

Circulation of Money in the Cities of Medieval Kazakhstan (by Numismatic Data)

Moldir Aldabergenova*, Shynar Nurmanova, Nazygul Kattabekova

Faculty of History and Pedagogy, A. Yasawi International Kazakh-Turkish University, Turkestan, 161200,
Kazakhstan
mol-nur_an@mail.ru

Abstract: This paper studies coins as a numismatic source that allows for a fresh look at the socio-economic history of the medieval cities of Kazakhstan. Classification and periodization of coins (copper and silver) dated from the 15th to the 18th centuries from the cities of the Syr Darya region of Kazakhstan, that is, in the region located on both sides of the Syr Darya River, the largest water source in the south of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The economic and trade relations in the region are discussed, revealing the role of cities and their potential in the local and inter-city trade during the said period.

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1. Introduction

Comprehensive study of the socio-economic development of southern Kazakhstan in the period between the 15th and 18th centuries seems impossible without discussing the issue of money circulation and numismatics. The coin is considered to be a valuable resource and one of important indicators of the level of urban life development. While analyzing copper coins from the 15th and 16th centuries found in the South-Kazakhstan region, we followed the chronological frames recommended by E.A.Davidovich (a scholar-expert who has been studying the coins of Central Asia), as the cities located in the Syr Darya region in the 15th century were supplied completely and in the early years of the 16th century were partially supplied with money of Maverannah (Mawaraunnahr, aka Transoxiana), namely with the coins which were minted in cities located in the interfluvial area between the two rivers: the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya. In the first decade of the 16th century, local mints revived their work in Yasi-Turkestan, Sygnak and Sauran, Sairam, Jend and Tashkent, which were the largest trading and administrative centers of the time. Coins of Tashkent started playing a significant role in the monetary trade. A new stage in the monetary policy was registered, when the cities of the Syr Darya region began to use their own coins and coins minted in Tashkent to replace the Central Maverannah copper coins circulated in the markets.

The invasion of the Arabs in Central Asia in the 8th century brought new culture, history, and economy, what affected all spheres of intellectual, religious, cultural and socio-economic life of the region, including the monetary system. Under the influence of Arab coinage, an entirely new monetary system was formed in Central Asia, it was based on issuing three

types of coins (dinar, dirham and *fels*) of three different metals (gold, silver and copper). In pre-Islamic times, the basic monetary unit was a bronze coin with depictions. Coins were cast; this technique was introduced under the influence of China. Under the Arabs, the technology of production had been changed as well as the form, shape, and weight of the coins. They were minted with a new standard of weight. Yet, central and circular inscriptions in Arabic script and sayings from the Koran, the holy book of Muslims, appeared on the coins. It had become a traditional event in the coinage in Central Asia and southern Kazakhstan for many years in the succeeding periods. The right to issue copper coins granted to governors appointed by the central government was also introduced by the Arabs and became a traditional one. As a rule, the central inscriptions contained the name of a suzerain, the name of a governor was inscribed in the circular legends on the coin skirts. Such a separation or division of placing the names on coins allowed the researchers to trace the existed hierarchy of political relations between the central and the apogee authorities and identify the names of local rulers in some domains, often non-available in the written sources. It had become traditional to mark the date and place of mintage on the coins, what provided ample possibilities for socio-economic characterization of regions and cities with their own mints (Burnasheva 1989).

This research work is based on the largest numismatic complex (about 10,000 pieces) obtained from Otrar, Kuyruktobe, Turkestan and Sauran cities. In addition, there are some finds and hoards of coins discovered in other settlements in the Syr Darya region, which allowed thorough examination of social and economic life and urban culture of the region as a whole. This became possible due to many years of

archaeological work carried out since 1969 headed by K.A.Akischev, an outstanding scholar and archaeologist of Kazakhstan in Otrar and the Otrar oasis by the South Kazakhstan Complex Archaeological Expedition (SKCAE) of the Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnography named after Ch.Ch.Valikhanov of the Academy of Sciences of the KazSSR, now named the Institute of Archaeology named after A.Kh.Margulan.

