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AN ACCOUNT OF 13TH CENTURY QUBCHIR OF THE MONGOL "GREAT COURTS" *

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Synthesising a wide and diverse range of primary and secondary sources, *An Account of 13th Century Qubchir of the Mongol "Great Courts"* examines the formation and implementation of a tax within the Mongolian army during the early, formative period of the Mongol Empire before 1227. The examination extends to the period of Qubilai Qaγan's victory over the Southern Song in 1276. Sino-Mongolian cultural contacts are also explored and examined in detail, especially the notion of a reign vs. national title for the Mongols after 1222. The centerpiece of the paper is a silver coin, Dachao tongbao, which reveals unique epigraphic and symbolic elements via ciphers that are described and attributed for the very first time.

Key words: Mongols – coins, Mongolian language – ciphers, Mongols – administrators, Mongols – taxation, China – epitaphs, China – monetary history – coins

Chinese numismatists conventionally believe that a silver coin, *Dachao tongbao*, represents the earliest coinage issued in China by the Mongols before their taking the national title (Chinese: *guohao*) Yuan in 1271. In examining that assumption, I have found a number of modern authors who date the coin to 1227 (Gao Hanming 1990, p. 391; see also Zhang Zhizhong 1993, p. 399). Yet, the periodisation was done without actually offering any textual or archaeological basis. Consequently, such an attribution is not convincing. Placing the coin within a more defined period is an objective of this paper.

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The problem of correctly dating Dachao tongbao arises from simple facts: a paucity of controlled excavations and diverse literary sources that are often ambiguous. Moreover, there are not many Dachao tongbao excavated under professionally controlled conditions, for the majority of finds have either been made accidentally at construction sites or were merely individual surface finds. All of the coins known to this author were recovered in the People's Republic of China. Because of the lack of a definitive record, there is the possibility that the imperial government did not officially issue this, and other currency. It is usually assumed that it was the local authorities and/or appanage-holders (Chinese: *touxia*, Mongolian: *ayimaq*)[1] who issued currency in Mongol-held North China. It is uncertain if Dachao tongbao were issued on the initiative of local authorities; that they go unmentioned in any of the existent Yuan records seems to confirm their unofficial status. Still, the written record is not totally reliable and it becomes necessary to draw upon other sources. For example, the style and shape of this coin is a phenomenon that is derived from Central Asia coinage from a much earlier period. The weight average of Dachao tongbao can specifically be traced to silver coinage associated with Chinggis Qan's military campaigns circa 1221. Vice versa, the adaptation and utilisation of Chinese imperial nomenclature affected those Central Asian coin inscriptions and culminated in the casting of Dachao tongbao in 1222, not 1227.

There are four currents of thought regarding Dachao tongbao. The first is that it circulated; the second is that it was unofficial; the third is that it was memorial money given to nobility; and the fourth was that it was "temple money" (Chinese: *gongyang qian*) [Li 1995, p. 45; see also Sheng 1995, pp. 18–22, note 6].[2] The numismatist Luo Bozhao (1899–1976, also known as Mu Yuan, Vice-President of the China Numismatic Society, 1940–1946) first recognised that Dachao tongbao circulated as tokens in his work, *Yuan chuquanchao qianshuo*; but it was Luo's belief that Dachao tongbao circulated "to assist papernotes". Nevertheless, Luo's pioneering view has never found acceptance, primarily because no paper money from the very early period has ever been found. However, my research shows that Luo was largely correct. Of course, Dachao tongbao did not "assist papernotes". Still, local production of coinage with limited or restricted circulation has been demonstrated to actually represent *tokens of value*. That is, their declared value was much greater than the real value of their metal (Zeimal 1991–1992, p. 170).[3] The items are not actually "coins" at all. The coinages associated with the Mongols' campaigns could be assumed restricted in circulation to the areas where it was produced. Between Central Asia and China, that restriction is merely defined by the script of the inscriptions: Arabic for the Central Asian areas and Chinese for China. Mostly, that distinction

[1] Zhou Lianxiao 1983, pp. 53–76; Jun Fang wrote a synopsis of Zhou's article, noting Zhou's argument that the *touxia* (= appanage) system was formed during Ögödei's reign and how it strengthened imperial power. See also Jun 1994, p. 240.

[2] Sheng quoted Zhu Huo's "Yuanqian tonglun" (in *Yuandai houbi lunwen xuanji*, p. 224) relaying Zhu's argument that, "when Chinggis first entered Central China, Song and Jin coins were used until the 17th year of *Zhiyuan* June 1280 therefore the Mongol Qanate did not officially mint these coins".

[3] Zeimal is referring to the period from Han to Tang dynasty.

between coins and tokens of value in the shape of coins seems at times to be just a question of semantics. There will be occasions in this paper where what are probably tokens of value will be described as "coins" or "coinage" just for the sake of convenience. This relaxed usage is not meant to confuse the reader, but all effort will be made to clarify if necessary. In addition to that, not every type of coin struck during the Mongols' campaigns in Central Asia will be treated. Although a corpus of such coins could be very worthwhile, it will not be found here. Only those types that show links to Dachao tongbao will be examined in detail. Such comparisons will be solidly based on metrology, inscription, and a chronology of the actual movements of a political/administrative principality, here defined as Chinggis Qan on the march with his own armies. My argument is that Dachao tongbao are linked to a military milieu, and the year 1276 is the *terminus ad quem* of that aspect.

My research also shows only two types of Dachao tongbao, and up to four subgroups based on reverse inscriptions or markings. The subgroups are: (a) Blank reverse; (b) Chinese language inscription reverse; (c) Mongolian language inscription reverse; (d) Turkic *tamgha*/ Mongolian *nishan* reverse (with raised, incuse, or counterstamped varieties). In addition, there are three concrete phases to Dachao tongbao. I will seek to explain the above groupings and attempt to clarify their role in the monetary system of the Mongol Qanate, the lack of records notwithstanding.

Phase One: Dachao, the Imperial Nomenclature of 1220 and its Relationship to Dachao tongbao and the Mongolian "Great Courts"

Those component words on *Dachao tongbao* 'The Great Courts' circulating treasure' are, in successive reading, *da* and *chao* at the top and bottom of the obverse hole and the words *tong* and *bao* to the left and right of the obverse hole (see Plate III, Fig. 1). The expression *tongbao* indicates that the item should monetarily circulate as a coin. At least, that was the ideal. It was not always the reality. *Dachao tongbao* have been fallaciously dated to 1227, and inaptly attributed as well. For example, Nancy Shatzman-Steinhardt wrote that, "Dachao tongbao, or 'great dynasty circulating currency', received its name upon a major victory over the Jin. This initiated the period of the 'Great Dynasty', representing a combination of the Mongols and the conquered Jin" (Shatzman-Steinhardt 1981, p. 61).[4] Contradicting her own identification in a rather peculiar fashion, she added that Dachao tongbao are a "currency issue of the Yuan" (Shatzman-Steinhardt 1981, p. 61). Without doubt, Shatzman-Steinhardt's interpretations are devoid of critical thought. Although she cited the physician/scholar/numismatist Ding Fubao (1874–1952) as her source, those statements did not originate from him or Xuan Yugong, the famed collector of Yuan coinage (his article on Da-

[4] Note that the coin illustrated in her article from the American Numismatic Society is a fake, made of lead. Niu Dasheng has published examples of imitative Dachao tongbao made of lead. See Niu 1999, pp. 17–22. Niu claims that the coins he describes have a verifiable archaeological context. Yet, he revealed nothing. There is no mention whatsoever of the findspot, why it is datable, etc. I should also add that the coin from the ANS is still a fake, Niu's findings notwithstanding.

chao tongbao was included in Ding's work). One cannot take her attribution at face value because there were many victories over the Jin, up to and including the destruction of the rump Jin state by the Mongols in 1234. Most importantly, a minting of coins never commemorated their military victories.

Appearing to follow mainstream opinion, that is, of most Chinese numismatists, Shatzman-Steinhardt also attributed Dachao tongbao to the period after Chinggis' death in 1227 (Shatzman-Steinhardt 1981, p. 61). Like them, she is incorrect and consequently her article is of little help in the matter of correct attribution. However, before we leave Shatzman-Steinhardt behind, her translation of *Dachao* must be clarified because it is imprecise. Although the expression *Dachao* is of considerable antiquity, used as imperial nomenclature for a long period before the thirteenth century (Peng 1994, pp. 461–462),[5] *chao* typically has been translated "dynasty".[6] Such translations are unacceptable without meaningfully investigating them first. On translating *chao*, there are examples of usage in the Sino-Mongolian sources better rendered as "court" or "assembly" (Chinese: *chaoting* or *chaohui*).[7] Court procedures are defined as *chaogang*. Defining *chao* as "court" is more elegant and better attested than "dynasty" because it shows a link to an important Mongolian protocol. That protocol has heretofore never been identified with Dachao tongbao, nor has its function been properly examined.

Routinely, in Chinese numismatic product of the era, a phrase such as *Dachao* by appearance denotes a reign title or calendar year (Chinese: *nianhao*). Yet, *Dachao* is a very awkward sounding *nianhao*. Coupled with that awkwardness is the basic argument that the Mongols did not even have one before *Zhongtong* in 1260 (Ding 1989, pp. 1361–1362).[8] That thesis has little validity, for they did possess what should

[5] It has been long considered a *guohao* in its own right, used for hundreds of years before the Mongols by various dynasts with broader political aspirations. Some of those dynasts were Chinese and others were sinified. A well-known example of the usage of *Dachao* as imperial nomenclature is the inscription on a wall painting (eastern wall of Mogao cave 98, Dunhuang) of the King of Khotan (Li Shengtian, ca. 940–945). Its inscription, *Dachao dabao Yudian guo dasheng daming Tianzi* was rendered by György Kara to me as "The Great Treasure of the Great Court, the Great Sage and Greatly Illuminated Son of Heaven of the country of Khotan". Also in Mogao's cave 98 is the portrait of Li Shengtian's wife, Empress Cao. The inscription along her portrait reads in part *Dachao da Yudian guo dazheng daming tiance quanfeng* (rest unclear). Note that the Khotanese King and his empress are portrayed in completely Chinese-style royal costume. Both are totally sinified portraits. Thus, the inscriptions are not native Khotanese translated into Chinese. Rather, these inscriptions demonstrate that the nomenclature was perhaps archaic and certainly was not innovative.

[6] Rachewiltz, Olbricht – Pinks, and Kaplan all translated *chao* as "dynasty".

[7] For example, both *chaoming* and *chaoting* appear in the legend of an epigraph in the Wanshougong ji (in Zhouzhi, Shaanxi) that dates to 1246. See Xue 1990, #2203 "Wanshougong ji".

[8] Ding Fubao wrote that it was only when "the Mongols changed the year denomination from *gengshen* to *Yuan Zhongtong* was a *nianhao* adopted". Note that there are typographical errors in Ding's text regarding the calendar dating: *yisi* is rendered as *yiyi* and *gengxu* is rendered as *gengshu*; Also, Ding lifted his quote directly from Weng Shupei's *Gu quan hui kao*. See Gao 1911, p. 20b. Following Weng, Ding said *gengshen* was the first year of Shizu's reign (Shizu is Qubilai's Chinese "temple name", [i.e., posthumous title]). In any event, Ding was incorrect; "*Yuan Zhongtong*" is spurious. Xuan Yugong recorded the inscription, *Dachao Zhongtong yuan nian*, dated to

be considered a *nianhao* before 1260. Before discussing the latter point, the former deserves to be expanded upon. Understanding why *Dachao* sounds strange as a *nianhao* is first knowing that Mongolian imperial edicts were translated into Chinese by dictation, often literally. Recurrently flawed, those translations hardly did justice to those Mongolian edicts. Nevertheless, we must search for the Mongolian protocol concealed by the Chinese translation. *Dachao* is very likely to be the translation for the Mongolian *Yekes Ordas/Ordos/Ordus* or "Great Headquarters/Courts". Recall that *chao* also means "court". If the Mongolian *orda* or *ordas* were rendered literally in Chinese, it would be *woliduo* or *wuliduo*;[9] it must have been realised that *Da woliduo* sounds hardly as majestic as *Dachao*. Moreover, the translation probably came via a Qidan intermediary, for the reconstructed Qidan equivalent of the Mongolian *yeke* is *yugi*, with both typically translated by the Chinese *da* (Huang 1985, p. 96). Thus, *Dachao* is perhaps one of the truest translations of the period and captures the meaning of the Mongolian quite well. On the other hand, it is mysterious why *Yekes Ordas* was chosen to represent either a national title or a calendar year in Chinese. *Yekes Ordas* is unlike *Yeke Mongγol Ulus* ("Great Mongolian State/Empire/Country"),[10] the national title of the Mongolian Empire, for the latter defines something much different (Cleaves – Mostaert 1952, pp. 486–495; See also Farquhar 1990, p. 427). If we make the comparison between the two in more modern terms, *Yeke Mongγol Ulus* is to "British Empire" (Sinor 1989, p. 46) and *Yekes Ordas* is to Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle, but should include sundry palaces of princes and potentates camping throughout the Empire. That notion is partly confirmed

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the 8th month of 1260, the first year of the so-called "first Mongol *nianhao*", *Zhongtong*. This inscription comes from the Yunyangshan Shengshou Monastery. See Xuan 1989, p. 1363. Xuan noted that there are two other inscriptions of the same type, dated to the fourth and fifth year of *Dachao Zhongtong*. See Xuan 1989, p. 1363. Xuan's information again shows that there is no such thing as *Yuan Zhongtong*. Zhu Huo recently wrote that there is a statement in Bi Yuan's *Zhongzhou Jin shiji* that says, "Dachao dingyou, bushi nianhao [that is, 'Dachao is not a year title']." See Zhu 1991, p. 414. That attribution is erroneous. *Dachao dingyou* is not even recorded by Bi, and there is no statement regarding the issue of its status as *nianhao*. In fact, *yiyou* corresponds to the year 1225 and *gengxu* to 1250. Unlike Zhu, Ding correctly disagreed with Bi Yuan's dating of the two inscriptions. Zhu also did not credit Bi Yuan in his citation. In addition to numerous factual errors, Zhu's book lacks citations for illustrations (including photographs) and data that clearly is not his own work. In truth, the work is based almost entirely on previously published material. In any event, Zhu is well known for his series of brief articles that ran in *Wenwu*, called "Guqian". All the same, his "Guqian" article on Yuan coinage is not very informative. For example, Zhu published the size and weight of a Dachao tongbao without saying where it is from. In addition, the illustration is uncredited. See Zhu 1983, p. 96.

[9] The one exception is from Yelu Chucai's *Xiyou lu* (or *Record of a Journey to the West*), where Chinggis' *ordas* is called *xingzai*. See Rachewiltz 1962, p. 45, note 47. For the others, see Wittfogel 1949, p. 517. However, earlier Chinese sources refer to nomads as *xingguo* 'moving states' or *mashang xingguo* 'states on horseback'.

[10] This term has been translated numerous times as "Great Mongol State". *Yeke* is Mongolian for "large", but the phrase can be taken to mean "Great Mongolian State/Empire/Country". Derived from this we get the popular sobriquet "Great Mongol" which occasionally is used to define the period before Qubilai *Qaγan*.

through the reading of an inscription, found at Qaraqorum (the fixed Mongol capital founded in 1229 by Chinggis' son and successor, Ögödei). Dating to the *Zhizheng* period of Yuan (1348) and in Mongolian, its transliteration is *yekes ordas-un* [a genitive form][11] *Umekei Ning-ong-uun medel-ü* (Matsukawa 1997, pp. 93–95).[12] This epigraph indeed suggests something more encompassing, as its plural form expresses a multiplicity of "Great Courts". Apparently, it functioned as an alternate political designation differing from *Yeke Mongγol Ulus*, but undoubtedly was understood to represent the latter for most Chinese in its translation of *Dachao*.

Given that the problem of translation is very ordinary for the period (Rachewiltz 1967, pp. 66–71),[13] the confusion elicited by *Dachao* is understandable. The problem still confounds modern scholars, leading many to dispute these versions. For example, some have even debated the linking of *Yeke Mongγol Ulus* to the Chinese reference *Da Menggu guo* (Hidehiro 1993, p. 368).[14] However, we should not surrender our common sense just because the sources are not as literal, or conversely too literal, as we would like them to be. No special pleading is needed to affirm these translations, for between the Mongolian and the Chinese they mean the same thing. As shall be uncovered here, confusion reigned regarding the issues of national titles and their translations and uses, beginning during Chinggis Qan's regime and continuing with his successors.[15]

[11] *-s* is a plural suffix, in a nominative/absolutive form; *-un* is one of the back-vowel genitive suffixes attached to consonantal stems.

[12] For *yekes ordas* see also Eerdengtai 1981, p. 306. The Mongolian and Chinese forms compare favourably to the Arabicised Turkic *al-Ūrdū al-Ā'zam* which likewise means "Great Courts", discussed below.

[13] Similar problems are found in the Arabo-Persian sources. For example, in diplomatic correspondence between the Ilkhan Abaqa and the Mamluk Sultān Baybars, there is a vulgar style of Arabic in the written text that is very unusual. See Amitai-Preiss 1994, p. 29 and pp. 32–33, note 39. Apparently, writing letters in Arabic based upon a Mongolian model was also difficult.

[14] Hidehiro Okada argues that it is unproven to be a Chinese translation of the Mongolian *yeke Mongγol ulus*. For Sinor, there is no debate: *Da Menggu guo* is the Chinese equivalent of *Yeke Mongγol Ulus*. See Sinor 1989, p. 44, note 23 and p. 46. For further discussion regarding linking the term *yeke Mongγol ulus* to *Da Menggu guo*, see Olbricht – Pinks 1980, pp. 21–22, note 15; although Kepping wrote that the Tanguts called their state "Great State of White and High" (Chinese: *Gaobai Daguo*, or *Gaobai Daxia guo*) (Kepping 1994, pp. 358–360), no one has yet to examine the influence of the Tangut's official state name upon the Mongolian.

[15] On this, there are examples of epigraphical dedications showing confusion between the national title *Yeke Mongγol Ulus* and *Yekes Ordas*. For example, from the Shifangyun Guang cave (location uncertain) dating to 1257, there is the inscription *Dachao Menggu guo dingsi*, which translates as "Great Court of the Mongol State: (year-) *dingsi* (= 1257)". See Xuan 1989, p. 1363. Excavations of the Wanbuhuayanjing Pagoda, located in Huhehaote, the capital of Nei Menggu Autonomous Region, revealed the inscription *Dachao guo* ("State of the Great Court") *Xuande zhou Xuande*. See Li 1977, p. 64, item 522. In fact, the earliest attested use of *Dachao guo* is 1245. See Xue 1990, #3906. Simply, *Dachao Menggu guo* and *Dachao guo* show a link to *Yeke Mongγol Ulus* and *Yekes Ordas*. *Yekes Ordas* must have been a very serious alternate political designation with the known national title, enough so that it caused confusion for the officials to decide which was valid to translate, hence the variety seen. Again, this confusion was not restricted to the Chinese translations; those in the Turkic language in the Arabic script reveal the same type of problem.

The historical sources, while apocryphal, reflect the fact that *Dachao* was a euphemism alluding to the Mongols or Mongolia (Tuo-tuo 1970, 2:19).[16] Therefore, during the thirteenth century, *Yekes Ordas* and *Yeke Mongγol Ulus* were perceived as being as a single unit. That is why there is so much interchangeability between *Dachao* and *Da Menggu guo* in the sources. Representing the nomadic reality of Mongol life, the nation and its capital were always on the move, without fixed boundaries. Application of sedentary concepts such as of a fixed capital was to come later. Consequently, we must consider *yekes ordas* as a reference to the very nation – the Mongolian Empire's supreme government and council, and additionally includes the *ordas* of princes and potentates who were hierarchically of lesser standing (Wittfogel 1949, p. 517).[17]

A related issue to the above, which must be put to rest, is the idea that *Dachao* refers to the "Great Court assembly" (Chinese: *Da chaohui*, Mongolian: *Yeke Qurilta*).[18] Xiao Qiqing defined the *Da chaohui* as a gathering of the "Empress, imperial concubines, imperial clansmen, relatives, grand ministers, generals and sundry officials, and others who came to give their allegiance to the Khan in person" and who appeared in grand style (Xiao 1978, p. 92, note 19). The historian Juvainī's (1225–1283) retelling in his *Ta'rīkh-i Jihān-gushā* (or *History of the World Conqueror*) of Güyük's 1246 *yeke qurilta* gives a good indication of both its size and pomp (Juvainī 1958, pp. 248–255). Indeed, while a *yeke qurilta* was quite grand, and hardly commonplace, it was also a tremendously solemn affair (Yu Dajun 1986–1987, pp. 280–281). Unfortunately, it has nothing to do with Dachao tongbao.

Connecting Dachao tongbao to the *Da chaohui* in any manner is ill-founded; for other than sharing two of the same characters as this event, it would have been quite indecorous to hand out such diminutive, and somewhat frivolous, "awards" to

[16] In the Song and Jin dynastic histories, *Dachao* is interchangeable with "Mongol" or "Mongolia" and no other indication is given of its status. For example, the Song dynastic history *Song shi: Lizong benji zan* describes a military retreat from *Dachao* in order to decide defensive strategies. See Zhu 1991, p. 414. A Jin historical work, the *Da Jin guozhi*, records the military activity of *Dachao* much like the *Song shi*, saying it occurred during the "fifth year of *Mingchang* (a *nianhao* of *Jin* corresponding to 1194)". See Ding 1989, 1361. Nevertheless, as that work was written sometime after 1194, it does not establish that the Mongols were referring to themselves as *Dachao* as of that date. A Jürchen scholar, Yuwen Mouchao, wrote the *Da Jin guozhi*. Buell noted that this work is supposed to be from before the fall of the Jin, but that "in its present form, the work is clearly a product of the period after the fall of Kaifeng to the Mongols in 1234". See Buell 1979a, p. 73, note 30. The *Yuan shi: Zhongyi shigui Renzhi zhuan* also notes that the Mongols were called *Dachao* in the period of Chinggis' rule. Again, like the others, that work was compiled long after the facts it records. Finding mention of Dachao tongbao in the sources is also scarce. There is but one, an entry from the *Song shi: Lizong benji zan*. Clearly, all of these statements concerning *Dachao* are apocryphal. An additional number of euphemisms for the Mongols can be found from the *Da Jin guozhi*; see Yuwen Mouchao 1949, pp. 6, and 130.

[17] This point is mirrored in a *Yuan shi* reference to Taiding's (Mongolian: *Yesün Temür*, 1323–1328) 1323 coup d'état, when he claimed to "sit on the throne within Taizu's (= Chinggis') *Da woerduo*". *Da woerduo* here also does not simply mean "palace" (Chinese: *gong*); it implicitly refers to *Yekes Ordas*.

[18] See Yu Dajun 1986–1987, pp. 277–304; see also Rachewiltz 1986–1987, pp. 305–307; see also Xiao 1978, p. 92, note 19.

so many high-ranking notables at such a serious affair. Thus, the current of thought that has Dachao tongbao being given to high-level officials as a presentation gift at court is not based on common sense (Sheng 1995, p. 22). It would have been ignoble for the Mongol elite to reward such important persons in this fashion, even at a common *chaohui* or *qurilta*. There is no demonstrable link between Dachao tongbao and the *Da chaohui*.

Now knowing what the expression *Dachao* does or does not represent, we can at last turn to dissecting the argument that the Mongols did not have a *nianhao* before 1260. To accomplish that aim, we only have to look at a contemporary source on the Mongols that revealed the true function of *Dachao* as a *nianhao*. That source is Zhao Hong's *Mengda beilu* (or *Detailed Account of the Mongol-Tatars*), written in 1221 and slightly revised in 1227. It was Zhao who first recorded the inaugural year of the use of *Dachao* paired with calendric sequencing (Chinese: *ganzhi*), 1220. He observed the pairing during his visits as an envoy of the Southern Song court to the camp of Muqali, the Mongol viceroy (Chinese: *guowang*) in North China in 1221 (Allsen 1981–1983, p. 657).[19] Zhao precisely wrote that:

> In the Spring of last year they had for as much as I, Hong, saw, the expression *Dachao* ["Great Courts"] on documents they dispatched: besides this, their year denominations were "Year of the Hare" and "Year of the Dragon". Only in the last year have they changed the denomination to "Year *gengchen*" [1220]. They call the current year *xinsi* [1221]. This is correct. In addition, they have given the name *Da Menggu guo* [Great Mongolian State/Empire/County] to their state, which in their eyes is the state that was most powerful; this too was taught to them only by the public officials who escaped the Nuzhen (Olbricht – Pinks 1980, pp. 16–17).[20]

The above passage strongly suggests that the Mongols (vis-à-vis defector Jin officials) probably had their own imperial nomenclature translated into Chinese and fitted onto a Chinese calendar,[21] by a reliable date of 1220 (Olbricht – Pinks 1980,

[19] Muqali was given the hereditary title of *guowang* by Chinggis, as well as the additional title *taishi* in September 1217. On the other hand, Rashīd al-Dīn reported that the Jürchen (that is, the people of North China) gave the title of *guowang* to Muqali. According to him, it was only when Chinggis dispatched Muqali to again attempt the conquest of southern Jin territory that he formally bestowed the title on him for "luck". See Rachewiltz 1977, pp. 49–50. For a further assessment of Muqali, and his achievements, see also Kwanten 1978, pp. 31–38.

