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Uigur Peasants and Buddhist Monasteries during the Mongol Period.
Re-examination of the Uigur Document U 5330 (USp 77)*

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Introduction

In the Turfan collection of Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (=BBAW) is housed an Uigur document, U 5330. This document was first edited and published as Nr. 77 in W. W. Radloff's *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler* (= USp; ed. by S. E. Malov) in 1928. Since then, this document has been referred to and cited by many Uigur scholars. However, in my opinion, the subject and function of the document has not been explicated appropriately.

In this paper I present the revised edition of the document[1], and prove that it is an alliance covenant of Uigur peasants against prospective conflict with a Buddhist monastery. Furthermore, several Uigur and Mongol documents are mentioned in relation to secular and economic issues of the "Uigur Buddhist society."

1. Text, Translation and Commentaries

This document has the site number as TII Čiqtim 4, which tells us that it was acquired by the second German Turfan Expedition of 1904-1905 headed by A. von Le Coq at Čiqtim (> chin. 七克臺 *Qi-ke-tai*), the easternmost city in the Turfan Basin standing ca. 100 km to the east of Qočo (< chin. 高昌 = 哈剌和卓 Qara-Khoja).

The text is written on paper of 30.7 x 43.4 cm, colored Grisâtre～Beige Clair, with very fine vergé (9-10 lines / cm). The quality of the paper is fairly good.

Not only the cursive script but also such terms as *qalan (passim) and nišan* (line 4) suggest that this document is dated from the Mongol period [IUCD, p. 104; cf. Moriyasu 1994, pp. 63-69]. Recently T. Moriyasu has proved that this document belongs to so-called "Ikiči group" together with three other documents also brought from Čiqtim (SUK WP01, WP02, Mannerheim No. 4) concerning a single community of Uigur inhabitants [Moriyasu 2002, pp. 156-162]. Among them SUK WP01 and WP02 have been clearly dated from the Mongol period [Umemura 1977, pp. 016-018, 024-026; Moriyasu 1994, pp. 76-77], consequently our U 5330 must be also from the same period.

Text

1 tqïɣu yïl aram ay altï otuz-qa biz ikiči toyïn tuɣma
2 aḍay yanga ïndu (.) kimqo'du šamič tayšidu ingäl
3 mingiči äsän qy-a samboq altmïš qy-a čqïr umïčï
4 sisidu bu nišan mäning ol
5 qulan basana qïngdam torčï aṭaš lačïn yipäk bašlap
6 č<ï>ɣay qalan-čï bodun-lar-qa oza-tïn bärü čïqtïn-nïng
7 tarïɣ tar<ï>r yir-in bodun tarïnïp yir baš-ïn-ɣa qalaṅ
8 tutup bodun kingäšip qalan-sïz quvraɣ-lar-qa qalan-lïɣ
9 yir-tä quvraɣ-qa birẓä birmiš yir-kä qalan tuḍup
10 sanggik yir-ni qalan-ïn tuḍmatïn sngïn birip quvraɣ-
11 -qa yaq-a-sïn birip yorïr ärti ạmtï ärsär biz bu
12 bitig-täki atlɣ-ča čïɣay bodun-lar-nïng küčümüz
13 yoq ücün qalan-lïɣyir-ni m-ä biz-kä ärksidmätin

14 sanggik yir-ni tarïp sngïn birmätin küčämiš yolïn-ta
15 biz bitig-kä aḍ kirmiš-čä bodun-lar qalan-sïz quvrayγ
16 birlä qayu {P'} bäg-kä iš-i-kä barïp sözläsär
17 birlä bolup sözläšir biz apam birök bu bitig-
18 -täki söz-tin qayu-sï yatlasar biz bodun-qa bir
19 soqum-luq ud birip bodun-nung qïn-ïn-γa
20 tägär biz · bu tamγa biz bu bitig-täki atlγ kirmiš-
21 -čä bodun-lar-nïng ol bu tamγa män toyïn-ning ol
22 bu bitig-ni män tigin bodun-qa ayïtïp bitimiš
23 bu tamγa män tuγma-nïng'ol bu tamγa ikiči-ning ol
24 bu tamγa män aḍay yanga-nïng'ol bu tamγa män ïndu-nïng'ol
25 bu tamγa män ingäl-ning'ol
v26 bičin
v27 bodun bitigi ol

Translation

1 On the 26th [day], the 1st month, the year of the Hen.

1-6 To us, to the poor people paying the *qalan*-tax, headed by Ikiči, Toyïn, Tuγma, Aḍay Yanga, Ïndu, Kimqo'du, Šamič, Tayšidu, Ingäl, Mingiči, Äsän Qya, Samboq, Altmïš Qya, Čaqïr, Umïčï, Qulan, Basana, Qïngdam, Torčï, Aṭaš, Lačïn, Yipäk.

6-8 For a long time past, the people cultivated the land in Čiqtim to cultivate grain, and paid *qalan*-tax [levied] on the basis of the cultivated land. 8-9 [But] the people negotiated and gave [some part] of the land with *qalan*-tax to the [Buddhist] monks free of *qalan*-tax, and [the people] have [not(?)] paid the *qalan*-tax on the given land and 10-11 [cultivated] the land of the monastery without paying the *qalan*-tax but paid the tributary provision, and went on with paying the rent to the [Buddhist] monks.

11-13 Now, we, the poor people whose names [are written] in this document, have no power. 13-14 So, [we] did not let us manage also the land with *qalan*-tax, and [we]cultivated the land of the monastery without paying the tributary provision.