Investigation of coin circulation in cities in the south of Kazakhstan between the 15th and 17th centuries is hindered by the lack of written sources that provide information with descriptions of money, which used in commercial transactions or some data on prices and fluctuations in the rate of exchange of coins, etc. Therefore, to address issues of coin circulation in the cities of the Syr Darya Region between the 16th and 18th centuries, in the first instance we used the set of mint obtained from archaeological sites, as well as numismatic collections both in regional museums of Shymkent and Taraz of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and in the Museum of History of Peoples of Uzbekistan in Tashkent, Republic of Uzbekistan. Yet, there were examined the coins from numismatic collections kept in the Numismatic Departments of the State Hermitage and the State Historical Museum in Moscow, Russian Federation. Thus, the considerable material has been analyzed, the material obtained not only from the excavations, but also the artifacts kept in the largest museums in foreign countries related to the period under consideration. The most valuable of this complex are hoards of silver and copper coins. Hoards are always unique, even if they do not consist of well-known types. In them, as in a mirror, there are reflected the socio-economic changes and processes that took place in the economic life of the city, region and the region as a whole. The investigation of hoards from the period between the 15th and 17th centuries revealed

specific features of coin circulation and organization of the money economy in the south of Kazakhstan, suggested the periodization and gave an interesting material for characterization of each stage separately (Burnasheva 2006, p. 6).

2. Main part

On the archeological site of Otrar, there were discovered 14 hoards dated back to the 15th and 17th centuries (five silver and nine copper-coins hoards). During the period between the 15th and 17th centuries, the city of Otrar was a trading center on the Great Silk Road. One hoard of silver coins dated from the late 14th to the 15th century was found at Kuyruktobe, the city located near Otrar city; six hoards of copper coins from the 15th – 17th centuries were unearthed in Turkestan, and in its vicinities, on the ancient site of Orangay there was found the 7th hoard of copper coins dated from the 16th century. Alongside with the archaeological material, the coins represent such a source with the help of which it is possible to highlight a number of problems of social and economic history of a city in addition to information reported in written sources, for instance, the development of commodity production and monetized trade, as well as the degree of involvement of the broad cross-section of the population in money trading and economic ties with other regions. Coins issued in Maverannahr cities were in circulation not only in Otrar, but in many big cities like Yasi, Sauran and Kuyruktobe (Davidovich 1983, p. 8).

2.1 Silver coins

Monetary trade that existed during this period in many cities in the region was exercised by means of silver coins issued in Maverannahr cities, as evidenced by the composition of the coin hoards in the following tables

Table 1.

Hoard	Inventory №.	Number of coins	Type	Mint Coinage	Time of coin issuing
1	435/18-24	6	58, 59 Janid <i>tanga</i>	Imamkuli Khan	17th c
		2	unknown	Nadir Muhammad Khan	17th c
		4	unknown	unknown	unknown
		1	copper	unknown	unknown
Total number: 13					
2	437/10-57	14	43-44	Abd al-Aziz-khan	1649
		13	67-72	Imamkuli-khan	1634-35
		9	17	Nadir Muhammad Khan	1645
		4	unknown	Baburid Shah-Jakhan I	mid-17th c
		2	obliterated	unknown	unknown
		6	new	unknown	unknown
Total number: 48					

Analyzing the data given in **Table 1**, we can conclude that the found in the Syr Darya cities coins of the Janid dynasty dating from the 15th -18th minted in the name of the three rulers: Imam-Kuli, Nadir-Muhammad and Abdalaziz.

As a rule, silver Janid coins are found as very poor-preserved, irregular-shaped, and they were minted of low-grade silver, with the exception of the earliest coins in the 17th and 18th centuries. The issuing date and the name of the mint were not always stamped on the coins. There was identified the work of five Janid mints: Bukhara, Balkh, Samarkand, Tashkent, and

Hisar. The Mint in Bukhara produced most abundant and regular production consisted mainly of coins issued in the name of Imam-Kuli-Khan (1611-1642). This fact is probably due to that, his reign was very long (31 years) and, as a rule, his coins were of high silver content.

Silver coins of Shah-Jahan of the Mughal dynasty are of a single-type, struck on the pattern of Janid coins minted by Nadir-Mohammed at the instant when he asked for help from Shah-Jahan in the hope of his re-establishing on the throne of Bukhara.

Table 2

Hoard	Inventory No.	Number	Type	Mint	Issue Date
3	85a/1-219	2	-	Coinage of Iskandar Kara-Koyunlu Baghdad	Not Identified
		160	-	Coinage of Shah-Rukh, Timur, Mahmud, Muhammad Jahangir	1403-1447
		8	-	Coinage of Timur	Unknown
Total number: 170 pieces					
4	86/1-5	3	2; 55; 73	Coinage of Imamkuli-khan	1611-1642
		1	8	Coinage Nadir Muhammed-khan	1645
		1	-	-	-
Total number: 5 pieces					
5	0-82/III – 43m.	23	-	Coinage of Timur under rule of Suyurgamysh, Mahmud	1388-1403
			-	Coinage of Khalil-Sultan under Muhammad Jahamgir	1405-1409
		2	-	Not Identified	Not Identified
Total number: 25 pieces					

Having analyzed the data from **Table 2** the following conclusion can be drawn: The coins bearing the name of Timur were minted after his death, as well. This process is continued in the areas and in the periods of reign of the dummy Khans: Suyurgatmysh (another name - Toktamysh) (Figure. 1), Mahmud, Muhammad Djahangir and Khalil Sultan.



