or formula like in a traditional *dhikr* ceremony and the audience was remained silent. It goes without saying that what is called here *dhikir* is very far from the real *dhikr* of the Sufis. It is no more than a magic ritual and the lone link with a real *dhikr* is its name...

Another ceremony of healing I attend in Kirghizistan, between Osh and Gulja, could be equated partially with a Sufi assembly of *dhikr*. The formula « lâ illâha illa'Llâh » was repeated by all the members. In another hand, this meeting had something uncommon since it was attended by females shamans exclusively, called emchi, under the direction of their master. Like a Sufi shaykh during a *dhirk* assembly, the master of the emchi acted as a “master of the *dhikr*”, supervising the performance, regulating the rhythm of the repetition and controlling the movements of her disciples who fell in ecstasy. While there was some similarities in the beginning of the ceremony with a Sufi *dhikr* assembly, every thing changed drastically at the end. The aim of the ceremony was the healing of a sick and the calling of the spirits and the formula of *dhikr* was used for that purpose. In addition, the master of the emchi said that : « the *dhikr* permit to gather the spirits ».

4. The Situation of Islamised Shamanism in Contemporay Xinjiang

The situation of Islamised Shamanism in the Uyghur Autonomous Area of Xinjiang in the Popular Republic of China is less known than in the former USRR. Nowadays, the bakhshi and emchi are still forbidden by the authorities and work underground. Shamans are usually called emchi among the Kazakhs in Northern Xinjiang and bakhshi among the Uygurs in the South of the Region. As in Soviet and ex-Soviet Central Asia, there are numerous references to Sufism and to the Sufi saints in Shamanism of Xinjinag; for instance, Satuq Bughrâ Khân, the famous Qarakhanid ruler who was then adopted by the Uygurs as a Sufi saint, was evoked during a healing ceremony by a bakhshi of the Ili Valley at the beginning of the century. In another hand, shamans don't work only as healer but also as administrators of the pilgrimage to some saints shrines; it is the case nowadays at the famous shrine of Ordam Padishah, near Kashghar, where some bakhshi families are playing a notable role in the administration of the pilgrimage. Particularly, they help the pilgrims in fixing their banners (*tugh*) to the rods – a task which is considered very prestigious in saint veneration. More, they play also music during the processions of pilgrims bringing their banners and incidentally they heal the ill. Regarding the rituals performed by the Shamans of Xinjinag, I learn, in 2002, from the field, that the bakhshis heal according to two different ways; some using the knife and the whip; other using the drum; and other “reading”, i.e. reading the Kuran. All are rituals we can find in the ex-Soviet Central Asia. Also, in Xinjiang, the term bakhshi is frequently associated with the word râmchi – originally the geomancian, the soothsayer – as with the terms pârïkhan, palchi (soothsayer); its means that foretell the future is still an occupation of the bakhshi and that it is linked with healing.

3. 第8回研究会

**Ancient History of the Mongols according to Gombojab,
an Eighteenth Century Mongolian Historian.**

Vladimir Uspensky

The emergence of the multinational Manchu Qing 清 Empire in the XVII century also resulted in the establishment of greater contacts between different peoples. It was the policy of the Manchus to accept the diversity of the peoples under their rule. By the XVIII century a considerable number of individuals who knew several languages appeared among the Manchus and the Mongols. Some years ago I have published in Tokyo a small book about Yunli (充禮; 1697-1738), a son of the Kanxi emperor (康熙; reigned 1661-1722) who knew four languages perfectly: Manchu, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian. A Mongolian noble Gombojab was his contemporary and subordinate, and he also knew these languages perfectly. Gombojab lived in Beijing where he was the director of the School of the Tibetan language (西番學總管).. He had title of fuguogong 輔國公 which was the sixth rank in the Qing empire. His translations from Tibetan into Chinese and from Chinese into Tibetan are found in Chinese Tripitaka 大藏經¹ and the Derge edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (Kanjur) respectively. It would take a long time to speak in detail about all works by Gombojab. However, one very important point should be stressed. Earlier Mongolian histories usually began from the legendary ancestors of Chingis Khan. Interesting enough is that the Chinese name for the "northern barbarians" *beidi* 北狄 was regarded by Mongolian historians as the most ancient name for the Mongols. In Mongolian this name was called Bida ulus. It is said that Borte Chino, the most distant known ancestor of Chingis Khan, met people called Bida who made him their ruler.² However, Gombojab was the first

¹ 大正新脩大藏經, Nos. 927, 1144, 1419. His name is transcribed in Chinese as 工布查布..

