

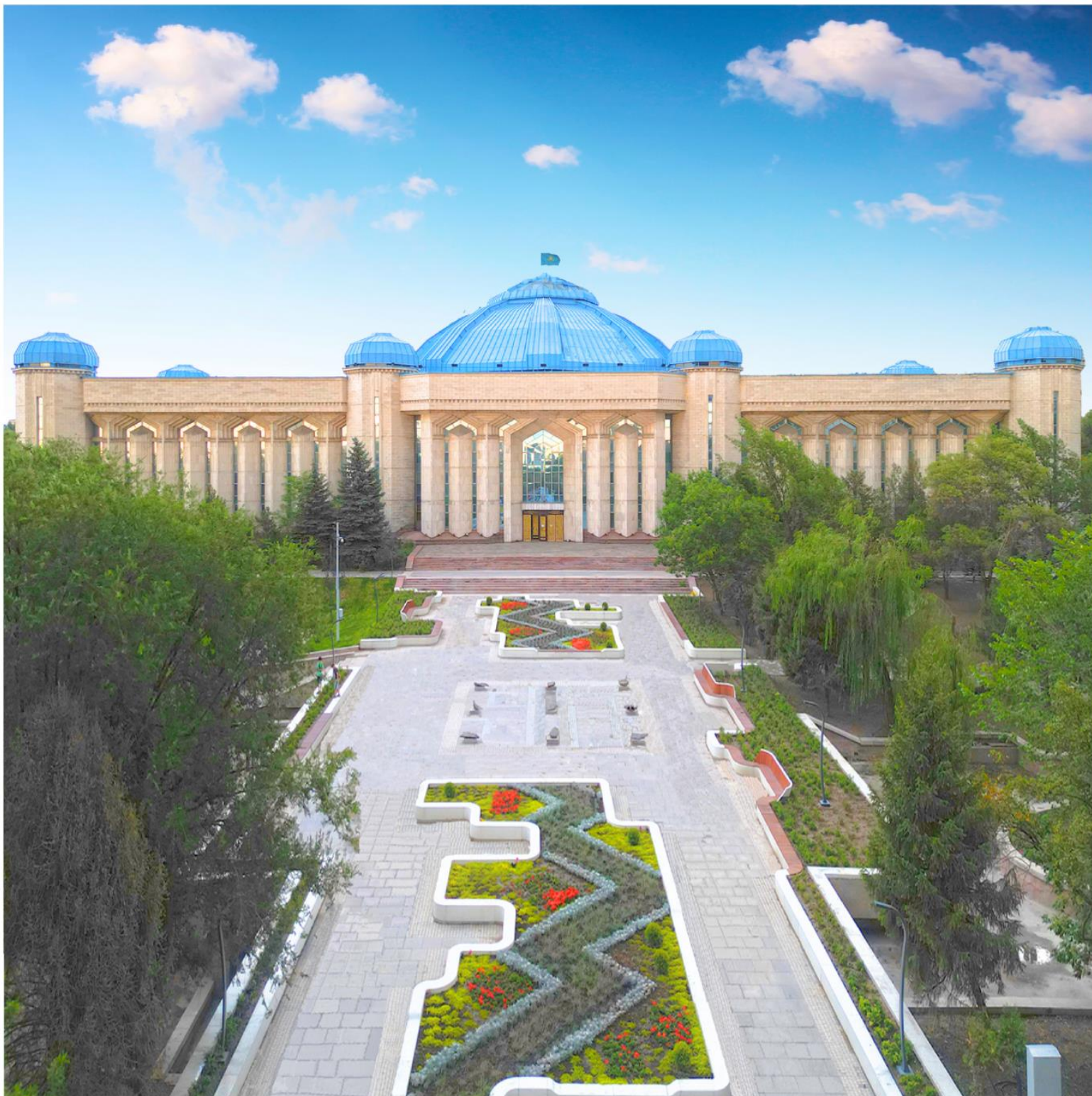
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**A HOARD OF SASANIAN COINS FROM KAYNARBULAK  
(NEAR SHIMKENT, SOUTHERN KAZAKSTAN)**

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**Abstract.** This discovery of a hoard of countermarked silver drachms of the Sasanian emperor Peroz, 457–484 CE, in an excavated context at Kaynarbulak, Shimkent, Kazakstan opens up a new perspective on coin circulation in the region. One of the coins was countermarked with the tamga of the kingdom of the Türgesh, who ruled this area in the eighth century CE, suggesting that the coins were deposited in the eighth century three centuries after their production. It also adds to our understanding of the circulation of Peroz’s coins and their imitations across Central Asia and beyond into China and South Asia. The aim of this article is to list the coins in this hoard and to correct several misunderstandings of the countermarks on them.

