

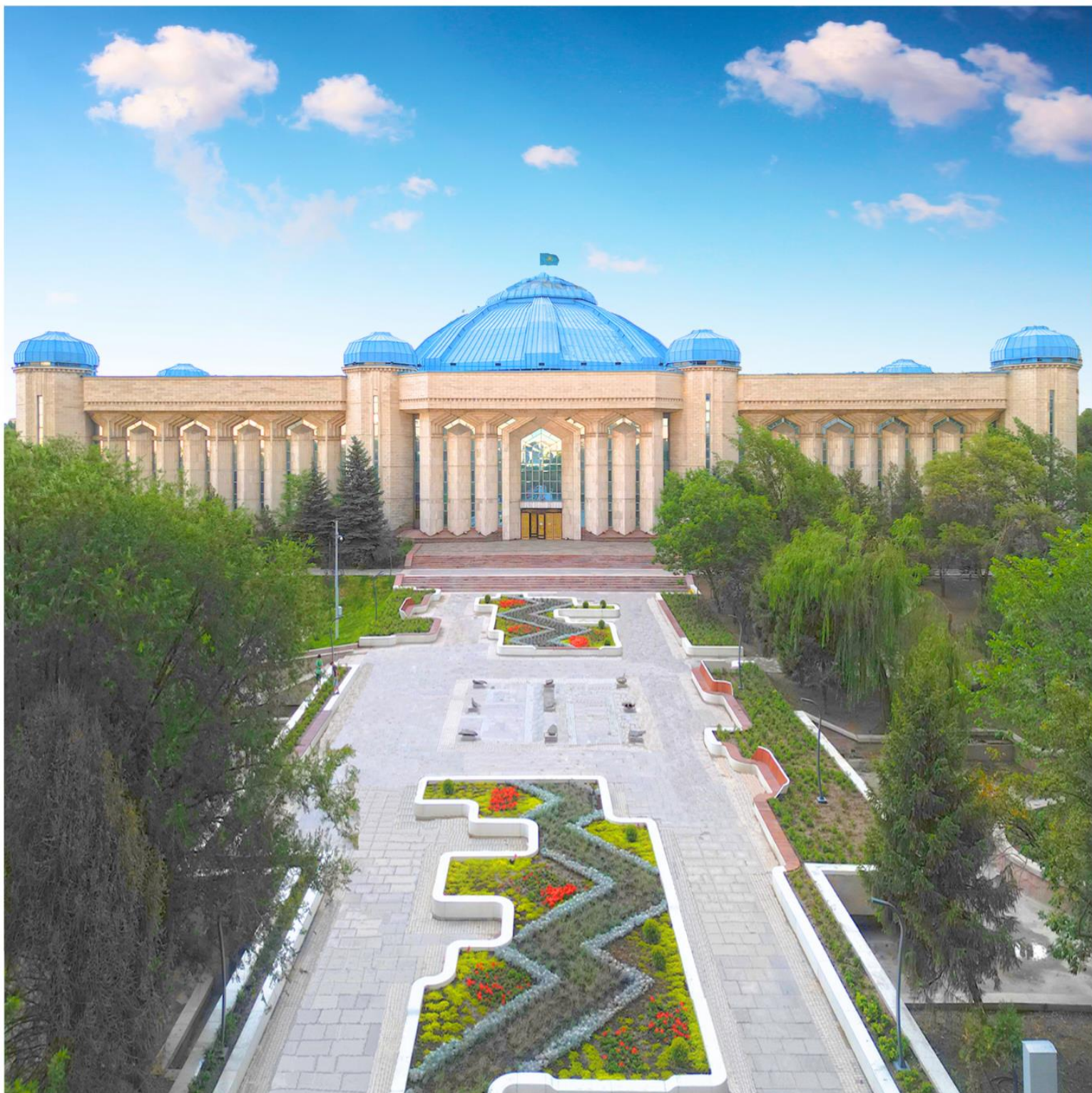
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A STUDY OF 13TH-CENTURY COINS FROM THE PULAD MINT IN XINJIANG**Cao Guangsheng**

(People's Republic of China)

Abstract. Pulad located in Dalet Town in present-day Bole City, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. This city, which had great strategic significance during the Mongol-Yuan period in the 13th century, situated in the middle section of the northern route of the Silk Road, enjoying a unique geographical location. This paper, through sorting and classifying the coins of the Mongol-Yuan period unearthed in the Bole area in recent years, conducts a detailed study of the coins of the Pulad mint in the 13th century and the interpretation of the coin legends. As an important city under the rule of the Mongol Empire, the evolution of Pulad's coins is closely related to the political situation and ruling strategies of the Mongol Empire. From the period of Ögedei Khan to the period of Möngke Khan, and then to the period of Qaidu Khan, the coins of the Pulad mint have undergone changes in terms of appearance, legends, etc. These changes reflect the political patterns and ruling characteristics of the Mongol Empire in different periods of the 13th century. The coins found in the Bole area should be studied in detail, as this expands our knowledge of the monetary system of the Mongol-Yuan period.

Materials and methods of the research. The study was conducted on coins of the Mongol-Yuan period of the 13th century mint. The author used general methods characteristic of numismatic research: historicism, comparison, metrology, coin sorting, etc.

Keywords: Pulad city, coin, yuan, Mongol-yuan period, Mongol Empire, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, XIII century.

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**ШЫҢЖАНДАҒЫ ПУЛАД АҚША САРАЙЫНЫҢ XIII ҒАСЫРДАҒЫ
МОНЕТАЛАРЫН ЗЕРТТЕУ****Цао Гуаншэн**

(Қытай Халық Республикасы)

