

Taxation Systems and the Old Uigur Society of Turfan in the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> CenturiesDai MATSUI<sup>1</sup>

Old Uigur texts from Turfan : a diversity of secular documents [VOHD 13,21 &amp; 13,22]

Dating markers : Semi-Square (10.-12. cc) &gt; Semi-Cursive &gt; Cursive (13.-14. cc); Old terms; Mong. l.-w.

Socio-economic history of the Old Uigurs ; Taxes &amp; labor services : USp, Caferoğlu, Saguchi, Tikhonov; Arat; Gabain, Mori, Yamada; Zieme, Umemura, Moriyasu, SUK, Raschmann, Özyetgin

[1] SUK Mi20 (with modifications), various taxes & labor services levied on Turī's vineyard : <sup>11</sup>amti bu kün <sup>12</sup>bašlap bu turī-ta nāgüm-ä **qalan qavuđ tüđün** <sup>13</sup>qapiy qudyu umdu borluq ayiz tariy <sup>14</sup>ür kápaz qavlaliq ayiz **basiy saliy** <sup>15</sup>nāgüm-ä qađilmaz-biz salmaz-biz “Von heute an wir uns in keinerlei Steuern des Turī, seien es qalan, qavuđ, tüđün, qapiy, qudyu, umdu, borluq-ayiz, tariy, ür, kápaz, qavlaliq-ayiz, basiy, saliy, einmischen und nicht verantwortlich sind.”

My targets : Matsui 2002, Matsui 2005b and thence

[2a] SUK RH07 : <sup>7</sup>bu yir-kä **birim alim** kälšär ikägü <sup>8</sup>täng bilir-biz “Wenn auf diesem Land Steuern und Abgaben erhoben werden, werden wir beide zu gleichen Anteilen verantwortlich sein”

[2b] SUK RH11 : <sup>10</sup>alim birim kälzä ikrär tng bilišip <sup>11</sup>tng birürbiz “Wenn Steuern und Abgaben erhoben werden, sind wir beide gleichermaßen verantwortlich und geben sie zu gleichen Anteilen”

[2c] SUK RH01 [10.-12. cc.]: <sup>8</sup>nägü **irdi birđi** kälšär [...] <sup>7</sup>bilmáz-män “Wenn [für das Feld] irt birt-Steuern erhoben werden, bin ich, Qaymiš Sangun, nicht verantwortlich, ich, Ačari, bin verantwortlich.”

[2d] SUK RH04 : <sup>7</sup>bu <sup>8</sup>borluq-ning nāgü kim **qalani qaviđi** <sup>9</sup>bolsar män tmiči bilür-män bay <sup>10</sup>tmür bilmáz “Was auch immer an qalan qavit-Steuern auf diesem Weingarten liegen, bin ich, Tmiči, dafür verantwortlich, Bay Tmür ist nicht verantwortlich.”

→ **Generic terms for taxes & labor services** : Yamada 1965, 152-153; Zieme 1980

[3] U 5330 : Alliance of Uigur peasants against Buddhist monastery [Matsui 2004a; Matsui 2010]

<sup>8</sup>qalan-siz quvray-lar-qa **qalan-liy** <sup>9</sup>yir-tä quvray-qa birsä birmiš yir-kä qalan tutup <sup>10</sup>sanggik yir-ni **qalan-in tutmatin sangin birip** quvray-<sup>11</sup>qa yaqa-sin birip yorir ärti “[We] negotiated each other and donated [some part of] our land with qalan to the Buddhist monks **who are exempted from qalan**: Thence we have [not (?)] paid qalan on the given land and [cultivated] the land of the monastery without paying qalan, but paid sang, and went on with also paying the rent to the [Buddhist] monks” [Matsui 2004; Matsui 2010]

**sang** : Chin. 倉 “granery” > Uig. “granary > grain for granary > land tax paid in grain” > Mong. sang (~ can in 'Phags-pa) = Chin. 地稅 “land tax”

**qalan** : = Mong. alban [cf. Raschmann 1992], Tü. yasaq alban ~ yasaq qalan = Mong. jasay alban ; Pers. qalān “military service” ; Mong. alba(n) qubčiri “labor service” = Chin. 差發 chai-fa “labor services” → labor service levied on land

\*It accords well with the Mongol-Yuan policy to exempt Buddhist (& Taoist, Confucious, Christian, Islam) communities from labor services, but not from land tax and commercial tax