**Materials and methods of the research.** The coins of the silver treasure of the VIII century, found near Shimkent during the inspection by archaeologists of the archaeological monument in Kaynarbulak, were studied. The authors used common methods typical for numismatic research: historicism, linguistic, comparison, metrological, topographic, etc.

**Keywords:** coin, drachma, treasure, Sassanids, Ephthalites, Turgesh, South Kazakhstan, Shymkent, VIII century.

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**ҚАЙНАРБҰЛАҚТАН (ОҢТҮСТІК ҚАЗАҚСТАН, ШЫМКЕНТ МАҢЫНДА)  
ТАБЫЛҒАН САСАНИДТЕРДІҢ МОНЕТАЛАР КӨМБЕСІ**

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**Аңдатпа.** Қайнарбұлақтағы (Шымкент қаласы маңындағы өңір) ескерткіште археологиялық зерттеу барысында табылған Сасанид императоры Пероздың б.з. 457-484 жж. қайта шекілген күміс драхмалар көмбесінің ашылуы, аймақтағы монета айналымына жаңа көзқараспен қарауды талап етеді. Монеталардың біріне Түргеш қағанатына (б.з. VIII ғ.) тиесілі таңба соғылған, бұл көмбенің қалған монеталары жасалғаннан кейін үш ғасыр өткен соң да айналымда болған деп болжам жасауға мүмкіндік береді. Сондай-ақ, бұл Пероз монеталарының және олармен ұқсас түрлердің Орталық Азияда ғана емес, сонымен қатар Қытай мен Оңтүстік Азияда айналымындағы рөлі туралы түсінігімізді кеңейтеді. Мақаланың мақсаты – осы көмбедегі монеталарды зерттеу және олардың ерекше белгілеріне байланысты кейбір түсінбеушіліктерді жою.

**Зерттеу материалдары мен әдістері.** Зерттеу нысаны – Шымкент қаласының маңындағы VIII ғасырға жататын Қайнарбұлақ археологиялық ескерткішін археологтардың зерттеу кезінде табылған күміс көмбедегі монеталар. Авторлар нумизматикалық зерттеулерге тән жалпы әдістерді пайдаланды: тарихилық, лингвистикалық, салыстыру, метрологиялық, топографиялық және т.б.

**Тірек сөздер:** монета, драхма, көмбе, Сасанидтер, Эфталиттер, Түргештер, Оңтүстік Қазақстан, Шымкент, VIII ғасыр.

**Сілтеме жасау үшін:** Крибб Д., Петров П.Н. Қайнарбулақтан (Оңтүстік Қазақстан, Шымкент маңында) табылған Сасанидтердің монеталар көмбесі // MUSEUM.KZ. 2024. №3 (7), 5-19 бб. DOI 10.59103/muzkz.2024.07.01

## КЛАД САСАНИДСКИХ МОНЕТ ИЗ КАЙНАРБУЛАКА (БЛИЗ ШЫМКЕНТА, ЮЖНЫЙ КАЗАХСТАН)

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**Аннотация.** Находка клада серебряных драхм сасанидского императора Пероза, 457-484 гг. н.э. с надчеканами, в ходе археологического осмотра памятника в Кайнарбулаке (в ближайшей округе г. Шымкент), открывает новый взгляд на монетное обращение в регионе. На одну из монет была нанесена тамга, принадлежавшая каганату тюргешей, и датируемая VIII в.н.э., что позволяет предположить, что остальные монеты клада находились в обращении даже три столетия после их изготовления. Это также расширяет наше понимание обращения монет Пероза и их имитаций не только в Центральной Азии, но и за ее пределами, в Китае и Южной Азии. Цель этой статьи – изучить монеты из этого клада и исправить некоторые недоразумения, связанные с их отличительными знаками.

