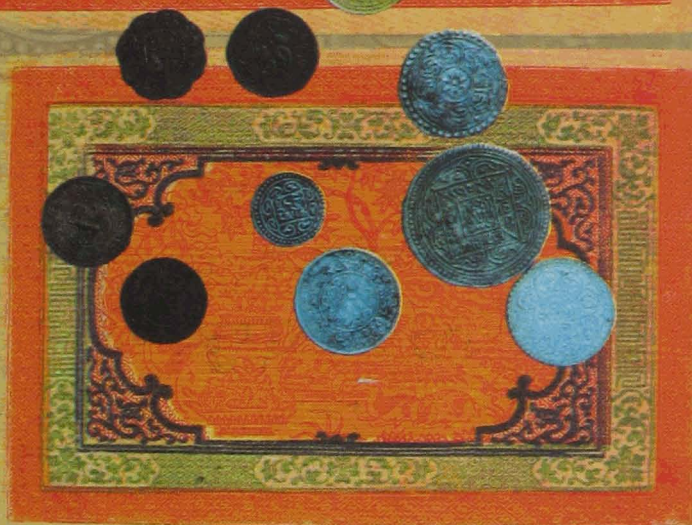




The Currency of Tibet



Wolfgang Bertsch

THE CURRENCY OF TIBET

A Sourcebook for the Study of Tibetan Coins,
Paper Money and other Forms of Currency

by
Wolfgang Bertsch

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Publisher's Note

We are happy to publish yet another book on numismatic study of Tibetan currency, entitled *The Currency of Tibet*, a sourcebook for the study of Tibetan coins, paper money and other forms of currency by Mr. Wolfgang Bertsch.

The author has taken great pain in compiling this book. He has provided a comprehensive introduction with illustrations of paper currency and coins and their explanations. He has, also, consulted numerous western non numismatic publications on Tibet and has listed all those which mention some aspects of Tibet's currency, often quoting extensively, particularly from those works which may not be of easy access.

We hope that this sourcebook will be of immense use to all those scholars and students who would like to be thoroughly informed on an aspect of Tibetan history and culture.

Publications Department
Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, Dharamsala.

June, 2002.

Preface

Compiling bibliographies is hardly anybody's favourite occupation and if the work with bibliographies was more exciting and less time consuming we certainly would have many more specialized bibliographic compilations which are a necessary tool for students and scholars whenever they want to embark on studies in a certain field which hitherto has not been their speciality. A serious bibliographer will always strive for completeness, but the result which he presents will unfortunately be nothing more than a selective bibliography, as nobody can claim to have access to every publication worldwide in the field which forms the subject of his specialized bibliography. Hence I am quite aware that also the present sourcebook cannot present more than a selection of existing publications on the history of Tibetan currency (including bordering areas to the west and south of Tibet).

The nucleus of the present bibliographical compilation is the following publication: Hellrigl, Wolfgang and Gabrisch, Karl: *Tibet. A Philatelic and Numismatic Bibliography*. Santa Monica 1983. Naturally, I have included all entries of the numismatic part of this bibliography in the present compilation, mostly along with Gabrisch's summaries, and have marked these entries with an asterisk. In collaboration with Nicholas Rhodes and myself Karl Gabrisch compiled an unpublished supplement to the numismatic part of his bibliography comprising titles published between 1983 and May 1993 as well as earlier works which had been omitted in the published bibliography. After Karl Gabrisch's death in 1995 I continued to collect bibliographical material and also included Chinese publications, part of which had been collected by me during extensive journeys to China and many of which had been translated into German at the expense of Karl Gabrisch who had made a preliminary listing of this Chinese material; this list was subsequently improved and expanded by Nicholas Rhodes and myself and has been included in the present compilation as Section IX.

I have tried to include not only numismatic books and articles on Tibet, but have consulted numerous western non numismatic publications on Tibet and list all those which mention some aspects of Tibet's currency, often quoting extensively, particularly from those works which may not be of easy access. In this respect I follow the method applied already by Karl Gabrisch in his above mentioned bibliographic compilations.

I must admit that the present compilation (no more than Gabrisch's original numismatic bibliography) hardly has considered publications in Tibetan language. Although the majority of Tibetan authors were normally more concerned with their country's religious than with its political, economical, social and cultural history, Tibetan currency is occasionally mentioned in ancient and modern Tibetan literature which should be systematically examined in order to glean all references of numismatic relevance. I hope that one day I will be able to convince a Tibetan scholar to do this job which could bring the present compilation somewhat closer to being "complete" and would undoubtedly uncover some hitherto unknown details of Tibet's currency history.

I do hope that despite all shortcomings this sourcebook will be of some use to all those who would like to be thoroughly informed on an aspect of Tibetan history and culture which has hitherto been neglected not only by Tibetan scholars but also by most Western tibetologists.

Wolfgang Bertsch,
Gundernhausen (near Darmstadt),
Germany,

June 2001.

Introduction

1. A Brief Historical Survey of Tibet's Currency

Till the mid 17th century some coins of countries bordering with Tibet were used in Tibet, but their importance was limited, since barter trade was the main form used for commercial transactions.

The era during which currency in the form of coins or banknotes was used in central Tibet can be divided into four parts.

1. Ca. 1650 to 1792. This period is characterized by the use of the mohar silver coinage struck by the three Newari kingdoms Kathmandu, Patan (Lalitpur) and Bhaktapur (Bhadgaon), all located in the Kathmandu valley. After 1767 coins struck for Tibet by the Nepalese rulers of the early Saha dynasty were used in Tibet together with the earlier mohars of the Malla dynasty. In the second half of the 18th century the Tibetan government made some attempts to strike coins in Lhasa, following the weight standard and design of the Newari coins.
2. 1792 - 1835. This is the period during which Chinese influence on the coinage of Tibet was predominant through the introduction of the so called Sino-tibetan coins in 1792. These coins had Tibetan inscription on one side and Chinese inscription on the other and were struck in the eras Qian Long, Dao Guang and Jia Jin. From 1791 to 1793 dated silver coins, known as "Kong-par" tangkas and bearing only Tibetan legends were also struck.
3. 1836 - 1911. Tibet resumed the production of own coins, the design of which is still inspired by the Newari coins. The main type is the so-called "Gaden tangka", a silver coin weighing about 5.3 grammes, which was struck in considerable numbers. From about 1850 the Indian Rupee gained importance and competed with the native coinage, replacing it almost completely in Eastern Tibet. Between 1903 and 1911 the Chinese tried to counteract the predominance of the Indian rupee by issuing the Sichuan rupee which gained some popularity, particularly in Eastern Tibet. For a brief period during 1910 and 1911 Chinese influence was again predominant also in Central Tibet, when the Lhasa mint was placed under Chinese authority and a new type of Sino-tibetan coinage in the name of Xuan Tung was introduced.
4. 1912 - 1959 This is the period during which Tibet tried to rid itself of both Chinese and British Indian influence regarding currency. The large majority of coins and banknotes used in Tibet during this period were struck and printed in Lhasa, using Buddhist and Tibetan designs and did not mention any foreign authority. Influence of Nepal can still be seen in the design of the coins and influence of British India made itself felt in the minting and printing technique. The Indian rupee retained its importance to a certain degree, while the use of the Sichuan rupees and of other

Chinese silver coins was less widespread and became insignificant towards 1950. Between 1951 and 1959 the Yuan Shikai dollar which was restruck in Chengdu for exclusive use in Tibet, gained a certain popularity among Tibetans owing to its high silver content. Between 1953 and 1954 the last coins were struck under Tibetan authority and in 1959 the Tibetan government issued the last banknotes of 100 Srang. After this last time the Chinese Renminbi Yuan replaced the Tibetan currency.

2. Chinese Numismatic Literature on Tibet

Since the publication of the numismatic part of the late Karl Gabrisch's Tibet bibliography (see VIII.11) an amazing number of new publications on Tibet's currency have appeared.

Particularly noteworthy are the books and articles which have been published in China and Tibet, being dedicated wholly or partly to the coinage and paper money of Tibet. The Cultural Revolution had brought serious research in numismatics to an almost complete standstill in China. Beginning in the 1980's research could finally resume and numerous numismatic journals were launched, catalogues and research papers were published and older numismatic works could be reprinted. In Lhasa a numismatic research unit, attached to the Lhasa Branch of the People's Bank of China, was founded. Members of this research group have published articles (mostly in "Zhongguo Qianbi", the only Chinese numismatic journal with nationwide distribution) and an illustrated booklet, following Xiao Huaiyuan's earlier book on the currency of Tibet, entitled "Xizang Difeng Huobishi", published in Peking in 1987.

Although the desperate effort made by some Chinese authors to persuade their readers that the currency of Tibet's "Local Government" proves that Tibet has always been a part of China, can at times be quite disturbing, many papers provide fresh information and interpretations, often based on documentary evidence which hitherto had not been available to readers from the West, as Tibetan and Chinese archives are not accessible to western scholars.

