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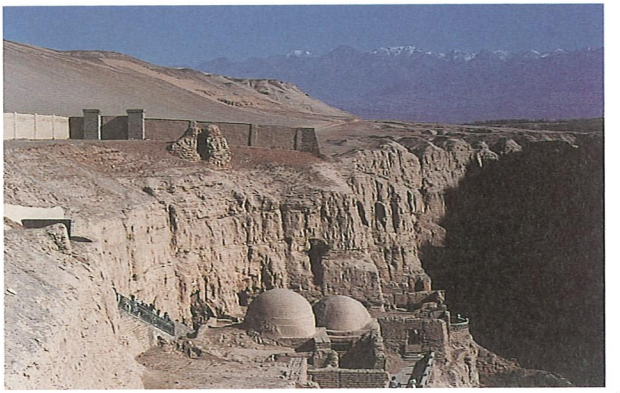
シルクロードと世界史

Osaka University The 21st Century COE Program Interface Humanities Research Activities 2002*2003



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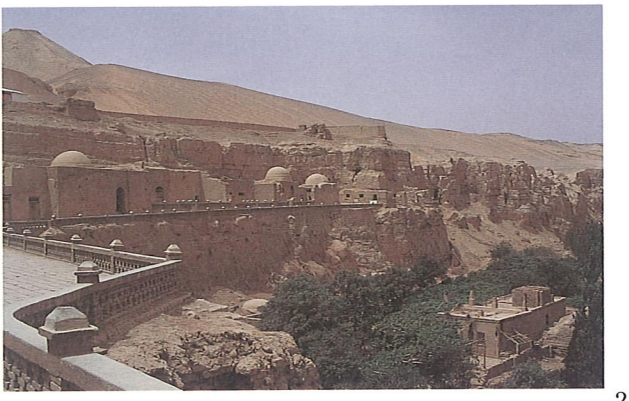

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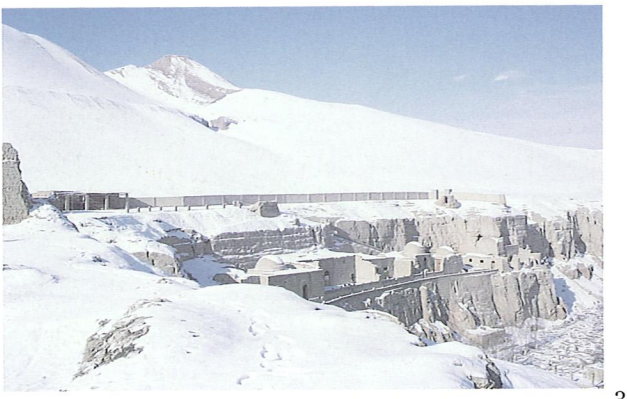

3

1 Bäzäklik, August 1987. (Author's photo)
2 Bäzäklik, June 1996. (Author's photo)
3 Bäzäklik, December 1995. (Author's photo)
4 Praṇidhi-scene. Cave 9 (in Grünwedel's numbering), Bäzäklik. (After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Berlin 1913, pl. 22)
5 Praṇidhi-scene. Cave 9, Bäzäklik. (After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 28)
6 Sino-Uighur monks. Bäzäklik, Cave 9. (After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 16)
7 Indo-Tocharian monks. Cave 9, Bäzäklik. (After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 16)

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8 Part of many Buddha images. Newly discovered cave (present number 69) at the depth of Cave 9 (in Grünwedel's numbering; = 20 in the present numbering). (Author's photo)

9 Part of many Buddha images. Cave 17 (in Grünwedel's numbering; = 27 in the present numbering),Bäzäklik. (Author's photo)

10 Uighur prince as a Buddhist donor. Cave 19, Bäzäklik. (After Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, III, Berlin 1924, pl. 18)

11 Uighur Buddhist donors. Cave 6, Bäzäklik. (After Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, III, pl. 14)

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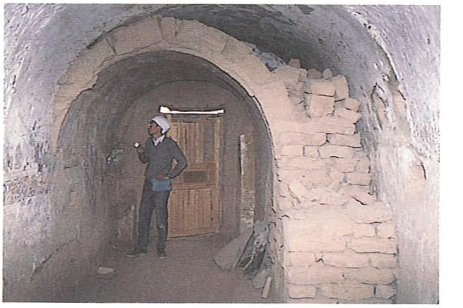

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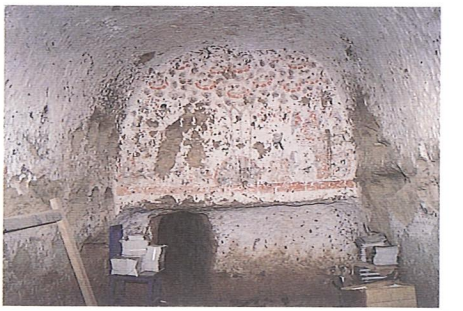

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12 Uighur Buddhist donors. Cave 9, Bäzäklik. (After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 30)

13 Uighur Buddhist donors. Cave 9, Bäzäklik. (After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 30)

14 Wall of Buddhist cave reset inside the older Manichaean cave near the entrance. Cave 25 (in Grünwedel's numbering; = 38 in the present numbering), Bäzäklik. (Author's photo)

15 Manichaean part of Cave 25 near the bottom. (Author's photo)

16

17

Fig. 66 Manichäisches Bild aus Höhle 25 von Bäzäklik, vgl. Kultst. S. 279 und S. von Oldenburg, Rutuktja Turkestanskaja Ekspedicija S. Petersburg 1914, S. 45—46 und Tafel XLII, die den jetzigen Zustand des merkwürdigen Bildes wiedergibt.

18

16 Manichaean wall-painting, showing two Auditors and ten guardian deities surrounding the Tree of Life. Bottom wall of Cave 25, Bäzäklik. Height approx. 1.5 m. Width approx. 2.4 m. (Author's photo)

17 Sketch drawn by A. Jacovleff in 1931 at Cave 25. (After Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques en Asie Centrale*, Paris 1936, pl. I)

18 Sketch drawn by Grünwedel at Cave 25 (After Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, Berlin 1920, fig. 66)

19 Manichaean miniature, showing Manichaean priests in white robes and tall white hats. MIK III 6368, from Ruin K in Qočo. Preserved in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. (After Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, II, Berlin 1923, pl. 8b-b)

20 Manichaean wall-painting (detail), showing *cintāmaṇi*s, musicians and creeper-motif design. North side wall of Cave 25, Bäzäklik. (Author's photo)

21 Manichaean wall-painting (detail of photo 16), showing the lower part of the Tree of Life with Uighur inscriptions. Cave 25, Bäzäklik. (Author's photo)

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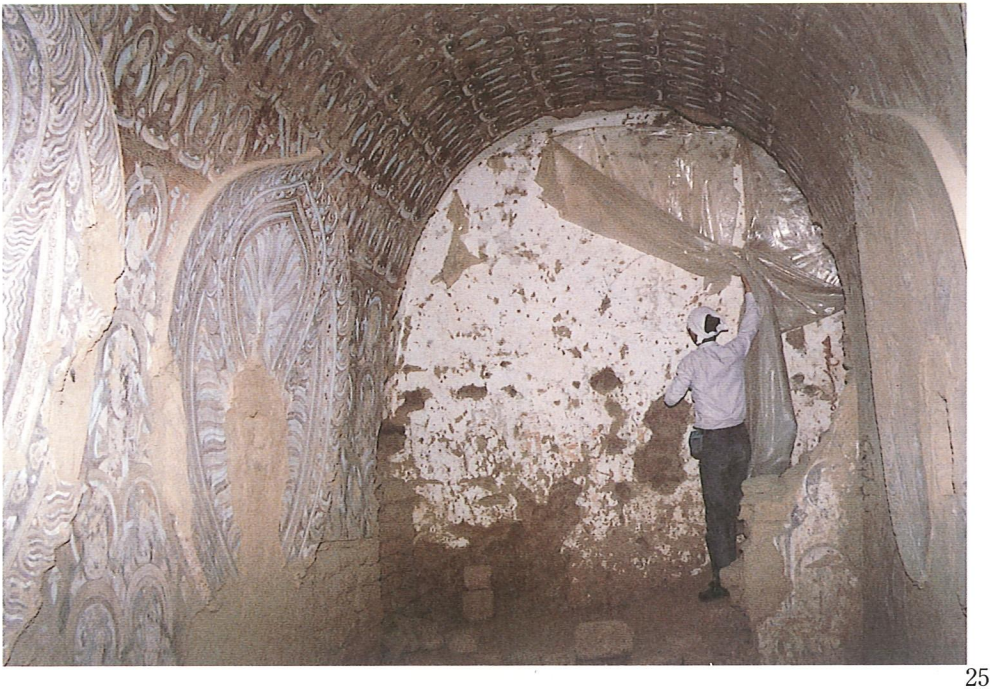
22 Uighur inscription, detail of photo 16 (Author's photo)
23 Uighur inscription, detail of photo 16 (Author's photo)
24 Part of an Uighur inscription on the Manichaean white wall behind the Buddhist wall in Cave 17, Bäzäklik. (Author's photo)
25 Cave 17 near the bottom, Bäzäklik. Only the white part of the bottom wall belongs to the older Manichaean cave. (Author's photo)
26 Manichaean prayer inscription in large Uighur script on the Manichaean wall behind the Buddhist wall. At the depth of the left side wall of Cave 17. (Author's photo)
27 Inscription in Manichaean script (vertical). Bottom wall of Cave 17. (Author's photo)



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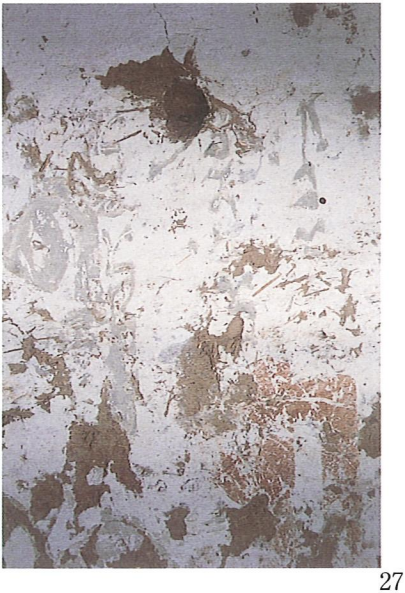

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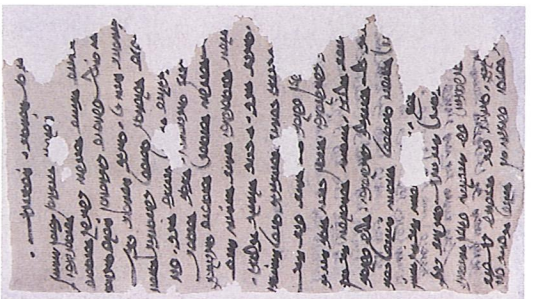

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28 Part of a Sogdian Manichaean letter sent to a Možak (81 TB 65:1), discovered behind the Buddhist wall of a double-walled cave temple of Bäzäklik. (Author's photo)

29 Detail of photo 28. Manuscript painting in a Sogdian Manichaean letter. Ink, colors and gold on paper. (Author's photo)

30 Uighur Manichaean letter (81 TB 65:6), discovered behind the Buddhist wall of a double-walled cave temple of Bäzäklik. (Author's photo)

31 Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscription No.1, dedicated in 1008. Unearthed at the so-called Ruin α , i.e. a Buddhist-Manichaean double-walled temple in Qočo. (Reproduced by the courtesy of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin)

32 Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscription No. 2 written in Chinese, dedicated in 983. Unearthed in Sängim. (Reproduced by the courtesy of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin)

33 Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscription No. 3, dedicated in 1019. Unearthed in Qočo. (Reproduced by the courtesy of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin)

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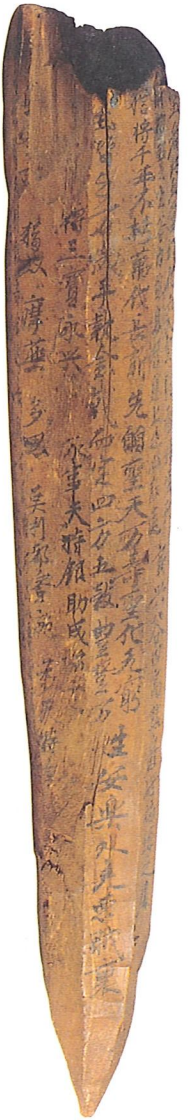

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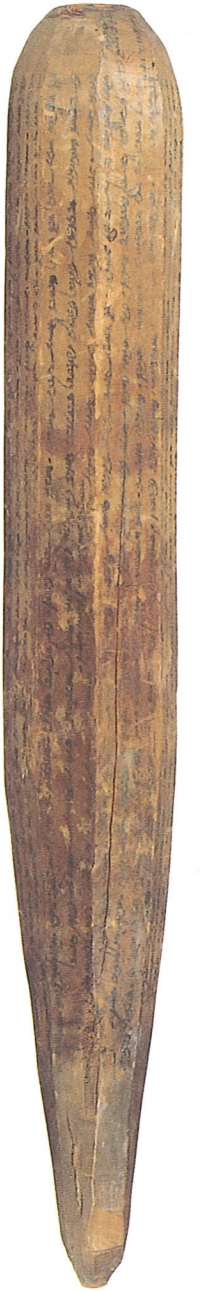

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34 Two Manichaean priests. Manichaean wall-painting of Ruin α in Qočo. (After *Central Asian Art from the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, SMPK*, Tokyo 1991, fig. 113)

35 Vajrapāṇi. Buddhist wall-painting of Ruin α in Qočo. (After *Central Asian Art from the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, SMPK*, Tokyo 1991, fig. 116)

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37 Hell-scene of the Six Ways of Existence. Cave 8, Bäzäklik. (After Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, IV, Berlin 1924, pl. 19)

38 Sogdo-Uighur Buddhist donors. Detail of photo 4.

39 Sogdo-Uighur Buddhist donors. Detail of photo 5.

40 Sogdo-Uighur Buddhist donors. Detail of photo 5.

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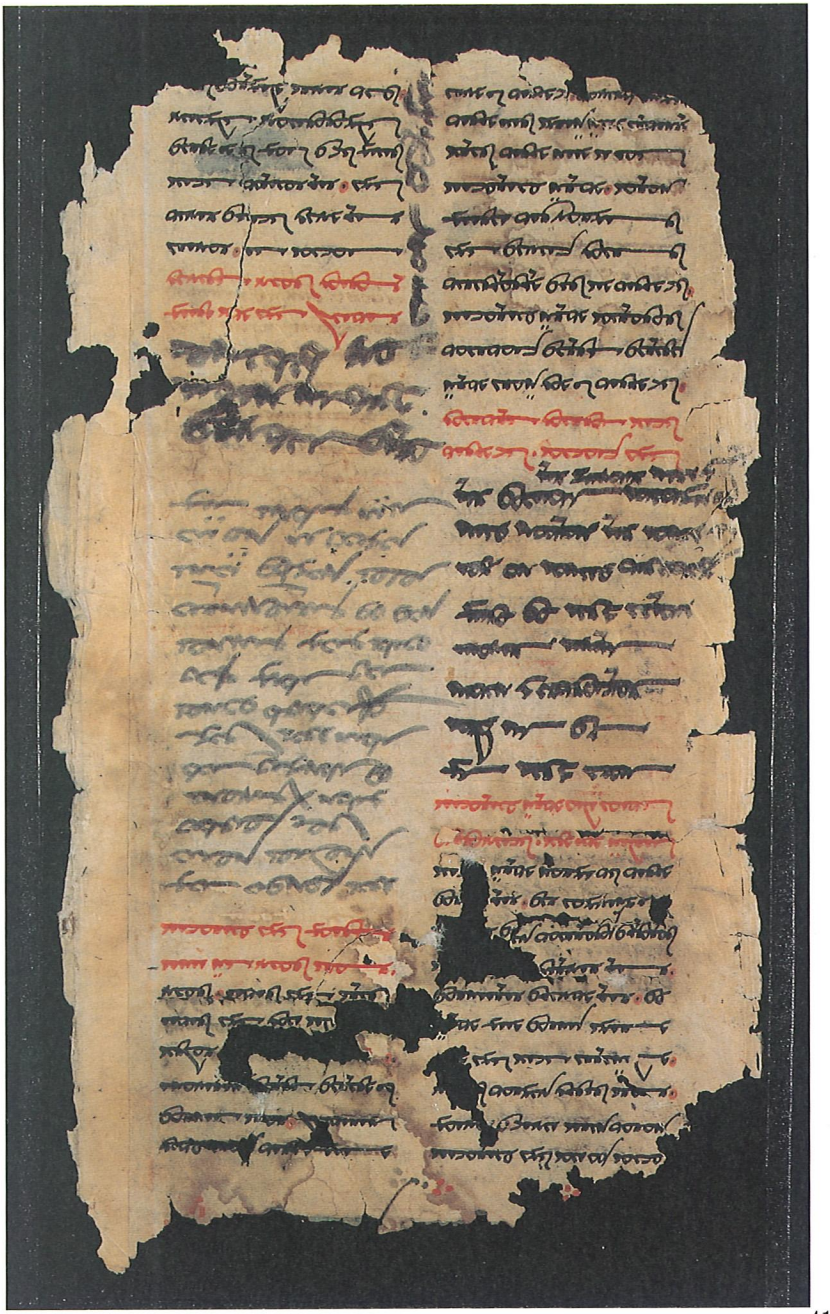

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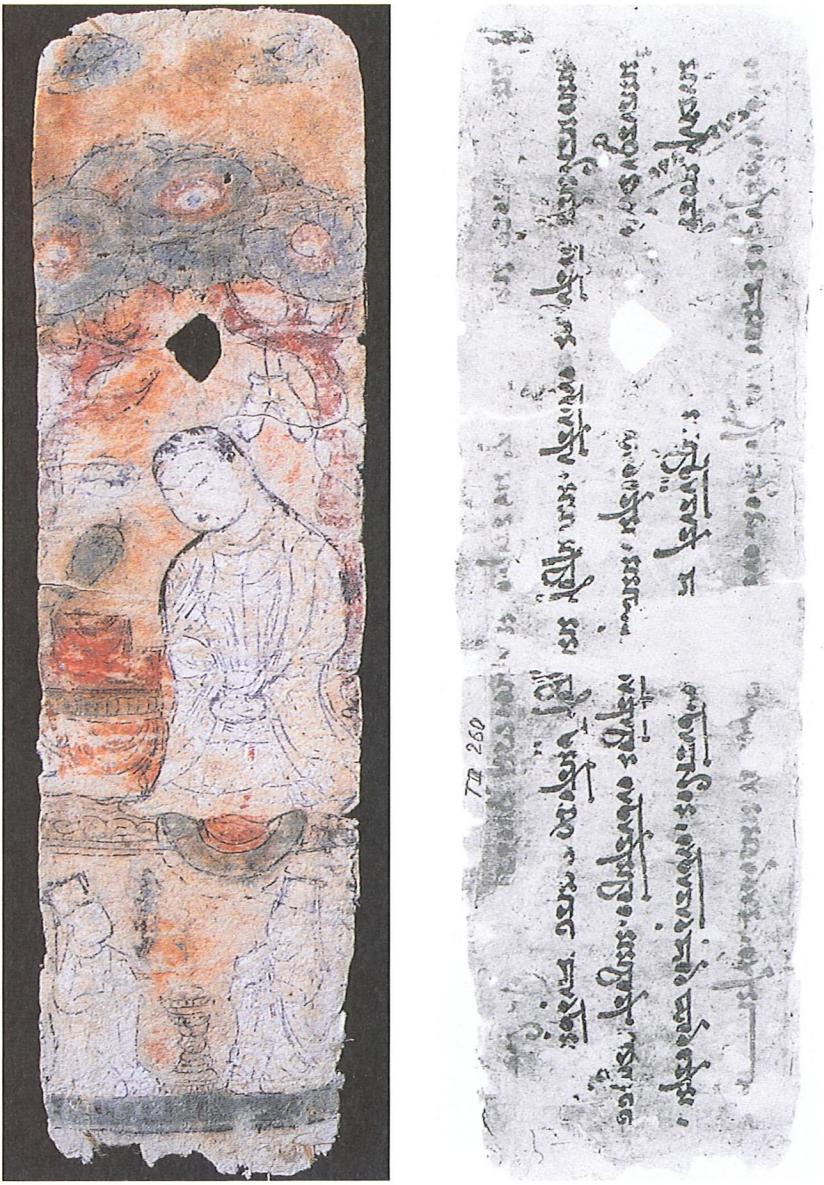
41 Uighur Manichaean text, T II D 171 (MIK III 198) recto. (Reproduced by the courtesy of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin)

42

42 Uighur Manichaean text, T II D 171 (MIK III 198) verso. (Reproduced by the courtesy of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin)



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43 Front page with miniature of an unique Manichaean Pustaka-book. (Reproduced by the courtesy of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin)

大阪大学 21 世紀 COE プログラム

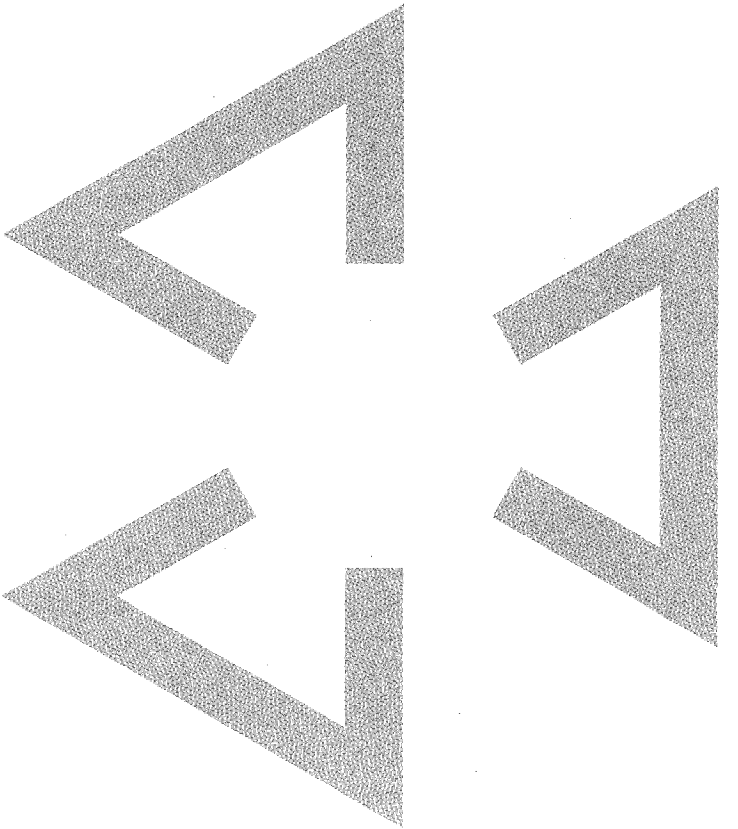
インターフェイスの人文学

文学研究科・人間科学研究科・言語文化研究科

2002・2003 年度報告書

シルクロードと世界史

World History Reconsidered through the Silk Road



Group 3

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桃木至朗	（文学研究科教授）
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赤木崇敏	（文学研究科 RA 博士後期課程）
向 正樹	（文学研究科博士後期課程）
鈴木宏節	（文学研究科博士後期課程）

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はじめに

森安孝夫

学問というのは，個人のレベルに於いても学界全体でも，長い蓄積があってはじめて発展するものである．今回の21世紀COEプロジェクトでは，初年度の11月に始まって2年目の秋には成果を出すのが至上命令だという．これには困惑したが，幸い我が阪大の世界史関係講座には，研究面で学界の最先端をいくだけでなく，高校世界史教育にも関心を持ち，積極的に活動してきた者が集まっていた．そして常日頃，高校世界史教育を学問の最先端とまではいかなくとも，学界で公認された水準にまでは合わせる必要を感じていた．

そのような背景と実績の上に，全体テーマ「インターフェイスの人文学」の精神にのっとり，我が「シルクロードと世界史」班では大学側主宰による高校世界史教員研修会を思い切って企画した．まさに日本で初めての試みであり，ここに報告する通り，大きな反響を呼ぶことができた．準備段階から本番までに要した労力と時間は膨大なものであり，講義を担当した教員のみならず，裏方として活躍してくれた多くの院生・学生諸君にとっても，肉体的・精神的負担は小さくなかったはずであるが，十分に報われる結果であった．まちがいなく高校世界史教育界に問題提起の一石を投じたと自負してよかろう．

この世界史研修会は研究の最先端と教育の現場とを繋ぐもの（縦のインターフェイス）であったが，日本が世界をリードする学問分野を海外に発信するものとして位置づけられる（横のインターフェイス）のが，コレージュ=ド=フランスで森安が行なった4回の連続講演である．しかも，その第1回目の内容が，高校世界史研修会での講義内容と重なっている点に注目されたい．

以上が我が班の目玉であったが，研究面での若手の育成も大きな目的であり，RA としてのみならず，海外調査の費用を配当するなどして成果をあげてもらった．また国内においては，中央ユーラシア学研究会，並びに海域アジア史研究会の活動を主体的に担ってもらった．本報告書に掲載されるのは，あくまでその成果の一部であり，口頭での報告や抱負を聞く限り，一人一人が確実に成長しており，今後が大いに期待できるとひそかに喜んでいる次第である．

本報告書には登場していただかなかったが，それぞれの学界をリードしている我が班の班員各位が，個別の研究・学会報告などで活躍していることはいうまでもない．ここには，山内晋次の著書『奈良平安期の日本とアジア』（吉川弘文館，2003），並びに荒川正晴の学会発表「唐代における人

の移動と貨幣（絹・銭）の流通」（唐代史研究会，新潟県岩室温泉，2003.8.26-28）を紹介するにとどめ，あとは全て省略する．

もし幸いに3年度目以降のCOEプロジェクト予算も承認されたならば，今度はヘッドを桃木至朗教授と交替し，同じシルクロードでも陸上の道ではなく，日本を含む海域アジアから遠く西洋にまで及ぶ海のシルクロード地帯に重心を移したい．メンバー構成もそのようにシフトすることになろう．

コレージュ＝ド＝フランス講演録

Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003

ウイグル＝マニ教史特別講義

History of Manichaeism among the Uighurs from the 8th to the 11th Centuries in Central Asia

森安孝夫

Takao MORIYASU

森安孝夫は，中央アジアにおけるウイグルの歴史と，ウイグルが信奉したマニ教の歴史について，大阪大学に赴任以来，現地調査も踏まえて多くの業績を挙げてきた．そのことが海外に知られて，最新の研究成果を含む講演をするよう，2年前からコレージュ＝ド＝フランスの招請を受けていた．たまたま「シルクロードと世界史」班の代表として本研究科主体のCOE活動の一翼を担うことになり，海外の研究者，並びに国内の一般読者に日本の中央アジア学を発信するという使命を帯びることになった．ここに，2003年5月にパリで行なわれたコレージュ＝ド＝フランスでの講演をフランス語（第1回）と英語（第2～4回）で再現する次第である．フランス語である第1回分についてはその和訳も発表するが，第2回目以降は英語なので和訳は付けない．ただし，第3回分にはマニ教寺院の役僧である阿拂胤薩・呼嚧喚・遏換健塞波塞について，第4回分にはT II D 171文書の重要コロフォンの年代論，並びにカラハン朝統治下のマニ教徒集団について，これまでまったく発表したことのない新しい見解が盛り込まれている．目下のところは，これらの新見解を日本語で発表する予定はないので，注目されたい．

I

Introduction à l'histoire des Ouïghours et de leurs relations avec le Manichéisme et le Bouddhisme.

le 9 mai 2003, au Collège de France, Salle 1

Takao MORIYASU

1. Histoire de l'Eurasie centrale

Dans l'histoire de l'Eurasie avant l'époque moderne, en réalité dans l'histoire du monde, les peuples nomades, en particulier les peuples nomades cavaliers de la steppe de l'Eurasie centrale **[Carte 1]**, jouèrent un rôle très important. En général, trois moteurs puissants menèrent l'histoire: la productivité, le pouvoir d'achat et la force militaire. C'est ce troisième puissant moteur qui est à l'origine du succès des peuples nomades cavaliers de la steppe de l'Eurasie centrale. Celle-ci s'étendait de la Mongolie jusqu'à l'Europe orientale. Au début du 1er millénaire avant Jésus-Christ, les peuples nomades commencèrent à monter à cheval dans la steppe d'Eurasie centrale, patrie des chevaux. À partir du moment où ils possédèrent un corps d'armée équestre, la force militaire la plus puissante du monde avant l'apparition des armes à feu, il est tout naturel que leurs mouvements soient devenus une force conduisant l'histoire mondiale.