14-17 When the monks free of the *qalan*-tax, becoming together, go to and speak (= consult or complain?) to any officials about that [we] have used violence [towards the Buddhist monastery], we, the people who entered (i.e. wrote) name into the document will converse (i.e. cope with the conflict) together.

17-20 If [anyone of us] act (= deviate) out of anything of the statement in this document, [he] shall give a butchered ox to us the people, and shall come to the punishment of the people.

20-21 This seal is ours, of the people who entered (= wrote) name in the document.

22 I, Tigin, wrote this document at dictation of the people.

23 This seal is mine, Tuγma's. 21 This seal is mine, Toyïn's. 24 This seal is mine, Aḍay Yanga's. This seal is mine, Ïndu's. 25 This seal is mine, Ingäl's. 4 Sisidu, this signature is mine.

v27 [This] is a document of the people.

Commentaries

1-6: Here are enumerated many personal names, counted as seventeen by Radloff [USp] and Arat [ETHV]. Later P. Zieme counted again as twenty-one [Zieme 1980, p. 215], then Moriyasu counted twenty-two with correction of some of the names in comparison with those in the documents belonging to "Ikiči group" [Moriyasu 2002, p. 160]. Though following Moriyasu basically, I count as twenty-three, still with further corrections of the names.

1, ikiči toyïn: These two words have been combined as a name of a single person since USp up to Moriyasu [see above]. However, they are evidently two persons' names, since they seal respectively on lines 21 and 23.

1, tuγma: He must be identical with a person in Mannerheim No. 4 (line 4), which Moriyasu read as *Tuγmaq* [Moriyasu 2002, p. 160].

2, aḍay yanga: Moriyasu suggests that this person is identical with *Aḍay* in Mannerheim No.4 (line 2)

[Moriyasu 2002, p. 161].

2, ïndu: Though *Ïqtu* by Radloff or *Ïγdu* by Moriyasu are still possible, I read as *ïndu*～mo. *indu*～*hindu* "Indian" > chin. 忻都 *Xïn-du* ～欣都 *Xïn-du* ～印突 *Yin-tu* [cf. Cleaves 1949a, esp. p. 68 & pl. XXIV].

2, kimqo'du:～*kimqodu* < chin. 金剛奴 *Jin-gang-nu*, a Buddhist name meaning "a slave of Vajra." Cf. Note **3, samboq** below; *kim-qo-ki* < chin. 金剛經 *Jin-gang-jing* [Hazai / Zieme 1968, p. 1]. *Kimättü* by Radloff was replaced by Moriyasu with *Kimvurdu* [Moriyasu 2002, p. 160], but the fourth letter differs from the middle -V- of *quvraγ* (line 9, 10). The letter should be read as -X- in comparison with *taqïγu* (line 1) and *soqum* (line 19).

3, samboq: Kara has already pointed out that uig. *samboq* is a transcription of chin. *san-bao* 三寶 **sâm-pâu* (GSR 648a+1059a), chin. translation from skt. *triratna*, as well as that uig. *boq* is a hyper-correction of 寶 *pâu* [Kara 1991, pp. 130-131]. In Uigur onomasticon Buddhist-Chinese holy terms often compose personal names in combination with *du* (< chin. 奴 *nu*) "slave", e.g., *Qanimdu* < chin. 觀音奴 *Guan-yin-nu* "slave of Avalokiteśvara"; *Pusardu* < 菩薩奴 *Pu-sa-nu* "slave of Bodhisattva"; *Qayïmtu* < 華嚴奴 *Hua-yan-nu* "slave of Padmavyûha"; *Vukindu* < 普賢奴 *Pu-xian-nu* "slave of Samantabhadra"; *Tayšingdu* < 大乘奴 *Da-cheng-nu* "Slave of Mahāyāna" [Zieme 1994, pp. 119-121]; *Kimqodu* < 金剛奴 [Note **2, kimqo'du** above]. Also *Sambo (q)du* (< Sambo(q) + *du*) < chin. 三寶奴 San-bao-nu "slave of Triratna" as a personal name is attested in many texts [Zieme 1994, p. 121], while the form *Samboq*, without *du*, should be a possible personal name, since we find such personal names as *Kimqo* "Vajra" (TII 035 =ETHV, p. 77, 11.VIII, line 3: Arat's reading as *Yimü* shold be discarded.) or *Tayšing* "Mahāyāna" (Ch/U 6512, lines 4, 10; Ch/U 8175, line 29, 35).

3, čqïr: ～*čaqïr* "blue, blue-gray" [ED, p. 409]. This personal name is attested also in U 5311 (= USp 91, line 37).

4: This line should have been written after line 20 below, but written here because of the lack of space [USp, p. 132].

5, basana: Otherwise we may give *Bašaq* ～ *Bašaqa* attested in SUK Em01 (line 6).

5, qïngdam: Though Moriyasu read as *Qïčïdam*, I raise again Radloff's reading. It may be derived from a Chinese personal name.

5, aṭaš, lačïn, yipäk: These three names are not translated by Radloff. For *Aṭaš* Moriyasu transcribed as *Qantaš*, though the first letter is too small to be regarded as initial X-.

6, qalan-čï: *qalan* is a well-known tax installed by the Mongol empire into the subordinate areas. Uigur contracts such as SUK RH04, RH12, Mi20, or a declaration for the official family register U 5298 (= Zieme 1982) suggest that *qalan* was levied on the sedentary population on the basis of their land, while in Iran under Ilkhanid rule *qalan* was a kind of military service for the nomads [Honda 1959, Honda 1961 = Honda 1991, pp. 243, 247, 297-299]. We have no direct source explaining whether *qalan* in Uiguristan was military service or land tax: At least, according to Uigur fragments of lists or ledgers (USp 38; Ch/U 7460v = Matsui 2002, Text E, line 1), *qalan* was practically paid in money or cotton cloth as currency.