However, most Chinese authors do not make use sufficiently of the evidence presented by the coins and banknotes themselves (perhaps with the exception of a few authors like Wang Haiyan), and they often ignore the close commercial and monetary relationship which existed between Nepal and Tibet from the 17th to the 19th century resulting in a strong Nepalese influence on both currency units and designs used for most coins minted in Tibet - and naturally they often prefer to ignore the influence which British India exerted on Tibet's 20th century money and particularly on the minting and paper note printing techniques.

Possibly more for political reasons than for reasons of unavailability Chinese authors almost totally ignore what has been published on Tibetan numismatics by western specialists.

Despite these shortcomings most contributions made by Chinese authors are very valuable and often ideally complement what has been written on Tibetan currency by western specialists.

It is left to specialist from western countries to focus on those aspects of Tibetan numismatics which are neglected by Chinese authors. In this context the contributions made in recent years by Nicholas G. Rhodes, Karl Gabrisch and myself may be mentioned.

It is to be hoped that in the near future Chinese authors will be able to study and use western numismatic publications on Tibet and that in this way a fruitful dialogue between Tibetan, Chinese and western numismatists may be inaugurated, a dialogue which due to political reasons could so far not yet be considered.

3. Tibetan Currency Units

Two different currency units were used in Tibet during the period when coinage and paper money were produced:

1. The older system, based on the srang and most probably introduced from China.
2. The later system based on the tam or tangka, introduced from Nepal in the 16th century.

The srang, as most currency units used worldwide, originally was a unit to weigh gold and silver, based on the Chinese Liang (or Tael) which was equal to slightly more than 37 grammes, varying in different periods and different areas, but officially fixed as "Kuping Tael" for payment of government taxes in the beginning of this century with the weight of 37.312 grammes.¹ Supposedly the srang as weight unit had existed in Tibet already two generations before the rule of king Srong Tsang Gampo (srong-btsan sgampo), i.e. in the late 6th century A.D. At that time the following subdivisions of the Srang are said to have existed:

1 srang	=	10 qian (or "chien"; Chinese word for what in Tibet was called "zho")
1 qian	=	20 sawa
1 sawa	=	6 qung kier (barley grains)

The srang is frequently mentioned as gold and silver weight in the *Blue Annals*.² From about the thirteenth century it was primarily used as silver weight.

Only in 1908 A.D. the silver srang was issued as a coin for the first time; till then the srang had only been used as unit of account. However, its standard was reduced to 50% of its original weight, i.e. to about 18.65 grammes.³

The value of the dngul srang in A.D. 1919 is given as 1 rupee and 11 annas approximately which in weight is equal to 19.683 grammes.⁴

The next coins issued in srang were silver coins of 3 srang which were first minted in 1933 A.D. and weighed the same as the Indian rupee, i.e. about 11.66 grammes.⁵ Hence the srang's standard was further reduced to one third of an Indian rupee; in fact its value was even slightly less than that. This must have been the approximate standard of the silver srang when the first 100 tam srang notes were issued in 1937 A.D.

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1. cf. Morse, Hosea Ballou: *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*. Bombay and Calcutta 1908, pp. 119 sqq.
 2. Roerich, George: *The Blue Annals*. Reprint New Delhi, 1976 (first published in Calcutta, 1949). For references to the gold srang see e.g pp. 112, 927, 1026 and 1027. For a reference to the silver srang, see p. 1064. The *Blue Annals* were written between A.D. 1476 and A.D. 1481.
 3. Bell, Charles: *Manual of Coloquial Tibetan*. Reprint: Kathmandu, 1978 (first original edition 1905), p. 118.
 4. For the calculations of the weight standard of the Srang, I treat the silver coins issued in Tibet in the srang denomination as having a "theoretical" fineness of 100% silver although the actual fineness was only just above 80% for the coins which were minted in srang denomination.
 5. The Indian Rupee found wide circulation in Tibet after its introduction within the uniform coin system established in British India in 1835. Its weight had been fixed in that year at 180 grains (1 grain = 0.0648 gramme) which is equal to 11.664 grammes. Cf. Chakravarty, D.: *Nineteenth & Twentieth Century Coins of India*. Calcutta, 1979, p. 19.

Between 1953 and 1954 A.D. a coin in the style of the earlier “Gaden Tangkas” was minted in good silver, had a weight of about 5 grammes and was reportedly given the value of 5 srang, which shows that the standard of the silver srang was again considerably reduced, reaching less than 1/37th part of its original weight standard.

The expressions “dngul srang” and “tam srang” were used concurrently. I am not aware that there existed any difference in value between the two. Thus one reads “tam srang” on the first 100 Srang notes, whereas the 25 srang notes mention “shog dngul srang” (“paper silver srang”) in the last line of the obverse legend.

The silver srang (dngul srang) had the following subdivisions:

1 ngul srang (sring-gang)	=	10 zho (sho)	=	6 tangka + 1 zho
1 zho (zho-gang)	=	10 skar	=	4 kha
1 kha (kha-gang)	=	2 1/2 skar		

As unit of account there existed the *rdo-tshad* which equals 50 *dngul srang*.

When referring to one unit the syllable “gang” (e.g. “zho-gang”) is added to the name of the currency unit while the syllable “do” (e.g. “zho-do”) is added when referring to two units.

The tam, tangka, tamka or tamga¹ was first introduced into Tibet from Nepal and originally was equivalent to about 10.5 grammes of silver. In about 1640 A.D. the Nepalese Malla kingdoms replaced this heavy standard by a lighter of roughly 5.6 grammes. The coins struck to this standard in Nepal were called mohurs (mohars) and were exported to Tibet in large numbers where they were called “bal tam”, since Nepal was known as “bal yul” (wool country). After the Tibet-Nepal war of 1792, Nepal was deprived of it’s privilege to mint coins for Tibet and from then onwards the “zho” and the “tangka” were the main currency units which were struck in Tibet. Even in the beginning of the twentieth century, when the first banknotes were introduced, the “sring” had not yet been firmly established as currency unit among the Tibetan population, since the coins struck in this denomination in 1908 were few and, being of good silver, were mostly hoarded. This explains why the first Tibetan paper notes were issued in tam rather than in srang. According to Wesley E. Needham in 1914, when the early Tam notes circulated, the value of 1 Tam was equivalent to 0.12 US\$.²

1. E.H.C. Walsh gives the following three spellings for the word “tangka”: 1. འྲ་ཀྱི་ (tamka; with a small circle [sanskrit: “anusvara”] above the letter “ta”). 2. འྲ་ཅ་ཀྱི་ (tang-ka) and 3. འྲ་ང་ཀྱི་ (trang-ka). cf. Walsh, E.H.C.: “The Coinage of Tibet.” In: *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Vol. II, No. 2, Calcutta 1907, pp. 11-23.
W. Surkhang mentions the additional spelling “Tam dkar” which originally may only have referred to coins of good silver which looked “white”. cf. Surkhang, Wangchen: “Tax Measurement and Lag ‘don Tax.” In: *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. III, Nr. 1, Gangtok, February 1966, pp. 15-28.
The forms “tang-ka” and “trang-ka” in which the letter “ma” has changed to “nga” probably owe their existence to the assimilation of the sound “ma” to the following sound “ka”.
The historical use of the word “tanka” and similar forms in Russia and Asia is demonstrated with numerous references by: Temple, Richard Carnac: “Currency and Coinage among the Burmese.” In: *The Indian Antiquary*. A Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XXVI, Bombay, September 1897, pp. 235-244.
2. Unpublished letter of Wesley E. Needham to Joseph J. Woodburn Jr., dated April 4, 1951. My thanks go to N.G. Rhodes for having made a copy of this letter available to me

The following subdivisions of the srang and tam existed:

1 tangka	=	1.5 zho	=	15 skar	=	6 kha
1 srang	=	10 zho	=	100 skar		
1 srang	=	6 2/3 tangka				
1 tangka	=	0.15 srang				
1 zhogang	=	10 skar	=	4 kha		
1/2 tangka	=	1 phyad brgyad	=	7 1/2 skar		
1/3 tangka	=	1 skarma ngna	=	5 skar		
1/6 tangka	=	1 khakang	=	2 1/2 skar		
1 kha-chag	=	6 kha	=	12 1/2 skar		

In Chinese literature occasionally the following expressions are used for the units based on the srang (liang). The expressions given in brackets are those used in older western literature on China:

1 liang (tael)	=	10 qian [or "chien"] (mace)
1 qian (mace)	=	10 fen (candareens)
1 fen (candareen)	=	10 li (cash)

The value of the early tam banknotes expressed in the srang system are as follows:

5 tam	=	7 zho	+	5 skar		(= 7 1/2 zho = 3/4 srang)
10 tam	=	1 srang	+	5 zho		(= 1 1/2 srang)
15 tam	=	2 srang	+	2 zho	+	5 skar (= 2 1/4 srang)
25 tam	=	3 srang	+	7 zho	+	5 skar (= 3 3/4 srang)
50 tam	=	7 srang	+	5 zho		(= 7 1/2 srang).