Аңдатпа. Көне Пулад қаласы ҚХР Шыңжаң-Ұйғыр автономиялық ауданындағы қазіргі Боле (Боротала) қаласының маңындағы Далет қалашығы аумағында орналасқан. Пулад Ұлы Жібек жолының солтүстік жолының орталық бөлігінде орналасып, бірегей географиялық жағдайы арқасында XIII ғасырда Моңғол Юань әулеті кезінде үлкен стратегиялық маңызға ие болды. Бұл мақалада соңғы жылдары Боле аумағынан табылған моңғол-юань кезеңіндегі монеталарды сұрыптау мен жіктеу негізінде Пулат ақша сарайының XIII ғасырдағы монеталары егжей-тегжейлі зерттеледі. Моңғол империясының қарамағындағы маңызды қала ретінде Пулад Моңғол империясының саяси жағдайымен және басқару стратегияларымен тығыз байланысты. Бұл ақша өндірісінің монеталары Үгедейден Мөңкеге дейінгі билік кезінде, одан кейін Қайду тұсында, сыртқы түрі, жазулары және т.б. жағынан түрлі өзгерістерге ұшырады. Бұл өзгерістер XIII ғасырдың әртүрлі кезеңдеріндегі Моңғол империясының саяси ерекшеліктері мен билігінің сипатын көрсетеді. Боле аймағынан табылған монеталарды жан-жақты зерттеу керек, өйткені бұл моңғол-юань кезеңіндегі ақша жүйесі туралы білімімізді кеңейтеді. Зерттеу материалдары мен әдістері. Зерттеу XIII ғасырдағы моңғол-юань кезеңіндегі монеталар бойынша жүргізілді. Автор нумизматикалық зерттеулерге тән келесі жалпы әдістерді пайдаланды: тарихилық, салыстыру, метрологиялық, монеталарды сұрыптау және т.б.

Зерттеу материалдары мен әдістері. Зерттеу XIII ғасырдағы моңғол-юань кезеңіндегі монеталар бойынша жүргізілді. Автор нумизматикалық зерттеулерге тән жалпы әдістерді пайдаланды: тарихилық, салыстыру, метрологиялық, тиындарды сұрыптау және т.б.

Тірек сөздер: Пулад қаласы, тиын, юань, моңғол-юань кезеңі, Моңғол империясы, Шыңжаң-Ұйғыр автономиялық ауданы, XIII ғасыр.

Сілтеме жасау үшін: Цао Гуаншэн. Шыңжаңдағы Пулад ақша сарайының XIII ғасырдағы монеталарын зерттеу // MUSEUM.KZ. 2025. №2 (10), 5-26 бб. DOI 10.59103/muzkz.2025.10.01

ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ МОНЕТ XIII ВЕКА ИЗ МОНЕТНОГО ДВОРА ПУЛАД В СИНЬЦЗЯНЕ

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Аннотация. Средневековый город Пулат был расположен в местности Далет у современного города Боле (Боротала) Синьцзян-Уйгурского автономного района КНР. Пулад находился в средней части северного маршрута Великого шелкового пути и благодаря уникальному географическому положению имел большое стратегическое значение в период монгольской династии Юань в XIII веке. В этой статье на основе сортировки и классификации монет монголо-юаньского периода, найденных в районе Боле в последние годы, проводится подробное исследование монет XIII века, чеканенных в монетном дворе Пулат. Будучи важным городом под властью Монгольской империи, Пулад тесно связан с политической ситуацией и стратегиями правления Монгольской империи. Монеты этого денежного производства претерпели изменения в период правлений от Угэдэя до Мункэ, а затем в период правления Кайду, в том числе в плане внешнего вида, надписей и т. д. Эти изменения отражают политические особенности и характер правления Монгольской империи в разные периоды XIII века. Найденных в районе Боле монет следует подробно исследовать, это расширяет наши знания о денежной системе монголо-юаньского периода. Материалы и методы исследования. Изучению были подвергнуты монеты XIII века монголо-юаньского периода монетного двора Пулат. Автором использованы общие методы, характерные для нумизматических исследований: историзм, сравнение, метрология, сортировка монет и др.

Материалы и методы исследования. Изучению были подвергнуты монеты монголо-юаньского периода монетного двора XIII века. Автором использованы общие методы, характерные для нумизматических исследований: историзма, сравнения, метрологический, сортировка монет и др.

Ключевые слова: город Пулад, монета, юань, монголо-юаньский период, Монгольская империя, Синьцзян-Уйгурский автономный район, XIII век.

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Introduction. Pulad in historical documents and its geographical location. Pulad was an important city in the 13th century during the Mongol-Yuan period and was called Pula普剌 [Song Lian et al., 1976-1997: 1569] in “*Yuan Shi, Xibeidi Fulu*” (History of the Yuan, Appendix to the Northwest Territories 《元史·西北地附录》), and it also had Chinese translations such as Boluo李罗, Bula不剌, etc. In the coin legends, the mint name Pulad is written بولاد in Arabic and پولاد in Persian. Pulad means steel [Persian-Chinese Dictionary, Commercial Press, 1981: 472] and is similar to the Mongolian pronunciation.

Today's location of the Pulad City is on the northern edge of Pochengzi Village破城子村, 37

kilometers southeast of Bole City 博乐市, Xinjiang, at the confluence of the Bortala River 博尔塔拉河 and the Daheyanzi River 大河沿子河, in and around the ancient city of Dalet 达勒特古城. The ancient city of Dalet is divided into east and west by a dry river. The western site is about 500 meters long from east to west, and about 400 meters wide from north to south, with a total area of about 190,000 square meters. The eastern site is laid out along the riverbank, about 1,000 meters long and 300 meters wide, and this part of the site has basically become a modern residential area. Some scholars believe that the ancient city was built in during the Western Liao state period and abandoned in the late Yuan Dynasty and early Ming Dynasty, and this view needs to be further researched. From the geographical point of view, the ancient city of Dalet is located in the middle of the northern Silk Road in history, and its northeast is far away to the Alashankou 阿拉山口, which can lead to Tacheng, Altai to Kazakhstan and Russia, and to the southwest along the Sayram Lake 赛里木湖 through the Guozigou 果子沟 to the Ili River to Central Asia.