[20] Olbricht – Pinks render *guo* with the German *reiche* 'reign' throughout this passage, but that is incorrect. The correct terms are "state/empire/country" and I have adjusted the translation accordingly. The parenthetical comments in this version are obviously not from Zhao's account and are my addition. Those comments are retained in the text because they are not an alteration of his meaning or intent. For this particular passage in Chinese, see Munkuev 1975, p. 250. Igor de Rachewiltz also provided a translation of this passage. See Rachewiltz 1966, p. 125, note 2. Rachewiltz's parenthetical comments are a bit confusing. It seemed he was saying that *Dachao* was used referring to *Jin*.

[21] Buell notes that Yelu Chucai's first responsibility upon joining the Mongol court was creating the calendar (derived from the Chinese) that the Mongols adopted in the early stages of

pp. 21–22, notes 13–14).[22] While Zhao observed the phrase *Da Menggu guo* as being *guohao*, he did not explicitly indicate if *Dachao* was *guohao*, or *nianhao*. Commonsense precluded its mention – the officials reading his account would have understood it without needing further explanation.

It can be argued from Zhao's statements that ministers at the court of Muqali used *Dachao* (to represent *Yekes Ordas*) either as a dual *guohao* with *Da Menggu guo*, or as a *nianhao*. As an administrative matter the adoption of one or the other was crucial because of the necessity in communicating protocols that were dated. That is why the majority of inscriptions present *Dachao* paired with *ganzhi*. Moreover, evidence consisting of epigraphs reveals the pliability in how *Dachao* was used. From them, it appears that *Dachao* acted as either a *guohao* or a *nianhao*. Furthermore, the fact that every inscription known to date concerning *Dachao* are found exclusively in North China represents a notion that the region was tied more intimately to Mongolia than Central Asia was (Dardess 1972–1973, p. 124). That is due to a number of factors, including geography and cultural history. North China became part of a "Great Mongolia".[23] On this point, we should also diverge from the consensus opinion that the Mongol Empire did not have any national title for its Chinese subjects before 1271 (Chan 1967, p. 133).[24] Where *Dachao* appears alone it was *guohao* and where it appears paired with *ganzhi* it was *nianhao*.

By all available evidence, the pairing of *Dachao* (= *nianhao*) with *ganzhi* is very common. That fact contrasts the apparently opposite situation in Southern Song. For example, from inscriptions of the period found in Sichuan, *ganzhi* generally only appear after the year of a *nianhao* to define the given month (Long 1997, pp. 164–166).[25]

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their conquests. See Buell 1979a, p. 70. Perhaps these documents originated from the former Jin capital, Zhongdu, renamed Yan by Muqali. By 1220, it had become a major centre of the Mongol administration in North China. See also Buell 1979b, p. 136, note 71. For the renaming of Zhongdu, see Rachewiltz 1977, p. 50.

[22] That Zhao observed the year *xinsi* is important because it indicates the exact year of his journey, 1221. The 'year of the hare' and the 'year of the dragon' correspond to the years 1219 and 1220. In the *Secret History of the Mongols*, this method of dating begins with the year 1201, the "year of the chicken". Although the Mongols assumed *ganzhi* dating two decades later, the zodiac remained in use for the dating of imperial decrees until 1266. See also Haenisch 1948, p. 141.

[23] Qubilai initially planned to name his dynasty "Great Mongolia", or *Da Menggu*. See Kwanten 1979, p. 319, note 15 (his summation is from the *Kuo-ch'ao wen-lei*, 40:4b).

[24] Such a recommendation only came in a Liu Pingchung memorial to Qubilai Qaγan in 1271. It was Liu who advised that the *guohao* "*Yuan*" be adopted. See also Cleaves – Mostaert 1952, p. 15, note 71. Interestingly, John D. Langlois, Jr. attributed the use of this national title to a Jürchen named Tudangonglu who submitted the memorial, specifically dated to January 18, 1272. See Langlois, Jr. 1982, p. 89, note 1. Kwanten also noted such disagreements of fixing a date to the start of *Yuan*. He says that the dates 1260, when Qubilai took the throne, and 1282, when Song loyalists ceased using Song reign titles, could be points to date the start of *Yuan* to. The two in between dates, 1271 when *Yuan* was actually proclaimed to 1279 (the year of the last Song claimant to the throne) are other possibilities. Kwanten offers the date of 1206 (the date of Chinggis' *qurilta*) to consider as the starting date for *Yuan*. I find that an intriguing perspective. Just the same, 1271 is the most appropriate date based on the sources. See Kwanten 1979, p. 319, note 16.

[25] *Ganzhi* pairing with numbers are found in epitaphical inscriptions from Northern Song military tombs in Shaanxi Province. See Sanmenxia 1999, p. 403. See also He 1981, pp. 122–126.

Yet, it is only within the context of epigraphical dedications from Daoist and Buddhist sites where one can discern the function of *Dachao* outside of Zhao Hong's account. From an epigraph found in the Longxingguan, located in Yi County, Hebei Province, we find what is perhaps the earliest attested use of *Dachao* as *guohao*; it begins *Dachao Yizhou chongxiu Longxingguan zhi bei*, and has been dated to 1257 (Xue 1990, #16 "Longxingguan bei"). The latest attested inscription dates to 1271 (discussed below). Therefore, at least between the years 1257 to 1271, *Dachao* was understood as acting as *guohao* and it is very likely that it was acting as such long before then. On its more ordinary function as a *nianhao*, Cai Meibiao presented a memorandum from a stone tablet that was directly commissioned by the Mongol *qaγan* for an important Daoist monastery, the Wanshougong (Cai 1955, p. 117). Found in Zhouzhi County, Shaanxi Province, the epigraph begins by noting the past and present royal courts (Chinese: *luchao*) of the *Da Menggu guo* (Mongolian: *yeke Mongγol ulus*).[26] Thus, the *guohao* is presented. After the *guohao*, the inscription *Dachao* follows, again acting as the common euphemism for the Mongols (or Mongolia). It says, "…to let coming generations know of *Dachao*'s respect for them [i.e., the Daoists]." This phrase also gives the sense of a political regime, which might be taken for a *guohao*. Even so, the epigraph is dated *Dachao suici xinhai*, *seventh month, ninth day* as well (Cai 1955, p. 117). Such exact dating conforms to a standard practice of pairing the *nianhao* with the year and date. Incidentally, it is this sort pairing which has caused so much confusion and has led so many astray. While *xinhai* denotes the year 1251, there is an additional date in the inscription, omitting *Dachao*, which corresponds to the third month of 1249. However, these inscriptions are often posthumously dated. Xue Ziqiang dates another epigraph from the Wanshougong to 1246, although it is actually dated *Dachao suici yiyou*, *eleventh month*, *ninth day*, or 1225 (Xue 1990, #2203 "Wanshougong ji").

Besides Daoist monasteries, many similar epigraphs are also found in Buddhist monasteries. For example, Weng Shupei (1765–1809) mentioned the monasteries Dayouguoshi and the warehouse of Cienshi as having examples of stone-carved memorials dated to *Dachao yisi* (1245) and *Dachao bingwu* (1246) [Gao 1911, 20b]. In the eighteenth century, Bi Yuan (1730–1797) described in his work, *Zhongzhou Jin shiji*, the inscriptions *Dachao yiyou* (1225) and *Dachao gengxu* (1250). Bi incorrectly dated them to the third year of the *Zhida* period (Bi Yuan 1783, 5:15b and 16a).

The inscriptions from both Daoist and Buddhist monasteries prove that the practice of using *Dachao* as a *guohao* (or *nianhao* if paired with *ganzhi*) was maintained on an official level for a substantial period. That is because many of them are dated to periods that coincide with Qubilai's *nianhao Zhongtong* and *Zhiyuan*, before his establishing Yuan. An epigraph from the Lingxugong, located in Ye County, Shandong Province, is dated using *Zhongtong* (to its fourth year [1263]), with *Dachao* plus *ganzhi* (Xue 1990, #1008 "Lingxugong bei"). Also from Ye County, in the Taiweiguan, is an epigraph dated *Dachao Zhiyuan si nian* (1267) [Xue 1990, #1012

[26] Zhouzhi is the repository of three epigraphs that show *Dachao* paired with *ganzhi*. Two are in the Wanshougong and a third is in the Chongyangcheng Daogong. Xue dates that inscription to the third month of 1254. See Xue 1990, #2624 "Chongyangcheng Daogong bei".

"Taiweiguan bei"]. An epigraph from Quyang, Hebei Province, although dated to the sixth month and fifteenth day of *Zhiyuan wu nian* (1268), begins by using *Dachao* as a *guohao* (Xue 1990, #7626 "Zhenjunguan bei"). Recent excavations in Pucheng Donger, Shaanxi Province (March 1998) have revealed a rare and unusual frescoed tomb of a Mongolian nobleman and his Chinese wife that has a dated inscription which reads *Dachao guo Zhiyuan liu nian suici siyi* [sic!], which dates the tomb to 1269 (Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiu suo 2000, p. 21).[27] *Dachao* is also seen clearly functioning as a *guohao* from an epigraph found in a surprising place – Qubilai's winter capital Zhongdu (formerly Yan, it later became his primary capital Dadu). The epigraph is from the Dingzhita Pagoda, located at the bottom of Babao Mountain in Shijingsan District (a suburb of Beijing). Dated to the fifth year of *Zhiyuan* (1268), it reads *Dachao Zhongdu Dachongguo shi* (Xue 1994, p. 5). All of these inscriptions should dispel any assumptions that usage of *Dachao* was brief or temporary. Another verifiable inscription marked the calendar even to the very year of the establishment of the *guohao* Yuan. Excavations of the Wanbuhuayanjing Pagoda (also known as Baita Pagoda, or 10,000 Buddhist *sutras* Pagoda), located in Huhehaote, the capital of Nei Menggu Autonomous Region, revealed a dedicatory inscription that reads *Dachao Zhiyuan ba nian qiyue ershiba ri Xixia guo Renwanyuan zeng Hui Shan daoci* (Li 1977, p. 64, item 505).[28] Hui Shan was a Tangut monk of the Renwanyuan monastery, located in the former Xixia realm, and the dedication of his visit is dated July 28, 1271.[29] Li Yiyou, the author who wrote of this find, correctly believes that this inscription is an example of *Dachao* being used as *guohao* (Li 1995, p. 47). What Li did not indicate is why it continued to be employed.

The usage of *Dachao* well into Qubilai's reign may indicate two things. First, it was not easy for Qubilai's ministers to eliminate the earlier calendar. It must have its partisans who were opposed to change. Second, the fact that there are no inscriptions of the period from Sichuan indicates that his ministers were able to restrict the import of the older calendar there.[30] Moreover, no one has recognised how influential these translations were for the formation of Qubilai's own imperial nomenclature, especially his *guohao* Yuan.[31] Perhaps *Da Yuan guo* or *Da Yuanchao* (to mean the "Great Original State" or the "Great Original Court") should be considered as distinguishing nomenclature that asserts primacy over the other by-then autonomous Mon-

[27] This use of "State of the Great Court" with Qubilai's *nianhao* again attests to confusion between *Yeke Mongγol Ulus* and *Yekes Ordas*, a problem which, if the inscriptions are any guide, began in 1245.

[28] Another inscription reveals dating in two different calendar years. Xuan Yugong wrote of a pairing of the older Sino-Qidan calendar with the newer *nianhao* of Qubilai's: *Dachao bingyin Zhiyuan san nian* corresponding to 1266. This inscription is from the Jieshishou Pagoda. See Xuan 1989, p. 1364.

[29] Of course, Xixia had long since ceased existing as a state. Rather, it was used here as a geographical designation, apparently still popular.

[30] Regarding the inscription dating to the fourth year of *Zhizheng*, see Long 1997, p. 181.

[31] For example, *Da Yuan guo* and particularly *Da Yuan*. Many epigraphs begin with the *guohao* Yuan, much in the same way they did previously with *Dachao*. See Xue 1990, pp. 106 and 140.

gol *ulus-ut* (i.e., the Jochid Golden Horde and the Chagatayid).[32] In his *guohao*, Qubilai retained the nominal authority he possessed as *Qaγan*. It explicitly re-enforced his connection to the seat of the "original" great court: the motherland Mongolia with all of its legacies.[33] Therefore, it is unnecessary to attribute the event of Qubilai's adoption of a *guohao* to some modality of Neo-Confucianism upon the Mongols. Rather, it was a reinforcement of Mongolian values, again translated. The earlier use of *Dachao* as either a *guohao* or a *nianhao* has never been scrutinised as evidence that the Mongols drew upon "Chinese institutions, traditions and forms (Buell 1977, p. 3)", which they did, but only to suit their own sensibilities. The application of the protocol on Dachao tongbao also reveals the ambiguity between the two ideas of *guohao* and *nianhao*. It expresses either concept. However, Dachao tongbao did not yet exist in 1220.

According to Zhao, Muqali ruled North China much like a Chinese emperor. The dress, regalia and court procedures at Muqali's camp followed Chinese models from defector Jin officials. They were prominent Qidan, Chinese, and Jürchen officials who had submitted to the Mongols and who joined Chinggis Qan's forces after 1215 (Allsen 1981–1983, p. 658). The adaptation of those models was made possible because Muqali was responsible for their reappointment. Because of that, it has been noted that it was perhaps their counsel that helped to reduce the arbitrary destructiveness of the North China campaigns (Rachewiltz 1977, p. 53).[34] Amazingly, they actually helped to largely preserve Han culture. Indeed, their culture was not only preserved, their ministers adopted characteristics of Han culture for the Mongols, in order to communicate Mongolian nomenclature that differed from the Chinese. The *nianhao Dachao* reflected their self-image as the "Great Courts" (*Yekes Ordas*). What Zhao did not know was that the Qidan ministers travelling with Chinggis Qan on his Central Asian campaigns also enforced this protocol. Its adoption was highly symbolic of new and equally revolutionary developments. First among them was the monetisation of the poll tax (Mongolian: *qubchir*) in Chinggis' army.

A. The Sino-Qidan Administration and the Establishment of the Monetary Qubchir in Chinggis's Army

Dachao was established for official use during spring 1220 and imperial decrees and correspondences were dated to it. The Sino-Qidan calendar was important because it

[32] *Ulus-ut* is the Middle Mongolian form (with voiceless final), and the classical/pre-classical (Uighur-script) form is *ulus-ud*. The Jochid *ulus* was called *Altan ordu* in Mongolian. Translating as "Golden Court" *Altan ordu* could also represent the idea that it was the centre, an idea which challenged the authority of the *Qaγan*. See Serruys 1962, p. 377.

[33] The Ilkhans continued to seek conferral of authority from Qubilai because of that. See Allsen 1991, p. 27; The Ilkhans from Abaqa to Baidu also struck coins in the name of the *Qaγan*, visibly abrogating the notion of "sovereignty".

[34] Kwanten observed that between 1216 and 1227 over forty Jin officials defected to the Mongols. Upon defection, these officials were put in charge of important administrative, or even military, affairs. Of all the civil authorities that held office in this period, only one is known to have been a Mongol. In the towns and villages that had been conquered, the local officials kept their positions as long as they were obedient to Mongol authority. See also Kwanten 1979, p. 117.

in some measure legitimised the Mongols' aspirations to be a credible political power, with the necessary bureaucracy and appropriate protocols to communicate that power. It became a new tool in their potent arsenal. Significantly, at the very same moment the nomenclature was expounded, the Mongol army was on its Western expedition led by Chinggis. First among the many notable achievements of those campaigns was the subjugation of the city of Samarqand (located on the Zarafshan river, in today's Uzbekistan), also during spring 1220. Immediately after its conquest, a Sino-Qidan administration was inaugurated there.[35] The imperial governor (Mongolian: *daruγachi*) of Samarqand was the Qidan minister Yelu Ahai who, according to Judith G. Kolbas, did not organise a new coinage system but left the previous (Islamic-based) in place (Kolbas 1992, p. 81). There are no dated coins struck in this period (Buell 1979b, p. 122, note 5).[36] However, a tribute tax system was established. Later, that system would have a crucial impact on the development of a similar tax system in North China. In May–June 1220, two *amirs* of Samarqand, Seqat al-Molk and 'Amid Bozorg, were appointed by Chinggis to levy the tribute tax there (Juvainī 1958, p. 122). In actuality, they served Yelu Ahai's administration (Buell 1979b, p. 135, note 66). An important norm was brought into existence with their appointment. Bullion was drawn in from the populace. The amount levied was 200,000 gold coins (Arabic: *dīnārs*) [Juvainī 1958, p. 122; see also Buell 1979b, pp. 130, note 45, and 131, note 48]. Evidently, Chinggis took part of that amount with him when he moved on to campaign in Khorasan (Buell 1979b, p. 130, note 45 [quoting from Juvainī]). This bullion (either silver or gold) was then utilised to sustain an even more important development, the monetisation of the *qubchir*.

In stark contrast to their going unmentioned in the historical sources, there are numerous varieties of coins associated with Chinggis' military campaigns; especially those of the Ghazna mint (from today's Afghanistan) in particular (Allsen 1986, p. 171).[37] Their existence challenges the stereotype of the destructiveness wrought upon

[35] It included Yelu Ahai, his son Yelu Miansige, Yelu Liuge's oldest son Yelu Xuedu or Xueshe, Li Zhichang, Yelu Chucai, his grandson Yelu Xiliang, members of two prominent Qidan families (the Shimo Yexian's and Shimo Anzhi's), Liu Wen (the Chinese physician and arrow-maker), and *Arachan (possibly a Tangut). See Feng Jiqin 1995, pp. 68–69. Note that the Qidan names here are not re-constructed in that language, and are the Chinese equivalents.

[36] Buell notes only the issues of 1225–1227 of Samarqand (quoting Davidovich 1972).

[37] Allsen only observes a fraction of these currencies in his work. He says that, "silverplated copper coins bearing the name of Chinggis Qan struck in Samarkand in 624 A.H./1226–1227 A.D. … are the only known examples of coins minted in the name of the Great Qan prior to Möngke's time." For the exact type mentioned by Allsen, see Davidovich 1970, p. 58 (Russian). The reverse inscription on them reads *Mengū*/ *Jinkiz-ī*/ *Jinkiz Khān*. In Persian, the final long *-ī* is a back-vowel genitive suffix attached onto the subject to indicate possession. Thus, *Mengū*/ *Jinkiz-ī* could be rendered as 'Chinggis' Money'. Does this expression boldly announce the function of the item as *qubchir*? Yes, but only if the reading of 'money' is accepted for *mengū* and I doubt many seriously would. However, because the style of the additional '*Jinkiz Khān*' is unlike that seen from the several earlier dies of Ghazna, it shows that a different die-carver was employed. The remarkable obverse reads: *bi-Samarqand wa nawāhī*, which dryly announces that the 'coinage' is (only) for Samarqand and the (implied) province of Bukhara (which was all or most of Transoxiana). With this sort inscription (for it first appeared in Samarqand in 1225) we see the certainly official notion of restricted circulation expressed. Furthermore, because the two types, that is, of 1225 and 1226–

the Central Asians by the Mongols. A rather weak argument was raised confronting this issue. It said that as these conquests created trepidation in the local markets (resulting in a termination of trade and a monetary economy),[38] (Davidovich 1970, pp. 57–67 [Russian] 245* [English summary]) the Mongols resorted to coercive measures to enforce circulation of their money (Davidovich 1970, 245* [English summary]).[39] That view results in an odd paradox: if the Mongols were busy undermining sedentary life by ripping it to shreds militarily, then why would they have to compel anyone to use "their money"? The termination of a monetary economy seems remarkably brief in light of the numbers of coins known.[40] Until now, it had been difficult to resolve exactly why there were coins at all, of any sort. For example, it is believed that no tribute tax was levelled on the citizens of Ghazna.[41] With so many dead or forced into slavery, there were no markets and coins were not needed for buying or selling. There were no additional taxes, such as that on trade. Irrespective of that, Kolbas attributed the Ghazna coinages to Mahmud Yalavach by summarising their development in this way:

> In fact, there was no reason Yalavach needed to mint in Zabulistan [sic! *Afghanistan*] at all except one, to tax his own army. Two factors would allow this: one, booty was considered as income for the soldiers which the Khan felt he could tax and, secondly, a large part of the army was not Mongol but affiliated tribes or enforced manpower (Kolbas 1992, pp. 104–105).

The above hypothesis describes a plausible scenario, but it is flawed as it does not provide the necessary historical sources to define the issue of taxation within the rank and file of the Mongol army. Certainly, that army was actually comprised in

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1227, having the inscription surrounding two *tamghas*/*nishans* (one which appears above the other on both), it confirms completely that the tokens were never intended to circulate in the civilian marketplace. As the two *tamghas*/*nishans* are not seen on Dachao tongbao, the discussion of them ends here.

[38] The Mongol invasions had a global effect. For example, So Kee Long discusses the termination of markets in Southern China and the loss of trade with Korea, due to the Mongol conquests. See also So 1991, p. 127. Coinage is not the central issue regarding trade, or its termination.

[39] Davidovich asserted that the coinage issued by the Mongol government for their subject populations was rejected in this period, and that it is proven by the coercive nature of the coin inscriptions regarding their use or circulation. A series of coinage that does have coercive inscriptions only dates from April–May 1233, not before. The Mongol coinage at Samarqand from 1220 to 1223, and again in 1227, possesses no such language in its inscriptions. Thus, the Mongols under Chinggis were not "coercing" anyone to use "their money". For a discussion of the coinage of 1233, see Fedorov 1998–1999, p. 8.

[40] Sinor, in comments made regarding Allsen's *Mongol Imperialism*, raised questions on Allsen's treatment of Mongol taxation and money. Sinor said that the army was "essentially unpaid"; that the great majority of Mongols lived in wretched poverty; even ministers at court lived a frugal life. He concluded by asking, "Where then did all the money go?" See Sinor 1989, p. 56. His question is a good one. The answer is that the army, as we shall see, was not "essentially unpaid". There is, in fact, quite a bit of "money" floating about and it had a purpose. Moreover, it stayed with the camp.

[41] The existence of dated *dīnārs* may contradict that belief.

part of auxiliary troops of non-Mongol origin: primarily Qidan, Han Chinese, and Uighur/Turkic units (Ratchnevsky 1991, pp. 128–129, and 173).[42] It is known that in Chinggis' army there were 20,000 Qidan and Jürchen troops under the leadership of Uyar and Tughan (Xiao 1978, p. 132, note 67).[43] It is equally understood that the *qubchir* was a tax, collected in kind (i.e., livestock, etc.) and was assessed whenever necessary, not just yearly. According to the historian Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Fadl Allāh al-'Umarī (1301–1349), in his work *Masālik al-Absār fī Mamālik al-Amsār*, the *qubchir* was collected "by the Qan from the soldiers who returned to peace and quiet from the slaughter and distress of war" (Lech 1968, p. 97). Presently it is believed that the *qubchir* was not monetised until the reign of Möngke (1251–1259) [Allsen 1986, p. 164]. That understanding needs to be re-evaluated because the *qubchir* taken in coin probably first developed during the Afghanistan campaigns under Chinggis. At that time, it was levied on the non-Mongol auxiliary troops and was done so in keeping with Mongolian military taxation/payment procedures that worked something like this: no work, no pay. We know the previous to be correct because not even Mongolian soldiers themselves received rations when they were not on a combat or garrison assignment, and their treatment should be compared to that shown to Jin soldiers who received money from the state only when they were on expeditions (Xiao 1978, p. 142, note 216). On this point, David O. Morgan would have us believe that being a soldier in the Mongolian army was not a "form of employment, for which pay and allowances could be expected" (Morgan 1979, p. 92). That is not completely the case. There undeniably was remuneration in cash, not merely given as largess but as what should be considered as pay, and that fact may help to explain the process as one of creating an added incentive for war and conquest. However, the equability of that distribution is totally unknown. The salient point is that a soldier's share of that reward was taxed from him in order to support government expenses. While Rashīd al-Dīn (1247?–1318) observed in his work, *Ta'rīkh-i Ghāzānī* (or *History of Ghazan Khan*), that *qubchir* was collected for the "benefit of the *urdus* and those soldiers who had become impoverished" (Morgan 1979, p. 91), it should be understood from al-'Umarī that the *qubchir* was levied on those troops temporarily inactive from the campaigns, and not necessarily levied after the cessation of hostilities. Knowing the latter it is possible to address exactly who levied the *qubchir*.

Because the levy of *qubchir* was an activity only performed by a senior governor, the persons who could have been responsible for it at this time were exclusively the Qidan officials who governed the province of Bukhara starting from 1220 (Buell 1979b, p. 136). As a senior *daruγachi*, it was Yelu Ahai's responsibility for the collection of tribute and it is believed the idea to tax the *ordas* was probably his, once the

[42] To those, we can add Jürchen and Tangut auxiliaries.