Uig. *qalančï*, a denominal noun from *qalan* and suffix + *čï* [ATG, § 47; OTWF, § 2.75], is attested also in SUK Sa09 (line 3) and Mi20 (= USp 14, lines 8, 10). Oda interpreted *qalančï* as "*qalan* tax collecter" [Oda 1992a, p. 39] and SUK editors followed him with translation as "*qalan*-Steuereinnehmer." However, from the context in our U 5330, I believe in the most traditional translation as "*qalan*-tax payer" [USp; Tixonov 1966, p. 198; Oda 1990, p. 24]. Erdal's interpretation as "somebody who does agricultural work for the state instead of paying the *kalan* tax" [OTWF, p. 112] is seemingly based on our U 5330, but it is not the essential meaning of *qalančï* itself.

6, oza-tïn bärü: "For a long time past." Radloff mistook *oza* for a place name, but Clauson has already corrected this [ED, p. 356].

6, čïqtïn: Apparently *Čïqtïn* is an old appellation of present Čiqtim. First read as *Čirtin* by Radloff, Zieme corrected it to *Čïqtïn* [Zieme 1982, p. 266]. I have found this geographical name attested also in SI O.39 (lines 12, 20) which Malov read as *Čïnatïn* [cf. Moriyasu 2002, p. 158]. The city of Čiqtim is originated from a garrison of *Chi-ting* 赤亭 **tś'i̯äk-d'ieng* (GSR 793a + 833h) during the Tang times. Later a Song ambassador Wang Yande 王延德, who was dispatched to the West Uigurs in 982, refered to Čiqtim as *Ze-tian* 澤田 **d'ɒk-d'ien* (GSR 790o + 362a) in his report [Moriyasu 2002, p. 169]. The uig. form *čïqtïn* without the final velar nasal /-ŋ/ corresponds with *Ze-tian* of the Song times, when the Turkicization of the Turfan region by the Uigurs was under progress: The current form Čiqtim should be a dissimilation from *Čïqtïn*.[2]

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7, tarïr: Here I follow Zieme's reading [Zieme 1982, p. 266]. Radloff's reading as *täki* is not impossible, even though we have to neglect vowel harmony.

7, yir baš-ïn-ɣa qalan tutup: *baš* "head" in this passage is problematic. Radloff translated the passage as "zahlt für jedes Stück Landdem Kalan", while Zieme proposed "hat dem Oberhaupt (?) des Bodens die Bodensteuer gezahlt (?)" [Zieme 1982, p. 266]. Oda's interpretation as "bear the *qalan*-tax on the basis of the cultivated land" [Oda 1990, n. 16] may support Radloff's. Here I follow Radloff and Oda, since the farmers must pay the *qalan*-tax not to the "landlord", but to the state.

8, kingäšip: < v. *kingäš-* "to consult; to discuss" [ED, p. 734].

8, quvraɣ: For all of *quvraɣ* in this document Radloff gave a ghost word † *quvaq* "assessment" [ED, p. 583]; Tixonov's argument focusing on *quvaq* has been totally refuted by Clark [IUCD, p. 104]. Uig. *quvraɣ* "crowd, gathering" is usually used as standard translation of skt. *saṃgha* "a monastic community" [ED, p. 585]. In this document, however, we may interpret *quvraɣ* as "monks (as persons)." In a document U 5319 we find that monks named Ligui-tutung, Kuytso-šilavanti and Pintso-tutung (lines 4-5) are later rephrased as *üč quvraɣ* "three monks" (line 11). See note **13, ärksidmätin** below.

9, birmiš yir-kä qalan tuḍup: Literally "paying the *qalan*-tax [levied] on the donated land", but the context is still difficult to understand. With the literal translation we have to understand that the situation for the people should have become even worse than before, since their burdens should have increased with *sang* and the rent (*yaqa*) for the monastery added to the former *qalan*-tax. The cultivated land was donated to *qalan-sïz quvraɣ* "the monastery free from the *qalan*-tax", so that the land should become also free of the *qalan*-tax. I assume that *qalan tuḍup* here is a mistake of *qalan tuḍmatïn*, though I am not sure.

10, sanggik yir-ni: *sanggik* < sogd. *snk'yk* < skt. *sāṃghika* "belonging to *saṃgha*" [Laut 1986, p. 145]. I assume that *tarïnïp* (< *tarïn-* "to cultivate") is omitted after *yir-ni*.

10, sngïn: Attested also in line 14. Radloff read this as *säkin* but left it unclear [USp, pp. 131-132, 291]. DTS follows him and assumes it a kind of tax only from the context [DTS, p. 494]. However I believe in the reading as *sngïn*~*s*<*a*>*ngïn* < *sang* + *ïn* (Acc.). Uig. *sang*~*tsang* is a loan word from chin. *cang* 倉 (**tsang*) "granary" [ED, p. 555], and I have already pointed out the derivative meaning as "grain or provision to be delivered into granary; tribute" with attestation in a fragment Ch/U 7327: *[ ] küri birlä bir šïɣ iki küri sang-nï qočo-ta sang-qa quḍzun* "[....] shall pour (i.e. deliver) into the granary in Qočo 1 *šïɣ* and 2 *küri* of provision [measured] with container" [Matsui 1997, pp. 30-31]. Later uig. *tsang* ~ *sang* is borrowed in Mongolian: In Mongolian-Chinese bilingual inscriptions, mo. *sang* (in Uigur script)~*caṅ* (in 'Phags-pa script) is translated mostly into chin. *di-shui* 地税 "the land tax; Bodensteuer" [e.g. Haenisch 1940, Text II; Irinčin 1963 = Irinčin 2002, pp. 440-441; Nakamura /Matsukawa 1993, pp. 76-77]. Irinčin put in question the difference between the original meaning of mo. *caṅ* ~*tsang* "granary; official granary" and chin. *di-shui*, but the attestations of *sang* in Ch/U 7327 and in our U 5330 allow us to intepret uig.-mo. *tsang* ~ *sang* as "tributary provision to be delivered into official granary" according to the context.