Figure. 1 Silver Coins minted in the name of Toktamysh in Syganak (1381-82)

Coins minted in the name of Iskandar Kara Koyunlu in Baghdad were found in the hoard discovered on the site of Otrar. Dates of minting coins have been lost, and according to R.Z.Burnasheva, they

were accumulated somewhere in Khorasan, or in Western Iran and then brought to Otrar. (Burnasheva 2006, p. 17).

2.2 Some features of designations of silver coins

In analyzing the question of the designation the silver-par denomination in the 15th and 16th in Central Asia and the meaning of different terms, EA Davidovich dwelt upon the term "*tanga*" (the basic denominational value of silver coins). But along with that term, small silver coins are mentioned in the written sources. They were called "*tangachas*" (two-thirds of a primary nominal value), which were produced in the 15th century in sufficient quantities, but in the 16th their number was limited. Studying the terminology of the fifteenth century coinage, M.E.Masson concluded that the main denomination coin was called *tanga*, and the quarters of a *tanga* were called *tangachas* (Masson 1972, pp. 27-37). Now it is known that in Central Asia they were referred to as *tanga-i-miri*, or just *miri* before the beginning of the twentieth century. The first information about *miri* as a monetary unit is ascribed

to Ryu Gonzalez Clavijo, the Spanish Ambassador of Henry III, who visited Samarkand in 1403-04 A.D. According to his testimony, large silver coins were called *tenge* in Samarkand, and small coins *miri*, which equaled to one-fourth part of the largest coins. The average weight of a *tanga*, a large denomination of that time, was equal to 6 g. The meaning and origin of the term "*miri*" in different time-periods were identified and investigated by E.A. Davidovich. She believes that the modest title of Timur - "*amir*" (a military commander) which appeared on his coins, obtained more significance after Timur in the second half of the 14th century, conquered and held sway over Central Asia, Persia, Baghdad, Damascus, Egypt and India, and declared himself the ruler of the empire. The word "*amir*" in the form a relative adjective was used to denote a petty coin, which became known as an *Amiri* coin. (Davidovich 1976, pp.124-127).

Such coins were found in Kazakhstan. This is a hoard of silver coins found on the site of ancient settlement Kuyruktobe being unique in its composition. The ancient settlement Kuyruktobe had general principles of development with Otrar and was identified by archaeologists with Keder. By the end of the tenth century Kuyruktobe had been the capital-city of a rich region Farab, and then the role of a capital-city moved to Otrar.

The hoard included coins of which nine coins were *tanga-i-miri* with dimensions ranging from 15 to 18 mm and the weight from 1.35 to 1.50; 12 specimens were smaller size coins, with dimensions ranging from 10 to 12 mm and the weight from 0.4 to 0.45 g. They represent a new denomination in the Timurid minting in the late 14th - early 15th centuries. None of publications devoted to this period mentioned them.

As of today, the publications reported of two hoards containing *miri*. The first hoard was found in 1964 in the village of Gudzhivak, Dangara district (Republic of Tajikistan). The other hoard was discovered in 1982 in Otrar (Akishev et al. 1987, pp. 247-248).

In contrast to the above mentioned hoards, the Kuyruktobe hoard does not include large denomination coins - the *tangas*, but consists of *miri* and its aliquots, which have the following definitions: № 1-2 Timur and Suyurgatmysh (Tokhtamysh), 1382-1383, the place of issue is obliterated, 2 specimens, similar to the type published by E.A. Davidovich, minted in Samarkand and therefore, we believe that the place of issuing our *miri* - coins is Samarkand. It is not in curious that the issuing of silver coins in Samarkand under the Timurids was regular and plentiful throughout the 15th century. Silver coins were minted from time to time in other cities of the Syr Darya region. It may be noted that E.A. Davidovich

was the first to indicate to work of mints in the medieval cities of Kazakhstan, in particular, in the city of Yasi in the 16th century, by publishing two silver coins of Iskandar Khan Shaybanid (1560-1583), the ninth ruler of the Shaybanid dynasty in the Bukhara Khanate). Initially, reading the legends with inscriptions showing the Mint gave rise to her doubt, but the doubts were dispelled after familiarizing with several specimens of copper coins from hoards of Turkestan mentioned above, as by paleography they are similar to silver *tangas* of Iskandar Khan. These data allowed her to reveal another new Mint of the Sheibanids, in the city of Yasi that issued silver and copper coins in the 16th century in southern Kazakhstan. Under the rule of Iskandar Khan the silver *tangas* were minted in many Central Asian cities: Andigan, Ahsy, Balkh, Bukhara, Herat, Samarkand, Tashkent, and Hissar, but not all coins bore the indication of the date. This situation is typical for all Sheibanid coinage. But the silver coins were required to bear the name and the title of a ruler, good wishes inscribed and a mint mark indicating the mint where the coin was produced. Silver *tangas* of Iskandar Khan issued in Yasi were not dated (Figure 2).