For the banknotes issued from 1939 AD onwards the unit "srang" was used.

4. Some Numismatic Terms

Here I try to define some numismatic terms which are mentioned in the bibliographic section or are otherwise used in the context of Tibetan currency history. For a more comprehensive survey of numismatic expressions one should consult the Numismatic encyclopedias which exist, such as the following:

Doty, Richard G.: *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Numismatics*. Robert Hale. London, 1982.

I have based the definitions which I give here mainly on this work.

Billon

A metal alloy which contains a maximum of 50 % silver, the rest being base metal, mostly copper. In Tibet billon containing only about 14% silver was used for the minting of 10 Srang coins which were struck between 1948 and 1951.

Brockage

Coins are struck from a lower die which produces what is called the obverse of the coin and an upper die which produces what is known as the reverse of the coin. When, after striking, the coin remains stuck to the lower die instead of being removed, the new planchet

gets the impression of the reverse of the coin which was struck previously instead of the impression of the reverse die. Thus this coin will have two reverses, one normal in relief, struck with the upper die, and one unusual in incuse and inverted, from the reverse of the coin which got stuck on the lower die. This is called a reverse brockage.

When a coin gets stuck to the upper die, the following planchet will get two obverse impressions, one normal in relief from the lower die and one unusual in incuse from the obverse of the previous coin which got stuck to the upper die. The resulting coin is called an obverse brockage.

Brockages of Tibetan coins are mainly known from copper coins, such as 5 Skar (large size issue), zhogang (the earlier issues) and 7 1/2 skar (scalloped planchet). An example of the 1/4 zho struck in the name of Xuan Tong is also known. The only known brockage of a silver coin is that of a Gaden Tangka.

Forgery

Imitation of a coin meant for circulation with the intention to deceive the public. Forgeries are made in a metal which is cheaper than the one used for the genuine counterpart. Forgeries are also produced as imitations of rare coins in order to deceive collectors and are also called counterfeits. These try to be as close to the original as possible, but are often cast instead of being struck, thus having a slightly smaller diameter than the original counterpart; this is due to the shrinking of the metal after casting.

The silver coins which were frequently forged in Tibet are the Kong par and Gaden tangkas. Among the copper coins, the earlier zho gangs are the most widely forged pieces. Modern counterfeits are known of most rare Tibetan coins, such as the silver 1 Srang, dated 15-43, the gold coin, dated 15-54, the silver one and two zho issues in the name of Xuan Tong, the copper issues of 2 1/2, 5 and 7 1/2 Skar, dated 15-43.

Off metal strike

This is a coin struck in another metal than the one normally used for its type. As examples of Tibetan off metal strikes one may mention a zho in the 58th year of Qian Long, struck in gold (instead of silver), a 20 Srang coin, dated 15-53, struck in copper (instead of gold), a 1/8th zho in the name of Xuan Tong struck in silver (instead of copper) and a zho-gang, dated 16-6, struck in silver (instead of copper). Off metal strikes can be produced as a fancy of mint employees (called mintsport), in the process of testing newly carved dies (trial strike) or in a limited number as presentation pieces.

Pattern

An officially struck coin which was not issued. Numerous Tibetan pattern coins of the 20th century are known, the most attractive piece being a 50 srang silver coin which shows the Potala on the obverse (see Fig. 1, p. 9). The silver coins, dated to the 57th year of Qian Long are most probably patterns, being the only ones of the 18th century. As 19th century patterns may be considered some silver coins struck in the name of Xien Feng.

Phantasy

Phantasies are privately struck coins in the style of official pieces, but never identical. They are specially produced for collectors and not meant for circulation. Phantasies of Tibetan coins were probably all produced in China and exist in the three major metals, i.e. gold, silver and copper.

Planchet

This is a disk of metal, mostly round, stamped out of a metal sheet and used to produce a coin. In the case of modern machine striking, before a planchet is used it is treated around the edge by passing through a special machine, resulting in a planchet with a design on the edge (called milling; the result is a milled coin) and with a border which is higher than the rest of the coin. This method was used for all Tibetan coins from the early 1930s onwards.

In two cases, planchets of a somewhat fancy shape were used in Tibet. The first copper 2 1/2 skar issue was struck on a small flower shaped planchet (with four petals; see plate VI, nr. 41) while the second copper issue of 7 1/2 Skar was struck on scalloped planchets (with eight lobes; see plate VI, nr. 44).

5. The Dates on Tibetan Coins and Banknotes

a) Dates on coins

The dating system found on most Tibetan coins is the one of the Sexagenary Cycle which started in AD 1027, which is believed to be the year when the Kala Cakra (Tib.: dus kyi khor-lo) was introduced into Tibet from India via Kashmir.¹ The year AD 1027 is the first year of the first Tibetan cycle.

The number of cycles (each comprising sixty years) and the number of years which have elapsed since 1026 are indicated on the coins. Here I give an example: rab byung (cycle) 15 lo (year) 43.

This means that 14 complete cycles plus 43 years of the 15th cycle have elapsed since 1026 AD. Hence the Western year can be calculated as follows: $(14 \times 60) + 43 + 1026 = \text{AD } 1909$.

On some pattern coins the year is given as “rab-lo”: Example: rab-lo 927. This figure represents the total amount of years which have elapsed since 1026, i.e. it corresponds to the year 1953 of the Christian Era in this example (see plate VIII, nr. 61).

Two Tibetan pattern coins can serve as evidence that the above mentioned formula to convert the cycle date into Western date is correct and is the one which Tibetan mint officials must have applied on the coinage. The coins are of the denominations of 25 and 50 Srang and mention the Western year as “spyi lo 1951”; on both coins the Tibetan date is given as “rab-lo 925”.

1: Csoma de Körös gave the introduction of the Kalacakra into Tibet and thus the first year of the Tibetan cycle as A.D. 1026. cf. Csoma de Körös, Alexander: *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*. Reprint. Budapest 1986, p. 148. This error was copied by some scholars, e.g. Schlagintweit. Cf. Schlagintweit, Emil: *Buddhism in Tibet*. Indian Reprint, Delhi and Varanasi 1988, pp. 276-277.

The error committed by Csoma de Körös in the calculation of the 1st year of the Tibetan cycle was finally corrected by: Pelliot, P.: “Le cycle sexagénaire dans la chronologie tibétaine.” In: *Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin 1913, pp. 633-667.

See also: Vogel, Klaus: “On Tibetan Chronology.” In: *Central Asiatic Studies. International Periodical for the Languages, Literature, History and Archaeology of Central Asia*, Vol. IX, Nr. 3, The Hague and Wiesbaden Sept. 1964, pp. 224-238, and Laufer, Berthold: “The Application of the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle.” In: *Sino Tibetan Studies. Selected papers on the Art, Folklore, History, Linguistics and Prehistory of sciences in China and Tibet*, Vol. 2, New Delhi 1982.

Shakabpa, Tsepon W.D., *Tibet. A Political History*, New York 1984, p. 17, suggests that the Kalacakra Tantra was translated into Tibetan in AD 1027 which became the first year of the first sixty year cycle. For numismatic literature discussing the dating of Tibetan currency see the section “I” of the bibliography.

One should bear in mind that the Tibetan lunar year usually begins in February according to the Western calendar. Therefore a coin which can be dated to AD 1951, can still have been struck in January 1952, while it cannot have been struck as early as January 1951, supposing that a given Tibetan coin was actually struck at the date with which it is inscribed.

There are some silver coins which have Tibetan legends on one side and Chinese characters on the other and are usually referred to as Sino-Tibetan coins, as they were issued in Lhasa under joint Chinese and Tibetan authority. These coins make mention of the Chinese Imperial Eras of Qian Long (AD 1736-1796), Jia Qing (AD 1797-1820), Dao Guang (AD 1821-1851) and Xuan Tong (AD 1908-1911) and indicate the year within these Eras in which they are struck. Example: Qian Long 58th year = AD 1793 (see plate II, nrs. 9 - 15).

b) Dates on banknotes

Two different dating systems were used on the banknotes. The Tibetan Era date can be found on all notes in Tam denomination and on the 10 Srang issues. The first year of the Tibetan Era corresponds to 254 A.D. which year, according to the inscription on the banknotes was the year of the founding of the Tibetan Government. According to another tradition it was the year when Tho-tho-ri, the first historical Tibetan king of the Yarlung Dynasty was born. Yet another tradition considers it as the year when the first Buddhist scriptures fell from heaven at a place where the Yumbu Lakar (Tibetan: yum bu brla mkhar)¹ was built earlier on (in the second century B.C.) by the legendary first Tibetan king Nyatri Tsenpo. (Tibetan: gnya khri btsan po).²

The early banknotes and the 10 Srang notes also mention the cycle during which they were issued. However, they do not indicate the exact year of the cycle during which they were printed or released for circulation. If we did not know how to convert the T.E. date into Western date and had to rely on the indicated cycle alone, the dating of banknotes would be very vague. We could only conclude that the early notes were issued some time between AD 1867 (first year of the 15th cycle) and AD 1926 (last year of the 15th cycle). The 10 Srang notes could be dated between the first year of the 16th cycle (AD 1927) and AD 1959 which was the last year when banknotes were issued. However, there are some notes from which the exact manner of conversion of the T.E. year to the year of the Western calendar can be deduced:

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1. There exists an alternative spelling: yum bu bla sgang. Cf.: Tenzin: "A Brief Description of Yumbu Lakhar". In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. 17, no. 2, Dharamsala, summer 1992, pp. 59-64.
 2. cf. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "The Dating of Tibetan Banknotes". In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, Spring 1988, pp. 57-60. Also published in *Coin & Medal News*, January 1987, pp. 89-90.

