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A Uyghur Vineyard Donation

Peter ZIEME*

Introduction

Viticulture was well known in the oases of the Central Asian Taklamakan region, especially in Turfan. Eric Trombert dealt with the Chinese sources in this regard in two essays, one with sources from Dunhuang¹ and the other from the Turfan region.² Already in pre-Uyghur times, the vine was cultivated in all places of the Turfan region, Jiaohe 交河 (= Yar), Gaochang 高昌 (> Kočo), etc.³

As shown by Márton Vér in his recent paper⁴ there is ample evidence also for the time of the West Uyghur Kingdom as well as during the dominion of the Mongol Empire. Simone Raschmann dealt with an interesting vineyard document which is related to monasteries.⁵ The words *bor* “wine” and *borluk* “vineyard” are now treated at length by Jens Wilkens.⁶

Vineyards played an important role in the provision of food. From the examples compiled, it appears that vineyards are recorded as belonging to members of all three main religions (Buddhism, Manichaeism, Church of the East).

In document U 5317 concerning the or a Murutluk (Murtuq in Modern Uyghur; Mutougou 木頭溝 or Murituke 木日吐克 in Chinese) monastery it is documented that the monastery itself and belongings of the community are being transferred together with the vineyard and fields.⁷

Mainly, the discussed vineyards are objects of sale contracts or of property lists of certain monasteries. Usually, the size of a vineyard is given by the number of workers engaged in a certain vineyard. In most cases it is the size of a land for six workers (*altı ár kömár*), people needed to grow and tend it. Presumably, these were seasonal workers, as the Chinese documents also include farm labourers or tenants.⁸ The situation was different in Chinese documents, which, as with all agricultural land, usually measured in *mu* 畝. As E. Trombert has concluded from the surviving documents on vine cultivation, the average size in the Tang

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1 Trombert 2001.

2 Trombert 2002.

3 Trombert 2002, 508.

4 Vér 2021.

5 Raschmann 2018.

6 UW III.2, 5–8.

7 UŞp 88. Zieme 1981.

8 Trombert 2002, 571.

period was 2 to 3 *mu* (= 11 to 16 ares = 1100 to 1600 m²).⁹

In connection with donations M. VÉR writes: “Old Uyghur documents also report the donation of land to monasteries in order to reduce or avoid taxation.”¹⁰ He mentions two items: 1) *U 9194, a document issued during the West Uyghur period about the endowment of a piece of land containing a vineyard (*yer borluk*) to a Buddhist cloister; 2) *U 9332, issued during the Mongol period on a similar occasion, namely the offering of a vineyard to a monastery in Murtuk (< Murut, *muruluk v(i)rhar*).

*U 9194 discussed by M. VÉR is not a document on a donation in a strict sense, but rather a register of 8 fields and 1 vineyard belonging to an *aranyadan* monastery: (lines 10–11 after the date) [...] *aranyadannın yer borluk [...] sıçı adırtlar bitildi* “Here the borders¹¹ of fields and 1 vineyard of the [...] monastery were written.” This text shows that the congregations had their administrative management using lists of fields that belonged to a monastery, other properties and perhaps other items.

The second document *U 9332 is the one edited here. It was first mentioned by Reşid Rahmeti Arat in his paper about the documents of the Berlin Collection.¹² He calls the document a special endowment “hususî vakıf” (81/05). Arat resumes the text as follows:

“In order to protect the country and the people, to prevent oneself from falling ill, and to be reborn in the presence of the Buddha when one dies, a person donates to a person of the monastery of a vineyard, which was taken from a certain, irrigated with the water of, and in the size of When the monks in Koço go to the place of and participate in the ceremony, they will be received with wine from the vineyard and their blessings will be received. The boundaries of the vineyard are determined. No one of the donor’s siblings and relatives shall raise any objection. The beginning and end parts of the document are missing. The extant part has 8 seals. It is particularly noteworthy that the document is about the land donated by a commoner.”¹³

The original paper fragment is lost, only a photograph is preserved in Istanbul in the semi-private collection of Osman Fikri Sertkaya.¹⁴ It is described in the catalogue by S. Raschmann & O. F. Sertkaya:

⁹ Trombert 2002, 500.

