# Mongol Globalism Attested by the Uigur and Mongol Documents from East Turkestan

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#### Introduction

Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the archaeological expeditions out of Europe, Japan and China have led to the discovery of a great number of manuscripts and printings from the oases in East Turkestan (or modern Xinjiang), which are written in various languages such as Chinese, Old Indian (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Gandhārī), Tocharian (Agni = Tocharian A, Kuchaean = Tocharian B), Middle Iranian (Sogdian, Parthian, Bactrian, Middle Persian, Khotanese), Tibetan, Xixia (Tangut) Old Uigur (Old Turkic) and Mongolian. These unearthed texts have been utilized in historical studies on ancient and mediaeval Central Asia and the Chinese dynasties which dominated the region.

Among them, the Old Uigur texts were written by the Uigurs, who had been originally nomadic people in Mongolia but migrated to modern Xinjiang in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century to transform the region into "Turkestan" and shift to sedentary life during the 10<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Most of these Uigur texts, as well as the Mongol texts, belong to the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the empire of Mongol nomads established their dominion over the greater part of Eurasia — from the Coast of the Japan Sea in the east to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea in the west.

Even though the Eurasian-wide dominion of the Mongol empire was eventually divided into several dynasties and administrations, they were generally united under the supremacy of the Emperor of the Yuan dynasty (Mong. *Dai-Ön yeke Mongyol ulus*). The Mongol administrations as the whole adopted administrative systems more or less in common, and cultural exchanges between the East and the West were obviously activated. Such phenomenon, which may be called as "Mongol Globalism", have been reconstructed through the historical sources in Chinese, Arabic, Persian and European languages, which were compiled in the eastern and the western end of the Mongol dominion.

On the other hand, the Uigur and Mongol texts from East Turkestan contain contemporary

For the criteria for relative dating of the Uigur documents, see Moriyasu 2004a: 228–229 = Moriyasu 2004b: 7–9.

information and can be seen as the primary sources produced by the Uigurs and Mongols, who occupied the intermediate region on the ground between the East and the West. Moreover, the global academic situation after the end of the Cold War made the Uigur and Mongol documents, which have been preserved in the institutes and libraries of various countries, more available than before — nearly half of them are accessible on the Internet.

In this paper, I would like to present the Uigur and Mongol documents from East Turkestan that attest to "Mongol Globalism". I will focus on the unification of the currency system and the weights and measures system. Furthermore, cultural exchange between China and Iran during the Mongol period will be examined from the viewpoint of the Old Uigur studies.

### **Unification of Denomination System**

It is well known that the fifth Mongol emperor, Qubilai (世祖 Shi-zu, r. 1260-94), developed the system of exchange bills

(Chin. 交子 jiao-zi) into the currency system, in which paper currency 交 jiao-chao was linked with silver ingot. Nevertheless, it seems not so well known that

The unified system of denomination under Mongol rule Table A

Weight (gramm ca.)	Chinese	Mongol	Uigur	Persian	
2000	錠 ding	süke "axe"	yastuq "pillow"	<i>bāliš</i> "pillow"	
40	兩 liang	sijir	stîr ~ sïtïr	sīr	
4	錢 qian	bakir ~ baqir	baqïr	miṣqāl	

the system of currency denomination (or weights of silver ingot) was also unified throughout Eurasia during the Mongol period. It is the great contribution of a Japanese scholar, 前田直典 Maeda Naonori (1915-49), that clarified the unification of the currency units under the Mongols, as displayed in Table A.<sup>2</sup>

We may note that the Old Uigur contract documents unearthed from East Turkestan assumed a key role in Maeda's argument to establish the correspondence of the three Uigur units of denomination, yastuq, stir and baqir to the Chin. 錠 ding, 兩 liang and 錢 qian respectively.<sup>3</sup> According to Maeda's scheme, the Uigurs in East Turkestan themselves also played an important