[43] Note that other auxiliaries were not counted in the sources, and the quoted figure is the exception. György Kara pointed out to me that *wanshi* (< Chinese *yuanshuai*) i.e., Uyar Wanshi is for "army commander, general". We also must not neglect to mention the Qidan general Jiatalahun, who commanded Qidan, Han, Jürchen and Tangut troops on these campaigns. See also Feng Jiqin 1995, pp. 68–69.

Mongol armies returned to Samarqand, "after the destruction of Ghazna" (Kolbas 1992, p. 81). Be that as it may, Kolbas believed that it was actually Yalavach who was responsible for the collection of the tax in money rather than the Mongol practice of collecting in kind and did so much earlier, during the Afghanistan campaigns (Kolbas 1992, p. 81).[44] Her attributing these silver and gold coinages to Yalavach is quite convenient to do because he was a known merchant accustomed to an Islamic system of money struck from precious metals with dies. Nonetheless, it is hardly credible to give to him powers he never had based only on his status as a Central Asian merchant (Kolbas 1992, p. 82).[45] Likewise, it is remarkable that the historian Juvainī described Yalavach as the *daruγachi* of Ghazna (Juvainī 1958, pp. 133–134), given the destruction handed down to its hapless inhabitants by the Mongols. Unless Juvainī was exaggerating, Ghazna ceased to exist. Moreover, making Yalavach a *daruγachi* over nothing gives him a strange pedigree.[46] The fact that it was a senior *daruγachi*'s duty to collect the *qubchir* cannot be denied. Yalavach was not yet an imperial *daruγachi* during the Afghanistan campaigns. It is much more likely that Yalavach acted as a representative for the senior *daruγachi*. His status was probably that of a subordinate *daruγachi*. That conclusion is reasonable because the *Shengwu qincheng lu* (or *Campaign of the Holy Warrior*), another thirteenth-century account and one that has important data on Chinggis' western campaigns, reports that Yalavach was only placed in charge of tax collection in the "western regions" in 1229, not 1221–1222 (Wang Guowei 1975, pp. 203 and 219). Thus, he may well have been involved with the minting of these coinages but only at the behest of the Sino-Qidan administration at Samarqand.

Rather than Yalavach, Yelu Ahai through his appointees could have decisively played a role in both the minting of coins and taxing the *ordas* inactive from the campaigns, even during their tour of duty in Afghanistan. This could be so given the additional fact that the Qidans had earned a history of expertise through the economic/political relations between Islamic Central Asia (vis-à-vis the Qarakhānids) and their Liao Dynasty (Cheng – Dong 1993, pp. 749–754).[47] The defining point of that relationship is the emerging understanding of the role of trade between the two. Such trading links were maintained even after Liao ceased to exist, and went on well into Jin dynasty. This is confirmed by finds of imported Chinese-style mirrors of the Jin period in the area of Semirechye (Shavkunov et al. 1992, pp. 221–229),[48] which

[44] Up until then, the *qubchir* was *only* a levy of taxes in kind. See Allsen 1979, p. 231, note 64.

[45] Kolbas' argument that Yalavach is responsible solely because he was a Khwārazmian merchant is quite specious!

[46] Rashīd al-Dīn also makes Yalavach the *shahna* of Ghazna. See Rashīd al-Dīn 1999, p. 256.

[47] For further information on Qidan trade relations with Central Asia see also Zhou-Tian 1992, pp. 332–338. See also Wei 1993, pp. 571–579.

[48] That is, Primorye and Anayevo. Extending south from Lake Balqash is the Semirechye Plain. The province of Semirechye (today's Kazakhstan) of Russian Turkestan was established in 1867, with its capital at Verny (ancient Almaty), renamed Zailiyskoye in 1854, renamed Verny in 1855, now today's Almaty.

undoubtedly demonstrate that trade persisted and was still conducted by intermediaries, probably Qidan. Because of that, it gives credibility to the argument that the Qidans again continued to intermediate, but for the Mongols, "with many non-Kitan [sic!] concepts and institutions…" (Buell 1977, p. 48) that were mostly Turkic. The Qidans had previously developed experience, making them invaluable to the Mongols early in administration of newly conquered Central Asia. Their influence even extended to the Mongols' adopting Qidan governing principles.[49] Thus, it is conceivable that it was the Qidans who brought expertise to the Mongols regarding Islamic Central Asians' use of silver as a circulating medium, and it may be that it was they who clarified and explained its role. Furthermore, the confusion in not properly attributing the Mongols' Central Asian coinages to the Sino-Qidan administration lies in a stereotype of Chinese monetary tradition.

Although it is understood that in both Jin and Song silver circulated in the form of ingots,[50] it is debatable if it circulated as conventionally as copper coins or paper money did (Peng 1994, p. 360). Indeed, there are Song cash coins in gold and silver but they were very finely made and were not for general circulation (Peng 1994, pp. 362–363). In Jin, money was minted irregularly. Paper money was an essential fiscal component of Jin's monetary policy, but one that was abused to their ruin. Ironically, before the Mongol conquest, the Jin government actually prohibited the use of copper coinage in order to enforce their paper money into circulation. In reality, silver bullion circulated instead (Takahashi 1989, pp. 67–88, 98* [English summary]). Presently, there is only one published example of a silver Jin coin: *Da-ding tongbao* (Zhou 1996, coin #2488, p. 827). It is unique, and no meaningful comparisons can be made between it and Dachao tongbao. Any other Jin coins in silver are no longer existent, if they actually ever existed at all. Iron coins of Jin are rarely seen, but even that metal was utilised more extensively as a circulating medium for coins than silver was (Liu 1996, p. 170; see also Xia 1995, p. 13, coin #109, p. 108; see also Zhang 1993, pp. 478–481).

Yet, by 1220, because of Mongol advances, circumstances had changed so drastically for the worse in Jin territory that the regional commandant of Zhennan memorialised to the court a minting of silver coins to serve as a "reward" to the armies.[51] This official (named Wendihansijing) advised the action because the Jin paper money was practically worthless due to inflation. Apparently, the Jin court rejected this advice (Peng 1994, p. 501). However, the date of the proposal is crucial for it comes in the same period as the monetisation of the *qubchir*. Conceptually, the idea could equally have originated with the former Jin officials whom had defected

[49] Or, as Hidehiro Okada put it, "…their century-long experience of direct Qitay [sic!] rule previous to the rise of the Jushens [sic!], must have made it easy for them to later develop their own version of Qitay-style [sic!] state organisation, that is the Yuan." See Hidehiro 1993, p. 368. See also Buell 1977, p. 47.

[50] For more information on the Jin system of silver ingots as a circulating medium, see Wang 1992, pp. 339–344.

[51] The proposed coin was to be called *Xingding yuanbao*. See Peng 1994, p. 501. Jin paper money circa 1222 circulated as *Xingding baoquan*.

to the Mongols as with the Khwārazmian Yalavach.[52] Perhaps the idea of minting coins to serve as payment for the army had its genesis with them. Their own dissatisfaction with Jin bureaucracy may have led them to modify the notion of "reward" to implement this policy. Therefore, attributing the phenomenon of coinage solely to Yalavach is not warranted and is an over-simplification.[53]

While the influence of the Sino-Qidan administration described above can be demonstrated in the origin of the monetisation of the *qubchir*, we cannot completely detect their influence in the form it took. It is a serious issue, unbeknownst to Kolbas. These coins would have been completely alien to certain auxiliary units, such as the Han Chinese. Only the Turkic auxiliaries would have found their pattern recognisable to that which they commonly used and accepted. Demonstrating the confusion that the Han units would have experienced is quite simple, for it is well known from the sources that visitors from China to Samarqand in the 1220s were confused by the money, and remarked about it.[54] They were not accustomed to the struck coinage, and were uncomfortable using it (Rachewiltz 1962, p. 21, note 94). It is not difficult to imagine a similar reaction from the Han auxiliaries upon their confronting this money, too. Thus, it is highly unlikely that these coinages were intended for their use. However, the latter fact has not prevented some modern scholars, like Paul Buell, from claiming that the numismatic record confirms a large Chinese-speaking population living in Samarqand in this period, settled there by the Mongols to marginalise the power of the indigenous population (Buell 1979b, p. 137). Buell's argument is quite implausible, for the Islamic-based coin system (of bullion stamped into coin-shape using dies) was maintained. Precisely the opposite should have occurred, with the Chinese system (of casting copper into coins with square holes) scrapping the "Islamic". Secondly, Buell's claim that the "presence of large numbers of Chinese in Samarqand", is "evidenced by Bukhara's unique bilingual (Chinese and Arabo-Persian) coinage"[55] does not accord with the facts. The coinage used by him

[52] Such a Qidan official is known from the sources. Shimo Shandena, brother of Shimo Yexian, was also a defector Jin official who accompanied Chinggis on the western campaigns. He later held an administrative post in Beshbaliq (located in today's Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region), the capital of the Uighur kingdom. See Endicott-West 1989, p. 28. Feng Jiqin makes Shandena the *son* of Shimo Yexian. See Feng Jiqin 1995, pp. 68–69.

[53] At what point Yelu Ahai, or his ministers, effected that influence is later demonstrated by comparison of both the chronology of movement of Chinggis and his army and the evolving coin types.

[54] Yelu Chucai's journeys to Samarqand are recorded in his *Xiyou lu*. Of the money of the "Westerners", he observed that they have "gold and bronze coins that have neither holes nor rims". See Schlepp 1975, p. 6 and Schlepp 1976, p. 156. Li Zhichang wrote that in the markets of Samarqand, "they use gold coins without a hole in the middle. There are native characters on both sides". See also Li Zhichang 1931, p. 107.

[55] In 1826, Frähn published a bronze coin from Bukhara that has an inscription in Chinese, of a single character, *ke* 'revenue'. See Frähn 1826, p. 423, coin #3. Buell notes that the coin probably dates to the last years of Möngke's reign. See Buell 1979b, p. 137, note 76. I have now actually seen the two coins described by Frähn, thanks to the generosity of Dr. Nina Ivochkina, of the Russian State Hermitage Museum, Numismatic Department. While the marginal inscriptions on the coin are readable, proving or disproving Buell's dating of the coin to the "last years of Möngke's reign" no longer matters here. With great certainty, we can say that the coin is completely

to illustrate his argument does not date from the period of Chinggis' Central Asian campaigns. Therefore, Buell's method of using coin evidence for proving the authority of the Sino-Qidan administration is rather flimsy because he is not using the correct examples. Moreover, the absence of ceramic evidence for "large numbers of Chinese" in Samarqand during this period is evincive of exaggeration. The present evidence is held only to recently discovered fragments of a porcelain *ding* bowl of a kind that is typical of the production of twelfth to thirteenth centuries *ding* kiln-sites in Northern China, usually dated to Jin (1115–1234) [Sokolovskaia – Rougeulle 1992, p. 91].[56] Simply, the coins of Arabo-Persian inscription would have been alien to the other auxiliary units, which would have created an unacceptable situation. To get a better sense of why the various coins in the Arabic *kufic* script would have been acceptable to the Turkic regiments alone, one only needs to read their inscriptions and compare them.

B. Relationship between the Official Nomenclature and the Arabo-Persian Inscriptions Found on the Coinage of the Mongols' Central Asian Campaigns

It was Kolbas who observed that it would be "incorrect to consider *prima facie* that any coinage of this period written in Arabic script, in the Arabic language, or with *Allāh* on it was Islamic" (Kolbas 1992, p. 46). While she was unable to articulate precisely why that is the case, her deduction is still reasonable. Describing the coinage of the Afghanistan campaigns as the "*'Adil* Coinage" because a component word in the inscription is "justice" (Arabic: *'adil*), Kolbas detected that this message of "justice" is unique to the Afghanistan campaigns, and particularly to the city of Ghazna circa 1221 (618 Hegira) [Kolbas 1992, p. 66]. The associated coinages comprise three groups: gold,[57] silver, and billon/copper. They too shall be called "*'Adil* Coinage" for convenience. However, the rate of exchange between them is unknown. There are additionally two categories of "*'Adil* Coinage": those with Chinggis Qan's name and those without. Because the silver records his name, it will hereafter be

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Islamic in fabric and style. It bears no similarity whatsoever to Dachao tongbao or any other Chinese coin. Thus, Buell's use of such coins as an example of a "large number of Chinese [sic! living] in Samarqand", is an unfounded claim. One could explain these Chinese characters in other ways. For example, the coins of the Ilkhanid vassal of Fars, Ābish binta Sa'd, also have an inscription in Chinese. See Herbert 1986, p. 31, coins #4–8. On her *dirhems* and *fals* from Shiraz, dated 665 Hegira (October 1266–September 1267), there is a single Chinese character *bao* in *zheng shu*.

[56] Sokolovskaia claims that Samarqand was "abandoned after the Mongol army pillaged it in 1220", but contradicts her statement twice, on pages 90 and 95!

[57] Of the gold, William F. Spengler observed erroneously that the coins comprised a "bullion issue meant to be weighed in commerce". See Spengler 1996, pp. 16–18. There should be great doubt that these *dīnārs* ever "circulated" in the past. The gold coins are probably not *qubchir*. They may have instead comprised a civilian tax levy similar to that imposed in Samarqand. Disguised as scholarship because it ran in the Oriental Numismatic Society's newsletter, Spengler's article about these gold coins was actually an advertisement for their sale. The decision for running that article is hardly a respectable action for a supposedly 'scholarly' organisation. They assisted Spengler in his peddling of the *dīnārs* into the American coin market in 1996.

referred to as the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type and will be the basis for a later comparison to Dachao tongbao.[58] The silver coin is decidedly from Ghazna, not Herāt, and dates to 1221 (Kolbas 1992, pp. 90–95).[59] This detail becomes more important later because it anchors a central point in periodising the chronology of Chinggis Qan's troop movements and sojourn patterns. There are two varieties of inscriptions on this type as well, those with *khāqān* (on the *dīnārs* and billon/copper)[60] and those without (the silver).

Evidently, the Sino-Qidan administration allowed, albeit briefly, a local denomination of silver *dirhem* to be struck (see Plate I, *Dirhem* 2). Its model was a similar Khwārazmshāh coin that was also of Ghazna (see Plate I, *Dirhem* 1). This *dirhem* of the Khwārazmshāh was minted to a high standard, for it was of good silver and consistent weight, something that had not been seen in Afghanistan since the fall of

[58] The transliteration of the Mongolian 'Chinggis' into Arabic is problematic for there are a number of variant transliterations. In this paper, *Jinkiz* is preferred. It may be that this particular transliteration is derived from the Turkic *tängiz* 'sea' or 'ocean'. The Arab historian Ibn Battuta referred to Chinggis as *Tängiz* Khan; see Ratchnevsky 1991, p. 89, note 5. Of this particular type, its chronology of weight and periodisation are crucial to understanding Dachao tongbao. A metallurgical analysis has not be done on either the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type or Dachao tongbao. It would be interesting to know their content and alloy. A coin of this series that is illustrated in Kolbas' work is described as billon, which is unusual.

[59] Kolbas argues the issue at length, but does not satisfactorily support her argument using the historical sources regarding Herāt as the source of the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type; One glaring omission is the account of Sayf ibn Muhammad ibn Ya'kub al-Havarī (born 1228), who recorded Mongol tax exaction at Herāt. See Sayf ibn Muhammad 1944, p. 107. That source is not cited in her text, nor is his work contained in her bibliography. The *dīnārs* additionally disprove Kolbas' theory regarding Herāt as the source of coins in the name of Chinggis and now a definite mint attribution for most of the types is established. The calligraphic style of Chinggis' name on the dated gold *dīnārs* is identical to a variety found on the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type. That variety is Schwarz 648 and or 649. The calligraphy of the very beginning of *Jinkiz* is of 649, and the *zāy* in *Jinkiz* is as 648. This indicates at least that variety also originates from Ghazna. See Schwarz 1995, p. 60.

[60] Egregiously, the editor of Oriental Numismatic Society's newsletter allowed Spengler's article to go to print without the inscriptions completely translated. Spengler omitted translating *fī shahūr*. The phrase *fī shahūr* is the plural of month Arabic *shahr*, with a regular "h" as the second consonant. The preposition *fī* stands alone with a separation before the subsequent word, unlike *bi-*, which is attached. The space that should have been devoted to that data was wasted with the inclusion of an advertisement on where to purchase these coins. Furthermore, the information given in the advertised sale catalogue of the Classical Numismatic Group was also wildly inaccurate. Unfortunately for Jiang Qixiang, he gathered his data for his article on these coins from the Classical Numismatic Group's sales catalogue. Jiang also relates that Joe Cribb, the director of the Coins and Medals Department at the British Museum, expressed doubts of the authenticity of the gold coins, but never gave a detailed opinion why he thought that. See Jiang 1997, pp. 50–54. For completeness, the obverse inscription on these gold coins is in four lines and reads *al-Khāqān*/ *al-'adil*/ *al-ā'zam*/ *Jinkiz Khān*. The marginal inscription, also on the obverse, is *Duriba hādhā al-dīnār bi-beled Ghazna fī shahūr sana thamān ashar wa sittami'a*, which translates as "This *dīnār* was struck in the city/town/region/district of Ghazna during the months [sic!] of year eight, ten, and six hundred". The verb *duriba* meaning, 'it was struck', is the passive form of *daraba*, 'to strike, hit'. Note that *bi-beled* may denote the mint as regional rather than municipal. The mint-date formula seen on these *dīnārs* is also rather ordinary for the region. A. D. H. Bivar published a gold coin of the Ghorid of Bamiyan, Jalāl al-Dīn 'Alī bin Sām (1206–1215), that has a similar marginal inscription. See Bivar 1975, p. 23.

the Turkic Hindu Shāhis, centuries prior (Tye – Tye 1995, p. 69).[61] It is not exactly clear why the style, weight, and inscriptions of this issue were copied.[62] Both coins are somewhat precisely made, having a thickish, even flan. Yet, as the Khwārazmshāh had only captured Ghazna in 612 Hegira (May 1215–April 1216), his coin would have been very "fresh" to the region.

Comparisons show that the terms and titles on these "Mongol" coins are not unique, for they share a vocabulary that is derived directly from the Qarakhānids and the Kwārzamshāh 'Alā al-Dīn Muhammad bin Tekesh.[63] For example, the array of nomenclature seen on the Ghazna coinage, *al-Khāqān* (or *Khāqān*), *al-'adil*, (or *'adil*), and *al-ā'zam* are all found together on an earlier coin of the Uzkand mint which dates to 1211 (Davidovich 1994, pp. 178–179). *Al-Khāqān*, 'the Emperor' (Mongolian: *Qaγan*) appears on a gold coin with Chinggis' name, but it does not refer to Chinggis nor does it mean "government" (Kolbas 1992, p. 102; see also Kolbas 1992, p. 259). *Khāqān* is a hoary Turkic title, and its use here clearly implies a Turkic influence (Doerfer 1967, pp. 141–180; see also Ermers 1999, pp. 12–13). As such, it undermines Kolbas' premise that the "idea was presented that the leader of the Mongol community was not to be personally glorified as had been his bombastic Turkish [sic!] predecessors" (Kolbas 1992, p. 99). On the contrary, Chinggis was presented with full Turkic hyperbole.

The variant explanations of the inscriptions on the coinage of Ghazna complicate the above point needlessly. The common interpretation is that *al-'adil*/ *al-ā'zam*/ *Jinkiz Khān* meant Chinggis was "the just and great Khan" (Kolbas 1992, p. 96). An uncommon interpretation, offered by Jiang Qixiang, is that the inscriptions are "eulogistic epithets" (Jiang 1997, pp. 50–54).[64] It could also be argued that the use of *ā'zam* and *'adil* was merely a borrowing of similar titles seen on the Khwārazmshāh's coinage. However, Kolbas claimed that neither term was an adoption of titles by Chinggis because the use of both is not found on the Khwārazmshāh's coinage.

[61] Tye notes that the coin's weight standard appears to be 3.1 grams; I have weighed one example at 3.06 grams. However, as far as I am aware, no metallurgical analyses have ever been done on these coins. Calling them "good silver" is completely an *a priori* judgement.

[62] Kolbas wrote that at Bukhara/Samarqand, the "subject population probably first used Khwarazmian money, but the Mongols began to mint their own almost immediately". See Kolbas 1992, p. 66; Spengler wrote that the hoard he dealt was "thought to have been unearthed somewhere near modern Ghazni, including at least 58 *dinars* of Genghis Khan along with an unknown number of similar *dinars* of 'Ala al-Din Khwarazm Shah". See also Spengler 1996, p. 17. This reader is not so gullible. His comment appears rather vague for someone so close to handling the hoard. Contrast Spengler's information with that provided by Bivar on a related hoard found in 1969. See Bivar 1975, pp. 16–18. Setting aside the issue of their dubious provenance, a number of questions remain unanswered regarding why the hoard was hidden. Because they violated the Sino-Qidan protocols in their dating, they should have been melted down rather than hidden away. Perhaps the party who interred them desired to avoid undue scrutiny that melting them down would have entailed. Hiding them seems to have prevented their discovery by the authorities that would have made a show of destroying them. It is equally possible that they are the proceeds of some embezzlement from the mint or treasury.

[63] See Kochnev 1995; 1997.

[64] Jiang's belief of "eulogistic epithets" probably refers to the obverse inscriptions of the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type.

Her claim is not in accord with the facts. The use of both titles is indeed found on his coinage (Davidovich 1997, p. 196, coins #22–23). Because of the seemingly redundant superlatives, Kolbas connected Mongolian religious concepts to the use of the Arabic term *ā'zam* by saying that it should be taken as "Heaven, which was their concept of God" (Kolbas 1992, p. 98). Aside from being a totally inauthentic reading of *ā'zam*, her linking of those separately distinct concepts in this fashion is an utterly fallacious theory. All of these titles with their grandiloquent superlatives reflect a Turkic influence seemingly devoid of Sino-Qidan, or even Mongolian, influence.

That these terms are Chinggis' titles has been overemphasised for far too long; *khāqān* cannot possibly refer to Chinggis because he never took on title of *qaγan*. On all of the coinages where he is named, it is *Jinkiz Khān*, never *Jinkiz Khāqān*. *Qaγan* was not used as a title officially until 1227, when Ögödei bore that distinction as the next ruler of *yeke Mongγol ulus* (Rachewiltz 1973, p. 35, note 35).[65] The Turkic nature of the inscriptions on the coins is obvious, but may not be due to the influence of the Turkic Kwarzamians. Rather, it may be better to attribute them to Uighurs who commanded the Kharlukh Turks, who were recruited into the Mongol army as auxiliaries in the 1220s (Rachewiltz 1983, pp. 283–284).[66] Regardless, it may never be known who was responsible for, or used, these coinages. The fact is that there are far too many varieties of coins known, and all attributed to this short period, than history can possibly account for. What can be said most sensibly is that the inscriptions on these coins violated the Sino-Qidan protocol of *Dachao*.

The Sino-Qidan administration made the use of *Dachao* on official documents customary. We additionally know that the reference was current during these campaigns, for it appears in Yelu Chucai's (1190–1244) *Xiyou lu* (or *Record of a Journey to the West*) [Rachewiltz 1962, p. 21].[67] Naturally, it should have been used on the coin inscriptions. For a long time during the Afghanistan campaigns, it appears that the proper protocols are missing from the coin inscriptions. The correct protocols only appear on a type of coinage attributed to the conclusion of those campaigns, which shall be called here the "Great *Ūrdū*" coinage because of its obverse inscription.[68]

[65] Rachewiltz wrote of it again in 1982 and said concisely, "*Qa'an* was not used as a title by the tribes of Mongolia or by Chinggis-qan." See Rachewiltz 1982, pp. 77–78; See also Rachewiltz 1983, p. 285; Allsen wrote that Ögödei took this title to distinguish himself from his brothers Chagatay and Tolui, who also had acquired the title "qan". See Allsen 1979, p. 203, note 3.

[66] The Kharlukhs were also influenced by Islam; the inclusion of the *shahada*; a mention of the Caliph, al-Nāsir; or placing *Allāh* on the coins, would have been appropriate for them and perhaps would not have violated any Sino-Qidan protocols. The dating in the Islamic calendar and the naming of Chinggis Qan on the money may have represented a violation of protocols.

[67] Yelu Chucai described the famed "Otrar Incident", where envoys were massacred by an official of the Khwārazmshāh, cited as the "only reason for the western campaign". The envoys are called the "envoys of *Dachao*".