Results and discussion. Pulad first appeared in Chinese literature in Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材's "Xiyou lu" (*Journey to the West* 《西游录》). At the beginning of the 13th century, Genghis Khan led an army of 200,000 troops to the west to conquer the Khwarazmian Empire in Central Asia. Yelü Chucai, as a clerk and astrological soothsayer, was called to go. In March 1218, he set out from Yong'an 永安, crossed Juyong Pass 居庸关, passed through Wuchuan 武川, left Yunzhong 云中 (present-day Datong 大同), and arrived at Genghis Khan's camp north of the Tianshan Mountains 天山. In the following year, he traveled westward with the army, crossed the Altai Mountains 金山, crossed the Hanhai 瀚海, passed through Luntai 轮台 and Hezhou 和州 (i.e., ancient Gaochang 古高昌), and traveled westward through Alima 阿里马 (Almaliq 阿里麻里), Husi woluduo 虎司斡鲁朵 (Quz Ordu, i.e., Balasaghun), Talasi 塔刺思 (Talas), Otrar 讹打刺, and Samarqand 撒马尔罕, and arrived at the capital of Khwarizm 花刺子模国 (Khorezm). The journey was 60,000 *li* [*li* is a Chinese unit of length, one *li* = 500 meters]. Yelü Chucai spent 6 years in the Western Regions and wrote "Journey to the West" 4 years after returning to the East. The book was completed in 1228. The book wrote:

“既过瀚海军千里余，有不刺城，附庸之邑三五。不刺之南有阴山，东西千里，南北二百里，其山顶有圆池，周围七、八十里许。既过圆池，南下皆林檎木，树木蓊翳，不露日色。既出阴山，有阿里马城。[Yelü Chucai, “Journey to the West”, Xiang Da Proofreading, 2000: 2]”

“After crossing the Hanhai 瀚海 army for more than a thousand *li*, there is a city of Bula 不刺 (Pulad), and there are three or five towns attached to it. South of Bula 不刺 (Pulad) is Yin Mountain, which is a thousand *li* from east to west, two hundred *li* from north to south. There is a round lake on the top of its mountain, and it is about seventy or eighty *li* around. To the south of the lake are endless forests, so dense that even the sun is obscured. Out of Yin Mountain 阴山, there is a city of Alima 阿里马 (Almaliq).”

Pulad is also mentioned in *The Journey of Het'um I, King of Little Armenia*. The book records the journey of King Heth'um I of Little Armenia from Armenia to Mongolia in 1254-1255 to meet the Mongol Great Khan, Möngke Khan at Qaraqorum, passing through Pulad on his way. “Then they went into the Turkic regions, and from there, [they entered] to Ergoporug, Pu-lad; Passing through Sutkol, the Sea of Milk, they reached Aluaalex and Ilabalex... [Boyle, 2002: 17-19]”.

In 1259, Changde常德 was ordered to go west to meet Ilkhan Hülegü, starting from Qaraqorum, passing through the northern foot of the Tianshan Mountains to the west, arriving in present-day Samarqand and other places, a total of 14 months round trip. In 1263, Liuyu刘郁, who accompanied him, recorded what they saw and heard during the journey, and compiled it into the *Xishiji* 《西使记》 ("Record of an Embassy to the Regions in the West"). Changde's trip was about 40 years later than Yelü Chucai, and by this time the Mongol Empire had already changed several Great Khans, and the Western Regions had undergone considerable changes. Pulad was also mentioned in the book.

“行渐西，有城曰业瞞。又西南行，过李罗城，所种皆麦、稻，……城居肆圉间错，土屋，窗户皆琉璃。城北有海，铁山风出，往往吹行人墜海中。西南行二十里，有关曰铁木儿忒察，守关者皆汉民，关径崎岖似栈道。出关至阿里麻里城，市井皆流水交贯，有诸果，唯瓜、蒲萄、石榴最佳。”

“...李罗城使用西方的金、银、铜钱币，有铭文无孔方。[Continuation of the Four Libraries, History Department, Biographies, *Xishiji*]”

“Gradually, to the west, there was a city called Yeman业瞞(Imil); Further southwest, passing through the city of Boluo李罗城 (Pulad), where the crops grown were wheat and rice,... Theridential areas of the city were staggered with markets and gardens, and the houses were earthen houses with glass on the windows. There was a large lake in the north outside the city, when the wind blows out of the Iron Mountain, it often blows pedestrians into the large lake. Twenty *li* to the southwest, the relevant pass was called Temur-chamchal铁木儿忒察, the guards were all Han people, and the pass road was rugged like a plank road. Out of the pass, to the city of Alimali阿里麻里城 (Alimaliq), the market commodity trade was prosperous, there were many fruits, only melons, grapes, pomegranates were the best.”

“... Boluo City uses Western-style gold, silver, and copper coins with inscriptions and no holes.”

《元史·耶律西亮》 “.....六月，又西至换扎孙之地，又从至不刺城” [Lian et al., 1997: 4161].

“*Yuan Shi Yelü Xiliang*” “..... June, then west to the land of Huanzhasi换扎孙, and then to the city of Bula不刺城 (Pulad)”.

Pulad is also mentioned in Persian texts such as *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* (“*The History of The World Conqueror*”), *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (“*The Compendium of Chronicles*”), and *Tārīkh-i Ūljāytū* (“*History of Öljaitū*”), etc.

It can be seen that Pulad was an important city leading to Central Asia, and its strategic position was very important.

Pulad is also mentioned in “*The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world, 1253-55*”. Rubruck wanted to rescue some of the Germanic slaves captured by Chaghatai's grandsons, Buri and Batu, during their Second Mongol Western Expedition to Europe. “...I asked also concerning the town of Talas in which were Teuton slaves of Buri, of whom Friar Andrew had spoken (to me), and concerning whom I had made much inquiry at the *ordus* of Sartach and Baatu... As to those Teutons, I was unable to learn anything concerning them all the way to Mangu khan's ordu, but in the village just referred to I gathered that Talas was beyond us in the direction of the mountains, VI days' travel. When I reached the *ordu* of Mangu khan I gathered that Mangu had transported these Teutons, with Baatu's permission, the distance of a month's travel to the east of Talas, to a certain town called Bolat (i.e., Pulad), where they are digging for gold and manufacturing arms, so I could neither go nor come back their way. However, in going I passed quite near that town (of Bolat), perhaps three days from it, but I was unaware of it, nor could I have turned from my route if I had known” [Rockhill, 2002: 246-247]. Although Rubruk did not reach

the city of Pulad (Bolat), he gave us important information. This shows that there were gold mines in the Pulad area at that time and that there were factories for the manufacture of weapons.