**Материалы и методы исследования.** Изучению были подвергнуты монеты серебряные клада VIII века, найденные под г. Шымкентом при осмотре археологами археологического памятника в Кайнарбулаке. Авторы использовали общие методы, характерные для нумизматических исследований: историзм, лингвистический, сравнения, метрологический, топографический и др.

**Ключевые слова:** монета, драхма, клад, Сасаниды, Эфталиты, Тюргешы, Южный Казахстан, Шымкент, VIII век.

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**Introduction.** In 2016 a hoard of 49 silver drachms of the Sasanian emperor Peroz, 457–484 CE, was discovered in a terracotta jug [Baitanaev, Petrov and Bragin, 2021: 114–117, 137, pl. 9, figs 3340, 3341]. In this study only 48 of the drachms were examined. This hoard is important in various ways, as it shows official Sasanian coins current in the region, their longevity in local use and the practice of countermarking in the region. The presence of such coins beyond Iran’s eastern borders is well documented from various localities, with Peroz coins found in Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakstan, Pakistan, India, China and Russia [see for example Baratova, Schindel and Rtveladze, 2012; Li, 2006; Khan and Hasan, 2017; Goldina and Nikitin 1997; Musakaeva and Berdimuradov, 2017: 137–138; Zeymal, 1994: 252–255]. The countermarking of Peroz coins has also been documented in Central Asia, as well as the production of local imitations of his various types [Göbl, 1967]. The imitation coins have also been recorded with countermarks. The reason why so many Peroz drachms were current in the region is to be found in the story of this emperor’s activities in Afghanistan. For some time, he led successful campaigns into Afghanistan in conflict with Huns. At first, he was successful, and in c. 465–7 he captured Balkh and the region of western Bactria from the Kidarite Huns, but subsequently he came into conflict with the Hephthalite Huns, who in c. 476 defeated and captured him. He was ransomed by the payment of 30 mule-loads (30 x c. 125k) of silver coins (c. 4g), i.e. about 1,000,000 coins. In 484 Peroz again tried to defeat the Hephthalites and was again defeated and now lost his life and his army was routed (Cribb and Bracey, at press). It can be assumed that he carried a treasury of coins

with him and that this was also captured. It can also be assumed that it was these coins from the ransom and from his captured treasury that we now see abundantly from modern finds that were current in Centra Asia.

The Kaynarbulak hoard and other related coins. Although many imitations of Peroz coins were in circulation in Central Asia, the hoard from Kaynarbulak is of official Sasanian coins. Most of the Peroz coins reported from Uzbekistan [Baratova et al. 2012: 102–128, Li] and China are also all official coins. Among finds of Sasanian coins East of Iran the coins of Peroz are the largest group, with his coins representing 48% of the Sasanian coins reported from Uzbekistan by Baratova et al. [Baratova, 2012: 27], and they are also the most numerous in finds in China, apart from a large hoard of late Sasanian coins from the early Islamic period found in Xinjiang [Li, 2006: 191]. The Kaynarbulak hoard contains coins from 15 Sasanian mints and one of an illegible mint. When compared with the Peroz coins from Uzbekistan published by Baratova et al. [Baratova, 2012: 29], the coins in this hoard show a similar distribution of mints, with the majority of the coin issued in the western part of Sasanian territory, reflecting the concentration of Sasanian coin production in the West and South-West in Peroz’s reign (Table 1). A similar distribution of mints is also reported in the museum collections in Paris, Berlin and Vienna [Schindel, 2004; Baratova et al. 2012: 29].

**Comparing the mints of the Peroz coins in the Kaynarbulak hoard with those recorded elsewhere**

Table 1

Mints by region	Coins in Paris, Berlin and Vienna (Schindel 2004)	Uzbekistan finds (Baratova et al. 2012)	Kaynarbulak hoard
	%	%	%
Asturistan	14	10	10.5
Azerbaijan	6	9	2
Fars	22	21	19
Khuzistan	39	36	35.5
Kirman	8	7	17
Media	5	11	6
Meshan	1	1	-
Gurgan	1	1	-
Khorasan	1	-	-
BBA (court mint)	5	3	8
illegible	-	-	2