Maeda 1944 = Maeda 1973: esp. 23-34. The actual weight for each unit as silver ingot was clarified by Moriyasu 1997, 9–13. Moreover, I added Persian *miṣqāl* as the institutional correspondent of Chin. 錢 *qian* = Mong. bakir ~ baqir = Uig. baqir, accoding to the Persian historian Vaşşāf, who witnessed "in their (i.e. the Yuan dynasty's) terminology, bāliš of paper currency (čāv < Uig.-Mong. čao < Chin. 金少 chao) is 50 sīr, whose value is 10 dīnār, but [the weight of] bāliš of gold and silver [ingot] is 500 miṣqāl" [Vaṣṣāf: 22]. It may be noted that Uig. 必兒米思哈 < bir misqa "one misqa (< Pers. misqāl)" is translated into Chinese as 一錢 "one qian" in the Sino-Uigur vocabulary of Ming, 畏兀兒館譯語 Wei-wu-er-guan yiyu. See Shōgaito 1984: 157, No. 825; Matsui 2004a: 200 = Matsui 2004b: 158.

The Uigur contract documents (USp, Nos. 47, 12, 51, 61) has been revised in SUK as Lo19, Mi17, Pl02, Sa21,

part in the unification of the system. Having kept commercial ties with China on the eve of the Mongol expansion, they were the first to borrow the Chinese system of denomination of the units  $\frac{\partial G}{\partial t} = \frac{\partial G}{\partial t}$ , create the corresponding units of their own, and then transfer the system to the Mongols and the Persian Muslims. The Persian unit  $\frac{\partial G}{\partial t} = \frac{\partial G}{\partial t}$ , equivalent to Chin.  $\frac{\partial G}{\partial t} = \frac{\partial G}{\partial t} = \frac{\partial G}{\partial t}$ , reflects that it was borrowed from the Uigur equivalent  $\frac{\partial G}{\partial t} = \frac{\partial G}{\partial t} = \frac{\partial G}{\partial t}$ .

Concerning the usage of paper currency and the denomination units of the Uigurs, an Uigur account book recently published by Prof. Osman Sertkaya (Istanbul) is also an important source. The account book was made by a Buddhist monastery to sum up the donations (Uig. lab) from the local inhabitants in the Turfan area, and some of the donations were paid in paper currency, even mentioning the unit of currency vun, smaller than baqir. This unit vun is a transcription of Chinese  $\mathcal{H}$  fen, a tenth of  $\mathcal{H}$  qian. It clearly displays that, under "Mongol Globalism", the paper currency  $\check{c}ao$  was circulated among the Uigurs in East Turkestan so much that they accepted even the smallest unit of denomination  $\mathcal{H}$  fen from China.

#### 2. Unification of Measures

In their course of sedentarization in East Turkestan, the Uigurs borrowed units for measuring grain, mainly from the Chinese, who had been the majority in the region before the Uigurs. The Uigur units  $\ddot{s}i\gamma$  is a borrowing from Chin.  $\Box$  shi (dan), ca. 60 liters; Uig. küri is from Tocharian, corresponding to Chin.  $\Rightarrow$  dou, ca. 6.0 liters; Uig.  $\ddot{s}ing$  is from Chin.  $\Rightarrow$  sheng, ca. 0.6 liter; Uig. qav is from Chin.  $\Rightarrow$  ge, ca. 0.06 liter.

In 1996, however, an Uigur loan contract of wheat from the Mongol period (the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cc.) was published, and it carries the following passages: "I have borrowed 3 *tayar* and 2 *kiiri* of wheat ...... Of the wheat [written] on this contract, 2 *tayar* [belong] to Irasul himself, 1 *tayar* and

though it does not affect Maeda's analysis at all.

<sup>4</sup> Sertkaya 2006: 131–132, T III M Kloster 2 Nr. 134 (128/044): <sub>13–14</sub>bir stir üč baqir üč vun čao "1 stir, 3 baqir and 3 vun of papar currency"; <sub>25–26</sub>iki stir üč baqir yiti vun čao "2 stir, 3 baqir and 7 vun of papar currency"; <sub>47–48</sub>biš stir yiti baqir üč vun čao "5 stir, 7 baqir and 3 vun of papar currency"; <sub>52–54</sub>iki stir iki baqir toquz vun čao "2 stir, 2 baqir and 9 vun of papar currency."