² For example, in the Mongolian chronicle Sir-a tuguji ("Yellow History").

Mongolian historian to identify as Mongols the nomadic peoples who have inhabited Central Asia since very ancient times. This is evident from his work written in Tibetan, *rGya-nag chos-'byung* (“A History of Buddhism in China”), and his Tibetan translation of the *Da Tang Xi yu ji* 大唐西域記 (“Record of the Western Regions”) by Xuanzang (玄奘; 602-64).

The only existing copy of the Tibetan translation of the “Record of the Western Regions” is kept now in Kyoto at the Otani University Library 大谷大学.³ As for the "History of Buddhism in China," for a long time it remained the main source concerning the history of China available to Tibetan readers.⁴ By the way, the “History of Buddhism in China” also contains a detailed account of the Xuanzang's travels.

Also, to the best of my knowledge, the "History of Buddhism in China" is the first Tibetan text which mentions Japan. It is called in the Chinese way *Zhiben* 日本 and is described as "a very far away island in the Eastern Ocean." For the first time Japan is mentioned among the vassal states of the Mongolian Yuan 元 Empire, which is not historically correct. For a second time Japan is mentioned in connection with the biography of the Chinese Buddhist monk Jianzhen (Jap. Genjin 鑑真; 687-763). This Buddhist master is famous for establishing in Japan the rules of monastic discipline (Skt. Vinaya, 律宗).

The aim of my paper is not to speak in detail concerning the history of ancient peoples and their relation to modern Mongols. My task is to present to modern scholars the views of a Mongolian historian of the past. It is not always easy to reconstruct facts of Chinese and Mongolian history from Tibetan texts.

To denote the Mongols Gombojab used the Tibetan ethnic names *hor* and *sog*, sometimes combining them into one: *hor-sog*.. These terms have a long

³ Facsimile of the text was published in Ulan Bator in 1974 the Monumenta Historica Series (t. 6, fasc. 2).

⁴ All references to the "History of Buddhism in China" are made to the 1983 edition by the Sichuan People's Publishing House 四川民族出版.

history in Tibetan historical writings. The word *hor* is regarded as a Chinese loan word *hu* 胡.. In ancient Tibetan texts it was used as a name of different Turkic peoples. Meanwhile, the Tibetan *sog* is regarded as a name for the Sogdians, a group of Iranian peoples who inhabited large areas of Central Asia in the 1st millennium AD. However, in the XVIII century both terms were used as standard names for the Mongols.

Information about the ancient Mongols that was taken from Chinese sources is scattered throughout the text of the “History of Buddhism in China.” The Mongols are mentioned in connection with various events of Chinese history.

The Mongols were first mentioned by Gombojab in connection with Shi Huangdi 始皇帝 (221-210 BC) of the Qin 秦 dynasty. In order to protect his country, Shi Huangdi pushed the Mongols to the north and built a Great Wall on the border. In this case the Hu 胡 people, which is the generic name attributed by the Chinese to several northern peoples, were identified as the Mongols.

More information is found about the wars of the Wudi 武帝 emperor (140-87 BC) of the Han 漢 dynasty against the Mongols, i.e. the Xiongnu 匈奴 people. Gombojab narrated the story in a following way: “[Wudi] combining soft and severe measures gathered under his power many subjects. He assumed that the Mongols could be harmful for the future generations [of his dynasty] because their bravery and strength were great. So he attacked them with an army. It is said that he did not achieve much because some times he was victorious, and some times defeated... In the booty captured from the Mongols there was found a big golden statue of the Buddha. It was placed in the inner palace and was greatly honoured and venerated. This was the first time when Buddha's image appeared in China.”