The coins of Peroz were issued with three main portrait types and in several phases. The coins in this hoards all have the second and third portrait types on their obverses. A detailed description of the varieties has been made by Schindel [Schindel, 2004: vol. 1, 390–399; vol. 2, 276–289]. In the list here a simplified version of Schindel’s classification has been used. The second portrait type shows the king wearing a crenellated crown with a crescent replacing the front crenellation, surmounted by a hair-ball seated in a crescent and with diadem ribbons rising from the king’s right shoulder behind the king’s bust. The third portrait has the same crown but with wings rising above it flanking the hair-ball on crescent, and the diadem ribbons rise from both shoulders behind and in front of the king’s bust. The reverses of the coins have the usual Sasanian fire altar flanked by attendants, but three varieties of Pahlavi inscription, with a reign year date, the king’s name pylwey or his royal title MLKA (often only the M is visible).

The images of the coins are placed in photo tables 1-4. The numbers of the coins in the photo tables correspond to the numbers in Table 2.

**List of the coins in the Kaynarbulak hoard, with details of the countermarks appearing on them**

[\* = Baitanaev, Petrov and Bragin 2021: pl. 9, fig. 3341; \*\* = ibid. no 3340]

Table 2

№ Photo	Peroz Coin type	Mint mark	Mint	Countermarks, numbered according to Göbl 16xycy967																
				79v x'x'n βγγ	79 δxey βγγ	82-1 tkyn	82-2 tkyn	82-3 tkyn	82-4a tkyn	82-4b tkyn	82-5 tkyn	82-6 tkyn	83 k'nk	88-1 trx'n	88-2 trx'n	88-3 trx'n	115a pyškw	115b pyškw	Tanga	illegible
1	2-2	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	1								1								
2	2-2	LYW	Rēv-Ardašīr, Khuzestan	1	1															
3	2-5*	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	1	1															
4	2-6	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr Khuzestan	1										1		1				
5	2-6	WH	Weh-Andiok-Šābuhr, Khuzestan	1																
6	2-7	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan		1															
7	2-7	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan		1							1								
8	2-k	KL	Kermān		1	1							1					1		
9	2-k	LYW	Rev-Ardašīr, Khuzestan		1													1		
10	2-k	WH	Vēh-Andiok-Šāpūr, Khuzestan		1	1														
11	2-m	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	1																
12	2-**	BBA	Court Mint	1	1															
13	2-m	DA	Dārābgird, Fars	1																
14	2-m	KL	Kermān	1						1										
15	2-m	KL	Kermān	1	1															
16	2-m	KL	Kermān	1	1															
17	2-m	KL	Kermān	1	1															
18	2-m	MA	Media	1	1	1		1												
19	2-?	ART	Ardašīr-xwarrah, Fars	1		1													1	
20	3-k	ART	Ardašīr-xwarrah, Fars	1	1															
21	3-k	ART	Ardašīr-xwarrah, Fars	1	1								1							
22	3-k	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	1																
23	3-k	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	1	1							1								
24	3-k	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān		1															
25	3-k	AT	Azerbaijān	1																
26	3-k	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	1	1															
27	3-k	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	1																
28	3-k	AY?	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	1																

29	3-k	BBA	Court Mint		1						1								
30	3-k	BBA	Court Mint	1								1							
31	3-k	BN	Uncertain location, Kermān	1	1			1											
32	3-k	KL	Kermān	1	1													1	
33	3-k	LYW	Rēv -Ardašīr, Khuzestan	1	1						1								
34	3-k	LYW	Rēv-Ardašīr, Khuzestan	1								1							
35	3-k	NY	Nēvawand, Media	1															
36	3-k	ST	Eštakhr, Fars	1	1														
37	3-k	ŠY	Shiraz, Fars	1								1							
38	3-k	ŠY	Shiraz, Fars	1	1														
39	3-k	WH	Vēh-Andiok-Šāpūr, Khuzestan		1														1
40	3-k	WH	Vēh-Andiok-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	1	1			1			1	1							
41	3-m	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	1															
42	3-m	BBA	Court Mint	1															
43	3-m	DA	Darabgird, Fars	1	1														
44	3-m	DA	Darabgird, Fars		1														
45	3-m	KL	Kermān	1							1								
46	3-m	NY	Nehāvand, Media	1															
47	3-?	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	1							1	1							
48	3-?	ill	illegible	1	1			1											
total				38	28	4	-	4	1	-	6	1	5	3	1	-	-	4	1