Maeda 1944 = Maeda 1973: 19–20, 24; Moriyasu 2004b: 29–31. The Sino-Mongolian glossary of the Ming dynasty carries an entry of Chin.  $\mathcal{H}$  fen = Mong. vun, in the same form of the Uigur script with Uig. vun [HY: 177]. Undoubtedly the Mongol unit is a loan from Uigur.

This situation contrasts with that in the Ilkhanate, the Mongol dynasty established in Iran, to have also installed paper currency system under the reign of Geikhatu (r. 1291–95) but to finally fail [Satō 1986 = Satō 1998: 189–232], even though the installation itself may be a proof of the unity among the Mongol dynasties.

<sup>7</sup> Yamada 1965: 171; Yamada 1971: 491–493.

2 [küri] to [the co-debter] Sulayman".<sup>8</sup> From this context, it is clear that the grain measure unit tayar, larger than küri, was equivalent of šīy.

The Persian sources tell that the unit *tayar* was used by the Mongols as a grain measure unit for military provision since early times of their expansion, while a Mongol-Chinese bilingual document discovered in Inner Mongolia attests that Mong. *tayar* was equal to Chin. *\( \frac{1}{12} \)* shi (dan), ca. 84.0 liters in the Mongol period. Consequently, the Uigur contract mentioned above allows us to surmise that the new system of grain measure units according to the Mongol standard must have been installed among the Uigurs in East Turkestan.

This supposition is well supported by the situation in other regions under Mongol rule recorded in the Chinese, Persian and Latin-European sources. In China, after the conquest of the Song dynasty, the Yuan dynasty frequently gave an official notice to prohibit the use of Song units of measure to prevent the inconvenience caused by differences from the Mongol standard. The Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone, who stayed in Southern China under the Mongol rule during ca. 1324–28, calculates the revenue of a certain rich man with the unit *tagar*, apparently a transcription of the Mongol unit *tayar*. In Iran, in the west, Γazan (r. 1295–1304), the great-grandson of Hülegü, issued a decree standardizing weights and measures around AD 1302. In his decree translated into Persian, *taġār* (< Mong. *tayar*) was chosen as the standard grain measure unit, and the traditional Islamic units *kīla* and *mann* were linked with *tayar* in the decimal system.

In short, the Mongol administrations, even if more or less abortively, installed the grain measure unit *tayar* in its subordinate territories, and former units there were equalized or linked with *tayar*. It is plausible that the same standardization took place in East Turkistan: During the Mongol period, the value of Uig.  $\check{s}i\gamma$  was, officially or institutionally, equalized to Mong. *tayar* (ca. 84 liters) and other Uigur units of grain measure such as *kūri* and  $\check{s}ing$  were also linked to *tayar* in a single decimal system.

Besides the grain measure units, the Uigur documents attest the liquid measure units such as *qap* and *tämbin*. It had been known that 1 *qap* is equal to 30 *tämbin*, <sup>13</sup> though their actual value had been unclear.

However, we can solve the problem by means of the newly published Uigur official administrative documents. The documents provide attestations of another liquid measure unit

<sup>8</sup> Matsui 2004a: 198 = Matsui 2004b: 162.

<sup>9</sup> Matsui 1997: 28–29, 37; Matsui 2004a: 199 = Matsui 2004b: 162–163.

<sup>10</sup> YDZ, chap. 57: 2223, 禁私斛斗秤尺 "Prohibition of the private container, balance and scale", in AD 1286; YDZ, chap. 57: 2224, 斛斗秤尺牙人 "The containers, measures and the brokers", in AD 1312.

<sup>11</sup> Yule 1916: 254–255.

<sup>12</sup> Honda 1972 = Honda 1991: 333-341.

<sup>13</sup> Yamada 1965: 180–182; Yamada 1971: 493–495.

saba, a loanword from Mong. saba "bag, container", in the following contexts: "1 bag (saba) of brandy (araqi)" and "[they shall deliver] 3 tämbin of brandy with their container (saba)". <sup>14</sup> From these attestations, we may assume that 1 saba as a liquid measure unit was equal to 3 tämbin.