Figure 2. A coin minted in Yasi

We can assume that after coming to the throne in 1560 Iskandar Khan ordered to issue silver coin at all of the mints of Maverannahr and in his domains, thereby demonstrating in this way, the power of central government, what was an important factor in the existence of an apanage system of dominion, which became preponderant under the reign of the Sheibanids. The fact of minting coins was the most important form of recognition of the declared sovereign's power. The state of the Sheibanids was divided into several domains, and their number and size varied at different times. But the following four domains were considered the largest ones: Balkh, Bukhara, Samarkand and Tashkent, reaching the status of a capital at different intervals of time and in practical terms producing silver coins on behalf of all the heads of the dynasty. During the reign of Iskandar

Khan the capital city was Bukhara, which produced nation-wide silver coins. Each domain issued copper coins in accordance with their economic necessities and needs for urban and inter-regional trading.

Coinage of silver *tangas* issued in Yasi on behalf of the Iskandar Khan pursued, apparently, a twofold aim: to ascertain the Shaybanid's power in the region, where there was a sharp struggle between the Uzbek and Kazakh khans for political dominance over the cities of Turkestan, and to validate the inclusion of large religious center on the border with the nomadic steppe into the state of the Sheibanids. These coins were the first and the last silver *tangas* minted in Yasi. The finds of silver coins of the Sheibanids in the South of Kazakhstan are very few. These include the coinage of Abdullatif Khan (1540-1551), the ruler of Samarkand and the head of the Sheibanid state in the mid-16th century. During his reign the mints operated in the following domains: Balkh, Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Kesh, and Hissar. Two types of silver coins were issued in his name, those bearing and non-bearing the date, which were minted in Samarkand, Balkh, and in an unknown city. The bearing date coins are known from 947 to 959 of Hijrah (countries officially adopted Islamic religion used this chronological system). According to E.A.Davidovich, "the Sheibanid coins from the middle of the 16th century were used in circulation in Central Asia under the Janids as early as the period of Imam-Quli Khan (descendent of Tukai Timur, Chingis-khan's grandson) (1611-1642) as high-grade coins". The *tangas* of Abdullatif Khan are not suitable for exact dating, since the time of their circulation is nearly a century (Davidovich 1970, p. 76).

3. Copper coins

The greatest number of finds of copper hoards is dated back to the 15th century – the beginning of the 16th century, the bulk of coins is from central Maverannahr, southern Tajikistan, Ferghana and the Tashkent oasis. There are similar findings in the cities of the Syr Darya region. It should be noted that in the 15th and 16th centuries copper coins played an important role in servicing small retailers in money circulation of entire Central Asia and the Syr Darya region.

According to some scholars presented data from different *waqf* documents of the 16th century, the minimum living wage of different classes of Bukhara was calculated particularly in copper coins. In copper coinage from the late 15th and 16th centuries, EA Davidovich was able to identify coins of five different denominational values, almost easily differentiated on the basis of external design and had divisible weight for their face values. These coins are a double dinar (Figure 3).

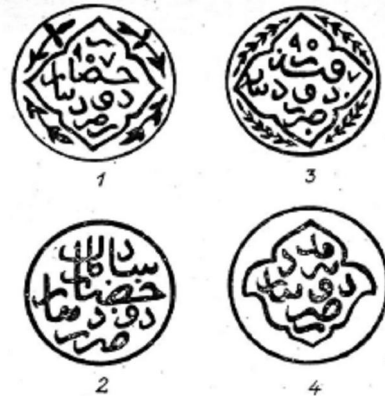


Figure 3. Reconstruction of double dinars (1501-02)
1-Hissar (type 3), 2-Hissar (type 4)
3 - Kunduz, 4 - Termez (names of medieval cities in Central Asia)

a single dinar, semi-dinar, coins with nominal value of 2/3 dinar, and a "black pul" with nominal value of one-sixth of a dinar (Burnasheva 1983, pp. 52-61). Such fractional nature of copper coinage shows the extent of money trade in the sphere of circulation of copper coins. The Syr Darya hoards different nominal-value coins, which differ from each other not only by the type but also by weight and time data. This suggests that the hoard coins were collected in a gradual manner, and that copper coins used in the currency circulation of cities were heterogeneous in time and in types, apparently, they had different purchasing power. Significant in this aspect is that a day's earning and cost of living of representatives of the low-paid and even of middle-paid professional occupations was calculated exactly in copper coins. Inscribed pictures of animals, birds, and fishes are absent on the copper coins of that period, but the denomination of face value appeared - "*fels*" or "*fulus*", as well as the date of issuing, the name of a mint, and even the names of rulers. Coins are often round in shape, the cartouches and inscriptions on them are sufficiently distinct and clear.

