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A Recent Study on the Uighur Document of Pintung's Petition

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Introduction

Pintung's Petition was first introduced to the Turkologic world by Malov [1951: 201-204], who published the Uighur text of it with the transcription and Russian translation of it, as well as its photocopy. The photograph of it was taken at Urumchi(1913), when a scientific expedition to the northwest of China organized by a Russian Turkologist, S. E. Malov, was made in Xinjiang Province. Later, Feng Chiasheng and Э. Tenishev published the three documents concerning Pintung's "Slave Trade Contract" [Feng-Tenishev 1958 Peking ; 1960 Moskva], and a further study of the Petition was presented by Feng and Tenishev. The three documents which Chinese Northwest Expedition obtained are said to have been found in Karakhoja ruin [Feng-Tenishev 1958 : 109]. N. Yamada, who was engaged in a comprehensive study of the legal documents in Uighur, made a more detailed research into the three documents of Slave Trade Contract in view of the form and the content of it [Yamada 1968]. He also made some remarks on Pintung's Petition, referring to the relationship between the Petition and the three documents. His study confirmed that these three documents concerning Pintung consist of a Receipt for money (the first document), a Sales Contract (the second document) and a Certificate of Emancipation (the third document), all of which are related to the sales of the male-slave, Pintung. N. Yamada made it clear that the Petition (the fourth document) was directly connected with the selling and the emancipation of Pintung.

It should be noted that Malov's translation was reviewed by Adams [1969], and Tezcan [1974] and Clark [1975] gave some references to his transla-

tion. Encouraged by the late Prof. Yamada's study above mentioned, I presented some comments on these documents, which described the life history of Pintung [Oda 1987: 63-67 ; cf. Clark 1975: 434]. Pintung, who served Atay Tutung (a Buddhist monk) as a slave in his house, had been learning how to read and write since childhood, with the hope of becoming a Buddhist monk. He confided his hope to the Chinese Tayšïs (great leaders or priests). Consequently, one of the leaders, Sivsay offered to redeem him from the slavery. According to the date written in the documents, the receipt for the ransom (the first document) and the Sales and Purchase Contract (the second document) completed on the 26th day of the eighth month of the *keng* (庚, Giles 6001) and dragon year (A. D. 1280). Sivsay gave the Certificate of Emancipation (the third document) to Pintung under certain conditions on the same date. But Pintung was afraid that he might not be emancipated from slavery, and seemed to present the Petition later. Thanks to these studies, most of the facts in the documents have been brought into light. But the interpretation of some words such as *baš bitig* (Sales and Purchase Contract) and *boš bitig* (Certificate of Emancipation), which the person appearing in the documents mentioned, was not satisfactory. Therefore, I wrote a paper on *baš bitig*, and I remarked that Sales and Purchase Contract called *baš bitig* (original document) must have been a transfer certificate of the ownership the slave (or the property) [Oda 1991:37-46]. I pointed out that there is a word in the Petition which should not be read as *boš bitig* but *baš bitig* (line 20). At first sight this problem seems trivial, but the context which contains this word gives evidence that *baš bitig* was actually delivered and received. The use of the plural form of *bitiglär* (documents) in line 27, implies that the Sales and Purchase Contract and the Certificate of Emancipation of Pintung were handed over to the purchaser (slaveholder). It is interesting that these documents were collectively discovered in Karakhoja ruin. As far as the photograph shows, no official or private seal is put on the Petition. This may mean that the Petition was not presented to nor accepted by the authority.

The petition takes the form of a letter; the style of it can be seen in several documents of those days. It follows the conventional form of an official letter. The subject and the signature of the addresser are written under the name

of the addressee. They are placed in the middle part with large amount of indention. Pintung refers himself as a third person, and less amount of indention is given when the name of the king is mentioned. The addressees, "*buyančï bäglär*", seem to correspond with an official title " *kungte-shih*"（功徳使 Giles 6554, 10845, 9896）of Chinese Yuan Dynasty. But in this paper I can only point out that "*buyančï bäglär*" seem to be a synonym of "*kungte-shih*". And it is not deniable that the words represent a general honorific expression.