[68] There are Qarakhānid coins of the mint *il-Ūrdū* and *Quz Ūrdū* (= Balāsāghun, modern Burana, southern Kazakhstan) of Ahmad bin 'Alī (994–1016). Additionally, there are coins of the mint "The *Ūrdū* of Good Fortune" (Turkic: *Khutlukh Ūrdū* [see Clauson 1972, p. 601]) of 'Alī bin al-Hasan (ca. 1025–1035 or 1037), struck in the 420s Hegira near modern Dabusiya, Uzbekistan; notice that on our "Great *Ūrdū*" coins this older form was discarded. That change may indicate the

According to Kolbas, before Chinggis returned north to Samarqand circa the end of 619 Hegira (December 1222–January 1223), an analogous series resembling the coinage of Ghazna was minted and taxed from Chinggis' own *ordas* due to their newly inactive status (Kolbas 1992, p. 106).[69] As the two coins in question appear to take as their stylistic prototype the silver "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type, it is perfectly justifiable to believe that they are also from Afghanistan, but exactly where is debatable. However, the inscription was changed and now read, "The Justice of the Great Court" (Arabicised Turkic: *al-Ūrdū*/ *al-Ā'zam*/ *al-'Adil*).[70] *Al-Ūrdū*/ *al-Ā'zam* is also the "Great Headquarters/Court", with the Middle Mongolian form of *orda*/*ordo*/*ordu* and the Classical Mongolian form of *ordu* (meaning "palace") [Wittfogel 1949, p. 19]. This Turkic form of the Mongolian *orda* is well attested in numerous sources, such as Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh* (or *Universal History*), where he described Chinggis' "Great *Ūrdū*" as *Ūrdū-ī buzurg*, a Persianised form of Turkic (Rashīd al-Dīn 1836, pp. 20–21; and 1959, p. 383; see also Pelliot 1930, pp. 208–210).[71]

Unfortunately, modern scholars have again neglected to use the sources capably, and misunderstand the significance of Rashīd al-Dīn's reference. Concerning the inscription on these coins for example, Venetia Porter wrote that (for the Mongols) *ūrdū* meant "literally, a *yurt* (tent), a term used to define territory" (Porter 1991–1992, p. 213). *Ūrdū* does not mean *yurt*! Porter confuses the Turkic *yurt* with the Mongolian *orda ger* (Rachewiltz 1972, lines #3216 and #9103). It is the idea of residence that is significant. That idea is proven in Mahmud bin al-Husayn bin Muhammad al-Kāshgharī's dictionary of Turkic, the *Dīwān luγāt at-Turk* (or *Compendium of Turkic Dialects*), compiled between 1072 and 1077, where *ūrdū* is defined as the "residence of a king" or "royal residence" and not his tent (al-Kāshgharī 1982, part 1, p. 148 and part 3, p. 42).[72] Kāshgharī should know; he was of Qarakhānid descent and they were the ruling class in Central Asia and Transoxiana at the time (Ermers 1999, p. 17). Moreover, what no one has yet realised until now is that it is with these "Great *Ūrdū*" inscriptions where we finally see the Sino-Qidan protocol of *Dachao* implemented, for *Al-Ūrdū*/ *al-Ā'zam* is its equivalent.[73]

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presence of the Sino-Qidan administration's enforcement of the protocol *Dachao* upon our version, newly translated to *al-Ūrdū*/*al-Ā'zam*.

[69] Kolbas calls this coinage "*Allāh*", because of what she takes to be its obverse inscription. In fact, I consider things the other way around; her reverse is actually the coin's obverse. However, this is not the place to argue the largely theoretical point in "Islamic" numismatics of which side was the obverse (Arabic: *wajh* 'face') of a coin and which one was its reverse (Arabic: *zahr* 'back') and how it should be determined. Simply, see Bacharach – Awad 1973, pp. 183–191.

[70] In Arabic, the definite article *al-* is prefixed onto the subject.

[71] Again, in Persian, the final long *-ī* is a back-vowel genitive suffix attached onto the subject to indicate possession.

[72] Wittfogel dates the dictionary to 1066. See also a slightly different translation of *ūrdū* in Wittfogel 1949, p. 517.

[73] By the 1360s, the Jochid Khans were striking coins with a mint named *Ūrdū al-muazzam* 'the most Supreme Court' (located in the northern part of the Sea of Azov littoral). See Fyodorov-Davydov 1984, p. 222. The Jochid *Ūrdū al-muazzam* is a more accurate translation for *Yekes Ordas* in Arabic than *al-Ūrdū*/*al-Ā'zam* was; however, by that time it no longer had any connection with national or reign titles.

Because the inscription of the coin described above mirrors that of the billon/copper coin of Ghazna, *'Adl/ Khāqān/ al-Ā'zam*, there is the belief that it originates from Afghanistan. The second "Great *Ūrdū*" coin is attributed by Kolbas to Samarqand, but the inscription omits the message of "justice" and says plainly *al-Ūrdū*/*al-Ā'zam*. It too is derived from the silver coin of Ghazna and has inscriptions within double inner linear rings, followed by a circle of dots, and by outer double linear rings (Kolbas 1992, pp. 105–108). The coin also shares a small, thickish flan. The attribution of Samarqand is reasonable, but as this coin is totally unlike any coin native to Transoxiana, it must have been an imported standard. Yet, the message of justice was continued on one of them and one should wonder why.

The first, and most obvious, answer to the above question is that Chinggis implemented "justice".[74] It should be a given that those indigenous groups spared from death and divided among the Mongols as spoils of war or conscripted into the Mongol forces must have found themselves shocked by the arbitrary brutality and destructiveness of the Afghanistan campaigns. Anyone who heard of those events and had not yet encountered the Mongol armies must have been equally distressed. If so, the inscription on these coins could also be seen as a "propagandistic message" directed to the auxiliaries, saying that what had occurred was proper justice to those cities and people who resisted the Mongol will: the justice of *Dachao*. This is the message that those responsible for the billon/copper issue were unable to capture; *'Adl/ Khāqān/ al-Ā'zam* was plainly wrong for there was no "*khāqān*". However, I cannot see why Chinggis would have to justify his actions for his troops in any way, shape, or form. We should dispense with such notions as soon as possible.

A second answer to why the message of justice was continued comes from Kolbas' suggestion that perhaps the use of *'adil* (in the two different coin inscriptions) is an example of the term acting as the equivalent of the Chinese *zheng* ("just" or "correct").[75] Again, it refers to Chinggis' impletion of justice. However, a second potential implication of that equivalency went unmentioned by Kolbas, for, if we follow Karl Wittfogel, *zheng* can also be a technical distinction. Wittfogel observed that when combined with a term such as "soldiers", *zheng* could be interpreted as "shock troops" or auxiliaries (Wittfogel 1949, p. 511). Unfortunately, that connection can hardly be made here for such words never appear.[76] Taking *'adil* for *zheng* is unjustified.

A final explanation for *'adl* comes from various dictionaries and encyclopaedias where the wide and often ambiguous definitions of this little word are revealed.

[74] In Chinese *zhengyi* means "justice". *Zheng* can have many meanings, in addition to the previous.

[75] Kolbas wrote *jeng*. See Kolbas 1992, p. 97. There are other examples of the use of Arabo-Persian to transfuse the sense of Chinese terms. For example, the Arab historian Ibn Battuta refers to the Yuan emperor Shundi (Chinese: *Huizong*, Mongolian: *Toghon Temür Uhagatu*, 1333–1368) as "success" or "auspicious" (Persian: *feluz*) which conveys the same meaning as its Chinese equivalent, *shun*. See Shen 1996, p. 178.

[76] If such a link can ever be proven correct, it may then offer further evidence for the nature of this currency, and for whom it was intended.

The Persian word *'adl* can be translated as 'justice', 'equalising', or 'making of the same weight' ("'Adl," *Dictionary of Islam*, 1965 edition). The numismatic value of *'adl* has been defined as 'of full weight' and is therefore "stamped on coins to show that they have the just weight and are current (*'adlī*) ["'Adl," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1913 edition]." *'Adl* has additionally been permutated into 'a full valued coin', 'just weight', and 'legal tender'.[77] However, we can hardly accept that *'Adl/ Khāqān/ al-Ā'zam* means "A full valued coin of the Great *Khāqān*". Nor can we accept that *al-Ūrdū/ al-Ā'zam/ al-'Adil* means "The Great Courts' full valued coin". It might be nice to think of this form as being the equivalent of "The Great Courts' circulating treasure", or Dachao tongbao, but it probably is not. The present evidence offers no firm explanation why a message of justice was included in the inscriptions. If anything, it points to a decidedly Turkic influence in vocabulary selection.

Aside from what a message of justice might or might not represent, Kolbas determined that the "Great *Ūrdū*" coinage represented an administrative change. To her, its creation was at the expense of both the tribute and poll tax systems, which were not discontinued but combined at Samarqand, just before the return of Chinggis Qan with his army to Mongolia (Kolbas 1992, p. 109). Not so, for the coins she described may have in fact been minted while Chinggis was still in Afghanistan. The occasion of the restoration of communication is the event that caused the "Great *Ūrdū*" coins to be made for the Turkic auxiliaries. As the Sino-Qidan administration was unable to assert its authority because of the treacherous travel conditions that existed between Samarqand and Chinggis' *ordas* in Afghanistan at the time (Buell 1979b, p. 136, note 74), the proper protocols were now finally included on the coins as a correction to the previous. Still, the minting of those coins was not by far the culmination of that activity. At the same time, the Sino-Qidan administration caused the first Dachao tongbao to be cast. A weight analysis demonstrates a tangible link between Dachao tongbao and all of those coinages, and that is where the next section takes us, to the *qubchir* standard of 1221–1222.

C. Dachao tongbao and the Qubchir Standard of 1221–1222

The *qubchir* was clearly assessed at Ghazna in 1221, at least in the pattern of silver coins of the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type. While a metrology based on such a small population of coins has its margin of error, a frequency distribution analysis yields meaningful information to define the acceptable weight range of this *qubchir*:

[77] The definition 'a full valued coin', arrived at by very convoluted reasoning, came from Album 1987, no page. Weller quoted Paul Balog asserting *'adl* "…has the meaning of 'Just Weight' understood". See Weller 1975, p. 476. Bivar renders *'adl* 'legal tender'. See also Bivar 1975, p. 22; One might also consider the Arabic *waf* or *al-Wafa'*, a word also defined variously and commonly inscribed on balances, balance weights, and coins. *Waf* 'honesty', 'integrity', is sometimes permutated into 'correct weight'.

Table 1 *(see histogram Plate II)*

"'Adil-Jinkiz" type

Count	Sample mean	Standard deviation	Weight region	Weight interval	Confidence level 95%
16	3.065625 grams	0.07173737 grams	2.96–3.2 grams	3.0274–3.1038 grams	0.03822617

Because the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type is derived from the Khwārazmshāh's *dirhem*, which was probably a multiple value coin that accompanied more common copper/billon coins, it should be observed before continuing there was a higher value coin at the administrative center and lower value coin at the provincial level (Tye – Tye 1995, p. 69). Kolbas argued that the "*'Adil* Coinage" should be seen in the same light, but in a different way: the lesser value piece set the standard of weight for the silver (Kolbas 1992, p. 84).[78] Her argument is odd because it goes against commonsense; the copper weighed more because it was not comparable in value to the silver.

The first "Great *Ūrdū*" coin is described as also being silver and having a thick, small flan, but with crude calligraphy. The weight is 2.12 grams.[79] The second variety of "Great *Ūrdū*" coin appears to be unique, but the weight of the single coin known is 3.19 grams.[80] Kolbas' information is unusable. Because she is so vague regarding her sources, we should be concerned that she has misattributed these "Great Ūrdū" varieties she described. It should be observed that there is a parallel series that is equally evocative in fabric and detail to the silver "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type that makes for a beneficial comparison (see Plate I, *Dirhem* 3). Attributed as "Chagatayid", it is related inscriptionally to both of her "Great *Ūrdū*" coinages, only *al-'Adil* is changed to *'Adl* or is simply omitted. It also has additional writing. The additional inscriptions are on the reverse, but are underneath *Allāh*, either in Arabic[81] or Mongolian (or

[78] Kolbas believes that this particular series set the weight standard from which the other related issues are derived. The Central Asian weights were calculated on the unit called *mithqāl*, defined as a weight unit, divided into twenty-four carats (= *qarat*/*kirat*). See Zambaur, Edward Karl Max von. "Kirat," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1927 edition. Oddly, Kolbas asserted that the accretions of the tiny carat did not determine the standard. See Kolbas 1992, p. 102. Her argument is that if the copper/billon "*'Adil* Coinage" series of Ghazna should be considered the weight of the *mithqāl*, at 4.125 grams, then the silver coins in the name of Chinggis are three-quarters of the *mithqāl*, or 3.09 grams. See also Kolbas 1992, p. 83; My analysis of this series shows a mean of 4.049 to Kolbas' 4.125. For comparison, the Jochid *mithqāl* during Möngke's reign was 4.26 grams; the Ilkhan Ghazan Mahmud's (1295–1304) *Tabriz mithqāl* was 4.086 grams.

[79] Or ½ of the 4.24 grams *mithqāl* if we follow Kolbas' deduction. See Kolbas 1992, p. 108.

[80] Or ¾ of the 4.48 grams *mithqāl*, if we again follow Kolbas. See Kolbas 1992, p. 107.

[81] The sub-type of Arabic inscription has three unligated characters, *wāw*, *hā'*, and *dāl*. According to Porter, such detached characters in Arabic are uncommon. Apparently, Yih solicited suggestions of their meaning, which ranged from "only letters without meaning" to a "corrupt version of (the Arabic) *wahdahu* (= alone)". See Yih 1993, p. 346. Some necessary remarks on Yih's article: These coins are not trilingual. They have monolingual inscriptions of Arabic or bilingual inscriptions of Arabic and Mongolian or Arabic and Mongolian in hPhags-pa (for the Chinese

Mongolian in hP'ags-pa for Chinese) [Jiang 1986, p. 23],[82] and thus comprise two separate subtypes:

Table 3 *(see histogram Plate II)*

"Great Ūrdū"

Count	Sample mean	Standard deviation	Weight region	Weight interval	Confidence level 95%
13	2.906923 grams	0.383523 grams	2.17–3.3 grams	2.675163–3.138684 grams	0.231761 grams

Upon comparing the above figures of this group of *"*Great *Ūrdū"* coins (currently attributed as "Chagatayid") to the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type, a link is established by estimated weight average. The coinage of the earlier phase of campaigns is not relevant here because they are completely unlike the silver "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type. It was first in this particular chronology, at the estimated weight average of 3.065625 grams. As the "Great *Ūrdū*" coinage described by Kolbas is 2.12 grams from her Baghlān type and 3.19 for her Samarqand type, and as they too appear derived in style and weight, there is no reason to believe that they did not follow the silver "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type. The third and larger group of "Great *Ūrdū*" coins (also known as "Chagatayid") has an estimated weight average of 2.906923 grams, and it shows great affinity in style and weight to the "Great *Ūrdū*" coins described by Kolbas. It too must be considered to follow chronologically (if it is in fact not the same as what she has described). Comparing the weight of Dachao tongbao to all of the previous quoted averages reveals an unexpected and heretofore unknown fact, its link to the Afghanistan campaign coinage of 1221:

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bao). Secondly, the ideas that the three detached characters have no meaning; represent *wahdahu*; or are uncommon in Arabic, are unfounded. There are Turkic counterstamps of three unligated characters, *dāl*, *lām*, and *'alif* attributed by Nicholas Lowick to the Begtimurid Turks from the mint of Akhlat north of Lake Van in the Caucasus. See Lowick et al. 1977, pp. 44–45, counterstamps #24–25. It may be that our three unligated characters, like the three seen on counterstamps, are each a phoneme representative of three syllables of a single foreign grapheme, perhaps Turkic. Thirdly, Yih's treatment of the reverse inscription *Allāh* is bizarre. He incorrectly renders the example of the hP'ags-pa inscription underneath *Allāh* as "Coinage of Allah", and then proceeds to argue that, instead of *Allāh*, all of these inscriptions read *Almaligh*! He leaves us with "Coinage of Almaligh" as the translation of the inscriptions. See Yih 1993, pp. 347–348.

[82] Jiang dates the five coins illustrated in his article to the period 1253–1264, notwithstanding the fact that the first coin has the hP'ags-pa inscription *baw* (for the Chinese *bao*), which clearly should exclude it from his periodisation as the alphabet did not exist at that time! In addition, coins of the Ilkhanid vassal of Fars, Ābish binta Sa'd, have an inscription of *bao*, but in Chinese. See Herbert 1986, p. 31, coins #4–8. For both the Chagatayid and Salghurid inscriptions, *bao* does not have strictly monetary connotation; it is also a political/imperial reference.

Table 2 *(see histogram Plate II)*

Dachao tongbao

Count	Sample mean	Standard deviation	Weight region	Weight interval	Confidence level 95%
19	3.0853 grams	0.63 grams	2.0–3.9 grams	2.7816–3.3889 grams	0.3037

Based upon the information revealed in Table 2, Dachao tongbao should be thought of as a product of Central Asia, not China. Based on the weight analysis, it diverges from contemporary Chinese coins. That divergence denies Shatzman-Steinhardt's assertion that Dachao tongbao "symbolised the acceptance of a Chinese economic system as well as of its media of exchange" (Shatzman-Steinhardt 1981, p. 62). Nothing could be further from the truth. Its stylistic prototype is not even found in China. The prototype is seen in Central Asian coinage of eighth-century Tokhāristān, in the domain of Vakhsh.[83] This is an important facet to consider, and there is a very intriguing possibility to help explain it – the Daoist Patriarch Changchun (Qiu Chuji) and his visit to Chinggis' *ordas* in 1222.

D. Apogee of the Sino-Qidan Administration and the Origin of Dachao tongbao

From the previous section it is evident that Dachao tongbao share and have great affinity to a foreign standard; they are silver and share a weight standard distinctly Central Asian. Yet, that evidence alone may appear circumstantial. Indeed, it is missing that one piece of evidence to make the attribution more conclusive. Surprisingly, it has finally arrived with the recent discovery of Dachao tongbao with round centre holes (Zhou 1994, pp. 7–8). That detail betrays its foreign origins, for there are no Chinese coins of the period with "round centre holes". Based upon that, the historical narrative, the development of the monetisation of the *qubchir* and the fact that the minting of coins is based upon a sojourn chronology, I believe that the prototype is found in Central Asian coinage of eighth-century Tokhāristān, in the domain of Vakhsh. The domain of Vakhsh was located in the Kafirnihan Valley, including the site of Qobadiyan, Kafirnihan-qal'a and Munchak, in today's Tajikistan (see Map A) [Zeimal 1994, p. 257].[84] The Vakhsh coin has its inscription on the obverse, in cursive Bactrian, which is an Iranian language written in modified Greek script (see Plate V, *Vakhsh* coins) [Zeimal 1994, p. 258, coins #9–13].[85] The centre hole is

[83] This "dominion of Vakhsh" described by Zeimal (1994, p. 257) might be the "land of *Rob R'ub*" which included Tokhāristān. The distinction is not important in this paper, and Zeimal's description will be preferred.

[84] Specifically the lower Kafirnihan, the dominion of Qobadiyan, including Munchak-tepe and the site of Takht-e Qobad.

[85] The obverse rims of Type 1 examples are remarkably similar to the obverse rims of the Vakhsh coins shown in Zeimal's article. See Plate V, Vakhsh coins.

round, with a rim. The reverse of the coin is plain and unfigured. Dachao tongbao show a connection to these coins.

Upon comparison to the Vakhsh coin, I would categorise but two types of Dachao tongbao based on obverses. The first has a thick, high, somewhat rounded and uneven raised rim along the outer edge of the coin (see Plate V, Type 1 [a–c], hereafter: Type 1), and the second with a very slight rim/no rim (see Plate V, Type 2 [a], hereafter: Type 2).[86] The diminutive shape of Type 1 Dachao tongbao is 20 millimetres. The sizes of Vakhsh coins are between 18 and 21 millimetres. The average size of Type 2 Dachao tongbao is generally above 20 mm (21 to 23 mm).[87] Type 2 obverse is the most frequently encountered.[88] There also is a psychological effect to the latter obverse, as it resembles die-struck Central Asian coins which usually have flat edges not seen on Chinese coins.[89] The centre hole of both types has either a distinct, narrow border, or a thick border. Such borders are seen on some reverse centre holes.

By observing Type 1 and Type 2 Dachao tongbao first hand, I have based some of the following observations from them. The side edge of my Type 1 example is somewhat ragged and the casting sprue is evident. The side edges of my Type 2 examples are uniform, with no casting sprue evident. This detail suggests that the edge was polished (finished by turning), and that the former was not.[90] A subtype to

[86] The Qingsui Dachao tongbao is a Type 1 obverse. The Dachao tongbao illustrated by Ding Fubao, Zhou Xiang, and Luo Bozhao have Type 1 obverses. See Zhou 1996, p. 851, coin #2550. See also Luo 1989, p. 95.

[87] Zhou Liqiang noted that the Tianshui hoard Dachao tongbao averaged at 25 mm. See Zhou 1994, p. 7. That size is rather large, and I have doubts about the accuracy of that data. In fact, the Dachao tongbao he illustrated is actually 21 mm. Because it is a Type 2 obverse, the size is as expected.

[88] The Sichuan collector's coins measure 19 mm and 20 mm. Each is of the Type 2 obverse. The published majority of the coins of the Tianshui hoard are in this category. See also Sheng 1995, p. 20. Coins of Type 1 are only represented by a handful of examples, and they are comparatively rarer than Type 2.

[89] I am not the only person to recognise this similarity. Zhou Liqiang also noted it, but compared Dachao tongbao to Chagatayid coins in that regard. See Zhou 1994, p. 8. While Zhou did not indicate which Chagatayid coins he was referring to, a very fruitful comparison can be made with a dated type. It is a third type of "Great *Ūrdū*" coin, with the obverse having at its centre the *kufic* inscription of *al-Ūrdū*/ *al-Ā'zam*, followed by a date/minting formula *Duriba hādhā ... fī sanat ithna sittin wa sittami'a* (i.e. 662 Hegira), followed by a linear ring. The date places the coin to the reign of Alghu (1261–late 1265/early 1266). The reverse has *Allāh* in a squared border, rotated, with two open circles at each corner. In addition, four characters are at each side but their reading is uncertain (i.e. *mulk*? *Malik*?). A linear ring follows, then followed by a dotted border. This border design about *Allāh* appears to imitate the square hole seen on Chinese coins. Thus, the emphasis on seeing all of the aforementioned coins strictly in 'Islamic' or 'Chinese' terms must be shifted to realising how syncretic such systems became during the Mongol period. The psychological effect of Dachao tongbao resembling struck silver coins, or of struck silver coins incorporating elements that resemble Chinese cast coins, demonstrated such a conclusion.

[90] At the end of April 1989, in Datucheng Village, a suburb area of Chayouzhongqi (which is located in the eastern portion of Wunanchabu District, Nei Menggu Autonomous Region), a peasant farmer working in a field found a single Dachao tongbao. The coin was described as being very black in colour (perhaps due to sulfur oxides?), and that it showed evidence of being severely

Type 2 (first seen with a collector in Sichuan) has ragged wavy edges that are the result of a poorly prepared mold or were prematurely ejected from the mold, before the metal had cooled.

There is a specific reverse type for this early Dachao tongbao, called subgroup (a): Blank reverse (see Plate VI, A1 and A2). This reverse variety of Dachao tongbao is the most frequently encountered.[91] The reverse is generally flat, with no rim along the centre hole, or rim on the edge of the coin. A variety does have a slight, flat rim along the edge of the coin. The reverse fields are slightly concave.[92] This variety of reverse might be the result from a poorly prepared reverse mold that could account for the flatness observed. Probably a simple, primitive method of using clay molds for casting was utilised with a uniface mold for the obverse, and the chance that the reverse was not a blank slab. It may have been prepared to show a convex area. This is probably the earliest and the most static reverse subgroup, and because of their frequency, argues for its maintenance over a long period without alteration or change.

The thick obverse rim of Type 1 is quite unusual and is *non-pareil* for Chinese coins of the period. It is a significant detail. The thick and rounded rims seem to take their inspiration from the Vakhsh coins of the eighth century and there might be a connection to explain the anachronism. It is believed that the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type was issued for a short period, perhaps a year or less (from 1221 to 1222). There is the contention that the minting of coinage ceased in Afghanistan upon the outcome of the

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clipped. See Wang 1990. See also Wang 1991, p. 77; geographically, the findspot is close to Shangdu, the capital established by Qubilai before he made Dadu the national capital. This location is the easternmost findspot of Dachao tongbao. Because the coin is severely clipped, and because the findspot is still some distance from Shangdu, it may be that the coin never circulated from Shangdu but from areas further west. Morris Rossabi wrote that Shangdu became more of a "hunting preserve" rather than a true capital. Between its founding as Kaiping in 1256, to 1263 when it became Shangdu, it served as Qubilai's primary residence. Later, it became his summer retreat. Its population numbered only near 100,000, a small amount of people at that time for Chinese cities. Rossabi also observes that Shangdu has been surveyed and partly excavated. Evidently, no coins such as Dachao tongbao were recovered. See Rossabi 1988, p. 135, and pp. 31–33. There is an ancient city site in Chayouzhong County associated with the Mongol period, called Guangyilong. While the site needs to be more fully identified, its size is given as 1100 metres east–west and 760 meters north–south. See Li 1986, p. 95. It is probable that this stray coin is associated with the commerce of that site. However, the distance between the two sites is unknown to me. I believe there is an error in Sheng's illustrations; the coin identified as coming from Chayouzhongqi is actually the coin from Qingsui. See also Sheng 1995, p. 18. The size indicated is indeed below average at 16 mm, and its weight of 1.4 gram is light. Sheng describes the clipping as "scissors marks", and observes that because Dachao tongbao are very crudely made the clipping was done to reduce their weight. That is a possibility; although it could be that they were trimmed as a result of their being cast, when excess metal was removed with zero regard to weight. This author has a Dachao tongbao specimen that exhibits a piece of the sprue on the edge. The cud was not entirely clipped off; Zhou Liqiang reported that the Tianshui Dachao tongbao exhibited clipping as described by Sheng. See Zhou 1994, p. 7.