Coin types 2-2, 2-5, 2-6, 2-7 = bust type 2 with years 2, 5, 6 and 7

Coin types 2-k and 2-m = bust type 2 with either k= the king's name or m = a Pahlavi letter

m

Coin types 3-k and 3-m = bust type 3 with either k= the king's name or m = a Pahlavi letter

m

What distinguishes this hoard found in Kazakstan from most other finds of Peroz coins is their heavily countermarked state. The countermarks are all on the edge of the obverse design, never obliterating the original designs, which is clearly important for the continuing circulation of the coins. The countermarks are mostly inscriptions in Sogdian script giving the titles of Turkish rulers. Most of these countermarks are included in the listing of countermarks found on Hunnish and Turkic coins which was published by Göbl [Göbl, 1967: 112–202]. Countermark 79v was not listed by Göbl, but is related to his countermark 79. Countermark 79v is also very unusual in that it was struck onto the coin on an anvil which had a design, showing a male face turned to the right. The list of the coins in this hoard shows which countermarks appeared on each coin (Table 2).

All the coins in the hoard have one of two countermarks (79v and 79) which include the title βγγ = lord. Eighteen examples are stamped with both. Countermark 79v precedes the word meaning lord with another title x'x'n βγγ = Lord Khagan, the highest title of Turkic rule. Countermark 79 precedes the title lord with what appears to be a name δxcy βγγ = Lord Dagcy [Lurje, 2010: 185–186, no. 458]. Thirteen of the coins have been countermarked with the word tkyn (countermark 82) another Turkish title Tegin, meaning a prince. Tegin is also used in personal names [ibid: e.g. 115–116, no. 193]. On these coins there are five different punches used to countermark this word onto the coins, and two coins have the word applied twice with different punches. Another Turkish title trx'n = Tarkhan, a nobleman (countermark 88) has been countermarked on four coins using two different punches. Five coins from the hoard have another countermark (countermark 115) struck with two different punches. It is inscribed pyškwr a word of unknown significance (ibid: 322, no. 990, who suggests it is either a place or a personal name [ibid: 139, no. 283, also discusses a misreading of it as βγšp'δ by Baratova, 1999: 223]. This assemblage of countermarks seems to be made under the same authority as those outside the hoard

as they often appear together. A few examples of coins with different countermarks and including one of these have been seen and the shared countermark is the one inscribed tkyn (countermark 82), see for example a single piece in the Szagana hoard of Peroz coins [found at a site 25 km south west of Samarkand Musakaeva and Berdimuradov, 2018: 140 fig. 1)]. All the other countermarked coins in this hoard (ibid: 140, figs 2–4, 141, figs 1–6) had a countermark inscribed byy in Sogdian script [Göbl, 1967 countermark 80, his drawing is upside down and he read as Bactrian script].

Examples of the Kaynarbulak hoard countermarks on Peroz drachms have been reported from other finds. An example with two tkyn countermarks (countermark 82) was contained in a hoard found at Sanjarshoh in Tajikistan (12 km east of Panjikent) [Gariboldi, 2017: 60, pl. 3, no. 30; Dovudi, 2018: 160, Fig. 51.3], and an example countermarked tkyn (countermark 82) and δxy byy (countermark 79) in a hoard found at Shashkat (38 km east of Penjikent) [Dovudi, 2018: 14, 160, Fig. 51.1]. Both hoards otherwise contained Bukharkhudat drachms. Similar countermarks have also been found on later coin: pyškw (countermark 115) on a drachm of Kawad among the finds from Merv in Turkmenistan [Loginov-Nikitin, 1993, no. 97]. The Shashkat hoard can be dated after 775 CE on the basis of its latest Bukharkhudat coin in the name of the caliph al-Mahdi (775–785).

Two groups of coins with the same countermarks have also been observed. The first group is from a hoard found at Babylon of Sasanian and Islamic coins, now in Berlin [Simon, 1977], deposited after 819/820 (the date of the latest Abbasid coin in the hoard). The other is a group in the Hermitage Museum, which because of their similarity appear to be a hoard parcel (this would exclude the Hermitage coins with the Sogdian script countermark 80 βγγ).

