From Silk, Cotton and Copper Coin to Silver. Transition of the Currency Used by the Uighurs during the Period from the 8th to the 14th Centuries

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1.

In this paper, I would like to use the terms "East Uighurs", "West Uighurs" and "Uighurs of the Mongol period". "East Uighurs" means the Uighurs of the period of the East Uighur Khanate (or Steppe Empire) which was based in Mongolia from 744 to 840, expanding its influence to the region of the Tianshan Mountains after the 780s. In contrast, "West Uighurs" means the Uighurs of the period of the West Uighur Kingdom who settled after the 840s in the eastern parts of the Tianshan region including Beshbalik, Gaochang (= Kocho in Turfan), Karashahr, and Kucha. These areas are called 'Uighuristan' as a whole. As I have already discussed in my recent articles, the Shazhou 沙州 Uighurs in Dunhuang were a sub-group of the West Uighurs[1]. The Uighurs of the Mongol period were the descendants of the West Uighurs and lived in Uighuristan in the 13th–14th centuries. At the same time, the Uighurs formed the backbone of the alien people (Chin. *semu* 色目) in whose hands the Mongol court entrusted much of the actual management of the Mongol Empire and Yuan Dynasty China[2].

2.

After the Tang 唐 Dynasty had narrowly survived the An Lushan rebellion with the military help of the East Uighurs, an enormous amount of silk was sent from China to Mongolia. A part of it was regularly sent as an annual gift, but the greater part of it was used as payment for Uighur horses. But in fact the latter was a result of a forced trade which the Uighurs in their position of power were able to impose[3]. Here I cite a sentence from BECKWITH 1991, 187: "The Chinese sources claim generally that during the golden days of K'ai-yüan, one horse cost one piece of silk, but after the An Lu-shan Rebellion, the Uighurs charged forty pieces per horse." This trade continued throughout the period of the East Uighur Khanate. Most of the vast quantity of silk must have been re-exported to the western regions as a form of currency by Sogdian merchants, the most famous middlemen in Eurasian long-distance trade along the so-called Silk Road. In return, I suppose, the Uighurs acquired a large variety of such luxurious goods as gold and silver wares, jade, amber, pearls, coral, and other jewels, ivory, furs, glass wares, incense, spices, cosmetics, medicines, Persian or Sogdian brocades, fine carpets and tapestries, fine cotton cloth, iron suits of armor, and so on. No doubt the silk was used as a currency not only by the East Uighurs but also by the Sogdians who were active in the eastern part of Central Eurasia (i.e. Central Asia + Mongolia + Tibet + North China).

In eastern Central Eurasia just before the expansion of the Tang in the 7th century, silk as well as gold and silver was the main international or interregional currency. According to the biography of Xuanzang 玄奘, Qu Wentai 麴文泰, the king of Gaochang (i.e. the Turfan area; r. 619–640), offered him one hundred taels of gold, thirty thousand pieces of silver coin, and five hundred bolts of damask or silk for his travel expenses going to and from India[4]. The *Zhoushu* 周書 (vol. 50) mentions Gaochang, Kucha, and Persia as states where silver coins were used. In the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (vol. 1) Xuanzang reports that gold and silver coins circulated in Karashahr, Kucha, Tokhara, and Kapishi[5]. It is well known from modern archaeological findings that western (i.e. Sasanian, Sogdian, etc.) silver coins and silver wares flowed into China particularly in the 6th–7th centuries[6]. T. OKAZAKI insists that the Silk Road should be called Silver Road when seen from the opposite point of view[7]. This may be partly true. But I cannot follow Ch. I. BECKWITH who says as follows: "One must assume that the traditional flow of Western silver to China was continued by the Uighurs and Sogdians, who like the Turks before them are thought to have sold most of their silk to the Arabs for silver."[8] Basing on the Turfan documents, Japanese and Chinese scholars have exhaustively demonstrated that the circulation of silver coins in Turfan in the 6th–7th centuries was replaced by the use of silk and copper coins by the beginning of the 8th century[9]. One should rather assume that the Chinese domination over East Turkestan stopped the circulation of gold or silver as a currency in that region at least in the 8th century.

In mainland China gold and silver did not circulate so much before the Song 宋 period, while copper coins were only for internal use such as calculating the national budget or collecting taxes. In fact, however, both silk and grains were used besides copper coins. Consequently many kinds of silken fabrics could have been exported from China as an interregional or international currency. Generally speaking, this situation began in the Han period and continued throughout the first millennium of our era.

It is clear that the East Uighurs as well as the Uighur-Sogdians were able to use silk plentifully as an interregional currency, but we cannot find any reliable proof that they used gold or silver currency.

3.

Almost all of the Uighur civil documents[10] among the written materials in Uighur script (Old Uighur literature) from Turfan and Dunhuang belong to the West Uighurs or the Uighurs of the Mongol period. It is safe to say that they date from around the 10th to the 14th centuries. By the way, since 1985, I have been proposing to classify the styles of Uighur script into four categories[11] – 1) square/book *(kaisho)*, 2) semi-square *(han-kaisho)*, 3) semi-cursive *(han-sōsho)*, and 4) cursive *(sōsho)*[12]. Yet one should notice the fact that there are no civil documents written in square script.

As shown in my previous articles on the Uighur civil documents or religious texts, one can classify the old Uighur manuscripts except those in square/book script approximately into two large groups based on the style of the script: the older group of semi-square script (around the 10th–11th centuries) and the other of cursive script (around the 13th–14th centuries)[13]. In other words, the older group of semi-square script is attributable to the West Uighurs, while the other of cursive script is attributable to the Uighurs of the Mongol period. Of course, dating a manuscript only by the style of script is an entirely relative process, and it is possible that some manuscripts written in a script similar to semi-square script date from Mongol times. Semi-square script is a necessary but not a sufficient criterion for a document to be judged as 'old'.

Nevertheless there are certain characteristics which are often found not only in the older documents but also in the older books or inscriptions. So I believe that, if one brings together several criteria, one can better judge if a manuscript is old or not. In my opinion, the criteria for the group of the older manuscripts are as follows[14]: No. 1) semi-square script; No. 2) the appearance of several forms of words or suffixes peculiar to the so-called *n*-dialect[15]; No. 3) Manichaean texts or a close proximity to the Manichaean community[16]; No. 4) the calligraphic distinction between the final *-q* (*qoph*) with a long tail going straight downward (not to the lower right, when regarded as written vertically) and the final *-γ (gimel)* with a short tail going to the lower right[17]; No. 5) the partial calligraphic distinction between the letters *S* and *Š* [18]; No. 6) the existence of a hyper-aleph or the separately written *-Y-* or *-L-* in word-medial position[19]; No. 7) the rarity of diacritical marks for *ÿ, ṅ* and *ş̌* [20]; No. 8) the rarity of the confused use of *T/D* and *S/Z* which is common in the Mongol period[21]; No. 9) the presence of *quanpu* (see below)[22]; No. 10) the use of *sangun* as a personal name[23]; No. 11) the use of *il ögäsi* as a title. These criteria except No. 1 can be found both in manuscripts in square script and those in semi-square script.

In the case of contract documents, we have some more criteria. No. 12) the form of the contract with the use of a *tamγa*-seal[24]; No. 13) the use of *kärgäk boltï* instead of *kärgäk bolup*[25]; No. 14) the occurrence of *bu savda tanuq*[26]; No. 15) the presence of a clause about payment of compensa-

tion of equal value to the object in case the contract is broken[27]; No. 16) the occurrence of *örü qodï bolsar-män* instead of *bar yoq bolsar-män*[28]; No. 17) the occurrence of *ayït- istä-* instead of *čam čarïm qïl-*. Criteria nos. 12–17 are available on condition that they appear in a document written in semi-square script.

In the case of inscriptions written on the artistic backgrounds such as wall-paintings or banners, some art-historical criteria could be added. At any rate, semi-square script is one of the most important and useful criteria for identifying a manuscript as 'old'.

4.

In contrast, as mentioned above, I am sure that all the manuscripts written in cursive script date from around the 13th–14th centuries. So cursive script is one of the most important and useful criteria for identifying a manuscript as 'new'. Additionally we have some other criteria by which one can identify a manuscript as 'new'. First, I would like to indicate the influence of Tibetan Buddhism. Even now, some scholars believe that Uighur Buddhism was influenced in the early stages by Tibetan Buddhism. As I have demonstrated in Moriyasu 1989a and 1990b, however, Uighur Buddhism was founded on Tokharian and Chinese Buddhism, but had no direct relation with Sogdian Buddhism[29]. When I was preparing Moriyasu 1989a concerning the origin of Turkic or Uighur Buddhism, I could not find any Tibetan influence on it. All the extant Uighur texts translated from Tibetan belong to the Mongol period[30].

