



Les Matériaux pour l'Étude du Chamanisme Mongol. I, Sources littéraires; Asiatische Forschungen, Band 3 by B. Rintchen

Review by: Henry Serruys

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B. Rintchen: *Les Matériaux pour l'Étude du Chamanisme Mongol*.
I, *Sources littéraires*; Asiatische Forschungen, Band 3.
Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 124. DM 20. —

This rich collection of Mongol texts, mostly in alliteration, comprises many interesting samples of Mongol literature connected with the cult of fire, of mountains and rivers, the cult of Činggis Qan and his family, prayers and benedictions for newlyweds, etc., all strongly flavored with Buddhism. In fact all the cults overlap: if reminiscences of Buddhism appear in prayers to the god of fire, so do references to the imperial family crop up in formulas of benediction for newlyweds. These various elements constantly reappear arranged in different ways. Prayers to the god of fire contain requests for the well being and prosperity not only of the ruling house and of all human beings, but also of their cattle. Fire has always been an important element in the life of the Mongols, and the respect shown to fire and its cult have been mentioned by travelers from the Middle Ages to modern times. Hunting also was important and is mentioned more than once in these texts. Thus we find prayers over hunting rifles. In fact a whole list of subjects from the life of the Mongols could be gathered from this book.

Many of the themes mentioned here have already been briefly studied and analyzed, for example by N. Poppe ("Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen", *Asia Major* 2, 1925, pp. 130-145; "Opisanie Mongol'skikh Shamanskikh rukopisei Instituta Vostokovedeniya", *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akad. Nauk* 1, 1932, pp. 151-200), who also gave short excerpts from various mss. But Rintchen presents the first extensive collection of texts. They will give both linguists and ethnologists new insight into Mongol Shamanism and its slow development.

In his Preface, the author makes a number of brief remarks about the origin and condition of the various documents copied into his book, but it is sometimes difficult to see which particular prayer, formula, or invocation he has in mind. It would have been easier for the reader if the remarks had been made in the form of a short introduction to each text. The author does not mention previous studies of Mongol Shamanism, nor does he say whether any of his mss. have been discussed by other writers or are identical with, or similar to, those studied by others. He says nothing about the contents of a future second volume of these *Matériaux* nor does he say whether he also intends to publish a translation of the materials. A translation with explanation would indeed be useful, if it is not indispensable, and Mr. R. who has spent so many years studying Mongol customs and collecting materials, no doubt could render this valuable service. Information contained in untranslated texts is available only to those who read Mongol, and even they will have some difficulty with Rintchen's texts. The mss., as Mr. R. states himself, are defective in many places. Many readings are subject to corrections. A translation would require a considerable effort. Yet the effort would be worth making for the benefit of historians, ethnologists, etc., interested in Mongolia and Central Asia.

One problem, both interesting and important, to be solved partly through

internal evidence, partly through comparison with material from other nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples, is the relative age and the origin of the various elements found in Mongol shamanistic texts and how they came to intrude upon each other. The ubiquitous traces of Buddhism mixed with shamanistic elements mostly date from the end of the 16th century and thereafter when Buddhism in its Lamaistic form entered Mongolia and achieved its slow conquest of the country partly by appropriating native elements. But the pre-Lamaist elements are by no means uniform and equally old, and probably are not all originally Mongol. Many elements must have been introduced from various quarters and at different times.

The texts collected by Mr. R. range all the way from the Buriat country in the north to the Ordos in the south, and one may judge the antiquity of some passages and the geographical areas from which elements have been drawn from the mention in a list of mountains, towns, and rivers, of *ijil mören-ü ükeg balyasun* "the town Ükeg on the Wolga" (p. 57; *übeg* on p. 36 must be a copyist's error for *ükeg*: -k- and -b- in the middle of a word are easily written one for the other). This Ükeg is supposed to be the place where William of Rubruc crossed the Wolga in 1254. See A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* I, 1929, p. 212 (2); W.W. Rockhill, *The Journey...*, 1900, p. 120; W. Barthold (trsl. Mme Donskis), *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945, p. 132. On pp. 32 and 76, we find the following lines: *misir bolod temür ečige-tü, mesil erdeni čilaγun eke-tü*: "(Fire) whose father is steel from Egypt, whose mother is precious stone (called) crystal". (The reference is to fire made with flint and steel). Such texts could well date from the time when the Mongols were still in contact with the rulers of the Golden Horde in South Russia and had retained a memory of the western boundaries of the Mongol conquests of the 13th century.