In the 1950s, the Xinjiang Museum once conducted an investigation on the ancient cities of Bole 博乐 area, and a large number of traces of smelting and wrought iron and iron ingots were piled up in the ruins of the ancient city, and described in detail the specific situation of iron blocks and kiln sites. "Rusty iron and remnants of iron were found everywhere. In 1958, the masses picked up a lot of scrap iron here. Now there is another place where there are at least 1,200 catties of rusty iron piled up on the ground... The iron block is generally round, about 10 centimeters in diameter, and the middle is hollow" [Li Yuchun, 1962: 109-111]. This coincides with Pulad's name "Steel". According to experts, the geographical location of Pulad is in and around the ancient city of Dalet 达勒特古城 in present-day Bole 博乐, Xinjiang (Fig. 1). [Chengzhi, 1987: 156]

Chagatai Khanate in the 13th century

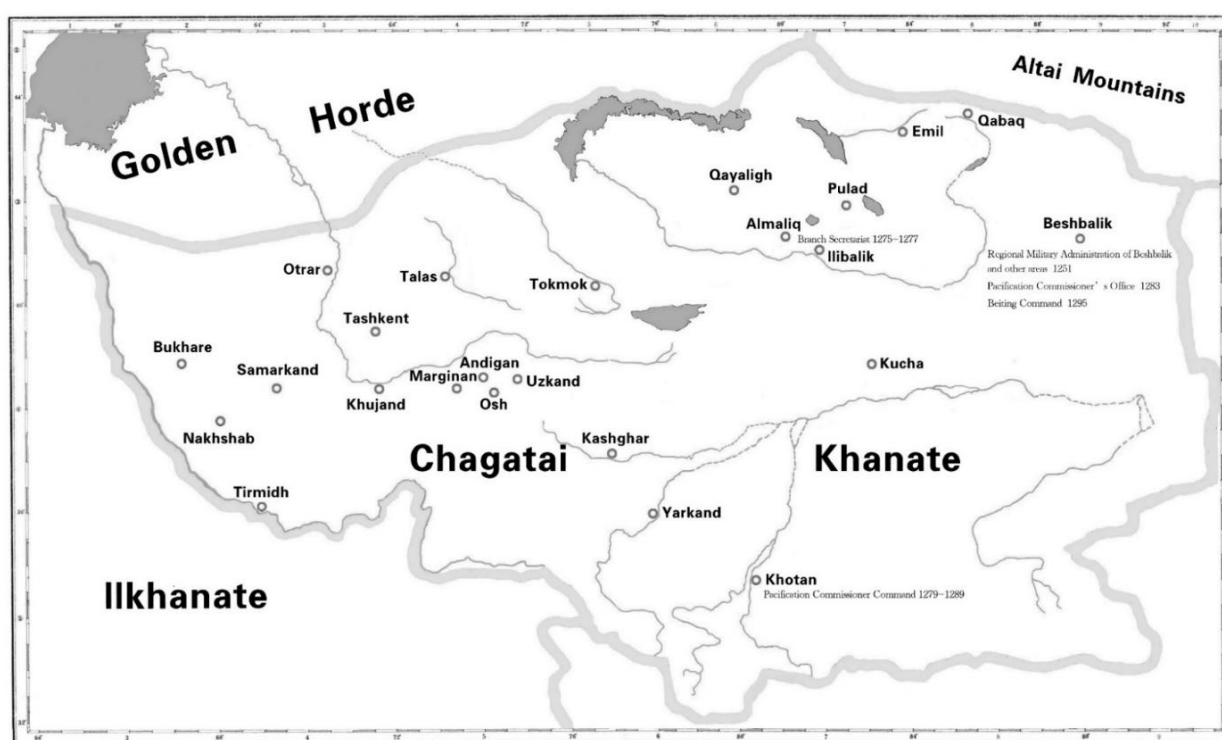





Fig. 1. Map of Chagatai Khanate in the 13th century [The map is drawn with reference to Tan Qixiang, ed., The Historical Atlas of China, 1982: 38-39]

An overview of the 13th-century coins unearthed at Pulad

In the area of the ancient city of Dalet 达勒特古城, many cultural relics and coins of the Mongol-Yuan Period have been unearthed. Because the publication of the coins unearthed in this area is 30-40 years ago, which is relatively old, I have sorted out the coins in the paper as follows:

In 1983, when the villagers were digging soil in the ancient city of Dalet, they dug up a gray clay pot, which was filled with silver coins, which were glued together due to rust, and the villagers did not know what they were, and immediately abandoned most of them, and only a small part was stored (Table 1). In December 1987, 34 pieces were recovered by the local cultural relics department, of which 31 pieces were relatively complete, but the date of minting has not been deciphered, and they are now in the collection of the Bozhou Museum [Xuekun, 1991].

Table 1.

HAR Type I		total 9 pieces Size:2.00mm Thickness:0.05mm Weight:1.48g
HAR Type II		Total: 15 pieces Size:2.10 mm Thickness:0.05 mm Weight:1.62 g
HAR Type III		Total: 7 pieces Size:1.90 mm Thickness:0.05 mm Weight:1.47 g

In 1987, 36 gold coins were found in the ancient city of Dalet (达勒特古城), of which 16 were intact. Because Chinese scholars were limited by their knowledge of Islamic numismatics at the time, they identified these gold coins as Chaghatai gold coins. And 10 of these gold coins were included in the catalogue of "Xinjiang Numismatics". I have re-identified these gold coins, and it seems that they are mainly gold coins from the Great Mongol period: one is an Abbasid gold dinar, one is a Crusader gold dinar, one is a Khwarizmshahs gold dinar, and the rest are the Great Mongols gold dinars, and none of them were a Pulad Mint gold dinar (Table 2). [Dong Qingxuan, Jiang Qixiang, 1991: 35-36]





Table 2.











	
XN#122 Great Mongols, AV dinar, Imil	XN#123 Great Mongols, AV dinar, Imil
	
XN#124 Crusader, AV dinar	XN#125 Great Mongols, AV dinar

	
XN#126 Great Mongols, AV dinar	XN#127 Abbasid, al-Nasir, AV Dinar, Madinat al-Salam, 609AH
	
XN#128 Great Mongols, AV dinar, Imil	XN#129 Great Mongols, AV dinar, Imil
	
XN#130 Great Mongols, AV dinar, Almaligh	XN#131 Khwarizmshahs AV dinar, 'Ala al-Din Muhammad

In March 1990, a copper coins hoard was found about 20 meters outside the west city of the ancient city site of Dalet 达勒特古城, and a total of 1,649 copper coins were unearthed (Table 3). [Xuekun, 1993: 9-12, 25].