Although we should not follow L.V. Clark's hypothesis that all of the 141 Uighur civil documents discussed by him date from the Mongol period[31], we can safely be in broad agreement with Clark who, referring to the studies of previous scholars, regards as markers of the Mongol period the group of Mongol loanwords including various terms for taxes *(alban, qalan, qupčïr, yasaq)*, legal terms *(qubi, tölä-, yasa, yosun)*, terms connected with the social structure *(aqa, bayan, nökör, uluγ sü, taruγa, tüšümel)*, and others *(asïra-, čaγ)*[32]. Moreover, he points out such markers as Mongol personal names *(Bayan, Mongol, Mongγolčïn, Ögödäy, Qaraγunaz)* and Chinese terms which are characteristic or attested in the Yuan Dynasty period *(čao* 交, 鈔; *čungdung baočao* 中統寶鈔; *ančašï* 按察使*)*[33]. In spite of Clark's refutation, we should accept N. Yamada's theory that the use of *nišan* must be a Mongol marker[34]. We can also add *taydu* 大都 and *učaγur*, cf. SUK 2, index. Moreover, as I mentioned in Moriyasu 2002, all civil documents concerning Uighur persons with names such as *Pintung, Qayïmtu, Ïnančï & Ozmïš Toγrïl*, and *Turï* can be regarded as having been written in Mongol times[35].

5.

In addition to those above-mentioned criteria, I have only recently recognized a particularly noteworthy fact. The words concerning silver as a means of exchange or accounting unit occur in the documents written in cursive (or, at most, semi-cursive) script, but never appear in those written in semi-square script. These words are *kümüš* "silver", *yastuq* "pillow" = a unit of silver (about 2 kg), *sïtïr* = a unit of silver, about 40 g (1 *yastuq* = 50 *sïtïr*), and *baqïr*[36] = a unit of silver, about 4 g (1 *sïtïr* = 10 *baqïr*)[37]. Thereupon I checked once more all the civil documents available to me in order to search the terms and units of currency. Here I will show you the results of my research.

List of the Uighur civil documents with the terms for currency and the units used[38]

Explanatory notes:

U & Ch/U = Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. (These manuscripts are accessible on the internet.)

MIK = Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Indische Kunst.

Or. = in the British Library, London.

Ot.Ry. = in Ryukoku University, Kyoto.

K = in the Museum of History, Peking.

SI = in the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg.

All documents with the signs as Sa, Lo, RH, Ad, Em, Pl, WP, and Mi are edited or reedited in SUK.

Mon. = markers of the Mongol period;

* In this list the Uighur cursive script is not, as yet, regarded as a Mongol marker.

= without markers of the Mongol period ; T = *tamγa*; N = *nišan*

1a: *Yunglaqlïq*[39] *quanpu*

Or.8212-131[40]	semi-square	#	T	*yunglaqlïq quanpu*	contract; 50 *quanpu*
Sa 01	semi-square	#	T	*yunglaqlïq* [*quanpu*?]	100 *quanpu*
Ot.Ry.1792	semi-square	#	T	*yunglaq-lïq qu*[*anpu*]	contract
Sa 03	semi-cursive	#	T	*yunglaqlïq quanpu*	3250 *quanpu*
Sa 04	semi-cursive	#	T	*yunglaqlïq quanpu*	3500 *quanpu*

1b: *Quanpu*

K7709	semi-square	#		*quanpu*	4125 *quanpu*
	This is a manuscript of the 10th century[41].				
Sa 19	semi-square	#	?	*quanpu*	100 *quanpu*
Sa 20	semi-square	#	?	*quanpu*	
RH 01	semi-square	#	?	*quanpu*	50 *quanpu*
RH 02	semi-square	#	?	[*quanpu*?]	40? [*quanpu*]
Lo 01	semi-square	#	?	*quanpu*	100 *quanpu*
Lo 02	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	1000 *quanpu*
Lo 03	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	63 *quanpu*
U 5286	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	60 *quanpu*
U 5582	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	ledger of *quanpu*
U 5584	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	ledger of *quanpu*
U 5926	semi-square	#	?	[*quan*]*pu*	contract
U 6058	semi-square	#	?	*quanpu*	200 *quanpu*
U 6061[42]	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	contract; 100 *quanpu*
Ot.Ry.1415	semi-square	#		*quanpu*	register; 10000 *quanpu*
Ot.Ry.2150	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	contract
Ot.Ry.2718	semi-square	#	?	*quanpu*	letter; 5 *quanpu*
Ot.Ry.2782	semi-square	#	?	*quanpu*	400 *quanpu*
Ot.Ry.5334	semi-square	#	?	*quanpu*	*yitmišär quanpu*
Ot.Ry.5335	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	contract?: 750 *quanpu*
Ot.Ry.6342	semi-square	#	?	*quanpu*	200? *quanpu*
USp 35	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	82 *quanpu*; 666 *q.*; 390 *q.*
USp 36[43]	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	10 *quanpu*
SI 2 Kr 17	semi-square	#		*quanpu*	400 *quanpu*
SI D 15	semi-square	#		*quanpu*	
Or.8212-115	semi-square	#		*quanpu*	letter; 100 *quanpu*
Or.8212-132	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	contract
Or.8212-151r	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	contract; 50 *quanpu*
Or.12207A-1r	semi-square	#	T	*quanpu*	400 *quanpu*
Lo 04	semi-cursive	#	?	*quanpu*	100 *quanpu*
WP 05	semi-cursive	#	?	*altun, quanpu*	*altun*, 4000 *quanpu*
U 5317[44]	semi-cursive	#		*quanpu*	
U 5321	semi-cursive	#		*quanpu*	ledger of *quanpu*

U 5759	semi-cursive	#	?	*quanpu*	letter; 5 *quanpu*
U 5826	semi-cursive	#	T	*quanpu*	contract
U 5832b	semi-cursive	#	?	*quanpu*	ledger of *quanpu*
U 5849	semi-cursive	#	?	*quanpu*	
Ch/U 7214	semi-cursive	#	?	*quanpu*	contract
Ot.Ry.1991	semi-cursive	#	?	*quanpu*	
Or.8212-129r	semi-cursive	#		*quanpu*	letter; 100 *quanpu*
Or.8212-136	semi-cursive	#		*quanpu*	letter
SI 4b Kr 232	semi-cursive	#		*quanpu*	10 *quanpu*
SI Kr IV 329	semi-cursive	#		*quanpu*	contract; 100 *quanpu*
SI Kr I 420[45]	cursive	#		*quanpu*	register; 19820 *quanpu*

2: *Quan baqïr*

U 5368[46]	semi-square	#	T	*quan baqïr*	contract; 35 *quan baqïr*
Urumqi[47]	semi-square	#	T	*quan baqïr*	200 *quan baqïr*

3: *Yunglaqlïq tavar*

Sa 02	semi-square	#	T	*yunglaqlïq tavar*	325 *quanpu*
Mi 29	semi-square	#	?	*yunglaqlïq tavar*	
Ad 01	cursive	Mon.	T	*yunglaqlïq tavar*	0.5 *yastuq*
P 1001v	cursive	Mon.	T	*yunglaqlïq tavar*	

4a: *Yunglaqlïq böz*

Sa 06	semi-cursive	Mon.	T	*yunglaqlïq böz*	23 *ikilik böz*
Sa 07	semi-cursive	Mon.	T	*yunglaqlïq böz*	170 *ikilik böz*
Sa 23	cursive	Mon.	T	*yunglaqlïq böz*	80 *böz*
Sa 10	cursive	Mon.	N	*yunglaqlïq böz*	100 *iki baγ böz*
Sa 14	cursive	Mon.	?	*yunglaqlïq böz*	5 *böz*
Sa 16	cursive	Mon.	N	*yunglaqlïq böz*	100 [*böz*]
Sa 27	cursive	Mon.	N	*yunglaqlïq böz*	50 *tas böz*
Sa 29	cursive	Mon.	N	*yunglaqlïq böz*	50 *iki baγlïq böz*
Mi 20	cursive	Mon.	N	*yunglaqlïq böz*	100 *iki yarïm baγlïq böz*

4b: *Böz*

Lo 06	semi-cursive	#	T	*böz*	6 *böz*
SI 4b Kr 9a[48]	semi-cursive	#	?	*böz*	100 *böz*
Lo 11	cursive	#	T	*böz*	100 *böz*
Ch/U 7370v[49]	cursive	Mon.	T	*böz*	4 *yätiz böz*
Sa 09	cursive	Mon.	N	*böz*	30 *tas böz*
Sa 25	cursive	#	N	*böz*	100 *böz*
Sa 28	cursive	Mon.	N	*qarčlïq*	150 *qalïn böz*
Lo 12	cursive	#	N	*böz*	6 *böz*
Lo 13	cursive	Mon.	N	*böz*	3.5 *tas böz*
Lo 14	cursive	Mon.	N	*böz*	1.5 *böz*
Lo 15	cursive	#	N	*böz*	2 *böz*
Lo 16	cursive	#	N	*böz*	50 *tas böz*
Mi 23	cursive	#	N	*böz*	37 *iki baγlïq böz*
U 5663[50]	cursive	#		*böz*	*satïγï* 2 *böz*
U 6005[51]	cursive	#		*böz*	*at satïγïnga* 20 *böz*
U 6160[52]	cursive	Mon.	?	*böz*	*bor satïγïnqa birgü böz*
Ch/U 6107[53]	cursive	#		*böz*	1 *böz*; etc.
MIK III 6238[54]	cursive	Mon.	?	*böz*	*-gü satïγï böz*
P 193+194[55]	cursive	Mon.	?	*böz*	6 *tas böz*; etc.