We come across more than one reminiscence of the *Secret History*, not only in the form of names of persons and places, but also of expressions and literary images. For example on p. 85, in a text originating among the Darqad of Ordos entrusted with the cult of Činggis Qan in Edjen Khoro, we read the following lines: *aγa qatun-a al qongγor/üne-yin sonosqu, solongγa-yin üjekü/ünen boloγsan qoγoγčün emegen-e/doluγan keseg (jegün) eteged/talbižu ögtügei*: "For the princess-qatun, for Mother Qoγoγčün in whom has been realized [lit.: become true] the red-sorrel weasel's hearing and the ermine's sight, place the seven gifts on the left side". R.'s text has *aqa* which I correct into *aγa*, but it does not have the word *jegün*. This I adopt from another ms. copy of the same text made by S.D. Dylykov in 1956 and published in facsimile edition in *Filologiya i Istoriya Mongol'skikh Narodov*, 1958, p. 249. Dylykov, however, has other inaccuracies. The explanation of these lines is to be sought in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. When attacked by the Merkid, Činggis narrowly escaped thanks to the keen ears of Mother Qo'aγčün who heard the enemy cavalry coming in the distance and sounded the alarm. Later, after the enemy had departed, Činggis Qan coming back from his retreat, said: "Because Mother Qo'aγčün has the weasel's eye sight [lit.: becoming a weasel, sees], and the ermine's hearing [lit.: becoming an ermine, ears], I, bodily escaping..." (Ant. Mostaert, *Sur Quelques Passages...*, 1953, pp. [35]-[39]; *HJAS* 13, 1950, pp. 319-323). It appears from this comparison

with the *Secret History*, that the position of *üne* and *solongγa* has been inverted; the pattern of alliteration also requires that we should read *üne-yin üjekü*, *solongγa-yin sonosqu*: “the weasel’s eye sight, the ermine’s hearing.”

No wonder then that we come across such old expressions as *ösbüri čerig*: “not yet adult soldiers” (p. 75) (*Hua-i i-yü* 2B. 18ab; *HJAS* 20, 1957, p. 564); *kekül* “hair tress” (p. 86) (*Secret History*: *kegöl*, now usually spelled *kükül*); *köküğe sara* “the month of the cuckoo, i.e. the fourth month” (p. 88) (A. Mos-taert, *Dict. ordos*, p. 269a, note).

Many texts comprise a number of almost identical clichés rearranged and slightly changed to fit the context. For example in various prayers to the god of fire, we read such lines as: *qan ečige-yin čakiγsan/qatun eke-yin üliyeγsen/bolod keten ečigetü*: “struck (with steel and flint) by father qan, blown upon by mother qatun; whose father is steel and flint” (p. 2); *qan ečige-yin čakiγsan/qatun eke-yin üliyeγsen/qayir čilaγun eketü/qatan temür ečigetü*: “struck by father qan, blown upon by mother qatun; whose mother is pebble rock, whose father is hardened steel” (p. 12); *Yesügei ežen čakiγsan/Ögelen qatun üliyeγsen*: “struck by Lord Yesügei, blown upon by qatun Ögelen” (p. 17).