¹⁰ VÉR 2021, 117.

¹¹ The usual meaning of *adırt* is “difference,” the reference here seems to be the only one as an equivalent for “border, limit,” for which (*sim*) *sıçı* is used.

¹² THVA 47.

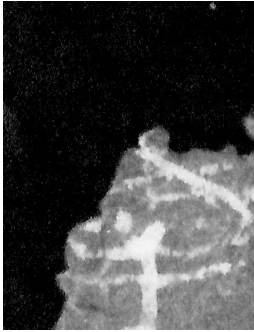
¹³ THVA 32–33: “Bir şahıs memleket ve halkın korunması, kendisinin hastalanmaması ve ölünce, burkanlar huzurunda doğması için, kimseden değiştirilip alınan, ... sular ile sulanan ve büyüklüğündeki bağını manastırdaki zata vakfediyor. Koçu’daki rahipler yere gidip, merasime iştirak ettikleri vakit, onlara bağdan şarap ikram edilerek, hayır duaları alınacaktır. Bağın hududları tesbit ediliyor. Vakfedenin kardeş ve akrabasından kimse her hangi bir itirazda bulunmayacaktır. Vesikanın baş ve son kısımları eksiktir. Mevcut kısımda 8 mühür vardır. Vesikanın halktan biri tarafından yapılan vakıf arazi ile ilgili olması, bilhassa dikkate değer.”

¹⁴ I express my gratitude to Osman Fikri Sertkaya for the possibility to publish the text here. Sertkaya 2000 contains a first transcription and translation of the document.

81 = 81/05 = *U 9332. “On the upper margin, the paper bears the old signature T II Y; it is T II = Second Turfan expedition (1904–1906), Y = Yarchoto.”¹⁵

M. Vér ascribes the document to the Mongol period (13th–14th centuries) which is certainly also supported by a possible term from the Arabic-Persian lexicon (cp. line 13).

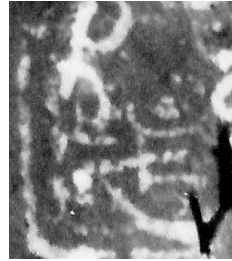
The document was sealed, all four¹⁶ prints of the seal are preserved. The seal is a simple quadrangular stamp of three horizontal lines plus one in vertical direction in the middle; probably it is no script.



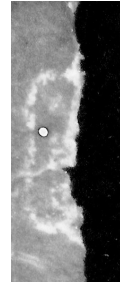
beginning (line 01)



middle (lines 12–13)



middle (lines 18–19)



final (line 26)

The very beginning of the document which contained perhaps nothing more than a date is missing. The preserved text can be divided into the following sections:

- I. Reasons and aims of the donation (lines 01–10)
- II. The vineyard and its use (lines 10–18)
- III. The description of the location of the vineyard (lines 18–22)
- IV. Final statement (lines 22–25)

Location

As the document was found in Yarchoto (~ Yarkhoto), one would assume that the localities mentioned in the document are to be found there. But Yar, the Old Uyghur name of Yarchoto, does not appear. On the other hand, the locations of Murutluk and Kočo are mentioned.

The borders of the donated vineyard to the surrounding vineyards do not help in determining the actual location, since all four other vineyards are also not known otherwise.

Murutluk is mentioned as the destination of the donation, but also the monks of Murutluk who are advised to use the vineyard as an object of leasing.¹⁷ These facts are contradictory to the assumption that the location of the vineyard was in Kočo.

¹⁵ Raschmann & Sertkaya 2016, No. 081.

¹⁶ Arat (THVA 32–33) mentions 8 prints.