Prenons par exemple le cas de la Chine en Orient. Venant du nord ou de l'ouest, les cinq barbares: les Hiong-nou (Xiongnu 匈奴), les Sien-pi (Xianbei 鮮卑), etc. envahirent la Chine. Passée l'époque des Seize Royaumes des cinq barbares, les Sien-pi y fondèrent l'empire des Wei 北魏, et la lignée royale des Sien-pi fonda les empires des Sui 隋 et des Tang 唐. Il en fut de même en Occident: les empires européens au nord des Alpes, se situant en Eurasie centrale occidentale, se constituèrent après avoir subi les invasions des Germains de groupe indo-européen: les Goths, les Francs, les Lombards etc. ainsi que les invasions des peuples nomades asiatiques: les Huns, les Avars, les Hongrois (Madjars) etc. **[Cartes 2-3]**

Aux yeux des modernes, l'Eurasie centrale paraît une région éloignée, en dehors des grandes zones de la culture agricole comme la Chine, l'Inde, la Mésopotamie, et la région autour de la Méditerranée. Cependant on peut dire à l'inverse que c'est

cette grande zone culturelle qui se situe à la périphérie de l'Eurasie centrale. L'Eurasie centrale put donc remplir le rôle d'une "grande artère" pour ses périphéries, centralisant leur fécondité et leur grand pouvoir d'achat. Cette "grande artère" est ce que l'on appelle "la Route de la soie". C'est par cette Route de la soie que transitaient les gens, les objets et monnaies depuis les périphéries; et elle forma un énorme creuset où bouillonnèrent de nombreuses langues, cultures et religions. En se transformant elle-même, l'Eurasie centrale eut une grande influence culturelle sur les mondes environnants.

Enfin l'Eurasie centrale continua non seulement à mener l'histoire mondiale avec la force militaire la plus puissante qui ait existé avant l'époque moderne, mais eut encore une grande influence économique et culturelle en entretenant "la Route de la soie", un réseau qui s'étendait à tous les coins du monde. Il est vrai que la puissance de l'Eurasie centrale céda devant celle de l'Europe moderne qui possédait les armes à feu. Cependant il ne faut jamais oublier la valeur de l'Eurasie centrale dans l'histoire mondiale, et le rôle qu'elle y a tenu pendant plus de deux millénaires.

L'un des grands tournants de l'histoire de l'Eurasie se situe aux alentours des 9e-11e siècles. À cette époque, éclot tout un ensemble de soi-disantes "Dynasties conquérantes": à partir de l'est, l'empire des Liao 遼, les trois dynasties des Shatuo-Türks 沙陀突厥 parmi les Cinq Dynasties de Chine du Nord, c'est-à-dire les Tang Postérieu 後唐, les Jin Postérieurs 後晉 et les Han Postérieurs 後漢, le royaume des Xixia 西夏 (Tangouts), le royaume des Ouïghours de Ganzhou 甘州, le royaume des Ouïghours Occidentaux, la dynastie des Karakhanides, la dynastie des Ghaznévides, l'empire des Seldjoukides, le khanat des Khazars etc. [Carte 4 = **Map 4**]

Depuis le 9e siècle avant Jésus-Christ, et durant longtemps, les peuples nomades cavaliers de la steppe alternèrent succès et échecs lors de leurs pillages et de leurs conquêtes chez les sédentaires des régions agricoles, en pratiquant collaboration, concilliation et assimilation avec les habitants de ces régions. Enfin vers les 9e-10e siècles, ils perfectionnèrent de façon systématique les savoir-faire pour que leur minorité domine de manière durable la majorité que représentaient les populations agricoles et urbaines. Certains de leurs savoir-faire se fondaient sur des assises

solides: la force militaire équestre la plus forte de la Terre et l'accumulation de fonds monétaires collectés par la Route de la soie. Pourtant ce fondement de leur domination n'était pas suffisant pour maintenir constamment la Dynastie conquérante de façon solide et stable. Ce qui aurait été nécessaire, me semble-il, c'eût été un système complexe composé de plusieurs éléments parmi lesquels la culture écrite était naturellement fondamentale. C'est en particulier des marchands et des religieux du monde agricole qui ont introduit l'écriture et enseigné comment élaborer toutes sortes de documents chez les peuples nomades.

Ce n'est pas un hasard si les peuples minoritaires, ceux du "nord" nomades cavaliers, fondèrent au même moment des Dynasties conquérantes semblables dans les régions du "sud", zone agricole et urbaine, tout en gardant leur base dans la steppe, leur propre foyer. On suppose que la force du "nord" atteignit enfin, après de longues années, un degré tel qu'elle put construire un système administratif à l'aide de l'écrit pour dominer "le sud" directement ou indirectement, et non plus seulement par la force militaire. C'est pour cela que sur toute l'étendue de l'Eurasie, à la même époque, le même phénomène apparut. Il faut donc considérer que ce phénomène a été une conséquence nécessaire dans l'histoire.

L'histoire des Ouïghours est importante pour celle de l'Eurasie. C'est parce que l'âge d'or des Ouïghours aux 8e-11e siècles coïncide avec un tournant dans l'histoire où les Ouïghours menèrent les mouvements mondiaux. De plus à cette époque, la religion des Ouïghours passe du Chamanisme au Manichéisme et ensuite du Manichéisme au Bouddhisme. Donc l'histoire du Manichéisme ouïghour est un thème directement lié à l'histoire mondiale.

2. *Fo* 佛 et *pusa* 菩薩 ne sont pas toujours Bouddha et bodhisattva

Les plus importants documents pour étudier le Manichéisme oriental et l'histoire du Manichéisme oriental sont les documents de Turfan, de Dunhuang, les ruines des temples manichéens de Turfan, et l'inscription de Kara-Balgasun. Kara-Balgasun est le nom moderne de l'ancienne capitale ouïghoure, Ordu-balïq, située au bord de la rivière Orkhon dans la Haute-Mongolie. L'inscription de Kara-Balgasun est une

gigantesque stèle érigée en l'honeur du 8e qaghan Baoyi 保義. Mais à mon avis, elle est aussi un monument commémoratif du Manichéisme chez les Ouïghours. Elle a été rédigée en trois langues: le turc, le sogdien et le chinois.

Pour saisir correctement et historiquement tous les aspects de ces documents et de ces ruines, l'étude comparative avec les documents chinois est impérative. Cependant parmi les chercheurs européens dans le domaine du Manichéisme et de la philologie, certains ne rendent pas assez clairement compte de la distinction entre l'empire des Ouïghours Orientaux, le royaume des Ouïghours Occidentaux, des Ouïghours de Xizhou 西州 ou Gaochang 高昌 (= Qočo), des Ouïghours de Kuča, l'Arslan-Ouïghour, le royaume des Ouïghours de Ganzhou 甘州 et des Ouïghours de Shazhou 沙州, ainsi que de leurs relations. Cela provoque des confusions sur les datations des documents. À l'exception du professeur James Hamilton, les jeunes générations continuent de commettre ces erreurs. La connaissance imprécise concernant le rapport entre l'histoire de Dunhuang et de Turfan où les documents ouïghours ou sogdiens sur le Bouddhisme, le Manichéisme, et les textes profanes se trouvaient ensemble, en particulier, concernant leurs rapports avec les dominations des Ouïghours, produira prochainement des fautes énormes.

Prenons l'exemple d'une erreur qui circule partout, même maintenant parmi les chercheurs européens et américains. On pense que les Ouïghours ont été bouddhistes avant d'avoir été convertis au Manichéisme.(1) Voici les deux raisons sur lesquelles s'appuie cette hypothèse:

- le nom d'un chef des Ouïghours du 7e siècle était *púsà* 菩薩 (**b'uo-sât*) en transcription chinoise qui veut dire un 'Bodhisattva' bouddhique.

- un paragraphe qui se trouve à la ligne 9 du texte chinois de l'inscription de Kara-Balgasun:

「往者無識, 謂鬼爲佛. 今已悞真, 不可復事. 特望□□, □□□□.」□□□日,「既有志誠, 任即持賫, 應有刻畫魔形, 悉令焚藝. (以下略)」

(1) ——— Cf. J. Elverskog, *Uygur Buddhist Literature*, (Silk Road Studies 1), Turnhout: Brepols, 1997, p. 6; Clark 2000, p. 101.

Chavannes / Pelliot 1913: (2)

[Le troisième qaghan ouïghour Meou-yu dit:] "..... Autrefois j'étais ignorant et **j'appelais 'Buddha' (*fó* 佛) des démons**; maintenant, j'ai compris le vrai et je ne peux plus servir [ces faux dieux]. Spécialement j'espère ....." [Le religieux manichéen] dit: "Puisque vous (= le qaghan) êtes résolu et sincère, vous pouvez immédiatement recevoir et garder [les préceptes]. Que toutes les images du démon sculptées ou peintes soient entièrement détruites par le feu, ..."

Il est très dangereux de se fonder sur ces deux raisons pour se persuader que les Ouïghours furent des bouddhistes. Il est vrai que *púsà* est une forme utilisée pour transcrire en chinois le mot sanscrit 'bodhisattva'. Mais les Chinois utilisaient le mot *púsàmán* 菩薩蠻 (**b'uo-sât-mwan*) en chinois pour exprimer "le musulman" à l'époque des Song 宋 . Par ce fait, il est évident que l'on ne peut pas déterminer si celui qui porte le nom púsà est bouddhiste ou non.

Concernant l'inscription de Kara-Balgasun, on ne doit pas regarder le terme chinois *fó* comme vrai 'Buddha' mais comme un dieu ou une déesse, parce que cette terminologie a été déjà attestée dans le fameux *Hymnaire* chinois provenant de Dunhuang, i.e. *Xiàbu zàn* 下部讚 . De plus, d'après Mikkelsen, le mot *fó* dans le fameux traité manichéen chinois provenant de Dunhuang correspond à *yzd* "dieu" dans un fragment du traité manichéen parthe provenant de Turfan.(3) Je traduis le passage en question comme suit:

Moriyasu 2003:

[Les dignitaires ouïghours dirent:] "Autrefois nous étions ignorants et **nous considérions des esprits chamanistes comme les dieux (*fó*)**; maintenant, nous avons compris le vrai et nous ne pouvons plus servir [ces faux dieux]. Exclusivement nous espérons ....." [Alors le qaghan Mouyu] dit: "Puisque vous (= les dignitaires) êtes résolus et sincères, vous pouvez immédiatement

(2) ——— Chavannes / Pelliot 1913, pp. 193-194.

(3) ——— Mikkelsen 1995, p. 103.

recevoir et garder [les préceptes]. Que toutes les images du démon sculptées ou peintes soient entièrement détruites par le feu, ..."

Chavannes et Pelliot, qui connaissaient la totalité des textes chinois, refusèrent que les Ouïghours fussent des bouddhistes d'après cette inscription, déjà en 1913.(4) Toutefois, après les deux articles de A. von Gabain: "Die Frühgeschichte der Uiguren" et "Buddhistische Türkenmission", rédigés dans les années 1950,(5) cette opinion devint dominante dans les cercles académiques européens et américains.(6) Malheureusement il me semble que le niveau européen de formation en littérature chinoise est plus bas maintenant qu'à l'époque de Chavannes et Pelliot.

3. Exposé sommaire de l'histoire ouïghoure (7)

S'étant substitué à l'empire des Türks Orientaux, l'empire des Ouïghours Orientaux domina pendant environ cent ans, des années 740 à 840. Résumons brièvement son histoire:

Les Ouïghours avec des Basmïl et des Qarluq anéantirent dans les années 740 l'empire des Türks Orientaux qui régnait sur l'Asie Centrale orientale; puis les Ouïghours devinrent les seigneurs de la région au nord du désert de Gobi. Au moment de la révolte d'An Lushan 安祿山 et de Shi Siming 史思明 qui troubla l'empire des Tang de 755 jusqu'à 763, les Ouïghours jouèrent un rôle répressif important en envoyant des renforts aux Chinois. [Carte 5 = **Map 5**] À partir de ce moment-là, les Ouïghours conservèrent la supériorité sur l'empire des Tang et ils exigèrent diverses choses. Les commerçants sogdiens venus du pays ouïghour commencèrent à agir en

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(4) ——— Chavannes / Pelliot 1913, pp. 190-199, surtout voir p. 193, n. 2.

(5) ——— A. von Gabain, "Die Frühgeschichte der Uiguren : 607-745." *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 72, 1952, pp. 18-32; A. von Gabain, "Buddhistische Türkenmission." in: *Asiatica. Festschrift F. Weller*, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 161-173.

(6) ——— Cf. L. W. Moses, "T'ang Tribute Relations with the Inner Asian Barbarian." in: J. C. Perry et al. (eds.), *Essays on T'ang Society*, Leiden 1976, p. 76; Klimkeit 1982, p. 21; Clark 2000, p. 105; Tremblay 2001, pp. 22, 41, 44, 83, 107, 108, 110. Tremblay n'a pas discuté directement les informations de l'inscription de Kara-Balgasun. Mais son argument est basé sur la prémisse majeure que les Ouïghours furent des bouddhistes avant la conversion au Manichéisme du qaghan Mouyu.

(7) ——— Voir Appendix : Chronology of the Uighur Qaghans.

Chine avec ruse, comme le renard qui profite du prestige du lion. Ils monopolisèrent le profit commercial entre les pays éloignés et, de plus, saisirent une partie des capitaux monétaires chinois. Leurs capitaux sont appellés *Huihu-jian* 回鶻錢 "l'argent ouïghour". De nombreux chercheurs comprennent littéralement que les Ouïghours étaient devenus les marchands. Mais cette vision est erronnée; en réalité c'est "l'argent sogdien". On reviendra sur ce point à la fin du cours.

Le troisième qaghan ouïghour Mouyu 牟羽 (759-779) du clan Yaghlakar se convertit au Manichéisme et accorda aux Sogdiens manichéens un statut important. Cependant, comme il fut renversé en 779 par une faction anti-manichéenne, quelques temps après cet événement, le Manichéisme régressa dans l'Empire Ouïghour. Pourtant, la coopération des commerçants sogdiens était indispensable aux Ouïghours pour qu'ils puissent maintenir leur contrôle sur la Route de la soie traversant l'Asie centrale; en conséquence, le Manichéisme fut de nouveau adopté par les Ouïghours au moins dans les années 790.

Ce n'est qu'à partir de 789-792 que la partie orientale de la région des Tianshan passe sous la domination des Ouïghours. Le conflit qui eut lieu entre les Ouïghours et les Tibétains à cette époque pour la conquête de la région de Bišbalïq (= Beiting 北庭) est bien connu. Quant à l'issue du conflit, les historiens ne se sont pas mis d'accord. Certains considèrent les Tibétains comme les vainqueurs, d'autres les Ouïghours. La première hypothèse était généralement la plus admise et ce depuis longtemps. Mais en 1973 j'ai soutenu la seconde hypothèse dans un article publié dans le *Tōyō gakuhō* (8) et elle est maintenant admise par nombreux chercheurs.(9) Pendant ce conflit, le grand ministre-général des Ouïghours, Il Ögäsi de la tribu des Ädiz, fit preuve d'une activité prodigieuse. Ensuite il prit le pouvoir et devint le qaghan à la place des qaghans du clan royal Yaghlakar. Ce nouveau qaghan nommé Huaixin 懷信 adopta

(8) ——— Moriyasu 1973. Edition augmentée: Moriyasu 1979. Cet article a été traduit en français et publié en 1981: "Qui des Ouigours ou des Tibétains ont gagné en 789-792 à Beš-balïq?" *JA* 269-1/2, 1981, pp. 193-205.

(9) ——— Cf. J. Hamilton, "Le colophon de l'ïrq bitig." *Turcica* 7, 1975, pp. 9-10 (note 7); U. Marazzi, "Alcuni problemi relativi alla diffusione del manicheismo presso i Turchi nei secoli VIII-IX." *Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 39-2, 1979, p. 243; Mackerras 1990, pp. 318-319; E. Trombert, *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha. Fonds Pelliot de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. Paris, 2000, pp. 18-19; Tremblay 2001, pp. 32-33; N. Sh. Steinhardt, "Beiting: City and Ritual Complex." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7, 2001, p. 257, n. 17; De la Vaissière 2002, p. 310.

officiellement le Manichéisme comme religion d'État, et favorisa les Sogdiens manichéens. À partir de la conquête de la région de Bišbalïq, toute la partie orientale de la région des Tianshan, y compris la dépression de Turfan, resta désormais sous l'influence, sinon le contrôle, des Ouïghours Orientaux. C'est pour cela qu'en 803, Boquq/Buγuγ Khan, c'est à dire le qaghan Huaixin, vint au Qočo afin de rencontrer *Možak*, le maître (*magister*) de l'Église manichéenne, et discuter sur la création de trois *Mahistag*, i.e. trois prêtres. Or, le territoire ouïghour s'étendait au nord du bassin Tarim, et le territoire tibétain se trouvait depuis le sud du bassin Tarim et jusqu'au nord-ouest de la Chine. Cette situation politique évolua jusqu'à l'alliance des trois pays, le Tibet, la Chine et l'Empire Ouïghour, comme on verra par la suite.

Grâce aux sources chinoises et à la stèle commémorative de l'alliance entre les Tang et le Tibet se trouvant à Lhasa, on sait que les Tang et le Tibet signèrent un traité de paix en 821-822. Cependant au début des années 1980, J. Szerb et Z. Yamaguchi, s'appuyant sur les documents historiques tibétains, supposèrent que non seulement ces deux pays, mais encore le Tibet et l'Empire Ouïghour conclurent un pacte d'alliance à ce moment-là.(10) Mais le document historique qui le confirme n'existait ni chez les Tang ni chez les Ouïghours. Dans un article publié en 1987, j'ai estimé que le fragment Dunhuang Pelliot chinois 3829 conservé à Paris était le seul texte chinois mentionnant ce pacte d'alliance entre ces trois pays.(11) En 1997, le chinois Li Zhengyu a soutenu que ce fragment de Paris pouvait être joint à celui de Dunhuang conservé à St. Pétersbourg, Дх. 1462 et confirma mon hypothèse.(12) Les frontières des pays qui s'allièrent en ce temps-là sont les suivantes: le territoire tibétain allait jusqu'à Etsina; la frontière entre les Tang et le Tibet se situait sur une ligne entre Qingshui 清水 et Yuanzhou 原州 . Le territoire ouïghour s'étendait jusqu'au Mt. Huamen 花門 , où se trouve l'inscription de

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(10) ——— J. Szerb, "A Note on the Tibetan-Uigur Treaty of 822/823 A.D." in: E. Steinkellner et al. (eds.), *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture*. Wien, 1983, pp. 375-386; Z. Yamaguchi, "Sashū Kanjin niyoru Toban 2 gundan no seiritsu to mKhar tsan gundan no ichi." *Tōkyō-daigaku Bungakubu Bunka-kōryū-kenkyū-shisetsu kenkyū kiyō* 4, 1981, 28, 34.

(11) ——— T. Moriyasu, "Chūō-Ajia-shi no naka no Tibetto --- Toban no sekaishi teki ichizuke ni mukete no tenbō ---." in: Y. Nagano & M. Tachikawa (eds.), *Tibetto no gengo to bunka*. Tokyo: Tōjusha, 1987, p. 67.

(12) ——— Li Zhengyu 李正宇 , "Tufan Lun Dong Bo-Zang xiu qielan gongde ji liangjuan de faxian, zhuihe ji gaozheng." *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 2 (1996), 1997, pp. 249-257.

Sevrey dont Prof. Yutaka Yoshida vous parlera dans sa 3e conférence. [Carte 6 = **Map 6**]

En 840 l'empire des Ouïghours Orientaux fut envahi par les Kirghizes, et nombre d'Ouïghours s'échappèrent de leur propre foyer, la Haute-Mongolie. Le groupe qui alla vers le sud aboutit à la Mongolie Intérieure, dans le nord chinois. Cependant il ne fut pas accepté par les Tang, et s'éteignit en tant que groupe, après maints conflits avec les Tang. D'autres groupes, nombreux, se dirigèrent vers l'ouest et s'installèrent dans la partie orientale de la région des Tianshan, qui était sous l'influence des Ouïghours depuis la fin du 8e siècle. Vers 850 ils fondèrent le royaume des Ouïghours Occidentaux dont la capitale se situait à Yanqi 焉耆 (= Karašahr). [Carte 7 = **Map 7**] Peuple nomade, les Ouïghours n'installèrent pas leur base dès le début dans la dépression de Turfan, mais seulement vers la fin du 9e siècle, voire même au 10e siècle, lorsque Bišbalïq devint leur capitale d'été et Qočo leur capitale d'hiver. Un autre groupe pénétra dans le nord du Gansu nomadisant dans la région d'Etsina. Il occupa enfin Ganzhou dans les années 890 et fonda le royaume des Ouïghours de Ganzhou. Ce royaume fut exterminé par des Tangouts, le royaume des Xixia, au milieu du 11e siècle. Cependant le Royaume Ouïghour d'Occident subsista plus longtemps jusqu'au début du 13e siècle où des Ouïghours se soumirent volontairement à Gengis Khan de Mongolie.

À propos, les Ouïghours durant l'époque mongole furent presque tous bouddhistes. Mais jusqu'à quand le Manichéisme ouïghour resta-t-il la religion d'État? Ce fut un des thèmes principaux de ma thèse de doctorat "L'histoire du Manichéisme ouïghour".(13) Récemment, Prof. Werner Sundermann présenta en détail mon opinion dans son article "Der Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße" [Sundermann 2001b] en utilisant ma thèse traduite en allemand (en cours de publication).(14) Donc aujourd'hui je vous présente mon opinion très rapidement en projetant des diapositives en couleur.

(13) —— Moriyasu 1991. Cf. A. Forte, "A New Study on Manichaeism in Central Asia." *OLZ* 88-2, 1993, pp. 117-124.

(14) —— *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße.*

4. La grotte double bouddhique et manichéenne (à Bäzäklik) et le temple double (à Qočo)

Au Turkistan oriental actuel, le Bouddhisme prospérait avant l'islamisation; on y trouve des groupes de grottes-temples partout. Ce sont tous des temples bouddhiques. Cependant il y a un indice irréfutable qui prouve qu'à un certain moment, le Manichéisme se pratiquait dans les Grottes des Mille Bouddhas de Bäzäklik. C'est la grotte double bouddhique-manichéenne; la grotte qui était originairement manichéenne fut restaurée et transformée avec la construction d'un mur intérieur, sur lequel des tableaux bouddiques furent peints.

Observons à présent cette grotte.

De la **1er à la 3e photo [Pl. I]**, il s'agit des vues extérieures actuelles des grottes des Mille Bouddhas de Bäzäklik. De la **4e à la 9e photo [Pls. II-III]**, ce sont les peintures murales bouddhiques. Les **10e-13e photos [Pls. III-IV]** sont des portraits de la famille royale ou des aristocrates qui étaient les donateurs de ces grottes et des peintures. Ensuite, viennent les grottes doubles. L'allemand A. Grünwedel publia dans son livre *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, la description de la grotte 25 de Bäzäklik selon la numérotation de Grünwedel avec un plan sommaire, et montra que cette grotte contenait une structure double un peu complexe (la **14e photo**). Il mentionne la peinture murale bouddhique sur le mur récent face à l'entrée, et "la peinture particulière" sur le mur originel au front de la grotte (les **15e-18e photos**). Cependant il ne dit pas si cette peinture est manichéenne.

Ce sont le russe S.F. Oldenbourg et le français J. Hackin qui la présentent comme manichéenne. Leur argument s'appuie uniquement sur la similitude entre cette peinture et celle de la miniature de documents manichéens découverts à Turfan par A. von Le Coq (la **19e photo sur la Pl. VI**). Pourtant on trouve sur le mur latéral de la même grotte, le motif du "Cintāmaṇi" entouré de flammes brûlantes sur le socle avec les pétales de lotus (**la 20e photo**). Ce motif convient aux peintures bouddhiques et Oldenbourg doutait que ces peintures soient bouddhistes.

Par la suite, V. Arnold-Döben et H.-J. Klimkeit diffusèrent leur hypothèse selon laquelle les trois arbres, thème central de cette peinture murale du front, étaient "l'arbre

de la vie", le symbole du "Royaume de la lumière" chez les manichéens. Je suis d'accord avec eux. Mais personne n'avait encore prouvé de façon définitive que cette peinture était manichéenne. Et même en 1983, Madame Monique Maillard commentait sans avoir le moindre sentiment de ses responsabilités: "Le sujet n'a, jusqu'à maintenant, pas été identifié."(15)

Prof. Y. Yoshida et moi sommes allés plusieurs fois à Bäzäklik à la fin des années 1980. Nous avons déchiffré les inscriptions ouïghoures écrites sur les murs des deux grottes nos. 25 et 17 selon la numérotation de Grünwedel (les **21e-26e photos sur les Pls. VI-VIII**). Nous y avons trouvé les phrases "*mnastar hirza*" ("Pardonnez mes péchés!"), une formule typiquement manichéenne, et "*qut wxšiklar quvraγï bu ärür*" ("C'est un groupement des dieux tutélaires"), mais aussi des inscriptions ou graffiti faits en alphabet manichéen (la **27e photo**). Ces découvertes mirent en évidence que ces grottes avaient été manichéennes. Pour les détails que j'ai décrits dans le 1er chapitre de mon ouvrage *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße* qui devrait sortir prochainement, je me permets de vous y renvoyer. Ici je voudrais seulement indiquer que le Prof. Sundermann, en se basant sur mon ouvrage, a développé notre idée comme suit: "Les trois arbres sont un symbole de l'Église manichéenne, plus exactement, de la hiérarchie manichéennne. (Die drei Bäume sind ein Symbol der manichäischen Kirche, genauer gesagt, ihrer Hierarchie.)"

À l'heure actuelle, nous estimons à plus de cinq les grottes doubles bouddhiques-manichéennes de Bäzäklik. Dans l'une d'elles, on a trouvé en 1981 les 8 lettres manichéennes dans l'espace situé entre les deux murs doubles. Trois longues lettres sont écrites en sogdien et 5 lettres plus courtes sont en ouïghour (les **28e-30e photos sur la Pl. IX**). Elles furent toutes publiées en chinois avec nos études à Pékin en 2000 [Xinjiang Tulufan diqu wenwuju 2000].

Il convient à présent de nous interroger sur les deux points suivants: quand les grottes manichéenes furent-elles construites et pourquoi à Bäzäklik?

Les grottes des Mille Bouddhas de Bäzäklik étaient des temples bouddhiques

(15) ——— M. Maillard, *Grottes et monuments d'Asie Centrale. Essai sur l'architecture des monuments civils et religieux dans l'Asie Centrale sédentaire depuis l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à la conquête musulmane*. Paris, 1983, p. 201.

vénérables dont l'origine remonte à l'époque du Royaume Gaochang de la famille Qu 麴 aux 6e-7e siècles. Elles étaient appellées "le temple-grotte Ningrong 寧戎寺 " dans les premières années de la dynastie des Tang. Ces grottes, lieu saint bouddhique, furent brusquement investies par les manichéens. Par conséquent, on peut supposer qu'il a dû exister un pouvoir politique très puissant à l'arrière-plan. Leur apparition date donc vraisemblablement de l'époque des Ouïghours occidentaux, sans doute, après le transfert de leur capitale de Yanqi (Karašahr) à la région de Bišbalïq et Qočo, c'est à dire au plus tôt à partir de la fin du 9e siècle. Ainsi, quand serait sa limite finale?

5. Du Manichéisme au Bouddhisme: l'hypothèse d'une présence manichéenne de courte durée (16)

En ce qui concerne le Manichéisme ouïghour, il y a deux opinions opposées. Les uns estiment qu'il déclina peu après l'émigration dans la région des Tianshan; d'autres supposent qu'il continua de prospérer longtemps encore jusqu'à l'époque de l'Empire Mongol.

Pour les raisons suivantes, j'en viens à la conclusion que le Manichéisme ouïghour a gardé la position d'une religion d'État jusqu'au milieu du 10e siècle et qu'à partir de la seconde moitié du 10e siècle, il se trouva en rivalité avec le Bouddhisme et déclina avant le milieu du 11e siècle:

1) On a trouvé quatre pieux en bois avec une inscription qui indique que les bouddhistes fichèrent le pieu dans le sol pour commémorer la fondation d'un temple bouddhique. En particulier, le 1er pieu en bois (la **31e photo sur la Pl. X**) provient de la Ruine α, reste d'un temple double manichéen et bouddhique, qui se trouve à Qočo. Cette inscription sur le 1er pieu date du moment où la Ruine α, qui était originairement le temple manichéen (la **34e photo**), fut restaurée et formée en temple bouddhique (les **35e-36e photos**). Le Prof. Hamilton et moi l'avons daté de 1008. Le 2e pieu date de 983 (la **32e photo**), et le 3e date de

(16) ——— Cf. Sundermann 2001b; Tremblay 2001, pp. 13-15; Gulácsi 2001, p. 4. Utilisant des mêmes sources ou matériaux, Tremblay discute le même problème et arrive à la même conclusion. Mais ma thèse a été publiée plus tôt que celle de Tremblay 2001.