The god of fire is called by such names as *odqan*, *odγalan*, *γalayiqan*, *γalaqan*, all containing the elements *od*, “fire” in Turkish, and *γal* “fire” in Mongol. The fire is also called *al γalaqan*, etc.: “vermillion γ.,” or *el γalaqan* (pp. 32, 33, 76). *El* is the same as *al* (*Dict. ordos*, s.v.). “Mother Earth” *Etügen eke* is also called *El Etügen eke* (pp. 34, 54, 71). But in the expression *el dayisun goyar...* (p. 71), *el* is another word signifying “peace, submitted”: “both friend and foe...” In a prayer to the god of fire (p. 24) we read the following: “let us not meet with the dangers of obstacles, and wood, fire, earth, iron, and water”. The last five items evidently are the Five Elements (*wu-hsing*) of the Chinese, and there are other interesting references to China and the Chinese. While the Mongols expect to be favored with horses from the country of the Jürčed in the east; with camels from the country of the Black Toγmaγ (or Kibčaγ) in the north; with oxen from Tibet, they pray for gold and silver and various other luxuries from the country of the Dalai-dayibung in the south. By this expression is meant the Ming empire (pp. 24, 30, 34, 52). Dayibung is a corruption from Dayiming <Ta(i)-Ming, but this is the only place known to me where *dalai* “sea, ocean, great”, (cf. the title Dalai-lama) is applied to China. Whether the mention of gold, silver, etc. is a reference to booty captured in raids on China, or to subsidies and disguised bribes paid to the various southern Mongol princes towards the end of the Ming period, is not clear.

We also find references to agriculture and a more settled way of life, apparently owing to the Chinese and other sedentary neighboring peoples. In a series of invocations of the gods of the stars, we read this line (p. 26): “Rivadi-stars who produce nine silos (of wheat) out of one grain...”; on p. 34: *kitad-un dayibang* (sic) *qayan-u tariyan-i üreγigülügči* “who multiplies the harvest of the emperor Dayibung (Dayiming) of the Chinese”; and in the same prayer (p. 35): we asperge nine times for the god who multiplies the grains; we asperge

nine times for the god of the plow". Mongols do not raise pigs, but one prayer (p. 29) says: "may both Earth and Water, having an offspring as (numerous as that of) the geese, and becoming as fat as pigs, astound (us)!"

The name of the god of hunting and game *Manaqan* is a misspelling for *Maniqan* (p. 114), *māni* in the dialects.

The world of nations conquered by Činggis Qan is divided into five areas each characterized by a special color: the Blue Mongols, the Yellow Russians, the White Sartaγul, or Mohammedans, the Black Tangγud, or Tibetans, and the Red Chinese (p. 36). For the same arrangement, or similar ones (nine colors), see W. Heissig, *Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung I*, pp. 26, 73, 145, 149.

On p. 86, the last words of the last paragraph of Nr. xxxix (not in Dylykov's text) read: *altan γadasun biü ködel*: "the 'Golden Picket' shall not move".—*Golden Picket* here is the name given to the man who at the ceremonies of Edjen Khoro was to hold the halter line of a horse (*Dict. ordos*, pp. 275b, 285b, 599b). As we learn from Nic. Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartaryen* (1785), vol. 2, p. 642b, the "Golden Picket" was known in other parts of Mongolia: "The country *Altin*, also known as Solodata, i.e. Gold Country, obtained its name, as some maintain, not from the fact that there are gold mines, or from the above-mentioned *Altum*, but because one of its khans or kings, a great warrior who always returned victorious, had a golden staff made to which he tied his horse." Witsen is speaking of the Altan qaγans of northwestern Mongolia usually referred to as *Altyn khans* by the Russians (*Mon. Ser.* 18, 1959, p. 501). If it is not true, as Witsen or his informants claim, that these Altan qaγans got their name from the use of a golden picket, it seems certain that at some time in the past great qans possessed such golden pickets, and that the Ordos custom of having a man serve as "golden picket" on solemn occasions is but the remnant of the old practice.