See also Bertsch, Wolfgang: *A Study of Tibetan Paper Money*, Dharamsala, 1997, Appendix II, and Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan: *Tibetan Paper Currency*. St. Albans, Herts., 1987. Shrestha was probably the first in dating the Tibetan banknotes correctly basing his findings on the evidence provided by the banknotes themselves.

Shakabpa believes that the buddhist text, which was called Nyenpo Sangwa (the secret) by king Tho-tho-ri, was given to this king in 233 A.D. and that the king was born 60 years earlier, i.e. in AD 173. Therefore he assumes that currency notes were first introduced in 1890 AD, taking 232 AD as the first T.E. year. However, this is not consistent with the evidence provided by the banknotes.

Shakabpa's erroneous dating of Tibetan banknotes has been repeated uncritically in numerous western tibetological publications.

Shakabpa, Tsepon W.D.: *op. cit.* pp. 24-25.



Fig.1

50 dngul srang pattern coin, dated spyi lo 1951 and rab lo 925 on the reverse.

Following the early Tam notes, new, multicoloured 50 Tam notes were issued. Like the early notes they are inscribed with the T.E. year and indicate the Tibetan cycle. The first multicoloured 50 Tam notes to be issued mention the year 1672 of the Tibetan Era and the 15th Tibetan cycle (Fig. 2). The notes issued in the following year bear the T.E. date 1673 and indicate the 16th cycle (Fig. 3). From these two note issues we can deduct that the first notes of T.E. 1672 must have been issued during the last year of the 15th cycle (i.e. in AD 1926) while the next notes must have been issued during the first year of the 16th cycle. Thus one can assert beyond any doubt that the figure 254 (AD 1926 minus T.E. 1672) must be added to the Tibetan Era year indicated on Tibetan banknotes in order to arrive at the equivalent Western year.

However, this rule only applies to T.E. dates found on Tibetan banknotes. There may well exist Tibetan documents on which a T.E. year is indicated which has to be converted into the equivalent Western year by using a different formula. These different T.E. dates may refer to historical events which may not be the founding of the Tibetan Government, but one of the other early incidents in Tibetan history some of which are mentioned above.



Fig.2

Tibetan 50 Tam banknote dated to the Tibetan Era year 1672 in the second line of the legend and to the fifteenth cycle in the last line of the next.

year 1672 = ལོ་ཚིག་སྟོང་དུག་བརྒྱ་བདུན་ཅུ་དོན་གཉིས། *lo chig stong drug brgya bdun cu don gnyis*

fifteenth cycle = རབ་བྱུང་བཅོམ་ལྔ་པ། *rab byung bco lnga*



Fig.3

Tibetan 50 Tam banknote dated to the Tibetan Era year 1673 in the second line of the legend and to the sixteenth cycle in the last line of the text.

sixteenth cycle = རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་དུག་ལྔ། *rab byung bcu drug.*

Abbreviations used in the bibliographical part:

IBNS	=	Journal of the International Banknote Society
JASB	=	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
JEAN	=	Journal of East Asian Numismatics, Taipei and Niskayuna NY, Taiwan and USA
NC	=	Numismatic Chronicle, U.K.
NIB	=	Numismatics International Bulletin, Dallas, USA
ONS NL	=	Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter, U.K.
SNC	=	Spink Numismatic Circular, London, U.K.
TJ	=	The Tibet Journal, Dharamsala, India
WCN	=	World Coin News, Iola, Wisconsin, USA

In order to make the bibliographical part of this compilation more accessible to non specialists I often did not use the above listed abbreviations. However, I omit the place of publication of the above listed journals in the references given below.

When referring to specific coins, the abbreviations for the following better known coin catalogues are used:

- C** = Craig, William D.: *Coins of the World*. First Edition. Whitman Publishing Company. Racine Wisconsin, 1966. (second edition: Racine, Wisconsin, 1973).
- K** = Kann, Edward: *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Coins*. Los Angeles, 1954. (Second Edition, Mint Productions Inc., New York, 1966).
- KM** = Krause, Chester L. and Mishler, Clifford (Colin R. Bruce II, editor): *Standard Catalog of World Coins*. Deluxe ANA Centennial Edition. Iola, Wisconsin, 1991. Same authors: *Standard Catalog of World Coins. Complete listings by date and mint since 1901*. 27th edition. Iola Wisconsin, 1999. Same authors: *Standard Catalog of World Coins. World Coin Listings and Value Guide. 1801-1900*. 2nd Edition. Iola, Wisconsin, n.d.
- Y** = Yeoman, R.S.: *A Catalog of Modern World Coins*. Ninth Edition. Whitman Hobby Division. Racine Wisconsin, 1970. (12th edition, Racine Wisconsin, 1978)

Most of the Western sources included in this compilation can be located in at least one of the following libraries:

Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Foreign Language Department, Dharamsala, India.

Library of the Tibetan Monastic Institute, Rikon, Switzerland.

Library of the London School of African and Asian Studies, London (U.K.).

Library of the American Numismatic Society, New York, U.S.A.

Library of the Coin Department of the British Museum (London).

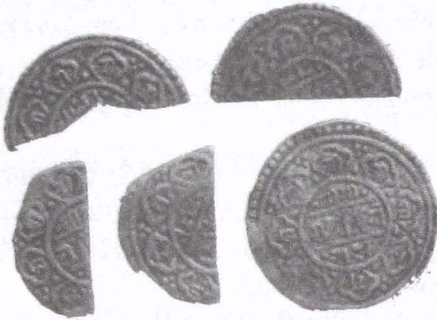
PLATE I



1. Anonymous "Shri Shri" Tanka of Nepal



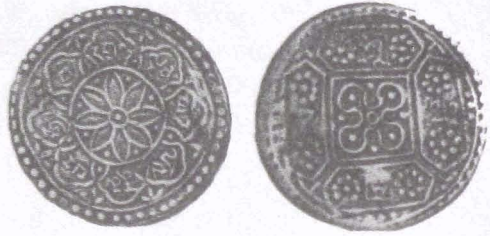
2. Mohar of king Ranjit Malla of Bhaktapur dated Nepal Samvat 842 (AD 1722)



3. Mohar of Pratap Simha and fractional pieces dated Saka era 1697 (AD 1777)



4. Undated Sucakara Vijaya Tanka



5. Undated Shri Mangalam Tanka



6. Tanka with figure "45"



7. Undated Tanka with Vartula script

PLATE II



8. Kong-par tangka, dated 13-45

9. 1/2zho dated 57th year of
Qian Long10. 1/2 zho dated 58th year
of Qian Long11. 1/2 tangka dated 58th year
of Qian Long12. Zhogang dated 60th year
of Qian Long

13. Zhogang dated 3rd year of Jia Qin



14. Zhogang dated 6th year of Jia Qin

15. Zhogang dated 15th year
of Dao Guang

PLATE III



16. Undated early Ganden tangka (ca. 1841-50) 17. Kong-par tangka dated 13-46



18. Kong-par tangka dated 15-25

19. Tangka with Lañtsa script dated 15-46



20. Sichuan rupee struck in Chengdu

21. Sichuan rupee struck in Kangding



22. Half Sichuan rupee struck
in Chengdu

23. 1/4 Sichuan rupee struck
in Chengdu

PLATE IV



24. Lukuan rupee struck in
Kangding(1899-1901)



25. British Indian rupee
(Queen Victoria)



26. Undated tangka
struck ca. 1910



27. 1 tam srang, dated first year
of Xuan Tong



28. 5 zho dated first year of
Xuan Tong



29. 1/4 zho dated first year
Xuan Tong



30. 1/8 zho dated first year
Xuan Tong



31. 1 tam srang dated 15-43



PLATE V



32. 2 1/2 skar dated 15-43



33. 5 skar dated 15-43



34. 7 1/2 skar dated 15-43



35. Half skar dated to the Xuan Tong Era



36. 1 skar dated to the Xuan Tong Era



37. Zhogang dated to the Xuan Tong Era



38. 2 zho dated to the Xuan Tong Era

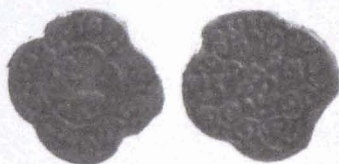


39. 1 tam srang dated 15-48

PLATE VI



40. 21/2 skar dated 15-48



41. 21/2 skar dated 15-52



42. 5 skar dated 15-48



43. 5 skar dated 15-55



44. 7 1/2 skar dated 15-56



45. Undated late Ganden tangka (1929-30)



46. 5 zho dated 15-50



47. 7.5 zho dated 15-52

PLATE VII



48. 20 tam srang gold coin dated 15-52



49. Zhogang dated 16-2



50. Zhogang dated 15-54



51. Zhogang dated 16-9



52. 3 srang dated 16-8



53. 3 srang dated 16-10



54. 3 zho dated 16-20



55. 5 zho dated 16-23



PLATE VIII



56. 10 srang dated 16-22



57. 10 srang dated 16-24



58. Undated tangka (1953-54)



59. Undated 5 zho pattern (ca. 1928)



60. Zhogang pattern dated 16-1



61. 5 Srang pattern, dated rab lo 927

PLATE IX



1. FIVE TAM note dated T.E. 1658 (= A.D. 1912) Serial nr. 14986.

Red imprint of an unepigraphic (without script; Tibetan *yig man*) Dalai lama seal on the left. Normally these notes also show the imprint of a black seal on the right. This imprint has been omitted on this note.