1019 (la **33e photo**).(17)

2) Parmi les calendriers manichéens restants, retrouvés à Turfan, certains portent clairement une date. On trouve les années 929, 931-932, 984, 1000-1001 dans les textes sogdiens, et 988-989, 1003-1004 dans les textes ouïghours.

3) Les textes manichéens restants en ouïghour sont écrits seulement en caractères demi-moulés. Cette écriture est un style ancien remontant à peu près au 10e siècle et n'existe pas à l'époque mongole. S'il me reste du temps, j'en parlerai dans la 4e conférence. [Voir pp. 88-89:**STYLE of UIGHUR SCRIPT**]

4) D'après les sources chinoises, en 934 et 951, les envoyés du royaume des Ouïghours Occidentaux en Chine furent des hauts fonctionnaires et des moines manichéens; mais à partir de 965 jusqu'à 1022, des hauts fonctionnaires et des moines bouddhistes.

Il faut donc considérer que les peintures murales manichéennes des grottes 25 et 17 à Bäzäklik, ainsi que celles de la Ruine α de Qočo ont été faites au plus tard à la fin du 10e siècle, ou au début du 11e siècle.

Je voudrais attirer votre attention sur leur rapport avec la théorie chronologique de la peinture murale bouddhique. Si comme on l'a vu plus haut, est exacte mon opinion concernant la datation de ces grottes doubles, la date de ces peintures murales bouddhiques doit se situer après le début du 11e siècle, au plus tôt après la seconde moitié du 10e siècle. Ces peintures bouddhiques de ces grottes 25 et 17 qui représentent des tableaux votifs et des tableaux de nobles, sont typiquement en soi-disant "style ouïghour". D'après cette estimation, on peut fixer la date des autres peintures murales bouddhiques en style ouïghour qui se trouvent çà et là dans tout le bassin de Turfan.

Récemment j'ai appris que certaines des peintures murales de Bäzäklik, qui sont conservées au Museum für Indische Kunst à Berlin, avaient été examinées et testées au Carbone 14. D'après ce test, MIK III 8453 (la **37e photo sur la Pl. XII**), connu comme "la figure d'enfer" de la 8e grotte selon la numérotation de Grünwedel qui était traditionnellement datée du 9e siècle, fut datée de 1042-1162 après Jésus-Christ; et

(17) ——— Voir non seulement la partie principale de Moriyasu 2001, mais aussi de nombreuses références citées aux notes 6 & 7 de Moriyasu 2003, p. 470.

l'une des peintures de la 4e grotte fut datée de 1036-1161.(18) Ce résultat confirme scientifiquement ma théorie. Pourtant dans le catalogue le plus récent du Museum für Indiche Kunst, *Magische Götterwelten*, Berlin 2000, la date de ces deux peintures est bien modifiée, mais celle du fragment de la fameuse peinture murale des nobles ouïghours (les **12e-13e photos**) **[Pl. IV]** n'a pas été changée et elle suit toujours la datation traditionelle 8e-9e siècle.(19) Cela montre que l'on ne comprend pas fondamentalement ma théorie.

Regardez ces dernières trois photos (les **38e-40e photos sur la Pl. XII** = agrandissement des photos 4e et 5e sur la Pl. II). Ce sont des donateurs bouddhistes se trouvant sur des peintures murales bouddhiques. Puisque ce sont les peintures de Bäzäklik, ces donateurs sont évidemment des marchands ouïghours. Toutefois leur visage n'est pas celui des Ouïghours de race mongole, mais de race caucasienne. Selon le *Songmo jiwen* 松漠紀聞 , les Mémoires sur le Désert des Pins écrits par un envoyé de la dynastie des Song 宋 détenu sous la dynastie Jin 金 , le trait caractéristique des marchands ouïghours bouddhistes est le suivant: "les cheveux bouclés, les yeux enfoncés, le sourcil joli et foncé, et les favoris abondants au-dessous des cils." Cette description fut rédigée au 12e siècle qui n'est pas une époque différente de notre peinture. En outre, parmi les marchands ouïghours qui venaient sous les dynasties chinoises à partir du 10e siècle pour payer le tribut (en réalité pour le commerce), nombreux furent ceux qui portèrent les noms de famille An, Kang, Cao, et Shi etc., noms caractéristiques des Sogdiens qui résidaient en Chine ou au Turkistan chinois actuel.(20)

Puisque le pays natal des Sogdiens était déjà complètement islamisé, ces Sogdiens devaient être issus des marchands qui étaient restés dans le royaume des Ouïghours Occidentaux. En comparant leur situation avec celle-ci, les Ouïghours qui étaient nomades à l'époque de l'empire des Ouïghours Orientaux en Mongolie n'auraient pas pu être dans le commerce et la finance. En conséquence, comme on l'a vu plus haut, "l'argent ouïghour" doit être considéré comme "l'argent sogdien".(21)

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(18) ——— M. Yaldiz et al. (eds.), *Magische Götterwelten, Werke aus dem Museum für Indische Kunst*, Berlin. no date (2000), No. 316 & No. 322.

(19) ——— Cf. M. Yaldiz et al. (eds.), *Magische Götterwelten*, No. 329 & No. 330.

(20) ——— Cf. Hamilton 1955, (Repr.: 1988), pp. 66, 71; Tremblay 2001, p. 20, n. 31; De la Vaissière 2002, p. 326.

(21) ——— Moriyasu 1997, pp. 108-111.

Appendix: Chronology of the Uighur Qaghans

East Uighurs		（正式称号）	（冊封名）	（通称）	（在位年）
1	**Yaghlakar-Clan**	Köl bilgä qaγan	Huairen 懷仁	Guli Peiluo 骨力裴羅	744-747
2	son	Tängridä bolmïš il itmiš bilgä qaγan	Yingwu Weiyuan 英武威遠	Moyanchuo 磨延啜 Gele kehan 葛祿可汗	747-759
3	son	<Kün>Tängridä qut bulmïš il tutmïš alp külüg bilgä qaγan	Yingyi Jiangong 英義建功	Yidijian 移地健 Mouyu kehan 牟羽可汗	759-779
4	elder cousin	Alp qutluγ bilgä qaγan	Wuyi Chenggong 武義成功 Changshou Tianqin 長壽天親	Dunmohe dagan 頓莫賀達干	779-789
5	son	Tängridä bolmïš külüg bilgä qaγan	Zhongzhen 忠貞	Duoluosi 多邏斯 Panguan tegin 判官特勤	789-790
6	son	Qutluγ bilgä qaγan	Fengcheng 奉誠	Achuo 阿啜	790-795
7	**Ädiz-Clan**	Tängridä ülüg bulmïš alp qutluγ uluγ bilgä qaγan	Huaixin 懷信	Guduolu jiangjun 骨咄祿將軍	795-808
8	?	Ay tängridä qut bulmïš alp bilgä qaγan	Baoyi 保義	?	808-821
9	?	Kün tängridä ülüg bulmïš (alp) küčlüg bilgä qaγan	Chongde 崇德	?	821-824
10	younger cousin	Ay tängridä qut bulmïš alp bilgä qaγan	Zhaoli 昭禮	Hesa tegin 曷薩特勤	824-832
11	nephew	Ay tängridä qut bulmïš alp külüg bilgä qaγan	Zhangxin 彰信	Hu tegin 胡特勤	832-839
12	?	?	--	Esa tegin 匿馭特勤	839-840

West Uighurs

a. Il bilgä tängri ilig IV ?-954-?

b. Arslan bilgä tängri ilig IV = Süngülüg qaγan ?-981-983-984?-?

c. Bögü bilgä tängri ilig 996-1003-?

d. Kün ay tägritäg küsänčig körtlä yaruq tängri bögü tägrikänimiz 1007-1008-?

e. Kün ay tängridä qut bulmïš uluγ qut ornanmïš alpïn ädämin il tutmïš alp arslan qutluγ köl bilgä tängri xan ?-1017?-1019-1020-1031?-?

f. Tängri bögü il bilgä arslan tängri uyγur tärkänimiz ?-1067-?

第1回
世界史の中におけるウイグル史とマニ教=仏教二重窟

2003年5月9日，コレージュ＝ド＝フランス，教室1

森安孝夫

1．中央ユーラシアの歴史

近代以前のユーラシア史，すなわち事実上の世界史においては，中央ユーラシア［**地図1**］の草原地帯から興起した遊牧民族，とりわけ遊牧騎馬民族の果たした役割が極めて大きかった．一般的に言って，生産力・購買力と並んで歴史を動かしてきた大きなモーメントは軍事力である．紀元前一千年紀初めに中央ユーラシアの乾燥した大草原地帯に遊牧騎馬民族が登場し，地上最強の騎馬軍団を擁するようになってから，彼らの動向が世界を動かす原動力となったのは当然であった．

例えば東方の中国では，匈奴・鮮卑などの五胡が中国本土に侵入し，五胡十六国時代を経て，鮮卑族が北魏を建国し，鮮卑系の王族が隋唐帝国を作った．一方，中央ユーラシアの西方に位置するアルプス以北のヨーロッパ諸勢力も，ゴート・フランク・ロンバルドなどの印欧系ゲルマン諸民族，フン・アヴァール・マジャールなどのアジア系遊牧民族の侵略の上にはじめて形成されてくるのである．［**地図2～3**］

近代人の眼には，中央ユーラシアは東アジア，南アジア，西アジア，そして地中海沿岸地方という大農耕文明圏の外にある辺境と映ってきた．しかし，視点を変えれば，中央ユーラシアの「周辺」にこそそれらの大文明圏が位置していたといえる．それ故に，中央ユーラシアは，その「周辺」に散らばる生産力・購買力豊かな文明圏を繋ぐ大動脈の役割を果たし得たのである．その大動脈がいわゆる「シルクロード」である．このシルクロードによって周辺からヒト・モノ・カネや情報が流入し，さまざまの言語・文化・宗教の渦巻く巨大な坩堝となって，中央ユーラシア自身も変容しながら周辺世界に多大の文化的影響を与えてきた．

つまり中央ユーラシアは，近代以前の世界における最強の軍事力の保持を背景に世界史を動かし続けただけでなく，シルクロードという「東西南北」に通じる交通ネットワークを内包することによって，経済的にも文化的にも世界に大きな影響を与え続けてきたのである．確かに騎馬軍団の中央ユーラシア的勢力は，銃火器（鉄砲）を持つ近代ヨーロッパ諸勢力に屈した．しかし，中央ユーラシア世界がそれまでの二千年以上に亘って果たした世界史的意義は，決して忘れられてはならない．

ユーラシア史の一大転換期は，9～11世紀である．この時代になると，ユーラシアには東から順に遼朝，沙陀諸王朝（五代のうち後唐・後晋・後漢の3王朝），西夏王国，甘州ウイグル王国，西ウイグル王国，カラハン朝，ガズナ朝，セルジューク朝，ハザール可汗国など，同じ様なタイプの「征服王朝」［**地図4**］がずらりと並び立った．すなわち，紀元前9世紀頃以降の長い時間をかけて，豊かな農耕・定住地帯への掠奪・征服あるいはその住民との協調・融和・同化に成功と失敗を繰り返してきた遊牧騎馬民族が，9～10世紀頃に至ってついに，大人口の農耕民・都市民を擁する地域を少ない人口で安定的に支配する組織的なノーハウを完成することができたのである．それらのノーハウのいくつかは既に生み出されていたものであり，それらを支える最大の基盤は，遊牧騎馬民族の軍事力とシルクロードによる財貨の蓄積であった．しかしながらそれだけでは支配は一時的に終わってしまい，より安定した強固な「征服王朝」を維持するには不十分である．そのために必要だったのは，いくつもの要素が複雑に絡み合った「システム」の構築であったと思われるが，その根幹に文字文化（文字の普及と文字を使用しての文書行政）があったことはいうまでもない．

人口の少ない「北方」の遊牧騎馬民族が，従来からの本拠地である草原に足場を残しながらも，「南方」に位置する都市や農耕地帯を支配する征服王朝を一挙に出現させたのは，決して偶然ではありえない．長い歴史を経た「北方」勢力の水準が，武力のみに頼るのではなく，文書行政を通じて直接・間接に「南方」を支配するシステムを構築できる段階に至っていた，だからこそユーラシア全域に亘ってほぼ同じ時期に同じ様な現象が見られたと考え，そこに歴史的必然性を見出すべきなのである．

ウイグルの歴史がユーラシア史にとって重要なのは，ウイグルの最盛期が8～11世紀であって，まさにこの世界史上の一大画期と重なり，しかもその世界史の動向をリードする役割を果たしたからなのである．さらにこの時期にウイグルはその信奉する宗教を，シャマニズムからマニ教へ，さらにマニ教から仏教へと変えていったのであり，ウイグル=マニ教史は世界史に直結するテーマなのである．

2．ウイグルの宗教に対する欧米人の誤解

東方マニ教並びにマニ教史を研究するための最重要資料は，トゥルファン文書と敦煌文書，トゥルファンのマニ教寺院遺跡，そしてカラバルガスン碑文である．カラバルガスンとは外モンゴリアのオルホン河畔にあったウイグルの首都オルドバリクの遺跡名であり，カラバルガスン碑文はそこに残された第8代保義可汗の巨大な記念碑である．ただし，私見では，それは同時にウイグルのマニ教記念碑でもある．本碑文はトルコ語・漢語・ソグド語の3つの言語で書かれている．

欧米のマニ教学者や文献学者には東ウイグル可汗国，西ウイグル王国，高昌ウイグル，亀茲ウイグル，阿薩蘭ウイグル，甘州ウイグル王国，沙州ウイグルの区別とその相互関係の認識さえ曖昧で，そのために文書の年代解釈について混乱を起こしてきた．ハミルトン教授は例外であるが，それより若い世代でさえ，この誤りを犯しているものが多い．ウイグル文とソグド文の仏教文書・マニ教文書・世俗文書が入り混じって出土したトゥルファンと敦煌の歴史，特にウイグルの支配との関係を正確に認識しなければ，今後もとんでもない誤解を生む恐れがある．これについては後で説明する．

ところで，ウイグルがマニ教に改宗する以前は仏教徒であったという誤解が，今でも広く欧米の学者に流布している(注1).その根拠は，7世紀のウイグルの君長が菩薩 (中古音 *b'uo-sât) という名前を持っていたことと，カラバルガスン碑文漢文面第9行目にある次の一節である．

「*往*者無識，謂鬼爲佛．今已悞真，不可復事．特望□□，□□□□.」□□□*曰*，「既有志誠，任即持齎，應有刻畫魔形，悉令焚藝．（以下略）」

まずシャヴァンヌ・ペリオ訳を掲げ，次にそれとは相当に異なる私の訳を示す．ただしこの相違は目下の文脈では大きな問題にならない．

シャヴァンヌ・ペリオ訳：

[Le troisième qaghan ouïghour Mou-yu dit:] "..... Autrefois j'étais ignorant et **j'appelais 'Buddha' (*fó* 佛) des démons**; maintenant, j'ai compris le vrai et je ne peux plus servir [ces faux dieux]. Spécialement j'espère ....." [Le religieux manichéen] dit: "Puisque vous (= le qaghan) êtes résolu et sincère, vous pouvez immédiatement recevoir et garder [les préceptes]. Que toutes les images du démon sculptées ou peintes soient entièrement détruites par le feu, ..." (注2)

森安訳：

［ウイグルの高官たちが言った：］「我々はかつて知識がなくて霊魂（鬼）を神様とみなしてきた．（しかし）今や既に真実を悟ったのであって，これ以上［偽神を］崇拝することはで

注1 ——— Cf. J. Elverskog, *Uygur Buddhist Literature*, (Silk Road Studies 1), Turnhout: Brepols, 1997, p. 6; Clark 2000, p. 101.
注2 ——— Chavannes / Pelliot 1913, pp. 193-194.

きない．ただ我々が望むのは・・・」．［そこで牟羽可汗が］言った：「お前たちはもうまことの心があるのだから，［マニ教を］護持することを許そう．あらゆる彫刻や絵画の偽神像はことごとく焼き捨てさせ，・・・」

しかし，これらだけでウイグルが仏教徒であったというのはまことに危険である．菩薩は確かにサンスクリットの bodhisattva の漢字音写に使われる形であるが，この名前だけで仏教徒と判断できないことは，宋代の中国でイスラム教徒即ちムスルマンを菩薩蛮（中古音 **b'uo-sât-mwan*）と表記した事実より明らかである．しかも，すでに 8 世紀の写本である漢文のマニ教讃美歌集『下部讃』の方で神格のことを「佛」と呼ぶ伝統が出来上がっており，さらに，ミッケルセン氏によれば，漢文版のマニ経典（敦煌発見；仮題『波斯教残経』）に見える「佛」に対応するパルチア語は *yzd* "god" であることが明らかなのであるから，カラバルガスン碑文の「佛」も決して仏陀と解釈してはならないのである（注 3）．さすがに漢文史料全体を見渡していたシャヴァンヌ・ペリオは既に 1913 年の段階で，この碑文の記事からウイグルが始め仏教徒であったとすることを否定していた（注 4）．にもかかわらず Gabain の 1950 年代の 2 つの論文（"Die Frühgeschichte der Uiguren"; "Buddhistische Türkenmission"（注 5））以来，ウイグルがマニ教に改宗する以前は仏教徒であったという説が欧米の学界で完全に主流になってしまった（注 6）のは，欧米学界における中国史の知識と漢文の素養がシャヴァンヌ・ペリオの時代より低下したからだろう．

3．古代ウイグル史概説（注 7）

突厥帝国に取って代わった東ウイグル可汗国は 740 年代から 840 年まで約百年間続いた．その略史は以下の通り．740 年代にウイグルはバスミル・カルルクと協力して，それまでの中央ユーラシア世界東半部の覇者であった突厥を滅ぼし，バスミルの君長を可汗にしたトロイカ体制

注 3 ——— Mikkelsen 1995, p. 103.

注 4 ——— Chavannes / Pelliot 1913, pp. 190-199, 特に p. 193 の n. 2.

注 5 ——— A. von Gabain, "Die Frühgeschichte der Uiguren : 607-745." *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 72, 1952, pp. 18-32; A. von Gabain, "Buddhistische Türkenmission." in: *Asiatica. Festschrift F. Weller*, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 161-173.

注 6 ——— Cf. L. W. Moses, "T'ang Tribute Relations with the Inner Asian Barbarian." in: J. C. Perry et al. (eds.), *Essays on T'ang Society*, Leiden 1976, p. 76; Klimkeit 1982, p. 21; Clark 2000, p. 105; Tremblay 2001, pp. 22, 41, 44, 83, 107, 108, 110. トランブレ氏はカラバルガスン碑文の記事に直接依拠しているわけではないが，牟羽可汗がマニ教に改宗する前のウイグルの宗教は仏教であったと信じ込んで論を展開しているため，無理が生じている．

注 7 ——— フランス語版とこの日本語版との間に挿入された付録の Chronology of the Uighur Qaghans を参照．

の後，最終的にウイグル自身が可汗の位を嗣いだのである．755 年に勃発して唐王朝を存亡の危機に陥れた安史の乱に際しては,ウイグルは強大な軍事力を行使して唐を救った．［**地図 5**］それ以後，ウイグルは唐に対し優勢を保ち，様々な要求をしてくるようになる．またウイグルにいたソグド商人も，虎の威を借る狐のように，勝手な振る舞いを中国で行ない，遠隔地商業の利を占めるのみならず,ついには唐本土の金融資本の一部さえ掌握するようになる．それが「ウイグル=マネー」と呼ばれるものである．多くの学者はこれを文字通りにウイグル人が商人化した結果と考えてきたが，それは誤りで，実体はソグド=マネーなのである．これについては最後にもう一度言及する．

ウイグルの第 3 代牟羽可汗はマニ教に改宗し，マニ教徒ソグド人を優遇して枢要な地位を与えた．しかしながら，彼は反マニ教の保守勢力にクーデタで倒された (779 年) ので，以後しばらくはマニ教はウイグル国内で逼塞を余儀なくされた．それでもウイグルがシルクロードを掌握し続けるためにはソグド商人の協力は必須だったので，遅くとも 790 年代にはマニ教はウイグルで復活した．

東部天山地方がウイグルのほぼ完全な支配下に入るのは 789-792 年以後のことである．789-792 年にウイグルと吐蕃の間で起こった北庭争奪戦は歴史上によく知られているが，その結末については学者の間で意見が分かれている．ある者は吐蕃が勝利者であると言い，ある者はウイグルが勝ったという．長い間，吐蕃勝利説が優勢であった．しかし私は，その最終的な勝利者はウイグルであったことを 1973 年の『東洋学報』で主張し，そのフランス語版が 1981 年の *Journal Asiatique* に掲載されてから (注 8),今ではそれが欧米の学者にも広く認められている (注 9).この北庭争奪戦で活躍したのがウイグルの宰相兼将軍であったエディズ氏出身のイル=オゲシ Il Ögäsi で，後に彼が懐信可汗となり，マニ教を名実共に国教とし，マニ教徒ソグド人を優遇した．北庭戦以後，トゥルファン盆地を含む東部天山地方全体が東ウイグルの勢力下ないし影響下に入った．そしてタリム盆地北辺以北がウイグル領，タリム盆地南辺～河西回廊以南が吐蕃領となった．だからこそ，803 年の羊の年にブクク汗すなわち懐信可汗が高昌までやって来て慕闍（モジャク；マニ教会東方教区の大司教）に会い，マヒスタク（マニ教会第 3 位の高僧）設置を相談しえたのである．そしてさらに，次に述べる三国同盟につながっていくのである．

注 8 ——— 森安 1973. 森安 1979 はその増補版であり，これらの要約フランス語版が Moriyasu 1981 である．

注 9 ——— Cf. J. Hamilton, “Le colophon de l’ïrq bitig.” *Turcica* 7, 1975, pp. 9-10 (note 7); U. Marazzi, “Alcuni problemi relativi alla diffusione del manicheismo presso i Turchi nei secoli VIII-IX.” *Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 39-2, 1979, p. 243; Mackerras 1990, pp. 318-319; E. Trombert, *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha. Fonds Pelliot de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. Paris, 2000, pp. 18-19; Tremblay 2001, pp. 32-33; N. Sh. Steinhardt, “Beiting: City and Ritual Complex.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7, 2001, p. 257, n. 17; De la Vaissière 2002, p. 310.

821-822年に唐と吐蕃が同盟（平和条約）を結んだ事実は，ラサに残る有名な唐蕃会盟碑や漢籍史料からよく知られているところである．しかるに，1980年代初めにJ. Szerbと山口瑞鳳両氏によって，実はこの時，唐と吐蕃だけでなくウイグルと吐蕃の間にも同盟が結ばれたことが後代のチベット語史料から推定された(注10).ただしそれを裏付ける史料が唐側にもウイグル側にも全く見つかっていなかったので，私は1987年に発表した論文において，パリに所蔵される敦煌文書断片 P 3829の存在を指摘し，それが正しく唐・吐蕃・ウイグルの三国同盟に言及する唯一の漢文文書ではないかと予測した(注11). ところが1997年になって,中国の李正宇氏によりサンクトペテルブルクに所蔵される敦煌文書 Дx. 1462 がP 3829とぴたりと接合する事実が発表され(注12), その結果，私の予想は当たっていたのである．当時の三国同盟の境界線は，次のようになろう［**地図6**］：エチナまでが吐蕃領，清水と原州を結ぶ南北線が唐と吐蕃の境界，花門山以北がウイグル領で，吉田豊教授が今回の講義で触れるセブレイ碑文はそこに立てられた．

840年，ウイグル可汗国はキルギスによって滅ぼされ，大量のウイグル人が外モンゴリアを脱出した．南に向かい中国北辺の内モンゴリアに達した集団は唐に受け入れられず，衝突を繰り返しながら，やがて集団としては消滅する．一方，西方に向かった多くの集団は，8世紀末からの勢力圏であった東部天山地方に落ち着き，850年頃までには焉耆を首都とした西ウイグル王国を誕生させた．［**地図7**］遊牧民のウイグルが最初からトゥルファン盆地に本拠を置いたわけではなく，夏の首都である北庭とならんで高昌が冬の首都になるのは9世紀末か10世紀に入ってからである．また別の一派は河西地方に入り，エチナ地方で遊牧していたが，890年代についに甘州を占領し，甘州ウイグル王国を成立させた．甘州ウイグル王国は11世紀中葉に西夏に滅ぼされるが，西ウイグル王国は13世紀初頭にチンギス汗のモンゴルに服属するまで長く存続した．モンゴル時代のウイグルはほぼ完全に仏教徒であったが，ウイグルのマニ教が国教的地位を維持したのはいつまでであったのか．それが私の博士論文『ウイグル=マニ教史の研究』(注13)の主要なテーマの1つであったが，つい最近，私の博士論文のドイツ語訳（出版準備中）(注14)に基づ

注10 ——— 山口瑞鳳「沙州漢人による吐蕃二軍団の成立とmKhar tsan軍団の位置」『東京大学文学部文化交流研究施設研究紀要』4, 1981, 28, 34; J. Szerb, "A Note on the Tibetan-Uigur Treaty of 822/823 A.D." in: E. Steinkellner et al. (eds.), *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture*. Wien, 1983, pp. 375-386.

注11 ——— 森安「中央アジア史の中のチベット——吐蕃の世界史的位置付けに向けての展望——」長野泰彦・立川武蔵（編）『チベットの言語と文化』東京，冬樹社，1987, p. 67.

注12 ——— 李正宇「吐蕃論董勃蔵修伽藍功徳記両巻的発現，綴合及考證」『敦煌吐魯番研究』2 (1996), 1997, pp. 249-257.

注13 ——— 森安 1991. Cf. A. Forte, "A New Study on Manichaeism in Central Asia." *OLZ* 88-2, 1993, pp. 117-124.

注14 ——— 独訳版のタイトルは *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße* である.

いてズンダーマン教授が詳しく紹介した [Sundermann 2001b] ので，本講義ではスライド写真を用いてごく簡単に述べることにする.

4．マニ教=仏教二重窟（ベゼクリク）ないし二重寺院（高昌）

東トルキスタンは，イスラム化以前，特に仏教が栄えたところであり，各地に石窟寺院群が残っている．それらはいずれも仏教の寺院であるが，トゥルファンのベゼクリク千仏洞には，ある時期，マニ教が行なわれていたことを示す確実な証拠がある．それがここに取り上げる仏教=マニ教二重窟，即ち元マニ教窟の内側に新たな壁面を作り，そこに仏教壁画を描いて仏教窟に改修したものである.

写真の 1 ～ 3 枚目 **[Pl. I]** はベゼクリク千仏洞の現在の外観（夏と冬）である．4 ～ 9 枚目 **[Pls. II-III]** が仏教壁画であり，10 ～ 13 枚目 **[Pls. III-IV]** がその仏教壁画のスポンサーであったウイグル王族や貴族の肖像である．次からが二重窟である．ドイツのグリュンヴェーデル A. Grünwedel は *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan* の中で彼自身が第 25 窟と名付けた石窟がやや複雑な二重構造 **[photo 14 in Pl. IV]** になっていることを見取図付きで記述し，表側（内側）の仏教壁画のみならず，裏側の最奥部（正面）にある「特異な絵画」**[photos 15-18 in Pl. IV-V]** にも言及するが，それをマニ教のものであるとまでは言っていない.

この「特異な絵画」をマニ教のものとして紹介したのはロシアのオルデンブルクとフランスのアッカンであるが，彼らの根拠はルコックによってトゥルファンで発見されたマニ教文献に残るミニアチュール **[photo 19 in Pl. VI]** との類似性という美術史的なものだけであった．ましてや同じ洞窟の側面にある壁画のモチーフ，即ち蓮弁付き台座の上で燃え盛る炎を持つ摩尼宝珠（チンターマニ; Skt. cintāmaṇi）は仏教絵画にこそ相応しいもので **[photo 20 in Pl. VI]**，オルデンブルクはこれらを仏教徒のものと疑っていたのである.

その後，この正面の壁画の中心主題である三本幹の樹木は，マニ教の「生命の樹」であり，「光の国」の象徴という考えがドイツのアーノルド＝ドーベンやクリムカイトらによって広められてきたが，それでもなお，誰一人それがマニ教壁画であることを決定的に証明した者はいなかった．フランスのマイヤール女史は 1983 年の時点でも，問題の壁画の主題は未比定であると，かなり無責任なコメントをしていた (注 15).