[91] The coins found at Qingsui and Chayouzhong, Ding Fubao's, the Sichuan collector's two and my three coins are of this subgroup.

[92] Zhou Liqiang reported that a number of Tianshui Dachao tongbao have concave reverses. See Zhou 1994, p. 8.

military campaigns there and did not resume until winter 1222 (Kolbas 1992, p. 82), when the Mongol army led by Chinggis Qan arrived at Samarqand just prior to their return to Mongolia (arriving there Spring 1225). That is a rather hasty conclusion for it ignores the fact that Chinggis and his army were sojourning north of the Hindu Kush mountain range in April/May 1222 (Rachewiltz 1962, p. 68, note 159; see also Grousset 1970, p. 244). We know that Chinggis was there because of another fortuitous historical account, the *Xiyou ji* (or *Account of a Journey to the West*; published in its English translation as *Travels of an Alchemist*). This work, by Li Zhichang (1193–1256), is a source of information contemporaneous to Chinggis' Central Asian campaigns. Nonetheless, it went unmentioned by Kolbas to demonstrate her argument that the sojourn pattern of coin minting continued. For her, that activity did not resume until Chinggis was at Samarqand. In fact, the sojourn pattern of minting coinage for the *qubchir* was probably continued, but it took a decidedly non-Western appearance.

At that time of his sojourn, Chinggis met the Daoist Patriarch, Changchun, whom he had previously summoned and who had arrived in Samarqand on December 3, 1221 (Ratchnevsky 1991, pp. 134–135). For the first meeting with Chinggis, Changchun started out from Samarqand and travelled south to Kish (Barthold 1958, p. 452).[93] From there he moved southeast and crossed the Kafirnihan River, and later the Amu Darya River. After crossing the Amu Darya, Changchun was led to Chinggis' *ordas*, located at Kunduz (Iwamura 1956, p. 29).[94] Undoubtedly Changchun's travel route passed by or through Qobadiyan, which is also on the lower Kafirnihan River. That region was geographically the former dominion of Vakhsh and where the prototype for Dachao tongbao is found. Unfortunately, the sources do not corroborate the use of these earlier Chinese-style coins there, for they apparently ceased to circulate in the Islamic economy of Samarqand long before the thirteenth century. To verify that belief, a functionary's travelogue of an embassy to Persia in 1259 is frequently cited. Titled *Xi shiji*, by Liu Yu, it has the remark that going west from Bole/Bula,[95] "gold, silver and copper are used as money; [the coins] have inscriptions but do not have square holes (Allsen 1983, p. 275, note 97, [Bretschneider 1967, p. 128])."[96] Before putting great faith in that quote, it should be observed that the mention of money largely comes from the journals of Chinese diplomats. They mostly recorded information of interest to them (more often than not, mundane), or to their readers, occasionally highlighting the unusual, but with only the briefest of descriptions. Although quite valuable for the data they contain, those travelogues cannot be totally relied upon to discount the possibility that Chinese-style coins did circulate in

[93] Barthold wrote that Changchun crossed the Surkhān, but Iwamura Shinobu has demonstrated that it was the Kafirnihan instead. See Iwamura 1956, pp. 26–42.

[94] Douglas S. Benson places this event at Baghlān. See Benson 1995, p. 96.

[95] Bole/Bula is the Chinese transcription for Pūlād, a town of uncertain location south of Lake Balqash, but north of the Tianshan and east of Lake Sayram in the Borotal valley.

[96] In fact, although the journal records the journey from Helin (= Qaraqorum) to Persia, the embassy was headed by Chang De not Liu Yu. See Han 1991, pp. 60–61.

Central Asia, for such coins could have indeed been found.[97] However, the numismatic evidence seems to support the historical sources. For example, the Khwārazmshāh ʻAlā al-Dīn Muhammad had struck gold *dīnārs* in the Vakhsh area, in the month of Safar, 615 Hegira (April–May 1218), a scant three years before the *dīnārs* of "*ʻAdil-Jinkiz*" type.[98] In addition, the Khwārazmshāh followed the minting activity established by the Ghorids of Bāmiyān, Bāha ad-Dīn Sām bin Muhammed (1192–1206) and his son and successor Jalāl ad-Dīn ʻAlī (1206–1215), by minting base billon coins in Tokhāristān, primarily at Balkh and Kunduz (Tye 1988).[99] Regardless, in recent years hundreds of registered finds of Chinese-style coins (especially the Vakhsh) have been made in the area the Changchun embassy was likely to have passed through (Zeimal 1994, p. 257). It is not far-fetched to assume that the Vakhsh coins could be seen locally.[100] It is equally reasonable to believe that the Changchun embassy must have encountered them. Whether they were seen just as a novelty item, or were actually circulating, cannot be said. In the same period, Yelu Ahai's protégés probably became aware of the "*ʻAdil* Coinage" upon escorting the Changchun delegation to Chinggis' camp, and may have become unnerved by the breach of protocol it represented.[101] If that is the case, then it is likely that they determined that Dachao tongbao should be cast, at once. It feasibly occurred in April/May 1222, probably May or shortly thereafter.

The first Dachao tongbao had rounded holes as the Vakhsh prototype but the design quickly conformed to the standard square hole. This point is evidenced by an example of a dated Dachao tongbao (Zhao 1995, p. 63).[102] Called subgroup (b): Chi-

[97] Strange that Liu does not remark on the more easterly Chagatayid mint sites of Almaliq (near modern Yining, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region) or Beshbaliq. Pūlād was not a border town of the Chagatayid *ulus*, and it seems a rather arbitrary terminus for Islamic-style money.

[98] While dated, the example I have seen does not have the mint name on it. It does share the style of coins struck in the Vakhsh area by the Khwārazmshāh, so it presumably was minted there. Compare also the *dīnār* issues of ʻImad al-Dīn Abu Bakr (ca. 590s–613 as Tamghay Khan, ruler of Vakhsh), dated 613 H. citing the Khwārazmshāh. ʻAlā al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh struck gold *dīnārs* in Tokhāristān as well, which are undated, but have inscriptions of mixed *naskhi* and *kufic* styles. There are also AE *dirhems* of the Khwārazmshāh from Tokhāristān. See Sourdel 1953, coin #1067.

[99] See also Tye–Tye 1995, p. 115, coin #115.1, weight 3.1 grams (same coin described in his article). However, the mint is listed as questionable (i.e. "mint?"), whereas in his article the mint is given as Kunduz. In addition, the discussion in his article was more interesting than what later appeared in his book. In his article, Tye proposed that the Ghorid's coins of Tokhāristān were derived from a North Indian type as an imported standard. Of course, he does not indicate what was circulating there previously.

[100] Observe also Tajikistani and Uzbekistani coin hoards of Qarakhānid *dirhems* mixed with Bukhārkhudāt *drachms* of Sogdian inscriptions that are older than the *dirhems* by several hundred years! See Noonan 1987–1991, p. 241.

[101] Kolbas believes that the "*ʻAdil-Jinkiz*" type was "quickly withdrawn by Ögödei when he, probably, became aware of the breach of Mongol protocol". See Kolbas 1995, p. 5. I agree with only part of her statement. Kolbas did not say which protocol was breached and given that she never mentions Sino-Qidan protocols in her work, she must want the reader to implicitly understand her. Perhaps the reader should guess that it was a breach of protocol because it had Chinggis' name on it. Moreover, why now Ögödei, what happened to Yalavach?

[102] This particular coin was not reported in his previous article. The two coins illustrated in Zhao's article are both a Type 1 and Type 2 Dachao tongbao.

nese language inscription (see Plate VI, B1), the characters *er nian* 'second year' are on the reverse of the coin. *Er* is found on the left side of the hole and *nian* is on the lower right-hand side of the hole. Both words are observed to be in *kai shu* calligraphy (Zhao 1995, p. 63). This coin is the sole example of a dated Dachao tongbao presently known. The collector who possesses the coin suggests that the inscription refers to the second year of the reign of "Taizu (1207)".[103] That is improbable. It should refer to the second year of *Dachao*, 1221. If that proves to be the case, it can only be from May to Autumn 1222, based upon the sojourn pattern of Chinggis' military movements as well as the estimated weight average chronology previously discussed.[104] In addition, the dating of Chinese coins in this fashion is not unusual; it was commonplace on both Southern Song and Liao coins. In Liao, for example, there were *Dakang liu nian* and *qi nian* coins. Those are exactly dated to the sixth and seventh year of *Dakang* (1080–1081). There was also *Qingning er nian* (1056). More contemporary with the Mongols' campaigns was Southern Song's *Jiading tongbao*. Those are also dated numerically, without using the word *nian* as on the Liao coins, and begin from the first year of *Jiading* through the sixteenth (1201–1224). The evidence of such dating occurring on this Dachao tongbao may be that, as the *dīnārs* of the "'*Adil-Jinkiz*" type are dated in the Islamic calendar and not in the official Sino-Qidan calendar of the *nianhao Dachao*, a correction was necessary.

As Changchun's second trip to the *ordas* of Chinggis (which had moved west from Kunduz to a site nearby Balkh) did not take him anywhere near Qobadiyan (Barthold 1958, p. 453), it may be presumed that the first Dachao tongbao were cast before September 1222. Moreover, the "Great *Ūrdū*" coins were probably struck on the occasion of Changchun's second visit to Chinggis' *ordas* at Balkh, rather than appearing at Baghlān or later at Samarqand. That is made more likely because Kolbas argued her chronology for Baghlān being the site of the first "Great *Ūrdū*" type based upon the historian Juvainī's recounting of Chinggis' campaigns in Afghanistan (Juvainī 1958, p. 139).[105] Of course, Juvainī says nothing about such coins. More importantly, he does not even acknowledge the Changchun embassy. Therefore, to base a chronology exclusively upon the Persian sources of those campaigns is unwise without at least referring to the other equally important Chinese sources of the period. Kolbas' omission of those sources to support her argument makes her chronology untenable. The minting of the "Great *Ūrdū*" coins may have been done at Balkh to rectify the breach in protocol their prototype from Ghazna represented, or minting resumed a third time for the Turkic auxiliaries there. Because of their weight, Dachao tongbao are linked to the campaigns in Afghanistan and so were not cast in Samarqand initially. Because the Sino-Qidan influence was strongest in Samarqand, it seemingly would make it the obvious choice for the location of the first Dachao tongbao.

[103] Taizu is Chinggis Qan's Chinese "temple name", and equals "First Emperor".

[104] It seems to be post-dated; 1221–1222 was the second year of Dachao. 1222 was the start of the third year of Dachao, and the first month of 1222 began on February 13 and ran to March 15 by the Chinese calendar. See Li Zhichang 1931, p. 96; April–May 1222 saw the first Dachao tongbao. The two-month discrepancy is unusual.

[105] Kolbas' use of Juvainī was taken without citation.

Nevertheless, Dachao tongbao were probably first cast at Kunduz, under the auspices of Yelu Ahai's ministers Liu Wen and *Arachan, who had accompanied Changchun to Chinggis on that first visit (Li Zhichang 1931, pp. 71 and 97). We can only theorise that from then on Dachao tongbao were cast wherever and whenever the non-Mongol auxiliary troops were on inactive military duty and owed the poll tax. It may have been cast at Samarqand later, but only before Chinggis had returned to Mongolia ca. 1225.

On the face of it, the coinage of the Afghanistan campaigns and Dachao tongbao appear unrelated to one another. One is small and dumpy while the other has a square hole. Their appearances are deceiving, for the changes in style between the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type and Dachao tongbao could also be accounted for in this fashion:

> This coinage series suggest that Mongol taxation had not yet developed a uniform accounting system. In part, the lack of uniformity was due to a two-tier method of taxation, one for the subjects and one for the Mongols. Revenue was probably derived from the poll tax (*qubchir*) of the Mongols in the urdu, Bulghar, and Kurriman sites in silver or mixed copper-silver alloy and from the tribute of the conquered Samarqand, usually in gold. As a result, money reflected the forms of administration and variety of taxation policies (Kolbas 1992, p. 118).

Because no Dachao tongbao have been found outside of China in Central Asia,[106] appearances are in favour that it was issued in a form suitable to its eventual environment, North China. That is, it was issued to parts of the army not destined to remain in Central Asia. It was an outgrowth of the movement of Chinggis Qan's armies in that, while being a Chinese-inspired cash coin, it retained the Central Asian (or foreign) element of metal and weight based on the sojourn chronology. If the coinage was issued for an extended period after that, at the same weight standard, it was perhaps for the sake of continuity in the tax records.[107] The *qubchir* appears to have been assessed by a differentiated standard varying by geographic location and the heterogeneous makeup of the army, necessitating those assorted coinages. The standards followed the patterns of movement and sojourn of those armies. Exactly how the taxation system worked is not well defined (and it is not worthwhile to become overly schematised), but it has been previously suggested: the *qubchir* was levied on *ordas* not on active military duty (Kolbas 1992, p. 105).[108] Taxes were levied not just upon Chinggis' *ordas*; the divisions under Ögödei and Chagatay should be counted too, as both resided at the sites in Afghanistan and because they were, on occasion, not involved in the actual fighting (Kolbas 1992, p. 105).[109] In any case,

[106] Excavations at the site of Otrar (i.e., Chimkentskaia oblast', Kazakhstan) have not revealed any Chinese-style coins of the Mongol period, either. See Akishev 1981.

[107] This situation occurred elsewhere, see Kolbas 1992, p. 151.

[108] Kolbas wrote "Mongol *ulus*".

[109] There were a number of Mongolian commanders in Afghanistan, whose divisions would have been responsible for the *qubchir*. For example, the commander Sha'ur was dispatched along with Ögödei by Chinggis to attack Ghazna. Sigi-qutuqu also wintered in Ghazna in 1221. See Boyle 1977, pp. 240–241.

Chinggis' *ordas* was actually inactive much earlier than Kolbas supposed, especially during the sojourn north of the Hindu Kush at Kunduz. Dachao tongbao might fill that gap in the chronology.

The *terminus a quo* of the *nianhao Dachao* is 1220, during Muqali's administration of North China. That same year saw Samarqand fall to the Mongols under Chinggis' personal leadership. If the proposed chronology (based on style and weight) between the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type and the "Great *Ūrdū*" coinage is correct Dachao tongbao can only be after 1221. Because Muqali died in Shaanxi in March/April 1223 (Rachewiltz 1977, p. 53; see also Kwanten 1978, p. 35), it is highly unlikely that coins could have been issued by him before that date at the estimated weight average of the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type as that is to reverse cause and effect. The "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type is decidedly from Ghazna and came first in 1221. Its weight standard was extremely influential, and was adopted until the summation of campaigns. [110]

While the Qidan ministers travelling with Chinggis may have exerted influence quite early on the Turkic inscriptions employed during the phases of coinages (via their Uighur subordinates), to insure that it included reference to the "Great Courts" in conformity with the imperial protocol,[111] part of those coinages were probably not sanctioned by them. The "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type doubtlessly represents freelancing on the part of Turkic ministers during a very intense campaign period. Its dating in the unofficial Islamic calendar violated the protocol of dating in the official calendar, which derived from the Chinese. That calendar was dated to the *nianhao Dachao*; the Sino-Qidan administration was responsible for its creation and maintenance. The inclusion of Chinggis' name on that series was the perhaps last straw in administrative blunders. The Changchun embassy allowed the Sino-Qidan administration to reassert itself, by correcting the breach in protocols that the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type represented. Dachao tongbao came about at a time when sinified ministers at court were at the height of their prestige and influence with Chinggis Qan. They took advantage of a perfect opportunity to visibly demonstrate to all that the paramount destiny of the Mongols' "Great Courts" lay in the direction of China, not Central Asia. To further underscore that fact, Juvainī reports of a number of Uighur nobles whom Chinggis had executed just prior his return to Mongolia (Juvainī 1958, p. 140). Although it is only educated speculation (because we do not know their crimes), perhaps these Turkic officials were finally held accountable for the administrative lapses that occurred in Afghanistan. Yet, while those executions represent their collective low point, more significant is the fact that the fortunes of other Uighur ministers were to rebound. That fact prepares us to move to the next phase of discussion, which is the perpetuation of the monetary *qubchir* in North China in the form of Dachao tongbao.

[110] Given that Ögödei dispatched the general Mönggetei into the area of Ghazna in 1230–1231 (wherein he took charge of Tokhāristān, Kunduz, and Talaqan), illustrates that even then those regions were administratively tied together, probably as a result of Chinggis' campaigns. The weight standard of the newly monetised *qubchir* was defined in those regions. See Boyle 1977, p. 242.

[111] That protocol could have been established prior to or during the course of communications between Chinggis and Muqali when Chinggis was in Samarqand. See Jan 1982, p. 385. For the inscription where this information is taken, see also Ch'ên 1971, p. 23.

Phase Two: The Sino-Qidan Administration's Jointly Shared Authority with Semu Daruγachi (1235–1251) to Perpetuate the Monetary Qubchir for the Han Jun

After the Mongols under Ögödei had succeeded in putting the Jin out of their misery in 1234, the levy of *qubchir*, already well established within the non-Mongol auxiliary troops of the Mongolian army, was continued in North China. Chinese auxiliary troops remained responsible for the *qubchir*, and a *daruγachi* was charged with collecting it from them.[112] However, an administrative change had occurred. It came following a trend of the Mongols' mistrust of their own chancellery, which was comprised mostly of Sino-Qidan officials.

During the years 1235–1251, *daruγachis* were all exclusively Mongols or Central Asians, called *Semu* (Xiao 1978, p. 154, note 105). *Semu* is a Chinese term that means "miscellaneous aliens", and referred to the foreigner Turks comprised of Qangli, Uighur, Qipchak, Asud, Önggüd, and other groups (Xiao 1978, p. 224, note 116). While not Turks, Tanguts and Töböds were also called *Semu*. In North China during the period 1200–1259, there numbered up to at least seventeen *daruγachi* (Rachewiltz 1983, p. 285), and we even know the names and tribal affiliations of a number of them.[113] Among them were *Mir Khoja (a Kharlukh) [Rachewiltz 1983, p. 302, note 30], *Jangi Batur (a Qipchak) [Rachewiltz 1983, p. 302, note 30], Süke (a Kereyid) [Rachewiltz 1983, p. 302, note 33], Baruq Qaya, Eren Temür, Serge (Temür's cousin) and Mungsuz (all Uighurs) [Rachewiltz 1983, pp. 300–301, note 27].

We may attribute part of the decline in the power and prestige of the Sino-Qidan administration in this period to a shift in emphasis upon Mongolian inscriptions in the Uighur script, which gained a primacy they did not have before Ögödei, rather than Chinese transliterations/translations. The Uighurs naturally gained enhanced status in the bureaucracy over their Chinese counterparts because they gave the gift of their alphabet to the Mongols and were needed pedagogically to maintain its use. The most renowned *Semu* minister of the time was the official Chinqai (Rachewiltz 1966, p. 100, note 4; see also Rachewiltz 1983, pp. 284–285, note 15).[114] A Turkic minister, perhaps of Nestorian faith, Chinqai was placed in charge of creating/translating documents into Mongolian.[115] During Ögödei's reign, he shared

[112] Endicott-West cited a correspondence she had with Allsen wherein he found dubious claims made by various Russian and Soviet scholars, perhaps based on their misreading of primary texts, that *daruγachis* in China collected taxes. See Endicott-West 1989, note 84. Well, if we accept the premise that *daruγachis* collected taxes due from the army, and we should, then the assertion is not dubious at all. In fact, the upcoming discussion of bilingual inscriptions on Dachao tongbao will be helpful in putting to rest Allsen's assertion.

[113] Of course, this is taking well into account Endicott-West's criticism of Rachewiltz's quantification of Turkic *Semu daruγachis*. See Endicott-West 1989, pp. 137–138, note 4.

[114] It was during some point in this period that the power of Yelu Chucai was curtailed, demonstrated by the fact that civil documents had to pass through the hands of his rival, Chinqai, to obtain his seal in Mongolian. See Cleaves 1951, p. 496.

[115] Regarding Chinqai's nationality: Ding Guofan wrote that he was either "Uighur" or "Keliebu ren (i.e. Kereyid)". See Ding Guofan 1986, p. 43.

chancellery positions with Yelu Chucai (a Qidan) and Nienhe Zhongshan (a Jürchen). He later became chancellor of the empire under Güyük (Rachewiltz 1966, p. 100, note 4).

While there is no evidence that any of the above ministers were ever involved with Dachao tongbao, the power shared by the Sino-Qidans and the Turkic Semu is seen in these same coins. Certain Dachao tongbao might date to this early period, and are called subgroup (c): Mongolian language inscription (see Plate VI, C1, and C2). There are at least two varieties of this subgroup and further research may reveal many more. The first, called "Variety #1", is seen on a Dachao tongbao found in Qinan County, Gansu Province in 1985 (Gansu Qianbi xuehui 1989, p. 63).[116] Upon that coin is a single word on the left side of the reverse hole (see Plate VI, C1), which reads *dai* 'great', the Mongolian equivalent of the Chinese *da* (see Fig. 2). The Mongolian equivalent of the Chinese *Dachao* is *Daichau*. In Mongolian, *dai* is an adjective that occurs only in compounds. The associated word *chao* was intended. Furthermore, the proposed reading, while hardly certain, does not call into question the interpretation of *Dachao* as a translation for *Yekes Ordas*. The adjectives *dai* and *yeke* were interchangeable in Qidan and Mongolian; thus, it may be that this inscription reveals the *daruγachi* as a Qidan who employed a Uighur scribe. This exemplar might also be very early in date, but how early cannot be said. Because Mongolian language inscriptions are only attested at the earliest from Töregene's Regency (1242–1246), it may be imprudent to place them to Ögödei's reign. Further analysis is required before it can be definitively said that our inscription dates before the 1240s. Nonetheless, the inscriptions on these items offer rare insight into early Mongolian epigraphy. Notably, some Dachao tongbao of subgroup (c) may represent the earliest epigraphic use of Mongolian than has been previously known. Irrespective of that, the Mongolian inscriptions are in a subordinate position. We know that they are subordinate because they are on the reverse, and there are Dachao tongbao with blank reverses.

There is also another issue regarding the level of Turkic authority exercised during this period. While *Semu daruγachis* were mostly drawn from Turkic groups, *Semu daruγachi* were not *Ortaqs*. The *Ortaq* were trade guilds comprised of Turkic Uighurs. They became financial partners of members of the imperial families and other Mongol nobility. It was from these groups that the *Ortaqs* received large amounts of silver as loans, to be used as capital to increase their trade ventures and to make a profit (Rachewiltz 1983, p. 285, note 18). Thomas T. Allsen wrote of the Mongolian economic term that describes such exchanges, called *sauγa*:

> The term *sauγa* also could mean "present" or "gift" and their meaning in turn influenced the commercial language of the day. When the Mon-

[116] It is not clear if the coins were recovered from professional archaeological excavation or not. I am assuming that they were until I can gather further evidence. Two very interesting Dachao tongbao were unearthed, one is reported to be copper and may be the only one known to be in that metal verified through excavation. It could either be a mint pattern or sample, i.e., mother-coin, or it could be the centre of a silver-plated coin or fourré. The other was reported to be silver and is the first example of a bilingual Dachao tongbao.

> gols transferred their booty to merchants, the presentation of the "investment" was often termed a "gift" (Allsen 1989, p. 120).

Allsen also said that the term *sauγa* could mean, "share of the chase, or booty" (Allsen 1989, p. 119). To indicate that aspect of its meaning, he quoted this passage, "…each one of the *qatuns* had several *ortoγ* and they would bring the *qatuns* a *little money* [emphasis added]" (Allsen 1989, p. 120). That quote begs the obvious question of what "little money"? The previous notwithstanding, there is the attribution that much of the economic activity during the early years of Mongol rule in North China was due to the influence of these Central Asian merchants (Schurmann 1952, p. 250). Since they were so influential, one could wonder if the *Ortaq* actually cast Dachao tongbao but it is not very likely that they did, because Dachao tongbao are linked to a military milieu.