This story in the “History of Buddhism in China” had a great impact on subsequent Mongolian historians - including modern historians - who came to the conclusion on the basis of this story that the Mongols had been Buddhist long before the

Tibetans and even earlier than the Chinese. A famous lama-scholar of the Mongolian origin, Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-she dpal-'byor (1704-1788) included his story into his big historical work *dPag-bsam ljon-bzang* ("The Wish-fulfilling Tree"). It was written in 1748, i.e. only 12 years after the work of Gombojab. In many ways the story about the golden statue of the Buddha was retold in later Mongolian and Tibetan histories.

However, Gombojab did not write that all the Mongols had been Buddhists in such ancient times once and forever. Later he wrote about some cases of persecution of Chinese Buddhist monks by Mongol tribes.

Gombojab wrote about the "Five Northern Barbarian Clans" 五胡⁵ as "Five Mongolian Clans" (Tib. *hor rigs lnga*). It is a reasonable translation, as he always translated the Chinese ethnic name *hu* as Tibetan *hor*, i.e. the Mongols.

Gombojab regarded as the Mongols several rulers of the 1st millennium AD who had originated from different Turkic tribes. It seems that he regarded the general Chinese ethnic name for the Turks, Tujue 突厥, as the name of a Mongolian tribe. Gombojab wrote about Xuanzang that in the beginning of his travel to India he arrived to the "Yehu Khohan, the ruler of the Tujue Mongols (*thu kyu we sog po'i rgyal po ye hu kho han*)." This Mongolian ruler is mentioned once again in connection with a contemporary Indian Buddhist monk Prabhakaramitra (光智; 565-633). Gombojab made an interesting philological comment: "In Chinese histories it is said that the Mongols call their ruler *kho-han* and his wife *kho-thun*. This is the distortion of the Mongolian *qa an* and *qatun*. Correct for the *ye-hu* is *yeke* which means 'great'." Thus Gombojab reconstructed the title of this ruler as Yeke qayan, i.e. the "great Khan."

In fact, this is the Chinese transcription (葉護可汗 *ye hu ke han*) of the Turkic *jabyu qayan*. This was the title of the supreme ruler of the Western Turks. The Chinese pronunciation of the characters changed within a thousand years, but historical

⁵ Xiongnu匈奴, Zehu 羯胡, Xianbi 鮮卑, Di 氏, Qian 羌.

phonetics did not exist in the days of Gombojab.

Despite this mistake, Gombojab was one of the most distinguished philologists of his time. His attempt to improve old Chinese transcriptions of foreign names was followed by the editors of dynastic histories which were printed anew under the Qianlong reign. Some old Chinese transcriptions of many Khitan and Mongolian names in the *Liao shi* 遼史 and the *Yuan shi* 元史 were "corrected" in accordance with modern Mongolian and Manchu.

Interesting enough is the fact that Gombojab regarded as Mongols the Indo-European nomadic tribes named in Tibetan as sTag-zig (< Tadjik). In his translation of the Xuanzang's travels Gombojab wrote about this jabγu qaγan as "Tagzig ye-kho-khan." The ethnic name Tagzig has a long history in Tibetan texts. It was used to denote peoples living to the west of Tibet. Many times this ethnical name occurs in the famous Tibetan and Mongolian epic of "Gesar." It is said about the sTag-zig people in the introduction to Gombojab's translation: "they eat meat and blood, they like killing. They live in felt yurts and they move from one place to another in search of grass and water for their cattle."⁶ This is a typical Chinese definition of nomadic people, so Gombojab identified them as the Mongols because they were nomads.

A story about the Indian king Buddhapaksha (Sangs-rgyas-phyogs) is also found in the "History of Buddhism in China." This king is said to have liberated the holy places of Buddhism including the city of Varanasi from foreign invaders. It is said that the holy sites were captured by a "Tagzig Mongolian ruler Khunimvapta." However, the Indian king was assisted by the Chinese emperor and was able to push away the invaders. This story occurs in several other Tibetan sources, but Gombojab was the first to call these invaders the "Mongols" (*sog-po*). As for the king Buddhapaksha, he was not identified by modern scholars.