**Countermarked Peroz coins in the Babylon Hoard, Berlin, parcel deposited after 819/820**

Table 3

Peroz Coin type	Mint mark	Mint	Schindel 2004	Countermarks, numbered according to Göbl 1967										
				79v	79	82-1	82-3	82-4a	82-5	82-6	83	88-1	115b	ill
3-k	?	illegible	235, 3.31g		1							1		
3-k	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	43, 3.39g		1		1							
3-k	DA	Dārābgird, Fars	123, 3.72g				1	1						
3-k	KA	Karzi, Fars	128, 3.44g		1									
3-k	KL	Kermān	140, 3.63g		1	1				1			1	
3-k	KL	Kermān	141, 3.63g	1	1									
3-k	NY	Nihawand, Media	177, 3.63g											
3-k	NY	Nihawand, Media	199, 3.63g											
3-k	ST	Eštakhr, Fars	192, 3.56g		1									
3-k	ST	Eštakhr, Fars	194, 3.49g		1		1		1	1				
3-k	WH	Vēh-Andiok-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	222, 3.66g											?
3-m	AY	Ērān-xwarrāh-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	83, 4.02g											
3-m	ST	Eštakhr, Fars	182, 3.13g										1	
			13	1	7	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	1

### Hoard 4 Countermarked Peroz coins in Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

Table 4

Peroz Coin type	Mint mark	Mint	Hermitage no.	Göbl 1967	Countermarks, numbered according to Göbl 1967					
					79v	79	82	88	115a	80
2-k	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	10.493	283.b3						1
2-m	ART	Ardašīr-xwarrah, Fars	10.478	283.b5						1
2-m	AS	Ctesiphon, Asuristān	10.491	283.b4						1
2-m	AY	Ērān-xwarrah- Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	10.492	283.b1					1	
2-m	ST	Eštakhr, Fars	10.490	283.b6			1			
3-k	?	?	10.588	283.c18	1					
3-k	ST	Eštakhr, Fars	10.587	283.c15		1				
3-k	WH	Vēh-Andiok-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	10.539	283.c14						1
3-m	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	10.547	283.c17			1			
3m	KL	Kermān	10.512	283.c16		1				
					1	2	2		1	4

The coins with countermark 80 βγγ have the same mark as those of the Sazagan Hoard and are therefore unrelated to the countermarks on the Kaynarbulak hoard.

### Countermarked Peroz drachms related to the Kaynarbulak hoard (reported, based on Göbl 1967, Zeno.ru, American Numismatic Society, British Museum, Zeymal 1994, and auction sales)

Table 5

Peroz Coin type	Mint mark	Mint	Source	Countermarks, numbered according to Göbl 1967							
				79v	79	82-	83	88	115	Tanga	
2-yr 6	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Thierry 1999: 349 no. 12; 2011: 6, Fig. 3		1	1					1
2-yr 7	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Thierry 1999: 349 no. 11; 2011: 6 Fig. 2		1	1					
2-k	?		ANS 1951.181.1		1						
2-k	WH	Vēh-Andiok-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	ANS 1970.184.14						1		
2-m	?		Sogdcoins.narod.ru Coins of Central Asia u9		1						
2-m	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	Mallon 283b		1				1		
2-m	AW	Hormozd-Ardasir, Khuzestan	St James 20 2011-11-18 lot 750a		1	1					
2-m	KL	Kermān	Göbl 1967: 283.b2		1		1				
3-k	?		Album 17 2013-09-19 lot 85		1					1	
3-k	?		cointalk 2017-12-22		1	2					
3-k	?		ANS 1997.74	1	1	1					
3-k	?		Zeno 86936, Coins of Central Asia un15 2012		1	1		1	1		
3-k	?		Göbl 1967: 283.c9			1					
3-k	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	Zeno 28789 Gorny and Mosch 130 lot 1621			1		1			



