

Sonderdruck

# CENTRAL ASIATIC JOURNAL

INTERNATIONAL PERIODICAL  
FOR THE LANGUAGES, LITERATURE,  
HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF  
CENTRAL ASIA

VOLUME XIX  
No. 3

1975

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

*Vom Verfasser überreicht - Durch den Buchhandel nicht zu beziehen*

## ON A MONGOL DECREE OF YISÜN TEMÜR (1339)

by  
LARRY V. CLARK  
*Bloomington*

One of the most important groups of sources on the internal social and economic affairs of East Turkestan during the period of Čaγatai and Moγol rule (from ca. 1300) are the Mongol civil documents discovered in the ruined cities of the Turfan region around the turn of the present century. To date some seventeen of these texts have been recognized in various collections of manuscripts around the world and have been fully or at least partially edited by Mongolists.<sup>1</sup> They consist for the most part of administrative decrees issued by Čaγatai and Moγol rulers or their official representatives in East Turkestan during the XIV century.

Of the seventeen documents, six have thus far been dated. The method employed in dating them is a relatively simple one, but it requires that both the name of the ruler who issued the document and the year, expressed in terms of the twelve year animal cycle, in which the text was issued, survive in one and the same document. When these conditions are met, one aligns the animal year with a year in the known reign period of the named ruler to establish the date of the text.<sup>2</sup>

In this way, the following Mongol documents have been dated (in chronological order):

<i>Document</i>	<i>Name of Ruler</i>	<i>Year</i>
Nr. 10	Kebek (1320–1326)	bars jil = 1326
Nr. 1	Yisün Temür (1338–1339)	bars jil = 1338

---

<sup>1</sup> The transcription of these texts, along with full bibliographical indications concerning them, may be found in: Lajos Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques, 1. XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles, Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta*, II, Budapest 1972, pp. 208–237. Throughout these remarks, I refer to the Mongol documents by the number with which they appear in this edition.

<sup>2</sup> See: Herbert Franke, *Zur Datierung der mongolischen Schreiben aus Turfan, Oriens* XV, 1962, pp. 399–410.

Nr. 11	Tuγluγ Temür (1347-1363)	qulaγana jil = 1348/1360
Nr. 7	Tuγluγ Temür	luu jil = 1352
Nr. 2	Tuγluγ Temür	moγai jil = 1353
Nr. 5	Ilas Xoja (1363-1369 ?)	taqiya jil = 1369

In addition to these, the document Nr. 15, only the protocol of which survives, may be dated to the second half of the XIV century through the identification of the addressees in the text.<sup>3</sup>

The document whose date and origin we shall attempt to establish in the present note forms part of the Krotkov collection of manuscripts in the Leningrad section of the Institut Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR. N. N. Krotkov was the Russian consul, first at Kulja and later at Urumči, who, during the years 1907-1909, sent back to Saint Petersburg some 4,000 manuscript units obtained by him, largely through purchase from the local inhabitants. Although the exact provenance of the texts acquired by him cannot be established, there is no reason to doubt that the bulk of them originated in the Turfan oasis.<sup>4</sup>

In 1971, György Kara found this document among the Krotkov papers and published a transcription and Russian translation of the text in his book on the development of literary culture among the Mongol peoples.<sup>5</sup> The same text was included as document Nr. 8 in the fundamental collection of Mongol literary monuments by Lajos Ligeti.<sup>6</sup>

In lines 15-16 of document Nr. 8, we find the following date: *taulai jil qabur-un dumdatu sar-a-yin dörben qaučin-a* "(Written) on the twenty-fourth day of the middle month of Spring in the year of the Hare." However, the protocol of the document, which contains the name of the ruler, is damaged in line 1: *(. . . .)m(. .)r üge manu* "(. . . .)m(. .)r, our word." Kara did not venture a possible identification for the name of this ruler, but Ligeti had the following remark: "Le document date de l'année du lièvre ce qui répond à 1351 ou à 1363, à condition que *(. .)m(. .)r* se ramène à *Tuγluγ-*

<sup>3</sup> See: H. Franke, A 14th Century Mongolian Letter Fragment, *Asia Major* XI, 1965, pp. 120-127.

<sup>4</sup> Some remarks on the Krotkov collection may be found in: L. V. Dmitrieva, *Drevneujgurskie materialy (ujgurskim pis'mom) v Institute Vostokovedenija AN SSSR, Strany i narody Vostoka VIII*, 1969, pp. 222-228, especially p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> G. Kara, *Knigi mongol'skikh kočevnikov (Sem' vekov mongol'skoj pis'mennosti)*, Moskva 1972, pp. 170-171.