Table 3.

	
Type I: 129 pieces, Size: 2.10-2.15 mm, Thickness: 0.10 mm, Average weight: 2.33 g	Type II: 32 pieces, Size: 2.00-2.30 mm, Thickness: 0.10-0.11 mm, Average weight: 2.5 g
	
Type III: 15 pieces, Size: 2.10-2.12 mm, Thickness: 0.10 mm, Average weight: 2.60 g	Type IV: 1034 pieces, Size: 2.00-2.10 mm, Thickness: 0.10-0.12 mm, Average weight: 2.39 g

	
Type V: 213 pieces, Size: 2.00-2.10 mm, Thickness: 0.10 mm, Average weight: 2.38 g	Type VI: 2 pieces, Size: 2.10 mm, Thickness: 0.10mm, Average weight: 2.40 g
	
Type VII: 70 pieces, Size: 2.10-2.20 mm, Thickness: 0.10-0.11 mm, Average weight: 2.43 g	Type VIII: 31pieces, Size: 2.00-2.20 mm, Thickness: 010-012 mm, Average weight: 2.42 g
	
Type IX: 70 pieces, Size: 2.10-2.25 mm, Thickness: 0.09 mm, Average weight: 2.14 g	Type X: 3 pieces, Size: 2.03-2.20 mm, Thickness: 0.10-0.13 mm, Average weight: 2.4 g
	
Type XI: 2 pieces, Size: 2.00 mm, Thickness: 0.08 mm, Average weight:1.87 g	Type XII: 2 pieces, Size: 2.20 mm, Thickness: 0.08 mm, Average weight: 2.00 g
	
Type XIII: 1piece Size: 1.90 mm, Thickness: 0.11mm, Weight: 2.00 g	Type XIV: 1 piece Size: 2.40 mm, Thickness: 0.11mm, Weight: 2.4 g

It now appears that Type XII is the copper coin from the Almaligh mint and Type XIII is the silver coin from the Imil mint, neither of which is a coin of the Pulad mint.

In fact, these coins, which are counted by the cultural relics departments and Museums, are only a part of the coins unearthed at Pulad. Many coins were found by local villagers and sold to antique markets, eventually becoming collectors' collections.

The following is some information about the excavations of coins around the ancient city of Dalet that I learned from the exchange with coin dealers and collectors in Xinjiang, only for reference.

In the mid-90s of the twentieth century, more than 200 gold coins from the Great Mongol period unearthed in the area of the ancient city site of Dalet entered the private collection.

In the end of the 90s of the twentieth century, 97 pieces of 50 taels of silver sycees of the Yuan Dynasty were unearthed in the city. 30-40 of them were with inscriptions on them. The most

silver sycees are of the Zhending Road, followed by the silver sycees are of Pingyang Road, and the least thee are Jinan Road. They are obviously silver sycees from the early Yuan Dynasty. All of them are in private collections. One of the silver sycees from Pingyang Road appeared at the 2005 China Guardian Spring Auction under lot 5658 (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Lot 5658 Pingyang Road in the Yuan Dynasty levied fifty taels of silver syce from the tax office

It is no longer possible to accurately and concretely count how many coins have been unearthed in the Bole area. I have collected about 300 silver and copper coins of the Pulad Mint. Through the interpretation of the inscriptions of coins, I found that they belong to different periods of the 13th century. So far I have not found any coin of the Pulad Mint dated after the 13th century.



Below I list the coins of the Pulad Mint in the order of the date of minting.

Coins from the Pulad mint

a. The coin of Pulad mint during the period of Ögedei Khan

At present, the earliest date in the Pulad mint coins that I know of is 633 AH (Table 4). (16 September 1235 - 4 September 1236).


Table 4.

			
Size: 20.2 mm Weight: 2.2 g			
Obv.:	الله	Allah	
Margin:	ضرب هذه الدرهم سنة ثلاثه ثلاثين ستمائة	Struck this dirham in 633	
Rev.:	پولاد العدل لا عظم	Pulad al-'Adil al-a'zam	

b. The gold dinar of Pulad Mint during early the Great Mongols

I found a Pulad gold dinar in the *SYLLOGE NUMORUM ARBICORUM TÜBINGEN* (Table 5). [Mayer, 1998: 51]. It is a pity that the date of minting of this coin is no longer legible. Based on the coin, I can tell that it should be an early Mongol gold dinar, with the name of the caliph Nasir, and its date range is identified by the catalogue as before 650 AH. For the time being, I attribute it to early Pulad coin first and I'll interpret and classify it more accurately when I get more samples of this gold dinar.

Table 5.

 <p>[Mayer, 1998: 51]</p>		
Obv.:	لا اله الا الله محمد رسو الله الناصر لد ين	There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of God al-Nasir li-d- in
Rev.:	پولاد الامام ا لاعظم ا لناصر لد ين	Pulad al-imam al-a'zam al-Nasir li-d- in

c. The copper coins of Pulad mint during the period of Töregene Khatun

In March 1990, a copper coins hoard was found about 20 meters outside the west of the ancient city site of Dalet, and a total of 1,649 copper coins were unearthed. This is the largest concentration of this type of copper coin excavated. Mr. Han Xuekun from Bozhou Museum, Bole, Xinjiang, once sorted out these coins and wrote a research report "The Discovery and Preliminary Research of Copper Coins of the Chagatai Khanate" [China Numismatics, 1993]. Han Xuekun made a detailed count of these coins and divided them into 13 types. However, he did not decipher the exact date of minting of the coins.


I have always been very interested in the Pulad coins, and I have collected more than 200 of such copper coins from Xinjiang and discovered their striking dates and minting time ranges. I combined Han Xuekun's research report to classify them from a new category.



Category 1: The coins with dates in the inner circle

Type I: Standard type

I have drawn a complete line drawing of the type basing on available images of coins. This type is believed to belong to the earliest copper coins of this type, because its inscriptions are more standardized (Table 6).

Table 6.