Considering the fact that there are several different of interpretations of the Petition, I think it worth while to publish a new transcription and translation, although, to my regret, the study of the Petition is still imperfect. Take the first two words in line 18, for example; they have been read as *ming bägi* (literally interpreted as the chief among a thousand or chiliarch) as Malov interpreted first. Judging from the script, however, such an interpretation seems inappropriate. On the other hand, it is difficult to define how to read the two words. If they are translated as " he put the *tamγa*-seal of the chief among a thousand on the Certificate of Emancipation" and "gave it to me", it is certain that they represent the fact that the two square official seals were put on the Certificate of Emancipation (the third document), although the meaning of the two words,"*ming bägi*" are somewhat unclear. As H. Umemura has already explained in his paper [Umemura 1977: 013-014], it is undeniable that the chief among a thousand participated in the emancipation of Pintung, if we take the administrative system of those days into consideration. I believe that any new interpretation or idea in this problem will attract the attention. Incidentally, P. Zieme found a new material for interpreting "*buyančï bäg*" in the Ōtani Collection (Kyoto : Ot. Ry. 6383v) preserved in Ryūkoku University Library. It is an academic achievement of International Science Research and Joint Research organized by Inner Asian Culture Research Society of Ryūkoku University. The material is a fragment of a letter which is damaged too much to read the whole content. The term, "*buyančï bäg*", is legible on the first line. The name of the addresser and the subject of the letter are supposed to be written on the second through the fourth line. But they are illegible. The meaning of the few lines beyond the fifth cannot be understood except one or two words at the head of the lines. Be that as it may, it is interesting that the

words "*buyančï b**äg***" are put in the name of the addressee, and the fragment appears to be the letter-styled document. I am very grateful that P. Zieme who has been engaged in the research of the documents, supplied me with useful information on the study of Pintung's Petition.

This paper is a translation of "Uiguru-bun Pintung tangan-sho no yakuchū", *The Bulletin of Toyohashi Junior College* 1992, No.9, 153-159.

Text

1. buyaṅčï bäglärim qutïnga
2. muṅg öḍüglüg quluḍï
3. *p***iṅt**ung öḍügüm
4. *tä*ginür-män piṅtung
5. aḍay-nïng äv-intin üṅär-tä iš-in küčin
6. bütürü umadïn üṅmïš ärmäz·kičigi-'m-tä
7. bitig uẓik nom boγşut *ög*räṅmiš üčün·
8. ṅätäg ärsär toyïn bolup· toyïn törüsiṅtä
9. yorïγay mu män saqïnïp· tiguy tayşï bašlap
10. qïḍay tayşï-larḳa käṅgäššär-män· tiguy tayşï
11. ymä taqï özgä kiši-lär m-ä yulup alayïn
12. boš qïlayïn tisär· bu bägim män yulup alayïn
13. sanga burunča boš bitig biräyin tip·
14. kuang-ming-nïng üskintä män bar ärgiṅčä
15. manga tapïnïp yorïzun· *mu*nta soṅg qalsar
16. tört yolï boš bolup kọngülinčä toyïn bolup
17. il-kä xan-qa buyan alqïš birip yorïzun tip
18. ming(?) bägi(?)-ning tamγa-sïn //(.)YP manga boš
19. bitig birip anta soṅg miṅi yulup alïp
20. baš bitig ymä qïlïp aldï ärti· song
21. yorïyu miṅtäki boš ïdmïš bitig-ṅi bägim
22. manga birgil män yïγayïn yoḳ qïlγay sän tisär
23. ol bitig-ṅi m-ä bägim-kä birtim· ạmtï
24. ol bitig-lär-ṅi bägim ṅämän qayuta qodup
25. unïtdï· kiši-kä mu alsïqdï· miṅi alyuq-
26. sän tip inč qïlmadïn turur· män küčüm yitmiš-
27. -inčä iš küč qïlïp tapïnïp yaṣmïš-ïm yoq
28. bägim m-ä manga yavuz yaman qïlïṅmïšï yoq
29. nägü iš-kä· oγrïlar-mäṅ· aṅïndïnbärü nägü

30. m-ä timiši yoq̈ ärti· yänä bir qul alγalï
31. mini birlä käṅggiläṣ̈ip turur·
32. il xan aḍïnga toyïn bolup buyan birzün tip
33. oza boš bitig birip miṅi aldï ärti·
34. yanturu satγalï almadï ärti· ạ̈mtï satarmän
35. tir ärmiš· bäg-lärim buyan-layu tsuyurq̈ayu
36. yarlïq̈asar kọ̈ngül-kärü uq̈a yarlïqazun-lar·

Translation

To their Excellencies, my Blessed Virtuous Officials (1).