¹⁷ It remains uncertain, however, to what extent the monks of the Murutluk monastery mentioned in the donation

- 08 pwl'm'q t' kwysws l'rym q' []ynd' twsyt t'nkry yyr
 08 bolmakta küsüšlärim ka[nıp ken]indä tušit t(ä)ñri yer
- 09 ynd' 'yč 'wrđw t' twyz[]y pdystv nynk
 09 -indä ič ordota töz[ün maytr]i bodis(a)t(a)vniñ
- 10 'wyskynd' twqqw s'qynč y[.....]gm' tyn t'kswrswp
 10 üskintä tuggu sakınçı[m]gmätin täğšürüşüp
- 11 ''lmys kydyn q'pyq 'wyk'n 'wyz 'swv'q lyq tas pwlwnk
 11 almiš kedin kapıg ögän üzä suvaklıg taš buluñ
- 12 qyr'sy t'qy s'kyz 'r kwym'r pwrwlwq wm ny mwrwdlwq
 12 kırasıtakı säkiz är kömär borlukumrı murutluk
- 13 ''r'ny'd'n t'qy twsyt 'wys'n k' m' drwq qylyp l'p
 13 aranyadantakı tušit özänkä matruk kılıp lab
- 14 []dym . pw pwrwlwq nynk y'q 'sy 'wyz 'qwčw t'qy
 14 [ber]dim . bo borlukniñ yakası üzä koçotakı
- 15 []q qvvr'q swv y'qys ynk' pyryp . twsyd t'
 15 [...q kuvrag suv yagıñıya berip . tušitta
- 16 [] twyrw qylmys pwr'snk qvvr'q q' č'ysy l'qs '
 16 [ulatu] törö kilmiš bursañ kuvragka čayši lakša
- 17 []dynk pwr qy ' twdwp pwy'n t' 'vyrdw
 17 [... ka]dın bork(i)ya tutup buyanta ävirtü
- 18 []q'swn l'r . pw pwrwlwq nynk 'wynkdwn yynk'q syčysy
 18 [yarlı]kazunlar . bo borlukniñ öñdün yınak sıčısı
- 19 'wyz wm nwnk 'wk pwrwlwq ''dyr'r . kwyndyn yynk'q syčy sy
 19 özümniñ ök borluk adırar . kündin yınak sıčısı
- 20 []'dyr'r'm vrq'r lyq pwrwlwq ''dyr'r . kydyn yynk'q syčysy
 20 [b]adıram v(i)rharlıg borluk adırar . kedin yınak sıčısı
- 21 'wdčy pwq 'nynk pwrwlwq ''dyr'r . t'qdyn yynk'q syčy
 21 udči bukanıñ borluk adırar . tagdın yınak sıči
- 22 sy 'wlwq 'wrđw nynk pwrwlwq ''dyr'r . pw twyrt syčy lyq
 22 -sı ulug ordonıñ borluk adırar . bo tört sıčilıg

Comments

01–10: The first section with some gaps at the beginning contains the reasons and intentions for a certain donation. In colophons we find often similar arguments. Moreover, the stake inscriptions first edited by F. W. K. Müller²¹ in 1915 and re-edited by T. Moriyasu²² contain such references as well. In Stake Inscription I, the donors refer to a *sūtra*,²³ in which the believers are referred to the acquisition of good deeds that will ultimately lead to an encounter with the Buddha Maitreya and salvation.

From the structure of the first lines we see three tenets as arguments to make a donation. A similar threefold argumentation is known from a colophon to a *sūtra* collection from the 13th century: *bir ärsär – burhanların ädgülärin öp sakınıp, ikinti ärsär – öglüg kañlıg iki iduklarımka buyanı tägzün, üçünç ärsär – mänin ymä közüniürtäki kop törlüg ädgülüg küsüšlärim kanıp bütüp kenintä burhan kutılıg kölük üzä sansar ämgäkintin ozayın* “first – thinking and remembering the good deeds of the buddhas, second – that the *puṇya* may reach mother and father, my two saints, third – that all my present desires for well-being may be fulfilled, so that later I may become free from *saṃsāra* sufferings in the vehicle of buddhahood.”²⁴

09 iç ordo: The term *iç ordo* “Inner Palace” is known from Maitreya poems, esp. BT III 762–763 *učidavač atlıg iç ordo içintä* (in IOM SI 4051 without *iç*) “in the (inner) palace called Uccadhvaḥja.”²⁵

11 kedin kapıg: It is difficult to relate the “Western Gate” to the city of Yarchoto, if the location of the vineyard was in Kočo or Murutluk.