Copper coins from the 16th up to the middle of the 17th century represent a scantily explored material, a "blind-spot" in the late medieval numismatics, though in recent years some publications by R.Z. Burnasheva have appeared. Analyzing the finds of eight copper hoards from Otrar and five hoards from Turkestan, R.Z. Burnasheva made an attempt as much as possible to present the condition and the level of development of money production and trading at different stages in the period between the 16th and 17th centuries, not covered in the narrative sources, and even in specialized-subjects literature. Copper coins is that period in the bulk is the source material

representing non-bearing date coins, anonymous and sometimes un-epigraphical, among which are found rare coins with some dates (Burnasheva 1983, pp. 98-127).

3.1 Periodization of copper-coin hoards

Considering copper coins, we conditionally divide them into four chronological periods, which then may well be defined more exactly and concretized in detail upon acquisition of additional sources.

The first period is the first half of the 16th century; the second period is the second half of the 16th century, the third period is the first half of 17th century; all the coppers of various sizes, non-stamped manufacture (or coins lacked any depictions or legends), of different weights, we have assigned to the second half of the 17th - first half of the century 18th, i.e. to the fourth period, when social and economic situation in the region, and throughout Central Asia, experienced deep crisis caused by the predatory wars, devastation of cities, and stagnation in domestic and foreign trade. The population fled from the horrors of plundering inroads from outside and subsequent soaring of prices and famine, the peasants abandoned their farms. There was a sharp decline in all areas of economic activity, what resulted in reduced turnover of small producers and decreased retail merchandising, which, of course, had a boomerang effect in reflection on the money economy.

The first period (first half of the 16th century) includes the following: copper coins found in Otrar and other archeological sites in the region, copper coins of Central Asian origin from cities of Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Andijan (Andigan), Shahruhiya and others, with relevant dates, as well as coins with over-strikings, i.e. over-stamped onto the coins round, oval, triangular or polygonal mark, usually in the form of armorial symbols, figures or letters known from E.A.Davidovich's research, produced at many mints, including the Yasi and Sairam mints, in the period of maximum development of commodity-money relations (Davidovich 1983, pp. 16-20). Apart with the well-known known types, three new specimens of overstriking without inscriptions can be added for our region, probably produced at the Yasi Mint. The first type of overstriking represents an embossed print of a horseshoe, the second is a small circle with five dots, and the third one is in the form of ornamental four-sided figure with a quadrangular starlet inside. The coins of this period are anonymous, i.e. without the names of the rulers. During the second period of currency circulation (the second half of the 16th century) Otrar and the entire region lacks the coins of Central Asian production, except for Samarkand coins from the period of reign of Abdullah Khan II (the son

of Iskandar-khan, Shaybahid dynasty), who conquered the entire Syr Darya region and Tashkent in the last decade of the 16th century. During that period, the money circulation of the city and the whole Turkestan *vilayet* (province) was supplied with the coinage production from the two centers - Yasi and Tashkent. The cities of Yasi and Tashkent were the centers alternately included in possessions of either Uzbek, or Kazakh khans, thus the free circulation of copper coins minted in Tashkent on the money markets Otrar, Turkestan and other towns is quite natural.

In the 16th century, the Turkestan *vilayet* and Tashkent dominion actually were an integrated entity in economic sense, in which the main role was played by Tashkent as the capital city, in the course of many centuries. There is evidence of written sources, which also indicate to the role and influence of the natives of Turkestan on the political developments in Maverannhr (Transoxiana) at the turn of 15th and 16th centuries. Mutual influences of people of the two major regions are observed in all aspects of economic, cultural, and spiritual life (Mukminova 1993, pp. 36-57).