I, an imploring slave, Pintung
present my petition. Pintung (2-4),
had never got out of the house of Atay without accomplishing his duties when leaving there (5-6). I had learned how to read and write, besides receiving some practical trainings and (Buddhist) doctrine since childhood (6-7). I wished to become a monk and to lead a life observing the laws of monk. I confided my hope to the great leaders (or priests) of Khitay (or Chinese) headed by Tiguy Tayshi(8-10). Tiguy Tayshi and some other leaders said to me, "I will redeem you from slavery to give you freedom"(10-12). And this master of mine also said, "I will redeem you; I will hand you the Certificate of Emancipation in advance" (12-13). He even said, in the presence of the officials and the common people, "Serve me as a respectable servant as long as I live, and any direction will be open to you. You will be able to make yourself a monk as you like and lead your life blessing and praising
King"(14-17). He had put the seal of the chief among a thousand (chiliarch) on the Certificate of Emancipation and gave it to me (18-19). He then redeemed me and also received the original certificate which he completed (19-20). Later, while I was staying (with my master), he said to me, "Hand me the Certificate, which you kept and guranteed your freedom , to leave it under my care, or you may lose it" (20-22). I presented the Certificate to him (23). I did not know then why my master had forgotten where he had put it and the other documents (23-24). Did

anyone steal them ? He said to me, "You took them away?" He did not have trust (in my loyalty) (25-26). I have fulfilled my duties to the best of my ability and been faithful enough to make no mistakes (in my duties) (26-27). There was no cruel treatment to me on my master's part. Why should I steal the documents ? (28-29). Since then he has told me nothing about it. However, he came to dislike me to have another slave (29-31). He gave me the Certificate of Emancipation in advance and redeemed me (from slavery); he said to me, "Make yourself a monk in the name of

King and practice blessed virtues" (32-33). He did not redeem me for resale (34). But now he seems to say, " I will sell (you)." To their Excellencies concerned, I implore you to show me blessed virtues and benevolence (35). I sincerely wish you to understand my situation (36).

Notes

(1) buyančï < buyan+čï, 'a person who does blessed virtues or meritorious deeds'(cf. ED 326a)

It means a person who was associated with *buyan* (< sogd. pwny'n ~ skt. puṇya, 'blessed virtues'), and Malov guessed that it was a word denoting a person who was in the status of clergy [Malov 1951: 374]. According to the other explanation, it was regarded as 'an official who was in charge of clergy' [Feng-Tenishev 1958 : 119]. In the literal sense of the word, an official title, '*gongde-shi*' or '*kungte-shih*'(功德使) of Chinese Yuan period, which corresponds to the above word, was given from the third month of the *keng* and dragon year (A. D. 1280) to A. D. 1294 (cf. Nogami 1978: 129-141). One of its duties was to take charge of the Royal Buddhist Services in the reign of Qubilai Khan of the Mongols-Yuan dynasty [Nogami, ibid].