Although during Ögödei's reign North China was a "series of appanages exploited heavily by Mongolian princes [sic! and by their agents, the *Ortaq*] and powerful military satrapies of Chinese generals" (Xiao 1978, p. 12), it was within those Chinese satrapies where Dachao tongbao were used. However, the territorial composition of North China was not just a division into *touxia*; it had two levels. At the local level militarily in North China were *a'uruq*. They were charged with local administration of military households and conscription of troops and supplies (Xiao 1978, pp. 14, 136, note 98).[117] *A'uruq* also refers to a military district, thus North China should be thought of as being divided into both *a'uruq* and *ayimaq* (Xiao 1978, p. 136, note 98). Dachao tongbao are really a function of the *a'uruq* system rather than the *ayimaq* system. *A'uruq* were controlled by Chinese military lords, and were garrisoned by Chinese troops. Those Chinese troops were the "Northern Chinese Army" (Chinese: *Han jun*), who played an extremely vital role in both the conquering of North China and the subsequent occupation of it. *Ayimaq* were controlled by Mongol princes and potentates who led troops, called *Tammachi*, manned by Mongols, which were units raised from the five *touxia*, and garrisoned in cities (Xiao 1978, p. 16). The *Han jun* numbered at 66,000 men, organised into units of 10,000 and 1000 members, and were led by three powerful Chinese generals who additionally had 10,000 soldiers under their own command.[118] Essentially, the *a'uruq* were the fiefs of those generals. The *Ortaq*, while tax farming or on other sundry activities, probably had only incidental contact with Dachao tongbao, occurring only if they bought or sold goods to the *Han jun* or to their own kinsmen in the auxiliary troops, which were part of the *ayimaq*. We know that the latter is possible because in

[117] Xiao wrote *a'uruγ*. The Middle Mongolian form is *a'uruq* and a classical/pre-classical (= Uighur) form is *aγuruγ* (my appreciation to Kara for that information). *Ayimaq* is the Middle Mongolian form in Chinese and Arabic script, and was a trisyllabic word in Middle Mongolian; the first two syllables were contracted later into a diphthong *ai*, and the modern Khalkha Mongolian form is *aimag* (with an almost voiceless final).

[118] An *a'uruq* was Sino-Qidan in composition, but predominantly Chinese. There was at least one powerful Qidan general, who had 10,000 men under his command in one. Qidan troops were called, in Chinese, *Jiu jun*. They were distinguished from the *Han jun*, at least in the vernacular.

North China, the *Ortaq*'s function as "comprador–administrative–entrepreneur corporations" was "to realise the land revenues and convert these into commodities and material required by the military establishment" (Martinez 1975, p. 346). However, their ability to collect those land revenues is overstated. As we shall see, the *Ortaq* were denied access to the *a'uruq* very early.

There really should be a great deal of doubt that the *Ortaq* were involved in casting Dachao tongbao on a local level. To confirm that doubt, one only has to refer back to an essential point previously discussed: the association of Dachao tongbao with the *qubchir*, collected in coin during 1221–1222 in Afghanistan. Although the evidence for it has already been presented, restating the success of the poll tax is necessary because of a contradictory account from historical sources that say the imperial treasuries were bankrupt by 1229 (Buell 1979b, p. 141; see also Song 1956, p. 132). How could this be? There obviously was quite a bit of "money", floating about in Turkestan and within the Mongol army wherever they were. Those "monies" did not come out of nowhere; the Mongols authorised them, tacitly if not directly.

The bankruptcy mentioned in the historical sources should be regarded as alluding to the tax coffers from civilian levies and not with the Mongol army. That view is likely because it is not until 1236 that the recorded example of a monetary issue associated with the imperial government is found (Song 1956, p. 132; see also Buell 1979b, p. 142). That issue, of paper money, was for use by the civilian population. It was officially sanctioned, and we are secure in the knowledge of that fact because of an entry in the *Yuan shi* that says Ögödei granted the paper money to the family of Dei Sechen, the father of Börte, Chinggis Qan's principal wife (Allsen 1986, p. 173, note 98). It became obsolete rather quickly, and counts more as an experiment that never realised its potential. Although it had silver reserves backing it, there is no reason to believe Dachao tongbao were monetised along with it.

The function of a *daruγachi* in an *a'uruq* had, in large part, a military component to it. A *daruγachi* was above each *a'uruq* or group thereof, and each *a'uruq* hypothetically should have been obligated to mint Dachao tongbao, enough for each unit of the army stationed in their district that was required to pay the poll tax. A tax on silver was probably used to meet that expense. There existed just such a local levy, called *baoyin*. It was a tax extracted from the civilian population (Xiao 1989, p. 104). The *Yuanchao mingcheng shilue* identified this tax in detail (Su Tianjue 1962, p. 10:1b).[119] The powerful Chinese military lord Shi Tianze (1204–1274) initiated it during the reign of Ögödei in the North China appanage of Zhending, located in Hebei (Xiao 1989, p. 104). Because the *baoyin* was a tribute tax system, taken in silver from the civilian population, it supported the minting of Dachao tongbao with the necessary bullion. The fact that Shi Tianze collected it should indicate its military purpose. As a tax system, it was collected elsewhere in North China probably to the same end (Xiao 1989, p. 105).[120] The *baoyin* was uniquely Chinese at its inception,

[119] The *Yuanchao mingcheng shilue* is an autobiographical work by Su Tianjue (1294–1352), a Han and a former official of the Mongol court.

[120] We may also note another example of a military leader, but in Shanxi (i.e. Hedong beilu, or Hedong 'northern circuit'), named Haoheshangbadu (died 1252), who held authority of taxation,

and was not the result of Central Asian/Uighur influence vis-à-vis the *Ortaqs*. Allsen noted there is some confusion in that distinction because the sources do note that the *Ortaq*, as tax farmers

> "bid up the revenue quotas to unbearable levels, in consequence of which the populace, unable to pay, had to borrow silver at usurious rates from the merchant money-lenders. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the monies the merchants lent to the hard-pressed taxpayers came from the imperial treasury and that in the first instance the monies in question had been exacted as taxes from the selfsame population" (Allsen 1989, p. 102).

Whereas it is probably true that the *Ortaq* were often nasty and exploitative businessmen (and the sources would not allow us to believe otherwise), it should be remembered that the money the *Ortaq* lent was *sauγa*. It was a very separate matter from the *baoyin*. In truth, the *baoyin* established a tribute system similar to that imposed upon the Central Asians by Qidan *daruγachi* in Samarqand circa 1220, which took in gold bullion from the local population.[121] The difference here is that the tribute system in North China was to take in silver bullion in order to sustain the *qubchir* at the local level for the *Han jun*. The *Ortaq* might have cast a hungry eye towards the bullion this levy drew in, but Shi Tianze kept them at a distance and out of the *a'uruq* under his authority (Peng 1994, p. 532, note 5).[122] If the *Ortaq* had on some pretext previously collected *baoyin*, it was on behalf of the *daruγachi* for the local garrison commander, "through whom he exercised some degree of control over fiscal matters, supporting himself and his military establishment, and remitting the surplus to the court" (Martinez 1975, p. 337). There is no reason to believe that the *Ortaq* had any special powers over a *daruγachi* in any given *a'uruq* under his authority, yet Richard von Glahn wrote that the *baoyin* was instituted to compel the inhabitants of north China to borrow silver from the *Ortaq* (Glahn 1996, p. 57). Furthermore, von Glahn calls this levy a "poll tax" which "swelled the demand for silver, which could only be obtained" from the *Ortaq* at usurious interest rates (Glahn 1996, p. 57).[123] The *baoyin* was not a "poll tax". It was a levy to *supply* the poll tax, or *qubchir*, and was borne on the backs of the civilian population. The *Ortaq*'s role was not as von Glahn has described it because things were just the opposite; Chinese military lords did all they could to deny them that access. They denied access because they

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which included various taxes on trade over both military personnel and civilian craftsmen. In addition, three high-ranking Sino-Qidan generals, Tian Xiong, Li Gou, and Liu Heima all served under him in Shanxi and later all three went on to campaign in Shaanxi. See Qu Dafeng 1999, p. 49.

[121] The amount was 200,000 gold *dīnārs*. See Juvainī 1958, p. 122. See also Buell 1979b, pp. 130, note 45, and 131, note 48.

[122] Peng noted the sources that show Shi made efforts to end the *Ortaq*'s usurious moneylending practices in Zhending. However, there is a typographical error. Shi Tianze is misspelled as Shi Tian*ce*.

[123] Peng Daya and Xu Ting's account of 1237, *Heida shilue*, mentions the *jam* privileges enjoyed by the *Ortaq* wherein they took taxes in lieu of the amount of silver lent by them to the people to support the upkeep of the official couriers. See Olbricht – Pinks 1980, p. 142.

wanted to protect their own interests. The *a'uruq* were frequently exploited by the same military lords who forced the soldiers to borrow money from them (Xiao 1978, p. 28)!

Shi Tianze's reorganisation of the tribute tax system during Ögödei's reign was innovative, unlike the later period. Part of that innovation included a *daruγachi* adding inscriptions or markings to Dachao tongbao, which identified that they were authorised by his department. This is a distinct possibility as there were a number of *Semu daruγachi* who played important roles in the fiscal affairs of the *a'uruq*. The first example to be noted is that of a former Xi Liao official named Isma'il, who was appointed by Ögödei to directly take over the affairs of the *a'uruqs* in Huaimeng and Henan in 1232 (Endicott-West 1989, p. 36). To what extent he managed fiscal matters is not exactly known. However, a more illustrative example of the role played between a *Semu daruγachi*, the *a'uruq*, and the civilian population can be found in the person of *Menggubaer (1204–1274). He was a Central Asian *daruγachi* who facilitated the reconstruction of North China's then devastated economy between the years 1236 and 1274. Just how instrumental *Menggubaer was in that is proved in a unique and unusual fashion, his deeds were proclaimed on a stone epitaph. The remarkable parts here read: "The soldiers, relying upon their achievements, could not but commit violent acts of appropriation and robbery. Even between the city walls and the market place, some of the outside doors were closed in the daytime and they did not dare open them" (Endicott-West 1989, p. 30). Consequently, *Menggubaer is then noted as giving this directive: "As for those who dare to oppress the people, they must be punished by the law. As for the craftsmen and merchants who are in the shops, they should all attend to their businesses. The doors of the markets should be open" (Endicott-West 1989, p. 30). However, this official account must be questioned for its information is exceptional. We have to read between the lines to discern the truth of events. First, it is doubtful that the soldiers in question were even Mongolian. It may be that they represented another ethnic group such as Han. Secondly, the emphasis on *Menggubaer's reopening markets closed because of "rampaging" armies should be challenged.[124] The possibility that the merchants probably closed their markets to protest having to accept Dachao tongbao for purchases by the *Han jun* has yet to be considered. Before the Mongol conquests, Jin merchants boldly closed their markets in a similar protest over alloyed silver ingots (Peng 1994, p. 499, and note 15, p. 465). Could the merchant class have successfully made their point, yet again? This seems likely, if we compare *Menggubaer's policy in North China to that seen in Central Asia during the same period. There, a great deal of coercion was used to force merchants (or locals) to accept official money which, if the inscriptions are any guide, was certainly being rejected by them to either use or accept (Fedorov 1998–1999, p. 8). If anything, *Menggubaer was wise enough to realise that suasion based on threats was not a successful long-term strategy. A tandem of important officials, probably Shi Tianze and *Menggubaer, not necessarily working together but in

[124] Endicott-West would have us believe that he did precisely that. See Endicott-West 1986, p. 543.

a parallel development, saw to it that the demands of the *qubchir* were met. Through their policies, the restricted circulation of Dachao tongbao was enforced.

Because there was a seemingly restrictive enforcement on circulation, our perspective on Dachao tongbao should then be that it was not considered currency in the strictest sense of the term, although for all practical intents and purposes it looks like a coin and may have played a role as such.[125] Undoubtedly, Dachao tongbao were seen as money by any that received it. If one was paid with it, then naturally he was responsible to pay back a portion of it in taxes, and probably kept the remainder as savings. The main problem with that line of reasoning is that, if the remainder was retained as savings, the places where could one spend it were very few. Local merchants were not liable to accept it in everyday commerce. Perhaps camp commissaries fulfilled the role of places where a soldier could spend those savings on materials or supplies that he was required to personally maintain.[126] Such a situation has great similarity to the logistical conditions faced by the Ilkhanid armies in the 1270s, who were largely "equipped, if not provisioned, through a free market with the troops either being issued funds to purchase armor and weapons or these being purchased for them by the command" (Martinez 1975, p. 344). Furthermore, this was done as "a matter of normal course, i.e. not merely by way of special donatives" (Martinez 1975, p. 344). The fact that these funds were paid out is important because it indicates the likelihood of a long and well-established norm in place before the 1270s; moreover, it should finally eliminate the *Ortaq* from serious consideration in the production of Dachao tongbao. Again, we should focus our attention on the fact that the *Ortaqs* probably had only incidental contact with Dachao tongbao, occurring only if they bought or sold goods to the *Han jun* or to their own kinsmen in the auxiliary troops, which were part of the *ayimaq*. Recognising instead the Turkic influence via influential *Semu* ministers at the Mongol court is much more meaningful.

Dachao tongbao were tokens of value in the shape of coins that saw limited circulation through the reigns of Ögödei and Güyük (1235–1248), and we know that they did, for as we shall see, there are counterstamped Dachao tongbao. As there was a period of a decade between Ögödei's death and the inauguration of Möngke, it is very unlikely that any changes were made in the levy of *qubchir* at the local level. Although Chinqai fell out of favour during Töregene's Regency, and the Muslim Abd ar-Rahmān became the finance minister, his purge was short-lived (Grousset 1970, p. 268). Ar-Rahmān wanted to make the *baoyin* a "national tax", but this was resisted quite strongly by the Chinese military lords and failed to catch on (Xiao 1989, p. 105). By the reign of Güyük (1246–1248), he had been restored and ar-Rahmān was put to death for embezzlement (Grousset 1970, p. 272). Only then did Mah-

[125] While Zeimal was examining the situation in the third through seventh centuries, the following point can be taken for the items under discussion: "the predomination of the *tokens of value* in the form of coins, as opposed to full value currency, in the monetary circulation of Eastern Turkestan in combination at certain periods with silver *bullion* also in the form of coins, but foreign ones clearly explains the dependance [sic!] of changes in local monetary circulation on the events of political history, including military activities." See Zeimal 1991–1992, p. 172.

[126] Contrast this situation with the Qidan *ordo* household economy. See Wittfogel 1949, p. 513.

mud Yalavach take ar-Rahmān's place as finance minister. The Regency of Oghul Qaimish (1248–1251) was of too short a duration for any changes in the levy of *bao-yin* to supply the *qubchir*. These later transitional periods were not innovative in that regard.

A second Dachao tongbao illustrative of a connection between a *daruγachi* and an *a'uruq* is another exemplar of Mongolian inscription of subgroup (c), referred to as "Variety #2" (see Plate IV Baisikou Dachao tongbao). A Dachao tongbao with this second variety of inscription was found in 1986 in one of the twin Baisikou Pagodas located in Helan County, Ningxia Province (Plate VI, C2) [Lei Runze et al. 1989, pp. 28–31].[127] This recovery is the singular example of an archaeological find of a Dachao tongbao through professional excavation. Two Chinese authors, Yu Cunhai and He Jiying, wrote of that find and presented what appears to be either a transliteration or a translation from Mongolian into Chinese.[128] Yu and He do not make that point clear. Regardless of that, their transliteration/translation is bogus. Their reading of the inscription is *Mengwuer hehan qianbao*. *Mengwuer* was defined as "empire" (Chinese: *diguo*). The possible but hardly probable thirteenth-century Mongolian equivalent of the above, kindly provided by György Kara, is *Mongγol qaγan-u *sin/sen bau* (see Plate III, Fig. 3).[129] Yu and He's choice of the character *han* is curious. The same appears in Sino-Mongolian vocabulary of the *Zhiyuan* period (Schurmann 1956, pp. 315–316, note 11).[130]

If one takes Yu and He's translation at face value, the inscription is clearly not a translation or transliteration of the Chinese, *Dachao tongbao*. Their choice of the words, *qian* and *bao* is bizarre. The Mongolian equivalent of *qianbao* is **sin/sen bau*, but it is not a historically attested term in Mongolian.[131] Regardless, that term is visibly absent from the inscription on the Baisikou example. Their reading does not hold under closer examination. Although Kara observed in discussions with me that the inscription has no meaningful Mongolian graphemes,[132] there is reason to believe that the inscription has three. The possible graphemes are *nei/nai* (i.e. 'in accord'),

[127] Lei's article mentions nothing about the Mongolian inscription on the coin. In addition, the identified location is in error. The pagoda is located in Helan County, not Henan. Regarding the Pagoda, see Niu Dasheng 1986, pp. 61–65. See also Office of CPAM of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region & Cultural Bureau of Helan County 1991, p. 14.

[128] Yu–He 1995, p. 90 (a photograph of this coin appears on p. 245, illustration #166). This article does not give the weight of the coin. Even in their previous article, in a numismatic periodical with an intended audience of coin collectors, the authors did not provide the weight of this important coin. It is crucial data. I cannot understand why, considering that they took the time to include measurements of the physical dimensions of the coin, could they not have weighed it? What are they waiting for, a better chance to publish it?

[129] György Kara, letter to Mark A. Whaley, 25 January, 1999. Hereafter: Kara letter.

[130] See also Rachewiltz 1982, p. 77, for his remarks on this character and the explanation for its use.

[131] Kara letter.

[132] However, Kara agreed that Yu and He's transliteration/translation was impossible. György Kara. Telephone interview, 19 January, 1999 and Telephone interview, 11 February, 1999. My gratitude is due to Dr. Kara, for his kindness of stimulating and informative conversations and letter.

ön/ün (for the Chinese *yuan*);[133] and a third that begins with an initial phoneme, *p*. What is striking is the fact that the inscription does not follow Classical Mongolian ductus. Whoever prepared the molds was hardly competent in the Uighur alphabet. Yet, the token's inscriptions must reflect something that a *Semu daruγachi* wanted seen added to the unit before it was produced and distributed to the *Han jun* via the *a'uruq*.[134] While it is not yet crystal clear what those messages are, essentially, inscriptions on Dachao tongbao are not unique.[135]

Not surprisingly, an even more important detail of our "Variety #2" inscription went unnoticed by Yu and He, and that is the significance of the digit-like pattern that appears twice.[136] At first glance, it may be thought of as numerical (Kane 1989, p. 21), a word, or part of a word. However, we can eliminate the markings as Jürchen, Arabic, or Mongolian, and can safely separate it from our inscription. Rather, these digit-like patterns are a variation of similar Turkic *tamghas* reported by al-Kāshgharī of branch groups of the Oγuz Turks (al-Kāshgharī 1982, part 1, pp. 101–102). Consequently, these ciphers form their own subgroup, called (d) Turkic *tamgha*/ Mongolian *nishan* reverse (see Plate VI, D1–5). Some of these *tamghas* are raised, incuse, or appear as counterstamps on Dachao tongbao. It is remarkable that the cipher (see Plate III, Fig. 5, T9) is seen twice on the Baisikou example, for the majority of these signs only appear singularly.[137]

Developing out of brands on moving capital such as roaming the fundamental meaning of *tamgha* advanced in this way, as e.g., "sign", "mark", "emblem", or "brand" (as on an animal) [Allsen 1986, p. 159]. However, Vicktor Semenovych Dra-

[133] For remarks on *ön/ün* (= *yuan*), see Cleaves 1952, pp. 114–116, note 237. See also Cleaves 1952, note 221. We do not know if the expression here denotes a monetary value or not. It may equally express a place name, or something else.

[134] Paul Heng-chao Ch'en wrote that the *daruγachi* was merely a nominal head of the *lu* administration so it should also be taken into account that a *lu* government, while headed by a *daruγachi*, was actually administrated by a Chinese chief administrator. See Ch'en 1979, p. 75. In contrast, Endicott-West sees the *daruγachi* as not "merely the nominal head of the local administration". See Endicott-West 1989, p. 54. However, Ch'en's point may be seen in the reverse inscriptions of subgroup (c) Dachao tongbao that show the *daruγachi* maintaining a shared authority that appears subordinate to the Chinese.

[135] A Tianshui hoard coin shows markings that resemble the "Variety #2" inscription. See Pang Wenxiu 1993, p. 21. Upon comparison to the Baisikou example, what Pang describes should probably be attributed as being Mongolian, but the characters as reproduced in the article are all shown upside-down. One of the characters shown is clearly much like a character in the Variety #2 inscription. This detail suggests that the inscription on the Baisikou coin is not unique. It also appears that one of those wrongly illustrated characters reads *dai*. The T1 *tamgha* is found on a second Tianshui coin, and a third has the "S" cipher. See Wang Fuai 1994, p. 5.

[136] Kara's attention was drawn to it and remarkably he said he had not seen it before. Kara letter.

[137] There is a Dachao tongbao, with unclear provenance, that has a lone *tamgha* on it. See Plate III, Fig. 5, T11 and Plate VI, D4. Hua Guangpu published the illustration in 1994. Hua did not cite his source. It is certain that he got the illustration from a previously published source. See Hua Guangpu 1996, p. 15, coin number 29. There is another example of unclear provenance (see Fig. D5). As it was first published in 1989, it could be part of a find that I am not aware of. See Sun – Hu 1992, p. 220.

chuk observed that these signs had additional purpose – *tamghas* were also used to designate residents in a given settlement or small town as a sort of "house register" (Drachuk 1975, p. 167).[138] That understanding offers a plausible explanation why Turkic *tamghas* appear on Dachao tongbao. Those raised and incuse *tamghas* that we see might indicate a *Semu daruγachi*'s Turkic group affiliation; moreover, it may have helped to identify the token as restricted to a particular *a'uruq* of his jurisdiction.[139]

There also is every reason to believe that these ciphers are representatively Turkic, and not Mongolian. We presently do not know if the ciphers are of some royal *orda*, or *ulus*. If they later are proven to be, then they must be distinguished from Turkic term which has been used to describe them. The Mongolian term for such ciphers is *nishan*, which by definition is a cipher-symbol and itself is a word borrowed from Persian (= Iranian) by way of Uighur Turkic (Farquhar 1966, p. 393). David M. Farquhar observed that even in the Turkic language areas, "*nishan* and *tamγa* became confused: the royal ciphers of Chagatai, the Golden Horde and Kwarezm [sic!] are generally called 'tamgha' by specialists in Islamic history" (Farquhar 1966, p. 393). Farquhar's semantical distinction between *nishan* and *tamgha* is rather oblique because it has not been satisfactorily established that these ciphers are indeed Mongolian. The fact that they appear on coins or luxury objects of the Mongol period does not disprove their Turkic origins; however, these markings must be among the very earliest expressions of *tamghas* upon their coins. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to trace the evolution of these *tamghas*, we can safely say that their use was truly an Altaic practice by the time of Mongol hegemony in the thirteenth century.[140]

While several of these ciphers are unlike the *nishans* of the Jochids or Chagatayids, others that do appear on Dachao tongbao are similar. Some of these ciphers are incuse (see Plate III, Fig. 5, T10), or appear as counterstamps (see Plate III, Fig. 4, T1–2).[141] Of the incuse variety, there is a Dachao tongbao with a Latin "S"-shaped cipher and a cruciform or "T"-shaped cipher, erroneously described as the Chinese

[138] S. A. Ianina confirms that view, paraphrased by Fyodorov-Davydov, that the *tamgha* "conveyed the concept … of governmental authority over conquered lands as being a family-wide achievement of the ruling house, something that was expressed by the badge common to all the Jochids". See Ianina 1954, pp. 428–433. Paraphrase from Fyodorov-Davydov 1984, p. 220.

[139] It should be reiterated yet again that the presence of *tamghas* on Dachao tongbao had no connection to the *Ortaq*, despite Fyodorov-Davydov's assertion that the Mongol Khans "in certain cases gave merchants (i.e., *Ortaqs*) symbolic *tamghas* which endowed them with privileges and safe-conduct". See Fyodorov-Davydov 1984, p. 213. Those *nishans* Fyodorov-Davydov refers to were representative of a particular *orda*, to demonstrate an *Ortaq*'s affiliation to that *orda*. They were hardly separate from the same ones associated with a *daruγachi*.

[140] A practice continued long after their hegemony, too. See Mikhailov 1993, table I, *tamghas* number 7 (an X-shaped cipher) and numbers 27–28 (S-shaped ciphers).

[141] Some of these incuse markings might be numerical, probably Chinese. See Luo 1989, p. 95. On Luo's example, the markings are raised not incuse. See Plate VI, D2. Zhou Liqiang reported that a collector, Yuan Hanyun, has a Dachao tongbao with two lines on its reverse that could represent *er*. There are also additional markings. One of them might represent a *trisul*-shaped *tamgha*. Significantly, this coin was counterstamped with Möngke's *nishan*. See also Zhou 1994, p. 8. The Tianshui hoard reportedly had several of this reverse subgroup. See Wang Fuai 1994, p. 5. See also Sheng 1995, p. 20.

character *tu* 'earth' (Zhao 1995, p. 63).[142] The "S" cipher is at the lower left of the hole and the cruciform shape is left of the hole, angled slightly beneath the "S" (see Plate VI, D1). We know that the "S" cipher is a typical Chagatayid *nishan*, found on anonymous coins dating to reforms of Mas'ud-Beg (1271/2–1306/7) [Davidovich 1972, p. 15, cipher #6].[143] In a later era, the cruciform shape was combined into the "S" cipher on Chagatayid coins.[144] Of the counterstamped varieties, at least two are identical to Chagatayid *nishans* seen on their silver coins; one is a *trisul*-shaped cipher (see Plate III, Fig. 4, T1), and the other is the "S"-shaped *nishan* already discussed.[145] In addition, there are six unique cipher counterstamps that do not resemble any of the *tamghas* and *nishans* previously discussed (see Plate III, Fig. 4, T3–T8).[146] It is not yet possible to attribute them with any certainty.