5a: *Yunglaqlïq kümüš*

SI 4bKr71(1)[56]	semi-cursive			*yunglaqlïq kümüš*	1 *yastuq* 5 *sïtïr kümüš*
Sa 05	cursive	Mon.	T	*yunglaqlïq kümüš*	1 *yastuq* 5 *sïtïr kümüš*
Sa 08	cursive	#	T	*yunglaqlïq kümüš*	9 *sïtïr kümüš*
Sa 21	cursive	#	T	*yunglaqlïq kümüš*	47 *sïtïr yarmaq*[57] *kümüš*
Sa 22	cursive	Mon.	T	[*yunglaqlïq*] *kümüš*	50 *sïtïr yarmaq kümüš*
Sa 26	unknown	Mon.	?	*yunglaqlïq yarmaq kümüš*	60 *altun*
Pl 01	cursive	Mon.	T	*yunglaqlïq kümüš*	10 *sïtïr kümüš*

5b: *Kümüš*

Pl 02	semi-cursive		T	*kümüš*	0.5 *yastuq kümüš*, 25 *sïtïr yarmaq kümüš*
SI Kr IV 606	semi-cursive			*kümüš*	2 *sïtïr* 4 *baqïr kümüš*, etc.
SI 4bKr71(2)[58]	semi-cursive			*kümüš*	23 *sïtïr kümüš*
Lo 07	cursive	#	T	*kümüš*	6 *sïtïr kümüš*, 1.5 *baqïr kümüš*
Lo 08	cursive	#	T	*kümüš*	3 *sïtïr kümüš*, 1 *baqïr kümüš*
Lo 09	cursive	#	T	*kümüš*	4 *sïtïr kümüš*, 1 *baqïr kümüš*
Lo 10	cursive	Mon.	T	*kümüš*	10 *sïtïr kümüš*
Ad 02	cursive	Mon.	T	*kümüš*	20 *sïtïr kümüš*
Em 01	cursive	Mon.	T	*kümüš*	*birär kümüš yastuq*
WP 01	cursive	Mon.	T	*kümüš*	*birär kümüš yastuq*
WP 06	cursive	#	T	*kümüš*	10 *tamγa bütün kümüš yastuq*
Mi 01	cursive	Mon.	T	*kümüš*	2 *yastuq* 20 *sïtïr kümüš*, 1 *kümüš yastuq*
Mi 03	cursive	Mon.	T	*kümüš*	0.5 *yastuq kümüš*
Mi 06	cursive	#	T	*kümüš*	5 *sïtïr kümüš*
Mi 07	cursive	#	T	*kümüš*	8 *sïtïr kümüš*
Mi 13	cursive	#	T	*kümüš*	6 *sïtïr* 6 *baqïr kümüš*
Mi 14	cursive	#	T	*kümüš*	3 *sïtïr* 6 *baqïr kümüš*
U 5665r[59]	cursive	Mon.	T	*aq yastuq* (= *kümüš*)	
USp 64[60]	cursive	#	T	*kümüš*	3 *sïtïr*, *tamγa kümüš*
SI Kr IV 638[61]	cursive	Mon	T[62]	*kümüš*	14 *yastuq* 42 sïtïr kümüš, etc.
Sa 11	cursive	Mon.	N	*kümüš*	1 *kümüš yastuq*
Mi 33	cursive	#	N	*kümüš*	
USp 39	cursive	#		*kümüš*	*qupčïr kümüš*
USp 49	cursive	#		*kümüš*	1 *yarïm sïtïr kümüš*
USp 53[63]	cursive	Mon.		*kümüš*	3 *baqïr kümüš qupčïr*
SI O 39[64]	cursive	Mon.		*kümüš*	5 *sïtïr* 3 *baqïr*
SI Kr I 347+349	cursive	#		*kümüš*	6 *sïtïr*, *sïtïr kümüš altïm*
SI 3 Kr 3-15	cursive	#		*kümüš*	*sïtïr kümüš altïm*

6a: *Yunglaqlïq čao*[65]

Sa 11	cursive	Mon.	N	*yunglaqlïq čao yastuq*	100 *yastuq čao*
Sa 12	cursive	Mon.	N	*yunglaqlïq čao yastuq*	80 *yastuq čungdung baočao*
Mi 28	cursive	Mon.	N	*yunglaqlïq čao yastuq*	20 *yastuq čungdung baočao*
Sa 24	cursive	Mon.	T	*yunglaqlïq čao*	9 *yastuq čao*
RH 03	cursive	Mon.	T	*yunglaqlïq čao*	12 *sïtïr čao*

6b: *Čao*

Em 01	cursive	Mon.	T	*čao*	9 *yastuq čao*
WP 04	cursive	Mon.	T	*čao*	3 *yastuq čao*
Mi 10	cursive	Mon.	T	*čao*	9 *yastuq čao*
Sa 17	cursive	Mon.	N	*čao*	7 *yastuq čao*
Mi 17	cursive	Mon.	N	*čao*	600 *yastuq čao*

6.

First, we should pay attention to the fact that the Mongol markers only occur in the Uighur cursive script documents except for two examples written in semi-cursive script, while they never appear among those written in semi-square script. This fact does not contradict my original opinion that the style of Uighur script can be a useful criterion for dating manuscripts. But let me be allowed to repeat the most important fact that the words concerning silver as currency, i.e. *kümüš, yastuq, sïtïr, baqïr*, occur in the documents written in cursive (or, at most, semi-cursive) script, but never appear among those written in semi-square script[66]. In contrast, we frequently come across the term *quanpu* and only two times *quan baqïr*[67] among the semi-square documents.

As proved by J. Hamilton and widely accepted thereafter, the Uighur term *quanpu (qanpu, qunpu)* is a loan word from Chinese *guanbu* 官布 **kuân-puo* (GSR 157a + 102j; Jap. *kanpu*) which means "an official cloth" in English, "toile de format officiel, toile réglementaire" in French, and "genormter Stoff, Stoff von offiziellem Format" in German[68]. While originally in China proper of the Tang period or at least

in Dunhuang around the 10th century it meant a hemp stuff which was used as a unit of tax[69], the Uighur *quanpu* meant a cloth made of cotton which was a product peculiar to Central Asia. As is well known, there is another Uighur word *böz* which means "a cotton cloth"[70]. Probably, *böz* was a general term for cotton cloths, but when a piece of *böz* had a legal standard in width, length, and quality, it was treated as an official cloth with a red official seal put on it and called *quanpu* which could be used as a means of exchange or accounting unit[71]. Kāšγarī in the west and some Chinese sources in the east assure us that cotton cloth was a main currency among the West Uighurs[72]. Even though *böz* was also used as local money[73], until now we have found no examples in semi-square script where *böz* appears as currency. Later, in Mongol times, however, the term *böz* nearly replaced the word *quanpu*. This must reflect the likelihood that the term *quanpu* "an official cloth" gradually lost its significance after the West Uighur Kingdom lost its sovereignty in the Mongol period and a new system of currency and of taxation was introduced. Now silver was circulated not only as the interregional/international currency but also as an accounting unit in Uighuristan, and cotton cloth was reduced to simple local money.

7.

The words referring to silver as currency never appear in the Uighur semi-square script documents, where *quanpu* dominates[74]. This fact indicates that silver did not circulate as a currency among the West Uighurs around the 10th–11th centuries[75]. How can we appreciate this fact from the Eurasian economic-historical point of view?

From old times West Asia and contemporary West Turkestan were on the silver standard, and in the 6th–7th centuries silver money circulated even in East Turkestan and the Gansu Corridor. But after the beginning of the 8th century East Turkestan under complete Chinese domination was cut off from the silver standard in the West. According to I. Miyazaki, it is only from the Five Dynasties period in the 10th century on that the use of silver as an interregional or international currency became an established practice in China and in surrounding countries. After China was reunified by the Song, silver acquired the position of an interregional or international currency beside silk, even though the financial system based on copper coinage was at the highest stage of development in China proper. Miyazaki cited an attractive report concerning both the Uighurs and gold and silver which has become a starting point of later discussion. "[On the day *jiaxu* of the first month of the first year of Dazhong Xiangfu 大中祥符 (1008)], the prices of gold and silver rose too much at the time in the capital city (= Kaifeng). The emperor put a question to Ding Wei 丁謂, the State Finance Commissioner. Wei answered that it was because Western barbarians or the Uighurs bought them up and brought them to their countries. On the day *yihai*, the emperor gave the order to control it." (*Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編, vol. 68, Zhonghua shuju version, p. 1521.)