Nr. xxxix, *Libation aux Esprits des Ancêtres impériaux* (pp. 84-86) is the transcription of a text copied in Ordos at the time of Č. Zhamtsarano's expedition in 1909-1910. As already mentioned, this text corresponds to the first section of the ms. copied by S.D. Dylykov in 1956. R. warns us that his copy is corrupted in several places; indeed there are quite a number of discrepancies between the two versions, and it is not easy to determine which is the better reading. The word which R. transcribes *qadaqada-labar-iyān* is *qadaγatan-labar-iyān* (∞-lāran) "with those belonging to him; with his own subjects." (cf. G. Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wörterbuch*, p. 158b: *qadaγa*: das Zusammengehören). Especially names of emperors, etc. need careful checking. Suffice to mention a couple of examples: both R. and Dylykov read *Ayudarma*, probably for *Ayurbarwada* (*HJAS* 17, 1954, p. 54, line [5]); Dylykov reads *Dalbaγ qaγan*, corresponding to R.'s *Delben*. *Dalbaγ* is correct. Dylykov has a reading *Markürgin*, which R. reads: *Margürkin*. Neither is correct. It should be *Mar Körgis* (*JAOS* 76, 1956, pp. 84-87).

In the first line of the same text, both R. and Dylykov spell the name of Činggis Qan's wife: *Börte-žüsin*, the latter part of which should be *wüsin*. *w*-being rather rare in Mongol, copyists readily mistake it for *ž*-. *wüsin*, *üsin*, *üžin*, etc. are from the Chinese *fu-jen* 夫人 "lady". In Schmidt's edition and translation of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, we regularly find *žüsin* instead of *wüsin*. The *Secret History* writes *üžin* 兀眞, e.g. in § 55: *Hö'elün üžin* (Činggis' mother), and in § 94: *Börte-üžin*. The name *Börte-üsin* has been badly manhandled by the copyists: besides *B.-žüsin* just mentioned, R.'s texts have *üsin* only once (p. 29), but we find also such forms as *Börtegelžin* (R. most of the time reads *ü* in the first syllable which is not correct), *Börtemelžin*, *Börtemüžin*, *Bortemülžin*, all of which must stem from misunderstandings and "corrections" by the copyists of the original *wüsin*, *wüžin*, etc. N.N. Poppe, "Opisanie..." (p. 170) mentions the form *Börtemölžin*, and Dylykov while he has *B.-žüsin* on p. 235 (*op. cit.*) of the facsimile, in the text of his paper (p. 231) speaks of the tomb of "*Burtemoldzhinkhatun*". If one needs further proof that Mongol mss. rarely spell this name correctly, we may refer to N.P. Shastina's edition of the *Šara tuuži* (*Šara tudzhi, Mong. letopis' xvii veka*, 1957, pp. 36, 37), and Heissig, *Fam. u. Kircheng.*, pp. 73, 141, where we find *Börtögelžin* and *Börtegelžin* respectively.

A long text certainly of great antiquity, Nr. xxxvii, *Rituel du Festin Béni* (pp. 76-83) is interesting because among other things it contains many references to persons, clans, and tribes, and comprises a variant of the alliterated poetical description of the Six Tümen markedly different from the text appearing in the *Šara tuuži*.

The names of some clans have been badly corrupted. For example on p. 65, we read: *öcüyed ongğud-i erke-dür-iyen oruğulun*: "he brought under his dominion the Ö. and the O.;" on p. 82: *Enggüd, Barğud, Oskin, Ködesin*; on p. 108: *Öčiyed*, etc. Now *Ongğud*, *Enggüd*, no doubt are misspellings for *Önggüd*, the Turkish tribe living in southern Mongolia during the Yüan period. The same mistake is made in other documents, e. g. in the patent-letters from 1725 and 1736 published by Zhamtsarano ("Zhalovannaya gramota..." in *S. F. Ol'denburgu...*, *Sbornik Statei*, 1934, pp. 185-194, 2 facs.). The *Öcüyed* ~ *Öčiyed* are the tribe whose name is spelled *Üčiyed* elsewhere (*Altan tobči*, *Erdeni-yin tobči*, etc.). On p. 68 we read: *öčiyed dayisun*, but here we should read: *ösiyetü dayisun* (cf. p. 70): "enemies, object of hatred". *Oskin* and *Ködesin* probably are the same tribe as the *Üskin* and the *Küdegeyid* of the patent-letters of 1725 and 1736. The latter tribe could well be the same as the *Kökeyid* of the *Šara tuuži* (cf. Heissig, *op. cit.*, p. 93).