私と吉田豊教授は 1980 年代の末に何度もベゼクリクを訪れ，グリュンヴェーデル編号の第 25

注 15 ——— M. Maillard, *Grottes et monuments d'Asie Centrale. Essai sur l'architecture des monuments civils et religieux dans l'Asie Centrale sédentaire depuis l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à la conquête musulmane*. Paris, 1983, p. 201.

窟並びに第 17 窟の壁画の上に書かれたウイグル語銘文 **[photos 21-26 in Pls. VI-VIII]** を解読し，そこに "mnastar hirza"（マニ教徒の祈りの決まり文句）とか "qut wxšiklar quvraγï bu ärür"「これは守護霊たちの集まりである」などの文句を見つけ，またマニ文字の銘文や落書き **[photo 27 in Pl. VIII]** を発見することによって，これらの洞窟が本来マニ教徒のものであったことを確実に証明したのである．その詳細については，拙著『ウイグル=マニ教史の研究』（ドイツ語版もまもなく出版予定）の第 1 章を御覧いただきたい．

現在，我々がベゼクリクでマニ教=仏教二重窟として把握しているものは 5 つを越える．その 1 つからは，二重になった壁の隙間から 8 点のマニ教徒の手紙が見つかった．3 点は長いソグド文であり，5 点は短いウイグル文である **[photos 28-30 in Pl. IX]**．これらについても我々の研究成果が中国語に翻訳され，2000 年に北京で出版された［新疆吐魯番地区文物局 2001］．

さて次に考えるべきは，ベゼクリク千仏洞にマニ教窟が存在する理由とそれが造られた年代である．ベゼクリク千仏洞はもともとは麹氏高昌国時代にまでさかのぼる由緒正しい仏教寺院であり，唐代前期にも「寧戎窟寺」と呼ばれる仏教寺院であった．このような仏教の聖地の中に，いわば降ってわいたように，突如としてマニ教窟が出現したわけであるから，そこには極めて強大な力が働いたはずである．当然，ウイグル政権の存在が背景として考えられるわけであり，私はそれを西ウイグル時代で，しかも首都が焉耆地区から高昌と北庭に移った後，即ち 9 世紀末以降と考える．これが上限である．では下限はいつか．

5．マニ教から仏教へ ＝ マニ教短期説（注 16）

ウイグルのマニ教については，天山地方への西遷後まもなく衰退したという説と，モンゴル帝国時代まで長期に亘って繁栄し続けたという説との両者があった．私は次のような主に 4 つの根拠に基づいて，ウイグルのマニ教は 10 世紀中葉までは国教としての地位を保持していたが，10 世紀後半には仏教と拮抗し始め，11 世紀に入ると仏教に圧倒されて衰退を余儀なくされたと結論した．

(1) 仏教寺院の建設を記念するために土中に打ち込まれた棒杭が 4 本発見されている．特に第 1 棒杭 **[photo 31 in Pl. X]** はマニ教=仏教二重寺院から出土した．第 1 棒杭には，それまでマニ教寺院だった **[photo 34 in Pl. XI]** 高昌の遺蹟アルファを，仏教寺院に改修した **[photos 35-36 in Pl. XI]** 時の銘文が書かれている．その日付は私とハミルトン氏によって 1008 年と決定された．第 2 棒杭文書 **[photo 32 in Pl. X]** は

注 16 ——— Cf. Sundermann 2001; Tremblay 2001, pp. 13-15; Gulácsi 2001, p. 4. ズンダーマン氏もグラーチ女史も森安の短期説を採用している．トランブレ氏も私と同じような史料を使って短期説を唱えているが，オリジナリティは私の方にある．

983 年，第 3 棒杭文書 **[photo 33 in Pl. X]** は 1019 年のものである（注 17）.

(2) トゥルファンのマニ教徒の残した暦で，日付の判明しているのは次の通りである．ソグド文では 929, 931-932, 932-933, 984, 1000-1001 年に比定されたもの，ウイグル文では 988-989 年，1003-1004 年のものである.

(3) マニ教徒の残したウイグル文字文書は半楷書体のもののみ．時間があれば第 4 回に述べる予定であるが，これは 10 世紀前後の古い書体で，モンゴル時代には下らない.

(4) 漢籍によると西ウイグル王国から中国への使者が，934 年と 951 年にはマニ僧と高官だったのに，965 年以後 1022 年までの記録では全て仏僧と高官に代わってしまっている.

つまり，ベゼクリクの第 25 窟や第 17 窟，さらに高昌の遺蹟アルファに残っていたマニ教壁画の下限は 10 世紀の後半ないし遅くとも 11 世紀初頭とみるべきだろう.

ここで注意しておきたいのは，ベゼクリクの仏教壁画の年代論との係わりである．従来はこれを 8 ～ 9 世紀にまで溯らせる考えが優勢であった．しかし，以上のような二重窟に対する私の年代比定が正しければ，そこの仏教壁画は必然的に 11 世紀初頭以降，どんなに早くても 10 世紀後半より後のものであることになる．これら両窟の仏教壁画は誓願図やウイグル貴人（供養人）図を含み，いわゆる「ウイグル風（様式）」の典型的なものである．つまりこれによってベゼクリクの他の仏教窟，さらにはトゥルファン盆地全体に散在する同様のウイグル風仏教壁画の年代までもほぼ特定されるのである.

最近になって，ベルリンのインド美術館所蔵のベゼクリク壁画のうちの 2 点がカーボン 14 測定にかけられ，その結果，伝統的に 9 世紀と考えられてきたグリュンヴェーデル編号第 8 窟の有名な地獄絵（六道図）MIK III 8453 **[photo 37 in Pl. XII]** については A.D. 1042-1162，多くの誓願図のあるグリュンヴェーデル編号第 4 窟からの一資料については A.D. 1036-1161 という数値が出たという．これによって私の説は科学的にも裏付けられたのである．しかるにインド美術館の最新カタログでは，この 2 点については当然ながら新しい年代に変えているが（注 18），第 9 窟の有名な男女のウイグル貴族のある壁画断片 **[photos 12-13 in Pl. IV]** については相変わらず伝統的な 8 ～ 9 世紀という年代を踏襲しているのである（注 19）．これは私の説を根本的には理解していないからである.

注 17 ——— 棒杭文書の年代論に関しては Moriyasu 2001 の主要部分のみならず，Moriyasu 2003, p. 470, notes 6 & 7 に言及された箇所も参照.

注 18 ——— M. Yaldiz et al. (eds.), *Magische Götterwelten, Werke aus dem Museum für Indische Kunst*, Berlin. no date (2000), No. 316 & No. 322.

注 19 ——— Cf. M. Yaldiz et al. (eds.), *Magische Götterwelten*, No. 329 & No. 330.

もう一度スライド写真４～５枚目 **[photos 4-5 in Pl. II]** の仏教壁画に戻って，寄進者像の部分を拡大してみよう．これはベゼクリク壁画なのであるからこれら仏教徒の寄進者 **[photos 38-40 in Pl. XII]** は当然ながらウイグル商人である．しかし，彼らはモンゴロイドのウイグル人ではなく，コーカソイドの風貌をしている．宋の使者が金朝に抑留された時の見聞録である『松漠紀聞』には，仏教徒ウイグル商人の特徴として，「髪は巻いており，目は深く，眉はきれいで濃い．まつ毛のあたりから下には頬髭が多い」という描写がある．この『松漠紀聞』は12世紀の記事であり，私の主張する壁画の年代と矛盾しない．しかも実は10世紀以降，中国諸王朝に朝貢（実際は貿易）にやってきたウイグル商人には安・康・曹・石などソグド人特有の姓をもつ者が多いのである（注20）．ソグド本国は既に完全にイスラム化しているのであるから，これらウイグル商人の実体は，西ウイグル国に残ったかつてのソグド商人の後裔とみて間違いない．西ウイグル時代になってさえこのような状況であるから，東ウイグル時代に遊牧の民であったウイグル人が直接商業や金融業に従事したはずはなく，従って先ほどの「ウイグル=マネー」も「ソグド=マネー」とみなすべきなのである（注21）．

【補注】：本講で述べた二重窟は厳密には三重窟というべきかもしれない．つまり本来は仏教徒の聖地であったベゼクリク千仏洞に，マニ教徒ウイグル人がマニ教窟を作らせ，さらに後にウイグル人自身の仏教への改宗によって仏教窟に改修されたのである．ただし本当に三重の壁面が残っているわけではない．

注20 ——— Cf. Hamilton 1955, (Repr.: 1988), pp. 66, 71; Tremblay 2001, p. 20, n. 31; De la Vaissière 2002, p. 326.
注21 ——— 森安 1997, pp. 108-111.

II

Manichaeism under the East Uighur Khanate with Special References to the Fragment Mainz 345 and the Kara-Balgasun Inscription.(1)

14 May 2003, Collège de France, Salle 1
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1. Discovery of an Uighur document concerning the Rebellion of An Lushan and Shi Siming

Among the Old Turkic documents discovered in Dunhuang and Turfan, there is a great variety of religious books on the doctrines and rites of Manichaeism, Buddhism and Christianity, as well as secular documents such as administrative documents, letters and contracts. Among them, however, one finds only a few, possibly less than ten, texts of purely historical contents. Only two of them are widely known: (1) U 1 (= T II K 173) which records among others an episode that Boquq/Buγuγ Khan, or Huaixin 懷信 Qaghan (Uig. *qaγan*), visited Qočo (= Gaochang 高昌) to meet a Manichaean Teacher (Sogdo-uig. *možak*) in a Sheep year corresponding to 803 AD,(2) and (2) U 72 & U 73, two folios from one and the same book, which relate the story about Bögü Khan's, or Mouyu 牟羽 Qaghan's conversion to Manichaeism.(3)

Recently I was able to recognize a small Uighur fragment Mainz 345 as containing yet another historical text. With the help of Chinese sources, the Kara-Balgasun Inscription, and other Uighur Manichaean texts, I was also able to reconstruct the context of the events recorded in it. It concerns the Uighur intervention in the Rebellion of An Lushan and Shi Siming and the relationship between the Manichaean Church and Mouyu Qaghan.

Mainz 345, obtained by the German Turfan expedition, is now housed at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and is under the care of Berlin-Brandenburgische

(1) ——— This lecture is a summary of Moriyasu 2002. So you can find much more detailed references there.
(2) ——— First published in Le Coq 1912. See Moriyasu 1981, p. 198; MOTH, p. XV; Wilkens 2000, No. 49.
(3) ——— TTT II, pp. 411-422, with 4 plates. See Wilkens 2000, Nos. 52 & 53.

Akademie der Wissenschaften, Akademievorhaben Turfanforschung. It is a small paper fragment, about 10 x 10 cm in size, with Uighur script on both sides. Since we find in this fragment several terms peculiar to Manichaeism, it is obviously a Manichaean document. The forms of Manichaean manuscripts found in Central Asia can be classified into three groups, regardless of the language. Most of them are codex type, a smaller part of them are scroll type, and there are only a few of the *pustaka*. Mainz 345 cannot be a scroll because there is writing on both sides of the paper. This fragment is evidently one leaf of two pages which used to be a part of codex type book. The original size of this book must have been 14-15 cm wide, in any case less than 20 cm, and the length would have been about 1.5 times longer than that of the width. None of the lines are complete, and in each line only about two thirds to half of the original text is preserved. This means that there exists a gap between the texts on the recto and the verso, and we cannot reconstruct the whole context. However, it is possible to follow the story and reconstruct a readable text.

2. Reconstruction of the text of Mainz 345 and the translation

Explanation of symbols and conventions employed in this edition

bold	Suggested restoration of wholly damaged letters.
italic	Letters partly preserved and restored with certainty.
]xyz	Damaged part of undetermined extent, at the beginning of a line.
xyz[	Damaged part of undetermined extent, at the end of a line.
••••	Approximate number of visible but illegible letters.

recto

r1)] : tavγač-**nïng tngri oγulï? kičiu?**

. . . . . / Chin[**ese / Heaven / the son (= emperor) / the capital (= Chang-an) ?**]

r2) balïq̈ïnta tašγaru t**äzip? kidinki? ïraq?**

from the city / outwards / r**[unning away / of the west ? / far ?]**

r3) yirgärü bardï : ymä tavγ**ač-nïng tngri**

to the land / went away // and Chin**[ese / Heaven]**

r4) oγulïntan q̈ač q̈urlayu Y[

from the son / several times / **[a rescue army ?]**

r5) yalvara ötü*g*i bizingär*ü* [

begging / his request / to us / . . . . . .

r6) *ö*tü*n*ü klti : ąmtï bizing*ä***rü [**

submitting a request / it came // now / to us / **[the enemy is attacking ? / anyhow ?]**

r7) *bil*ing ilimz-ni ïčγïnmal**ïm** [

You should know! / we shall not lose our country (words of the Chinese emperor) / . . . . .

r8)] *ö*dün mning '*W*[(or '*Y*[ )

. . . . . / at the time / my / . . . .

r9)]••WŠ sü [

. . . . . / army / . . . . . .

r10)]*D*[ ]• : q̈ltï [

. . . . . / it remained / . . . . . .

verso

v1)] *i*l ötükä*n* **qut[**

. . . . . / Il Ötükän / **[its charisma]** / . . . . . .

v2)]• ärkän : ymä

. . . . . / while / and /

v3) **qutluγ qoluq**a ädgü ödkä iki *tür*lügkä

[at a fortunate moment] / in a good time / to two kinds

(= the religion within, the realm (or kingdom) without)/

v4) **tükällig t***n*gri bögü iligdän tö*r*lüg

[perfect / H]eavenly / Bögü / from the king / . . . . .

v5)] **san**gun bašan otuz *u*luγ

. . . . . / **[Gen]**eral / beginning with / thirty / great

v6) **sü bašïlarqa?** *u*lamïš ärän tngri mr n*yw*

[to the army leaders ?] / belonging / soldiers / Heavenly Mār Nēw

v7) **rw'n moẓ̌a** *k*-gärü yalavač kltilär :

[Ruwān Moẓ̌a]k / toward / (as) envoy / they came

v8)] **tn***gr*i moẓ̌ak ol ödü*n* [

. . . . . / Heavenly moẓ̌ak / at that time / . . . . . .

v9)]TY : ymä •[

. . . . . / he --ed / and / . . . . . .

v10)]•N ••//W[

. . . . . .

The meaning of this restored text is the following: On the recto side, it tells about Uighur's military intervention in the Rebellion of An Lushan and Shi Siming, and on the verso, the friendly relationship between the Manichaean orders and Bögü Khan or Mouyu Qaghan, who authorized them to propagate Manichaeism in the Uighur Khanate.

3. Uighur Qaghans and Chinese Emperors

According to Chinese sources, there were two Uighur Qaghans who intervened in the Rebellion of An Lushan: the second Qaghan, 葛勒可汗 Gele Qaghan (i.e. 磨延啜 Moyanchuo) and the third Qaghan, Mouyu Qaghan (i.e. 移地健 Yidijian). [See Appendix to Lecture I : Chronology of the Uighur Qaghans]. In 756, the second Qaghan, Moyanchuo, immediately launched the military action at the request of the Tang emperor 肅宗 Suzong and secured the Ordos region, which was near to the temporary residence of the emperor Suzong. In the following year, he once again dispatched reinforcements under the command of an Uighur prince, his eldest son 葉

護 Shehu. They made a great contribution to the recovery of the Chinese capital 長安 Changan and the second capital 洛陽 Luoyang. In contrast, in the autumn of 762, the next Qaghan Mouyu commanded the army on his own accord and proceeded to the south with the purpose of invading Tang China. He had been tempted by 史朝義 Shi Zhaoyi, the last leader of the Rebellion of An Lushan and Shi Siming. 代宗 Daizong, who had succeeded Suzong at that time, made desperate efforts to persuade Mouyu Qaghan, and as a result, the Uighurs took the side of Tang, advanced to Luoyang and finally put an end to the Rebellion of An Lushan.

In lines 7 to 8 of the Chinese text on the Kara-Balgasun Inscription, it says that Mouyu Qaghan met Manichaean clerics (not specified as Sogdians) while staying near Luoyang during his mission (762-763), and brought them back to his domain in Mongolia. This incident is generally believed to be the beginning of Uighur Manichaeism.

In contrast, line 9 of the Sogdian text on the Kara-Balgasun Inscription corresponding to this Chinese text says the following: "and the words (= a petition) came. (It read) as follows: 'Please help us out of those difficulties. Please give aid to us.' When this godlike king (= Qaghan) heard these words (= a petition), he himself advanced with his mighty army to China proper. The army ....." I believe firmly that the Chinese emperor's "words = petition" here is just the Sogdian equivalent for *ötügi* "his request" seen in line 5 on the recto of our Mainz 345. In the Sogdian language, it is *ptškw'nh*, which means "words or letters from a junior to a senior". In the Uighur language, *ötüg* means "request, memorial to a superior" or its document itself (ED, p. 51). This word can even mean a prayer to God or a memorial to the throne.

What has to be noticed here is the fact that the word *ötügi* is applied to the letter(s) of request from the Tang emperor to the Uighur Qaghan; the superior is the Qaghan, not the Chinese emperor. We also should not overlook the fact that, in the Sogdian text of the Kara-Balgasun Inscription, the first petition is said to be sent to the third Qaghan Mouyu, although it was sent by Suzong to the second Qaghan Moyanchuo in reality. This question is taken up later.

4. Charisma of *Il Ötükän*

The reason why I put *qutï/qutluγ* after *il ötükän* and restore the expression meaning "(having) the charisma of *Il Ötükän*" in line 1 on the verso of Mainz 345 is as follows. We find a phrase *il ötükän qutï* twice in M 919 (TM 417) published in *Manichaica* III, No. 15, an Uighur Manichaean document written in Manichaean script, unearthed at Turfan. This is one of the earliest documents of this kind that contain the title *ïduq-qut*, which is well-known as another title of the Uighur ruler. Le Coq was the first scholar to draw attention to M 919 (TM 417), and since then it has been referred to in many articles such as Arat 1964.

M 919 (TM 417), recto, in *Manichaica* III, No. 15

09) 'iligimz 'ïḏuq-qut kün tngričä **[bata?]**

10) yrlïqaḏuq üčün qmγ yoq čïγa*y qap*

11) qra boḏun buqun busušluγ qaḏγuluγ

12) boltumuz ärtii ∞ qaltïï yna kün tng*ri*

13) *o*rnïnta yruq ạyy tngrii yašïyu blgü*r*ä

14) yrlïqarča 'iligimz 'ïḏuq-qut ol'o*q* (or ul-'u*γ*)

15) orunta blgürä yrlïqaḏïï ∞ altun örgin

16) üzä oluru yrlγ boltïï ∞ 'il ötükän

17) qutïï 'ilki bögü 'iliglär qanglarïḫ

18) 'iliglär qutïï bu 'ï*ḏ*uq örgin qutïḫ

19) tngrii 'iligimz 'ï**ḏu**q-qut üzä ornanmaqï

20) bolzun ∞

The following is my new translation of this text:

"As our king, the Iduq-qut (the former king) had descended like the sun (i.e. died), all of us, the poor and common people, became sad and sorrowful. (But) our (new) king, the Iduq-qut, appeared at the same (*ol'oq*; or *uluγ* 'great'; not *Aulauč /Avluč/Awlawč* as a personal name) place as if the bright moon (the new king) appeared with splendor in place of the sun. He deigned (or was pleased; regarding *-u yarlïγ bol-*

as *-u yarlïqa-* ; I cannot follow Le Coq nor Arat) to ascend the golden throne. May the Charisma (*qut*) of the Realm of Ötükän, that of the former royal fathers and wise kings, and that of this holy throne come down upon our divine king Iduq-qut."

Furthermore, we have another example of *il ötükän* in line 1 of Pelliot chinois 2988v = MOTH, No. 15, a Dunhuang manuscript of the 10th century. It was restored to *il ötükän [qut]l[uγ]* by Hamilton. He interprets *il ötükän qutï* in M 919 as "l'esprit gardien ou pouvoir bénéfique (*qut*) de l'Ötükän impérial (*el*)." There is another phrase, *ötükän ili* "the land of Ötükän > the Ötükän region" seen in the text on the east side E3 of the Tariat Inscription and in the text on the north side N2 of the Šine-Usu Inscription(4) dated back to the 8th century, but they are definitely different, not only in their word order but also in their meanings. In this fragment of Mainz 345, we can say safely that it is either *il ötükän [qutï]* or *il ötükän [qutluγ]*. In short the background to this was the generally accepted idea that one cannot be a legitimate Qaghan until dominating Mt. Ötükän, the traditional sacred place for horse-riding peoples in Mongolia, whose "charisma" gives the power and authority to the Qaghan.

5. Možak at the top of the Manichaean Church

Next, I argue why the Možak, seen in lines 6 to 8 on the verso side, could be restored to or identified with *tngri mr nyw [rw'n možа]k*, that is to say, "Heavenly Mār Nēw Ruwān Možak". First, *mr nyw* is not sufficient as a church name of a Manichaean monk, because all the other monks of Central Asia had names consisting of two Middle Persian or Parthian words, such as *Mār* Vahmān Xwarxšēd *Možak*, *Mār* Bārist Xwarxšēd *Ispasag*, *Mār* Nēw Mānī *Mahistag*, etc. Secondly, within one Manichaean patriarchate (or archbishopric), there existed only one Možak, who was the highest-ranking cleric in the Manichaean Church. In other words, we should probably be able to identify this Možak, if we can find out a name of one Možak mentioned in connection with the "Eastern" patriarchate during the time of Mouyu Qaghan. Fortunately, Prof. Y. Yoshida and I have recently identified in the Kara-Balgasun

(4) ——— Cf. Moriyasu / Ochir 1999, pp. 169, 171, 178, 182.

Inscription a Možak, with whom Mouyu came in contact during the time he converted to Manichaeism. It is *βγy (mry) nyw(rw)'n m(w)z-'k(')[* "godlike Mār Nēw Ruwān Možak", seen in line 12 of the Sogdian version, and *tängri mar N//////* "Heavenly Mār N//////" in the Runic version. Now we are convinced that the two are one and the same person, although we hesitated to assert it in our joint-work published in 1999.(5) This is why I confidently put *[rw'n možа]k* after *tngri mr nyw* in lines 6-7 on the verso side of Mainz 345. Furthermore, I believe that *tngri možak* in line 8 is not only the same Možak as this, but is also identifiable as *tngri možak* attested in line 26 of the famous text of Bögü Khan's conversion to Manichaeism (U 72 & U 73).(6)

Now I venture to account the story told in Mainz 345 more concretely. On the recto, lines 1 to 3 describe the evacuation of 玄宗 Xuanzong (and of the next emperor, 肅宗 Suzong) from Changan; lines 3 to 7 describe the Chinese Emperor's letter(s) to ask the Uighurs for help; lines 8 to 10 record the Uighur troops' campaign to China. After a fairly big lacuna, on the verso, lines 1 to 2 tell that Bögü Khan (= Mouyu Qaghan) rules as a legitimate Qaghan guarded by a charismatic being (guardian spirit) of Mt. Ötükän, which is the most sacred mountain for Turkic peoples in Central Asia. After the 3rd line, it says that Mouyu Qaghan had contact with a Možak, and approved (or tried to approve) Manichaeism. Chinese sources are silent about the introduction of Manichaeism among the Uighurs. I believe that the significance of the text of Mainz 345 in my reconstruction as a historical text concerning the Uighur Manichaeism is considerable.

6. Residence of the Možak of the "Eastern" patriarchate

Where then did the Možak of Mainz 345 and the Kara-Balgasun Inscription stay or reside? It is generally accepted that although Manichaeism spread throughout Eurasia, there was only one patriarchate in the eastern part of the Pamirs, including Mongolia and China; what was called by Manichaeans as *hwr's'n p'ygws*, the

(5) ——— Cf. Moriyasu, / Yoshida / Katayama 1999, pp. 216-217, 222-223.

(6) ——— TTT II, pp. 414-415; Clark 2000, pp. 102-103; Klimkeit 1993, p. 367.

"Eastern" patriarchate.(7) Since the Možak was the highest-ranking cleric within one patriarchate, there had to be only one Možak in the eastern part of the Pamirs. The very first Možak that came to the eastern part of the Pamirs from the west would be the *mushe* 慕闍 that was sent to the Tang emperor in the 7th year of the Kaiyuan 開元 period (719 A.D.) by the king of Chaganiyan (支汗那 Zhihannuo) in Tokharistan (吐火羅 Tuhuoluo). As a matter of course, he must have resided in Changan. In Changan, a *fuduodan* 拂多誕 (= *Aftadan*), who was the second highest-ranking cleric after the Možak, made a translation (more precisely, an adaptation) of *Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略, i.e. "*Compendium of the Doctrine and Rules of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light*" into Chinese in the 19th year of the Kaiyuan period (731 A.D.) on the emperor's order to introduce Manichaeism. The next year, in 732, Manichaeism was banned in China, but those from the western area, such as Sogdians, were allowed to embrace it. This means that the above-mentioned Možak from Tokharistan (or his successor) could stay in Changan until 731 at the latest, but after 732 the situation became unstable. Since Mār Nēw Ruwān Možak in question, with whom Mouyu Qaghan made contact through his subordinate(s), must be a successor of the first Možak coming from Tokharistan to Changan in 719, he may possibly have stayed in Changan.

On the other hand, U 1, which I mentioned above, gives another suggestion. It says that "the devout Boquq/Buγuγ Khan of the Uighurs came to Qočo, and, in the Sheep year, met with the Možak for the purpose of installing three Presbyters (*Mahistag*)". This Boquq Khan is Huaixin Qaghan, and "the Sheep year" is, with strong possibility, supposed to be the year 803 (癸未 *guiwei*). Accordingly, in reality, it is highly probable that by the time of the Rebellion of An Lushan the seat of the Možak had already moved to Qočo (= Gaochang) or Ark (= Yanqi) in the Tianshan region, where many Sogdians had settled down. By the 760s, the eastern part of the Tianshan region must have been more or less under the influence of the Uighur Qaghan(s). Even if it had not been so, there must have been no difficulty in

(7) ——— Cf. Henning 1936a, 90, p. 14 ff., especially p. 15, fn. 2; BBB, pp. 10, 24, 32; Henning 1938, pp. 551-552.

sending an envoy there to meet the Možak. We must recall the fact that in 761/762 at a Manichaean monastery in Ark (= Yanqi) copying of the *Maḥrnāmag*, a luxurious manuscript of a Manichaean hymnal, started with a great joy. Both Chavannes and Pelliot seem to assume that the only Možak controlling the Uighur Khanate lived in Mongolia, because the Turfan region had not yet been under the direct control of the Uighurs in the 760s.(8) However, it is difficult to accept this assumption because the Možak, being the highest-ranking cleric in the whole "Eastern" patriarchate, cannot have moved his seat to Mongolia so hastily, when it was not long since Mouyu's conversion to Manichaeism. X. Tremblay concludes in his book that the residence of the Možak was set up at first in Qočo, then moved to Changan in 719, then to Kara-Balgasun in 763, and finally to Ruin *a* in Qočo in 844.(9) I do not share this opinion at all either.

Chavannes and Pelliot imply the possibility that *Da-Moni* 大摩尼 "great Mani(chaean priest)", who came from the Uighur country to Tang in the first quarter of the 9th century, could be a Možak,(10) while I suppose it was an Aftadan, the second-highest cleric. Along with Y. Yoshida, I believe that the seat of the Možak had never been placed in Mongolia, either in the times of Mouyu or after the times of Huaixin Qaghan. Now there is fairly general agreement based on the colophon of U 168 (= T II D 173 a^2) that in the year 795 the head of the Manichaean Church in Mongolia was a *Mahistag*, which is the third-ranking cleric in the Manichaean hierarchy.(11)

Colophon in U 168 (= T II D 173 a^2; in *Manichaica* I, p. 12)
"Five hundred fifty-two years after the ascent of the exalted Prophet Mani to the Realm of the Gods, in the Pig year (795 A.D.), on the order of the Leader of Religion residing in the Ötükän, the most virtuous, merciful Bilgä Bäg, i.e. Heavenly Mār Nēw Mānī Mahistag, this two . . . . . "

(8) ——— Chavannes / Pelliot 1913, pp. 196-198 (fn.1).
(9) ——— Tremblay 2001, pp. 51, 99.
(10) ——— Chavannes / Pelliot 1913, pp. 267-268, fn. 2; cf. Moriyasu 2000a, pp. 436-437.
(11) ——— Cf. Moriyasu 1981, pp. 197-198; Bazin 1991, pp. 247-248 and its review by M. Erdal, *OLZ* 89-3, 1994, p. 305; Klimkeit 1993, pp. 347, 349; Clark 1997, p. 105; Wilkens 2000, No. 88.