Regarding the counterstamped Dachao tongbao, we can say that coins are usually counterstamped as a means of validating earlier coins for use under a new regime. Alternatively, it indicates that the coin was valid in a district that it formerly did not circulate in. Therefore, the presence of these counterstamps is evidence of conveyance and guarantee of the token outside of the *a'uruq*. By way of illustration, there is an example of a counterstamped Dachao tongbao in the Shanghai Museum collection that has three successive *tamgha* elements to it (see Plate VI, D3) [Shanghai Bowuguan 1994, p. 2, coin #1]. The first two are a raised *tamgha* (see Plate III, Fig. 5, T12) and a small counterstamp of an unclear and uncertain *tamgha*. Because the counterstamp was not placed over the original raised *tamgha*, and because not all raised *tamgha* varieties are counterstamped, the ability to identify the former remained important. Moreover, this small and distinctive counterstamp is nearly obliterated by a larger and more important counterstamp: the royal *nishan* of Möngke (see Plate III, Fig. 6). This counterstamp heralds a new function for Dachao tongbao, and shall be examined in the next section.

[142] The character *tu* is described as being inverted. Upon closer inspection of the rubbing of the coin, it appears that the so-called Chinese character is cruciform in shape and does not resemble a Chinese character at all.

[143] The Latin "S"-shaped cipher is found on Central Asian coins, primarily Chagatayid. Presently, the cipher is only shown in combination with the cruciform symbol, or cross, vertically, on Chagatayid coins of Xinjiang. See Mu Shunying et al. 1994, p. 61, illustration #154. The coin illustrated in Mu's book came from Changji (northwest of Urumqi) and can be found in the Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology.

[144] The presence of these symbols on Dachao tongbao is very important because they predate the Chagatayid coins by decades. However, the *tamghas* on the Chagatayid coins hardly constitute the "first numismatic evidence of Christianity from a region so far to the East as Xinjiang". See Yih 1996, p. 24.

[145] Zhou Liqiang illustrated a counterstamp, from a Dachao tongbao, showing a *trisul*-shape that resembles a Chagatayid cipher (see Plate III, Fig. 4, T1). See Zhou 1994, p. 7. That Chagatayid cipher is seen on silver coins of the Pūlād mint. See Han Xuekun 1991. I would also add that I am not completely comfortable in describing the cipher as "*trisul*-shaped", for, strictly speaking, it has no rounded edges. By describing it thusly, it is to remove its comparison to Möngke's *nishan* as a single-sided form of it.

[146] These *tamghas* might be derived from Old Turkic characters, or vice versa. See Polivanov 1929, p. 9.

Hoard Affirmation of Dachao tongbao's Role in the Monetary System of the Mongol Qanate, 1251 to 1259

Inexplicably, modern scholars such as Allsen have attempted to portray Möngke *Qa-γan* as some sort of 'innovator' regarding his administration of the Qanate, or that his appointees (especially Yalavach) were at the heart of these innovations. All of that is misleading. We can dispense with the notion that everything fiscal or monetary should solely be attributed to Yalavach. The uniquely North Chinese origin of *baoyin* tribute tax system denies such tendencies. Although the historical records observe that the collection of *qubchir* was officially monetised in this period, in truth it was monetised much earlier. Möngke hardly 'innovated' the *qubchir* by monetising its collection. Yet, the indication is that the levying of the poll tax was considerably broadened during his administration because his *nishan* is also seen on many coins dating to his reign from disparate parts of the Empire. However, such interpretations may only serve to illustrate that Möngke just inherited organisational apparatuses that were dilatorily exploited (Peterson 1983, p. 225). Moreover, there is evidence that Möngke never cast Dachao tongbao. Instead, existing supplies of it within the military fiefs were appropriated. We know this to be accurate because of the presence of his *nishan* as a counterstamp, which affirms that the Turkic influence (via *Semu daruγachis*) at the *a'uruq* level was undiminished during Möngke's reign.

Numismatically, the *nishan* of Möngke is well known. It appears on coins where he is named, or unnamed, from the Chagatayid *ulus* to the Jochid *ulus*, and as far away as the Caucasus.[147] Cautious scholars decline discussion of what this cipher represents, and with good reason. An example for why we should remain cautious comes from Kolbas' claim that the cipher represented the *ochir*, which she described as a single or double trident-shaped object (Kolbas 1992, p. 264). Her description is quite incorrect, for we can hardly call the cipher an *ochir*. First, *ochir* is the earlier Sogdo-Uighur form of the Mongolian *wcir* (Sanskrit: *vajra*, Chinese: *jingang*), so the Mongolian form is preferred. However, the cipher cannot be called a *wcir*. That is because Kolbas confuses the *trisul* with the *vajra*, for the *wcir* does not represent both. Secondly, she described the cipher as a *tamgha*, which it is not; it is a *nishan*. In a rather imaginative interpretation, but one again not based on fact, Kolbas said that the cipher was a representatively powerful symbol for the physical effect of lightning and the heavenly favour and powers bestowed upon the person of the Great Qan (Kolbas 1992, p. 264). The fact is we do not know what Möngke's *nishan* represents. Rather, because Möngke's *nishan* appears to obscure what is believed here an older counterstamp, it delineates a conclusion for the practice of counterstamping Dachao tongbao. Yet, the presence of ciphers on Mongol coinage elsewhere is generally as-

[147] The Jochid coins are from the mint of Bulghar, see Mukhamadiev 1983. For the Chagatayid coin, see Mu Shunying 1994, p. 61, illustration #154. For the Georgian coins of Möngke, see Lang 1955, pp. 39–41. See also Weiers 1978, pp. 43–46. Möngke's *nishan* is also seen on irregular-shaped copper coins of Akhsatan III bin Fariburz III (653–665 Hegira/1255–1266) of the Second Shīrvānshāh dynasty (sometimes called the 'Khāqānid'), from Azerbaijan. The reverse has *Qā'ān*/ *al-'Adil* above and below Möngke's *nishan*.

sumed a related part of a tax levy, also called *tamgha*, which appeared during the period 1235–1251. It was a tax on merchants and craftsmen that supported the Qan's household. Of it Allsen wrote:

> By extension, *tamgha* also has the meaning of 'seal', and it is from this usage that the tax on trade came to be called by this term, because goods upon which the tax had been paid were stamped with a special seal to safeguard the merchant or manufacturer from double levies. As was the case with agricultural taxes, data on the *tamgha* are most abundant in the Chinese sources, where it is termed the *shang-shui*, or 'tax on merchants'. This levy was introduced in Northern China in Ögödei's time as a consequence of Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai's debate with the conservative element at court over the future direction of Mongol imperial policy (Allsen 1986, p. 159).

However, in addition to the above the *tamgha* supported a variety of expenses, including:

> Specifically, the *tamgha* was used to support the royal household, royal stables and animals, treasury, manufactories, chief *diwan* [sic! *minister*] salaries, salaries of the great *amirs* [sic! *commanders*], salaries of *urdu* [sic! *court*] functionaries, *iqta* [sic! *special land grants to military*], mail, grants and charity (Kolbas 1992, p. 582).

It is uncertain if these particular ciphers and the occasional inscriptions that accompany them represent the *tamgha* tax. However, the presence of Möngke's *nishan* in the form of a counterstamp, long known on a number of Dachao tongbao, indicates a possible link to that tax. Recapitulating the purpose of the *tamgha* demonstrates that link. The *tamgha* was levied on "all people who traded or made products for sale" (Kolbas 1992, p. 326). The revenue went into the household treasury of the Qan, not the state coffers. As a result, counterstamped Dachao tongbao, especially those with Möngke's *nishan*, could then be seen as *tamgha* tax proceeds used by Möngke to support his household (or associated military units) for the invasion of Sichuan. However, as the sales tax went directly to the Qan and the poll tax directly to the state treasury (Kolbas 1992, p. 581), it is difficult to distinguish between the two for military expenditures. Each may have been levied to the same effect. We should continue to believe that the *qubchir* was still levied on the *Han jun*, the presence of *tamghas* or *nishans* notwithstanding.

What is interesting is that on counterstamped Dachao tongbao, the mark is only found on the reverse and never effaces the obverse. Counterstamping coins is untypical of Song, Jin, Xia, Liao, or any state within China's cultural influence. It points to a distinctly foreign source, which can be found in the Turkic world. For example, the Zengid of Sinjar and Nisibin, 'Imād al-dīn Zengi II (1169–1197) counterstamped Byzantine *folles* with the Zengid imperial *tamgha* (Lowick 1977, p. 45, counterstamp #26). Much later, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Girei Khāns of the Crimea counterstamped coins of the Jochids with their own *nishan* (Retowski 1984,

p. 51).[148] Thus, whoever recommended the use of counterstamping for Dachao tongbao may have had Altaic origins. It is quite fitting that a *Semu daruyachi* innovation was modified and continued during Möngke's reign. Again, we do not have to thank Yalavach for it. The use of a counterstamp was a practical and inexpensive way to increase the life and circulation of a coin. It could be that the counterstamp of Möngke's personal cipher symbolised a revaluation of an older coin issued by the earlier *Qayans*. The expenditures needed for Möngke's China campaigns must have been massive, and older coin was reassessed in either in value or use. The presence of Möngke's *nishan* on Dachao tongbao denotes the potential change in function. A unique hoard of Dachao tongbao illustrates the latter point, and conclusively proves the nature of the limited circulation of Dachao tongbao.

A shift in the use of Dachao tongbao can be seen in the single most important Dachao tongbao hoard to be found to date. On September 25, 1993, in the Qincheng District of Tianshui City, Gansu Province, a hoard of Dachao tongbao was uncovered at a construction site (Wang Fuai 1994, p. 5). The exact location was at the corner of Jiefan Lu, which was the old site of the previous "New China Bookstore" (the biggest bookstore in China) [Zhou 1994, p. 7]. It was reported that 50 Dachao tongbao were recovered, allegedly from a depth of 8 metres below ground, contained in a large, black ceramic jar (Sheng 1995, p. 18).[149] It was the largest find of these items published to date. A picture has emerged that not every Dachao tongbao was accounted for (Zhou 1994, p. 7).[150] In circumstances such as this, many items of value surreptitiously leave a site and in this case, they were apparently all taken away by local coin collectors (Zhou 1994, p. 7). Shockingly, Zhou Liqiang reported that "tens of pieces" went unrecovered and were "buried under cement" (Zhou 1994, p. 7). Apparently, the contractor had other ideas about the importance of this findsite. Of this hoard, several coins were found counterstamped with *tamghas* as has been described here in previous sections. Most importantly, others were counterstamped with Möngke's *nishan*. That fact makes them noteworthy, because they date the hoard. Until now, no one has used them to periodise when the hoard was deposited. Before turning to a discussion of that, observing the background of the geographical location of the findspot in more detail is essential.

Tianshui has had a long history, known in ancient times as Qinzhou. In the thirteenth century, Qinzhou was located in the North Central China province of Shaanxi and was primarily held by Jin (Tan Qixiang 1982, map #69–70). Overall, Qinzhou was a strategically contested area and a point of conflict between Southern Song and Jin even as late as 1222 (Liu Dayou 1989, p. 40). The province of Shaanxi

[148] Fyodorov-Davydov mentions that the practice of counterstamping Jochid coins began in the 1370s under the Khan Toqtamish. See Fyodorov-Davydov 1984, p. 226. Ianina also listed examples of counterstamped *tamghas*, including those of the Girei Khans. See Ianina 1954, pp. 454–456. The counterstamping in all cases was derived from the Turkic world; there is no parallel for the practice in the Chinese world at that time.

[149] The soil condition was not noted, nor was there a description of the jar other than its size and colour. The ceramic evidence is extremely important, and could help to date both the find and the coins held within it.

[150] Zhou Liqiang reported that "near 100" were found.

comprised five circuits (Chinese: *lu*, a geographical/administrative designation) [Xiao 1978, pp. 75 and 179, note 91]. The southern boundary of Shaanxi was the Wei River valley, and along it and its tributaries are the Qinan, Qinzhou and Qingsui sites (see Map B), places where Dachao tongbao have been recovered in some numbers.[151] Buell described the Wei valley as being "one of the traditional bases of dynastic power in Chinese history" (Buell 1977, p. 138). Indeed, the Mongols, to their credit, were able to grasp the strategic importance of the valley. At some point early on, Ögödei organised the territory by making a *daruγachi* appointment. His choice was Süke, who was named as *daruγachi* for the entire province of Shaanxi with his headquarters located in Changan, which also included the area north of Sichuan (Buell 1979b, p. 134, note 64).[152] Qinzhou was to gain in importance as the Mongol effort to envelop Southern Song by its western flank gained momentum. Whereas Buell reports Muqali's former capital of Yan as being the supply base for Möngke's Sichuan campaigns (Buell 1977, p. 136), it is more likely that Qinzhou was the logistic supply point for conquering Southern Song rather than Yan. That is because Qinzhou was located in Shaanxi Province and was geographically positioned very close to northern Sichuan. Yan was not.

Further illustrating how much Qinzhou was coveted, we know that near the end of the Jin dynasty the general Wanyan Zhongde wanted to make Qinzhou a base to take Sichuan (against Southern Song) [Chen Shisong 1983, p. 181]. Later, when Wanyan Zhongde surrendered and asked for the protection of Southern Song after the defeat of Jin, a local warlord named Wang Shixian incorporated Wanyan Zhongde's military remnants and allied himself with the Mongols (Chen Shisong 1983, p. 181). For bringing Qinzhou over to the Mongols, Wang Shixian was considered a traitor at the Southern Song court (Chen Shisong 1983, p. 181). Simply, Qinzhou's location made it a logistic supply point in the Mongol effort to conquer the Southern Song via Sichuan. Qinzhou was undoubtedly a "strategic point" (Mongolian: *sübe*).

Of all Dachao tongbao findspots, only Qinzhou was truly an economic center (see Smith 1991, pp. 35–46; 75; 123; 141–146; 198; 227; 243; 272). It was a trading point for a variety of goods exchanged between Sichuan and the regions to the West

[151] From the *Heida shilue* (or *Short Report on the Black Tatars*), we find the record of military campaigns during 1227 by the Mongol armies personally led by Chinggis Qan. During February 1227, he and his armies marched on the road west of Fengxiang to Qinzhou (a distance of about 150 miles), but Chinggis did not attack Fengxiang. See Olbricht – Pinks 1980, p. 219, note 24. Instead the army under his lead retreated to a point north of Qingsui and settled in the mountains on the southern spur of the Liu Pan Shan. It would seem that he made that move because of illness and wanting to be in a cooler climate. It made no difference, for he died a short time later in the same area at the end of August 1227. This information should be kept in mind when evaluating any Dachao tongbao finds from this location. The Qingsui Dachao tongbao could be a residue of that march, given that it has a Type 1 obverse and it seems to fit the chronology already established. Liu Dayou has also suggested this connection but he does not link the Qingsui find with the historical chronology convincingly because he is unaware of that Dachao tongbao's stylistic and metrological characteristics. See Liu Dayou 1989.

[152] Buell says that Süke was a Mongol. Rachewiltz says that Süke was a Kereyid. See Rachewiltz 1983, pp. 286 and 302, note 33.

in Central Asia (Liu Dayou 1993, p. 40). Among the goods traded were salt, horses and tea (Tianshui shi gonglu jiaotong shi zhi bianxie bangongshi 1989, pp. 88–89). It was also the gate to West Sichuan (Chen Shisong 1983, p. 176). Qinzhou was apparently renowned for its silver, and in addition, there was a mint located at Qinzhou during Northern Song (Zhou 1994, p. 9). Nevertheless, those two facts should not be linked to suggest that Dachao tongbao were minted at Qinzhou, because there is little proof for it. Although Qubilai established a Board of Works at Qinzhou in 1254, nothing else is known of its activity (Buell 1977, p. 139). However, a source regarding the local history of Qinzhou, the *Qinzhou zhidizhou xingzhi*, offers information of the Mongol's military activities there for specific years. It says that in the "second year of *Baoqing* reign of Southern Song, and the fourth year of *Shaoding* reign, and the third year of *Duanping* reign, and the sixth year of *Baoyou* reign", the Mongols attacked the Qinzhou area (Wang Fuai 1994, p. 5). The quoted *nianhao* correspond to the years 1226,[153] 1231,[154] 1236 and 1258 respectively (Zhang Zhizhong 1993, p. 884). This information is especially important because it establishes a chronology and places the Mongols in the area of the deposit for specific years.

As Möngke passed from Shaanxi to Sichuan with the main Mongol army in October 1258 (taking Baoning in northern Sichuan around December 1258) Qinzhou must have been the logistic staging point for the campaign. Möngke had over 600,000 troops with him, comprised of Mongolian and Northern Chinese troops (Xiao 1978, p. 135).[155] It is very likely that the Mongol army under Möngke passed

[153] Unfortunately, the *Qinzhou zhidizhou xingzhi* only records the year 1226 as when the Mongols were at Qinzhou, and does not mention the month. According to the *Heida shilue*, Chinggis had been in the area in the second month of 1227. The *Song shi chuanwen: Xu Zhizhi tongjian* mentions military attacks by the Mongols on Song positions in southern Shaanxi and northern Sichuan, but in the opening weeks of 1228. See *Song shi chuanwen: Xu Zhizhi tongjian*, 2414. It is claimed that these military actions were merely raids and that they are significant because anonymous local commanders conducted them on their own initiative. See Peterson 1983, p. 221.

[154] The *Heida shilue* is a better source than the *Qinzhou zhidizhou xingzhi*. It indicates that the Mongol armies under Ögödei were in what is today's Gansu Province in 1232. See Olbricht – Pinks 1980, p. 29, note 10. By 1235, the Mongols advanced south along two routes, with one of them advancing into Sichuan. It was in Sichuan that the Mongol army met fierce resistance. Although the Mongols were successful in occupying Chengdu in 1236, they were pushed out of Sichuan altogether by 1238. See Bai Shouyi 1982, p. 291. See also Smith 1992, pp. 669–672. Tibetan sources corroborate this particular campaign as well, which note 1236 as the year of the attempted military campaign in Sichuan by Ögödei's second son Köden. These same sources also remark that the campaign was ultimately unsuccessful. See Petech 1983, pp. 180–181, note 37; Under Ögödei's administration, the Mongols were unable to militarily take Sichuan. Any statements to the effect that they were able to take possession of Chengdu in December 1241 are wrong. Grousset correctly wrote that, "D'Ohsson states that the Mongols took possession of Chengtu in the year of Ögödei's death December 1241. In 1252, the *T'ung chien-k'ang-mu* shows the Mongols plundering Chengtu afresh, proof that there had been no effective occupation of it by the Mongols." See Grousset 1970, p. 598, note 85.

[155] Allsen also agrees with this figure for he noted that while according to Rashīd al-Dīn 90 *tümen* (a *tümen* consisted of 10,000 soldiers) was committed to the 1259 Sichuan campaign, a *tümen* was seldom at full strength. See Allsen 1979, p. 171.

through there on the way to Sichuan (Grousset 1970, p. 284). When Möngke died at Diaoyucheng, east of Hezhou (modern Hechuan County, Sichuan Province) on August 11, 1259, it is probable that the retreating Mongol army again passed through Qinzhou; this time on their way out. It is very possible that someone within the forces of Möngke's army was the party responsible for depositing the Tianshui hoard in the Qinzhou area. If so, then it makes sense that evacuating the area and returning Möngke's body to Mongolia would have been of a greater priority than retrieving handfuls of coins. The *terminus ad quem* of the Tianshui hoard is 1259 and no earlier than August 11 of that year. That date is rather firm because of a Dachao tongbao in the hoard that bears the counterstamp of Möngke's *nishan* (Sheng 1995, p. 20).

The counterstamps on the Tianshui Dachao tongbao were reportedly shallowly struck (Zhou 1994, p. 7).[156] That is an important detail, indicating that the items were in all likelihood counterstamped rather quickly in an "occasional, extraordinary, or emergency contribution or surtax" (Martinez 1986–1988, p. 193) situation where money needed to be raised expeditiously. The counterstamping was done in haste. What is odd is that not every Dachao tongbao of the Tianshui hoard was counterstamped with Möngke's *nishan*. This may indicate that those which possess the counterstamp were exemplars that had circulated outside of an *a'uruγ*'s jurisdiction and were called back in via the *tamgha* tax. Furthermore, there is noteworthy evidence that other contemporary coinages were counterstamped with both Möngke's name and his *nishan*, particularly undated silver *dīnārs* struck by the Jochid Berke, the leader of the Golden Horde.[157] The counterstamp has a square or rectangular dotted border. Within the centre of the square dotted border is Möngke's *nishan*, with the inscription *Möngke Qā-/ān, al-Ā'zam* 'Möngke the Great *Qaγan*' above and beneath the *nishan*.[158] Note that the design is patterned after similar coins of Tiflis, which also have a dotted square border, but followed by a dotted circle. Likewise, the inscription on the Tiflis coins splits *Qā'ān* by hanging the *qāf* after *Möngke* (Lang 1955, p. 40). Interestingly, an illustration shown by S.A. Ianina reveals Möngke's *nishan* incorporating the "S" *tamgha* as a "cross-bar" (Ianina 1958, p. 396). A date chronology of 1256 to 1260 has been proposed for these counterstamped coins, which corresponds to the beginning of Berke's reign and ends with Möngke's death in 1259 (Mellinger 1987–1991, pp. 161). Obviously these counterstamped coins are also *qubchir*, but were instead levied to support Möngke's campaigns in Sichuan.[159] They

[156] Zhou says that they are so shallowly struck that it is impossible to make a clear rubbing. In truth, he could not see them with the unaided eye; he used magnification.

[157] Usually a silver *dīnār* is a six-*dirhem* weight in silver equal to one gold *dīnār*, but as these coins are of the Bulghar mint, which typically used *dīnār* in place of *dirhem* as the unit of account, these coins are not of six-*dirhem* weight.

[158] Of course, only lame, arbitrary transliterations/translations of 'Möngke' appear on these coins. However, Möngke is intended, and I will leave it at that.

[159] It is much less likely that they were used to support Hülegü's campaigns in Iraq because on the coinage associated with those campaigns, Möngke's *nishan* never appears, not even as a counterstamp. For a survey of that coinage, see Nitzan and Reuven Amitai-Preiss 1988–1989, pp. 117–128. Although Möngke is cited by name in the inscriptions, the phenomenon of omission of his *nishan* may point to the fact that the region where these coinages appear was administratively

have little or nothing to do with any sort of dispute between Möngke and Berke as suggested by George M. Mellinger or the Soviet-era Russian scholars he quoted.[160]

Based on the circumstances described above, the hoard should then be classified as an "emergency hoard". An emergency hoard is defined as a "group of coins buried in an emergency and the cause of such permanent loss is warfare" (Grierson 1975, p. 132; see also Deyell 1990, pp. 273–279). There is an additional definition of a special type of emergency hoard: the official hoard. An official hoard was not the property of a private person but was of a public character, such as a military chest or the receipts of a tax or customs officer (Grierson 1975, p. 132).[161] The Tianshui hoard is not a "savings hoard" because all of the coins are of a singular type, Dachao tongbao. Not a single coin of another dynasty was contained within it, nor were there even separate pieces of bullion found within it. What is noteworthy is that the hoard may be tax proceeds for the support of Möngke's household in the invasion of Sichuan. Whoever left it must have done so in a moment of distraught anxiety in the ensuing confusion at the death of the *Qaγan*, at the height of a major war effort, and this interpretation may help to explain why it was never retrieved.

The Tianshui hoard truly establishes the likelihood that Dachao tongbao were tokens of value in the shape of coins, with restrictions on its circulation to within the military camps. This is especially true since there is a remarkable lack of diversity or admixture of different coins in the hoard. It can also be generalised that Dachao tongbao were made with marginal expertise in casting if compared to coinage of Jin or Southern Song. On that point, Peng Xinwei remarked, "in both silver and copper [sic!], the construction of both … is very careless. Not many survive, but no two are alike, which is rather odd" (Peng 1994, p. 485). That generalisation is no longer valid given the number of Dachao tongbao that have surfaced in recent years. Not only that, many are alike. Their relative crudity should also not suggest that they were unofficial, but that has led people to suspect it anyway. Xuan Yugong believed that because Dachao tongbao do not match later Mongol coins such as *Zhida* or *Zhizheng* coins in their shape, and because those examples were officially circulated coins, Dachao tongbao therefore were not officially circulating coins (Xuan 1989, p. 1365).