[4] U 5305 (= USp 21): <sup>7</sup>bu altun qy-a qarayu-ning tuđup <sup>8</sup>surur qalan-in il öngdün-indä <sup>9</sup>üšüp ..... <sup>11</sup>bu kün-tin song <sup>12</sup>bu altun qy-a-qa qalan qavit tüđün <sup>13</sup>qapi nāgü m-ä almaz biz tilämaz biz “In front of the people [we] have exempted this Altun-Qya-Qarayu from his **qalan** ..... Hereafter we never demand from him **qalan, qavit, tütün, qapi** nor anything” → **qalan = (qalan + qavit + tütün + qapi)**

qavit ~ qayut ““a kind of food made of millet” > ? ; **tütün** “(smoke > chimney or stove >) Herd- bzw. Haushaltssteuer” ; **qapi(y)** “(door, gate >) Tor-steuer” [Raschmann 1992; Özyetgin 2004] → Better to interpret as labor services at “(watching post to make) smoke (of signal fire)” and at “gate(-keeper of the government office)” ? Cf. Chin. 烽子 and 門夫 in the Tang times [Matsui 2005b]

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- [5] U 5296 : *bu tuş-tä (i)lci-lär täli(m) bolup qala[n] (s)(i)qış bolmiş üçün inçü qiliq-i bilä inçü borluq-çi käşigdä barça basıy salıy birgü bolmiş üçün* “because of that many ambassadors came to this post station and qalan has become so hard, and because of that according to the code of the fief (*inçü*) the gardeners of fief have to pay all of *basıy salıy* in turn” → *basıy salıy* are related with *qalan* [Matsui 2005a]
- [6] \*U 9168 II: *bu altmiş-a qy-a-ning oq [ü]ntürmiş bitiginçä qalan qayud birim alim tilämäng-lär .... qalançı alim-çi m-ä bolsar altmiş-a-tin tilämänglär* “According to the document that this Altmışa-Qya just presented, never charge *qalan qayut (= qavut) birim-alim* [on him]! ..... Even if [he] should be *qalan*-payer or *alim*-payer, never charge on Altmışa[-Qya]!” [Matsui 2008]
- *sang ~ birim alim* “land tax(es) paid in agricultural produces” + *qalan* “labor services”
- [7] \*U 9259 = Arat 202/54 : *küskü yılqı ögrinä-ning bir yarım stır qupçir kümüş-in män älik alıp ulay tär-in-gä birtim bu tamya mäning’ol* “I, Älik, received Ögrinä’s 1.5 stır of **qupçir-tax-silver of the Rat year**, and paid (it) for the rent of a postal relay horse. This seal is mine”
- Cf. Mong. *qubçir(i)* > Uig. *qupçir* > Pers. *qupçür* : additional tax paid in cash, for maintenance of the postal relay system (Mong. *jam ~ Tü. yam*) [Pelliot; Honda 1991]
- Triadic system mainly composed of land tax (*birim alim*), labor services (*qalan*) and additional taxes
- [8] SUK Mi19 : *män qalan-qa yadap birim alim tälim bolup alim-çi-larım m-a tälim bolup turyu täg bolmayın qaçıp yaşıp barmış üçün* “Weil ich für die *qalan*-Steuer nicht aufkommen kann, die Schulden zahlreich geworden und auch die Gläubiger zahlreich geworden sind, und weil ich so, es durchzustehen nicht in der Lage seiend, geflohen und fortgegangen bin, ....”