The third period (first half of the 17th century) is characterized by the fact that in the currency circulation of Otrar there appeared copper coins issued in Turkestan, that is, instead of the mark "Yasi mint" the inscription appeared indicating the act of renaming Yasi in Turkestan. In our opinion, this event took place at the end of the 16th century, when according to a treaty concluded in 1598 between Khan Yesim, Kazakh Chingizid (1598-1628) and Jani-Muhammad-Khan from the new Central Asian dynasty of the Ashtarkhanids, Turkestan with its cities and Tashkent were included in the Kazakh Khanate. Yesim Khan made Yasi as his capital and renamed it Turkestan, thereby bringing the name of the region to the city name in view of its significance. In honor of this event, the khan issued copper coins, the legends of which included the city of Turkestan, though lacked the date. The familiar depiction of a predator had traditionally been placed on the reverse of the coins. These coins are of the same type, but of several variants, differing from each other in different cartouche decorations and positions of a predator that is depicted in a very primitive and crude way and somehow resembles a lion only by its tail curved over its back. Coins minted in Turkestan were also found in hoards in the territory of the mausoleum complex of Hoja Ahmed Yasawi, the great thinker of the 12th century, and in numismatic material from Sauran city. In all likelihood, they were in the money circulation of the region over the first half of the 17th century (Burnasheva 2006, p. 47).

The copper coins with the image of a wild beast depicted on one side and two fishes on the other side

are dated back to the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century. In general, the depictions of fishes (a single or two fishes turned to each other in crescent-like position), we associate with the coinage of Tashkent as the fish is a symbol of water, in this case, the Syr Darya river, which from ancient times is called the river of Shash or Chach, i.e. is called by the name of the region. On some coins of the late Middle Ages, particularly on those, having depictions of animals, Tashkent sometimes is mentioned as Shash (Shpeneva 1990, p. 104).

The main 'duties' in the circulation of coppers in the 17th century, in case of analyzing the composition of the abovementioned hoards, were performed by anepigraphic copper coins that do not have issuing details, such as the date, name of the khan, and often the name of the mint. Many of them have the depiction of a predatory animal on one side and on the other - fishes, birds, and sometimes they have a non-stamped smooth side without any depiction or legend. There are small coins with unreadable inscriptions with various geometric and floral motifs, often they represented either coin-like plates produced without coining dies, or coins of planchet-type and in the form of spoons or long, narrow sticks, on some of them are visible the remains of inscriptions and ornaments. In several coin hoards the evidence has been found indicating to prolonged economic and trade relations with neighboring states. An example of this is, in particular, the hoards found in Otrar and Turkestan, which contain Russian kopeks of the Russian Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich issued between 1655 and 1663 (Burnasheva 1983, p. 60). The penetration of these coins into the markets of the Syr Darya region cities dates back to the 1660s, when a vast number of small Russian kopeks was becoming depreciated, and in order to halt inflation and offload the Russian market of these currency units, their circulation has been extended to Siberia and Estonia and, apparently, to South Kazakhstan, via the territory of which the trade routes passed to link the Kazakh Khanate and Central Asia and Russia. They appeared on the territory of South Kazakhstan as commodity units, through the caravan routes linking Russia with Central Asia. The development of political contacts between the Russian state and the Kazakh Khanate started with arriving envoys of Khan Tevekkel at the end of the 16th century. That encouraged increased trade not only with the Kazakhs, but also with Central Asia, via the Kazakh steppe. Central Asian caravans went to Siberia through medieval towns in the 17th century. Through the territory of Kazakhstan, from the city of Tobolsk (now the territory of the Russian Federation) to Turkestan city (the medieval city in South Kazakhstan), only those caravans were allowed to pass, which had special permission from the Kazakh

khans. It was no coincidence, as the khans, sultans and their immediate surrounds were getting revenues from safeguarding trade routes. Perhaps, the outflow of Russian kopeks of Alexei Mikhailovich to the Syr Darya region took place precisely from Siberia. Since the structure of local monetary circulation in the 17th favored the introduction of the currency to the markets of the Syr Darya region cities, they easily joined to the general mass of the small local copper coins being no different from them. The structure of the monetary system of the seventeenth-century South Kazakhstan cities favored their introduction in capacity of a currency, as in terms of weight and techniques of execution, they were no different from small coppers produced in Turkestan and Tashkent. Thanks to these Russian kopeks, we can put the date of part of the coin material from Otrar as the last quarter of the 17th century (Burnasheva 1999, p. 125).