Moreover, according to Prof. Yoshida's assumption which has just been presented in his conference, the seat of Aftadan may possibly be mentioned in the latter part of the Kara-Balgasun Inscription, which was erected during the times of Baoyi 保義 Qaghan (808-821). Taking all things into consideration, we infer that the second highest-ranking cleric the Aftadan was sent to Mongolia during the period from 795 to 821, the end of Baoyi Qaghan's reign. Incidentally, I suppose that the book from which U 168 was dismembered was compiled for celebrating Huaixin's enthronement in 795, because it mentions a Pig year corresponding to 795 A.D. as its date of compilation, and also because the copying of the manuscript is executed with utmost care on an excellent sheet of paper. On the other hand, a group of Možak, Ispasag (= Aftadan), and Mahistag appear in the *Maḥrnāmag*, which had been completed during the reign of Baoyi Qaghan and which was unearthed at Turfan in the 20th century. They must have been resident in Qočo but not in Mongolia. Since there was only one Možak in the "Eastern" patriarchate, no other Možak could have existed in Mongolia at the same time. So we cannot follow Chavannes / Pelliot or Tremblay.

7. Nature of the Kara-Balgasun Inscription

Lastly, I would like to examine the nature of the Kara-Balgasun Inscription, which can be regarded as the official document on Uighur history. What is written in lines 2 to 3 on the recto of Mainz 345 corresponds to *mengchen* 蒙塵 "evacuating of the emperor from the capital" described in line 6 of the Chinese text of the Kara-Balgasun Inscription. It is a historical fact that the evacuation of Xuanzong from Changan to the west occurred during the times of Moyanchuo. It is described correctly in the Šine-Usu Inscription, which was erected in Mongolia to commemorate the second Uighur qaghan Moyanchuo's military activities and meritorious deeds. Nevertheless, in Mainz 345 and in the Kara-Balgasun Inscription it is described as an event occurring during the times of Mouyu Qaghan. Moreover, in the Kara-Balgasun Inscription, only Mouyu Qaghan is extolled for rendering distinguished service in the suppression of the Rebellion of An Lushan. There is no

mention of what Moyanchuo achieved for China. Objectively speaking, both Moyanchuo and Mouyu obliged Tang greatly and one cannot say which of them is greater. Or rather, Moyanchuo should be regarded even more highly among the Uighurs when we think of the fact that his *qatun* (a legal wife of *qaγan*), 寧國公主 Ningguo gongzhu, was a true daughter of Suzong, while that of Mouyu was merely a daughter of General 僕固懷恩 Pugu Huaien, who was a subordinate of Suzong.

In the Kara-Balgasun Inscription, however, every meritorious deed must have been recorded as that of Mouyu. Such was the official attitude of the Ädiz-clan Dynasty of the Eastern Uighur Khanate, the only nation in history that approved Manichaeism as their state religion and entirely supported the Manichaean Church since the time of the 7th Qaghan Huaixin. If it is so, this attitude, in other words, the policy to regard all the services of suppressing the Rebellion of An Lushan as well as the introduction of Manichaeism as Mouyu's achievement, was shared by the Uighur Manichaean Church, which enjoyed the complete protection of the Government or the royal family. As the West Uighur Kingdom was a direct successor to the Eastern Uighur Khanate, the same policy in recording its history must have been kept both by the Government and the Manichaean Church at least in the early times of the West Uighur Kingdom.

As is generally known, it was the Yaghlakar clan that founded the Eastern Uighur Khanate, but the family line died out at the 6th generation. Then General 骨咄祿 Guduolu, or the Prime Minister 頡于迦斯 *Xie yujiasi*, i.e. Il Ögäsi, from the Ädiz clan was enthroned as the 7th Qaghan Huaixin, through a bloodless revolution, and was supported by the public. In short, the original royal family, the Yaghlakars, was replaced by the Ädiz in 795. The Kara-Balgasun Inscription was erected by the 8th Qaghan Baoyi, who succeeded Huaixin, for the purpose of recording the military activities and the meritorious deeds of his predecessor Huaixin along with his own. Naturally, the deeds of the six Qaghans from the Yaghlakars were treated with indifference. According to the text restored by us, two thirds of the original Chinese text must have been spent on recording the deeds of Huaixin and Baoyi [**see Fig. 2** : Allocation of the sections to Qaghans and Dynasties in the Chinese version of the Kara-Balgasun

Inscription]. The rest, less than one third of the text, comprises the first 11 lines. Lines 1 and 2 list the titles and the names of the editors of this inscription and the actual text begins at the 3rd line. From the top of line 3 to the middle of line 5, it tells about the Uighurs' history before the foundation of the Eastern Uighur Khanate and under the rule of the Türk Khanate. The six full lines from the end of line 5 to line 11 describe the deeds of six Qaghans originating from the Yaghlakar clan. However, every Qaghan, except the 3rd Qaghan Mouyu, is described only with short flowery words, always two phrases each consisting of 4 characters. Only the description of Mouyu is substantial as a historical account. It consists of four and a half lines (more than 400 characters) and more than 100 characters of them are describing the Rebellion of An Lushan. The rest, more than 260 characters is the account of the introduction of Manichaeism.

There is no need to go into details about the fact that Mouyu Qaghan officially approved the propagation of Manichaeism among the Uighurs and that he met some Manichaean clerics near Luoyang during the campaign suppressing the Rebellion of An Lushan and brought them back to Mongolia. On the other hand, the 4th Qaghan 頓莫賀達干 Dunmohe Dagan came to the throne by carrying out a coup d' état against Mouyu Qaghan, killed Mouyu and two thousand of his close attendants beginning with Sogdians, and persecuted Manichaeism.(12) The persecution of Manichaeism was taken over by the 5th and 6th Qaghans and lasted until the reign of Huaixin Qaghan, when Manichaeism was revived and began to hold a steady position of a state religion under a new dynasty.(13)

Being erected under these circumstances, the Kara-Balgasun Inscription was not merely a historical monument that narrated the national history since before the bloodless revolution in order to declare the legitimacy of the current Qaghan and applaud his deeds to the greatest extent, but was also a religious monument that stated the official history of the Manichaean Church. Therefore, it gives an exceptionally detailed description of Mouyu Qaghan's actions even though he was from a different

(12) ——— Cf. Tazaka 1940; Mackerras 1972, pp. 10, 36-38; Mackerras 1990, pp. 318, 324.

(13) ——— Cf. Mackerras 1990, pp. 333-335.

family line from the Ädiz, because he made the largest contribution toward the Uighur Manichaean Church. It is true that Moyanchuo had close connections with Sogdians as we can see in the case of the building of Baybalïq described in the Šine-Usu Inscription, but he was not interested in Manichaeism, transmitted to the Uighurs by Sogdians. This is why he is not praised in the Kara-Balgasun Inscription.

What I argued in the analysis regarding the composition of the Chinese text in the Kara-Balgasun Inscription is also true of the Sogdian version of this Inscription. We know almost nothing of the composition of the Uighur Runic text due to its extensive damage. Yet it is surely no accident that I discovered several terms related to Manichaeism on the very small pieces that have survived to this day in Mongolia.(14)

(14) ——— Cf. Moriyasu / Ochir 1999, pp. 219-224.

III

The Flourishing of Manichaeism under the West Uighur Kingdom. New Edition of the Uighur Charter on the Administration of the Manichaean Monastery in Qočo.

21 May 2003, Collège de France, Salle 1
Takao MORIYASU

1. Introduction

"A Decree for the Management of the Uighur Manichaean Monastery" as named by me is a long scroll discovered in Turfan and is one of the most eloquent proofs witnessing the flourishing of Manichaeism under the West Uighur Kingdom. At first I describe the history of the study of this document. The facsimile of this original manuscript was first published by Huang Wenbi in his archaeological report *Tulufan kaogu ji* published in 1954. Then P. Zieme provided the text and translation of several passages and was able to identify the general content of the document in his German article "Ein Uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im Uigurischen Reich". It was only in 1978 that the whole text with its translation was published by Geng Shimin in his Chinese article "Huihuwen Monijiao siyuan wenshu chushi (= First Interpretation of the Uighur Document concerning a Manichaean Monastery)".(1)

This long scroll manuscript is an unique document that describes the actual conditions of the administration of a Manichaean monastery and of the favorable treatment and protection that Manichaeism as a state religion enjoyed from the Uighur state. It is an important document both for the history of Central Asia and of Manichaeism. Great praise should be given at first to P. Zieme, who deciphered about forty percent of the text and revealed its main point using only the indistinct facsimiles in *Tulufan kaogu ji*, and then to Geng Shimin, who examined the original

(1) ——— Huang Wenbi 1954; Zieme 1975; Geng Shimin 1978.

manuscript housed at the Chinese Historical Museum in Beijing (*Zong* 8782 T, 82 = Y 974 / K 7709) and published the whole text for the first time, with its new facsimile.

Geng Shimin's article has created an academic interest in this document. This document was not only referred to in many articles, but also taken up as the subject of new studies. However, Geng's article that was the main source of these new studies, had many mistakes and unsolved problems. One sees many "ghost words" in his text, and the whole text still needed reconsideration. In May 1988, I was permitted to see the original manuscript only for two hours in Beijing. The direct examination enabled me to improve Geng's text and as a result I realized that the social and economic life of a Manichaean monastery in Central Asia, which was the main subject of this manuscript, was quite similar to that of Buddhist monasteries in Turfan and Dunhuang. Among the Turfan and Dunhuang collections there are a number of Chinese documents concerning the economic management of Buddhist temples. Many important studies about this subject have been published in Japan and China, and therefore we have an advantage over western scholars on this point. Making full use of the earlier studies, I prepared a fresh study on this extraordinarily valuable document, and utilized it as one of the main sources of my doctoral thesis published in 1991.(2) I am sure that at that time I was able to provide an almost definitive edition of the text, correcting numerous misreadings in Geng's text. However, in the same year as I published my text, an English version of Geng Shimin's article entitled "Notes on an Ancient Uighur Official Decree Issued to a Manichaean Monastery" was published in the *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 35.(3) Unfortunately, the mistakes in the Chinese article were all kept in its English version. Therefore western scholars who do not read Japanese still have to follow Geng's text and translation even after 1991.

For example, when H.-J. Klimkeit included his English translation of this decree

(2) ——— Moriyasu 1991. Although this lecture's main source is included in my earlier work, here I propose some new ideas for the first time.

(3) ——— Geng Shimin 1991.

in his excellent book *Gnosis on the Silk Road* published in 1993, he did not refer to my edition already published but basically followed Geng's text and translation.(4) In 1992 A. van Tongerloo published a paper "In a Manichaean Monastery [part 1]" in *Acta Orientalia Belgica*, Vol. 7, in which he refers to my book.(5) However, it seems that he did not actually read it, and there remain great differences of opinion between us on the interpretation of a problematic passage from a famous Manichaean scripture in Chinese found in Dunhuang: "Fifth Article for the Rules concerning [the Layout or the Management of] the Monastery" in *Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略, i.e. "*Compendium of the Doctrine and Rules of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light*". The German version of my book has already been completed and is to be published by Harrassowitz in the near future.(6) Today I am going to introduce some of the contents in advance, and also show a result of my recent study concerning a Manichaean title *xroxan*,(7) which is a keyword in understanding both the Decree document and the *Compendium*.

2. A Decree for the Management of the Uighur Manichaean Monastery

The manuscript in question is a long scroll, about 270 cm long and 29.5 cm wide. It has 125 lines of Uighur text. Considering the contents of the existing part, a large portion of the beginning must have been lost from the original manuscript. There are many tears in the first half of the extant part. This must be due to the fact that the scroll began to be damaged from the outside. The problem is that a paper restorer seemed to have pasted the fragments in the wrong places when they tried to restore it. This caused serious disorder in the text and the context became incomprehensible from place to place. Geng Shimin and Klimkeit adopted these doubtful cases as part of the original text and tried to make sense throughout, while I put the transcription of such cases in special brackets so that the reader recognises the doubtful parts.

At eleven places on this manuscript one sees a square Chinese impression in

(4) ——— Klimkeit 1993, pp. 352-356.

(5) ——— Tongerloo 1992.

(6) ——— The German title is *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*.

(7) ——— Here I give the references concerning new studies in detail, but often omit those indicated in Moriyasu 1991.

red measuring 10 cm long and 9.5 cm wide. This is sufficient evidence for us to believe that this manuscript is an official document. The reading of the lines of the impression is (1) 大福大迴鶻 (2) 國中書門下 (3) 頡於迦思諸 (4) 宰相之寶印 "(1) *da-fu da-hui-hu* (2) *-guo zhong-shu wen-xia* (3) *xie yu-jie-si zhu* (4) *zai-xiang zhi bao-yin*," which means, "The precious seal of the Prime Ministers of the Secretariat-Chancellery (in Chinese), i.e. *Il Ögäsis* (in Uighur), of the Great Fortunate Uighur Kingdom." This manuscript is a document issued by the high government officials of the Uighur state mentioned in the impression of the seal. The fact that several *Il ögäsis* existed at the same time has already been witnessed by the sources of the East Uighur Khanate, namely the Kara-Balgasun Inscription and the *Maḥrnāmag* made in around the 820s. Our manuscript, however, should be dated to the period of the West Uighur Kingdom, as all scholars agree. I believe that it is dated to the mid-10th century, though I leave the details for that dating to my book.

Now let us turn to the fact that a Chinese square seal was affixed on this Uighur manuscript. Klimkeit states as follows: "As Chinese was not an official language of the chancellery of the Uighur Realm, this document must have been officially sanctioned by Uighur as well as Chinese authorities".(8) I believe this judgement is mistaken. The usage of a square Chinese seal has nothing to do with the government of China proper. It was just due to the long influence of Chinese culture from the previous period. The Chinese seal indicates that there were a number of bureaucrats among the Uighurs who got used to the Chinese administration system. We have two other cases of employing square Chinese seals impressed in red on the official documents written in non-Chinese; the one is the case of Tibetan documents (the 9th-10th centuries), and the other is that of Khotanese documents (the 10th century). These are both found in Dunhuang. The former, the Tibetan documents, were made in the Gansu Corridor, where Chinese language had been dominant during the time of Tibetan rule and afterwards.(9) The latter, the Khotanese document, was a letter from

(8) ——— Klimkeit 1993, p. 352.

(9) ——— Pelliot tibétain 1081 (cf. Moriyasu 1980, p. 63; Spanien / Imaeda 1979, pl. 426; Moriyasu 2000, pp. 16, 49-53); Pelliot tibétain 1082 (cf. Moriyasu 1980, pp. 63-64; Spanien / Imaeda 1979, pls. 427-428; Moriyasu 2000, pp. 81-85); Pelliot tibétain 1124 (cf. Spanien / Imaeda 1979, pl. 453; Moriyasu 2000, pp. 29-30, 70-71; Sakajiri 2002).

a king of Khotan, which had experienced the Chinese administration system under the rule of the Four Garnisons in the West Region of the Tang Empire.(10) In both cases, we can see the similar historical background in which they got accustomed to square Chinese seals. In addition, as ideographs, Chinese characters are useful when one needs to put much information into a small limited space like seals. Let us now return to the case of the Uighurs. All through their history, in which period did they experience similar circumstances namely becoming familiar with the Chinese administration system? This could only happen during the time of the West Uighur Kingdom, which ruled the community of Chinese people in Turfan, where a long tradition of Chinese society under the Tang had been inherited. This cannot be imagined in the preceding East Uighur period.

In this connection, I would like to mention that I have found more than twenty Uighur documents with similar square Chinese impressions in red in the Turfan collections preserved in Berlin (BBAW) and Kyoto (Ryūkoku University, Omiya Library). It is quite difficult to decipher them, but as far as I can see, two of them bear the impression of both *da-fu da-hui-hu-guo* "the Great Fortunate Uighur Kingdom" and *xie yu-jie/qie-si* "Il Ögäsi" just like that of our Decree document, another two documents bear only *xie yu-jie/qie-si* "Il Ögäsi", and one document bears *tian te-qin zhi yin* 天特勤之印 "Seal of the Tängri Tegin". All of these documents imprinted with such square seals are secular documents issued by the Uighur court or government, whereas the documents issued by the Manichaean Church appear to have borne circular seals normally impressed in red. The ones discovered by W. Sundermann are imprinted with the face of Mani or a Manichaean cleric, and we find some more examples like them.(11) Probably, they were used by the Manichaean Teachers or Bishops.

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(10) ——— Pelliot chinois 5538 (cf. Pulleyblank 1954, pp. 91-93; Moriyasu 1980, p. 56).

(11) ——— Cf. Sundermann 1985; Sundermann 1996, pp. 103-104, So. 19554; Xinjiang Tulufan diqu wenwu ju 2000, pl. of the Letter A; U 5988 in Berlin (BBAW).

3. *iš ayγučï* and *xroxan*

Now let us go back to the contents of our Decree document. The keywords are the persons with some special duties called *iš ayγučï* and *xroxan*. At first, we cite the most relevant passages.

> *ll.* 44-51 : In one month, one of the two *xroxan*s with one of the two *iš ayγučï*s should stand on monthly duty to oversee that the (sacred) meal should be prepared well accorging to the rules. And in the next month, another *xroxan* with another *iš ayγučï* should stand on monthly duty to oversee that the (sacred) meal should be prepared well accorging to the rules. If the meal is bad in any month, the *xroxan* with the *iš ayγučï* responsible for that month should be imprisoned. The two *xroxan*s, being on duty with the two *iš ayγučï*s, should continue to control any disgusting(?) cooks and bakers.

> *ll.* 85-100 : As for the eastern and western (vegetable) gardens, vineyards and farmland belonging to the Manichaean monastery, the two *iš ayγučï*s should have them cultivated; as far as the dry fields are concerned, be they few or many, they should be given to tenant farmers to reform or maintain them. (Thus) the target of the basic revenues should be reached. (Every) productive field should be cultivated well, so that their (total) revenues may be increased.
>
> The two *iš ayγučï*s should not shift responsibility(?) onto each other; if they do so and do their work poorly, they should be punished. The divine Teacher (*Možak*), the Bishop (*Aftadan*) and the *xroxan*s should not be involved in the affairs of the farmland, the gardens, and the vineyards. (Only) the *iš ayγučï*s shall be responsible (for this matter). The messenger boy of the *iš ayγučï* Taγay Bars Ilïmγa Totoq is Qutadmïš Ygän. The messenger boy of the *iš ayγučï* Qumar Bars Tarqan is Il Körmïš. If the *iš ayγučï*s do their work well, they shall be praised and receive a reward. If they do it poorly, they shall receive 300 strokes of the rod, and (moreover) each of them should pay the penalty of one *žünkim*-brocade .....

Considering the content of their works and the fact that they are to be punished when they do not carry out their responsibility, *iš ayγučï* and *xroxan* are relatively low ranking officials or monks. Each function is carried out by two persons. The important point to notice is the fact that two *iš ayγučï*s are specified by their proper names, while *xroxan*s are not. The two *iš ayγučï*s are not monks but secular people, not only because they do not bear church-names typical of Manichaean monks, but also because their functions seen from the document are clearly those of low officials. The title *iš ayγučï* is translated word-for-word as "speaker of the works" and often rendered as "overseer, superintendent, supervisor, director, etc."

In contrast, the *xroxan* is a Manichaean monk. The Uighur *xroxan* is a loanword that came from Middle Persian, *xrōhxwān* (*xrwh(x)w'n*). Etymologically this word means, according to R. Gauthiot, "celui qui fait retentir l'appel," and according to E. Benveniste, "appeleur à la prière".(12) But there is fairly general agreement in the scholary world that it should be interpreted as "preacher". In our text, however, the *xroxan*s do not preach at all nor take part in any religious activities as far as we can see in the extant text. Instead, they are engaged in the management of trivial everyday duties at the Manichaean monastery along with the *iš ayγučï*s. In lines 44-51 of our text, we also read that the *xroxan*s take turns at one-month shifts. All of these facts reminds us of a passage from the Chinese Manichaean *Compendium*, where we can find both *hu-lu-huan* 呼嚧喚, a phonetic transcription of the Middle Persian *xrōhxwān* and *yuezhi* 月直 ("a person on monthly duty").

4. New interpretation of the Fifth Article of the Manichaean *Compendium*

Since problems still abound in this section of the Chinese text, first I would like to enumerate all the interpretations that have been presented, and then I will show you the latest outcome of my research.

(12) ——— Gauthiot 1911, pp. 60-61, 63-64; Benveniste 1932, p. 155.

Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe 摩尼光佛教法儀略, i.e. "*Compendium of the Doctrine and Rules of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light*", *Siyu yi diwu* 寺宇儀第五, i.e. "Fifth Article for the Rules concerning [the Layout or the Management of] the Monastery": **[Fig. 3]**

每寺尊首詮簡三人　*mei- si* ***zun-shou*** *quan-jian san-ren*:
第一　阿拂胤薩　　譯云讚願首, 專知法事.
第二　呼嚧喚　　譯云教道首, 專知奬勸.
第三　遏換健塞波塞
　譯云月直, 專知供施. 皆須依命, 不得擅意.

● Gauthiot 1911, p. 66: on retrouverait, en somme, dans chaque temple manichéen du Turkestan chinois les trois rangs de prêtres qui constituent les trois rangs supérieurs de l'Eglise manichéenne.

● Chavannes / Pelliot 1913, pp. 113-114:
Dans chaque temple il y a trois élus en chef (qui sont):
- 1° : Le *a-fou-yin-sa*, dont le nom signifie le chef [de la récitation] des hymnes et des vœux; il s'occupe spécialement des choses de la religion.
- 2° : Le *hou-lou-houan*, dont le nom signifie le chef de la doctrine religieuse; il s'occupe spécialement de récompenser et d'encourager.
- 3° : Le *ngo-houan-kien-sai-po-sai* dont le nom signifie le préposé au mois; il s'occupe spécialement des offrandes et des aumônes.
- Tous [les religieux] doivent se conformer aux ordres [de ces trois supérieurs] et n'ont pas le droit d'agir à leur guise.

● Waldschmidt / Lentz 1933, "Manichäische Dogmatik", p. 522:
(In) jedem Kloster (als) ehrwürdige Häupter (werden) erwählt drei Menschen.
1. *a-fu-yin-sa*, übersetzt: das Haupt der Hymnen. Er beschäftigt sich mit den Angelegenheiten des Gesetzes und kennt sie;

2. *hu-lu-huan*, übersetzt: Haupt der Lehren. Er beschäftigt sich damit zu ermuntern (und) zu ermahnen und versteht sich darauf;

3. *(ng)o-huan-chien-sai-po-sai*, übersetzt: Mond-gerade (= Regler ?). Er beschäftigt sich mit den Darbringungen (Geschenken) und versteht sich darauf.

Alle (drei? oder: alle andern) müssen sich an die Befehle halten, nicht erlangen, nach freiem Willen zu handeln.

● Lieu 1981, "Precept and Practice", p. 162:

At the head of each monastery there should be three *Ch'üan-chien* (lit. to choose or appoint, i.e. *electus*).

First, the *A-fu-yin-sa* (= Mid. Pers., *āfrinsar*), when interpreted means 'choir master' who devotes himself mainly matters of religion.

Second, the *Hu-lu-han* (= Mid. Pers., *xrōhxwān*), when interpreted means one who teaches the way and devotes himself to commendation and persuation.

Third, the *(Ng)o-huan-chien sê-po-sê* (= Mid. Pers., *ruwanagan ispasig (?)*), when interpreted means 'regulator of the month' (?) who devotes himself to (administering) offerings and alms.

The whole community should conform to the orders (of these three superiors) and no one is allowed to contradict their wishes.

● Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica*, 1987, p. 74:

Jedes Kloster hat drei Gewähltes als Hauptpriester:

Der erste, der *a-fu-yin-sa*, übersetzt: Das Oberhaupt für die Rezitation der Hymnen und Gelübde; besonders beschäftigt er sich mit den Angelegenheiten des Gesetzes.

Der zweite, der *hu-lu-huan*, übersetzt: Das Oberhaupt für die Unterweisung in der Lehre; er beschäftigt sich besonders mit der Vergeltung und Ermunterung.

Der dritte, der *no-huan-chien-sai-po-sai*, übersetzt: Der Beaufsichtiger des Monats (?); er beschäftigt sich besonders mit Spenden und Almosen.

Alle Mönche müssen sich den Anweisungen (dieser drei?) unterordnen und dürfen nicht eigenmächtig handeln.

● Tajadod 1990, pp. 60-63, 240-241:

Dans chaque monastère, il y a trois élus en chef:

I -- Le *afuyinsa*, dont le nom signifie «chef des hymnes et des vœux», est spécialisé dans les affaires religieuses.

II -- Le *huluhuan*, dont le nom signifie «chef de la doctrine religieuse», est spécialisé dans la récompense et dans l'encouragement.

III -- Le *ehuanjiansaibosai*, dont le nom signifie «préposé au mois», est spécialisé dans les offrandes et les aumônes.

- Tous les religieux doivent obéir aux enseignements (de ces trois supérieurs) et n'ont pas le droit d'agir à leur guise.

● Tongerloo 1992, p. 246:

Every monastery honours as (its) head three elects.

Firstly: the *a-fu-yin-sa*, translated as: "the leader of hymns and supplications", he is especially knowledgeable about the religious events.

Secondly: the *hu-lu-huan*, translated as: "the leader of instruction of religious teachings", he is especially knowledgeable about rewards and admonitions.

Thirdly: the *e-huan-chien-sai-po-sai*, translated as: "(the one who) monthly corrects", he is especially knowledgeable about the offerings and alms.

All must comply according to (the) orders and are not allowed to act on their own authority.

● Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, p. 352:

We learn in the "Compendium" that there were three important dignitaries in the monastery:.

(1) the hymn and prayer-leader, who was especially concerned with "matters of the Law,"

(2) the head of religious instruction, who mainly dealt with "discipline and admonition," and

(3) the "supervisor of the month", whose charge it was to administer tithes and alms.

"All the monks," says the "Compendium," "must subject themselves to the instructions (of those three?) and may not act on their own authority."

● Moriyasu:

In every monastery, the Head, i.e. ***zun-shou***, should choose three persons [to fulfil the following duties]:

(1) *a-fu-yin-sa*, translated as: "a leader of [reciting] the hymns or prayers", who is especially to administer [various] religious events.

(2) *hu-lu-huan*, translated as: "a leader of teaching the religious way", who is especially to persuade or encourage [someone to be converted to Manichaeism].

(3) *e-huan-jian-sai-bo-sai*, translated as: "a monthly duty manager", who is especially to administer the offerings or alms [from auditors].

All [of these three] should act by the order [of the Head of each monastery], and are not allowed to act on their own authority.

Almost all previous translations of the introductory phrase *mei-si* ***zun-shou*** *quan-jian san-ren* 每寺尊首詮簡三人, have some serious mistakes. The word *quan-jian* was regarded as a noun which means the "élu; Gewählte; Elect", but it is not true. In the *Compendium*, we can find another word *a-luo-huan* 阿羅緩 which exactly corresponds to Middle Persian *ardāwān* and means "the Electi". Here the word *quan-jian* should be regarded as a verb which simply means "to elect, to choose, to appoint", and the subject of this short sentence must be *zun-shou* which, in my opinion, is not plural but singular. So the whole phrase must be translated as "In every monastery, the Head, i.e. ***zun-shou***, should choose or appoint three persons [to fulfil the following duties]".(13)

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(13) ——— We should pay attention to the fact that these three titles do not correspond to any of the five grades in the Manichaean community which are listed in Fourth Article of the *Compendium* entitled *wu-chi i* 五級儀 "Rules of the Five Grades (of Manichaeans)", that is 1. *mu-she* 慕闍 (*možak* "Teacher"), 2. *sa-bo-sai* 薩波塞 (*ispasag* "Bishop"), also called *fu-duo-dan* 拂多誕 (*aftāδān*), 3. *mo-xi-xi-de* 默奚悉德 (*mahistag* "Presbyter"), 4. *a-luo-huan* 阿羅緩 (*ardāwān* "Elect"), and 5. *nou-sha-yan* 耨沙喭 (*niγōšāgān* "Auditors").

1) Ch. *a-fu-yin-sa* = MPers. *āfrinsar* (*'prynsr*) "prayer-master"

2) Ch. *hu-lu-huan* = MPers. *xrōhxwān* (*xrwh(x)w'n*) "preacher" = Uig. *xroxan* ↗

I am sure that these three posts were established in every Manichaean monastery, and that they were chosen or appointed by the Head of each monastery. So they are not the titles of some fixed ranks nor permanent posts but the titles of temporary posts. Then, as for ***ming*** 命 "the order" in the last and concluding phrase of this passage [see Fig. 3], we had better abandon the understanding of earlier scholars who regarded it as meaning "the orders of the three superiors". My translation is as follows: "All [of these three] should act by the order(14) [of the Head of each monastery], and are not allowed to act on their own authority."