(2) quluḍï < qulut+ï, 'the slaves' (self-styled pronoun having the meaning of humility)

This was first transcribed as *qoludï* and considered as a part of a personal name [Malov 1951: 201]. But Adams interpreted it as *qoldaçı* < qol-daçı (a person who begs), which means '*alçak gönüllü*'(discreet)[Adams 1969: 60, 63], and Clark also accepted the same transcription as 'supplicant beggar'[Clark 1975: 249]. Tenishev and Feng supposed that it was *quludï* <

qul+ud- (a verbal noun of *qul*) and interpreted it as 'a person who became a slave,' thinking that it might be customarily used as a nickname [1958: 116]. However, Tezcan pointed out some similar examples which led to the final definition of the word, which is a derivative plural form of *qul* and a self-styled concessive pronoun [Tezcan 1974: 57n (758)]. This is a word (qul+ut+ï) having Mongolian plural suffix*:+ut*, with possessive suffix: *+ï.* The example without possessive suffix was also reported [Zieme 1985: 227]. I myself once regarded it as a personal name in the other usage : *qoludï sanggaširi* [Oda 1974: 107], but I think my view had better be corrected in this case.

(4) täginür-män, 'I beg to (do)'

Feng-Tenishev [1958: 116], Adams [1969: 60] and Clark [1975: 433], all of them regarded this word as *män Pintung* " I, Pintung" connected it to the next sentence. But I wanted to follow Tezcan's view :"*män*, contrary to Malov's view, does not belong to the second sentence, where, according to the principle of courtesy, the petitioner is presented in the third person. The second sentence ends with a word *ärmäz* (third person, single form). This implies that there is no possibility of *män*'s being related to the next sentence" [Tezcan 1974: 57, n. 758].

(5) išin küčin < iš+in küč+in, 'his labor and service'

The sentence with this phrase has been translated in various ways : (a) Though I fulfilled my duties in Atay's house, I could not leave there as I wished [Adams 1969: 63]. (b) When I left Atay's house, I could not bear the hard work any longer ... [Clark 1975: 433]. (c) Staying at Atay's house, I had been engaged in handicraft work. I worked hard to the best of my ability, but I could not satisfy Master and so was not set free [Feng-Tenishev 1958: 118]. The latter half of the sentence, if literally translated, means " he did not leave Atay's house, without completing the duties." The meaning of *iš küč* (hendiadys) is put into German as (a) 'Taten' [Tezcan 1974: 41(307)], (b) 'Angelegenheiten' [Tezcan 1974: 36(191), or (c) 'Frondiensten' [Zieme 1981: 244 (22)]. It seems that the words were used as the term implying the character of labor practices in a broad sense. It here must have meant a certain amount of labor as a domestic slave. In short, this is a sentence stating that when leaving Atay's house, the male slave, Pintung, had already fulfilled his duties.

(7) boγšut < bošγut,'study or practical training'

a metathesis of *bošγut* [Adams 1969: 61].

(10) kängäššär < kängäš-, 'to consult'

This word was transcribed as *kängän-* [Malov 1951: 202 ; Feng-Tenishev 1958: 117], or *kängäš-* [Adams 1969: 61]. Judging from the component of the word, there is no problem in the latter transcription, though the handwriting is not clear.

(11, 12, 19) yulup alayïn, 'I will redeem'

Basically *yul- al-* means 'to draw near and receive.' It also has the meanings of 'to buy out', 'to seize by force', 'to take out of pledge' or 'to redeem', depending on the contexts. Here it probably implies 'to buy out.' T. Moriyasu remarked on the matter in detail [1988: 61-74].

(13) burunča, 'beforehand, in advance'

Malov translated it as 'conventionally as before' [Malov 1951: 203], and Feng-Tenishev and Yamada followed his translation. Here it had better to mean as '*önceden* or in advance' [Adams 1969: 63 ; Clark 1975: 243].

(14) kuang-ming < chin. kuan-min, 'officials and people'

According to the opinion originated by Malov, the words come from Chinese characters, '*kuan-min*'(官民 Giles 6341, 7908), with nasalized endings.

(14) män bar ärginčä, 'as long as I live'

It was transcribed as *bar ärkinčä*, 'with all difficulties' [Malov 1951: 202] or 'with power' [Feng-Tenishev 1958: 117]. But the root part of the word must be *bar är-*, "to exist" [Yamada 1968: 221].

(15) munta song qalsar, 'After that, if it remains'

As a diacritical dot is put on '*n*' of *song*, I will follow Malov and others in this connection, though Yamada transcribed it as *sük qalsar*, "so long as it remains peaceful and quiet"[Yamada 1968:101].