It is well known that a so-called "silver famine" spread throughout the Muslim world during the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries. But R. Blake's often-cited and highly influential article on the silver crisis [Blake 1937] largely ignores Central Asian silver coinage. Th.S. Noonan's new study is more important for us. He says that "between fifty and one hundred million Sāmānid dirhams were originally exported from Central Asia to European Russia and the Baltic during the 10th century" and that "the Sāmānids may well have been the primary silver exporter in the entire Muslim world at this time."[76] In the first-half of the 11th century the Karakhānids continued the Sāmānid tradition and issued large numbers of silver coins. But the silver coin was increasingly debased so that a coin which had been 92.5 percent silver on average in the early Sāmānid era became a coin with only a negligible silver content in the 1050s. The essence of the silver crisis in Central Asia concerned the quality of the *dirham*s being produced. Anyhow, as R. Blake said, it is true that a shortage of silver continued from around the 11th century to the first half of the 13th century in the eastern part of the Muslim world.

A Japanese scholar M. Otagi, influenced by Blake's earlier article and basing his hypothesis on the Chinese sources collected by his teacher I. Miyazaki, has tried to connect the silver crisis in the West with the activities of the Uighur merchants in East Turkestan and North China from the second half of the 10th century to the 13th century[77]. By the Song period silver acquired the position of an international currency besides silk, and an enormous amount of silver and silk was sent from China to the northern states in order to maintain the peace between them.

By the famous treaty of Shanyuan in 1004 (1005), the Song agreed to send 100,000 taels of silver along with 200,000 bolts of silk to the Liao 遼 (the Khitan dynasty in Inner Mongolia) as an annual gift. The amounts were later raised to 200,000 and 300,000, respectively[78]. The Northern Song was also forced to send the Xi Xia 西夏 (the Tangut kingdom in the northwestern part of mainland China) 50,000 taels of silver, 130,000 bolts of silk, and so on[79]. Later the Southern Song offered the Jin 金 (the Jurchen dynasty in North China) annually a huge amount of silver and silk as a subsidy or gift, just as the Northern Song did to the Liao and the Xi Xia[80].

Here we come back to M. Otagi's theory. Otagi insists that the Uighur merchants entered Northern Song, Liao, Xi Xia, and the Jin territory in order to obtain the silver[81], – if we borrow Otagi's expression, "the Silk Road should be called the Silver Road during the 10th–13th centuries."[82] He adds one more fact to reinforce his hypothesis. The price of silver which also had the position of an internal currency in China shows an upward trend from the Song period through to the Mongol period, even though the output of silver must have run up to an enormous amount thanks to the exploitation of silver mines in the territory to the south of the Yangzi River. According to him, this rise must have been the result of a continuous drain of Chinese silver. So he concludes that one cannot but assume that it was mainly caused by the Uighur merchants who were active between China and the eastern Muslim world. However, we cannot follow such a large scale theory. It doesn't look right and, in fact, it is easy for us to contradict it.

As I have already demonstrated above, silver did not circulate as a currency among the West Uighurs around the 10th–11th centuries. Moreover, other Japanese scholars have shown that the silver which entered the countries of the Liao, the Xi Xia, and the Jin as a subsidy or gift soon flowed back into China as a result of trade because Song exports to these neighbouring states normally exceeded imports from them by a great margin[83]. This situation is incompatible with the theory of Otagi, but it is compatible with the facts which I have shown for the first time in this paper.

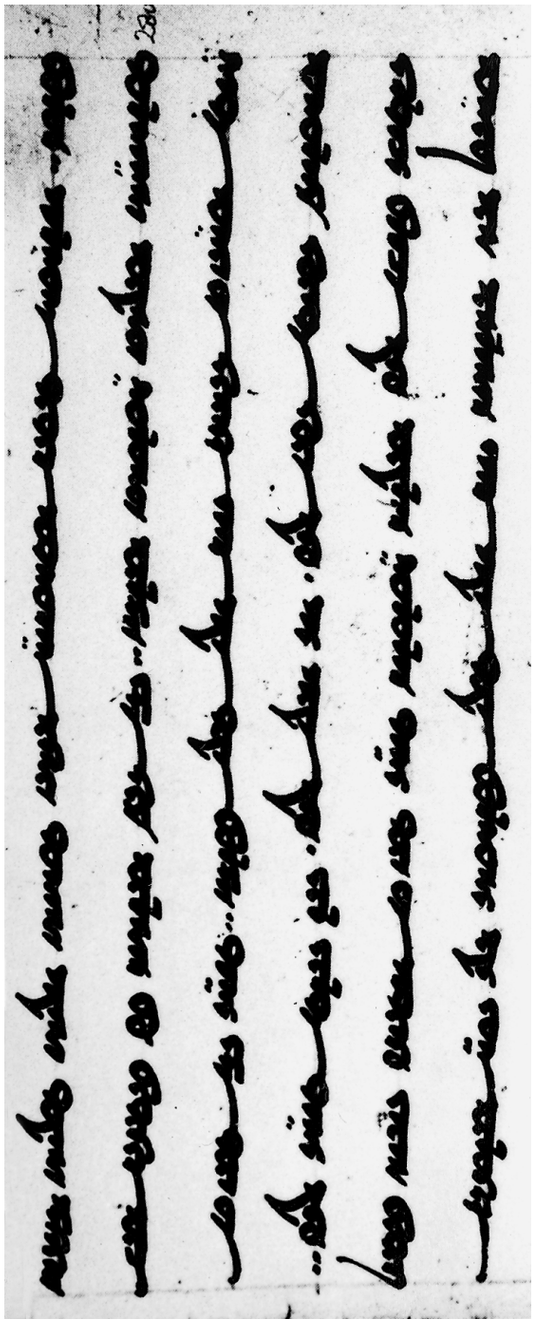
According to K. Satō, another student of I. Miyazaki, the Uighur merchants bought gold and silver in China and brought them to the West, due to the difference in the ratio between gold and silver in the Muslim world and in China in the Song and later medieval times[84]. His theory is also based on the source cited above from vol. 68 of the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*. But, if it is true, as Miyazaki and Satō stated, that at the height of the Northern Song, the ratio between gold and silver in China fluctuated between 1:6 and 1:8 (at most 1:10), while the ratio in the eastern Muslim world was around 1:9.6, we must suppose that the Uighur or Western merchants must have sold silver and bought gold in China. If Song gold is cheaper than that of the Muslim world, silver must flow from West to East. This supposition entirely contradicts Otagi's theory who insists that silver flowed from East to West during the period from the 10th to the 14th centuries.

8.

Here I would like to correct my former misinterpretation of the process by which the original Turkic word *baqïr* meaning 1) "copper" obtained such derivative meanings as 2) "a copper coin", 3) "weight unit (about 4 grams)"; 4) "money unit of silver of about 4 grams which corresponded to 100 copper coins".