10, ärti amtï: Radloff's reading as *atï matï* should be discarded. *ärti* (perfect < v. *är-*) indicates that preceding *yorïr* is the past customary act [ATG, § § 242.1, 243.2], while *amtï ärsär* is followed by the current situation.

13, ärksidmätin: Radloff read as *äksidmätin* < v. *äksid-*~*ägsüt-* "to diminish, curtail, reduce" [ED, p. 117], but the second letter -R- is rather clear. In the lexicons we find *ärksin-* "to have power, or authority; herrschern, Macht ausüben, regieren; beeinflussen, dominieren; besitzen, sich aneignen, verfügen; selbständig sein, frei sein; = chin. 自在 *zi-zai*" [ED, p. 227; UW 6, pp. 441-443]. Uig. *ärksin-* is considered as a reflexive form of **ärksi-*, from which *ärksid-*(causative) should be derived.[3] Similarly to *ärksid-* here, *ärksin-* is also attested concerning the management of the cultivated land in U 5319, an Uigur decree of tax exemption to a Buddhist hermitage (uig. *aryadan* ~ chin. 阿蘭若 < skt. *araṇya*) in Murtuq: [9] *bu aryadan-qa sanlïɣ* [10] *yir-ingä* · *borluq-ïnga* · *šazïn ayɣučï il bägäd-lärï* · [11] *bašlap kim kim qatïlmazun* · *bu üč quvraɣ* [12] *oq ärksinzün* "The Buddhist doctrinal counselor (*šazïn ayɣučï*) and the state officers (*il bägad-lärï*), or anyone shall not interfere in the cultivated land and vineyard belonging to this hermitage. These three monks (=Ligui-tutung, Kuitso-šilavanti and Pintso-tutung) shall manage [the cultivated land vineyard]" [cf. Zieme 1981, pp. 254-255; Moriyasu 1991, pp. 134-135; Note **8, quvraɣ** above].

14, küčämiš yolïn-ta: *küčämiš* < v. *küčä-* "to oppress, use violence towards (someone Acc.)" [ED, p. 695].

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Radloff interpreted as "auf gezwungenem Wege" ="zwangweise" [USp, p. 132], but *yolïn-ta* (~ *yol-ïnta*) is attested in several contracts, meaning "in bezug auf, betreffend" [SUK 2, p. 304].

15, aḍ: Here *aḍ* (~ *at*) "name" looks like 'WD', because it was first written as "T and later final -T was corrected into -D. This led Radloff into misreading it as *uda* (< v. *ud-* "to follow") [USp, p. 132].

15-17: Radloff translated as "mögen sie frei vom Kalan mit dem Kuvak zu den verschiedenen Begen an die Arbeit sich begeben. Dass es derartig geschehe, ist unsere Rede." Here he misinterpreted *iš-i* ~ *iši* "officials (hend. with *bäg*)" [SUK 2, p. 247] as "work" and mistook [17] *sözläšar* (aorist < v. *sözläš-* "to converse") for *sözl äsär* (conditional < v. *sözlä-* "to speak") with a commentary "Dies beweist, dass noch spät die Verbalform auf -*sär* als Participium verwendet wurde, wörtlich heisst es hier: 'der Rede gemäss seiend reden wir'." [USp, p. 132].

19, soqum-luq ud: Radloff read this as *suqumluq äbäḍ* with a comment as "mir unverständlich, es muss eine Art Strafzählung" [USp, p. 132]. But the letters are rather clear and we find *soqum* "Schlachtvieh; slaughter cattle" even in Radloff's dictionary [Wb IV, p. 522]. Clauson remarks on the attestation of the word [cf. ED, p. 811], though he find the word *soqum* attested in SI Kr IV 638 (line 162) [Clauson 1971, pp. 190, 194; Umemura 1987, p. 51].

19, qïn: ~ *qïyn* "physical punishment, torture" [Moriyasu 1991, p. 88].

21, män toyïn: Here *Toyïn* must be identical with the one in line 1. Moriyasu read this as *qan toyïn* and identified him as a single person with one appearing in SUK WP01 (line 22). But the first word, though unclear, seems X', not to be read as X'N = *qan*; I suppose that it is mistake for M'N = *män*.

26, bičin: Probably the scribe first started writing on this side, but he mistook the year and restarted on the other (= recto) side.

2. Digest of the document

Until now, U 5330 has been edited and translated only by Radloff in USp. However, as I pointed out in the commentaries above, Radloff's edition and translation carry more than a few mistakes. Although they are of unavoidable owing to the academic level in his days, we can not rely on his edition and translation any longer.

Hereafter are cited the digests or interpretations on the document by scholars after Radloff. Parts concerning the interpretation of the contents are underlined by me:

(a) R. R. Arat: "*budun* (sic!) *bitigi*, Documents concerning people or congregation; For instance, it became hard for a congregation to pay two taxes, so they assemble together under 17 chiefs and sign an agreement and give an undertaking to return the same kind to the officials. Since the people were poor, they are not in a situation to give two taxes in the same time (*budun bitigi*, halk, cemâat ile ilgili vesikalar; msl. bir cemâat kendisine iki vergi ödemek ağır geldiğinden, 17 reis yanında toplanarak, bir anlaşma imzalıyor ve memurlara aynı şekilde mukabelede bulunmağı taahhüt ediyor. Halk fakir olduğu için, aynı zamanda iki vergi verecek durumda değirdir)" [ETHV, p. 29].