The notes in tam denomination were printed from wood blocks until the 1920s. In 1936 they were withdrawn from circulation.

PLATE X



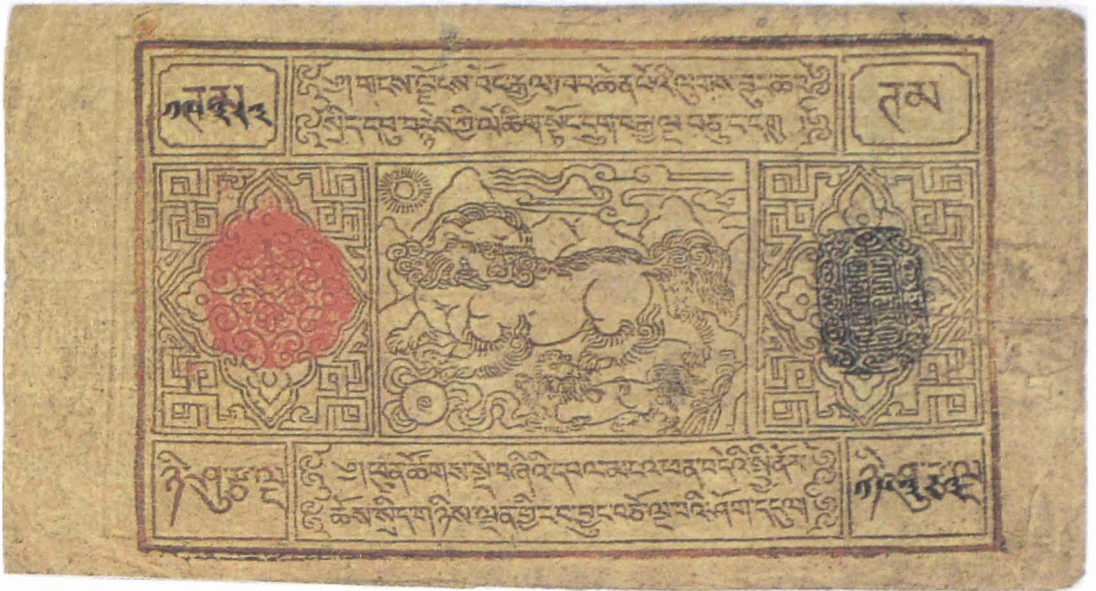
2. TEN TAM note dated T.E. 1659 (= A.D. 1913). Serial nr. 17674

This note and those illustrated in plates XI to XIV show the imprint of an unepigraphic red Dalai Lama seal on the left and the imprint of a black treasury seal on the right. The text of the black seal is written in 'phags pa (also called *hor yig* in Tibetan) characters and reads *gzhung dngul khang* (government treasury)

PLATE XI



PLATE XII



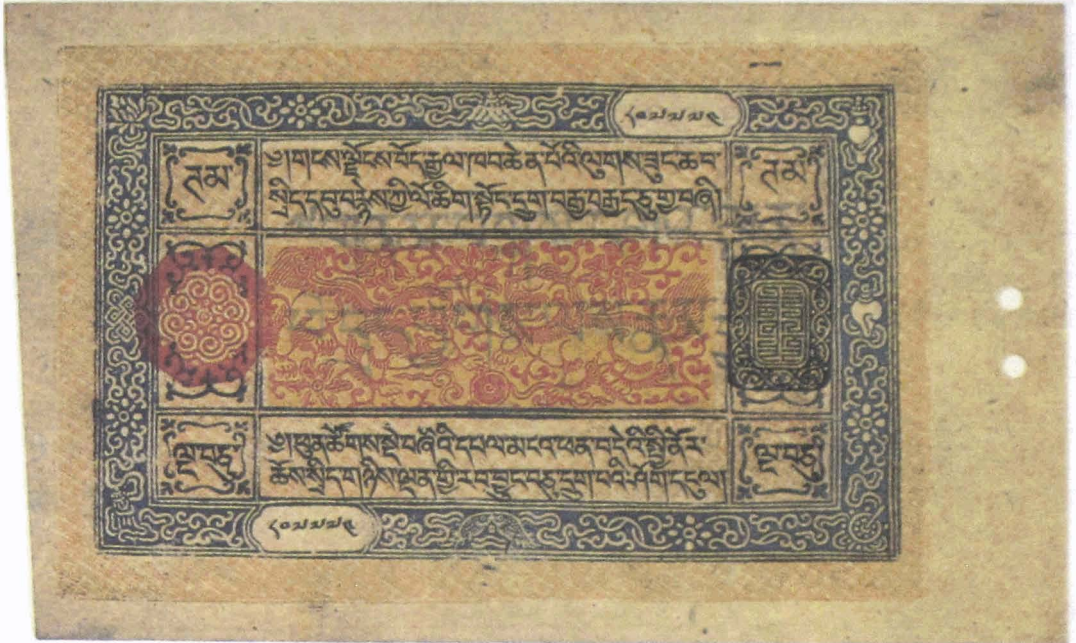
4. TWENTY FIVE TAM note dated T.E. 1659 (= A.D. 1913). Serial nr. 15383.

PLATE XIII



5. FIFTY TAM note dated T.E. 1659 (= A.D. 1913). Serial nr. 25200.

PLATE XIV



6. FIFTY TAM note dated T.E. 1684 (= A.D. 1938). Serial nr. 807774.

These notes are known with dates ranging from T.E. 1672 to T.E. 1697 (= A.D. 1926 to A.D. 1941). All these notes were machine printed from metal blocks and hand numbered.

PLATE XV



7. FIVE SRANG note, dated to the 16th cycle. Serial nr. ka 029775.

Five srang notes were issued between 1942 and 1945. The black seal has the same text as the ones on the tam notes: “gzhung dngul Khang”. However, the black seals were redesigned for the 5 and 10 srang notes.



8. TEN SRANG note, dated T.E. 1693 (= A.D. 1947) Serial nr. nga 091752.

Ten srang notes with dates ranging from T.E. 1687 (A.D. 1941) to T.E. 1694 (A.D. 1948) were issued.

PLATE XVI



9. TWENTY-FIVE SRANG note, undated. Serial nr. ca 021849.

These notes were issued between 1950 and 1955. The black seal in 'phags pa script reads srid zhi dpal pa which can be translated as "Every form of being augments the good." The seal is attributed to the Tibetan government mint and was also used for the 100 (tam) srang notes illustrated on plates XVII and XVIII.

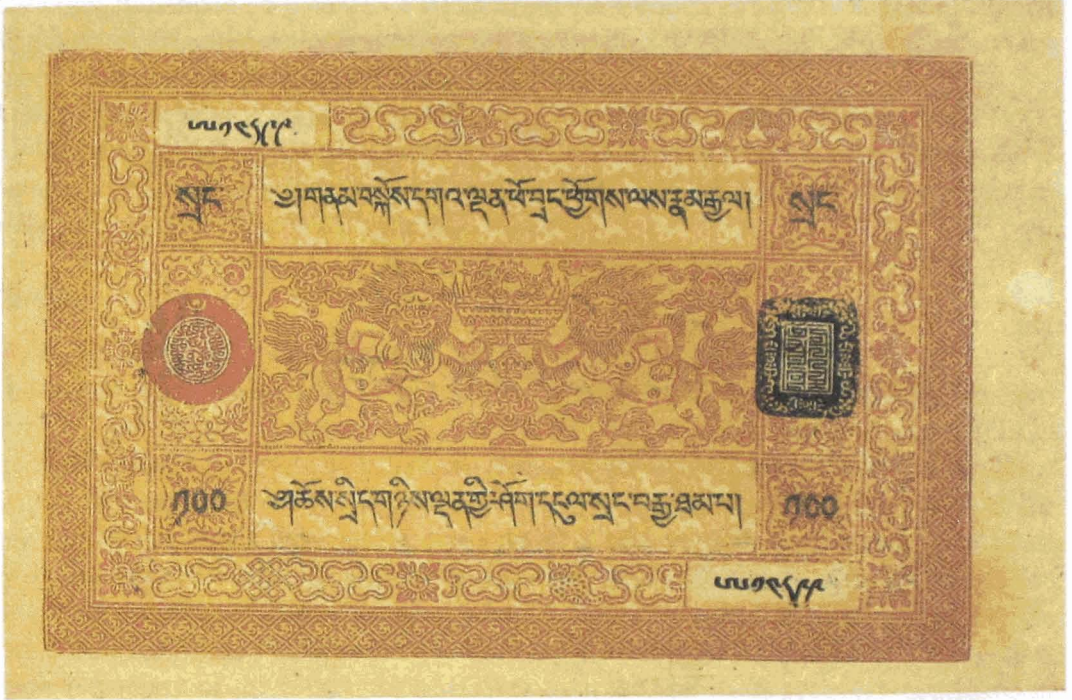
PLATE XVII



10. 100 TAM SRANG note, undated. Serial nr. kha 06245.