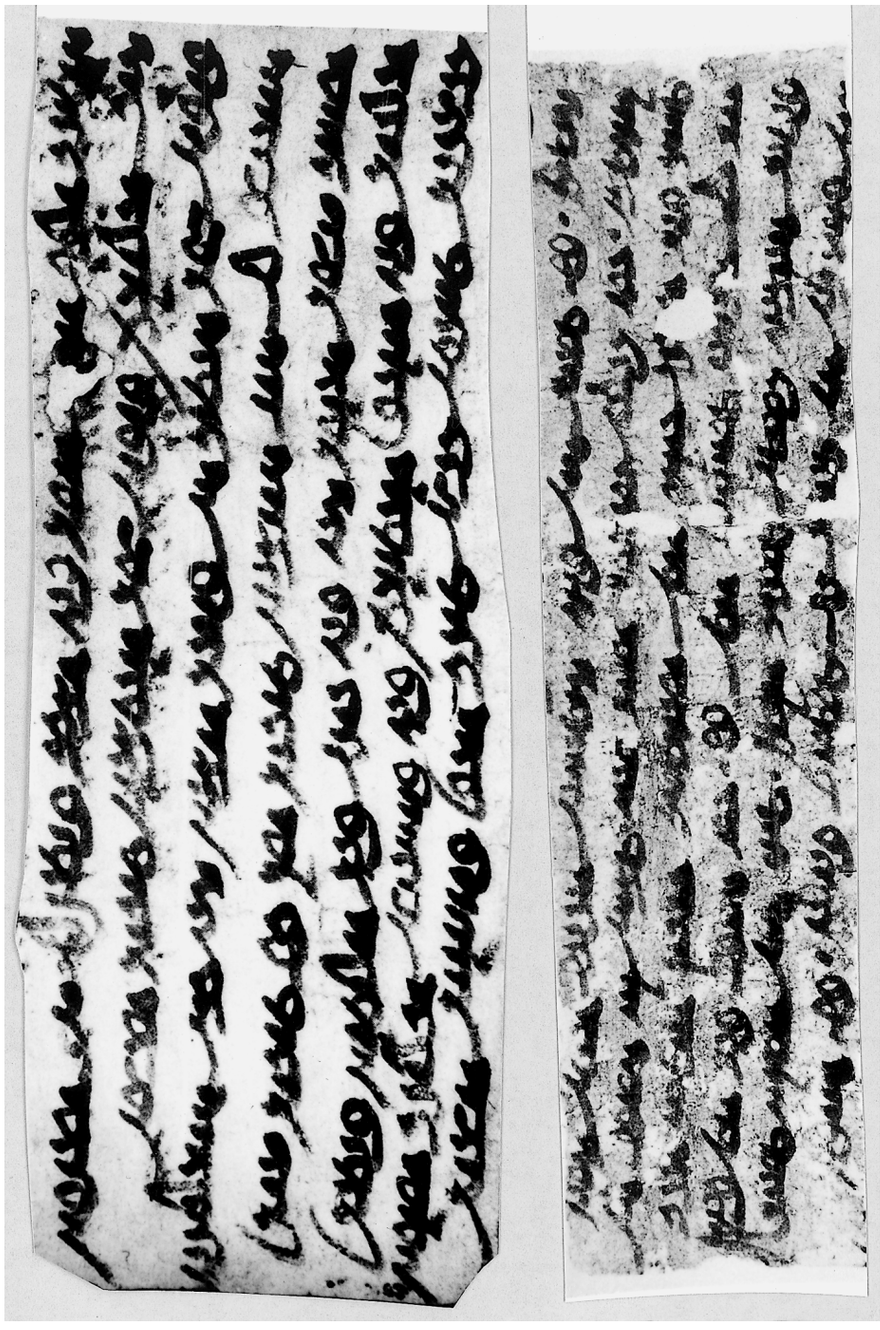
The Styles of Uighur script

Hitherto
Book/Block
Moriyasu
1) Square (kaisho)



Or. 8212-104
Säkiz yükmäk

Hitherto
(Half-cursive)
Moriyasu
2) Semi-square (han-kaisho)

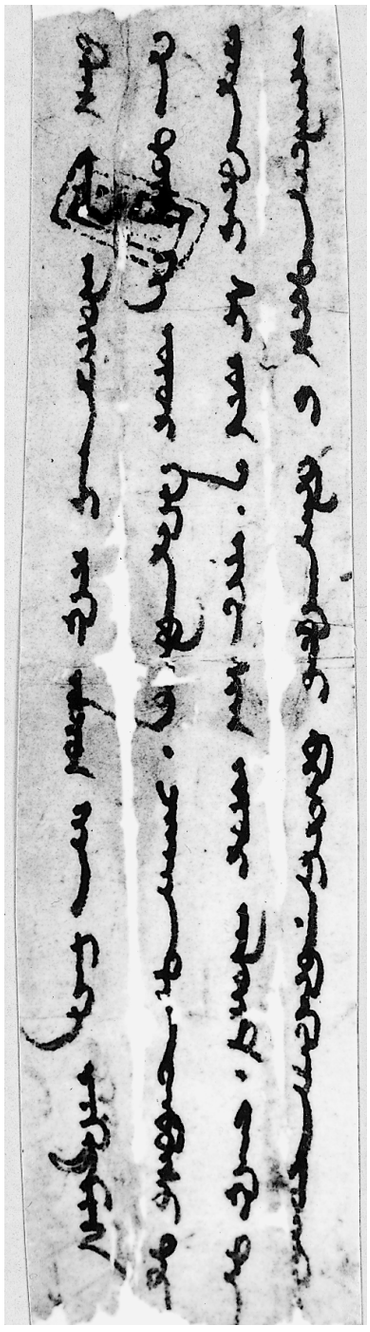


Or. 8212-123
MOTH 23

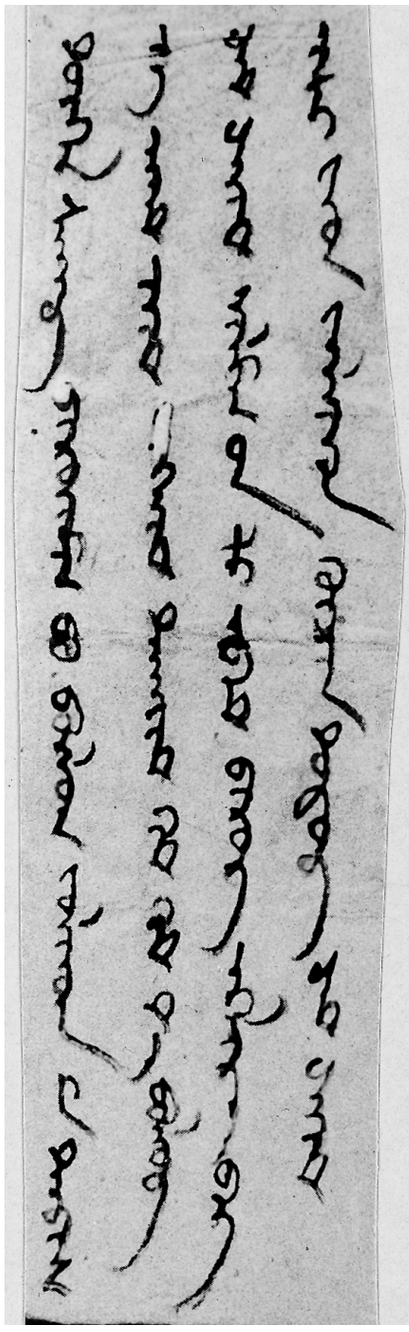
U 5968
Sa 19 in SUK

Hitherto
Cursive
MORIYASU
3) Semi-cursive (han-sōsho)

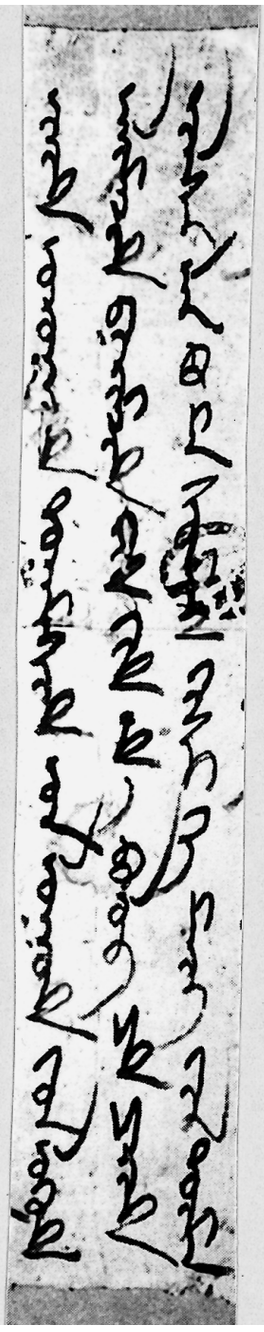
Hitherto
Cursive
MORIYASU
4) Cursive (sōsho)



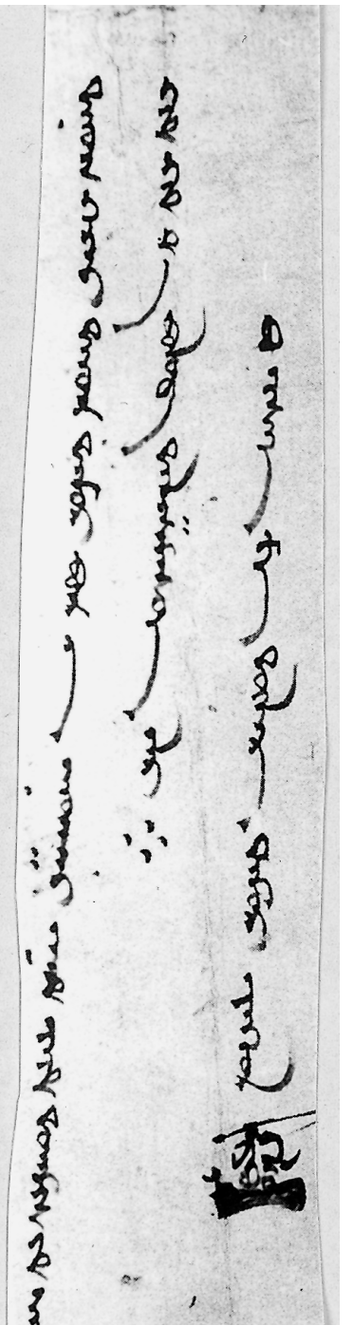
Ot.Ry. 2734
Lo 19 in SUK



Istanbul 35
Sa 11 in SUK



SI M/6
Sa 29 in SUK



U 5239
Mi 28 in SUK

As we already discussed in Moriyasu/Zieme 1999, 87–89, there is no doubt that the expression *quan baqïr*, which appears in two Uighur manuscripts mentioned above in the list and belonging to the older group of semi-square script (around the 10th–11th centuries), is a translation of Ch. *guan-wen* 貫文 or *min-qian* 緡錢 (= a string of 1000 copper coins)[85], and that *quan* is nothing other than a transcription of Ch. *guan* 貫 (**kuân*[86]; Jap. *kan*). Moreover, we find another expression *bun baqïr* which means "worthless money" in a Buddhist text[87]. Even though this text dates from the Mongol period, it may be possible that the expression itself dates from the 10th or 11th century. I believe that this expression *bun baqïr* indicates one copper coin and that *bun* is nothing other than a transcription of Ch. *wen* 文 (**vun*[88]; Jap. *bun*) which is a synonym of Ch. *qian* 錢. Here we have to refer once more to the Uighur sentence *bu baqïr toquz on toquzar ol* "this *baqïr* is 99 each" in a *baqïr*-receipt housed in the National Museum of Urumchi[89]. At first I refused Israfel's simple interpretation and regarded this *baqïr* as "money unit of silver of about 4 grams which corresponded to 100 copper coins."[90] But Israfel is right in this point[91]. Because this *baqïr*-receipt is written in semi-square script, my former interpretation should be excluded by a conclusion of this very paper that silver did not circulate as currency among the West Uighurs around the 10th–11th centuries.