(b) L. V. Clark: "a contract of some obscure sort drawn up by representatives of the *čïγay qalančï bodunlar* 'poor *qalančï* peoples', who complain about a conflict that has arisen between them and the religious community that is not subject to *qalan*. The validation process in the document differs substantially from that in other Uyγur legal documents, nor does the form of the text resemble that of popular petitions to the state. Both US 77 and 88 are unique types of texts in Uyγur literature" [IUCD, p. 198].

(c) P. Zieme: "In einer Klageschrift der Dorfgemeinde von Čïqtïn, deren 21 Wortführer namentlich aufgeführt werden, gegen Beschneidung des freien Ackerlandes heißt es: *quvraγ-qa yaq-a-sïn birip* (USp Nr. 77 Z. 9-10) "der Gemeinde [des Klosters] den Pachtzins dafür gebend" [Zieme 1980, p. 215].

Unfortunately most of them are presented without total revision of Radloff's edition nor enough argument. Nevertheless the vague digest by Arat (a) is seemingly based on Radloff's edition, since the underlined part follows the incorrect translation "mögen sie frei vom Kalan mit dem Kuvak zu den verschiedenen Begen an die Arbeit sich begeben" by Radloff [See Note 15-17 above]; Clark (b) did not explain the "validation process" in detail, nor did he count the document in his classified inventory of civil documents. Even so, he was most analytic in his explanation of the document, emphasizing the difference from "popular petitions to the state." Probably he thought of the examples of the Uigur petition, one by Uigur gardeners to the Čaγatai ruler Tuγluγ Temür (U 5282

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= Arat 1937), and other by a slave named Pintung (Oda 1992b). The reason is not clear why Zieme (c) raised again the digest as "Klageschrift" or "Petition" which had been discarded by Clark (b); Following Zieme, Moriyasu also summarized the document as "Petition to the local government from a group of people of Čiqtim about a conflict that has arisen between them and a Buddhist monastery" [Moriyasu 2002, p. 158]. But my revised edition of the text does not support their interpretations.

Besides these mentioned above, some scholars have placed a rather simpler description on the document. Tixonov titled the document as "a covenant of the community (обязательство общины)", paying his attention mainly to [19] *bodun-nung qïn* "the punishment of the people" and the legal compulsion by the local people [Tixonov 1966, pp. 17, 197-198]. However his interpretation was still based on Radloff's imperfect edition and, as to the interpretation of many Uigur terms and the dating of the documents, has been totally refuted by Clark [IUCD, pp. 103-104]. Yang Fuxue regarded the document as 税役協議書 "a document of a conference concerning the tax" [Yang Fuxue 1990, p. 20]. Also Li Jingwei described it as 有關捐税與勞役的協議書 "a document of conference concerning the tax and labor work" and [Li Jingwei 1996, pp. 227-230]. Those two Chinese scholars did not place any further argument on the contents of the document, nor did they explain what the subject of the "conference" was nor what decision was made. Even though Li Jingwei presented the edition with commentary, his text carries almost nothing more than tracing of Radloff's.

Here, based on my edition and translation, the contents of the document may be summarized as following:

1: Date.
1-6: The names of the people who executed this document. The dative suffix *-qa* following *čïγay qalančï bodun-lar* "poor people paying the *qalan*-tax" (line 6) shows that the contents of the document shall be announced and got known *to* the mentioned people.
6-11: The past situation of the people is explained. They had donated some part of their cultivated land to a Buddhist monastery. They have cultivated the land as before, paying *sang* "tributary provision" to the state on behalf of the monastery, as well as the rent to the monastery.
11-14: Recently the situation has changed. The people have lost their *küč* "power", i.e. financial power and means. So they renounced their land with the *qalan*-tax. They only cultivate the land given to the monastery, which had been formerly possessed by themselves, but decided not to pay *sang* for the monastery: So to speak they occupied the land by force.
15-17: They unite in an alliance and decided to cope with conflict with the monastery or officials.
17-20: Penalty and punishment for breach of this document.
20-25: Sign and seal; specifying of the scribe.
v27: The title of this document.

From this summary we may suppose that this document was drawn up by the poor peasant people, who had occupied the land donated to the monastery and had to establish and confirm their alliance in preparation for further conflict. Consequently, I reject the idea of the digest as a "petition" and consider Tixonov's "covenant" as more appropriate than those suggested by other scholars.

3. Uigur Peasants and Buddhist Monasteries

In this section I attempt to place the situation observed from our document U 5330in its historical background, especially the socioeconomic circumstances of Uigur peasants and Buddhist monasteries.

In our document, land donation by the peasant people to the monastery was undoubtedly aimed at reduction of or exemption from the *qalan*-tax levied on their land.

Two Uigur decrees of tax exemption [= Zieme 1981, Texts A, B] and a Mongol decree issued by the Čaγatai Khanate [= BTT XVI, Nr. 69; cf. Matsukawa 1995, pp. 115-116] show us that the Buddhist monasteries in Turfan often had the benefit of tax exemption from the West Uigur[4] and Mongol rulers. Also according to U 5320 (= USp 92), a letter from the *čigši* (< chin. 刺史 **ts'i̯äk-ṣi*, GSR 868d + 975a) named Qutluγ Tapmïš Qadïr, an Uigur princess directed a leader of grass-keepers (*otčï uluγ*) to financially support a Buddhist monastery (*vrxar*). We

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may conclude that the Buddhist monasteries in Turfan were generally given preferential treatment by the state through the West Uigur and Mongol period.