11 ögän üzä suvaklıg: Two important factors of irrigation are mentioned here: *suvaklıg*²⁶ and *ögän* “stream,” but also “irrigation canal,”²⁷ here certainly in the latter meaning.

12 kırası: Although the reading is fraught with difficulties due to unclear letters at the beginning, the interpretation as *kırası* < *kıra* “field, arable land; fallowfield” suggested by O. Sertkaya and D. Matsui²⁸ is surely correct.²⁹

13 tušit özän: The “Tušita cell” seems to refer to a special room for venerating Maitreya in Tušita. The word *özän* “heart, center” can be transferred to an architectural part or a room in a monastery³⁰ as known from Dunhuang caves: *bo iki özän buhar* “this temple (including) two rooms.”³¹ As an instance of Buddhist structures with the similar name, we may note the “Tušita Hall (Tosotsuten dō 兜率天堂),” which was

²¹ Müller 1915.

²² Moriyasu 2001.

²³ The *sūtra* name is not given. An exact source could not be found so far.

²⁴ U 4791 = BT XXVI, 130.

²⁵ HWAU 782b.

²⁶ Trombert 2002, 499: “il existait donc de véritables zones continues de vignobles occupant les emplacements les plus favorables, faciles d’accès et irrigués en abondance.”

²⁷ HWAU 524b.

²⁸ For using their first draft of interpretation I am grateful to Dai Matsui.

²⁹ Cp. Khabtagaeva 2019, 25 for the history of the word and its use in modern Turkic languages.

³⁰ HWAU 547b.

³¹ Matsui 2017, no. 218.

reportedly built in 771 CE at the Saidaiji 西大寺 temple, Nara, Japan.³² On the other hand, the term *doushuai tianguan* 兜率天官 (Skt. *tuṣita-bhavana*) “palace of the Tuṣita” is often seen in the Maitreya sūtras. The Sanskrit original is also known as a Uyghur loan: *tuṣitabavan ordoka okṣati ol ordo karṣita* “in the palace₂ which resembles the Tuṣitabhavana.”³³

13, 24 m’drwq: Although in Sanskrit donation records *madhura* “sweets”³⁴ is not infrequently mentioned, this word does not seem to be expected here. One would have to assume the spellings *madur* or *maduruk*. The former is attested in Suv,³⁵ the latter in pilgrim inscriptions.³⁶ If one declares the ending *-wq* as accusative, the derivation from Skt. *madhura* is problematic in view of the missing round vowel *-u-*. From the two attestations of *m’drwq* and *m’dwrwq* in Dunhuang,³⁷ in both cases with the following accusative suffix *-nI*, it can be assumed that the noun had the form *mad(u)ruk* or *mat(u)ruk*. One may think of Arabic/Persian ترك “to leave,” whose participle *matrūk* متروك means also “estate”³⁸, although the final letter *-q* in Uyghur does not correspond to a final front *-k* in foreign words.

15 suv yagiṣiṇa: *yagiṣ* “sacrifice, libation” is attested,³⁹ but to what extent a *suv yagiṣi* “water sacrifice” is anchored remains unclear. In a wall inscription of Cave 26 in Toyok the day on which the text was written is specified as *suv yagiṣ kūn üzä* and clearly refers to a kind of festival as the authors argue.⁴⁰ The Buddhist work *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 (compiled in 1237 CE) explains the festival *Shuilu-hui* 水陸會 “Festival of Water and Land” as 又有所謂水陸者，取諸仙致食於流水，鬼致食於淨地之義 “Also there is (a festival) called *shuilu* 水陸. It means to put meals (as offering) for sacred sprites in the flowing water, and to put meals on the pure ground for ghosts” (*Xu zangjing* 續藏經, Vol. 75, No. 1513, p. 0303c18–19).⁴¹ Thus, *suv yagiṣ* “offering in/of the water” could refer to the rite to “put offerings in the water” in 水陸會.

16 čayši: Against the derivation from Chin. *zhaisi* 齋食 “midday meal” proposed by M. Shōgaito,⁴² J. Wilkens now follows the derivation from *zhaishi* 齋時 with a quasi identical semantics brought into play

³² De Visser 1935, 462.