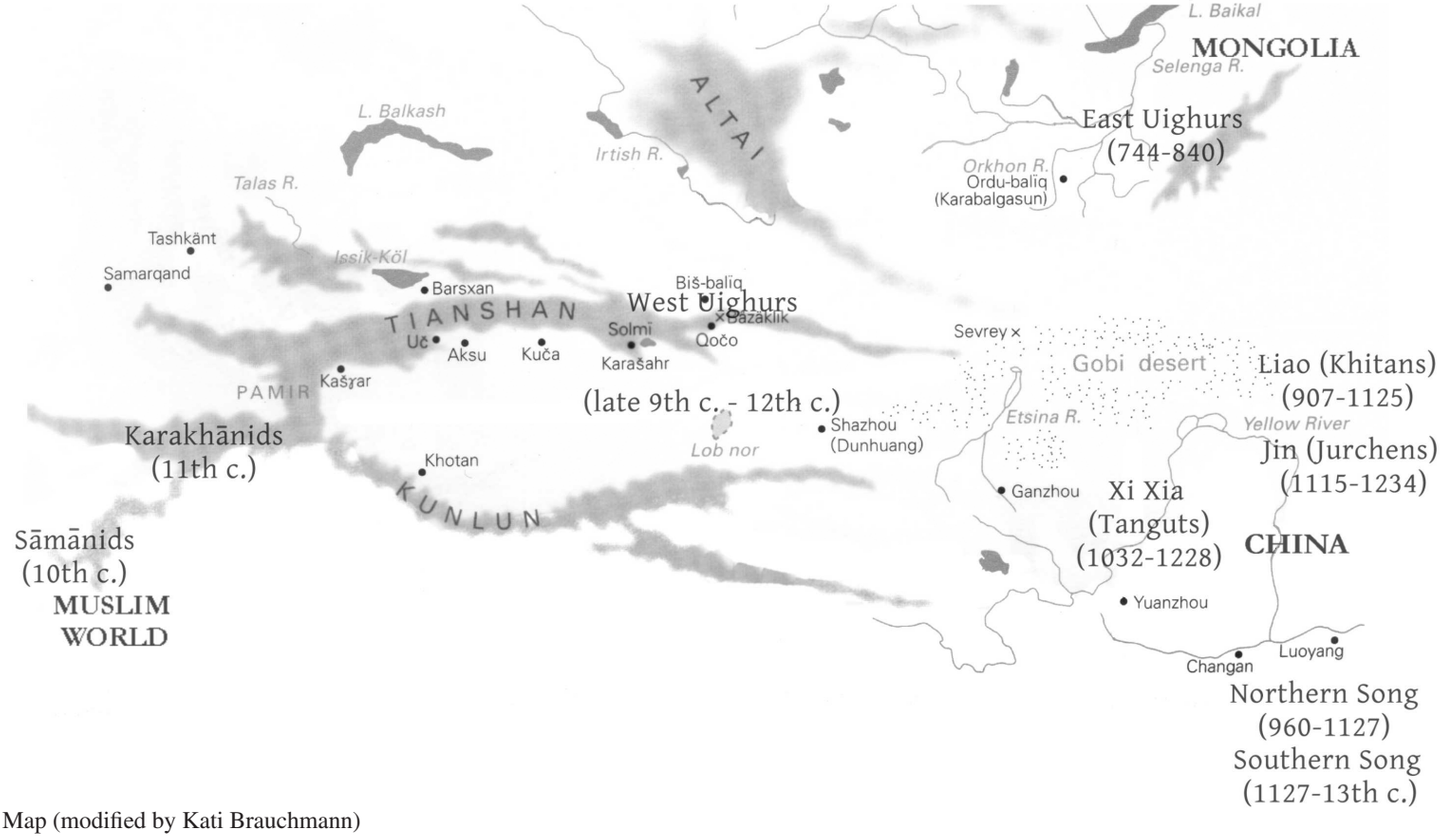
Nevertheless, we must not, like almost all previous Turcologists, think that the meaning "a copper coin" for *baqïr* directly derived from the original Turkic word *baqïr* "copper". We assume now that at first the expressions *quan baqïr* and *bun baqïr* were adopted as mixed translations of Ch. *guan* and *wen*. Therefore *baqïr* began to have the second meaning. The existence of such expressions is clear evidence that copper coins also circulated among the West Uighurs. It reminds us that several Uighur copper coins issued by Boquq Qaγan have been unearthed in Uighuristan even recently[92].

From the Tang period on Ch. *qian* meaning "a copper coin" could also be used as a unit of weight. Usually it was a measure for medicine, gold, silver, or precious stones. So it is not impossible that the third meaning as a unit of weight developed earlier than the second. Here I do not want to pursue the subject, because it needs some more research to explain the historical background of the use of copper coins and how the third meaning as a translation of Ch. *qian* permeated among the Uighurs. Anyhow, later in the 13th century, or at the earliest in the second half of the 12th century, when the Uighur merchants adopted the Chinese system of units for silver money in the form of the ingot, *baqïr* obtained its fourth meaning of a unit of money, that is about 4 g silver which had a value of 100 copper coins.

9.

There remains no doubt that the style of Uighur script can be a useful criterion for dating manuscripts. The first aim of this paper is to demonstrate that my original theory can be reinforced with a newly found fact that silver did not circulate as currency among the West Uighurs around the 10th–11th centuries. Hereafter it is nearly safe to regard the Uighur cursive script as a Mongol marker. In Moriyasu 1998, 18 & 20 (n. 12) as well as Moriyasu 1991, 53–54, I have already supposed that the Uighur accounting unit was *quanpu* "an official cloth" at the time of the West Uighur Kingdom and that it was replaced by *kümüš* "silver" in the Mongol period. The second aim of this paper is to verify this supposition from the economic-historical point of view. From now on, such Uighur terms as *yastuq, sïtïr,* or *baqïr*, when used as a unit of silver money, can also be regarded as Mongol markers.

As a means of exchange or payment the Uighurs began to use silk at first in Mongolia, and then cotton cloth was added as both an accounting unit and a means of exchange among the West Uighurs[93]. Finally, silver replaced them in Mongol times. Presumably the monetary system of Uighuristan operated on two levels. While silk still served as the international currency, cotton cloth, always called '*quanpu*', was used both as an accounting unit and as local currency[94]. But later in Mongol times silver served as both an international currency and an accounting unit, while cotton cloth, often called '*böz*', was used only as a local currency.



Map (modified by Kati Brauchmann)

It is remarkable that the use of silver money as well as paper money called *čao*[95] infiltrated deeply into the daily life of the Uighurs of Mongol times. One can say that silver money which mainly circulated as an international currency with interregional convertibility had at the same time a function of indicating value in the local society[96]. Needless to say, this function was fulfilled by the official cotton cloth called *quanpu* among the West Uighurs. Such an economic phenomenon could not occur without the condition that Uighur merchants were actively involved in the long distance trade and that silver money circulated in a great amount in Uighuristan. We can easily remember the activity of the so-called *ortoq*-merchants who, according to me, were originally not Muslim merchants but Uighur Buddhist (sometimes Nestorian) merchants[97]. They must be linked to the worldwide circulation of silver at that time. But this is only a part of the complex structure. In the next Japanese article, I will discuss a problem about the origin of the use of silver as an international/interregional currency all over the Eurasian world during the Mongol period.

Notes

[1] Cf. Moriyasu 2000a; Moriyasu 2000b; Moriyasu 2000c.

[2] Cf. Allsen 1983; Rachewiltz 1983.

[3] Cf. Mackerras 1969; Jagchid 1989; Mackerras 1990, 338; Beckwith 1991; Mackerras 2000, 203–204. It is a Japanese scholar H. Matsuda who first recognized the importance of the "Silk and Horse Trade" between the nomadic peoples and China. This designation was also proposed by himself. Cf. Matsuda 1936; Matsuda 1959.

[4] Huili/Yancong: *Da Ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, Beijing 1983, 21. Cf. Julien 1853, 40; Beal 1911, 30.

[5] Cf. Beal 1884, part 1, 18, 19, 38, 54.

[6] Cf. Okazaki 1973, chapters 10 and 11; Kuwayama 1982.

[7] Cf. Okazaki 1973, 8.