However, tax exemption as mentioned above were not always bestowed to all monasteries through the Pre-Mongol and Mongol periods, nor did it apply to all kinds of tax. A contract of land tenancy SUK RH01, which is dated from the Pre-Mongol period [Moriyasu 1994, pp. 72-73], shows that a Buddhist master (*ačari* < sogd. "*c'ry* < skt. *ācārya*) had to pay the *irt-birt*-tax levied on his land.[5] In administrative orders dated from the mid-fourteenth century, many Buddhist monks were subject to an official tribute of flour, and the vineyards of the monasteries to an official tribute of brandy (K 7719 and U 5288 = Matsui 1998, Texts 2, 4). Some of the edicts issued by the Mongol-Yuan Emperors for Buddhist and Taoist monasteries do not mention mo. *sang* "tributary provision" ~chin. 地税 *di-shui* "land tax" and mo. *tamγa* ~ chin. 商税 *shao-shui* "sales tax" in enumeration of the exempted tax [e.g. Junast 1991, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 15, 22; Sugiyama 1991, p. 43; Nakamura / Matsukawa 1993, p. 77; Note **10, sngïn** above]. According to the Chinese historical sources, the Buddhist, Taoist, Nestorian-Christian, Muslim and Confucian monasteries were ordered in 1265 to pay *di-shui* 地税 "land-tax" according to the cultivated lands in their possession [YS, chap. 93, p. 2358]. Nevertheless some of the religious monasteries neglected the regulation, still not paying the land tax: In 1292, 1295 and 1324, the Yuan government ordered them to pay the land tax on the land in their possession thereafter, even with an exemption of that unpaid in the past [YS, chap. 93, p. 2359; YDZ, chap. 24, p. 1158; YS, chap. 93, p. 2360]. Identically, the land donated to the monastery in our document U 5330 must have become subject to *sang* "tributary provision", even though exempt from the *qalan*-tax.

The donated land was cultivated by the peasant people as before, so that they paid *sang* "tributary provision" on behalf of the monastery. Moreover, they had to pay rent as tenant farmers for the land which was donated and belonging to the monastery. Consequently the obligation on the peasants consisted of three kinds: *sang* to the state, rent to the monastery, and the *qalan*-tax levied on the land still in their own possession. Nevertheless their obligation seems to have been more reduced than before, since the *qalan*-tax by itself could be very heavy as indicated by SUK Mi19, a contract of commission on the property of a certain named Tašïq, who had become unable to pay the *qalan*-tax and decided to escape. The donation of the cultivated land was economically convenient for the peasants. Likewise, so many people in the region of 蠻子 Wanzi (i.e. the Jiangnan region or the territory of the former Song dynasty) attempted to escape from the land tax, donating their land to Buddhist and Taoist monasteries, as the Yuan emperor Qubilai (r. 1260-1294) complained in his edict of 1294 [YDZ, chap. 24, p. 1157].

On the other hand, the land donation was important for the financial management of the monastery, because they could acquire productive means without any expenses and the lands ensured them revenue from rent. The Uigur or Mongol rulers even expected the monasteries to increase their property, especially real estate of vineyards (uig. *borluq* > mo. *borluγ*) and cultivated lands (uig. *yir* ~ mo. *γaǰar* usun) [Zieme 1981, Text A, lines 28-29; BTT XVI, Nr. 69, lines 4-6].

However, such relationships between the monasteries and peasants were not always favorable. Sometimes could turn hostile, as shown by our document U 5330. At last the peasant people stood together, occupying illegally the donated land by force. In opposition the monastery would call for protection by the officials.

We can observe a similar conflict between a monastery and Uigur inhabitants from another Mongol decree (SI KrI G120) among the Turfan collection of St. Petersburg. This doucument was first edited by Kara [1972, p. 170], and recently he has published a fully annotated revision with a photo-reproduction [Kara 2003, pp. 28-30, 33]. On examination of the original, I would slightly revise Kara's edition as following with minimum notes:

1 **yisüntem**ür üge manu
2 qočo-yin iduqud-ta qulun-qy-a
3 ekiten noyad-ta buyan qy-a ekiten
4 tüsimed-te ạn-e temür ügülen
5 irebe taipodu tōlemiš nereṭü
6 kümün küčü kiǰü yogačari sụme-ṭür qaryatan qoyar
7 baγ-i γaǰar usun selte abču ülü ögümü nidan-i oon
8 qabur ạndeče nišan abču oḍqu bülüge ter-e nišan-i
9 bolmiš neretü kümün küčü kiǰü nišan-i abču γaǰar usun

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10 baaγ borluγ-i daqi es-e ögbe kemen
11 öčigdejü edüge en-e nišan küreged tende-kin
12 noyad törüger yosuγar asaγču nišan-i baγ-i γaǰar usun
13 selte qariγulju öggegülügtün tende ilγan yadabasu
14 tede aran-i qamtuḏqaju ende ilegtün kemen nišatu
15 bičig ögbei taulai jil qabur-un dumdaṭu
16 sar-a-yin dörben qaučin-a buluγan örü-ṭe
17 bükü-ṭür bičibei