Gombojab regarded as a Mongol the military governor An Lushan 安祿山, who

⁶ Ulan Bator edition, p. 150d.

rebelled in 755 against the Tang 唐 and "shook all under Heaven." In fact An Lushan's father was a Sogdian, i.e. Indo-European, while his mother was a Turk. His surname An 安 was commonly used to refer to Sogdians.

Also Gombojab regarded as a Mongol Li Cunxu 李存勗, who proclaimed the Later Tang 後唐 dynasty in 923. This person was Turc of the Shato 沙陀 tribe. His father was given the Chinese family name Li as an award from the emperor for suppressing a rebellion in the 2nd half of the IX century.

The last great Mongolian state before Cinggis Khan was, according to Gombojab, the Khitan 契丹 Liao 遼 state. Gombojab eulogised the Khitan state and its rulers: "They maintain their lineage from the emperor Yandi 炎帝, and their clan was like a great Sala tree... They greatly spread Buddha's Teaching." He says that the Khitan Liao state was as great as Tang or Song 宋, but "distant peoples are unlucky in maintaining their power." For these reasons the Liao state was finally destroyed by the Jurchen Jin 金 state. He did not forget to mention the fact that the Western Liao 西遼 state was captured by the Naimans who in their turn were crushed by Cinggis Khan (cf. 元朝密史 § 237).

Many words of praise were written by Gombojab about Yelui Chucai (耶律楚材; 1189-1243), whose Mongolian name he gives as Chu Mergen. He mentioned the Khitan origin of this outstanding statesman. According to Gombojab, the main task of Yelui Chucai was to establish a Chinese-style legislation in the newly-formed Mongolian empire. This view is also shared by past and modern historians.

When writing about the Mongols, both ancient and contemporary, Gombojab was always sympathetic about his compatriots. Having taken the information from Chinese sources, he never shared the traditional view of Chinese historiography which regarded the Mongols as barbarians.

It is obvious that Gombojab regarded all nomadic peoples of the past as ancient Mongols. In some cases he was correct, in some cases not. However, there still exist

many questions about the ancient peoples of Central Asia as well as about the origin of the peoples who live there today. Generally speaking, Gombojab's approach to the subject of the ancient history of the Mongols was a scholarly one and it should be regarded as a great achievement of traditional Mongolian historiography.

第 10 回研究会の開催について

下記のとおり、日韓文化交流をテーマとして第 10 回研究会を開催いたします。
皆様のご参加をお待ちしています。

☞ COE 第 10 回研究会 ☜

(「極東地域における文化交流」研究会第 7 回「乾の会」と共催)

日時:2004 年 1 月 15 日(木) 午後 1 時～午後 6 時

場所:京都大学文学部 新館 2 階 第 6 講義室

講演 1 講演者: 金 文京 (京都大学人文研教授)

題 目: 「高麗人の元朝における活動－李齊賢の峨眉山行を例として」

講演 2 講演者: 藤本 幸夫 (富山大学教授)

題 目: 「覆朝鮮本について」

講演 3 講演者: 鄭 光 (韓国 高麗大学教授)

題 目: 「李朝の日語教育とその教科書: 倭語類解を中心に」

☞詳細は京都大学言語学教室 田窪 (ytakubo@bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp) までお尋ねください。

☒研究会案内の電子メールによる配信をご希望の方は研究会事務局までお申し出ください。

編集後記

COE31 研究会ニューズレター第 4 号をお届けいたします。今年は、予想通りの暖冬で比較的過ごしやすいようですが、冬は冬らしくりっと寒くなってほしい気持ちもします。

次回の研究会で、平成 15 年度に開催する研究会は 7 回目です。今後も活発に研究会等を企画して参りますので、皆様のご支援、ご協力をお願いいたします。

連絡先

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