Table B

Provision	Chinese	Nr. 72	Nr. 74
肉 meat	I 斤 jin	2 köl	2 köl
酒 liquor	1 升 sheng	5 tembin	2 saba
麵 grain	1斤 jin	3 badman	2 badman
米 rice	1 升 sheng	. 75	

The unit *saba* and *tämbin* are mentioned also in two Mongol decrees granting a license for postal relay issued by the Chaghatai khanate in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (BTT XVI, Nrn. 72, 74). They declared the daily provision for users of the postal relay as follow: "5 *tembin* (< Uig. *tämbin*) of wine, 2 shanks (*köl*) of meat and 3 *badman* of provision (i.e. grain)" (Nr. 72), and "2 shanks of meat, 2 *saba* of beverage (i.e. wine) and 2 *badman* of provision (i.e. grain)" (Nr. 74). Here, if we can apply my estimation that 1 *saba* is equal to 3 *tämbin*, the latter's 2 *saba* is equal to 6 *tämbin*, then the whole amount of the provision of the latter is almost similar as that of the former.

It must be noted that the ratio of numerical value of meat: grain (or flour): liquor (or beverage) for provision in the Chinese sources, namely 1:1:1, is exactly the same as that in the Mongolian decree Nr. 74 above (see Table B). The decree Nr. 74 was probably for two postal relay couriers, and the daily provision per person was 1 shank ( $k\ddot{o}l$ ) of meat,  $^{16}$  1 saba of beverage and 1 badman of grain. Here, we can assume that the Uigur-Mongolian liquid measure unit saba corresponds to Chin. f sheng, because the Mongol unit of weight badman (< Uig. batman) also corresponds to Chin. f fin (= ca. 640 g), as shown by the quadrilingual inscription of the weight balances of the Yuan dynasty.  $^{17}$ 

<sup>14</sup> Matsui 1998b, texts 4 and 15.

<sup>15</sup> Zhanchi I: 10, 12–13, 16, 18, 53–54; YDZ, chap. 16: 713–714, 715; YS, chap. 101: 2584. Sometimes the liquor is measured with 瓶 *ping* "bottle", but the value of 升 *sheng* and 瓶 *ping* were the same. See Zhanchi I: 42, the 17th year of 至元 Zhiyuan (1279), 是月 *shi-yue* (= the 6th month): 仍定每瓶準酒一升爲數 "Still more it is determined that every 瓶 *ping* should be estimated as identical with one 升 *sheng* of liquor".

<sup>16</sup> Mong. köl "leg, shank" used as a unit for meat could be a certain unit of weight, which was approximate to Chin. jin. In 飲膳正要 Yinshan zhengyao, the collection of recipes for the Yuan imperial court edited by 忽思慧 Hu-si-hui in 1330, a term 腳子 jiao-zi "shank, leg" is frequently used in measuring mutton or bear meat. Also we know that Uig. saq, a loan word from Persian sāq "shank", is used as a unit of meat in an Uigur official document. See Matsui 2002: 109.

<sup>17</sup> See Matsui 2002: 111–112. For examples of the weight balance of the Yuan dynasty with the quadrilingual inscriptions, see Qiu 1992: 466–467, Nos. 221, 222.

**Table C** The unified system of the measure units

Value	Chinese	Mongol		Uigur		Persian
(liter, ca.)	(capacity)	(grain)	(liquid)	(grain)	(liquid)	(grain)
84.0	石 shi (dan)	tayar		šïy / tayar		taġār
8.4	斗 dou	šim		küri	qap	kīla
0.84	升 sheng	šingsi	saba	šing	saba	mann
0.28			tembin		tämbin	
0.084	合 ge			qav		

The correspondence between Uig.-Mong. *saba* and Chin. ## *sheng* may be supported by another Uigur document preserved in the Berlin Academy (U 5308), an administrative order of delivery of provision for postal relay users during the Mongol period.

- 1 it yil bigrminč ay iki otuz-qa
- 2 yanga buqa yočin ilči-kä alti
- 3 otuz-qa-tägi käzig aš-qa bir qap
- 4 bor-nï biküs buqa borluq-ï birzün

"1On the 22<sup>nd</sup> [day], the 11<sup>th</sup> month, the year of the Dog. 2-3For the regular provisions (*käzig* aš) until the 26<sup>th</sup> [day] to [be delivered to] Yanga-Buqa and Ambassador Yočin, 3-4Biküs-Buqa's vineyard shall deliver 1 *qap* of wine".