<p>Type I: Standard type</p> <p>The field date in the inner circle of the obverse reads from left to right: year, 2, 40, 600</p> <p>The field date in the inner circle of the reverse is read from right to left: year, 2, 40, 600</p>		
		
Obv.:	ضرب ا پولاد	Struck at Pulad
Rev.:	العادل لاعظم	al-'Adil al-a'zam





The Margin of the inner circle:	سنة اثننتين ستمائة اربعين	year in 642
1	2	3
		
Size: 21.5 mm Weight: 2.9 g	Size: 21 mm Weight: 2.6 g	Size: 22 mm Weight: 2.5 g
All three coins come from the same die.		



This copper coin was minted in 642 AH سنة | اثننتين | ستمائة | اربعين (June 9, 1244 – May 29, 1245). The date on the obverse of the coin is written from left to right, and the number 2 is a variant, so it is difficult to identify. The date on the reverse of the coin is written from right to left. The AH 642 was during the regency of Töregene (Turakina) Khatun (639-644 A.H./1241-1246 A.D.). Töregene was the Great Khatun and regent of the Mongol Empire from the death of her husband Ögedei Khan in 1241 until the election of her eldest son Güyük Khan in 1246. Töregene Khatun was a Nestorian believer, this is the reason why the cross appear in some Pulad copper coins. This fully proves that this copper coin was struck by the government of the Great Mongol Empire, and Pulad was a city belonging to the Great Mongols.

This kind of central field dated coins have been found in a variety of different dies, and in Han Xuekun's research report, a total of 129 pieces have been found in the Han I type, 213 pieces have been found in the Han V type, 2 pieces have been found in the Han VI type, and 3 coins have been found in the Han X type. This kind of central field-dated copper coins accounts for 21% of total 1649 pieces (Table 7-9).

I think this is probably the earliest copper coin, but a large number of copper coins were struck later to omit the date in the center circle field.

Table 7.



Type II	The field date of the anamorphic number forty	
		
	Size: 22 mm Weight: 2.0 g	
Type III	The anamorphic number forty on the obverse, no date on the reverse	
		
	Size: 20.7 mm Weight: 1.4 g	

Type IV	Double obverse, the anamorphic date on one side, no date on the other	
		
	Size: 21.2 mm Weight: 3.6 g	

Category 2: The coins without a cross on the Zarb


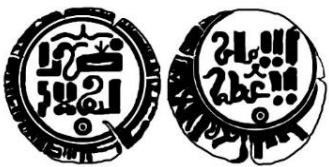
Type I: Dot type, dot on Zarb

Table 8.

		
Size: 21.5 mm Weight: 2.4 g		
Obv.:	ضرب ا پولا د	Struck at Pulad
Rev.:	العاذل ا لا عظم	al-‘Adil al-a’zam

Type II: al-imam type [Xuekun, 1993: 10-11]

Table 9.

		
Obv.:	ضرب ا پولا د	Struck at Pulad
Rev.:	الامام لا عظم	al-imam al-a’zam

Category 3: A cross on the Zarb, no date in the inner circle

The number of copper coins of this type is relatively large, and there are many dies. I have collected more than 30 different dies of this type, but these coins are crudely pressed, and although there is no date in the field in the center circle, it is clear that the date should be on the margin of the coin, but I have never been able to piece together a complete inscription on the margin (Table 10-22). This project requires a lot of coins to complete. I think that these coins were struck after the coins with the date in the field of the inner circle, and it is possible that these copper coins struck for a long time, but the exact date of their production is still a mystery. I believe that through the continuous collection of coins, this mystery will be revealed.



Table 10.

Type I	a cross on Zarb, no date in the inner circle, standard type	
		
	Size: 20.5 mm Weight: 2.1 g	
Type II	Double reverse of the Type I	
		
	Size: 20.9 mm Weight: 2.4 g	
Type III	The dot on the right of Zarb, no date in the inner circle, standard type	
		
	Size: 21.9 mm Weight: 1.9 g	
Type IV	The small bar on the right of Zarb, no date in the inner circle, standard type	
		
	Size: 20.6 mm Weight: 2.2 g	
Type V	Double obverse, One a dot on the Zarb, the other a cross on the Zarb	
		
	Size: 19.9 mm Weight: 3.0 g	
		[Xuekun, 1993: 10] Size: 2.10-2.12 mm Weight: 2.60 g

d. The AR dirham of Pulad mint during the period of Möngke Khan



Möngke's tamgha 卐 AH657

Table 11.

			
Size: 16.96 mm Weight: 1.2 g			
Obv.:	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of God	
Rev.:	ضرب هذا الدرهم بسكه پولاد (في شهور) سنة سبع خمسين ستمائة	Struck this dirham Coin in Pulad (in the months of the) year eight, fifty, six hundred	

Möngke's tamgha 卐 AH658



Table 12.

			
Size: 18.25 mm Weight: 1.4 g			
Obv.:	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of God	
Rev.:	ضرب هذا الدرهم بسكه پولاد في شهور سنة ثمان خمسين ستمائة	Struck this dirham Coin in Pulad in the months of the year eight, fifty, six hundred	

e. The AR dirham of Pulad mint after the death of Möngke Khan

Möngke's tamgha 卐 AH659



Table 13.

			
Size: 19.9 mm Weight: 1.6 g			
Obv.:	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of God	

Rev.:	ضرب هذا الدرهم بسكه پولاد فی شهور سنة تسع خمسين ستمائة	Struck this dirham Coin in Pulad in the months of the year nine, fifty, six hundred
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Möngke's tamgha 卐 AH660

Table 14.

		
Size: 17.3 mm Weight: 1.2 g		
Obv.:	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of God
Rev.:	ضرب هذا الدرهم بسكه پولاد فی شهور سنة ستين ستمائة	Struck this dirham Coin in Pulad in the months of the year sixty, six hundred

f. The AR dirham of Pulad mint with Trident tamgha 卐

Table 15.



Trident tamgha 卐 Type I AH662		
		
Size: 18.3 mm Weight: 1.2 g		
Obv.:	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of God
Rev.:	ضرب هذا الدرهم بسكه پولاد فی شهور سنة اثنتين ستين ستمائة	Struck this dirham Coin in Pulad in the months of the year two, sixty, six hundred

Table 16.





Trident tamgha 卐 Type II	
	
Size: 18.4 mm Weight: 1.6 g	
The inscription is distorted and cannot be read	

Table 17.

Trident tamgha 卐 Type III	
	
Size: 17 mm Weight: 1.1 g	
The inscription is distorted and cannot be read completely, only the mint Pulad	

g. The AE fals of Pulad mint with Trident tamgha

Table 18.