[8] Beckwith 1991, 189, footnote 18. Beckwith was deeply influenced by the description written by D.C. Twitchett who had summarized Sh. Katō's great work. "To supply the need for a medium of currency suitable for use in large transactions, where copper cash were too bulky and cumbersome, it was the practice in T'ang times to employ either silk cloth or precious metals, in the latter case usually silver. The use of these media of exchange has been discussed in most painstaking detail by Sh. Katō in his monumental work *On gold and silver in T'ang and Sung times*. According to his findings silk and precious metals were used in every variety of transaction, both public and private, for the payment of large sums. The use of silk was more widespread at the beginning of the dynasty, and it seems that silver began to replace it as the usual medium for payment of large sums after An Lu-shan's rebellion and especially during the ninth century." [Twitchett 1970, 70.] But I think that this summary does not hit the mark.

[9] Cf. Ikeda 1973, 58–66, 97 (n. 34); Ikeda 1980, 307–311; Jiang Boqin 1986, 32–34 ; Yamamoto/Ikeda 1987.

[10] As we have indicated in SUK 2, ix–x, one can classify all the written materials in Uighur script (Old Uighur literature) into books, civil documents, and inscriptions, but each of them may be subdivided further as follows:

1. books (literary texts)
    1-a. religious texts
    1-b. secular texts
2. civil documents
    2-a. official documents
    2-b. personal documents
3. inscriptions
    3-a. religious texts
    3-b. secular texts

In this case, the word *document* has a more narrow concept than that of the Dunhuang or Turfan documents. The latter includes all categories of written materials. It is important to note this different usage of the same word.

[11] Cf. Moriyasu 1985, 16, 39; Moriyasu 1991, 28, 38, 46, 55, 87, 134, 147, 186, 200; Moriyasu 1992, 48; Moriyasu 1994, 66–68; Moriyasu 1996 (English version of Moriyasu 1989b, 1990a, and 1992), 79–81, 91–92, 96 (n. 38); Moriyasu 1997a, 1235–1233; Moriyasu/Zieme 1999, 74.

[12] A detailed definition of these styles of script is given in Moriyasu 2003, 461. I quote some parts necessary here. 1) Square script is a calligraphic style, often seen in formal Manichaean or Buddhist texts. Texts in this script are always written carefully and neatly by professional scribes. 2) Semi-square script is not as neat as square script, nor is the spacing between the letters as close as in the former, but there is more of a feeling of strength than there is with square script, the letters being in most cases thick and large. For example, see Nos. 5–10, 13–36 of MOTH as well as the so-called "Stake Inscriptions". 3) Semi-cursive script is a transitive stage. So I think it is not worth considering in its own right. 4) Cursive script: The spacing between the letters becomes longer, and the stroke is weak and loose. In most cases it is written in thin and rapid strokes with a thin pen. In many cases, I think, we should rather call it rapid or running cursive script.

[13] Cf. Moriyasu 1985, 15–16, 39, 73; Moriyasu 1989a, 3–5; Moriyasu 1989b, 52–53, 71; Moriyasu 1990a, section 5 (pp. 69–72); Moriyasu 1990b (French edition of 1989a), 147–150; Moriyasu 1991, 38, 46, 53–54, 87, 134, 147; Moriyasu 1992, 48–50; Moriyasu 1994, section 10 (pp. 63–83); Moriyasu 1996 (English version of Moriyasu 1989b, 1990a, and 1992), 68–69, 79–81, 91–93; Moriyasu 1997a, 1235–1233; Moriyasu 1998, 5, 10–12, 14; Moriyasu/Zieme 1999, 74.

[14] I add some more criteria to those enumerated in Moriyasu 2003, 461–462.

[15] Cf. Moriyasu 1989a, 1–5 = Moriyasu 1990b, 147–150. There I mentioned several earlier articles which are important but not cited here. Later, in 1991, a relevant article was published by G. Doerfer. In addition to it, in 1993 he published a new book entitled *Versuch einer linguistischen Datierung älterer osttürkischer Texte*. In both of them he expressed his theory of the classification and dating of Old Turkish texts based on the linguistic characters and the paleographical features. But we cannot follow his theory in some serious points. I agree with the critical comments made by Hamilton 1996 as well as Oki 1996. See also Tremblay 2001, 79–81.

[16] Cf. Moriyasu 1989a, 1–5 = Moriyasu 1990b, 147–150; Moriyasu 1991, especially chapter 3, sections 3 ~ 5; Oki 1996, 43–47. Concerning criteria No. 3 and No. 2, see Tremblay 2001, 78–84. He deals a lot with the problems of the dating of the Uighur Manichaean or Buddhist texts, and his discussion often overlaps with mine. Needless to say, my articles precede his book.

[17] Cf. Moriyasu 1989a, 3–4 = Moriyasu 1990b, 149–150; Moriyasu 1992, 48–50; Moriyasu 1994, p. 68, n. 6, p. 82; Oki 1996, 33–37.

[18] Cf. Oda 1988; Oki 1996, 19–25.

[19] Cf. Laut 1986, 63–64, 69, 91; Geng/Klimkeit/Laut 1987, 54–58, "Anhang: Bemerkungen zu der Handschrift" written by Laut alone; Doerfer 1993, 92–93.

[20] Cf. Moriyasu 1994, 81; Oki 1996, 51–52.

[21] Cf. Moriyasu 1994, 68, 81; Oki 1996, 39–42.

[22] Cf. Moriyasu 1991, 54; Moriyasu 1994, 69, 82; Moriyasu 1998, 18.

[23] Cf. Moriyasu 1994, 69, 82.

[24] Cf. Moriyasu 1994, 64–65, 81.

[25] Cf. Moriyasu 1990a, 69–70 = Moriyasu 1996, 80; Moriyasu 1994, 68, 81–82.

[26] Cf. Moriyasu 1991, 54.

[27] Cf. Moriyasu 1989b, 68–71 = Moriyasu 1996, 77–79; Moriyasu 1994, 69, 81–82.

[28] Cf. Moriyasu 1998, 11.

[29] Elverskog 1997, 8 misunderstands my theory on this point. Except

for some points, I can follow the brief history of Uighur Buddhism in the introduction of Elverskog 1997 (5–13), but it is a pity that he sometimes ignores my earlier works in Japanese.

30 Cf. Zieme 1992, 40–42; Elverskog 1997, 9, 11, 13.

31 IUCD, chap. 3 (97–207) "The Chronology of the Civil Documents". See especially pp. 121, 195–196. I have refuted his hypothesis in Moriyasu 1989b, section 1 (51–54) = Moriyasu 1996 (English version), section 1 (67–69), Moriyasu 1990a, section 5 (69–72) = Moriyasu 1996, section 4 (79–81), and Moriyasu 1992, 50 = Moriyasu 1996, 93.

32 IUCD, 145–160.

33 IUCD, 139–143, 164.

34 Yamada 1963 = SUK 1, IX, 322; Yamada 1965 = SUK 1, IV , 130; IUCD, 326–328 and n. 24 (pp. 371–372); Moriyasu 1994, 64–65, 83.

35 This is not my original theory. It is based on many works of previous scholars which I do not mention here. All the references are given in Moriyasu 2002.

36 As for *baqïr* see section 8 below.

37 This system of weight was proved by N. Maeda basing on the theory of F.W.K. Müller and Sh. Katō, cf. Maeda 1944; Moriyasu 1998, 13. No doubt at this time one *sïtïr* corresponded to about 40 grams. I have proved this fact by checking many extant silver ingots with a inscription indicating the weight of each ingot, see Moriyasu 1997b, 9–13.

38 In this list I have not included the terms for many kinds of silk, because silken fabrics were used as a currency during the whole period of the 8th–14th centuries, and so it is difficult to find any chronological indicators.

39 Cf. Moriyasu 1992, 43–50 = Moriyasu 1996, 88–93.

40 Cf. Moriyasu 1998, 7–8, pls. on pp. 23–24.

41 This text and its dating were minutely discussed in Moriyasu 1991, 38–46, 121–128, 141–142, 158–159.

42 Cf. Zieme 1975, 70, pl. LI; Moriyasu 1998, 11.

43 Cf. Tuguševa 1984, 242, pl. 46 in p. 365.

44 Cf. Zieme 1981, 243–253, pls. XX–XXI; Moriyasu 1991, 135–136.

45 Cf. Tugusheva 1996a, 13–14.

46 Cf. Moriyasu/Zieme 1999, 85–88, pl. VIII.

47 Cf. Israfel 1995, 9–11 and pl. II; Moriyasu 1998, 12–17.

48 Cf. Tuguševa 1996b, 219–220, pl. in p. 230.

49 Cf. Matsui 1999, 156–157, Text 25 with a pl.

50 Cf. Raschmann 1995, No. 36.

51 Cf. Raschmann 1995, No. 48.

52 Cf. Matsui 1999, 147–148, Text 19 with a pl.

53 Cf. Raschmann 1995, No. 55.

54 Cf. Matsui 1999, 170–171, Text 40 with a pl.

55 Uighur fragments Nos. 193 + 194 found by P. Pelliot in the Dunhuang Caves Nos. 181 ~ 182 of the Mongol period. Cf. Moriyasu 1988, 420–425, texts and pls.