In this text, 1 qap of wine is to be delivered as the provision for five days  $(22^{nd} - 26^{th})$ . This 1 qap of wine is for two persons, Yanga-Buqa and Ambassador Yočin. Then, with Yamada's proof that 1 qap = 30  $t\ddot{a}mbin$ , we can calculate the daily amount of wine per person as 3  $t\ddot{a}mbin$  (= 30  $t\ddot{a}mbin \times 1/5 \times 1/2$ ), i.e., 1 saba or 1 sheng according to my estimation above. The amount of daily provision in the Uigur document becomes reasonably consistent with the Mongol regulation. Consequently we can move to further estimation as follows: 30  $t\ddot{a}mbin = 1$  qap = 10 saba = 10 transparent sheng = 1 transparent sheng = 1/30 transparent s

The result of my analysis on the units of measure above will be presented in Table C.<sup>18</sup> It indicates that units of capacity, grain and liquid measure in Chinese, Mongol, Uigur and Persian fit into a single unified system over the Eastern and Western Eurasia in the Mongol period, and it tallies with the unified system of currency units or weight of silver ingot as displayed in Table A above.

<sup>18</sup> For the Mongol grain measure units *šim* and *šingsi*, see Matsui 1997: 36–43; Matsui 2004a: 198 = Matsui 2004b: 161.

From this we can conclude that the Mongol empire on the whole had a policy to unify not only the denomination system but also the system of measurement throughout the area under its rule in order to develop the contemporary Eurasian-wide system of commerce. This may be regarded as an aspect of "Mongol Globalism".

## 3. Cultural Exchanges under the Mongol Rule

I would like to pick some of the fruits of recent studies on the Uigur materials, to place them within the historical context of Eurasian-wide cultural exchanges under the Mongol rule.

First to be mentioned are the Persian genealogical source Šu'ab-i Panੱgāna (translated in Japanese as 五分枝 or 五族譜) and the Chinese Buddhist history 佛祖歷代通載 Fozu lidai tongzai. The former carries the genealogical trees of the "Five Imperial lineages", i.e., of the Jews, Arabs, Mongols, Francs and Chinese, and is supposed to have been compiled in close connection with the early manuscript of the global history in Persian, Ğāmi' al-Tavārīḥ, completed in ca. AD 1310 by Rašīd al-Dīn, the famous historiographer of Ilkhanate. The latter was compiled by a Buddhist monk 念常 Nianchang and published in South China in AD 1347. One of the leading Japanese scholars of Mongol history, 杉山正明 Sugiyama Masa'aki, displayed the genealogical tables for the ancient countries of China of the 春秋 Chunqiu and the 戰國 Zhanguo ages from both of the two above works, and proved that they were based on a common source of information, in other words that they reflect the close cultural interaction between the east and the west under the Mongol domination. <sup>19</sup>

Here I would like to add an Uigur fragment from the Northern Caves of 敦煌 Dunhuang (B59:69), which has been identified by 張鐵山 Zhang Tieshan as the Uigur version of 佛祖歷代通載 Fozu lidai tongzai.<sup>20</sup> In the Mongol period, the Uigurs set their center of activities at Dunhuang and surrounding oases in 甘肅 Gansu, where were connected with East Turkestan by the Buddhist pilgrimages of the Uigurs.<sup>21</sup> We may accept the possibility that the Uigurs in Central Asia, who were well acquainted with Buddhism and Chinese culture, had the source of information in common with Šuʻab-i Panǧġāna and 佛祖歷代通載 Fozu lidai tongzai and, even more, could be the intermediary between the two works of China and Iran.

Next is a Persian work titled as *Tanksūq-nāma-yi Īlḥānī dar funūn-i 'ulūm-i Ḥitāy* "The treasure book of the *il-qan*s concerning arts and science of China", also compiled by Rašīd al-Dīn in AD 1313. It is composed of four books, one of which is a Persian translation of the Chinese

<sup>19</sup> Sugiyama 2000: 74-76.