5. Three monks on monthly duty in each Manichaean monastery

From our viewpoint, we shall check these three titles. The first title, 阿拂胤薩 *a-fu-yin-sa* is identified with Middle Persian *āfrinsar* (*'prynsr*) "prayer-master", and that agrees with the Chinese explanation, *yi yun zan-yuan-shou* 譯云讚願首 ("translated as 'a leader of the hymns and prayers' "). However, if we interpret the word *fa-shi* 法事 in the following phrase *zhuan zhi fa-shi* as "matters of the Law", we may miss the actual circumstances. It had better be translated as "religious events" as Tongerloo did. Generally speaking, Chinese *fa-shi* is a religious ceremony or feast. To sum up, he seems to be an organizer of religious events as well as a director of chanting prayers and hymns during every kinds of Manichaean ceremony such as a New Year's ceremony, the Bēma festival, and even the daily meal, which is the solemn ritual to set free the light particles that are contained in food.

The second title on the list is 呼嚧喚 *hu-lu-huan*. It is translated into Chinese as *jiao-dao-shou* 教道首 ("a leader of teaching the religious way"), and his duty is to do *zhuan zhi jiang-quan* 專知奬勸 . The word *jiang-quan* here has been translated as "de récompenser et d'encourager" by Chavannes / Pelliot, "der Vergeltung und Ermunterung" by Schmidt-Glintzer, "rewards and admonitions" by Tongerloo, "discipline and admonition" by Klimkeit, etc., but none of these is accurate enough.

↗ 3) Ch. *e-huan-jian-sai-bo-sai* = Parthian **arwānagān ispasag* "servant of the alms", that is to say, "person in charge of collecting the offerings from auditors"

(14) ——— At the conference Prof. Zhang Guanda kindly suggested me that it is also possible to interpret this ***ming*** as "appointment", not necessarily "order".

When we think of the original meanings of *xroxan*, that is, "preacher" or "appeleur à la prière", his function should be considered to have something to do with "encouragement" to lead pagans to awakening or conversion to Manichaeism. So *jiang-quan* should be translated as "to persuade or encourage [someone to be converted to Manichaeism]". Undoubtedly, the two Chinese characters 呼 *hu* and 喚 *huan*, used in a phonetic transcription of the title reflect the original meaning of *xrōhxwān*, because both of them means "to call, address, summon, invite".

Xroxan in our Decree document phonetically corresponds to the second title *hu-lu-huan* in the *Compendium*, but when it comes to the meaning, I suggest that it corresponds to the third title *e-huan-jian-sai-bo-sai* 遏 換 健 塞 波 塞, of which the Chinese translation is *yue-zhi* 月直. As Chavannes and Pelliot pointed out, the word *yue-zhi* means "a monthly duty manager" and it instantly reminds us of a word *zhi-sui* 直歲 ("an annual duty manager") in the financial section of Buddhist monasteries. The *yue-zhi*'s role is referred to as *zhuan zhi gong-shi* 專知供施 ("especially to administer the offerings or alms [from auditors]"). This agrees with the rule of the Manichaean Church; it prohibits all kinds of productive labor, which means that Manichaean monks have to live only on the offerings or alms from auditors, i.e. secular adherents. The duty of *yue-zhi* mentioned in the *Compendium* also corresponds to what is described as that of *xroxan* in our Decree document. Our view can also be supported by the fact that one may derive the word *e-huan-jian-sai-bo-sai* from Parthian **arwānagān ispasag* "servant of the alms", that is to say, "person in charge of collecting the offerings from auditors".(15) Therefore, even if *hu-lu-huan*'s Chinese translation *jiao-dao-shou* 教道首 can be literally interpreted as "le chef de la doctrine religieuse" (Chavannes / Pelliot) or "the leader of instruction of religious teachings" (Tongerloo), we should regard *hu-lu-huan* as an ordinary non-high-ranking Elect appointed to induce non-Manichaean people to join in the Manichaean churches. There is no mention of the fundamental duty as a "preacher" in our document, but it is just because this document deals mainly with the management of the daily life in the monastery.

(15) ——— See Moriyasu 1991, p. 62 and Sundermann 2001, p. 208.

However, why are the second and third titles, *hu-lu-huan* and *e-huan-jian-sai-bo-sai* mixed up in the *Compendium*? Let us take a close look at the photograph of the original Chinese manuscript Pelliot chinois 3884 **[see Fig. 3]**. Compared with the former two titles, we notice that the phrase *yi yun yue-zhi zhuan zhi gong-shi* 譯云月直專知供施 does not directly follow the third title *e-huan-jian-sai-bo-sai*, even though there is enough space for those eight characters. Instead, they start in a new line. In my opinion, there might be some omissions or mistakes here, and originally, the phrase of a monthly duty manager must have referred not only to the third title but also to the second title *hu-lu-huan*. Or the duties of the second and third titles might have been put together.

There is another reason for this presumption. It is a paragraph in the famous *Book of Prayer and Confession* written in Parthian and Middle Persian, which was found in Turfan and published by Henning in his BBB.(16) In this manuscript, we are shown the list with 1) Mār Nāzuγ Yazd, the Teacher (*Možak*) of the Eastern patriarchate at the top, followed by some groups of Manichaean monks serving under him. It goes as follows: 2) Bishops (*Aftadan*), 3) Presbyters (*Mahistag*), 4) Prayer leaders (*'prynsr*), 5) Wise preachers (*xrwh(x)w'n*), 6) Valiant scribes, 7) Singers of melodious hymns, 8) Pure and holy brothers, 9) Pure and holy sisters. On this list, No. 1 to No. 3 correspond to the top three clerics in the Manichaean Church, and No. 8 and No. 9 correspond to the fourth and the lowest grade male and female Electi. They all refer to the name of grades. On the other hand, No. 4 to No. 7 are the titles for special roles, and judging from their order on the list, there is no doubt that they are chosen or appointed out of the ordinary Electi. Needless to say, No. 4 and No. 5 correspond to the Chinese words, *a-fu-yin-sa* and *hu-lu-huan*, but there is no equivalent for *e-huan-jian-sai-bo-sai*. What is more, it is said that although this Chinese word *e-huan-jian-sai-bo-sai* may possibly be derived from the Parthian **arwānagān ispasag* "servant of the alms", it has not been attested in Central Asian Manichaica yet.(17) All these facts suggest that there is no *e-huan-jian-sai-bo-sai* any

(16) ——— Henning, BBB, p. 24. See also Klimkeit 1993, p. 136.
(17) ——— Cf. Sundermann 2001a, p. 208.

more in a Manichaean monastery in the Eastern patriarchate, and his duty is carried out by a *hu-lu-huan* or *xroxan*.(18)

In a Buddhist temple, the monks themselves were directly linked with the management of the temple, mainly with economic activities. The monks with the title of *zhi-sui* 直歲 or *ku-si* 庫司 or *ku-tou* 庫頭 were in charge of accounting. In contrast, a Manichaean monastery, which prohibited monks from being involved in secular affairs including economic activities, must have left most of the practical jobs to the secular government officials, namely, *iš ayγučï*s mentioned above. These officials, however, were accompanied by Manichaean monks called *xroxan* in one-month shifts as superintendents in order to watch and advise them. As seculars, *iš ayγučï*s were not allowed to live in a Manichaean monastery. They had to reside in a suitable place as government officials and had messenger boys to keep them in touch daily with *xroxan*s, who were partnered with them to carry out the daily job. The messengers must also have been secular boys.

6. Size of the Manichaean monastery in Qočo

Next, let us consider the size of the Manichaean monastery for which this Decree document was issued from the Uighur government. The first point we should notice is the amount of wheat, their principal food, consumed in one month.

> *ll.* 26-28 : Every month, for the two convents of the clergy (i.e. the male and female monks) one should obtain as their food 80 *šïγ* (< Chin. 石 *shi*; 1 *shi* in Tang period is equal to 60 liter today) of wheat, 7 *šïγ* of sesame, 2 *šïγ* of beans and 3 *šïγ* of millet (*setaria italica*) . . . .
>
> *ll.* 73-77 : The wheat bran (that comes) from the whole wheat as their food for one year amounts to 200 *šïγ*. Of the 200 *šïγ* of bran, the oxen that draw the carts may eat 100 *šïγ*. The horses for riding of the divine Teacher (*Možak*) and the Bishop (*Aftadan*) may (also) eat 100 *šïγ* of the bran. Yïγmïš may store up these 100 *šïγ* of bran and blend in it (with the fodder) for the horses.

(18) ——— Cf. Sundermann 2001a, n. 26.

P. Zieme presumes that 80 *šïγ* of wheat is supplied to each of the "two convents (male and female)" every month.(19) If Zieme is right, the amount of the wheat that is to be supplied to these two convents for one year should be calculated as, 80 × 12 × 2 = 1920 *šïγ*. Now, let us, for the moment, consider what is written in lines 73-74. It says, "the wheat bran (that comes) from the whole wheat as their food for one year amounts to 200 *šïγ*". Since specific figures of the quantity of wheat and its bran are mentioned only in these two passages, there will be no question that they are concerned with the same supply of wheat. According to a Japanese scholar T. Naba, when grinding 1 *shi* of wheat, 1.22 *shi* of flour and 0.35 *shi* of bran can be made, and in total it will be 1.57 *shi*. Considering this proportion, in order to get 200 *shi* of bran, the amount of wheat we need must be; 200 ÷ 0.35 = about 572 *shi*. As a matter of course, the amount of flour and bran that comes from wheat varies from time to time and from region to region. Even if we make allowances for the largest cumulative error, the figures of 572 *shi* and 1920 *shi* are too far apart. Therefore it would be better to explain that 80 *shi* of wheat supplied every month is not to "each" of the "two convents" but to both of them. Then the amount of wheat that was supplied to them in a year will be; 80 × 12 = 960 *shi*. This figure is rather close to 572 *shi*. This indicates that both the male and female inhabitants of the two convents did not necessarily live and dine apart. The expression "two convents" should probably refer to one unit of monastery or the monks in the region as a whole.

Let us now go to the next point. The question is how many people can be supported by 85 *shi* of grain in total (80 *shi* of wheat + 2 *shi* of beans + 3 *shi* of millet), excluding sesame that is used for cooking oil. There are many conditions to consider, which vary from time to time and from region to region, such as the kinds of grain, the way to eat, the proportion of principal food to side dish, the unit measures of grain, and so on. It is quite difficult to calculate precisely, but I will try to estimate it roughly.

According to the studies on the Chinese documents from Turfan, the average amount of food for one person per month is 3 *shi* in the times of the Gaochang

(19) ——— Zieme 1975, p. 334; Zieme 1980, p. 20.

Kingdom of Qu 麴 family, while that for a man per month is 1 *shi* and for a woman per month is 0.75 *shi* in the early Tang period. The *shi*-measure used in the Gaochang Kingdom is the same as that of the Han and Jin Dynasties, and equals one third of Tang's *shi*-measure. So there is no substantial difference in the standard amount of food consumed in Turfan between the times of the Gaochang Kingdom and the early Tang period. Moreover, according to Chinese sources concerning mainland China of Tang times, 2 *sheng* 升 (= 0.02 *shi*) of polished grain is the average amount of food for a man per day, so it will be 60 *sheng* per month, that is 0.6 *shi*. We also have another example in a document that dates close to our Uighur Decree document, "A petition for decreasing the total number of Buddhist monks" made by Li Qinming 李欽明 in around the 2nd year of Qianyou 乾祐 Era (949 A.D.). It calculates that the amount of food for a monk or nun per day is 1 *sheng* of polished grain, which will be only 30 *sheng* per month, that is 0.3 *shi*. This may be because nuns and young novices are included with monks. In this connection, T. Naba estimated that a consumption of *mian* 麵 ("flour") for a monk is 0.333 *shi* per month in the Buddhist temple Jingtu-si 淨土寺 in Dunhuang in the early 10th century. From what has been mentioned above, the likely estimate for the amount of food for one person per month at that time is 0.6-1.0 *shi* in the case of ordinary people (there is a difference between men and women), and 0.3-0.6 *shi* in the case of monks or nuns.

The results attained so far can be applied to our Decree document for a Manichaean monastery. As the West Uighurs in Turfan are thought to follow the measuring systeme of the Tang, the Uighur unit of capacity *šïγ* is the same as Chinese *shi* of the Tang. If you divide 85 *shi* by 0.6 *shi*, the answer is 142 persons; if you divide it by 0.3 *shi*, the answer is 283 persons. However, with regard to Manichaean monks, the consumption of their grains should be estimated at less than that of ordinary people because they are prohibited to do all kinds of labor including farming, and their meal is to be held only once a day according to their religious precept. In addition, 1 *shi* in the Tang period is equal to about 60 liter today, so 0.6 *shi* per month is equal to 36 liter. If you divide this by 30 days, the amount of grains for one monk per day is 1.2 liter. This is far too much for a monk who is not engaged

in physical labor. Even half of this amount may be enough. If it is so, 85 *shi* of grains per month mentioned in our document can support well over 250 monks. Even at the lowest estimate, it amounts to 200 monks.

Next, let us see the consumption of melons.

> *ll.* 78-82 : the fields at Üč Ordu should be given to three persons. Each of them should bring 20 melons every day to the Manichaean monastery. 30 of the melons are to be given to the Large Monastery and another 30 melons are to be given to the Small Monastery. Yïγmïš should collect these melons and distribute them. If he does [something wrong], he should be imprisoned.

Since each of the three producers is to deliver 20 melons every day, 30 melons can be distributed to each of the Large and Small Manichaean Monasteries. For Manichaeans, melons were exceptionally important food. Being prohibited a meat diet by religious precepts, Manichaean monks inevitably ate vegetarian food. Fruits and vegetables were especially valued by them as they were believed to be rich in light particles because they needed plenty of sunlight while growing. For Manichaean monks, a meal is a sacred act that sets free the light particles in food. Therefore, the more light, the better. Melons and cucumbers were the best representatives. In Turfan, grapes and watermelons were added to them. At the Museum für Indische Kunst in Berlin, there is a famous miniature unearthed in the Ruin α of Qočo, which shows the Bēma festival commemorating the death of Mani.(20) When we enlarge the part of the votive offerings, we can see, from the bottom, melons, grapes, and a watermelon on the three-legged golden bowl. Melons, well-known products of Turfan from ancient times till now, are quite big just like the ones in this miniature, and taste very sweet. One cannot eat one whole melon at one time. The meal of the Manichaean monks was held once a day. If each of them ate a quarter of a melon, 60 melons would have been enough for 240 persons. This figure is an approximate value to what we derived, based on a consumption of grains. As we can see in lines 86 and 93, this Manichaean

(20) ——— Cf. BSA II, Tafel 8b-a; Härtel / Yaldiz 1982, pl. 114; Moriyasu 1991, pl. XVIa; Gulácsi 2001, Fig. 32.1.

monastery kept vineyards, but there is no mention of the supply of grapes. The fact that only melons are prescribed in detail in this document shows their real importance.

7. Suppliers and consumers of provisions

One further question that we must not ignore is who are to produce and deliver the grains prescribed in lines 26-28 in our document. This question is concerned with the nature of the whole document. As is generally known, the Manichaean commandments prohibited the possession of any means of production. Monks themselves were not allowed to be engaged even in farming, to say nothing of owning estates, slaves and tenant farmers. They had to live only on the offerings or alms from auditors. From this point of view, it is natural to suppose that the auditors of this Manichaean monastery should have produced and delivered the grains for them, just as some scholars assumed. However, I do not share this opinion. If you read through the text from the first line up to lines 26-28 without preconceptions, it seems that those who produced the grains were ordinary farmers, that is taxpayers to the government, in both the Eastern and Western cities, regardless whether they were Manichaean or not. As a system, *iš ayγučï*s, or government officials, collected and kept the grains as tax from ordinary farmers, and then distributed a fixed amount to the Manichaean monastery every month. On the other hand, we read in lines 85-94 that this Manichaean monastery possessed its own farmland, gardens and vineyards. One may expect that the crops collected from the farmland were consumed by the monks of this monastery. However, since the farmland in question is described much later than the amount of wheat given to the monks mentioned in lines 26-28, I believe that the crops collected from this particular farmland were not consumed by the monks. Then who ate these crops?

Manichaean monks were dependent on their auditors for all the daily necessities. To put it the other way round, the auditors were "obliged" to offer and contribute the daily necessities such as food, clothing, fuel and so on. Even the Uighur court itself was no exception, for it was represented by the Uighur Qaghan or *Ïduq-qut*, who was an auditor himself. Here I would like to consider that, as representatives of the State

that should protect Manichaeism, *iš ayγučïs*, or the governmental tax collectors, were prescribed the delivery of a certain amount of grain, which was due to the treasury as national tax, to the Manichaean monastery every month.

As written clearly in lines 26-28, the grain was distributed to monks only. Monasteries, however, are not only made up of monks. Just as there are other members such as novices, young servants and slaves in a Buddhist monastery, there are *ärän* "men [of temple]", *aspasi / aspasanč* "male and female servants", 'YWRX'NY ZM'ŠTYK, *oγlan* "boys" and so on in this Manichaean monastery. Among them, only 'YWRX'NY ZM'ŠTYK, belongs to the category of monks as is shown in lines 51-53 and 60-65 and consequently their rations of food must be included in the amount given in lines 26-28. Yet, the rations for the rest of them need to be procured somehow. It seems likely that the grain, which came from the tenancy mentioned in line 85 and the following lines, was allotted to them. If this is true, we may reasonably conclude that the basis of finances of this Manichaean monastery was supported by the supply from the Uighur State, but that the secular inhabitants in the monastery were maintained by the rent from the tenancy attached to the monastery.

8. Large and Small Monasteries in the Qočo area

Among the Buddhist temples in China proper, one with more than 100 monks is regarded as a large temple. Compared with them, we can see how large in size this Manichaean monastery is, even if our Decree document deals with two monasteries, a large and a small one. Several Manichaean monasteries have been known to have existed in the territory of the West Uighur Kingdom both from written texts and from archaeological evidences. While those of Qočo, Yar, Turpan, Bišbalïq, Solmï (= Ark), and Kuča are mentioned in Manichaean texts, remains of Manichaean temples were discovered in Ruin K & Ruin *a* in Qočo, Bäzäklik, Toyoq and Yar-khoto. Since the biggest monastery that we have known so far is Ruin K, we can infer that our document was addressed there. Klimkeit says the provenance of this manuscript is Yar-khoto, but I believe this is a misreading of the signature of the manuscript, Y 974 / K 7709. In this case, "Y" has nothing to do with Yar-khoto, but it stands for *Yijipin*

一級品, which means "a Chinese national treasure." No other Manichaean monastery could have been larger in size and be better protected by the government than what is now Ruin K in Qočo. Thus the Large Manichaean monastery mentioned in lines 81-82 in our text is to be identified with Ruin K. While the Small one is most likely to be identified with Ruin α, one may also consider those in Bäzäklik and Toyoq near Qočo as possible alternatives.

Ⅳ

The Decline of Manichaeism and the Rise of Buddhism among the Uighurs with a Discussion on the Origin of Uighur Buddhism.

28 May 2003, Collège de France, Salle 1

Takao MORIYASU

1. Introduction

In my first lecture, I concluded that Manichaeism maintained its position as a state religion among the West-Uighurs until the middle of the 10th century, and that later in the latter half of that century increasingly the Uighurs started to favour Buddhism. In the beginning of the 11th century Manichaeism began to be replaced by Buddhism. Thus it is likely that for a considerable period, possibly for several decades or even more, Manichaeism coexisted with Buddhism in the West Uighur Kingdom, and the latter took the place of the former gradually. In contrast, X. Tremblay says that Manichaeism lost its position as a state religion and was replaced by Buddhism just in 1008.(1) His argument is simply based on the existence of an Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscription unearthed at the so-called Ruin α, a Buddhist-Manichaean double-walled temple in Qočo (Gaochang), which was dated to 1008 by J. Hamilton and myself.(2) But Tremblay's theory is difficult to follow and I do not share this opinion.

2. Two Sogdian letters and two Stake Inscriptions in Uighur

In March 2001, Professor Y. Yoshida gave a lecture entitled "Manichaean Sogdian Letters Discovered in Bäzäklik" at the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris [cf. Yoshida 2002]. All of the three long Sogdian letters that he dealt with in his lecture were discovered behind the Buddhist wall of a double-walled cave temple of Bäzäklik, together with five short Uighur Manichaean letters. I believe that this

(1) ——— Tremblay 2001, pp. 89, 90, 95, 115.

(2) ——— See footnote 17 of my Lecture I.

had originally been a Manichaean cave. While one of the three Sogdian manuscripts (called Letter C in Yoshida's edition) is somewhat similar in contents to the five Uighur letters concerning caravan trading on the Silk Road, the other two (Letters A & B) are religious letters addressed to one and the same *Možak* "Teacher" of the Eastern patriarchate, named Aryāmān Puhr. The longest (Letter A) **[see Pl. IX, photos 28-29 of my Lecture I]** was sent by an *Aftadan* "Bishop" named Shahryār Zādag on the occasion of New Year's Day and containing blessings dedicated to the Teacher and the Uighur Qaghan, a celebrated leader of the lay community. Letter B was the report of services conducted during the month of fasting (Sogd. *čaxšapat mākh*, Uig. *čxšapt ay*) by the five *Electi* of the town of Tūdh (Tūdhkath) whence the letter was dispatched to Qočo or Bäzäklik, where the Možak was based. The Manichaean community of Tūdh was headed by a Bishop, Mānī Wahman, who is the sender of Letter B. According to Prof. Yoshida, these three Sogdian letters discovered in Bäzäklik are most likely to be dated to the years around 1010 A.D. and are the latest among the Sogdian material. Letter A, line 123, mentions **Alp Totoq Ögä** as a leader (needless to say, after the Qaghan) heading the lay community of the country of Qočo. The Uighur minister bearing the same name is attested in the two Stake Inscriptions written in Uighur: they are No. 1 and No. 3 among the five Stake Inscriptions.(3)

Stake Inscription No. 1 **[Pl. X, photo 31]** was dedicated by an Uighur princess named Tängrikän Tegin Silig Tärkän Qunčuy Tängrim and probably her husband called Külüg Ïnanč Šaču Sangun. It was made on the 24th day of the 9th month, under the *Pūrva-phalgunī*-(constellation), in the blessed and fortunate Monkey year with Earth element, in the 2nd year of the period when our Kün Ay Tängri-täg Küsänčig Körtlä Yaruq Tängri Bögü Tängrikän Köl Bilgä Tängri Ilig has ascended the throne. This is dated to the year 1008 A.D. by Hamilton and myself as I have mentioned above. In line 18 of this Stake, we can find the phrase *qočo balïq bägi alp totoq ögä* "the head of Qočo city, **Alp Totoq Ögä**".

Stake Inscription No. 3 **[Pl. X, photo 33]** was dedicated by an Uighur prince

(3) ——— The following part is based on Moriyasu 2001.

or a nobleman named Tarduš Tapmïš Yayatγar? Čangšï Yälü Qaya with his wife Tängrikän Körtlä Qatun Tängrim. It was made on the 3rd day of the 2nd month, in the fortunate Sheep year of *ki*-(stem) with Fire element, in the period when Kün Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmïš Uluγ Qut Ornanmïš Alpïn Ärdämin Il Tutmïš Alp Arslan Qutluγ Köl Bilgä Tängri Xan has been [enthroned?] and deigns to be the ruler and have authority as far as Šačiu (= Dunhuang) in the east and Uč (= Uč-Turfan) and Barsxan in the west. This is dated to the year 1019 by Hamilton and myself independently. In lines 3-4 we can find a sentence as follows: *[il] ögäsi alp totoq ögä · qutluγ qočo ulušuγ bašlayur ärkän* "when the [prime] minister (*Il Ögäsi*) **Alp Totoq Ögä** is the head of the fortunate country of Qočo".

I believe that a person called **Alp Totoq Ögä**, who had been the head of Qočo city in 1008, was promoted by 1019 to be the head of the whole country of Qočo, i.e. the ruler of the whole Turfan region, with the rank of the prime minister (*Il Ögäsi*). Moreover, since some other personal names are shared by the Sogdian Manichaean Letter C and the Stake Inscription No. 1, it will be safe to believe that these Sogdian Manichaean Letters date back to the same period as the Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscriptions.

3. Conflict between the Manichaeans and the Buddhists

As I have fully discussed in my book in 1991, there is a vivid account of the drastic change in the religious situation in the West Uighur Kingdom in the Manichaean manuscript M 112 from Turfan. This was first made known by W. B. Henning, and later, the Sogdian text of the recto side was edited by W. Sundermann, and the Uighur text of the verso was edited by Geng Shimin and H.-J. Klimkeit.(4) The Sogdian text consists of letters written in the 9th century according to Sundermann. About the script of the Uighur text, Henning wrote that it is "geradezu schauderhafte uigurische Kursive (truly horrible Uighur cursive)" and dated it to the Mongol period. Klimkeit followed his dating. But in my opinion they were mistaken. This text is written in the same type of Uighur script as that of the Stake Inscriptions No. 1 and No. 3.

(4) ——— Hennning 1936a, pp. 16-18; Sundermann 1984, pp. 300-304; Geng / Klimkeit 1985.

Since 1985, I have been proposing to classify the styles of Uighur script into four categories -- 1) square/book (*kaisho*), 2) semi-square (*han-kaisho*), 3) semi-cursive (*han-sōsho*), and 4) cursive (*sōsho*). **[See Appendix: Style of Uighur script]** As shown in my previous articles on the Uighur civil documents or religious texts, one can classify the old Uighur manuscripts except those in square/book script approximately into two large groups based on the style of the script: the older group of semi-square script (around the 10th-11th centuries) and the other of cursive script (around the 13th-14th centuries). In other words, the older group of semi-square script is attributable to the West Uighurs, while the later group of cursive script is attributable to the Uighurs of the Mongol period. Here I omit a detailed explanation of my theory because it is given in the appendix to a new catalogue of banners from Turfan entitled *The Central Asian Temple Banners in the Collection of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin*, i.e. Moriyasu 2003.

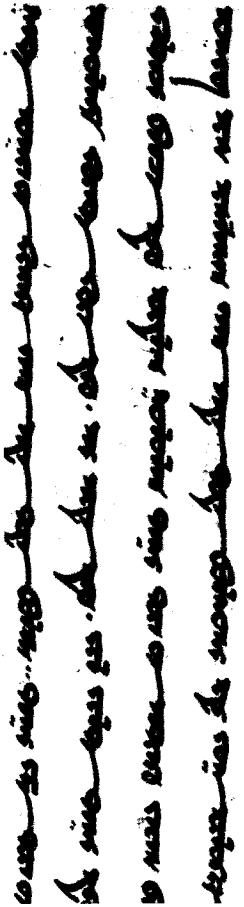
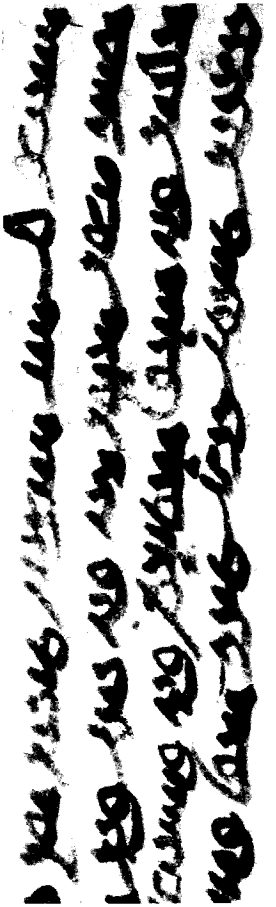
If one could understand correctly the content of the text of the verso of M 112, it would be clear which dating is more likely. Here I cite only one part. It says:

> "In the *kuu*-element and Sheep year with Saturn, by the order of the fourth Arslan Bilgä Heavenly King, i.e. Süngülüg Qaγan, the Buddhist temple named Üč Čanggur-luγ, which had been built at the east of old inner-city, sponsored by Prince Tärkän was moved, and at the time of Istūd Frazēnd Možak Manichaean monasteries were destroyed and Buddhist temples were built, ..., and some ornaments of Manichaean monasteries were stripped off and carried away to put them on Buddhist temples, and ... ..."