The red seal is identical to the one found on the early tam notes and on the multicoloured fifty tam note (see plates IX to XIV). The 100 tam srang notes were most probably issued in 1937 and 1938.

PLATE XVIII



11. 100 SRANG note, undated. Serial nr. a 14899.

The red seal on the left side is smaller than the one on the 100 tam srang note (see nr. 10, plate XVII) and shows several undecipherable characters except for one which can be read as cha.

100 srang notes were issued between 1939 and 1949 and again between 1951 and 1959.

All notes in srang denomination and the 100 tam srang note (plates XV to XVIII) were machine printed from metal blocks at the Tibetan government mint Trabshi Lekhung (Tibetan: grva bzhi glog 'khrul las khungs) which was located north of Lhasa on the way to Sera monastery.

Explanations to the Plate I - VIII

The coins illustrated on plates I - VIII are from the author's collection except nrs. 5 and 39 which are from the collection of the late Karl Gabrisch. Since the coins are not reproduced in their actual size, I give their exact diameter below.

Abbreviations: W = Weight; D = Diameter; g = gramme(s); mm = millimeters.

Ag = Argentum (silver); Au = Aurum (gold); Cu = Cuprum (copper). The Tibetan dates found on the coins are given in an abbreviated form. E.g. 15-52 has to be understood as *rab-byung* 15 lo 52 (cycle 15, year 52).

Plate I

Nr. 1. Ag. W: 10.35 g; D: 31 mm.

This undated and anonymous tangka shows on its obverse as only legible legend "shri shri" in Newari script which is a variant of the Devanagari script from northern India. On the reverse some Bengali characters are recognizable which indicate that this Nepalese tangka of heavy standard was designed in imitation of prototypes from Bengal. Coins of this and similar types were struck from the mid 16th century until about 1640 when Nepal introduced a lighter standard for its silver coins. This new standard was called *mohar* (or *mohur*) and corresponds to about 5.4 grammes. At that time nearly all of the earlier tangkas of the illustrated or similar type must have been melted down in Nepal. However, many of them had reached Tibet by trade and most probably continued to circulate in Tibet even after they had been withdrawn from circulation in Nepal. Most if not all of these early Nepalese silver coins were discovered in Tibet during the last fifty years. (see XI.C.52)

Nr. 2. Ag. W: 4.47 g; D: 27.5 mm.

The obverse legend of this coin is written in Newari characters and reads: "Shri shri Jaya/Rana jita/Malla Deva/842." It was struck in Bhadgaon (Bhaktapur) specially for export to Tibet and together with the Pratap Simha mohar illustrated as nr. 3 is the Nepalese coin which found the widest circulation in Tibet. Owing to its low silver content it often turned black and therefore became popularly known as "nag tam" or "nag tangka" in Tibet. (see XI.C.52)

Nr. 3. Ag. The complete coin's W: 5.18 g; D: 28 mm.

The obverse legend of this coin reads: "Shri shri shri Pra-/tapa/Simha/Saha Deva/1697." This coin was specially minted in low grade silver for export to Tibet under the Nepalese ruler Pratap Simha, its circulation being forbidden in Nepal itself. It is known with the following four dates: SE (Saka Era) 1695, 1697, 1698 and 1699 (A.D. 1773, 1775, 1776 and 1777). The coin was often cut into fractions for small change. The major fractions which were used had the value of 1/2 tangka (of which four pieces are illustrated, showing the different methods which were used for cutting the coin), 1/3 tangka or 1/2 zho and 2/3 tangka or 1 zho. The cutting of the coins was mostly done by silver smiths who

used to clip off small parts of silver which they kept as their fee for the work of cutting the coins. The result of this further clipping are crescent shaped pieces. However, the petals were never cut away since they indicated the value of the piece. Thus a fragment showing three petals represented $1/3$; one with four petals was half and one with five petals was $2/3$ of a tangka. (see IX.75 and XI.C.52)

Nr. 4. Ag. W: 5.20 g; D: 27 mm.

This is the only Tibetan coin with an inscription in 'phags pa script, called "hor yig" (Mongolian script) in Tibetan. The legend is divided into two columns and reads *Su rtsa kra/bi rja ya*. This is the Tibetan transcription for Sanscrit "Su cakra vijaya", "The noble, victorious wheel". The Tibetan equivalent is *bde 'khor lo rgyal ba*. The coin is undated and various dates have been suggested for its minting. A Chinese document reports that silver coins were struck in Tibet in A.D. 1753/54 and again in 1785. The four undated early Tibetan tangkas which are illustrated as nrs. 4 - 7 have been associated with these dates but there are no means to decide which of the four coins has to be attributed to the earlier and which to the later date and whether all four coins were actually struck as early as the second half of the 18th century. (see I.43, I.107, I.157, I.193, I.195. IX.29 and IX.76)

Nr. 5. Ag. The measurements of this coin are not available.

The obverse inscription reads *dga' ldan phyod las nam par rgyal ba* which can be translated as "Ganden completely victorious in all directions". Undoubtedly *dga' ldan* is short for *dga' ldan pho brang* and refers to the Ganden Podang government which was initiated by the 5th Dalai Lama in 1641 A.D and received its name from the residence of the Dalai Lamas in Drepung monastery. The main design features of this coin like the eight petals on obverse and the four oblong hexagons surrounding a square on reverse are imitating Nepalese mohars of the Malla dynasty which were circulating in Tibet. It is even possible that the engraver who produced the dies for the minting of this coin was a Newari artist residing in Lhasa. The coin is undated and was most probably struck in 1753/4 or in 1785. Several design variants are known for this coin. Recently also a specimen struck in gold was discovered.

Nr. 6. Ag. W: 4.25 g; D: 27 mm.

This coin was also designed in imitation of a Nepalese prototype of the Malla period. On the obverse the Tibetan figure "45" can be seen. There is no conclusive way to interpret this figure. It could refer to the 45th year of the 13th cycle (= A.D 1791). The rather crude design and striking seems to indicate that this coin was privately struck, but possibly with permission given by the Tibetan government. (see IX.107)

Nr. 7. Ag. W: 5.41 g; D: 27 mm.

This coin shows eight times the character "dza" on both sides written in the ornamental north Indian Vartula script. The eight petals surrounding a circle are like in the case of coin nr. 5 imitating designs of Nepalese prototypes. The eight spokes represented in the centre of the coin certainly refer to the eight spoked wheel of the doctrine (Tibetan: *chos 'khor*; Sanscrit: *dharma cakra*) (see I.35). It has been suggested that the syllable "dza" could represent the sanscrit syllable "ja" which may be short for "jaya", "victory".

Plate II

Nr. 8. Ag. W: 5.25 g; D: 27.8 mm.

This type of coin is called "Kong-par tangka" (see I.261) as it was struck in the Kong-bo province in 1791. It is reported that the coins of this type were specially struck to pay

Chinese soldiers which had been sent to Tibet at this time and which were going to expell a Nepalese army which had entered Tibet as far as Shigatse. The following two reasons are given why this coin was struck in Kong-bo rather than in Lhasa: 1. In Kong-bo wood as fuel was available to melt the silver and prepare the alloy. 2. The Chinese soldiers should exchange the silver ingots which they brought from China into these coins before reaching Lhasa in order to avoid inflationary pressure in this city.

Since most of the Kong-par tangkas are struck from heavily alloyed silver the Tibetan government made a handsome profit by having this coin struck. The coin is dated [rab byung] 15; [lo] 45, equivalent to 1791 A.D. Coins of similar design with the dates 15-46 and 15-47 were also struck. (see IA.6)

Nr. 9. Ag. W: 1.88 g; D: 18.8 mm.