	
	
Size: 22.4 mm Weight: 3.3 g	Size: 23.4 mm Weight: 3.1 g
The inscription is distorted and cannot be read completely, only the mint Pulad and 662	

The swastika on the reverse of this coin has two types of left and right rotations, and it is supposed to be a variation of the Nestorian cross because the Nestorian religion is practiced in the Dalet region. This similar deformation of the cross can be seen in the Nestorian seals of the Mongol and Yuan dynasties, as shown in the four typical Nestorian seals shown below (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Four typical Nestorian seals shown below

This coin with the Trident tamgha has so far only been found with the minting date of the year 662 AH. The year 662AH is from November 4, 1263, to October 23, 1264. This was the year when Kublai Khan, the new Great Khan of Mongols, changed the title of his reign from "Zhongtong 中统" to "Zhiyuan 至元".

According to the "Yuan Shi" (the first year of the "Zhiyuan", 1264 AD):



秋七月甲戌，.....庚子，阿里不哥自昔木土之败，不复能军，至是与诸王玉龙答失、阿速带、昔里给，其所谋臣不鲁花、忽察、秃满、阿里察、脱忽思等来归。诏诸王皆太祖之裔，并释不问，其谋臣不鲁花等皆伏诛 [Lian et al., 1997: 98].

“Autumn and July Jiaxu 甲戌 ,...Gengzi 庚子, Ariq Böke was no longer able to raise troops to fight after the defeat of the Battle of Shimu’ultu Na’ur (Mosquito Lake, November 1261), so he surrendered with the princes Ürüng Tash 玉龙答失, Asutai 阿速带, and Shirigi 昔里给, as well as his officials and ministers Buluhua 不鲁花, Khucha 忽察, Tüman 秃满, Alichu 阿里察, and Doquz 脱忽思 etc. The emperor's edict said that all the princes were descendants of Taizu Genghis Khan, and they were spared together without asking for their crimes, and his ministers Buluhua 不鲁花 and others were all executed.”

I think it may have been Kublai Khan who minted coins at Pulad to commemorate his victory over Ariq Böke Khan and the Trident tamgha probably belonged to Kublai Khan. Without doubt this is just an inference of mine, and it needs to be further demonstrated.

h. The AR dirham of Pulad mint with Möngke's tamgha卐, dated 671 (2) AH

Table 19.




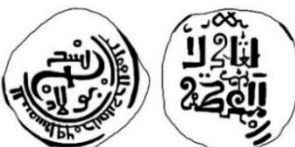
		
Size: 18.6 mm Weight: 1.4 g		
Obv.:	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of God
Rev.:	ضرب هذا الدرهم بسكه پولاد سنة ؟ سبعين ستمائة	Struck this Dirham Coin in Pulad year (1 or 2?), seventy six hundred

The single-digit distortion of the date of this Möngke silver dirham is so severe that it is difficult to distinguish whether it is a 1 or a 2, and the tens number can be determined to be 70 instead of 60. I think there are two possibilities for this situation, one is that the engraver mistakenly engraved 60 to 70, and the other is that more than ten years after Möngke's death, Pulad was still minting coins with Möngke's tamgha, which represented not Möngke Khan but the jurisdiction of the Great Mongols central government over the Pulad.

i. The AR dirham of Pulad mint during the period of Qaidu Khan (668-701AH)


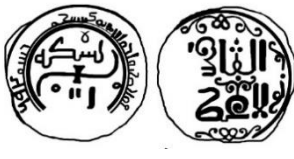
AR dirham, Pulad Mint, 691AH

Table 20.

 <p>[Mayer, 1998: 51]</p>		
		
Obv.:	بسكه سم پولاد	Coin Qaidu's tamgha Pulad
Margin:	ضرب هذا الدرهم بسكه پولاد سنة 691	Struck this dirham coin in Pulad year 691
Rev.:	العاذل ا لا عظم	al-'Adil al-a'zam



AR dirham, Pulad Mint, 694AH

Table 21.

 <p>[Mayer, 1998: 51]</p>		
Obv.:	بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	Coin Qaidu's tamgha Pulad
Margin:	ضرب هذا الدرهم بسكه پولاد سنة 694	Struck this dirham coin in Pulad year 694
Rev.:	الْعَادِلُ الْأَعْظَمُ	al-'Adil al-a'zam

The miss date of the AR dirham of Pulad Mint

Table 22.

		
Size:24.0mm Weight:2.0g		
Obv.:	بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	Coin Qaidu's tamgha Pulad
Margin:	The date on the margin is out of the coin and cannot be read	
Rev.:	الْعَادِلُ الْأَعْظَمُ	al-'Adil al-a'zam

Conclusion

This paper summarizes the situation of coins excavated in the Bole area. Through my interpretation of the inscription on coins, the question of the minting time of the copper coins of the Pulad and the attribution of the coin that had been pending in those years was basically resolved.

From the earliest Pulad coins in the Ögedei period to the Pulad coins with the Möngke's tamgha and the Trident tamgha in, it can be seen that the coins of this period were all local coins struck and issued by the Great Mongol government in the Pulad. For nearly 20 years after the beginning of AH 670s, no coins of the Pulad mint have been found. It was not until 691 AH that we rediscovered the coins of the Pulad Mint, and the tamgha on the coins of this period became the Qaidu's tamgha. It can be inferred that until 691 AH, The Pulad had been a city under the government of the Yuan Dynasty. This is illustrated by the large number of silver sycees found at the ruins of the ancient city of Dalet 达勒特古城 at the end of the 90s of the 20th century.

The new Mongol Great Khan Kublai Khan established the Yuan Dynasty in China and began to use paper money in the first year of Zhongtong 中统元年 (1260 AD). According to the "Yuan Shi (History of the Yuan Dynasty)", in the seventeenth year of Zhiyuan 至元十七年 (1280AD), "立畏吾境内交钞提举司 a supervisorate of paper money (jiaochaotijusi 交钞提举司) was founded in the territory of Uighur" [Lian et al., 1997: 223]. In the twentieth year of Zhiyuan 至元二十年 (1283AD), "立畏兀儿四处站及交钞库 four stations and a paper money storehouse (Jiaochaoku 交钞库) were established in the Uighur region" [Lian et al., 1997: 1567]. This shows

that the paper money of the Yuan Dynasty began to circulate in large quantities in the Uighur region. It was the reason why no AR dirham or AE fals were issued for about 20 years in Pulad from this time until the appearance of Qaidu's coins in 691 AH (1292AD). It is likely that paper money was used in the Pulad during this period. Of course, no Yuan Dynasty paper money has been found in Pulad yet, because paper money easy to corrode and difficult to preserve for more than 700 years. This is just my speculation, and it needs to be proved by new unearthed discoveries.