³³ HWAU 762b.

³⁴ Skt. *madhurapradāna* “donation of *madhura*.” H. Lüders explains it as follows: “*Madhura* muß hier natürlich irgendwelche süßlichen Stoffe bezeichnen, die, wie es scheint, in den Klöstern Turkestans besonders zur Herstellung von Getränken benutzt wurden” (Lüders 1930, 605).

³⁵ HWAU 458b.

³⁶ < Skt. *madhuruka* “Süßigkeit” (HWAU 458b).

³⁷ Matsui 2017, no. 93, no. 137.

³⁸ Steingass 1158b *matrūk* “Left, relinquished, abandoned; abolished,” *māli matrūk* “Estate of a deceased person”; *matrūkat* “Movables, anything left behind one (either when leaving a place or dying).”

³⁹ HWAU 853a.

⁴⁰ Li & Zhang 2021, 26.

⁴¹ See also DDB: <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=水陸會>): *Fajie shengfan shuilu pudu dazhai shenghui* 法界聖凡水陸普度大齋勝會 “Liberation Rite of Water and Land” is a ritual in Chinese Buddhism attributed to the time of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty.

⁴² Shōgaito 2003, 275. HWAU 217b.

by Abdurishid Yakup.⁴³

16 lakša: In HWAU 450a *lakša* is translated by “wheat flour.” As L. Ligeti shows, however, it also means “food made from flour.”⁴⁴ As an origin L. Ligeti gives NP *lākča*,⁴⁵ while J. Wilkens refers to NP *lāxiša*.⁴⁶ J. Wilkens⁴⁷ quotes under the lemma *bituiluk* from *U 9356 II r1 *bituiluk lakša* “Mehl für ein Bitui-[Gericht]”. Instead of *bitui*, however, perhaps *pyt’r pitar* < Skt. *pithara* “pot” (DDB für *fu* 釜 “kettle”) should be read, and the compound might be translated as “flour dish in a pot.”

17 [ka]dij: I follow here the proposal of D. Matsui who suggested to emend the word to [*ka*]dij (the lacuna demands one short word before) which can be found as *qadij* in the *Gaochangguan yiyu* 高昌館譯語, cp. Ligeti 1966, 159: *qading* (> *ha-ding* 哈丁) “coupe, goblet” = Chin. *zhongzi* 鍾子 “pot / keg for liquor.” The word *kadij* “birch” (HWAU, 318b: “Birke, Gefäß aus Birkenrinde, Gefäß”) is here used for a vessel, especially a “grosses Weingeschirr” as J. H. Klaproth quite appropriately translated it (quoted in Ligeti’s article: Klaproth 1820, 22).

20 [b]adiraram: The name of a monastery, probably to be derived from Skt. *Bhadrārāma (< *bhadra* “auspicious” + *ārāma* “garden” as in *saṃghārāma* < *saṃgha* + *ārāma*). Xuanzang mentions a Bhadravihāra,⁴⁸ but its Uyghur equivalent is not preserved.⁴⁹

21 udči buka: The possessor of the neighbouring vineyard, might be, perhaps, identical with the same named one appearing in the sale contract of a vineyard located in Taysang, ca. 1.5 km to the northwest of the ruins of Kočo.⁵⁰

22 ulug ordo: Vineyard of the Great Ordo. Like in most Old Uyghur data the meaning here is “palace,” but which palace is meant here cannot be determined from the document.

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 HWAU = Wilkens 2021a.
 IOM SI = Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg) Serindia (Collection).

⁴³ UW III.2, 120.

⁴⁴ Ligeti 1966, 179. For more information about the complex history of the term cp. Golden 1994, 79.

⁴⁵ Steingass 1112b.

⁴⁶ HWAU 450a; Steingass 1111a.

⁴⁷ UW III.1, 142.

⁴⁸ Li 1995, 73.