56 Cf. Umemura 2002, 205, pl. III.

57 This *yarmaq* does not mean 'a *dirham*; a silver coin circulated in the Karakhānids' nor 'a copper coin'. Cf. ED, 969; CTD 2, 170, 371, etc.; Ligeti 1966, 281–282. I am sure that the expression *yarmaq kümüš* (not *kümüš yarmaq*) cannot mean anything but "cut silver; cash in silver". We should take into account another expression *tartma kümüš* which is attested in an Uighur document concerning the expenses for weddings or funerals in a big family (SI Kr IV 638, ll. 141, 192, 197). Both G. Clauson [1971, 193, 196] and H. Umemura [1987b, 49, 53, 62] translated that expression "weighed (or minted?) coin", but we should rather translate "silver weighed on scales", i.e. "cash in silver". Even under the Karakhānids *yarmaq* as money was often weighed on scales, cf. CTD 2, pp. 80, 147, 368. Here I cite one example: *ol yarmaq tartti* "He weighed the dirham." [CTD 2, 368].

58 Cf. Umemura 2002, 205, pl. III.

59 Cf. Matsui 1998, 031, Text VIII; Matsui 1999, 161–162, Text 31 with a pl.

60 USp 64 = T II Čiqtim 6 = MIK III 50. Cf. Text B in Dolkun/Umemura /Moriyasu 1990, 22 and plate in p. 23.

61 Cf. Clauson 1971; Umemura 1987b.

62 Cf. Umemura 1987a, 98–105.

63 Cf. Matsui 1998, 035, Text IX; Matsui 1999, 176–178, Texts 45–48 with pls.

64 Cf. Matsui 1999, 181–183, Text 50 with a pl.

65 Loan word from Ch. *chao* 鈔 "a paper currency note" [ED, 393b]. Cf. IUCD, 14, 164.

66 We should remember the attestations of *kümüš* and *yastuq* under the Karakhānids. According to the dictionary of Kāšγarī, *kümüš* means both "silver" and "a *dirham*" [CTD 1, 286], but *yastuq* means 'pillow' alone [CTD 2, 170]. It has not yet acquired the meaning of a unit of silver ingot.

67 See below section 8.

68 Cf. Hamilton 1969, 43–44; Gabain 1973, 61; Zieme 1976, 246; SUK 2, 277; Raschmann 1995, 28, 55, 64, 216. But I would like to translate *guan-bu* as 'Geldtuch' in the German version of my book [Moriyasu 1991] which will be published by Harrassowitz in the near future.

69 This point is proved in Moriyasu 1991, 52–53.

70 As for the etymology, history, and various aspects of *böz*, see Raschmann 1995. D. Matsui did an indispensable review of her valuable monograph in *SIAL* 12 (1997), 99–116.

71 Moriyasu 1991, 53. See also M. Arakawa's review of SUK in *Shigaku zasshi* 103–8 (1994), 112–114 as well as D. Matsui's review of Raschmann 1995 in *SIAL* 12, 105.

72 Cf. Moriyasu 1991, 53, 170; Raschmann 1995, 64 ff.

73 Cf. Moriyasu 1989b, 54–59; Raschmann 1995, chap. 6.1 (64–71) "böz als Zahlungsmittel"; Moriyasu 1996 (English version), 69–72.

74 In this article I have excluded the Uighur documents in which silken or woolen fabrics were mentioned as currency. See note 38 above. For the time being, see some examples in the Dunhuang documents edited in MOTH and DTST.

75 It might be confirmed by the data provided in Chinese or Sogdo-Uighur records from Dunhuang, dating from around the 10th century. As a means of payment used in those Chinese or Sogdo-Uighur documents one cannot find silver or copper coins, but rather silken or woolen fabrics as well as grains. Cf. Ikeda 1980, 316–319; Yamamoto/Ikeda 1987; Raschmann 1995, 66; Trombert 1995, 24–27.

76 Noonan 1991, 222. The discussion of this passage is based entirely on Noonan's article.

77 Cf. Otagi 1970, 35–37; Otagi 1973, 163–200 = Otagi 1989, 157–190.

78 Cf. Shiba 1983, 98.

79 Cf. Shiba 1983, 101.

80 Cf. Shiba 1983, 98, 101, 103.

81 Otagi 1973, 184, 186–188 = Otagi 1989, 175, 177–179.

82 Otagi 1973, 165 = Otagi 1989, 158.

83 Cf. Hino 1952, 6–7, 21, 24, 81; Shiba 1983, 98, 101, 103.

84 Cf. Satō 1978, 95–97 = Satō 1981, 331–334.

85 In the copper currency system of imperial China, "a string of 1000 copper coins (known as *guan* 貫 or *min* 緡)" became the standard accounting unit in the state financial system.

86 Cf. GSR 159a.

87 Cf. Moriyasu/Zieme 1999, 88–89 and footnote 40.

88 Cf. Pulleyblank 1991, 323.

89 Cf. Israfel 1995, 9–11 and pl. II; Moriyasu 1998, 12–17.

90 Cf. Moriyasu 1998, 16.

91 Cf. Israfel 1995, 10–11.

92 See Yang Fu-hsüeh 1995 as well as Thierry 1998. But I am sorry that I cannot follow Thierry's idea of its dating which is partly based on Moriyasu 1981. Furthermore in this connection, it is a great pity that

some scholars still adhere to a serious misunderstanding about the 'Uighur Money' attested in a Chinese source of the Tang period. See Thierry 1998, 274; Mackerras 2000, 205. It is not the Uighurs but the Sogdians that were able to carry on a money-lending business in Tang China. Refuting Hino 1965 and researching the origin of the so-called *ortoq*-merchants, I have discussed this problem rather minutely in Moriyasu 1997b and 1997c.

[93] This does not deny the possibility that gold or silver ingots were traded as precious merchandise or treated as a kind of treasure.

[94] Here I cite only one example: "100 q(u)anpu, which are valid at the bazaar of Qočo, whose two ends are provided with protective bands, and which have seals in the middle" [SUK 2, Sa 01, lines 4–5]. See also Sa 03, Sa 04, Sa 19, and RH 02 as well as Moriyasu 1989b, 54–55 = Moriyasu 1996, 69–70.

[95] The use of paper money *čao* originated in China proper. Some scholars think that *čao* was issued by the Yuan Dynasty to assist in the circulation of silver money, while others think that it was done only in the copper coin currency system of imperial China, because a design of copper coins was printed on each *čao*.

[96] See especially SI Kr IV 638 treated by Clauson 1971 and Umemura 1987b. When I checked this manuscript in St. Petersburg, I found a very important sentence which has been misinterpreted so far. Here I quote the corrected text: *iki baqïr altun-ńï iki* ***s*****t***ïr i***ki*** (or ***üč***, or ***altï*** < '////) ***baqï****r-qa altümz* (SI Kr IV 638, ll. 22–23). Its translation is as follows: "We bought 2 *baqïr* (i.e. about 8 grams) of gold for 2 *sïtïr* 2 (or 3 or 6) *baqïr* (i.e. about 88 or 92 or 104 grams of silver)." It is clear that the ratio between gold and silver was 1:11 or 1:11.5 or 1:13 in Uighuristan at one time during the Mongol period.

[97] Cf. Moriyasu 1997b and 1997c.

Abbreviations

AoF *Altorientalische Forschungen*.
AOH *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*.
BBAW Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
BTT Berliner Turfantexte.
CAJ *Central Asiatic Journal*.
Ch. Chinese.
CTD R. Dankoff, J. Kelly (ed. and trs.): *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects, by Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī*. 3 vols., Cambridge 1982–85. (Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 7, Turkish Sources VII).
DTST N. Sims-Williams, J. Hamilton: *Documents turco-sogdiens du IXe-Xe siècle de Touen-houang*. London 1990. (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part 2: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. 3: Sogdian, 3).
ED G. Clauson: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford 1972.
ed. edited, editor, editors.
GSR B. Karlgren: *Grammata Serica Recensa*. Stockholm 1957.
HJAS *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*
IUCD L.V. Clark: *Introduction to the Uyghur Civil Documents of East Turkestan (13th–14th cc.)*. Indiana University Ph.D. dissertation, 1975.
Jap. Japanese.
MIK Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.
MOTH J. Hamilton: *Manuscrits ouïgours du IXe-Xe siècle de Touen-houang*. 2 vols., Paris 1986.
pl., pls. plate, plates.
Repr. Reprint(ed).
SIAL *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages = Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū*.
SUK N. Yamada, J. Oda, P. Zieme, H. Umemura, T. Moriyasu (ed.): *Sammlung uigurischer Kontrakte = Uiguru-bun keiyaku monjo shūsei*. 3 vols., Osaka, Ōsaka daigaku shuppankai, 1993.
USp W. Radloff: *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler. Materialien nach dem Tode des Verfassers mit Ergänzungen von S. Malov herausgegeben*. Leningrad 1928. (Repr.: Osnabrück 1972.)
VSUA Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica.
ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

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