[1] Yisün-Temür, our word (= decree).
[2-4] To the *Ǐduq-qut* (i.e. the Uigur ruler) of Qočo, to the commanders headed by Qulun Qya, to the officials headed by Buyan Qya.
[4-5] This [person], Temür, came [to us] reporting [thus]:
[5-10] "Person(s)named Taipodu and Tölemiš used force and took two of the vineyards and cultivated land belonging to [our] Yogačari monastery, and will not return [them to our monastery]. In spring of last year, [we, the monastery] received [an official decree with] seal from here (= the Court of the Čaγatai ruler) and went back. But a person named Bolmiš, used force, deprived of the [official decree with] seal and still did not return the vineyard and cultivated land."
[10-13] Thus [has] been testified. Now, "[we] send this [decree with] seal. [You,] the commanders [and the officials] in that place shall ask according to the law and rule and have [Taipodu, Tölemiš and Bolmiš] return the [official decree with] seal, the vineyard and the cultivated land all together. If you (= the commanders and officials) there cannot distinguish (i.e. put in order and regulate), [14] you shall gather those people and have them come here", thus saying, [15] we gave a document [of decree] with seal.
[15-17] [We] wrote [this document] on the 4th [day] of the last half (= 19th) of the middle month of spring (= the 2nd month) [in] the year of the Hare, when [we] were at Buluγan-Örü.

Notes

1-2: In comparison with a notorious Uigur petition USp 22 (= U 5282), Clark cleary identified the issuer Yisün-Temür (line 1) as the Čaγatai ruler (r. 1338-1339) and dated the document to 1339 [Clark 1975, p. 137].

4, ügülen: *Converbum modale* of v. *ügüle-* "report" [Poppe, § 373]; Kara's *ügüleǰü*(?) should be corrected. Cf. BTT XVI, Nr. 84: [4] ***üge-ben ügülen ečibe*** "Er trug sein Wort vor."

5, taipodu: ~ uig. *taypodu* < chin. 大寶奴 *Da-bao-nu* "slave of Mahāratna." Kara [2003] related this personal name to chin. 大悲奴 *Da-bei-nu* "slave of great compassion", but the uig. form *taypidu* (< chin. *da-bei-nu*) has been attested in, e.g., Ch/U 7007 = Raschmann 1995, Nr. 61, line 3.

7, baγ: < uig. *baγ* < pers. *bāġ* "garden" [see next note]. Though Kara [2003] regards *baγ* here as "a measure of land property", I simply assume that *borluγ* (< uig. *borluq*) "vineyard" was omitted by mistake.

9-10, γaǰar usun baaγ borluγ: In addition to Kara's note, see Moriyasu 1991, pp. 48-49, 88, for these terms concerning the monasterial estate. Mo. *γaǰar* "land" and *usun* "water" compose a hendiadys meaning "field, cultivated land", which should be a *calque* of uig. *yir suv* "territory; field, cultivated land" The second hendiadys *baaγ* (~ *baγ*) *borluγ* "vineyard" is a loan from uig. *baγ borluq* "garden and vineyard; vineyard." It is noteworthy that uig. idiom *yir suv baγ borluq* is attested in several Uigur texts [Uigurica II, p. 77; Moriyasu 1991, p. 88; SUK WP06, lines 27-28].

16, qaučin: ~ *qaγučin* ~ *qavčin* "the last half (of the month)" [Lessing, p. 909].

16, buluγan örü: Besides this reading Kara proposed *bulun örü* and *bolad örü*, remarking the possibility of geographical identification.

This decree was apparently issued by the Čaγatai ruler Yisün Temür (r. 1338-1339)[6] for custody of a Buddhist monastery in Qočo named Yogačari (< skt. *yogacārin*), whose vineyard (mo. *baγ borluγ*) and cultivated land (*γaǰar usun*) had been illegally captured by persons named Taipodu, Tölemiš and Bolmiš. Taking into account that this decree derives from the fourteenth century, some scholars may relate the persecution at the Bud-

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dhist monastery to the Islamization in the East Turkestan. However, names of the "blackguards" mentioned in the decree are not of Muslim but Buddhist-Chinese as Taipodu (< chin. 大寶奴 *Da-bao-nu*) or genuine Uigur as Tölemiš (< uig. Tölämiš) and Bolmiš (< Bolmïš). I assume that they are representatives of Uigur peasants who donated for economic reason their vineyard and cultivated land to the Yogačari monastery but later changed their mind to occupy the estates by force, just as those in U 5330. The monastery complained of them to the Court of the Čaγatai ruler and were given an official decree for custody. Nevertheless the peasants did not return the estates to the monastery, even depriving the monastery of the official document and neglecting the intention of the Čaγatai ruler.

4. Conclusion

Old Uigur society in Turfan from the early eleventh century up to the end of the Mongol period is generally recognized as a "Buddhist society": Buddhism was superior and dominant among the Uigur population, i.e. the royal family, ministers and officials, citizens and farmers; The rulers and governments also treated Buddhism favorably with tax exemption and other means. The magnificent mural paintings and huge amount of Uigur Buddhist literature must be regarded as the fruits of their support to the Buddhist monasteries.

Even so, the document U 5330 presents another aspect of the relationship between the Buddhist monasteries and the Uigur lay inhabitants. The relationship was constructed not only on religious belief but also on economic motivation. And it could not be always peaceful: Peasant people could openly oppose to the monastery, even to the government. For the comprehensive historical reconstruction of the "Uigur Buddhist society", further analysis of legal-economic documents concerning the Buddhist monasteries should be conducted.

Notes

* Here I would express my sincere thanks to Prof. John Edward Philips for improving my English.

1 For Uigur transcription I basically adopt the system of SUK, and common systems for the other languages. Texts indicated with shelf number U and Ch/U belong to the collection of BBAW, and their digitized photo images are provided on the website (http://www.bbaw.de/ forschung/turfanforschung/dta/index.html). Texts with SI number belong to the St. Petersburg collection.