(16) tört yolï boš bolup, 'four directions become free'

It means "any direction (east, south, west or north), is open to you"(cf.Yamada 1968: 210 (13-14)).

(18) ming(?) bägi(?), 'the chief among a thousand or chiliarch'

This expression is quite illegible in the facsimile. Reading the script as it is, the first letter of the word is *P* or *B*. But it also seems as if it were modified to

M, when it is magnified. *bägi* seems to be *baz-ï* or *bay-ï.* Taking the worn-out condition of the script into consideration, it is possible to read it as of its being *bägi*. It is difficult to make a judgment from the photograph. So I will follow the former interpretation of the word so far.

(18) tamγa-sïn //(.)YP, 'to do ... the seal of ~'

Malov restored the script by repairing its damaged part and read it a*s tamγa-sïn qaqïp*, 'to put the seal of ~.' Clark took it as ***bas****ïnïp(?)*, 'impressed' on second thought [Clark 1975: 326]. Neither of the two is reliable. The usage of *qaq*-, 'to strike, to knock at the door' (cf. kak-, ED 609a) as a meaning of 'to stamp' can be seen nowhere .On the other hand, there is an example of *tamγasïn basïp* which means 'to put the seal' [USp Nr.21 (10-11). But it is still difficult to recognize a letter as 'S' in the script.

(20) baš bitig ymä qïlïp, 'to make out the original document'

Although *boš bitig mä qolup* have been also interpreted as 'to beg for the Certificate of Emancipation', there seems no *boš* and *qolup* but *baš* and *qïlïp* in the facsimile.

(22) yïγayïn, 'I will put (them) together all in one'

It was first taken as *yuqayïn* [Malov 1951: 203]. But it is more appropriate to read it as *yïγ*-, 'to collect, to put together in one' [Adams 1969: 63], in view of the letters and the meaning.

(24) nämän, 'somehow'

The word has been interpreted as *yaman*, 'bad, evil' as Malov read previously. But it is a synonym for *nämä* (cf. neme, nemen, ED 777b): the meaning of the word corresponds to that of *nämä*

(31) känggiläšip, 'to hate each other'

It might derive from a Chinese word, '*xianji*'or '*hsienchi*' (嫌忌 Giles 4471, 924 [old pronunciation: *γiem-kji*]+*läš*- (verbalized mutual suffix), but no other example of this kind has been found yet. It was once transcribed as *kängiläš*, 'to enlarge' [Malov 1951: 393], which does not seem appropriate in transliteration or in meaning (cf. Adams 1969: 62n).

(33) oza, 'beforehand'

The word has been read as *uzïk* (*užïk*), 'letter' [Malov 1951: 203 ; Feng-Tenishev 1958: 117; Adams 1969: 63; Clark 1975: 243]. But a close inspection

of the handwriting of the facsimile will make us realize that such an interpretation is inappropriate. This must have the same meaning as *burunča*, 'beforehand' which appears in the 13th line.

Postscript

On receiving this article, the editor, Prof. Dr. Talât Tekin sent me important information by return. He had already published an original study on Pintung's Petition himself: "Bir Türk Kölenin Efendisini Şikâyeti; Türkçe En Eski Dava Dilekçesi", *Tarih ve Toplum* 69 (Eylül 1989), 54. 182 - 56. 184. Although the Professor gave appropriate transcriptions and interpretations of some words in the text, I presented my own comments on them, which differ from those of the professor's in a few points, in this article.

First of all, I must admit that the following amendments should be put forward according to his interpretation: *kiči˂g˃ky-äm-tä* (6), *mü* (25), *yavïz* (28). Secondly, there is difference of opinion between us about the transcription and interpretation of *oγrïlarmän* (29), *känggiläšip* (31), and *oza* (33). In regard to the interpretation of *quluḍ-ï* (2), *išin küčin* (5), and *burunča* (13), I hold the same view as the prefessor's. Lastly, I am very thankful for giving me a chance to supplement the professor's comment which supports my interpretation of *täginür-män* (4), *baš bitig ymä qïlïp* (20), and *nämän* (24), as well as for sending me a copy of his article above mentioned.

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