<sup>20</sup> Zhang 2003: 83-86. Now I am preparing revision and addition of the text to lend support to Zhang's identification.

<sup>21</sup> Moriyasu 1982; Moriyasu 1985: 86–88; Moriyasu 1988; Matsui 2008a; Matsui 2008b; Matsui 2008c.

medical text 脉訣 *Maijue*. 羽田亨一 Haneda Kōichi identified its Chinese original as 晞范子脉訣集解 *Xifanzi maijue jijie* by 李嗣 Li Si (or 李子埜 Li Ziye). Through an analysis of the Chinese pronunciation system transcribed in the Arabic script, it is thus far recognized that the work was translated in cooperation between Chinese informant(s) and the Persians. In the Persian translation of 脉訣 *Maijue*, the translator transcribed the whole Chinese passage in the Arabic Script—e.g., Chin. 按之不足擧之餘 *an zhi bu zu ju zhi yu* > Pers. ān jī bu kīū tsīū jī yū—then translated the text into Persian. Scholars have regarded this method as most curious: The Persian transcription ān jī bu kīū tsīū jī yū itself does not seem to make sense, for it is not accompanied by the original Chinese ideograms.

However, it is remarkable that the Uigurs of East Turkestan had a similar method of translation of the Chinese texts: They first transcribed the pronunciation of the Chinese ideograms, and followed the translation of the Chinese text. For example, in the Uigur version of the 千字文 *Qian-zi-wen*, recently published by 庄垣内正弘 Shōgaito Masahiro, carries such a sentence: yun ting ču yu bulit säkridi yaymur yaydī "yun ting ču yu (< Chin. 雲騰致雨 yun teng zhi yu) [means] 'clouds leaped and it rained'." This method indicates that the Uigurs read aloud the text according to the Chinese pronunciation, and then learned the contents in Uigur. We can easily notice that this method is exactly the same as that adopted in *Tanksūq nāma*, and we may perceive some cultural influence of the Uigurs in the method of translation and the composition of *Tanksūq nāma* itself. 25

## **Concluding Remarks**

Even though most of the Uigur and Mongol documents from East Turkestan are concerned with the local domestic matters, they can, as displayed in this paper, serve as the primary sources that attests to "Mongol Globalism", placing concrete evidence on the Eurasian-wide economic interaction during the Mongol period, or including some clue to review and reconstruct contemporary cultural exchanges.

These Uigur and Mongol texts might be assumed to be difficult to access, but studies on them are mostly based on philological method, placing the Roman transcription of the text and

Haneda 1995. It is regrettable that Allsen [2000: 141–160] overlooked Haneda's identification in his argument on Maijue.

<sup>23</sup> Endo 1994; cf. Allsen 2002: 144–145. Still noteworthy is the possibility of intermittence of Bolad, who migrated from Yuan to Iran and bacame well known as *Pūlād čīnksānk* "the minister Bolad", the notorious informant in compilation of *Ğāmi 'al-Tavārīḥ* by Rašīd al-Dīn. See Miya 2006: 71.

<sup>24</sup> Shōgaito 2003: 116-125, 137-138; Shōgaito 2004: 323.

In the transcription system of Chinese adopted in Tanksūq nāma, non-nasal stops (-b/-p, -d/-t, -g/-k) in the syllable-final are still kept (Endo 1994: 69–75). Its system of pronunciation is more or less similar to "the inherited Uigur pronunciation of Chinese", but does not totally coincide. Cf. Takata 1987; Shōgaito 1987; Yoshida 1994:

translation into modern language(s). There is therefore nothing to keep the texts exclusively for specialists. The scholars of our field expect their text editions to be utilized from various perspectives and viewpoints for the reconstruction and reconsideration of World History.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>322-309;</sup> Shōgaito 2003: 126-136; Shōgaito 2004: 321-322.

My argument in Chapter 1 & 2 should be related with the recent study by Prof. Kuroda Akinobu, who proved the silver streams across Eurasia in the Mongol period caused the multiple correspondences of the units of silver weight in China, Europe and the Qipčaq khanate on the northern coast of the Black Sea. See Kuroda 2009: esp. 259.

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