<sup>6</sup> Ligeti, *Op. cit.*, pp. 222-223.

*temür* (pour certaines raisons, *Yisün-temür* est hors de cause).”<sup>7</sup> The reasons for his rejection of *Yisün Temür* as the ruler who issued this decree have not, so far as I know, been stated anywhere by Ligeti.

Now, it is possible to approach this problem by consideration of the interrelationships which exist between this and other Mongol documents and the Uyğur civil documents from East Turkestan from the same period. In particular, we should consider the joint occurrences of the names of ministers and officials in both the Mongol and the Uyğur documents.

One instance of this interrelatedness had already been pointed out by Ligeti in his edition of the Sino-Uyğur documents from the XV–XVI centuries.<sup>8</sup> After recalling that the notorious Uyğur petition from a group of landed gardeners to *Tuyluğ Temür* could thereby be dated to the latter’s reign (1347–1363),<sup>9</sup> Ligeti called attention to the addressees in the Mongol document Nr. 7 issued by *Tuyluğ Temür* in 1352: *Turmiš Temür Tükel Qy-a Kerey ekiten tüšmed-te* “to the officials led by *Turmiš Temür*, *Tükel Qaya* and *Kerey*.”<sup>10</sup> Since these officials were clearly the local representatives of *Tuyluğ Temür* in East Turkestan, Ligeti correctly assumed that the occurrence of their names in another Uyğur document would serve to date that document to this ruler’s reign. He then cited an Uyğur decree concerning the disposition of other landed gardeners which had been issued by these same officials: *biz Turmiš Temür*

<sup>7</sup> Ligeti, *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>8</sup> L. Ligeti, *Documents sino-ouigours du Bureau des Traducteurs, Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* XXI, 1968, p. 257, note 9.

<sup>9</sup> This important text from *Murtuq* (T I M 221) was first edited by Radloff, whose reading appeared in the posthumous *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler* (ed. S. E. Malov), Leningrad 1928, pp. 28–32. However, not only did Radloff omit the first 8 lines of the text, he simply did not understand its structure, and so introduced several false readings, the most important of which was the name of (Ö)gidei xan in line 23, in place of the correct (Elj)igidei xan. This had led several scholars astray, including Franke, *Zur Datierung . . .* p. 405, and Ligeti, *À propos d’un document ouigour de l’époque mongole, Acta Orient. Hung.* XXVII, 1973, p. 15, note 44. Even less reliable than Radloff’s is the edition of George Vernadsky, *Notes on the History of the Uigurs in the late Middle Ages, Journal of the American Oriental Society* LVI, 1936, pp. 453–461. For this text, one should always refer to the edition, with facsimile, of Resid Rahmati Arat, *Uygurca Yazımlar Arasında, Türk Tarih, Arkeologiya ve Etnografya Dergisi* III, 1937, pp. 101–112.

<sup>10</sup> The names of these officials may also be found in the Mongol document Nr. 11 issued by *Tuyluğ Temür* in either 1348 or 1360: *Turmiš Te(m)ür Tükel Qy-a Kerey ekiten tüšmed-te* “to the officials led by *Turmiš Temür*, *Tükel Qaya* and *Kerey*.”

*Tükel Qay-a Kerey Küč Temür başlıy begler* "we, the lords led by Turmıš Temür, Tükel Qaya, Kerey and Küč Temür."<sup>11</sup>

In this fashion, several Mongol and Uyğur documents were interrelated to the period of Tuyluğ Temür's reign through the joint occurrence of the names of his ministers. This is a recognizably valid approach to the problem of dating a given document.

The addressees of the Mongol document Nr. 8 are the following: *Qočo-yin iduqut-ta Qulun Qy-a ekiten noyad-ta Buyan Qy-a ekiten tüsimed-te* "to the Iduq-qut of Qočo, to the lords led by Qulun Qaya, to the officials led by Buyan Qaya." In the Uyğur petition to Tuyluğ Temür, which was mentioned above, there occurs the following section reviewing the history of the petitioners' grievance (lines 34-36): (*Yis*)ün *T(e)mür xan* *çayın-ta Qulun Qy-a qalan kesip infü bay-çi-lar-qa qalan kesmişi yoq* "In the reign (Mo *çay* 'time') of Yisün Temür Xan, Qulun Qaya levied the *qalan*-tax, and there was no *qalan*-tax levied upon the landed gardeners."<sup>12</sup>