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distinct from the rest of the empire. See also Martinez 1975, p. 344. However, the presence of Möngke's *nishan*, or lack thereof, actually illustrates the fact that coinages follow local traditions and are not on a unified standard for the whole of the Mongolian empire. For example, contrast the large copper *dirhems* from Otrar naming Möngke without his *nishan* with the *jital*-like coins of silver and billon/copper from mints in Afghanistan (i.e., Herāt, Nimruz [= Zaranj], Ghazna, Talaqan) also naming him and lacking his *nishan*. Thus, the matter if the *nishan* does or does not appear on the coinage is irrelevant in proving or disproving its connection to the *qubchir*/*tamgha*.

[160] Lane-Poole shows a Jochid coin struck with the inscriptions and features of the counterstamp, but with an additional design similar to the Tiflis coin of the outer dotted circle following the inner dotted square. See Lane-Poole 1875–1890, coin #350; See also Ianina 1954, p. 427, coin #3 and 1958, p. 402, coin #4.

[161] Sheng has also said that the coins of the Tianshui hoard were given to some sort of high-level official or merchant, who is assumed to have buried it. Sheng offers no details for such a position. See Sheng 1995, p. 22.

That is a specious argument. Even the silver *dirhems* of the "*'Adil-Jinkiz*" type are occasionally found with Chinggis' name off the flan.[162] For these coins, a polished form to encourage wide circulation was not a consideration.

The lack of homogeneity in the individual size and calligraphic style of Tianshui hoard Dachao tongbao is important. It is obvious that the majority of Dachao tongbao lack standard orthography. Of the fourteen published examples, only five share a consistency in the calligraphic style of all four characters (see Plate VII, Fig. #1 a–e). Two share a similar style of the character *tong* (see Plate VII, Fig. #2 f–g) consisting of a rounded radical *yong* and an unconnected *zou zhi pang* that has one, two, or no dots. Two others individually share a similar style of *bao* (see Plate VII, Fig. #3 h–i) which is not unique. I had the opportunity to additionally examine three other Dachao tongbao, two of which are owned by a private collector and one from a dealer, both located in Sichuan, China.[163] Two of those coins are very similar in style to Plate VII, Fig. #3 h–i. The character *bao* (see Plate III, Fig. 5) also consists of a rounded radical, *bei*, and might be in *zheng shu*. The radical *er* is similar to that seen on Plate VII, Fig. #4 j. Additionally, four others have a different style of *bao*, which do not match with one another (see Plate VII, Fig. #4 k–n). On both of my Type 2 coins the radical *bao gai tou* of *bao* is angled up sharply, a variety not seen elsewhere (see Plate III, Fig. 6). The difference in calligraphy seen from each Dachao tongbao indicates that as a group it was cast for a substantial period and probably over a large geographical area.

Outside of this study, the only attempt to systematically classify Dachao tongbao by type was done by Sheng Guanxi (Sheng 1995, p. 20).[164] That typology was constructed of three classes of Dachao tongbao based on the style and shape of the single character *da* seen on the obverse inscription of the coin. That method of classification is not suitable for categorising Dachao tongbao because of the widely diverging calligraphic styles seen from coin to coin. The styles have been noted as *kai shu* (Sheng 1995, p. 18),[165] *Jin shu ti* 'Jin-style script'[166] or *zheng shu* 'regular script'

[162] It is odd that Chinggis' name was not carefully placed upon his "own" coinage. It is sensible to wonder why these examples were not returned to the melting pot. These coins seem not to be of the Khwārzamshāh's treasury, taken by his son Jalāl al-Dīn and abandoned by him in Rajab, 618 Hegira (August–September 1221); there is no evidence that the Mongols' coins were overstruck upon them. See Juvainī 1958, p. 135. It is very likely that the abandoned treasury comprised bullion alone, perhaps already formed into coin-shaped blanks, to be very conveniently struck into the Mongols' "money" using their own prepared dies. More likely, Chinggis took the bullion from which these coins are derived earlier from the tribute levies of Samarqand.

[163] Sichuan collector. Personal interview, 14 August, 1997.

[164] In 1995, Li Yiyou also published a short, and somewhat better, article on Dachao tongbao, drawing on material not covered by Sheng. See Li 1995, pp. 44–48.

[165] In the same article, Sheng later observes that all the coins of the Tianshui hoard are in standard *kai shu* 20.

[166] Interestingly, Wang also had the opportunity for close evaluation of the Tianshui hoard, but says that the calligraphy is in *Jin shu di*, which contradicts Sheng who also had a close look at the Tianshui hoard. See Wang Fuai 1994, p. 5. Yet, Sheng has observed the calligraphic similarities

(Xuan 1989, p. 1366).[167] To those, we can add a comparison of the Northern Song Emperor Huizong's influential (1101–1125) *shoujin shu* 'slender gold style', of his *Chongning tongbao* (1102–1106) or *Daguan tongbao* (1106–1111) to Dachao tongbao. The writing styles of the words 'Dachao tongbao' largely seem to take their inspiration from the calligraphy of older coins. However, calligraphic style appears not to be a determining factor for establishing the official nature of the currency.

The Tianshui hoard taken together as a whole indicates that the tokens in the hoard were not "newly minted" (Sheng 1995, p. 21), but were an accumulation presumably minted at different places and times. Sheng examined the Tianshui hoard under a microscope, and observed that they show no wear whatsoever. He added that there are tiny pits, which he calls "sand marks" which resulted from either the mold or the process of minting. Sheng believes that this characteristic misleadingly makes the coins appear circulated. He also believes that the group was immediately buried after minting (Sheng 1995, p. 21). The present evidence indicates that belief as mistaken. It is because of the circumstances of their restricted circulation that they came to be found together. It is only in a very isolated sense that they may have been regarded as currency if mixed in with other silver coins, and circulated accordingly.[168]

Phase Three: Elimination of Dachao tongbao by Qubilai Qaγan

Upon Möngke's death, Qubilai did not immediately eliminate the use of Dachao tongbao within the military. This is because the use of Dachao tongbao was already restricted to units operating in the five *lu* of Shaanxi. In Qubilai's China, paper money was the primary means of exchange. His government, to insure that his paper money would circulate exclusively, called in all gold, silver, earlier paper monies and copper coins from the civilian population (Rossabi 1988, p. 123). Foreign merchants were required to convert their precious metals, probably including those in coin, into paper money as soon as they set foot in Qubilai's China (Rossabi 1981, p. 282; see also Rossabi 1988, p. 122).[169] In any event, a few findspots may indicate that Qubilai

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between Jin's *Dading tongbao* and Dachao tongbao. See Sheng 1995, pp. 18–20. However, a better example can be seen in a 1975 find of a single Dachao tongbao, recovered at Baisha Township, a suburb of Qingsui, Gansu Province, when workers were digging the foundations for a Tax Bureau (irony?). The calligraphic style of the character *da* seen on this coin is very similar to the same character seen on scarce examples of Jin's iron *Dading tongbao*; the Dachao tongbao illustrated by Ding Fubao, Zhou Xiang and Luo Bozhao, are also of this style.

[167] Zhou Liqiang reported that the coins of the Tianshui hoard are in *zheng shu* 'regular script' with *shoujin ti* 'slender gold style' characteristics. See also Zhou 1994, p. 7. Zhu Huo also observed that the calligraphy of Dachao tongbao is in *zheng shu*. See also Zhu 1991, p. 414; Cai Meibiao wrote that the calligraphy of the inscription in Shaanxi is in *zheng shu*. See also Cai 1955, p. 117.

[168] Such as the "Kala Han (= Qarakhānid)" of the Yangxian hoard and Chagatayid of the Yijinailu find. See below.

[169] Conversely, Biran would have us believe that Qubilai was able to enforce circulation of his paper money in the Uighur kingdom (or Uighuria, as she calls it), a region well outside the boundary of "China". See Biran 1997, p. 42. Yet, to believe such a thing would require us to accept

was perhaps unable to restrict the circulation of Dachao tongbao to an area outside the jurisdiction where his paper money circulated.[170] This situation is indicated by the Baisikou find, which, along with a single Dachao tongbao, included two pieces of Qubilai's paper money, *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao*. These two notes date from 1260–1263. One is a 300 cash note (Chinese: *san bai wen*), and the other is a 500 cash note (Chinese: *wu bai wen*) [Sheng 1995, p. 18].[171]

The evidence suggests that the Dachao tongbao in the Baisikou Pagoda did not equal the paper money along with it. In fact, one silver Dachao tongbao, representing the *qian* or 1/10 of a *liang* (*liang* is a weight unit equal to 1.19 troy ounces in this period), would not have equalled eight hundred copper cash coins (Chinese: *wen*) in relation to the *liang*. It would have taken at least ten Dachao tongbao to equal the eight hundred *wen* represented by the paper money. What is most interesting about this find is that a Dachao tongbao was deposited along with paper money. In evaluating that, Lei Runze speculated why Dachao tongbao must have been "sacred" (Lei Runze et al. 1989, p. 29). I find Lei's theorising rather pointless for there was nothing at all "sacred" to Dachao tongbao. In this case, it was purely donative.[172] The coin

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that the circulation of all the silver coinages, present in the region, were suppressed by the 1280s. Obviously, that would have posed too daunting a task for Qubilai's administrators there.

[170] Between Summer and Fall of 1992, herders and tourists alike made surface finds of coins, and a Dachao tongbao was picked up, at a site indicating the westernmost circulation of Dachao tongbao. This site is 25 kilometres southeast of the town Dalaikubu, where today's Ejina County People's Government is located, Nei Menggu Autonomous Region. It is found on the north bank of the lower bed of the dried up Ejina River and is called Yijinailu, or the "Black City". See Li Yiyou 1986, pp. 94–95. Pang calls the site "Halahaote". See also Pang Wenxiu 1993, p. 21. As a very famous site, known variously as Ejina, Etzina, or Etsina, it was formerly part of Xixia. Yijinailu acquired its nickname from its location on this dead and dried-up river, Ejina, also known as "Black River". The site is small, 384 metres east–west and 434 metres north–south, and there was a commercial district, residential streets, and a few monasteries. Paper money has been found at the site. A further 20 kilometres southeast of Ejina are the ruins of an unnamed monastery that seems to be referred to as the "Red Willow Temple" site (Chinese: Hongliu Miao), Nei Menggu Autonomous Region. See Li Yiyou 1981, p. 87. Apparently coins of Song, Jin, Yuan, and Chagatayid silver coins have been recovered there. It is an unprotected site, and has been subject to looting (some casual and some perhaps not). Upon hearing of those surface finds, Pang went to look for himself and returned with a Dachao tongbao that has an inscription on its reverse. See Pang Wenxiu 1993, p. 21; It is not entirely clear to me if the find(s) of Dachao tongbao was made at Yijinailu, or at Hongliu Miao, or was made at both places on separate occasions.

[171] In addition to those items, one small bronze statue and two thanka paintings were recovered.

[172] In an area of the Baisikou Pagoda's West Side, a Dachao tongbao was recovered with two pieces of *Zhongtong* paper money, all among the Buddhist relics (including the cremation relics). Evidently, there are other chambers in this pagoda that were less significant and would seem a more appropriate spot to place something as trivial as money. Lei et al. believe that if it were not a "Mongol" coin, it was unlikely to have been regarded as precious enough to be placed in this spot. See Lei Runze et al. 1989, p. 29. However, I see no cause to elevate the status of these objects simply because of their "Mongol" origin or associations. First, there was the unique Buddhist tradition of some antiquity of depositing relics and other items (some quite mundane) into

could have also found its way there from a much earlier period. The presence of monasteries at other Dachao tongbao findsites additionally does nothing to prove that Dachao tongbao was generally circulating currency.[173]

Because there is no evidence of a mint at Qaraqorum, the Mongol capital founded by Ögödei in 1229, Dachao tongbao were not minted there.[174] There is also no evidence of any Dachao tongbao finds in Mongolia, and it may be inferred that it never circulated there. There are but a few stray finds of Dachao tongbao in Inner Mongolia, so it is not even certain it circulated there either. Because no Dachao tong-

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stupas, or pagodas. Examples of such activity are numerous. One even comes during late Jin. In July 1992, a stone, pagoda-like tomb was excavated in Lianhe, Chaoyang County, Liaoning Province. Along with the cremation relics and other precious items, twelve pieces of *Dading tongbao* were found. See Liaoning sheng Chaoyang xian Wenwu guanlisuo 1996, pp. 60–64. For examples of the more antique practice in India, see Zwalf 1985, pp. 28–31, items numbered 6; 7; 10; 11, and 14. All of these items held ancient coins. See also Errington 1998, pp. 80–88. Regarding Errington 1998: she never addressed the significance of why coins were interred in these sacred objects. The article seems rather pointless without that data. Moreover, I had the opportunity to briefly visit the British Museum twice during December 1998, where these items are mostly on display, and no further information was found there either. A disappointing situation to say the least! Why coins ended up interred in those reliquaries is not clear. There was perhaps nothing particularly special about the money in it of itself, and that it was interred for uninterpreted symbolic reasons. It was purely a donative item. There is good cause to believe that it just happened to be the most conveniently found item available.

[173] Because of a Dachao tongbao being recovered from the Baisikou pagoda, there is the claim that Dachao tongbao might have been used in monasteries as alms money, or more insistently, that the coins were even manufactured by the Buddhist monasteries. See Sheng 1995, p. 20; The monasteries in the former Xixia realm (then renamed Ningxia) were assuredly quite powerful, for the histories observe the difficulty Qubilai's administration had in enforcing his governing policies. See Dardess 1972–1973, p. 164, note 190. Nevertheless, while there was perhaps nothing to stop the circulation of these coins into the coffers of the monasteries, the type of monastic venture described is highly unusual. In this period, such activity was not very likely even if the monastery was both particularly influential in a particular appanage and was already engaged in other for-profit money-making ventures. Minting money would have been entirely out of their purview, for it would have to have been officially sanctioned. In a much later period, the Yuan government did actually give this right of private, unofficial coining to monasteries and individuals but there is no record of that sanction in the period under examination. See Song 1956, p. 135 (Schurmann's data came from Ding Fubao); Just the same, that it occurred later does not prove official acceptance of something that was tacitly allowed for some period before. Although there is evidence of certain abuses by religious institutions of the era before Qubilai, particularly regarding tax evasion (on this, see Kwanten 1979, pp. 128–129), there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that monasteries were ever coining Dachao tongbao. For a survey on the monastic system in Yuan, see also Li Jinglin 1986, pp. 10–17.

[174] Past excavations at Qaraqorum have not revealed anything reliable. Finds included Han *wuzhu*, Tang *Kaiyuan* coins, Bei-Nan Song coins, Jin *Zhenglong* and *Dading* coins, some common Yuan coins, and Qing coins. Of the two struck coins, one appears to have Möngke's *nishan* on it, but the illustration is not good enough to allow a more certain determination. See Evtiukhova 1965, pp. 183–187. The only thing we can be sure of is, based upon the extravagance of imperial gift giving in the form of silver ingots observed by Juvainī, the Imperial Treasury was located there. Given the numbers Juvainī describes, it begs the question: where are all of those ingots today and why have none survived? They should have been marked with inscriptions.

bao have been recovered in the other appanages directly under the control of Qaraqorum (i.e., the Uighur Kingdom and North China itself, including Hebei and Shandong), it would seem to indicate that their circulation was restricted only to the North Central China province of Shaanxi.[175]

Unlike the stray finds from Inner Mongolia, which are unhelpful, there is another find yet again from Shaanxi that could indicate the elimination of the monetary *qubchir* in the form of Dachao tongbao. On March 28, 1994, at Yangxian in Shaanxi Province, a local (pejoratively described as a "peasant") found a jar filled with pieces of silver, and among that were eleven examples of Dachao tongbao (Zhao Hanguo 1995, p. 79).[176] Regrettably, the hoard group switched hands several times and ended up in the Central Shaanxi coin market (Zhao Hanguo 1995, p. 79). There is one significant characteristic of this find; the hoard group was not official. It doubtlessly was an accumulation of an individual because of the diversity of coins and bullion contained within it. This indicates that it was not of a public nature like the Tianshui hoard.

Today's Yangxian was known in Yuan dynasty as Yangzhou.[177] It is the furthest site south of the three other important Shaanxi findsites, Qinan, Qinzhou, and Qingsui. Based on that, appearances are in favour of it being a hoard dating to Yuan, and not earlier than that, because the Mongols never held that area so far to the south. The possibility of its association with the military should not be discounted. It might actually date to 1276, when the Yuan government called in silver. The year 1276 is the *terminus ad quem* of the military characteristic of the issue of Dachao tongbao for in that year they were, presumably, officially called in and melted down.

After the conquest of the Southern Song, there was an effort by the imperial court to call in silver. Evidently the official *Boyan/Bayan, "put out an order to search the baggage of officers for broken pieces of silver, which were melted down and cast into ingots, each weighing fifty ounces [sic! *liang*, a weight unit equal to

[175] Qinzhou was an essential point on the "relay station" (Mongolian: *jam*) system in Shaanxi. Its location on that road, while falling in and out of use for many years, proved its strategic and logistic importance for the Mongol effort to conquer Southern Song. See Lin Zhiqin 1987, pp. 1–7. On the *jam*, see also Dardess 1972–1973, p. 124.

[176] In the hoard there was also found a "Kalahan (i.e., Qarakhānid)" coin. There was no mention if this Qarakhānid coin is copper or silver. It is fascinating that such a coin was found in the hoard. One may wonder if it could have travelled from Transoxiana via auxiliaries who fought with Chinggis, but it is not likely. Most inconveniently, it equally could have come from a later period; thus, the aberrancy is impossible to explain. It remains more productive to focus on the diversity of the hoard. We should again note that the numismatic finds from Qaraqorum indicate the mingling of struck and cast coins of different periods and issuing authorities was ordinary for the period. Because the struck coins are not found in any appreciable numbers in Qaraqorum, it confirms the notion of restricted circulation of these same coins or even their aberrancy in the monetary economy of North China (including also Mongolia). In addition, as Yangxian is so far south of all of the other notable findspots, it is equally difficult to periodise the find earlier than the 1270s based on military activity. Yangxian (= Yangzhou) was in Southern Song territory, and was never held by Jin. Consequently, the Mongols could not have taken it, let alone occupied it in any meaningful way, before the 1270s.

[177] The Yangzhou referred to here is a different and much less important Yangzhou. The more important one was located to the northeast of the Southern Song capital.

1.19 troy ounces in this case]" (Peng 1994, p. 472).[178] After the silver was reportedly melted down into ingots, they were then later presented to Qubilai *Qaγan* who "distributed them as gifts" (Peng 1994, p. 472). What actually occurred was a more direct and severe event than that source indicates because it was in reality an action of seizing and appropriating silver from the army. There is an inscribed ingot with the term "confiscated" (Chinese: *sougua*) on it, dated to 1276 (Yu Xiangzhen 1992, p. 35). These data combined with the above record suggest the official discontinuation of the use of Dachao tongbao to pay and to tax the army. It indicates that even then they were considered not as full value currency but as tokens of value, which were discontinued and reduced to bullion. Perhaps this hoard is from an individual who resisted that appropriation.

Based on what we know of the 1276 *liang*, it took 12 Dachao tongbao to make up one *liang*. We can then reckon the *qian* to equal 3.70 grams of the *sougua liang*. Based on that figure, it took 1.9923 Dachao tongbao to make up the *qian*. This comparison gives a good idea that Dachao tongbao functioned well in the regular weight ratio of *liang* to *qian*. It may not mean that it was currency in the strictest sense of the term because of that, though. They actually represent the amounts of tokens derived from the bullion of the *baoyin* tax, or 48 Dachao tongbao per four *liang* of silver per household. Since we are on the subject, the unlikelihood of Dachao tongbao's connection to the "half-tenth *liang*", better said as the "half-a-*qian*" (Chinese: *banqian*), copper coin system should also be mentioned. There are examples of copied Northern Song and Jin coins that have an added reverse inscription of '*banqian*'. They are thought to date to the pre-Yuan period (Peng 1994, p. 485). However, there is a *Daban* 'great half' coin in Jürchen script, which may indicate that these *banqian* coins are Jin and not pre-Yuan.

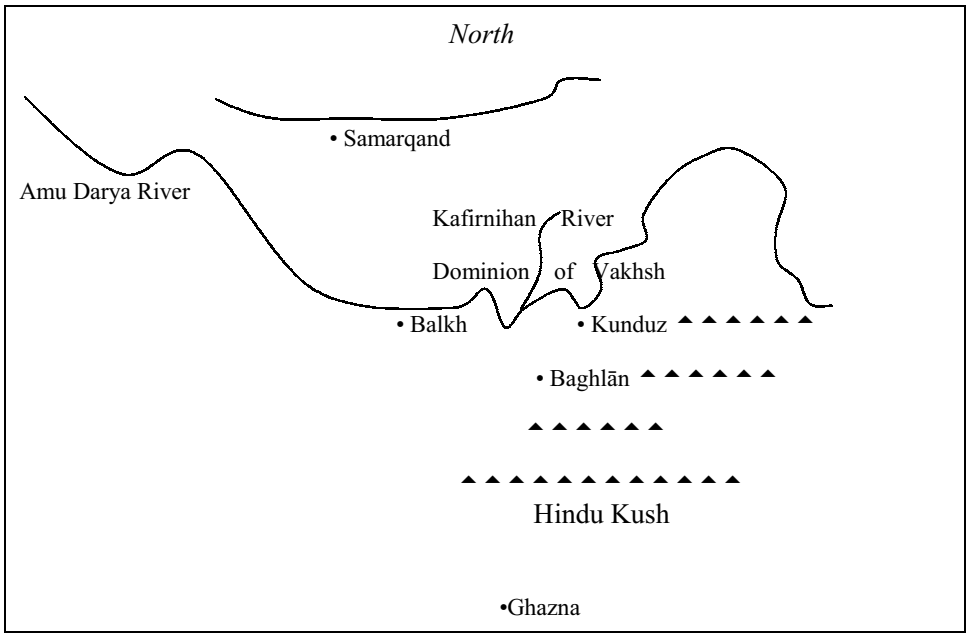
In conclusion, the likely *terminus ad quem* of Dachao tongbao is 1251–1259 because of the presence of Möngke's *nishan* as a counterstamp. It is unlikely that any Dachao tongbao were cast after 1259, for Qubilai had issued coins and paper money of its own character. Those issues do not resemble Dachao tongbao either in style, metal, or weight. Simply, there is no evidence to suggest that Qubilai ever cast Dachao tongbao. A *post facto* entry from the *Song shi: Lizong benji zan* saying "the Mongols minted *Dachao* coins before they changed to *Da Yuan*" (Zhu 1991, p. 414) only indicates that writer's awareness of them. What is more probable is that these tokens were in circulation for some time and that Qubilai was unable to forcibly address their discontinuation until after his conquest of the Southern Song. While Möngke had established an agency for printing paper money in 1253, that form of money was also restricted, and, like Dachao tongbao, could not be used outside the jurisdiction of the issuing agency (Allsen 1986, pp. 174–175).[179] Dachao tongbao must be considered in the same fashion. It may be that upon Möngke's demise, the

[178] This figure of fifty ounces per ingot is well attested for Juvainī also said that, "the *basish* [sic! ingot] is worth fifty *misqals* (sic! *mithqāls*)." See Juvainī 1958, p. 23.

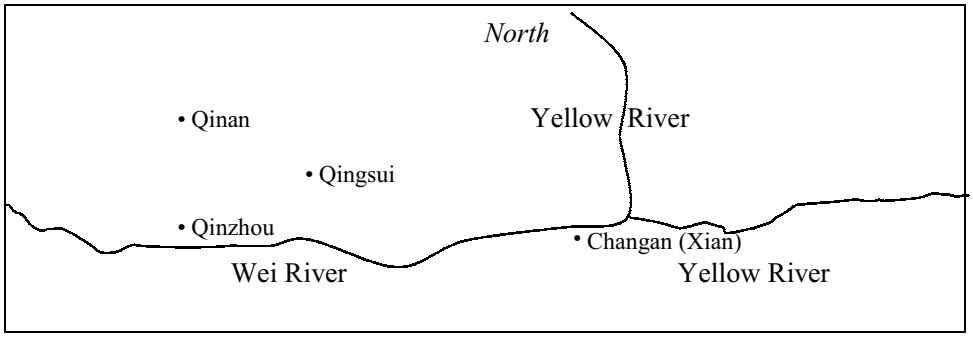
[179] Allsen rightly observes that the sources are not clearly definitive on this matter, and that in some cases the reference to the restricted nature of the currency was made to a period before 1253. Moreover, the chronological sequence of the data in the sources is also unclear.

qubchir tax system represented by the phases of Dachao tongbao was eliminated altogether in North China when Qubilai cast *Zhongtong yuanbao* and printed paper money beginning in 1260.[180]

MAP A (approximation & without scale).[181]



MAP B (approximation & without scale)



[180] Forasmuch as Qubilai eliminated Dachao tongbao's function as *qubchir*/*tamgha* he continued to collect *baoyin*. *Baoyin* continued as a tribute tax system taken in silver from the civilian population and was collected well into the 1290s in North China at the rate of four *liang* per household. That was a re-classified rate from the earlier phase, and represents the tax for a poor/lower household. See Ch'en 1979, p. 127, note 63.

[181] For convenience of reading, only the Kafirnihan is indicated.