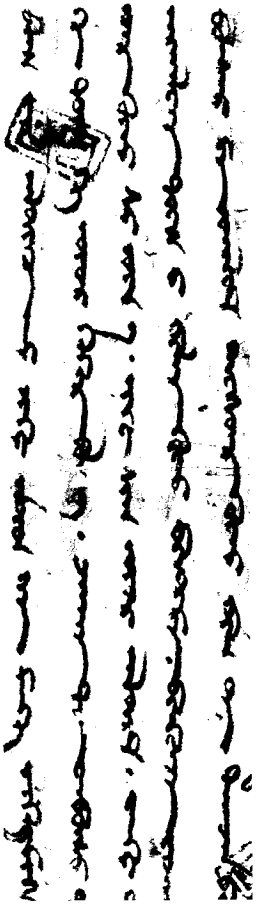
The use of a date like "*kuu*-element and Sheep year with Saturn" indicates that the Chinese sexagenary calendar was combined with an Indian calendar system using the Sanskrit concept *abdapa*. A calculation is necessary to fix the exact date of this type. According to the result of a calculation by Prof. M. Yano, specialist of Oriental calendars, the date corresponds to 983 A.D.(5) I am aware that such a calculation

(5) ——— See Moriyasu 1991, p. 149.

STYLE of UIGHUR SCRIPT

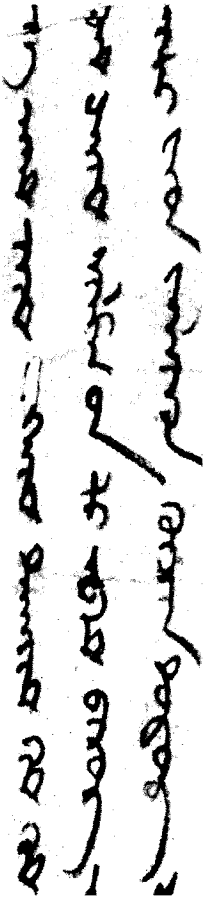
HITHERTO Book / Block	(Half-cursive)	
MORIYASU 1) Square (kaisho)	2) Semi-square (han-kaisho)	
 Or. 8212-104 Säkiz yükmäk	 Or. 8212-123 MOTH 23	 U 5968 Sa19 in SUK

3) Semi-cursive (han-sōsho)

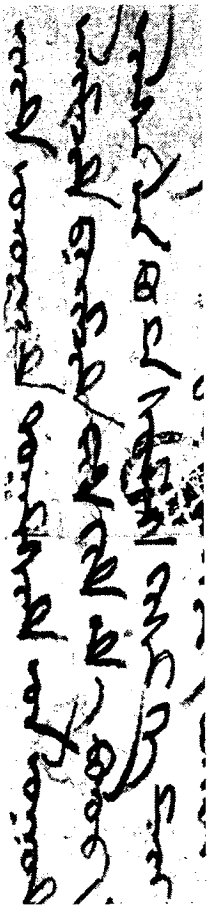


Ot.Ry. 2734
Lo19 in SUK

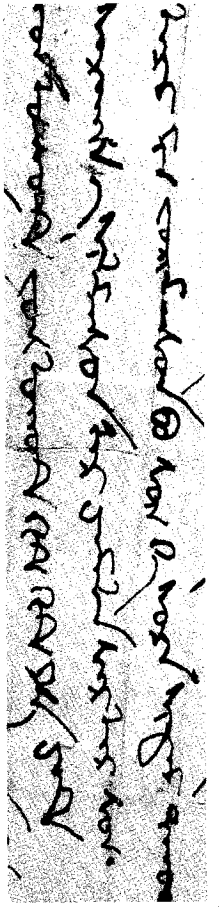
4) Cursive (sōsho)



Istanbul 35
Sa11 in SUK



SI M / 6
Sa29 in SUK



Kr.IV / 618
Mi24 in SUK

is based on certain presuppositions and is not absolute. I would accordingly not exclude other possible dates such as 863, 923, or 1043 A.D. The fact that M 112 also was unearthed at Ruin *α*, as Sundermann pointed out, lends support to my suggestion. Anyhow, taking into consideration the discovery of the Stake Inscription dated to 1008 commemorating the establishment of a new Buddhist temple on its site, there is no room to doubt that an important Manichaean monastery was turned into a Buddhist temple in 1008 at the site of Ruin *α*. So the Uighur text of M 112 can be safely dated to the year 983.

4. Colophon of T II D 171

Next, I would like to take up an Uighur manuscript T II D 171 (= MIK III 198; see Wilkens 2000, No. 124), which is famous for its very beautiful colophon **[see Pls. XIII-XIV]**. This manuscript is part of the Manichaean scripture named *Iki Yïltïz Nom*, i.e. the "*Book of the Two Principles*", including an original colophon as well as three later postscripts. Although this is a typical Uighur-Manichaean document discovered at Ruin K in Qočo, the names of places and peoples found in the original colophon are those of neither the eastern part of the Tianshan region nor of the Uighurs, but of the Arγu country, Talas, and Čigil. The Arγu country including Talas (Taraz) is said to be a part of the western region in the Tianshan Mountains,(6) while the Čigil is the dominant tribe of the Karluk confederation settled in the same region after the middle of the 8th century.(7) When we see that the name of a ruler of Arγu, Čigil and Türk is mentioned in that colophon, we may expect that it is possible to date the manuscript by referring to his years of reign. However, we know nearly nothing about the date and names of rulers of the above mentioned tribes or regions. Because of these problems, the dating of the text has long been the subject of controversy. Regarding its dating, there were various opinions which can roughly be classified into two: one is to date it back to the 8th century, the period of the

(6) ——— Cf. CTD, I, pp. 84, 151, and III, p. 238; Klyashtornyj 2000, p. 376.

(7) ——— Cf. Golden 1990, pp. 348, 350, 355.

Eastern Uighur Khanate (e.g. Le Coq, Henning, Gabain, Esin, Golden, Klimkeit(8)), and the other to the the period of the West Uighur Kingdom (e.g. Clark, Klyashtornyj, Rybatzki(9)). I myself have not been sure about this question, but recently I found a new fact which has lead me to conclude that this manuscript should be dated to the first half of the 11th century. Here I present my argument for the first time.

The most important factor in dating this manuscript was the names of two persons. Now I cite some passages concerning these two persons.

● Le Coq, *Manichaica* I, 1911, p. 27:

ayaγlaγ tataγlaγ atlaγ t(ä)ngri m(a)r w(a)xm(a)nxïary(a)zd [t]oi-n (??) toxrï daqï uluγ možak . . . . . *· ymä [a]ltun arγu . . . . [ul]uš qašu xanï ordu čigil k(ä)nt ärkligi uluγ tṵrkdün pašdan(a)ki čigil ạrslan il tirgüg ạlp burγučan ạlp t(a)rxan bäg iläntük ärksintük oγurïnta ·*

"den (?) ehrwürdigen süßen berühmten göttlichen Mar Wahman-Chiar-Yazd-Toyin den tocharischen großen Možak (Verbum fehlt!) · und des Königs des Altun-Arγu-Stammes und (Königs) von Qašu, des Fürsten von Ordu-Känt und Tschigil-Känt, des großen *Hüters gegen die *Großtürken Tschigil Arslan Il-tirgüg Alp Burġučan Alp Tarchan Bäg Regierungsantrittes (?) wegen · "

● Henning 1938, pp. 551-552:

mr wγmnγγ'ryzd twyrt twγry d'qy 'wlwγ mwž'k

"Mār Wahman-hayār-yazd, the great patriarch (archbishop, teacher) residing in Four-Twγry."

● Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road*, p. 374:

"... the venerable, sweet, famous, divine Mar Vahman Xiar Yazd Toyin, the great Tocharian teacher, and the king (*xan*) of the Altun Arγu ... tribe, and of

(8) ——— Le Coq 1912, pp. 150-151; Henning 1938, pp. 551-552; Gabain 1949, pp. 50-55; Esin 1980, p. 146; Klimkeit 1989, p. 31; Golden 1990, p. 345; Klimkeit 1993, p. 373.

(9) ——— Clark 1997, p. 105 based on Livšic 1989; Klyashtornyj 2000, pp. 375-376, 378; Rybatzki 2000, pp. 264-266.

Qašu, the sovereign of Čigilkänt, the great Supervisor (of Religion) among the Turks, Čigil Arslan Il-tirgüg Alp Bürgüčän Alp Tarxan Bäg, on the occasion of his assuming power and rule."

In all preceding studies, the name of this great Teacher of the Toxrï-region (Tugristān) has been read as *Mar* **Vahman Xiar Yazd**, and no one has doubted this transcription. However, as a result of my close inspection of the original of this manuscript at the Museum für Indische Kunst in Berlin, it turned out that the correct transliteration of this name is *mr wxmnx(wrxš)i(d)* **[see Pl. XIV, photo 42]**, and it should be read as *Mār* **Vahmān Xwarxšēd**. As any scholar engaged in the eastern Manichaean literature would remember, this is one and the same name as that of the Možak appearing in a Manichaean document MIK III 8259.

5. MIK III 8259

The Middle Persian abecedarian hymn contained in a Manichaean document MIK III 8259, unearthed at Ruin *a* , was also first introduced to the academic world by Henning himself in the same article together with T II D 171. Here I cite the text and translation of Henning, but change some part based on the latest edition by J. D. BeDuhn.(10)

. m . mry wh(m')n xwrxšyd hmwc'g ['y] hwr's'n p'ygw[s].
. n . n'mgyn s'r'[r 'y] ch'r twγryst'[n].
"Mār Vahmān Xwarxšēd, 'Teacher' of the Eastern patriarchate,
Famous (religious) head of Four-Twγr-country."

In the interpretation of T II D 171, Henning corrected Le Coq's old transcription *[t]oi-n (??) toxrï daqï uluγ možak* and read it as *tört toxrï daqï uluγ možak* "the great patriarch (archbishop, teacher) residing in Four-Twγry", which is based on *n'mgyn s'r'[r 'y] ch'r twγryst'[n]* "Famous (religious) head of Four-Twγr-country" in MIK

(10) ——— Henning 1938, p. 551; BeDuhn apud Gulácsi 2001, p. 222.

III 8259. When I examined it in the original of T II D 171, I found that the passage in question can only be read *[ ]WY-N toxrï* in accordance with Le Coq, and it is impossible to reconstruct it as *tört toxrï* as Henning did. I believe, however, that Henning's idea is correct. Probably, it is an error of the scribe who produced a clean copy of this document. Since *Mār* **Vahmān Xwarxšēd** in MIK III 8259 has the title of *hmwc'g 'y hwr's'n p'ygws* "Teacher of the Eastern patriarchate" as well, there is no doubt that he is identifiable as the Možak in T II D 171.

Interestingly an excellent catalogue entitled *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*, edited by Zs. Gulácsi and published in 2001, says, "At my request, Prof. Dr. Marianne Yaldiz kindly authorized the carbon dating of the illuminated codex fragment MIK III 8259. The result confirms that the organic component of the paper was harvested between the early 10th and mid 11th centuries".(11) Some people may have some doubts about the dating by Carbon 14, but we have further evidence for supporting our dating of this manuscript.

6. Surviving Manichaeans in the western part of the Tianshan region

We find in T II D 171 another important person named "Čigil Arslan **Il-tirgüg Alp Burγučan Alp Tarxan** Bäg". Curiously enough the very same name is encountered also in one of the late Sogdian inscriptions on rocks and stones uncovered in the Kulan-sai gorge and the Terek-sai gorge, on the upper reaches of the Talas River in present day Kirghistan. This fact was pointed out by V. A. Livšic and S. G. Klyashtornyj.(12) The inscription begins with a date according to Prof. Yoshida's translation "the year of 394, the year of Mouse, the 12th month", and then follows a list of names of the local Turkish nobles. Among the list we find a part which can be read according to Livšic "**Il-tirgüg Alp Burγučan Alp Tarxan**". When we count it according to Yazdigerd's era, it corresponds to 1025 A.D. According to the twelve animal cycle, this year corresponds to the Ox year, one year after the Mouse year.

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(11) ——— Gulácsi 2001, p. 10.

(12) ——— Livšic 1989, p. 84 cited in Clark 1997, p. 105; "Sogdijskie teksty, dokumenty i epigrafika." in *Istočnikovedenie Kyrgyzstana (s drevnosti do XIX v.)*, Biškek 1996, pp. 236-237, 270-272; Klyashtornyj 2000, p. 378. You find a photo of this inscription in Sydykov 1964.

The gap is only one year, and this fact is not contradictory to our dating, but rather supporting it. Even though Klyashtornyj noticed that these two names were the same, he seems to have considered that the ruler appearing in the beautiful colophon of T II D 171 dominated this region in the middle of the 9th century, and that only the tradition of Manichaeism and the ruler's name were succeeded.(13) But I believe that he may have missed the point.

Once again I draw your attention to the two important persons in T II D 171, i.e. the Možak of the Eastern patriarchate and the Čigil king of the Arγu-Talas region. The former can be dated between the early 10th and mid 11th centuries by the radiocarbon dating of MIK III 8259, where the same Možak appears, while the latter's name Čigil Arslan Il-tirgüg Alp Burγučan Alp Tarxan Bäg can also be seen in the rock inscription of 1025. So the document T II D 171 without any doubt should not be dated to the 8th century nor the 9th century, but to the first half of the 11th century.

Now let us consider what we have discovered against the historical context of the relationship between the Karakhānids and the West Uighurs. First of all we should notice the existence of pro-Manichaean and pro-Uighur power among the Karakhānids. We are apt to follow the common view that the Karakhānids were the first Turkic Muslim dynasty in Eurasia, and the legend which says that 200,000 families of Turks were converted to Islam all at once in 960 along with the founder Satuq Boghra Khan. But we should be a little more careful.

According to Chinese sources, there were three strong groups of Uighurs that migrated westward after the fall of the East Uighur Khanate in 840: 1) the largest went to the eastern part of the Tianshan region, 2) another went to the Ganzhou region in the Gansu Corridor, and 3) the third went to the Semirechie region on the north side of the western part of the Tianshan region, which was a territory of the Karluks [**see Map 7**]. In my opinion, the descendants of the last group might be connected with the people that had still been Manichaean in the first half of the 11th century. Indeed the Čigils or the Karluks are not Uighurs, but Chinese sources

(13) ——— Klyashtornyj 2000, p. 378.

clearly tell that considerable numbers of Karluks and Basmïls were included in the East Uighur Khanate, and that they were treated as the tenth and eleventh tribes after the nine tribes called Toquz-Oghuz "Nine Tribes" of which the Uighur was the first. I do not exclude the other possibility that the Manichaean people in question were the direct descendants of the main group of the Karluks who conquered this area in the mid 8th century, but we have no information about the Manichaeans among the Karluks before the fall of the East Uighur Khanate in 840. Anyhow, they were rich enough to commission such a deluxe manuscript in Turfan, where the Možak of the Eastern patriarchate resided.

According to Yoshida, the Sogdian letter B of the same period was sent to the Možak in Turfan by an Aftadan in Tūdhkath. This Tūdhkath must be the city where the community of Manichaeans remained under the Karakhānids. It may possibly be Tūdhkath around Samarqand. According to the *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, which was composed in the last half of the 10th century, there were 500 Manichaeans in Samarqand. As Prof. Yoshida told me, it is also possible to identify Tūdhkath with Tūnkath mentioned by al-Nadīm, if *n* (nūn) of Tūnkath is a scribal error for *dh* (dhē) in Arabic script. In the *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, it is said that "This people [the Manichaeans], who are called Ajārā, are at Rustāq, Samarqand, Ṣughd (Sughd), and especially Tūnkath." (Dodge 1970, p. 803), and "Ṣughd is called Upper Irān and is an abode of the Turks. Its principal city is Tūnkath. ... Its people are dualists and Christians." (Dodge 1970, p. 33) D. Dodge, the editor of the *Fihrist*, identifies this Tūnkath as the vicinity of Tashkent.

In any case, we should not overestimate the scale and rapidity of Turks' conversion to Islam under the Karakhānids, nor should we assume that their relationship with the West Uighur Kingdom, which espoused both Manichaeism and Buddhism, was entirely hostile. According to the encyclopaedic Turkish dictionary written in the 1070s by Kāšγarī of the Karakhānids, Kuča is considered to be a territory of the West Uighur Kingdom. In the Stake Inscription No. 3 dated 1019 mentioned above, it is said that the king of the West Uighurs "deigns to be the ruler and have authority as far as Šačiu (= Dunhuang) in the east and Uč (= Uč-Turfan)

and Barsxan in the west." F.W.K. Müller once misread this Uč as Nuč and wrongly identified it with Nūjkath near Tashkent, and Barsxan with Lower (i.e. Nearer) Barsxan located near Talas. Correctly, this Uč must correspond to modern Uč-Turfan situated to the west of Aksu or Kuča, while this Barsxan should be identified with Upper (i.e. Farther) Barsxan on the southern bank of the lake Issik-köl **[see Map 8]**. Kāšγarī mentions Uč and Barsxan together as closely related cities, being located north and south of the famous Bedel Pass.(14) In short, the account in Stake Inscription No. 3 was no exaggeration. Further west of this border lay the Arγu country and Tūdhkath, where there existed some Manichaean communities composed of local Turkish rulers half-independent of the Karakhānids, and they kept a close connection with the Manichaean Church headed by the Možak in Turfan.

7. Origin of the Turco-Uighur Buddhist texts

Incidentally, many western Turkologists seem to believe that Turkic Buddhism was formed under the strong influence of Sogdian Buddhism as early as the times of the Turk (Tujue 突厥) Empire, and that Turco-Uighur Buddhism had already been formed before the conversion of Mouyu Qaghan to Manichaeism around 763. This opinion was first advanced by A. von Gabain, and then developed by L. Bazin and J.-P. Laut. In my paper published in 1989, I refuted it in detail and demonstrated that it was not Sogdian Buddhism, but Tokharian Buddhism and Chinese Buddhism that formed the basis of Turco-Uighur Buddhism. The main part (sections 1-6) has already been translated in a French article entitled "L'origine du Bouddhisme chez les Turcs et l'apparition des textes bouddhiques en turc ancien". But the last section of the original Japanese version which concerns the unique Manichaean *Pustaka*-book (formerly known as *Pōthi*-book; **see Pl. XV**) was not included due to space limitations.

The language used in Old Turkic literature can be classified roughly into two groups; respectively called *n*-dialect and *y*-dialect. Although A. von Gabain considered them to be real dialects, today the opinion that the difference between

(14) ——— CTD, I, p. 300. Cf. Moriyasu 2001, p. 192.

the two is chronological rather than dialectal is gaining ground. Almost all of the Manichaean texts are written in *n*-dialect, except only for the well-known *Pustaka*-book. While most of the Buddhist texts are written in *y*-dialect, those written in *n*-dialect are restricted to old texts which show the strong influence of Manichaean literature.

It was not Turco-Uighurs, but mainly Tokharians and Chinese that had supported Buddhism in the eastern part of the Tianshan region since the Tang period until the early stage of the West Uighur Kingdom. On the other hand, the rulers of the East Uighur Khanate had control of this region after the Uighur-Tibetan Struggle for Bišbalïq at the end of the 8th century, and they believed in Manichaeism, which was most probably introduced by Sogdians. Undoubtedly the Uighurs who had moved from Mongolia and founded the West Uighur Kingdom in the eastern part of the Tianshan region in the middle of the 9th century were also Manichaeans. Later the influence of Tokharian and Chinese Buddhists who were the majority of the ruled population in cities and farming areas must have caused the Uighur ruling class to turn to Buddhism. Among others, a great many loanwords from Tokharian and Chinese in Uighur Buddhist terms is circumstantial evidence for this. The reason why we find a few Sogdian elements in Uighur Buddhist texts is that Sogdian is one of the official languages in the Uighur-Manichaean community and therefore many terms of Sogdian vocabulary had been already borrowed into Uighur in the process of producing Uighur-Manichaean texts.

If my way of thinking is accepted, the date of the Uighur translation from Tokharian of the *Maitrisimit*, one of the earliest Buddhist Uighur scriptures in *n*-dialect, cannot be the 8th century nor the 9th century as western Turkologists have assumed. Concerning *Maitrisimit*, a Hami-version written in *y*-dialect was later found. J. Hamilton and I independently concluded that the date found in its colophon corresponds to 1067 A.D.(15) Accordingly, it seems reasonable to suppose that its old Sängim-version written in *n*-dialect was composed in the 10th century. In contrast, the *Pustaka*-book that contains the "Great Hymn to Mani" and the "Hymn to

(15) ——— Cf. Moriyasu 1989, pp. 26-27, n. 89; Zieme, in *OLZ* 85-1, 1990, p. 67, n. 10.

the Father Mani", both of which are the only examples of Uighur-Manichaean texts written in *y*-dialect, should be dated to the period approximately from the end of the 10th century to the first half of the 11th century. In addition, we should notice that the "Hymn to the Father Mani" in this late Manichaean scripture consists of both the Tokharian original and the Uighur translation side by side. This Manichaean manuscript is also very unique because it is made in a *Pustaka*-book style, which is normally characteristic to Buddhist scriptures, and the terms used there are definitely influenced by Buddhism too. L. Clark says that the strong Buddhist influence on this manuscript can be explained with the assumption that the donor of this manuscript was a converted Manichaean, who was once a Buddhist.(16) I do not share this view. On the contrary, I regard this as evidence of the Manichaeans' effort to approach Buddhists positively, for fear that the royal family of the West Uighurs should increase their support of Buddhism. This was the situation in the period from the last half of the 10th century to the first half of the 11th century. In short, the reason why this Manichaean *Pustaka*-book is not only written in *y*-dialect, but also has a strong flavour of Buddhism, is that it was composed under the full influence of Uighur Buddhists.

The inclination or devotion of the Uighur royal family as well as the nobility to Buddhism began to be conspicuous in the last quarter of the 10th century. However, Manichaeans among Uighurs did not simply sit back and fall helplessly into decline. From the end of the 10th century at the latest, they must have tried to make a recovery. Both the Manichaean scripture in the *Pustaka*-book style and the above-mentioned beautiful manuscript T II D 171 are the irrefutable evidence. The former has a Song China-style miniature, and the latter has no miniature but is a costly manuscript with five colors of ink used in the colophon. I venture to think that this valuable book can be seen as part of the efforts made by those Manichaean Turks ruling a part of the western Tianshan region. Seeing the decline of Manichaeism in the West Uighur Kingdom, they may have embraced a sense of crisis concerning the fate of the Manichaean Church and tried to do their best to revive Manichaeism which

(16) ——— Cf. Clark 1982, pp. 156-160.

was on the verge of extinction. This is why such a luxury manuscript as T II D 171 was dedicated to the Uighur Manichaean Church in Qočo, to the headquarter of the Možak.

Let me mention here that there exist some fragments of a Buddhist-Manichaean double-painting on a banner in the Turfan collection housed in the MIK. One of them is MIK III 4606. Contrary to the case of all double-walled caves, this Manichaean painting was painted over an earlier Buddhist composition on the banner. It has just been published in the new catalogue edited by Chhaya Bhattacharya-Haesner. I believe that this is one of the examples which show the Manichaean counter action in the late 10th or early 11th century.

8. Decline of Manichaeism among the Uighurs

The Muslim Turkish writer Kāšγarī from the Karakhānids, who was active in the mid-11th century, was well acquainted with the affairs of the neighbouring Uighur Kingdom. Nevertheless his great encyclopaedic book does not have a single word about Uighur Manichaeism. However, there is some information about Buddhism. This may indicate that Manichaeism in the West Uighur Kingdom had declined by the mid-11th century. That does not mean that the Uighur or Sogdian Manichaeans had completely disappeared at that time, but there is no doubt that Manichaesim lost its position as a state religion and was replaced by Buddhism.

Hitherto no one has been able to explain why the Uighurs ceased to support Manichaeism. The turning point was the 10th century. Until the middle of the 10th century, the Manichaean Church had enjoyed national support in this kingdom, and high priests like Možak, Aftadan, or Mahistag, lived in luxury. They owned land with peasantry, held servants or slaves, used expensive carpets and furniture, wore luxurious clothes, kept a private room, and took a sumptuous meal. These were facts proved by numerous miniatures in the Turfan collections and a long manuscript found by Huang Wenpi, i.e. "A Decree for the Management of the Uighur Manichaean Monastery". Their lifestyle was far removed from what is prescribed in the *Compendium of the Doctrine and Rules of the Teaching of Mani*. Moreover, the

continuous contact or correspondence with Manichaean church leaders in Western Central Asia or West Asia under Islamic power must have been more and more difficult to maintain. I assume that the Uighur Manichaean Church was little by little corrupted, became neglectful, and finally lost its religious vitality.

On the other hand, Tokharian and Chinese Buddhists who had entered the Uighur ruling class were eager to convert the Manichaean Uighurs. I think it is not by chance that the texts concerning Light, Maitreya, or *cintāmaṇi* are dominant among the earlier Uighur Buddhist documents. Needless to say, Light is a central concept of Manichaeism, and Maitreya and *cintāmaṇi* are often equated with Mani himself or his symbol. As for the syncretism between Buddhism and Manichaeism in Central Asia, in principle I agree with the late Prof. Klimkeit's opinion.

We can find several portraits of Uighur kings or princes as well as their wives as donors on the walls in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Dunhuang. I have already demonstrated in my former articles that they are all West Uighurs from the end of the 10th century to the 11th centuries.(17) Those noblemen who had ordered to paint their figures on the walls of these caves of the Dunhuang area must have been Buddhists or at least must have been very sympathetic to Buddhism. Otherwise it is hard to explain the existence of their portraits painted in those Buddhist caves far from the centre of their kingdom.

For these reasons we can now be sure that from around the late 10th century to the middle of the 11th century the West Uighurs or at least the Uighur court and aristocracy supported not only Manichaeism, but also Buddhism.

(17) ——— Cf. Moriyasu 2000c; Moriyasu 2000d.

略号・文献目録

Abbreviations

AoF = *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Berlin.

APAW = Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin.

BBB = Henning 1936b.

BSA = Le Coq 1922-1926.

CTD = R. Dankoff & J. Kelly (eds.), *Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī. Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk)*, 3 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University Printing Office, 1982-1985.

ED = G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.

JA = *Journal Asiatique.*

Maḥrnāmag= F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnāmag)*, APAW 1912, No. 5, 40 p. + 2 pls.

Manichaica I-III = A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho* I-III, APAW 1911, No. 6, 61 p. + 4 pls.; 1919, No. 3, 15 p. + 2 pls.; 1922, No. 2, 49 p. + 3 pls.

MOTH = J. Hamilton, *Manuscrits ouïgours du IXe-Xe siècle de Touen-houang.* 2 vols., Paris: Peeters, 1986.

OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*

SPAW = *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin.

TTT II = Bang / Gabain 1929.