3-k	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	Zeno 86937, ex Coins of Central Asia un10 2012	1					1
3-k	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	Zeno 216231 ex ebay						1
3-k	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	Zeymal 1994: 254, fig. 4.4		1	1			1
3-k	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	Leu e15 2021-02-27 lot 1016		1	2			
3-k	AS	Ctesiphon, Āsōristān	Zeno 86934, ex Coins of Central Asia un11 2012		1				2
3-k	AT	Azerbaijān	CNG e449 249 2019-04-03		1				1
3-k	AT	Azerbaijān	Zeno 125489	1	1	1			
3-k	AT	Azerbaijān	Zeno 151335	1	1	1	1		
3-k	AT?	Azerbaijān	British Museum 1960,1104.1 (Göbl 1967: 283.c5)		1	1			
3-k	AW	Hormozd-Ardasir, Khuzestan	Zeno 216230, Album 17 2013-09-19 lot 84		1	1			
3-k	AW	Hormozd-Ardasir, Khuzestan	Album 13 2014-05-15 lot 46		1	1			
3-k	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	St James 20 2011-11-18 lot 750b		1			1	
3-k	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	Copenhagen Museum (Göbl 1967: 283.c8)		1	1			
3-k	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	Copenhagen Museum (Göbl 1967: 283.c7)		1			1	
3-k	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	Zeno 125612	1	1				
3-k	DA	Dārābgird, Fars	Vcoins	1					
3-k	DA	Dārābgird, Fars	Göbl 1967: 283.c3		1				
3-k	DA	Dārābgird, Fars	CNG m60 2002-05-22 lot 1081		1	2			
3-k	KL	Kermān	British Museum 1920,0515.199 (Göbl 1967: 283.c13)		1			1	
3-k	LD	Ray, Media	British Museum OR.9668 (Göbl 1967: 283.c2)		1	2			1
3-k	LD	Ray, Media	Zeymal 1994: 254, fig. 4.5		1				1
3-k	MA	Media	Mallon 283a		1				
3-k	NY	Nēvawand, Media	ANS 1958.99		1				
3-k	NY	Nēvawand, Media	Sogdcoins.narod.ru Coins of Central Asia u14		1			1	1
3-k	ST	Eštakhr, Fars	CNG e144 2006-07-26 lot 174	1		1			
3-k	ST	Eštakhr, Fars	Zeno # 173012			2		2	
3-k	ST	Eštakhr, Fars	Göbl 1967: 283.c12		1			1	
3-k	ST	Eštakhr, Fars	Zeno 199529, Heritage 58 2018-05-1 lot 7135		1				1
3-k	ŠY	Shiraz, Fars	Zeno 203267, Vauctions Pegasi 38 2018-05-22 lot 300		1	1			1
3-k	WH	Vēh-Andiok-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	Zeno 208970, Album 32 2018-09-13 lot 164			1			1
3-k	WH	Vēh-Andiok-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	CNG e144 2006-07-26 lot 172		1				1
3-m	AW	Hormozd-Ardasir, Khuzestan	Dorotheum 2019-11-13 lot 1286						
3-m	AW	Hormozd-Ardasir, Khuzestan	CNG e144 2006-07-26 lot 173		1				
3-m	AW	Hormozd-Ardasir, Khuzestan	Worthpoint		1				1
3-m	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	Göbl 1967: 283.c4			2			
3-m	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	Myntauktion 17 2016-03-12 lot 1069a			1			
3-m	GW	Gorgān	Wilkes and Curtis 6 2015-06-15 lot 514		1	1			
3-m	LD	Ray, Media	Roma e61 2019-08-22 lot 458		2				
3-m	AY	Ērān-xwarrah-Šāpūr, Khuzestan	Album 39 2021-01-12 lot 2085		1				