- [9] MIK III 50: *taqıyü yıl yitinç ay altı otuz-qa tamyaçı tariy abına ingü äsän buqa olar-taqı qoyn yılqı üç stır kümüş-ni män nikü tükäl altım • bu üç stır tamya kümüş-ni yunt yılqı tamya kümüş-in-gä tuđar män* “The **Cock year**, the 7<sup>th</sup> month, on the 26<sup>th</sup> day. I, Nikü, have received 3 stır of silver for the **Sheep year** of the sales tax collectors (*tamyaçı* : or “Sales-tax payer?”) , Tariy, Abına Ingü and Äsän-Buqa. I count it for the silver of sales tax of the **Horse year**” [Dulkun/Umemura/Moriyasu 1991]
- [10] SUK Sa09 (modification by Matsui 2002): *küskü yıl bir ygrminç ay biz .... başlap onluq-lar-qa on öngdün-in-dä böz kargäk bol[u](p) .... barıp yorır qalan-i yuz başında-qı äski [y]larımı biz on-luq-lar-qa qalmış üçün* “The **Rat year**, the 11<sup>th</sup> month [...]. To us, the decury of ....., cotton cloth being necessary, [...], since the *qalan* to now pass (=be levied?) widely and the old half (of *qalan*) in the centurion (*yüz baş* or Hundertschaftleiter) still remain on our decury (Zehnerschaft)” = “Our decury has to pay current *qalan* and the half amount of *qalan* levied formerly”?
- [11] U 4845v : *paysipa on bägin-gä birmiş-im qulıçoy-qa baliq-ta iki at birtim buqa-ning oyul-in-ya bir badman äđ b* “What I gave to **Decurion Paysipa** (is as follow): I gave two horse (to ride) in the city. I gave 1 batman of meat to son of Buqa” [Matsui 2002, Text D]
- [12] Ch/U 7460: *[.....](..) yngi qalan-ta birmişim ..... tükünü altmiş alti böz boldi / [.....] biy on bägi bolup birmişim ..... turpan at-qa ..... [b]oldi / [..... on bä](gi) bolup birmişim ..... [a](y) alti ygrmikä käzig-tä ..... turpan bir at birtim [..... toqu]zar? qari böz kaldi tükünü [..... boldi]* “What I gave for new *qalan*. ..... the total came to 66 cotton cloth: What I gave when [...] -Biy became the decurion. ” [Matsui 2002, Text E]
- [13] \*U 9251 = Arat 66 : *quduqun yuz-intä quduqun on-i on aldi küri aldi • aşı buqa on-inta toquz küri aldi qoduz on-i on bir küri aldi çilayun on-i bir küri aldi yäsigür on-i on küri aldi yayliq qara of[n-i] (o)n küri aldi* “Of Quduqun’s **century**, (we) took 6 *küri* (from) Quduqun’s **decury**, 9 *küri* from Aşı-Buqa’s **decury**, 11 *küri* (from) Qoduz’s **decury**, 11 *küri* (from) Čilayun’s **decury**, 10 *küri* (from) Yäsigür’s **decury**, 10 *küri* (from) Yayliq-Qara’s **decury**”
- [14] SI Uig. 14 (USp 53 (1)) : *qoyn yıl yitinç ay yägirmikä öngtün çarig-tin at alyali klgüçi ađay toyril-qa qoşang-qa baliq-ta müngü iki at-ta baçaq trqan yuzintä bolmiş taz bir at ulay birip iki kün birip üç baqir kümüş qupçir-qa tutzun* “The Sheep year, the 7<sup>th</sup> month, on the 20<sup>th</sup> day. Of the two postal relay horse to ride in the city for Atay-Toyril and Qoşang, who came from the vanguard to take the horses, **Bolmiş-Taz, who belongs to Baçaq-Tarqan’s century**, shall deliver (i.e., rent out) one relay horse for two days, and count (it) for 3 *baqirs* of silver of **qupçir-tax**” [Matsui 1998a]: USp 53 (2) = 08/07, (3) = 10/11, (4) = 11/21