ZAS = *Zentralasiatische Studien.*

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Interface Humanities

Group 3

シルクロードと世界史

トニュクク碑文研究史概論

Review of the Previous Studies of the Tonyuquq Inscription from Mongolia

鈴木宏節

Kousetsu SUZUKI

はじめに

2001年8月，トルコ共和国協力開発省（Türk İşbirliği ve Kalkınma İdaresi Bakanlığı / 略称TİKA）が衝撃的な発表を行った．モンゴル国内で調査中の同国の研究者たちが，突厥第二可汗国（682-744年）の第3代可汗であるビルゲ可汗の遺蹟から1000点以上の遺物を発掘したと報じたのであった．その中には豪華な金銀製の装飾品や陶片・絹織物も含まれていた．このトルコ共和国の成果は，インターネットを通じて全世界に発信されたが，我々に改めて突厥時代の歴史研究における現地調査の有用性・必要性を痛感させたのであった（注1）．

このような成果が現れる前提として，1990年代からのモンゴルの開放政策，国際学術交流があることは間違いない．先に述べたトルコ共和国のみならず，各国の考古学調査隊がモンゴルで共同調査・共同研究を行っている．我が国でも1996年から1998年の3ヵ年に渉って森安孝夫を代表とする本格的なモンゴル国との合同調査隊が，現存遺蹟・碑文調査を行ったことは記憶に新しい（注2）．今後も各国の調査隊がモンゴル国で調査・研究を継続的に行う機会が増えてくることだろう．これと連動して，突厥時代の歴史資料をめぐる環境も変化しつつあると言える．突厥時代の歴史資料としてはモンゴル国内に突厥文字が刻まれた石碑，すなわち突厥碑文が残っていることが知られている．今や我々は所与の突厥碑文のテキストを利用するだけではなく，実際に現地・現物を調査して過去の研究成果と比較検討を行うことも可能になったのである．

本稿は，近年の研究状況を踏まえつつ，突厥碑文の中でも特に著者自身がモンゴル国で実見調査したトニュクク碑文の研究史を紹介するものである．ただし必然的に突厥碑文の中核をなすオルホン碑文（キョル=テギン碑文・ビルゲ可汗碑文）をはじめとする突厥時代の諸碑文，そして東ウイグル可汗国時代（744-840年）の諸碑文の研究史にも触れることになる（注3）．トニュクク碑文は，突厥第二可汗国の勃興を支えた実力者トニュクク（阿史徳元珍）の碑文である．彼は初代から3代の可汗を補佐し，その娘を3代ビルゲ可汗に嫁がせた，可汗国の中枢を占めて

注1 ——— *Eurasian File* 145 (August 2001), TİKA, 2001に遺物発見のニュースとトルコ隊のプロジェクトの概要報告が掲載された．遺物の写真はSertkaya & Alyılmaz & Battulga 2001, pp. 111-119に掲載されている．

注2 ——— 通称「ビチェース=プロジェクト」．その成果は調査報告書として出版されている（森安・オチル 1999）．

注3 ——— オルホン碑文（ビルゲ可汗の弟のキョル=テギン碑文・ビルゲ可汗碑文）とトニュクク碑文をあわせた三碑文は，突厥時代の歴史資料の根幹をなすもので三大碑文とも呼ばれる．以下，本稿でも上述の三碑文を指す用語として三大碑文の呼称を利用する．

突厥碑文の発見や解読の経緯，トニュクク碑文以外の碑文研究史についてはGOT, pp. 12-20; 山田 1983, pp. 24-32; 庄垣内 2001, pp. 671-675などで概観できる．東ウイグル可汗国時代の突厥文字碑文であるタリアト碑文，テス碑文の研究状況や最新テキストなどについては，森安・オチル 1999の各碑文の項目を参照．カラバルガスン碑文は本稿の注8を，シネウス碑文は本稿の注10を見よ．

いた人物である．彼の碑文は突厥碑文としては最初期のものにあたり，遊牧民族における歴史文献の成立という観点からも注目を集めてきた(注4)．中央ユーラシアの遊牧騎馬民族が初めて文字を利用した文献史料として，突厥第一可汗国時代（552-630年）のブグト碑文が知られている．この碑文は，ソグド語ソグド文字で記されており，突厥内部に存在していたソグド人の手によるものと考えられている(注5)．これに対して突厥碑文とは，第二可汗国時代に成立したもので，史上初めて遊牧民自身が自らの言語（古代テュルク語）を自らの文字（突厥文字・テュルク=ルーン文字）で記したものであり，騎馬遊牧民の言語文化史上画期をなすものである．つまりトニュクク碑文とは中央ユーラシア世界の騎馬遊牧民族が自らの手で歴史をつづった最古の文献史料としても価値のある碑文なのである．それ故，100年以上に及ぶ研究史を有しながら，現在でも特に多くの研究が発表され続けている．したがって，この突厥碑文の中でも極めて重要な位置を占めるトニュクク碑文のテキストがどのように読み解かれてきたかを知ることは，今後の突厥碑文研究へのアプローチに必ずや有用なものとなるはずである．

I．黎明期の研究

19世紀末にはじまる突厥碑文テキストの収集は，フィンランドとロシアの考古学調査隊によって推進された．突厥文字・古代テュルク語の解読は，デンマークの言語学者であるトムセンとロシアのラドロフによって競って行われたが，結局トムセンによって1893年に成し遂げられた（Cf. Thomsen 1896）．トニュクク碑文は，このような突厥碑文研究の黎明期に発見されたのである．

トニュクク碑文は，1897年，ロシアのクレメンツ（Klementz）によって現在のウランバートルから60 kmほど東南，ナライハの近郊で発見された．碑文と遺蹟はバイン=ツォクト（Bayn Tsokto）と呼ばれる丘の西北約2～3 kmほどに位置しており，それ故，本碑文はバイン=ツォクト碑文とも称されている（遺蹟にはツァガン=オボー第一遺蹟という別称もある）．碑文は2本の石柱から構成されており，それぞれ西，南，東，北面の順にテキストが刻まれ，全体で8面62行の内容を有して

注4 ――― 突厥時代の碑文は第二可汗国時代の720年代から730年代にかけて成立したと，先行研究において共通認識がある．なかでもトニュクク碑文の立碑年代は720年から725年にかけての早い時期と考えられている．しかしながら，正確な立碑年代については決定案が提出されていない．Cf. GOT p. 11; Clauson 1971, pp. 131-132; Hamilton 1974, p. 301; Tekin 1994, pp. viii-ix; 護 1976a, pp. 25-27; 護 1992, pp. 125-126. なお，護雅夫は，テキストの記載内容の検討に基づき，テキストの起草時期と碑文が刻まれて建立された時期とを明確に分かつべきだと指摘し，テキスト原文の執筆を716年かその直後，立碑を725年頃と推定している（護 1972, p. 468; 護 1992, p. 97）．

注5 ――― 森安孝夫・吉田豊が現地調査に基づくブグト碑文の報告を発表した（森安・オチル 1999, pp. 122-125）．先行研究の状況などについては，これを参照．吉田豊が従来の解釈を大きく読みかえる，最新のソグド語テキストを発表している．

いる(注6). クレメンツらによって碑文の拓本が現地で作製され,簡略な報告書とともにその拓本がラドロフに届けられた. 折しもラドロフは現地調査の成果として, 1892年からオルホン碑文, オンギ碑文(注7),イェニセイ河流域の突厥文字碑銘や諸遺蹟などの写真図版を調査報告書『アトラス』シリーズとして刊行していた. 彼はクレメンツらの成果をその第4分冊(4. Lieferung)に収録し, 1899年に公にした. これにはトニュクク遺蹟の写真と碑文の拓本写真が掲載されている. すなわちTaf. CX, CXVIIはトニュクク遺蹟周辺の写真, Taf. CVI-CVIIIは碑文自体の写真である. そのうちTaf. CIX-CXVIに1.とナンバリングされた各ページの最上段にある写真(Taf. CXVのみは1.と2.)がクレメンツによって採集された拓本の写真である. そして,2.とナンバリングされた下段の写真(Taf. CXVだけは3.)はラドロフが修正を施した拓本の写真である. 彼の『アトラス』は研究者に新たな碑文史料を提供することとなり, 文献研究の端緒となったのである.

同時にラドロフは突厥碑文のテキストに関する一大編著(ATIM)を執筆, 刊行していた. 第1分冊(1. Lieferung)はオルホン碑文の翻字(Transliteration)・再建形(Transcription)・ドイツ語訳を収録している. 第2分冊(2. Lieferung)は第1分冊の付録であり,語彙索引のほか, ヴァシーリエフ(W. P. Wassiljew)によるキョル=テギン碑文とビルゲ可汗碑文の漢文面のドイツ語訳を掲載する. 第3分冊(3. Lieferung)ではオンギ碑文のほか, カラバルガスン碑文も研究対象となった(注8). 更に続編(Neue Folge)が編集され,ラドロフによる突厥碑文の言語学的研究と, バルトリドによる碑文の歴史学的考察とに充てられた.

トニュクク碑文研究はこのシリーズの最終巻, 第2編(Zweite Folge)として1899年に刊行された. 本巻には3人の研究者がそれぞれの関心から論文を寄稿している. まずラドロフ自身が"Die Inschrift des Tonjukuk."と題して, トニュクク碑文の翻字と再建形テキスト, ドイツ語による翻訳と訳註を発表した(Radloff 1899). これによってトニュクク碑文テキストのローマ字転写が初めて学界に紹介された. 次にヒルトが, 漢文史料を利用したトニュククについての論考を執筆し(Hirth 1899), さらにバルトリドが, アラビア語史料を用いた第二可汗国の西方遠征についての論文を掲載している(Barthold 1899).

注6 ——— 遺蹟の所在地は, トゥブ県ナライハ市内, 北緯47度41分, 東経107度28分. 遺蹟やそのプラン図については, Aalto 1958, pp. 5-7; Halén 1982, pp. 58-59; 大澤 2002, p. 169を参照. 碑文は, テキストの冒頭を含む南側に立つ石柱をトニュクク第1碑文(高さ243 cm／35行), テキスト末尾を含む北側に立つ石柱を第2碑文(高さ217 cm／27行)と区別している.

注7 ——— オンギ碑文・遺蹟の研究状況は, 片山章雄・大澤孝の報告(森安・オチル 1999, pp. 126-136)や大澤 1999a & bを参照.

注8 ——— カラバルガスン碑文については近年, 森安孝夫と吉田豊によって多くの新見解が発表されている. 特に森安は, 吉田豊の提案したこの碑文のソグド語面における新たな読みやその他の史料を駆使して, 碑文全体をウイグル=マニ教史の流れの中に位置づけると同時に, 中央ユーラシア史の視点からウイグルの歴史的役割を描いてみせた(森安 2002). 碑文の研究状況などは, 森安孝夫・吉田豊・片山章雄による報告を参照(森安・オチル 1999, pp. 209-227).

一方，先駆けて突厥文字を解読していたトムセンは，前著（Thomsen 1896）の補訂のためにトニュクク碑文を利用し，その成果を 1916 年に発表した（Thomsen 1916）．この著作はトニュクク碑文についての専論ではないものの，随所で彼の新見解やラドロフの三大碑文の解釈に対する代案がみられるため，突厥碑文のテキスト読解には不可欠なものである．本書におけるトニュクク碑文からの引用箇所は，巻末の索引で大まかではあるが検索することができる．

1922 年，トムセンは続いてオルホン碑文の全訳とともに，トニュクク碑文の全訳をデンマーク語で発表した（Thomsen 1922）．これはトムセンの全集の一部として発表されたもので，オルホン碑文と同じく，トニュクク碑文についても碑文自体の解説と翻訳しか掲載されていない（*Ibid.*, pp. 502-511）．したがって，各碑文の翻字と再建形は掲載されておらず，残念ながら，我々はそれらを彼の翻訳や Thomsen 1916 などの著作から類推するしかない．

このトムセンの研究成果はシェダー（H. H. Schaeder）によってドイツ語訳された（Thomsen 1924）．このドイツ語版は三大碑文の翻訳であるが，トムセンによる碑文の解説と，簡単な訳者註も含まれており，研究者がトムセンの成果を引用する際に広く利用されるものである．さらにトムセンの研究成果はロス（E. D. Ross）によって英語にも翻訳された（Thomsen 1930）．この英語版においては，トニュクク碑文のみが翻訳されており，ロス自身の訳者註などは付されていない．

トムセンの研究に関連して特筆すべきは，トムセンがラドロフの公開した『アトラス』の拓本のほかに，ラムステッドによってフィンランドに将来されていた写真や拓本などを参照していたことである（注 9）．ラムステッドは 1899 年と 1909 年に現地で調査したことが知られているが，彼はシネウス碑文とスージ碑文の研究のみを発表していただけで（Ramstedt 1913），トニュクク碑文についての論考を発表していなかったのである（注 10）．

以上のラドロフ，トムセンの研究に触発されて突厥碑文の研究が進展することになる．トルコのオルクンは古代テュルク文字史料の集大成を完成させた（ETY）．本シリーズにはタラス河流域で

注 9 ——— Thomsen 1924, pp. 161-162 からトムセンとラムステッドが資料協力していたことが判明する．ただし 1920-1930 年代にラムステッドがコペンハーゲンのトムセンのもとに送った拓本は，1970 年代以降に紛失してしまったようである．昨年，エルダル（M. Erdal）とシャルリップ（W. E. Scharlipp）両氏がコペンハーゲンを訪問した際には，所在がつかめなかった．また，フィンランド隊の一員としてラムステッドが将来した拓本や写真，研究メモの存在は，*Aalto 1958, pp. 7-8* に言及されており，その成果をアールトが利用している．ところが，この拓本は，*Halén 1978*, p. 99 にヘルシンキのフィノ=ウゴール協会に一部が所蔵されていると記載があるものの，現在は失われてしまったようで，フィンランドにはトニュクク碑文の拓本は存在しないという．以上，拓本の所在についての情報はヘルシンキ大学のルィバツキー博士（V. Rybatzki）からの私信によってうかがい知ることができた．ご教示くださった博士のご厚意に心より感謝したい．

注 10 ——— シネウス碑文の最新テキストが，現地で採拓された拓本を検討した森安によって発表されている．ラムステッド以来 80 数年間，長きにわたり通用していた読みが数多く修正されている（森安・オチル 1999, pp. 177-195）．最近，カマロフがシネウス碑文についての論考を発表しているが，上記の新テキストに目を通していない（Kamalov 2003）．

東ウイグル可汗国とキルギスとの関係を示唆するスージ碑文については，護 1975; 田坂 1978; Bazin 1990 を参照．

発見された碑文群や，古代キルギス人によるイェニセイ碑文群，敦煌出土の突厥文字文書なども含まれている．彼はその第1巻を突厥時代の諸碑文にあてた．トニュクク碑文テキストの翻字・再建形・トルコ語訳が掲載されており，最後に簡単な註がある（ETY I, pp. 100-124）．第3巻には『アトラス』から転載したトニュクク遺蹟・碑文の写真と，彼がフィンランドから取り寄せた拓本写真が掲載されている（ETY III, pp. 218-234）．ただしそれらの画質は良好ではない．

また，スプレングリングの連作によってもトニュクク碑文が紹介された（Sprengling 1939）．彼は碑文の翻訳を行っているものの，それは第1碑文の南面までにとどまる不完全なものである．

我が国でもラドロフやトムセンらの成果を取り入れた研究が発表された．岩佐精一郎は第二可汗国復興史を著述した際に，漢籍史料の他，オルホン碑文やトニュクク碑文などを利用して，突厥の地理的な動向を詳細に描いてみせた．また，碑文中に現れる民族名やビルゲ可汗碑文の紀年問題についても考察している（岩佐 1936a & b & c）．

続いて小野川秀美が三大碑文の訳註を行った（小野川 1943）．トニュクク碑文についても再建形と和訳・註解が提示されている．小野川の研究は主としてラドロフとトムセンの研究に依拠しているが，彼の訳註は，漢籍史料を駆使して碑文テキストの地理・年代比定などを試みた点で，日本の学界で現在でも高く評価され，多くの研究者によって引用されている（注11）．

ソヴィエトのマロフはオルクンに続いて古代テュルク語史料集成を編修したが（Малов 1951），その際にトニュクク碑文のテキストも採録した．彼はトニュクク碑文について翻字・再建形テキストを作成し，ロシア語訳を施した．そして碑文の言語学的な特徴についての簡単な研究ノートを付している（*Ibid.*, pp. 56-73）．彼のこの労作はソヴィエトの古代テュルク学の一大成果であり，ソヴィエトの後進研究者たちが第一に参照するテキストとなった．

II．新たな碑文テキストの誕生

1958年，フィンランドのアールトは自らの現地調査を反映させたトニュクク碑文の新たなテキストを提示した（Aalto 1958）．ラドロフの『アトラス』発表から約半世紀後のことであった．これには1909年にラムステッドが再調査した際にペルシ（S. Pälsi）と撮影した16枚の碑文写真や（*Ibid.*, pp. 14-29），1957年にアールトが遺蹟と碑文の調査をした際の報告が掲載されている．碑文自体の鮮明な写真としては初めて公になったもので，後の研究者によりしばしば参照されるも

注11 ――― 岑仲勉もラドロフとトムセンの成果を利用して三大碑文の漢訳をして紹介している（岑 1958, pp. 857-926）．古代テュルク語の知識については限界があるものの，漢籍史料を積極的に利用した点で評価されよう．

のである．本論文でアールト自身は碑文の翻字・再建形を提示して，ドイツ語の訳註を施している．彼の発表したローマ字転写テキストは，公開された写真とともに，現在，諸研究者の基本テキストとなっている．

フランスのジローは上記のアールトが発表した写真やテキストを参照してはいないものの，ラドロフ・トムセン・オルクン・マロフらの研究を踏まえて，トニュクク碑文についての専著を発表した（Giraud 1961）．彼は翻字・再建形・フランス語訳の他，各行に詳細な註を付けた．更に巻末ではトニュクク碑文における突厥文字の表記法研究・音韻研究も行っている．彼は，前年に突厥碑文を利用した突厥史の単著も発表していたが（Giraud 1960），この連作は後の歴史研究に大きな影響を与えた．

突厥碑文を総合的に研究したのはトルコ共和国のテキンであった．彼は 1968 年に突厥碑文の文法書を著した（GOT）．この著作には各碑文の翻字こそ掲載されてはいないものの，三大碑文と，後述するキュリ=チョル碑文・オンギ碑文の再建形と英語訳が掲載されている．その文法篇には，突厥文字による表記の特徴が，一部は翻字形まで表示されて解説されている．また，本書の語彙索引の項目も参照に便利で，現在でも突厥碑文研究において欠かせない 1 冊である．

突厥碑文を網羅しようとする試みはアイダロフによっても行われており，ロシア語による著作が発表された（Айдаров 1971）．本書にも突厥碑文や文法事項の解説のほか，各碑文の翻訳が収録されている．トニュクク碑文については翻字と再建形・ロシア語訳が付されている（*Ibid.*, pp. 319-333）．また，彼は突厥文字碑文の研究目録も編集している．ソヴィエトにおける研究を中心に，収録研究の対象はイェニセイ・タラス碑文にも及ぶものである（Айдаров 1979）．その後，ソヴィエトではコノノフが突厥碑文における古代テュルク語の文法書を発表した（Кононов 1980）．

1969 年，ポーランドのトゥリヤルスキがモンゴルで碑文調査を行った．彼はクローソンと協力してキュリ=チョル碑文の訳註を発表している（Clauson & Tryjarski 1971）（注 12）．この他にクローソンは，トゥリヤルスキの調査結果を利用して，1971 年にトニュクク碑文についての示唆的な論考を発表した（Clauson 1971）．翌年，彼は古代テュルク語の辞書『13 世紀以前のトルコ語語源辞典』を出版したが（Clauson 1972），この辞書は古代テュルク語の辞書として現在でも最高峰のものである．ただし，トニュクク碑文を含む突厥碑文のクローソンによる読みと解釈はこの辞書の各項目に散在しているので，丹念に検索する必要がある．

注 12 ——— キュリ=チョル碑文があるイフ=ホショートゥ遺蹟は 1912 年にコトヴィッチによって発見されていた．キュリ=チョル碑文はサモイロヴィチによって解読され，発表されている（Kotwicz & Samoïlovitch 1928）．これらの詳しい研究状況やテキストの解釈については，内藤 1998 や林俊雄と大澤孝による研究報告（森安・オチル 1999, pp. 148-157）を参照．この碑文中にはトニュククの名前が読みとられる箇所（西面 1 行目）が存在し，今後の研究の進展が希求される．

以上のような研究環境のもと，突厥碑文を積極的に取り入れた歴史研究が発表されてきた．先述したフランスのジローの研究（Giraud 1960）やソヴィエトのクリャシュトルヌィの研究（Кляшторный 1964），日本の護雅夫の研究がその代表である．なかでもクリャシュトルヌィはトニュクク・阿史徳元珍同一人物説を確立したのみならず（注13），東ゴビで発見されていたチョイル碑文中にトニュククの活躍を読み取り，第二可汗国における彼の役割を強調した（注14）．護雅夫は岩佐・小野川らの研究成果やジローやクリャシュトルヌィらの海外の諸研究を吸収し，突厥の国家構造や社会構造などを漢籍や碑文史料を用いて解明した（護 1967 & 1992 & 1997）．護雅夫による一大成果は，現在，我が国の突厥研究者が真っ先におさえておかねばならない研究である．

Ⅲ．近年の研究状況

その後もトニュクク碑文を用いる論考は発表され続けてきたが（注15），碑文全体を取り扱う研究や訳註などはしばらく発表されなかった．そのような状況下，テキンによって久しぶりにトニュクク碑文全体が取り上げられた（Tekin 1994）．トニュクク碑文の訳註書であるこの著作は翻字，再建形，トルコ語訳注で構成されている．ここで彼が読み改めた主要箇所は翌年，論文にまとめられて発表されている（Tekin 1995a）（注16）．

注13 ――― トニュクク・阿史徳元珍同一人物説のアイデアはヒルトによって既に提案されていたが（Hirth 1898），トニュククの名前から音韻学的に論証したのがクリャシュトルヌィであった（Кляшторный 1964 & 1966）．護雅夫も彼の同一人物説を支持し，さらに彼の論を碑文史料と漢文史料をあわせて補強してみせた（護 1965 & 1972）．

注14 ――― Cf. Кляшторный 1971; Кляшторный 1980（加筆版）；護 1976．チョイル碑文は現在ウランバートル市内の民族史博物館に所蔵，展示されている．なお，トルコ共和国のセルトカヤがその研究史を整理している（Sertkaya 1998）．

注15 ――― もちろん本文で挙げた研究の他にも，突厥碑文テキストに関わる研究が多く存在するが，ここでは代表的なものを紹介するに留める．オルホン碑文中の記事内容の年代決定については，岩佐らの研究に先立つマルカルトの研究がある（Marquart 1898）．碑文中の年代記載法・古代テュルクの暦法についてはバザンの研究を参照（Bazin 1974 & 1991）．バザンは古代テュルク史に関する論考を数多く発表しており，主要論文が1冊に再録された（Bazin 1994）．概括的ではあるが，現地調査を行ったイスルの突厥史研究（遺稿）が発表されている（Jisl 1997）．地理的側面からも研究がなされており，特にトニュクク碑文に関わるものとしては Czeglédy 1962; Tezcan 1995 がある．官称号についてはボンバチの研究が代表的（Bombaci 1970 & 1974）．突厥碑文上の特定の単語に焦点を当てた研究としては，Berta 1994; Zimonyi 2003 などがある．トニュクク碑文の部分的な読み直しを試みた研究に，Hazai 1970; Tezcan 1978; Sertkaya 1979; Berta 1995; Alyılmaz 2000 などがある．セルトカヤは突厥史・突厥碑文に関わる数多くの研究を発表しているが，それらが1冊に再録され，参照しやすくなった（Sertkaya 1995）．なお，古代テュルク研究の目録 *Bibliographie alttürkischer Studien.* (Orientalistik Bibliographien und Dokumentationen 9), Wiesbaden 2003. が編集された．網羅的なものではないが，関連研究も数多く掲載されているので参照されたい．

注16 ――― テキンは1988年にオルホン碑文の訳書を発表していた（Tekin 1988）．再建形テキストとトルコ語訳で構成される本書には，残念ながら註がない．後にも彼は三大碑文の翻訳書をフランス語とトルコ語で出版しているが（Tekin 1995 & 1998），註釈部分は省略されている．

資料環境への貢献として，トルコ共和国から出版された突厥碑文の図版集があげられる（Vasiliyev 1995）．これは『アトラス』から諸突厥碑文の写真や拓本写真，遺蹟地図などを厳選，再録したものである．トニュクク碑文については，ラドロフの『アトラス』掲載の拓本写真と遺蹟写真が掲載され，拓本の参照が容易になった．また，ラドロフの業績紹介も付されている．この出版事業は冒頭で述べたトルコ共和国の協力開発省（TİKA）が主導しており，突厥史を自国史の一部として理解しようとするトルコ共和国の熱意が汲み取られる．

1997 年には，ルィバツキーによってトニュクク碑文の訳註書が発表された（Rybatzki 1997）．本書は翻字と再建形，ドイツ語訳を掲載している．特筆すべきは近年の内陸アジア言語学や古代ウイグル文書の研究成果を取り入れた豊富な註釈で，本書は我々に新たな研究の広がりを示してくれる．なお，彼はトニュクク碑文テキストを音韻という側面から考察する論考や，突厥碑文中の突厥・ウイグルの称号問題を扱う興味深い論考を発表している（Rybatzki 1999 & 2000）．

中国では芮伝明が突厥碑文テキストにおける諸問題を扱う著作を発表した（芮 1998）．主に碑文上の地名などの語句について，関連する漢籍史料と照合させつつ碑文テキストの解釈を提示し，三大碑文などの訳註も付載している．今後，中国の研究者に利用されるものと思われる．

また，タウベがトニュクク碑文の一部をドイツ語訳して発表している（Taube 2002）．アールトの写真から得られた翻字と再建形とドイツ語訳・註釈が1～ 16 行目まで掲載され，補遺として 17 ～ 32 行目までのメモが付されている．これは彼の所属する大学のゼミナールの成果であるという．近年の古代テュルク学の成果も利用しているが，引用文献などはルィバツキーの著書に依拠しており，なにより訳註が部分的なものに留まっていることが惜しまれる．

その他，突厥文字碑文の文法書が 2 点出版されている．ひとつはシャルリップのトルコ語と英語で書かれた文法入門書（Scharlipp 2000）．もうひとつはテキンのトルコ語の文法書である（Tekin 2000）．後者は単に彼の前著（GOT）のトルコ語版ではなく，新たな指摘も見られるため，関連事項は逐一確認が必要である．

以上，概観してきたように，突厥碑文を再検討しようとする気運が古代テュルクの歴史・文献学の立場およびトルコ共和国政府の政策という側面から高まっている．最後に，そのような気運が現地調査に結実した成果を紹介したい．

まずは本稿の「はじめに」で述べた日本のビチェース=プロジェクトである．これは突厥・ウイグル時代の研究者だけでなくモンゴル時代の研究者も協力して推進した一大事業で，現時点では仮報告書が刊行された段階だが（森安・オチル 2000），本稿でしばしば述べてきたように，多くの新発見を提供している．本書には，突厥・ウイグル・モンゴル時代の遺蹟の調査報告や，いく

つかの碑文について訳註付きの最新テキストが掲載されている．トニュクク碑文の最新テキストは，ここでは発表されていないが，遺蹟の景観情報や，非常に簡単ではあるが『アトラス』掲載ラドロフ拓本の捏造について指摘がある（*Ibid.*, p. 58）．このプロジェクトによって将来されたトニュクク碑文の拓本2セットは，現在，大阪大学に所蔵されており，その他の碑文とともに拓本写真が刊行準備中である．また，これに関連して，本年度はトニュクク碑文の部分拓も大阪大学に将来された（注17）．今後さらに遺蹟調査報告や碑文の訳註などが刊行される予定である．

次に，トルコ共和国のモンゴル国における事業については，冒頭で述べた突厥時代の遺蹟調査の報告書・図版集が早くも出版されている（Sertkaya & Alyılmaz & Battulga 2001）．この事業の対象は，突厥の三大碑文のほかブグト碑文やキュリ=チョル碑文などの突厥時代の諸碑文や，シネウス・タリアト碑文などのウイグル時代の諸碑文にも及んでいる．トニュクク碑文については註釈がないものの，トルコ語と英語の翻訳が付載されている（*Ibid.*, pp. 121-152）．諸碑文における新たなテキスト研究を提示することが本図版集の目的ではないが，ここには各遺蹟の解説や景観写真・碑文自体の写真が多数掲載されており，本書がモンゴル国における遺蹟・碑文の研究に裨益するところは非常に多いと言える．なお，トルコ共和国はこの調査事業にともない，トニュクク遺蹟のすぐ側にコンテナを建造して，石人などの遺品を収容・保存している．それ故，本書も，ビチェース=プロジェクトの成果とともに，遺蹟のより過去の状態を知る上で大変貴重な資料である．

以上，特にトニュクク碑文の研究史を概観してきたが，近年のモンゴル国における調査結果が実際に反映された歴史研究はまだ少なく，研究はスタートラインに着いたばかりと言える．碑文の解読や歴史的考察は，依然として歴史・文献学者の課題となっている．今後，碑文の拓本写真などの一次史料が，そしてそれを全面的に利用した研究が発表されるであろうが，歴史学と考古学双方の成果を取り入れた研究がますます要求されよう．本稿で述べたように，突厥碑文研究は常に考古学的調査，資料収集とともに歩んできた．我々には，専門領域を横断する研究成果を生み出すという諸先学の培った研究環境を継承し，活かしてゆく姿勢が必要なのである．

注17 ――― 現在までに著者が実見調査によって確認した大阪大学以外のトニュクク碑文の拓本所蔵機関は，モンゴル科学アカデミー歴史研究所のみである．今夏，同研究所オチル博士（A. Очир）の協力を得て，著者が第二碑文の南面（2枚）・東面・北面の計4枚の拓本が所蔵されていることを確認した．オチル博士には部分拓採拓の際にもご尽力頂いている．ここに博士のご協力に対して心より感謝申しあげる．

略号・文献目録

略号

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ATIM = W. Radloff, *Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei.* 1. Lieferung 1894; 2. Lieferung 1894; 3. Lieferung 1895; Neue Folge 1897; Zweite Folge 1899. St. Petersburg. (Rpr.: in 2 vols. Osnabrük 1987)

CAJ = *Central Asiatic Journal.*

ETY = H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları.* I 1936; II 1938; III 1940; IV 1941. İstanbul. (Rpt.: 4 vols. in 1, Ankara 1987)

GOT = T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic.* (Uralic and Altaic Series 69), Bloomington / The Hauge 1968.

JSFOu = *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne.*

RO = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny.*

『アトラス』 = W. W. Radloff, *Атлас древностей Монголіи. Труды Орхонской Экспедиціи. (Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei. Arbeiten der Orchon-Expedition.)*, 1. Lieferung 1892; 2. Lieferung 1893; 3. Lieferung 1896; 4. Lieferung 1899. Санкт-Петербург (St. Petersburg).

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