2 It may be noted that the Ming ambassador Chen Cheng 陳誠 still designated Ciqtim as *Chi-ting* 赤亭 in his report. See *Xiyu xingcheng ji Xiyu fanguo ji* 西域行程記・西域番國記, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuqu ed., 1991, p. 36.

3 Cf. *ögrā-* > *ögrän-* "to learn" ~ *ögrät-* "to teach" [ED, p. 114]. I have found v. *ögrā-* "to study, learn" attested in two Uigur fragments. SI Kr I 6: [1] *yïlan yïl bir ygrminč ay iki otuz-qa* [2] *manga taypidu šilavanti-qa ögrägü* [3] *yang kärgäk bolup tayšing baxšï-tïn yang altïm* "The Pig year, the 11th month, on the 23th. To me, Taypidu-šilavanti, a model to write and learn being necessary, [I have borrowed] a model from Master Tayšing"; Ch/U 6641v: *toyïn-qa bitip ögrägü yang kärgäk bolup* "To Toyïn, a mo[del]to write and learn [being necessary]."

4 U 5319 (= Zieme 1981, Text B) is written in so-called "semi-square script" and dated to the early 11th century, i.e. the West Uigur period [Moriyasu 1991, 134-135].

5 On the other hand, a Buddhist hermitage is exempt from the *irt-birt*-tax thanks to a decree issued by the Uigur ruler (U 5317 = Zieme 1981, Text A, lines 41-42).

6 Although we find [14-15] *nišanu bičig* "a document with seal" in the decree, in fact it has no seal. Moreover on the back side of the document we find two Uigur texts: a divinatory tableau of Islamic geomancy and the colophon of a Vajrayāna Buddhist treatise [Kara 2003, pp. 30-34]. We may suppose that the document was a duplicate by the recipients who were afraid that the original decree might be robbed of once more, and later the back side was reused.

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ATG: A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Granmmatik* (3. Auflage). Wiesbaden, 1974.

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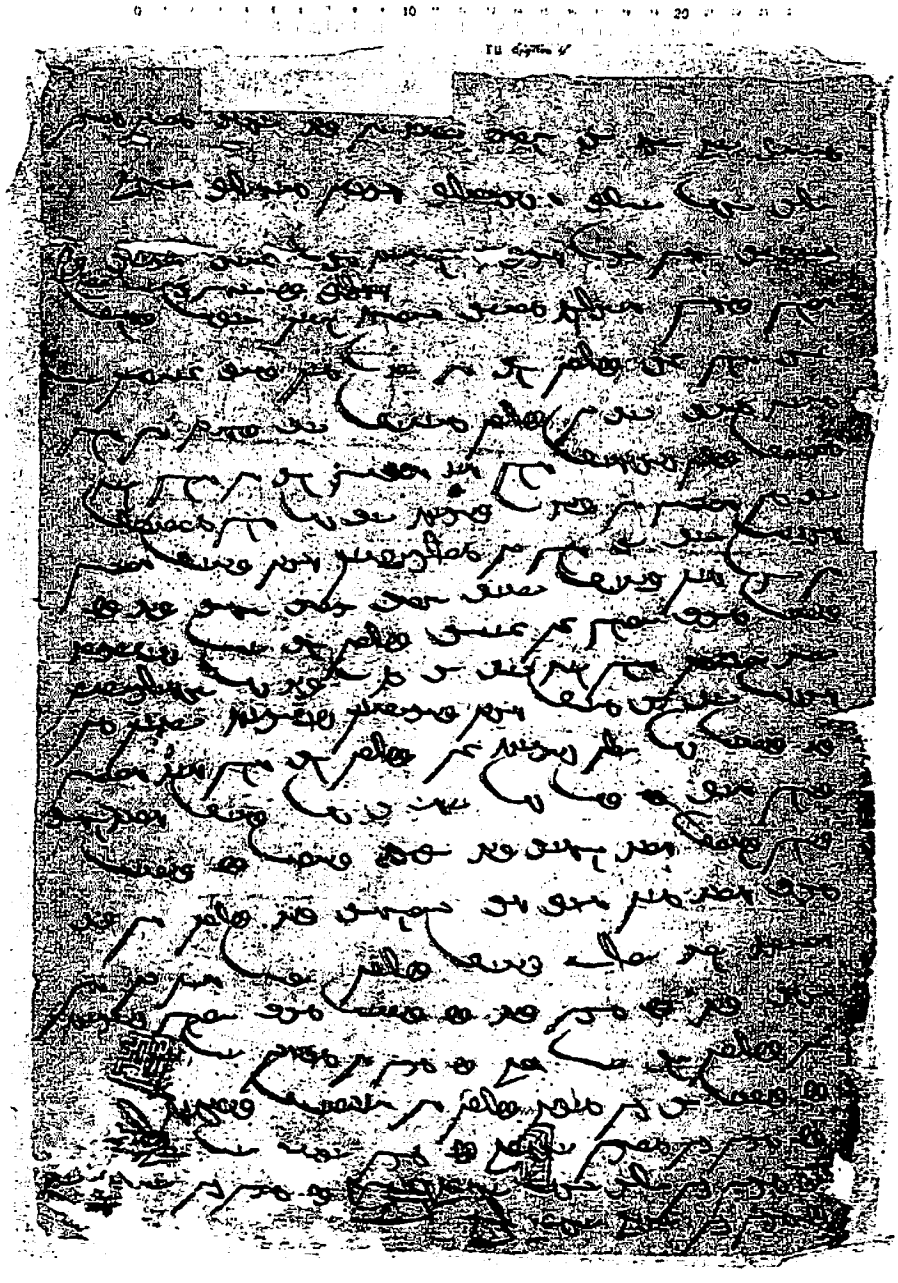
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