Analyzing the copper hoards from the 17th century, as well as individual coins from different excavations indicate that copper coins of this period, gradually degraded losing their round shape and weight, and the basis of currency circulation were cylindrical coin-semiproducts of different weights, coin-like plate, often not stamp or die-treated and different copper pieces which often did not have a definite shape. Nevertheless, this material shows that copper coins played a fundamental role in city trade, although gradually losing its importance. Favorable situation for monetary trade in the Syr Darya cities observed in the first half of the 17th century, when Janid silver coins were also found in circulation, gradually by the end of the century came to the decline, the crisis and stagnation covered all spheres of economic activity of the population of the city and the region at large. This was closely intertwined with the political situation. From the middle of the 17th century the Jungars (Dzungar people, sometimes spelled "Jungar" or "Jüün Ghar", the collective identity of several Mongol Oirat tribes) intensified expansion onto the lands in Kazakhstan. Sairam, Turkestan and other urban centers were destroyed. Aggravated domestic conflicts and turmoil led to the decline in the economy and loss of several once prosperous cities in the Syr Darya region (Baipakov 1998, p.199). Copper coins of the 17th century with similar in appearance representations strike the eye at once by rough technique and non-distinct image. They are often poorly flattened coins of very different shapes and weight. In that period of money circulation, there were also a lot of coin-like plates and the semi-finished coins. This was characteristic of the last quarter of the 17th century, when the trade, especially small trade, experienced recession associated with the decline of urban culture due to the reduction of the urban population, internecine feuds,

and overall sluggishness in feudal relations and the devastating invasion of the Jungars. This situation was observed throughout Central Asia. The number of operating mints reduced. From the second half of the 17th century to the middle of the 18th century there was observed gradual deterioration in all economic sectors of the population of the region, what brought about the final extinction of life in some cities, among which there was also Otrar. A prominent place in the retail trade was taken by a “*black pul*” with nominal value equal to 1/6 of a dinar, though in the last quarter of the 17th century coining of copper dinars was terminated. This crisis situation was due to the political and economic environment in Central Asia at the end of the 17th - the first half of the 18th centuries. It gradually returned to normal as late as the mid-18th century.

4. Motivation of local rulers to issue their own coins in South Kazakhstan cities (16th -17th centuries)

An important task at this stage is to determine what was the motivation of local rulers to issue their own coins in several cities of South Kazakhstan. In our opinion, it was determined by a number of objective causes following the situation developed in the region since the beginning of the 16th century. The main reason was the fact that the inflow of cheap Central Asian copper coins used in cities of South Kazakhstan in the 15th - early 16th centuries began to decrease gradually. The point is that at this time in the Maverannahr itself, there was a monetary crisis, which caused a strong reduction in issuing of copper coins. Coins without overstriking elements (without over-stamped marks) were banned. The recession of trade in the circulation of coppers by the end of the first quarter of the 16th century and onward was expected to start some stagnation in the development of handicrafts. The centers of great commercial activity - the medieval cities – needed their own coins. The day-to-day trade, development of crafts and agriculture, and payment of particular taxes in money demanded the provision of money market with necessary funds. It was then that several mints resumed their work: the Yasi, Sauran, Sairam and Sygnak mints. Copper coins of Central Asian origin in the second quarter of the 16th century were rarity items in the money market in the Syr Darya cities. On the other hand, the numismatic figures from Tashkent were found in the region in large numbers. They were considered as “friendly” or “home money” and freely circulated throughout South Kazakhstan, but were apparently unable to meet the needs of trade. The Turkestan Mint bore the burden of maximum working load; its products are often found in Otrar and Sauran, Sairam and other urban centers. However, to determine the

percentage of local production of copper coins is not easy, because it was produced mostly of anonymous and anepigraphic types. This situation was due to political and economic conditions. By virtue of their strategic and economic statuses, Yasi, Sairam, Sauran and several other cities in the middle reaches of the Syr Darya were always an apple of discord or a bone of contention between the Uzbek and Kazakh khans. The nameless local copper numismatic figures circulated freely throughout the region, despite the prolonged military operations, which lasted from time to time during the 16th - 17th centuries. But the commercial ties between urban centers and even with central Maverannahr were not interrupted. This is evidenced by hoards and coin finds from the above-mentioned cities. It is possible that the Turkestan Mint periodically operated until the mid-17th century. Found at many sites of the region small copper coins without inscriptions, and often non-stamped, are obviously of the Turkestan origin (Davidovich 1968, pp. 81-82).

Copper hoards from the cities testify to the role of copper coins played in the economic life of the city itself, where different crafts were developed, trade flourished providing every day of a citizen with articles of prime necessity; there were markets where urban and rural population and nomads were engaged in trading. Money penetrated into other areas of city life, such as collecting taxes from different kinds of handicraft production, payment for the maintenance of students in the madrasahs and the clergy at the Mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasiwi in the city of Turkestan. The money also collected from tenants and *dukkans* (shops and market stalls) and *waqf* lands under gardens and horticultural crops. In Islamic countries, *waqf* represents movable and immovable property: lands, houses and buildings, workshops, etc., donated, endowed or willed for religious and charitable purposes. Traditionally *waqf* lands were donated to mosques and mazars (shrines); the clergymen managed those lands and administered the revenues for holy and charitable purposes.