It clearly emerges from this interrelationship that the Çayatai lord (Mo *noyan*, *Tü beg*) in East Turkestan during the reign of Yisün Temür (1338-1339) was this Qulun Qaya. This is not the only such interrelationship. We may further cite the Mongol decree Nr. 10, which was issued by Kebek (1320-1326) in 1326 to his minister, Jabaγu. Once more, the Uyğur petition contains the following relevant section (lines 20-22): (*Kebek*) *xan* *çayın-ta Yabyu Beg qalan kesip infü bay-çi-lar-qa qalan kesmişi yoq* "In the reign of Kebek Xan, Yabyu Beg levied the *qalan*-tax, and there was no *qalan*-tax levied upon the landed gardeners."<sup>13</sup> Again, it is evident

<sup>11</sup> This Uyğur document from Qočo (T I D 200, M 223) was edited by Radloff in *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, pp. 27-28, and then a new transcription given by Arat, *Op. cit.*, p. 107, note 1. Here, I may also mention that still another Uyğur text contains the names of these officials. This is a legal contract of a somewhat ambiguous nature belonging to the Krotkov collection (Kr. IV 618) and edited with facsimile by D. I. Tikhonov, *Khodzajstvo i obščestvennyj stroj Uğurskogo gosudarstva X-XIV vv.*, Moskva-Leningrad 1966, pp. 240-241. In lines 11-12 of this text we find: *tanuq Küčtemür Enč Buqa Tükel Qay-a Buyan Qay-a tanuq* "Witnesses: Küč Temür, Enč Buqa, Tükel Qaya and Buyan Qaya." Moreover, the text is addressed: *men Muqsuz Qay-a Turmıš Temür-ke bitig birür men* "I, Muqsuz Qaya, issue this document to Turmıš Temür."

<sup>12</sup> Although the name of this ruler is slightly damaged, it occurs between the sections of this text devoted to Jangši Xan (1334-ca. 1338) and Muḥammad Xan (ca. 1339-?), making the identification certain.

<sup>13</sup> The name of this ruler is actually missing due to damage in the text, but as it occurs between sections devoted to Esen Buqa Xan (1309-1320) and Eljigidei Xan (1326) the identification is certain.

that the Čayatai lord in East Turkestan during the reign of Kebek was this Yabyu Beg, whose name in Mongol would regularly be reflected as Jabayu.<sup>14</sup>

From this indication alone, there can be little doubt that the Čayatai ruler who issued the Mongol decree Nr. 8 was Yisün Temür. To clinch the matter, let us consider the date. It will be recalled that the Mongol document Nr. 1 was issued by Yisün Temür in the fourth year of the animal cycle, the *bars ħil*, which corresponds to 1338, or the first year of this Čayataid's reign. The present document Nr. 8 was issued in the fifth year of the animal cycle, the *taulai ħil*, which corresponds to 1339, or the second and last year of Yisün Temür's reign.

The sources of the period contain virtually no information concerning this ruler. His name appears in the genealogical chart of Xuvändāmir, the early XVI century Persian historian, as the successor to Jangši.<sup>15</sup> But, it is only in the XVII century *Šafara-i Turk* of Abu'l-Ġāzi that we learn that Yisün Temür was the brother of Jangši, the son of Ebügen and the grandson of Duva (ca. 1278–1306). Urged on by his mother, Yisün Temür met his brother in battle, defeated him and had him killed, a deed from which he suffered great remorse. He was soon succeeded by a descendant of Ögödei, the Muslim 'Alī Sultān, who is apparently to be identified with the Muḥammad of the genealogical charts.<sup>16</sup> Apart, then, from these sparse historical mentions, the brief reign of Yisün Temür is reflected in the two Mongol documents issued in his name to his officials in East Turkestan.

<sup>14</sup> This is, I believe, the latest occurrence of this old Inner Asian title, which first appears in use among the Yüeh-chih and most recently in the XI century *Divan* of Maḥmud al-Kāšgarī: *yabyu* "the title of a subject who is two ranks below the Xaqan" (see Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, p. 873, for this and other citations). As so many of the titles of the Old Türk period, *yabyu* must ultimately be of Iranian origin; cf. Pentti Aalto, *Iranian Contacts of the Turks in Pre-Islamic Times*, *Studia Turcica*, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1971, p. 34.

<sup>15</sup> This chart is reproduced as Table 24 in: Louis Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan Che*, Leiden 1945, and in note 1, pp. 160–161, of the work of Desmaisons cited below.

<sup>16</sup> P. I. Desmaisons, *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares par Aboul-Ghazi Behadour Khan*, I, SPb 1871, pp. 159–160 (translation); II, 1874, p. 151 (text). Further see: V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, II. *History of the Semirechye*, Leiden 1962, p. 136; Klaus Lech, *Das mongolische Weltreich. Al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abḡār fi mamālik al-amḡār*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 242, n. 170; Franke, *Zur Datierung* . . . , pp. 405–406.