The coins of the Pulad mint show that although the Pulad city was within the territory of the Chaghatai Khanate, it was a city under the central government of the Great Mongol Empire. The Great Mongol Empire was basically composed of two parts of land from the period of Ögedei to the accession of Möngke: One was the fiefdom of the Mongol princes, mainly distributed in the steppe area of the Mongol Empire; The other was the cities and farmlands, mainly distributed in the Han region, the Uighur and oases south of the Tianshan Mountains, the Ferghana region and the north and south of the Amu Darya River. The ruling institutions of these cities and farmlands, as well as their subordination to the Great Khan, were basically formed during the Ögedei Khan and Güyük Khan periods. Therefore, the ruling institutions were also divided into two sets, the cities were governed by the ministers appointed by the Great Khan, and the government collected taxes from the subjects of the city area. And the fiefdoms of the princes were under the jurisdiction of the princes [Yingsheng, 2006: 139-140].

After Genghis Khan's expedition to the west, Mahmud Yalavach and his son Masud Beg took charge of the cities north of the Amu Darya River. Therefore, the Pulad mint coins should have been issued by Yalavach and his son.

In 1251, after Möngke ascended to the throne of the Mongol Great Khan, he established the Regional Military Administration of Besh Baliq 别失八里等处行尚书省 and other areas to manage the cities and agricultural lands between the Golden Mountains (Altai Mountains) and the Amu Darya River, and the Regional Military Administration of Amu Darya and other areas 阿姆河等处行尚书省 to administer the areas south of the Amu Darya River. Thus formalizing and institutionalizing the ruling institutions of these Mongol Empire territories. During Möngke's reign (649-658 AH/1251-1260 AD), many of the princes of the Chaghatai and Ögedei khanates were punished for their involvement in activities against Möngke, and their power was weakened, and they did not occupy an important position in the Western Regions during this period. As a result, it is even more certain that the city of Pulad and its surrounding farmlands were under the administration of the Mongol Empire during this period.

In August 1259, Möngke died in Sichuan 四川, and Ariq Böke prepared to ascend the throne in Qaraqorum 哈拉和林. In March of the first year of Zhongtong 中统 in 1260, Kublai Khan proclaimed the Great Khan in Kaiping 开平, and the following month Ariq Böke also proclaimed the Great Khan in Qara Qorum. In this way, two Great Khans appeared in the Great Mongol Empire at the same time, and a civil war between Kublai Khan and Ariq Böke Khan broke out.

In the same year, Ariq Böke promoted Alughu, the grandson of Chaghatai, who supported him as the Great Khan of the Mongols, as the Khan of the Chaghatai Khanate. Ariq Böke's purpose was to get Alughu to supply his army with military supplies. The land, army, and wealth controlled by the former Regional Military Administration of Besh Baliq and other areas 别失八里等处尚书省 fell into the hands of Alughu, and from this time on, the Chaghatai Khanate gradually developed and later became the sole ruler of Central Asia. In this way, Alughu's strength and Ariq Böke's strength have changed fundamentally. At this time, Ariq Böke was defeated by Kublai Khan in Mobei 漠北(modern-day Mongolia), which greatly reduced his prestige. In about 1262, Alughu seized the military supplies that Ariq Böke had collected in Central Asia and declared his submission to Kublai Khan. Ariq Böke was very angry and went to attack Alughu. However, Alughu was victorious, defeating Ariq Böke's vanguard at Pulad, between Lake Selim and Lake Abi. After this victory, Alughu thought he was safe and sound, so he mistakenly disbanded the army, and Ariq Böke's other army occupied Almaligh, forcing Alughu to flee towards Kashghar and Khotan. Ariq Böke entered Almaligh and plundered and slaughtered the place, resulting in a

famine, and some of his own generals left him with their troops. His army then collapsed. This is probably the reason why I have so far not found Pulad coins struck in 661 AH. In 662 AH, Ariq Böke was forced to surrender to Kublai Khan, and in that year the city of Pulad began to strike coins with Trident tamgha 𐰽.

After the defeat of Ariq Böke, the power of Qaidu, the grandson of Ögedei, grew rapidly. In 1268, Qaidu raised troops from Almaligh against Kublai Khan, and the “*Yuan Shi*, Geography VI 《元史·地理六》” recorded: “诸王海都行营于阿力麻里等处，盖其分地也. The prince Qaidu encamped in Almaligh and other places, beyond the confines of his fiefdom” and “至元五年海都叛 Qaidu rebelled in the fifth year of Zhiyuan (1268) [Lian et al., 1997: 1569].” The Yuan army defeated Qaidu at Beiting. In 1275, Kublai Khan sent his fourth son, Nomughan 那木罕, to the garrison Almaligh. But in 1276 Nomughan was arrested by the rebels and they handed him over to Qaidu's ally, the Golden Horde, Mengu-Timur. But at this time, Kublai Khan did not abandon the Uighur region and decided to confront Qaidu in this region. During this period, there were many battles between the Yuan army and Qaidu. Nevertheless, the appearance of the Pulad mint coins with the Qaidu's tamgha in 691 AH marked Qaidu's control over the region.

The study of the coins of the Pulad Mint shows the history of the Pulad region in the 13th century. We can see the important historical position of Pulad in the Mongol-Yuan period. I look forward to more discoveries in the Bole area of Xinjiang.

Note: The first draft of this paper was presented at the International Numismatic Conference on "The Seventh Mongol Numismatics Conference" held in Bakhchisaray, Crimea, Ukraine, in September 2008. In March 2014, I added content, sorted it out and finalized this paper, and published it in “A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses”, VI volume. In November 2024, at Pavel Petrov's invitation, I revised and edited it again and translated it into English. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Vladimir Belyaev for taking time out of his busy schedule to proofread the English version of this paper.

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