- [14b] **The formula** : Date ; Reason of requisition ; Name(s) of deliverer(s) ; Amount of the material to be delivered : Closing formula (1) *birzün* “(one) shall deliver” (2) *birip .... tutzun* “(one) shall deliver and count (it) for [taxes/labor service : for *qupčir / sang / yam* at “postal relay horse” / *käzig* (see below)]” ; Official seal(s)
- [15] SI Kr IV 604: *qoyn yil bigrminč ay iki otuz-qa qut bäg ilči-kä käzig aš-[qa] birgü bir qoyn-ni bir küri min bilä ayay-a buq-a (o)ni birip [toq]uzunč käzig-(kä) tuɖzun* “The Sheep year, the 11<sup>th</sup> month, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day. **Ayaya-Buqa’s decury** shall deliver 1 sheep and 1 *küri* of flour to give to Ambassador Qut-Bäg for his regular provision and count (it) for **the 9<sup>th</sup> turn (of the labor service)**” [Matsui 1998a]
- [16] \*U 9253 = Arat 114/029: *turmiš qy-a iki noqür-i bilä tmür qy-a käsin-ä qy-a qr-a-či kidmän vasir-a-sin il buq-a činadaz quli sury-a buq-a bu on kiši-ni činadaz quli sürüp ädlädüršün* “Turmiš-Qya with two attendants, Tmür-Qya, Käsinä-Qya, Qrači, Kidmän, Vasirasin, İl-Buqa, Činadaz-Quli, Surya-Buq-a. **Činadaz-Quli shall drive these ten persons away and put them to labor.**”
- [17] \*U 9016: <sup>28</sup>üč y(ä)[grm]i?-tin bärü başlap <sup>29</sup>kä(lmiš) qalan ..... <sup>34</sup>käzig-t[ä y]ir bašin-ya bir <sup>35</sup>böz b ..... <sup>36</sup>yan-a <sup>37</sup>käzig-tä bor-qa bir böz b “(Following is) the **qalan** that has come (= been levied) since the 13<sup>th</sup>(?) day. .... And I gave 1 cotton cloth based on the land (of my possession?) in the **turn (of laobr service)**. .... And I gave 1 cotton cloth for wine in the **turn (of laobr service)**”
- [18] \*U 9015: <sup>1</sup>bišinč ay üç oɖuz-qa <sup>2</sup>käzig-tä bor-qa iki böz ..... <sup>27</sup>aldinč ay-ning biš ygrmi <sup>28</sup>başlap kälmiš qalan yavisip-<sup>29</sup>ning ulay-qa iki yarim <sup>30</sup>böz “On the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month, (I paid) 2 cotton cloth for the wine (**bor**)(demanded as) the turn of labor service ..... (Following is) **qalan** that has been levied since the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> month. (I paid) 2.5 cotton cloth for the relay horse (*ulay*) for *Yavisip*”
- [19] U 5960 v : *yunt yil yitinč ay bir yangiq-a biz oɖämiš yol buq-a torči täsi suv krgiz başlap borun-luq bu yoläk-ning yitinč ay-qı käsig böši biz-kä t(ü)käl tä(gip) tuɖup turyu yanuɖ bitig birdimiz* “The Horse year, the 7<sup>th</sup> month, on the 1<sup>st</sup> day. We, the **guarantors-association** of Ötämiš, Yol-Buqa, Torči-täsi and Suv-Krgiz, completely receiving the **cotton-cloth instead of Yoläk’s (labor service in) turn** for the 7<sup>th</sup> month, have given [to Yoläk] the receipt to keep” [Matsui 2005a]: *käzig bözi* < Chin. 番課縹布 (Ot. Ry. 5825+5826+5827+5828) \***borun** “Bürge; surety” [Radloff, *Versuch e. Wörterbuch IV*, 1663; Jarring, *East. Turki-Eng. Dialect Dic.*, 58; *Uyghur Tilining Izahliq Lughiti I*, 457, though its etymon mistaken as Chin. 保人 *bao-ren*]
- [20] U 5311: <sup>1</sup>bošaču <sup>2</sup>bo(r)un bägi bolmiš-<sup>3</sup>ta birmiš-im oç(ü)kän-<sup>4</sup>kä iki baɖman min b ..... <sup>27</sup>udči **borun bägi** <sup>28</sup>bolmiš-ta birmišim <sup>29</sup>käzig-tä iki baɖman <sup>30</sup>min b iki baɖman <sup>31</sup>äd b iɖuq q(u)[t-]-<sup>32</sup>qa bir tapıy-či [b] “What I gave when Bošaču was **the guarantor-head**. I gave 2 *batman* of flour to Öçükän. .... What I gave when Udči was the **guarantor-head**. In the turn (of labor service) I gave 3 *batman* of meat. I gave one servant to *İduq-qut*”; \*USp 91: *buyruq* † → *borun*
- [21] 3Kr 29b (USp 123): *it yil[qi] ts(an)[g]-qa q(ut)[yu üür]-tä inäči [üč] küri üür käd[...]-[...].süčük* üç küri **yar oyu(l)** iki küri üür *birlä säkiz küri üür-ni äsän toyril başlap kä(l)miš bayan-lar-qa birzün* “Of the [millet] to deliver for the land-tax of the Dog year, **İnäči** [shall deliver 3] *küri* of millet, **Käd[...]-[...].süčük** [shall deliver] 3 *küri* [of millet], **Yar-Oyul** [shall deliver] 3 *küri* of millet. [They] shall deliver the 8 *küri* of millet in total to the nobles who come (here) headed by Äsän-Toyril”.
- [22] \*U 9258 = Arat 201/53: *küskü yilqi ögrinä-ning qupčir kümüş-intä altin-a-ning at tär-in-gä iki baqir kümüş birip san-ınta tutzun* “Of Ögrinä’s *qupčir*-tax-silver of the Rat year, (Ögrinä) shall pay 2 *baqir* of silver for the rent of Altin-a’s horse and **count (it) for the account (of qupčir-tax)**.”
- [23] SI Kr I 149: *činquy vaxar-ta taysidu tayši alyu s(..)r tayši [ ](..) turmiš tayši (başlap) <sup>10</sup>tayši-lar-qa üç ay-qı tamčög tar[iy]-<sup>11</sup>ta quɖčuy açari iki ši y tariy <sup>12</sup>birip sang san-ınta tuɖzun* “Of the *bdem-čög* grain for three months (given) to the masters headed by Master Tayšidu, Master Alyu(..) and Master [..](..)-Turmiš of the Činquy-temple (< Chin. 鎮國寺 *Zhen-guo-si*), **Quɖčuy-açari** shall deliver 2 ši y of grain and count (it) in the sum of the **land-tax**” [Matsui 2004a]
- [24] U 5308 : *yanga buqa yočin ilči-kä alti <sup>3</sup>otuz-qa-tägi käzig aš-qa bir qap <sup>4</sup>bor-ni biküš buqa borluq-i birzün* “For the regular provisions until the 26<sup>th</sup> (day) to (be delivered to) Yanga-Buqa and Ambassador Yočin, **Biküs-Buqa’s vineyard** shall deliver 1 *qap* of wine.” [Matsui 2004b]

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