This list could be added with numerous examples from the city life, which was in full swing. Moreover, semi-nomads flocked into the city, they had to be fed and arranged for housing. Money was needed everywhere, and in the 16th century the coins were produced at the local mint, as well as in Tashkent, which was the capital center at that time waging its own policy in the sphere of circulation of copper coins differed from central Maverannahr. In the early years of the 16th century, Tashkent started to produce new types of copper coins, which became as the standard-type for most of the money economy of cities in the Syr Darya region.

This is the general characteristic of the socio-economic situation in the cities of the Syr Darya region, which follows from the analysis of numismatic material. These data can be defined more exactly and enlarged due to the finds of two copper hoards of Otrar discovered in 1986 in different parts of the settlement-site and the hoard of copper coins from the settlement of Orangay in the vicinities of the city of Turkestan, discovered in 1999 (by composition it has an identical set of copper coins corresponding to the composition of Otrar hoards). They date from the 16th - first half of the 17th centuries and allow better tracing the launch of the mint at Yasi, as well as the emergence of various new types and denominations at different time intervals between the 16th - first half of the 17th centuries. This Otrar-Turkestan material for the first time revealed the potential of the Turkestan mint, which actively supplied markets of the Syr Darya region cities with coin products, inclined to by their exterior design and weight to the coins minted in Tashkent, rather than to those of central Maverannahr. Owing to that material in the coinage of Yasy-Turkestan from the 16th - the first quarter of the 17th century, there were identified over 30 types of copper coins, which differed from each other not only in different design, but also have other variants, consisting of various additional decorative elements on the coins. They suggest that some types produced quite a long time, though every new coinage was added with some extra elements.

5. Conclusion

The cities of the Syr Darya region in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries were typical feudal towns, like many cities of the eastern Middle Ages, and are characterized as follows, "Although these Syr Darya cities were not so grand and magnificent as capitals of feudal states of Central Asia - Bukhara and Samarkand, as major centers of domains - Balkh, Andijan and others, but in the socio-economic terms they were also feudal towns being closely linked with the whole system of feudal relations, entangled by ties of feudal oppression.

It is natural that in their development the cities in the Syr Darya region experienced many moments of social changes that took place in the economy of Central Asian cities and in the region itself in the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. Therefore, for evidence of these phenomena in the South Kazakhstan cities and related districts all the parallels are appropriate and valid that we hold in the socio-economic life of between typical feudal societies of South Kazakhstan and Central Asia, which had many common characteristic features, receivable in evidence for a wide area. For instance, in the Syr Darya region in the 15th -18th centuries, there existed, as well as in

Central Asia, the form of share farming of feudal exploitation of lands. The bulk of the peasantry worked the land with the right of hereditary or temporary leasing from the large farmers and *waqf*-holders. In addition, according to the written narrative sources, in the major agricultural centers in southern Kazakhstan, there existed many taxes characteristic of feudal tenure of Central Asia in the 15th -18th centuries.

In the Turkestan *vilayet* (province), where the population was levied by a number of traditional taxes, such as *kharaj*, *zakat*, *ushr*, *alyg* and *salyg* and others In accordance with the collection of documents "Maktubad va asnad" covering the period between the 15th and 17th centuries, other taxes existed, such as *kharj*, *tamga*, *saugat*, *salaman*, and others, they were charged, apparently, both in cash and in kind. Land rent, obviously, could have the same form as was practiced in Central Asia in the 16th century, i.e. mixed: natural, monetary and labor ones.

Analysis of socio-economic relations has shown that the development of commodity-money relations in the major agricultural centers of the south Kazakhstan and central Maverannahr in the 15th - early 16th centuries, by the evidence of numismatic data, had common features, although the political power here was unstable: the power of Uzbek khans was replaced by the Kazakh rulers, until the latter ones finally gained a foothold at the end of the 16th century. The large hoards of copper coins from Otrar and Turkistan witness to the commonness of economy, registering fairly developed commodity-monetary relations in the cities of South Kazakhstan, which maintained direct links with Central Asia. These relations also influenced on many aspects of economic life in these cities which experienced similar social processes characteristic of the feudal economy.

*Correspondence to:

Moldir Aldabergenova, (PhD)
Faculty of History and Pedagogy, A. Yasawi
International Kazakh-Turkish University,
Turkestan, 161200, Kazakhstan.
Tel: 7-702-370-3047.
E-mail: mol-nur_an@mail.ru

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