**Attribution to the Türgesh Khaganate.** The hoards and the reported coins show a consistent group of countermarks, all written in Sogdian and four of them (79v, 79, 82 and 88) containing attested Turkic titles x'x'n βγγ, δхсγ βγγ, tkyn and trx'n, and the other two (83 and 115), words of unknown significance, k'nk and pyškwr, perhaps personal names or places. Although occasionally these countermarks appear on their own, they are normally in the company of one of the others. The context of the hoard and of all the other reported specimens suggests that these countermarks emanate from the same region and indicate that the coins were in circulation together in a single currency zone. The presence on one of the coins of a tamga suggests that they were circulating in the region dominated by the Türgesh (Türgiṣ), a Turkic state, focussed on the city of Suyab (modern Ak-Beshim) on the northern border of Kyrgyzstan, ruled by a Qaghan achieving independence from the Western Turk state, c. 699–766 CE [Stark, 2016]. This tamga appears on the reverse of Chinese style cast copper coins issued by the Türgesh, with the Sogdian script obverse inscription. βγγ twrkyš x'x'n pny = coin of the Lord Qaghan of the Türgesh. It is also clear that the countermark inscribed x'x'n βγγ (79v) is written in a very similar style to these words on the Türgesh copper coin. These connections have been made by [Thierry 1999: 323], Dovudi [Dovudi, 2018: 14–15], and Babayarov and Asanov [Babayarov and Asanov 2020: 16]. In spite of these connections Babayarov and Asanov [2020: 14] identified the countermarked coins as issues from Tokharistan, and Baratova [Baratova, 1999: 224] linked them with the site of Ajina Tepe in southern Tajikistan. Thierry [Thierry, 2011: 5–6] attributed them to the Türgesh, but in former Hephthalite territories annexed by the Turks (presumably also meaning Tokharistan), without specifying their location.

The discovery of this hoard in Kazakstan in the territory ruled by the Türgesh suggests that the links in terminology, style of Sogdian writing and the appearance of the tamga all point to their zone of circulation being in the Türgesh Khaganate. The reports of stray examples in hoards from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan illustrate the wider circulation of Peroz drachms, rather than offering locations for their countermarking. The hoard found at Kaynarbulak was found in the next room to a copper coin of the Türgesh and is located about 100 km South-East of the site of Otrar where locally issued coins with the Türgesh tamga have been found [Baratova, 1999: 253]. The casting of Türgesh copper coins has been observed at three sites to the East of Kaynarbulak at Ispijab, 15 km to the East, at Taraz 150 km and at Farab 600 km [Baitanaev, Petrov and Bragin, 2021: 226]. So it is eastwards from Otrar that the bulk of the finds of the Chinese style Türgesh coins and their production have been reported. The discovery of this hoard within the region of the circulation of Türgesh copper coins, primarily in the region of northern Kyrgyzstan and the neighbouring areas of Kazakstan, suggests strongly that the countermarks were applied to enable these Peroz drachms to circulate there. The titles on the countermarks, Khagan, Tarkhan and Tegin, are all documented as in use by the Türgesh [Stark, 2016].

The attribution of the countermarks on the coins in this hoard to the Türgesh takes them chronologically far from the time of their original issue. It raises the question of how could coins issued in the second half of the fifth century still be in active use in the first half of the eighth century. The hoard parcel in Berlin from the Babylon hoard shows that such countermarked Peroz drachms were still available for inclusion in a hoard deposited in the early ninth century, and the inclusion of one of these countermarked coins in the hoard from Shashkat also of the late eighth confirms their longevity. The widespread use of Peroz drachms in Sogdia and Tokharistan would make such coins readily available to the Türgesh, particularly during their military campaigns further West into these regions. The use of the Türgesh tamga for countermarking Sasanian coins was not restricted to Peroz drachms, but this countermark has also been reported on a coin of Kawad, 498–531 CE [Loginov-Nikitin, 1993: 97] and on coins of Khusrau II, 591–628 CE, dated 602 and 621 [Zeno.ru, 169193].

**Conclusion.** The discovery of the hoard of countermarked Peroz drachms at Kaynarbulak, Shimkent, Kazakstan has served to clarify the attribution of the countermarks on them to the Türgesh (c. 699–766 CE) and to date them to the eighth century. It is, however, unclear where the

majority of these countermarks were applied. Such countermarked Peroz coins are rarely found in excavations, and none in Kazakstan apart from this hoard. The Türgesh controlled territory far to the West of where these coins were found, so it remains possible that they were countermarked in another part of the territory under Türgesh control.

This adds another chapter to the story of the circulation of Peroz's coins and their imitations across Central Asia and beyond into China and South Asia. The rare occurrence of a hoard of such coins from an excavated context is to be highly valued for the precision of the information it yields. It serves to correct several misunderstandings of these coins and their countermarks and advances our understanding of the monetary system of ancient Kazakstan.



Photo table 1.



Photo table 2.



Photo table 3.



Photo table 4.

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