On p. 91 (Nr. xxxxii, *Rituel du Grand Festin*) appears another series of clan names, Qanglin being one of them. Whereas the modern name of both clan and banner is *Qanggin*, *Qanglin* is the form appearing in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Hae-nisch, *Urga-Handschrift*, p. 69, 69v; also in the three Ordos mss., cf. A. Mostaert, *Ordosica*, pp. 29, 30, 42. Schmidt, *Geschichte...*, p. 206, reads *Qanggin*. Schmidt's text of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, p. 272, line 11, has a reading *Qayilin*, *Hai-lin* in the Chinese trsl., but the Urga ms., p. 88, 89r, and Ordos ms. A, p. 249, read *Qanglin*). For a discussion of the alternation *Qanglin* ↔ *Qanggin* see Pelliot-

Hambis, *Hist. des Campagnes de Gengis Khan*, pp. 114-116. Rintchen's texts confirms once more the existence of the reading *Qanglin*.

On pp. 64, 65, 68, appears the expression *toyin-dur-ıyan oruıul* "to bring under one's power." The author proposes to emend the postposition and read *-doura* "under" which is not necessary. *toyin* must be related to *toyı* "knee, kneecap" (*Hua-i i-yü* 1A. 14b: *tobuı*: kneecap), and some scholars want to substitute *toyı* (e.g. Heissig, *op. cit.*, p. 45 n.), but the same expression appears also in the *Erdeni-yin tobči*: Schmidt's reading (p. 210, line 1) agrees with the other mss. (Urga, p. 69, 70r; Ordos mss. A, p. 195): *toyin*. Rintchen's text confirms the form *toyin*.

Mongol mss. can be very difficult to read, and a work of this type is bound to have uncertain transcriptions. I would like here to suggest a few emendations: *Yesügei* instead of *Yesükei*; *ġinong* (p. 32) instead of *ġinung* (<*chün-wang*; *wang*>*ong* in Mongol); *sirolıa* instead of *sirulıa* (p. 46); *ongıon* instead of *ongıun* (p. 47); *deresütü ıoul* "river with *Lasiagrostis splendens* (on its banks)" instead of *darasutu* "with brandy" (p. 57); *qonggirad* instead of *qongkirad* (p. 81); *tııul* (cf. *Dict. ordos*, p. 678ab) instead of *tuıul* (p. 91); *tebsi* "wooden dish" instead of *teısi* (p. 93, passim); *toloı* "piece of felt used as ceremonial rug" instead of *dolun* (p. 86); *otoı* (name of a banner) instead of *otuı*, and *otoı* "group, section" instead of *nutuı* (p. 97); *ġulay* (*Dict. ordos*, p. 217ab) instead of *ġuluı* (p. 108); *darasun örıme ergüġü* "offering brandy and cake of boiled-out milk" instead of *deresü uruma* (p. 114). Also: *boıol*, *sonosqu*, *solongıa*, *qoıııčın* instead of *boıul* (p. 23), *sonusqu*, *solungıa*, *qoıııčın* (p. 85): the *-o-* in the second syllable in these and other words is from an original *-a-*. On page 107, Nr. LI, the title should read "*Anointment of the Palace*", not "*Prière de sacrifice au Palais*". These, however, are minor points and do not detract from the great merits of the author for having made these texts available to the scholarly world.

Henry Serruys, C.I.C.M.

Erich Haenisch: *Der Kienlung-Druck des mongolischen Geschichtswerkes Erdeni yin tobci von Saıang Secen*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Band XIII. Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden 1959, XIII+271 pp. facsimile. DM 28. —

The advent of the present work completes the publication of all versions of the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* available to the West at present. Thus, the critical edition of this important Mongolian historical chronicle (1662) which is underway will benefit from this additional text and its readings.

This version of the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* is a xylographic edition, originally printed Chinese style in eight *chüan* of 22, 26, 39, 36, 40, 38, 37 and 33 pages,