After the Nepalese army had been evicted from Tibet in 1792 the Chinese decided that Tibet should not any more depend on imported coins from Nepal, but that sufficient coins struck from good silver should be produced in Lhasa under joint Tibetan and Chinese authority. The illustrated coin has the obverse legend *Chan/lung/pao thung/57* meaning "current coin of the 57th year of the Qian Long era". The reverse legend reads *pod kyi rin po che* meaning "Tibetan Rinpoche" which could be a reference to the Dalai Lama. Similar types of coins were also struck at the value of one zho and one tangka. They were all rejected by the imperial authorities in Beijing on the ground that the new Tibetan coins should not be inscribed exclusively with Tibetan characters. The coins were to have a Chinese legend on the obverse and a Tibetan legend on the reverse. This order was executed for the coins which were struck subsequently and examples of which are illustrated as nrs. 10 to 15. (see I.199)

Nr. 10. Ag. W: 1.88 g; 20 mm.

In the 58th year of Qian Long (A.D 1792) silver coins of four different denominations were struck: 1/2 zho (nr. 10), 1/2 tangka (nr. 11), 1 zho and 1 tangka. The denomination of the coins is not indicated on any of them; only the 1/2 tangka issue has a small crescent placed in the central square on both obverse and reverse as a distinguishing mark. This somewhat complicated system must have caused confusion in the market, and probably the coins had often to be weighed if one wanted to be absolutely sure of having received the right payment or the right change. Therefore, in the following years (59th, 60th and 61st year of Qian Long) only one kind of silver coin was struck: the 1 zho. This had an average weight of 3.7 grammes.

The inscription on these coins differs somewhat from the one on the earlier issues like the one illustrated as nr. 9. The Tibetan side reads *Chan lung gtsang pa'u lnga bcu lnga brgyad* "Tibetan coin of the 58th [year] of the Qian Long Era" Hence the Chinese syllable "thung" (current) was replaced by the syllable "tsang" (spelt "gtsang") which is short for "Xi-tsang" (Tibet).

Nr. 11. W: 2.72 g; D: 21.8 mm.

According to Chinese records only three denominations of silver coins were to be struck in Tibet in the 58th year of Qian Long: 1/2 sho, 1 zho and 1 tangka. But the additional denomination of 1/2 tangka was also struck probably at the initiative of the joint Tibetan and Chinese mint authorities in Lhasa. The illustration shows an example of this "semi official" issue.

Nr. 12. W: 3.76 g; D: 27 mm.

This coin, dated 60th year of Qian Long should normally be the last issue of the Qian Long Era since the emperor abdicated in this year of his reign. However, there also exist

zho issues dated to the 61st year of Qian Long which were struck in Lhasa before the news of the emperor's abdication had reached Tibet. (see I.180)

Nr. 13. W: 3.75 g; D: 28.2 mm.

In the Jia Qing (the spelling is *gca 'chin* on the Tibetan coins) era coins dated to year 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 24 and 25 were struck in Lhasa. However, substantial numbers of coins were only struck in the first, 8th, 9th, 24th and 25th year (A.D. 1803, 1804, 1819 and 1820) of this era. Very few examples of the other years have survived of which the illustrated coin of the third year is one of three known specimens.

Nr. 14. W: 3.7 g; D: 28.6 mm.

This coin is remarkable in several respects: it is the only known trilingual Tibetan coin: Chinese on the obverse and Manchurian and Tibetan on the reverse. The Tibetan legend on the reverse reads *ca' chin 'khri rzhugs* [for *bzhugs*] and on the rim: *gung pa lo drug*. This can be translated as: “[struck] in the sixth throne year of Jia Qing”. The Manchurian legend has been read as *Nigen Menngu* meaning “one zho” or “one miscal”. Should the reading of the Manchurian inscription be correct this would be the only known Tibetan coin struck before 1908 on which the denomination is mentioned. (see I. 199)

Nr. 15. W: 3.66 g; D: 29 mm.

Coins struck in the Dao Guang era are known for the following years: 1, 2, 3, 4, 15 and 16 (A.D. 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1835 and 1836). The Tibetan legend on the illustrated coin reads *rda'o kvong gtsang pa'u bco lnga pa*, “Tibetan coin of the fifteenth [year] of Dao Guang”.

Plate III

Nr. 16. W: 5.12 g; D: 28 mm.

Chinese influence in Tibet weakened under the successors of Qian Long. This gave the Tibetan government the opportunity to fully resume its authority and strike coins of purely Tibetan design, inspired by the Malla and Shaha coins from Nepal which still circulated in Tibet. The illustrated undated coin is the earliest example of what was going to be the most widely circulating Tibetan silver coin for more than 100 years. Called “Gaden Tangka” by western numismatists because of the first word of the legend and *tangka dkarpo* “white tangka” by the Tibetans. The obverse design consists of the *bkra shis rtags brgyad*, “eight auspicious emblems” which are placed into eight petal shaped compartments. The reverse shows the eight spoked *chos 'khor* (wheel of doctrine) surrounded by eight petals into which the following legend is placed *dga' ldan pho brang phyod las rnam rgyal* “the Ganden Palace, victorious in all directions”. This was going to be the standard reference to the Tibetan government which was used for all Tibetan coins which were struck under Tibetan authority between about 1840 and 1954. (see I.187 and I.218)

Nr. 17. Ag. W: 5.32 g; D: 27 mm.

Considerable numbers of this type of Kong-par tangkas in the style of the coin illustrated as nr. 8 were struck in about 1850 although they are dated 13-46 (= A.D. 1792).

Nr. 18. Ag. W: 4.37 g; D: 26.5 mm.

Coins of this style are known with the dates 15-24 and 15-25 (A.D. 1890 and 1891). The illustrated specimen is dated 15-25.

Nr. 19. Ag. W: 4.54 g; D: 27 mm.

This coin exists inscribed with many different dates, some of which seem to have no

specific meaning. It is the only Tibetan coin showing Lañtsa script on both sides and it is believed to have been struck by Newari merchants in Lhasa, possibly with the permission of the Tibetan government. All these coins have moon and sun above the legend on the obverse except for one specimen which has moon and swastika and is dated 15-46 (A.D. 1912). This coin is illustrated.

Nr. 20. Ag. W: 11.28 g; D: 30.5 mm.

Nr. 21. Ag. W: 11.18 g; D: 30.5 mm.

Nr. 22. Ag. W: 5.23 g; D: 23.7 mm.

Nr. 23. Ag. W: 2.87 g; D: 9.2 mm.

The so called "Sichuan rupees" were struck in Chengdu between 1902 and 1911 (nr. 20) and in Kangding between 1930 and 1942 (nr. 21). The half rupee (nr. 22) and the quarter rupee (nr. 23) were only struck in Chengdu. The fractional pieces were struck in small numbers only: 130,000 half rupees and 120,000 quarter rupees. The latter were not very popular and often converted into buttons. The rupees struck in Chengdu are occasionally encountered cut in half. Very seldom they were also quartered. The German scientist Ernst Schäfer (see I.216) reports that further silver was cut away from the half pieces whenever they changed hands in Eastern Tibet until they eventually took the shape of a sickle. Sichuan rupees are modelled on the British Indian rupee (see nr. 25) which was very popular in Tibet owing to its reliable weight and silver content. Chinese authorities hoped that the Sichuan rupee would eventually replace the British Indian rupee in Eastern Tibet. The Chinese legend on these coins reads *Si chuan sheng tsao* (made in Sichuan). (see I.51, I.101, I.106, I.133, I.233, I.265, I.269, I.270, IX.51, IX.52, IX.63, IX.74 and IX.101)

Plate IV

Nr. 24 Ag. W.: 11.54 g; D.: 30.4 mm.

This undated rupee represents the first attempt by Chinese authorities to replace the British Indian rupee in Eastern Tibet. The Tibetan legend on the reverse of this coin has been read as *ngos ngul* (genuine silver) and *nged gsum zho dar* (possible meaning: three *zho* of *dar* [*rtse mdo*]). *Dar tse mdo* is the Tibetan name for Tachienlu (also spelt "Tatsienlu") which is known as Kangding nowadays. Chinese sources indicate that coins of this type were struck in Kangding between 1899 and 1901 (see I.181).

Nr. 25. Ag. W: 11.54 g; D: 30.4 mm.

British Indian rupee with the portrait of Queen Victoria.

Nr. 26. Ag. W: 3.81 g; D: 25.8 mm.

This special silver tangka was issued during the short stay of the 13th Dalai Lama between his exiles in China and British India in late 1909 and early 1910. It is said to have been distributed to monks, most probably during the Monlam Festival in early 1910. (see I.45 and I.46)

Nr. 27. Ag. W: 18.8 g; D: 35mm.

Obverse legend: "shon thong khri lo 1 srang gang" (1 Srang of the first throne year of Xuan Tong [=A.D. 1909]).

In the 18th and 19th century Tibetan coins were handstruck. From 1909 onwards all coins were struck by machine. Originally the coin presses were hand operated, later they

were powered by water wheels and finally (from the mid 1920s) by electricity. The coins illustrated as nrs. 26 to 31 can be considered as the earliest machine struck coins of Tibet.

Nr. 28. Ag. W: 9.42 g; D: 26 mm.