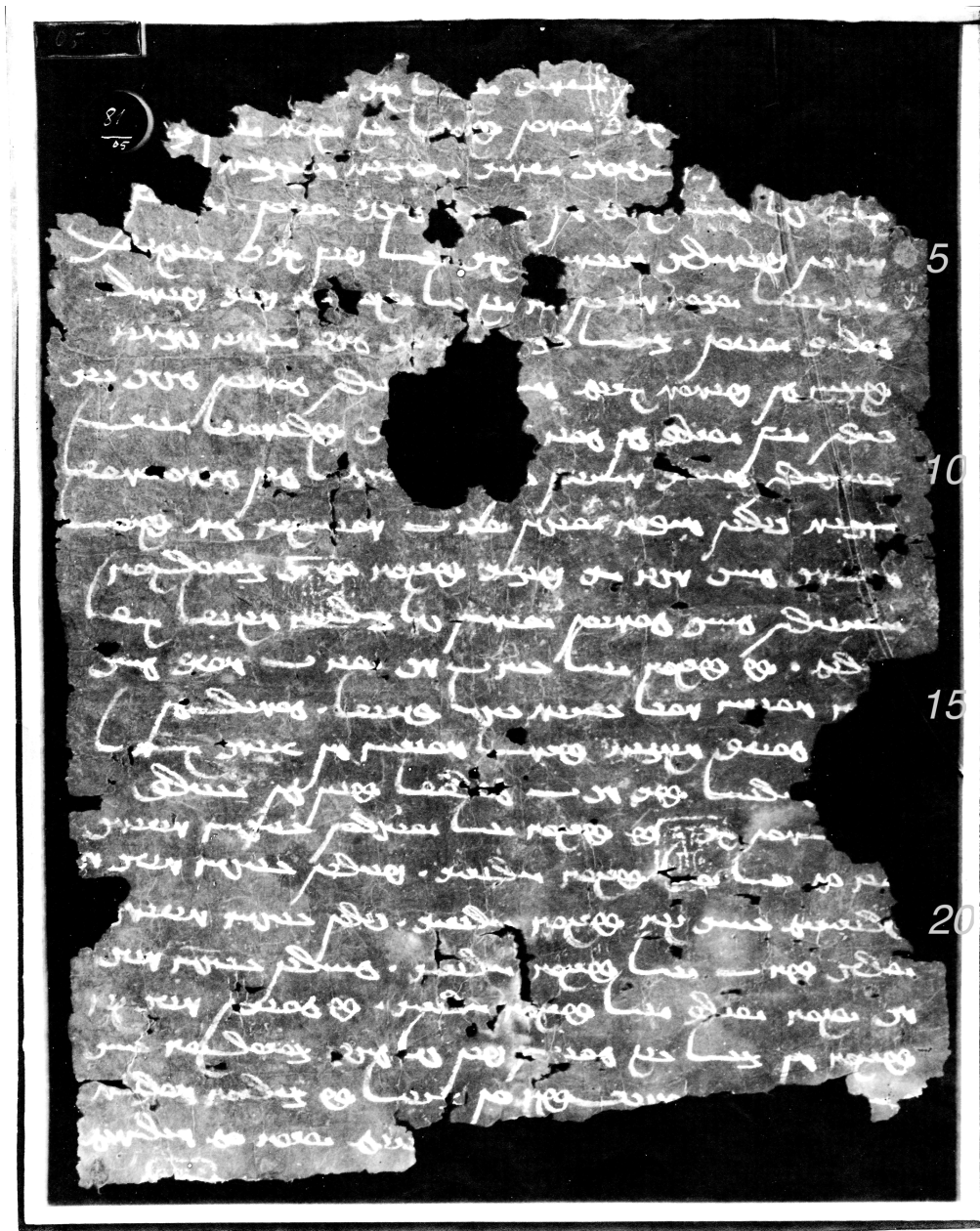
⁴⁹ Ölmez 2002.

⁵⁰ SUK Sa11. The three onomastic elements for two persons (*sikägü*) in the text, *udči buka äsän*, were interpreted by the SUK editors as Udči and Buka Äsän, while Keskin 2022, 388, translates them as “sığır çobanı Buka (ve) Äsän.” We may raise again N. Yamada’s previous interpretation as Udči Buka and Äsän, in SUK I, V [222–223].

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