Same obverse legend as coin nr. 27, but *zho lnga* (five zho).

Nr. 29. Cu. W: 7.78 g; D: 25.8 mm.

Same legend as coins nr. 27 and 28, but *zho'i 1/4* (quarter zho).

Nr. 30. Cu. W: 4.04 g; D: 21.5 mm.

Same legend as coins nrs. 27 - 29, but *zho'i 1/8* (one eighth zho)

Nr. 31. Ag. W: 18.87 g; D: 35 mm.

During or shortly after the 13th Dalai Lama's short stay in Lhasa in late 1909 and early 1910 the Tibetan government started to strike coins which omit all reference to Chinese authority. On all coins struck under Tibetan authority from 1909 onwards figure the snow lion (excepting the silver tangka issues), the eight auspicious emblems (*bkra shis rtags brgyad*) and the legend *dga' ldan pho brang phyogs las rnam rgyal* (see IX.80). The illustrated silver coin has the denomination "one tam srang" and is dated 15-43 (A.D. 1909). Coins of similar design and of the same denomination and size exist with the dates 15-48 (see nr. 39), 15-52 and 15-53. They are the largest silver coins ever to be struck for circulation in Tibet.

Plate V

Nr. 32. Cu. W: 4.22 g; D: 23 mm.

This unit was popularly called *khagang* and is equal to one quarter zho.

Nr. 33. Cu. W: 7.01 g; D: 25.9 mm.

5 skar are equal to 1/2 zho.

Nr. 34. Cu. W: 9.63 g; D: 29.7 mm.

7 1/2 skar (Tibetan: *skar phyed brgyad*) is equal to 3/4 zho (or three kha).

Nr. 35. W: 3.73 g; D: 21.8 mm.

Nr. 36. W: 6.67 g; D: 27 mm.

Nr. 37. W: 3.53 g; D: 21.6 mm.

Nr. 38. W: 7.23 g; D: 25 mm.

The attempt of the Tibetan government to create a national coinage was briefly interrupted in 1910. After the 13th Dalai Lama had left Lhasa in early 1910 the Chinese resumed control of Lhasa for a short period and the then Chinese Amban Lian Yu ordered the striking of undated coins with Chinese and Tibetan legends referring to the Xuan Tong Era (A.D. 1909-1911). The denomination of these coins is given in Tibetan as *skar che* (half skar) (nr. 35), *skar gang* (one skar) (nr. 36), *khu phon zho gang* (one zho) (nr. 37) and *khu phon zho do* (two zho) (nr. 38)¹. The remaining Tibetan legend is

1. *Khu-phon* must be the Tibetan transcription for the Chinese word which is normally rendered as Kuping. The standard silver weight unit during the late Qing Dynasty was called *kuping tael* and was equivalent to 575.8 grains (=37.312078 grammes). The *khu-phon zhogang* which is referred to on the coin should weigh 1/10th of a tael, hence around 3.731 grammes. The weight of six actual 1 zho coins which I verified ranges between 3.34 and 3.73 grammes. The weight of four 2 zho coins which I checked ranges between 7.56 and 7.43 grammes.

Cf. Morse, Hosea Ballou: *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*. Longmans, Green and Co. New York, Bombay, Calcutta, 1908, Chapter V *The Currency*, pp. 119-169.

identical on the four coins and reads: *shon thong bod kyi rin khor* (Tibetan coin of Xuan Tong). *Bod kyi rin khor* is meant to render the Chinese *pao tsang* ("Tibetan coin") inscribed on the obverse of these coins.

This coin issue under Chinese authority was shortlived. After the fall of the Qing dynasty all the Chinese (excepting those who had Tibetan wives) were made to leave Lhasa and most other Tibetan districts in 1912 after which Tibet gained its de facto independence. The snow lion evolves into Tibet's national emblem and as such figures not only on Tibetan coins, but also on Tibet's national flag, and, from 1912 onwards, also on the post stamps and banknotes issued by the Tibetan government.

Nr. 39. Ag. Measurements not available.

This coin is similar in style to nr. 31, but the snow lion is looking upwards and the coin's date is 15-48 (A.D. 1914). Judging by the rarity of this coin only few specimens can have been minted.

Plate VI

Nr. 40. Cu. W: 3.56 g; D: 23.5 mm.

These copper coins, called *khagang* (plural: *ka*) in Tibetan, exist with the dates 15-47, 15-48 (illustrated specimen), 15-49, 15-50, 15-51 and 15-52. (A.D. 1913 to 1918).

Nr. 41. Cu. W: 2.07 g. D: 17.0 X 17.2 mm.

This type of small 2 1/2 skar copper coins is referred to as *khagang zur bzhi* (khagang with four corners) in Tibetan. It was struck with the dates 15-52, 15-53 and 15-55 (A.D. 1918, 1919 and 1921).

Nr. 42. Cu. W: 4.93 g. D: 26 mm.

Five skar coins of this type were struck between 15-47 and 15-52 (A.D. 1913 - 1918). In order to distinguish them from the smaller 5 skar issue (see nr. 43) they were called *skar chen* (big skar) in Tibetan. They must have circulated for a long time, since on most specimens found nowadays the design is worn away.

Nr. 43. Cu. W: 2.76 g. D: 20.3 mm.

Popularly called *skar chung* (small skar) this coin was struck with dates ranging from 15-52 to 15-56 (A.D. 1918 - 1922) and was meant to replace the heavier earlier issue of the same denomination (see nr. 42).

Nr. 44. Cu. W: 3.86 g; D: 22.4 - 22.7 mm.

This copper issue of 7 1/2 skar exists with dates ranging from 15-52 to 15-56 (A.D. 1918 to 1922). Very few specimens are also known inscribed with the date 15-60 (1926). It is the only Tibetan coin which was struck on a flower shaped planchet.

Nr. 45. Ag. W: 4.22 g. D: 26 mm.

This silver coin of the "Gaden tangka" type was struck with machines in the late 1920s and is the last regular issue of the undated silver tangkas which were first struck in about 1840 (see nr. 16).

Nr. 46. Ag. W: 8.92 g. D: 28.5 mm.

Two types of five *zho* silver coins featuring the snow lion design were struck in the 1920s: One type has a snow lion looking upwards and was struck from 15-47 to 15-50 (A.D. 1913 to 1916) and again from 15-58 to 15-60 (A.D. 1924 to 1926). On the other type the snow lion is looking backwards (see illustrated specimen). This type was struck from 15-49 to 15-53 (A.D. 1915 to 1919), in 15-56 (1922) and from 15-59 to 16-1 (A.D. 1925-1927).

Nr. 47. Ag. W: 9.72 g. D: 28.7 mm.

This 5 *zho* silver coin seems to be a special issue with five dots arranged in the form of a flower, above the snow lion on the obverse. All other coins of this type display a sun above the snow lion (see nr. 46).

Plate VII

Nr. 48. Au. W: 11.07 g. D: 26.5 mm.

The only Tibetan gold coin is known with the dates 15-52 to 15-55 (A.D. 1918 to 1921). It was struck in a special mint called *gser khang*, located west of the Norbu Lingka, under the supervision of Tsarong Shabpe. When the first coins were issued in 1918 the gold they contained was worth about 13 *srang*. However, due to inflation, by 1921 the intrinsic gold value of these coins had risen to more than 20 *srang* (which is the face value) and it was profitable to export Tibetan gold coins to India; therefore the production of these beautiful coins was discontinued. Only very few specimens are known with the last date 15-55 (A.D.1921). (see I.104 and IX.86)

Nr. 49. Cu. W: 4.21 g. D: 24 mm.

Nr. 50. Cu. W: 4.23 g. D: 24.2 mm.

Copper coins of one *zho* were produced in very large numbers. Two types of the early issue exist. One has the denomination *zhogang* written vertically (nr. 49), the other has this word written horizontally on the reverse (nr. 50). Different types of snow lions can also be observed among these *zho* coins. They were struck between 15-52 (1918) and 16-2 (1928).

Nr. 51. Cu. W: 5.6 g. D: 24 mm.

Since many forgeries among the *zhogang* coins illustrated as nrs. 49 and 50 were discovered (see I.196), the Tibetan government decided to produce a new type copper *zho* with the help of modern coin presses which had been imported from England and were established in the new government mint *grva bzhi glog 'khrul las khung* (Trabshi Electrical Machine Plant) north of Lhasa. About six million *zho* coins of this type are known to have been struck. The coins are dated between 16-6 and 16-12 (A.D. 1932 to 1938). Two specimens are known with the date 16-16 (1942). (see IX.77)

Nr. 52. Ag. W: 11.94 g. D: 31 mm.

These coins were called *srang gsum sgor mo* (round coin of three *srang*) and struck with the date 16-7 and 16-8 (A.D. 1933 and 1934). After the sudden death of the 13th Dalai Lama in December 1933 many people thought that the design of these coins was inauspicious. This may be the reason why the design of the three *srang* coins was changed for subsequent years (see nr. 53).

Nr. 53. Ag. W: 10.96 g. D: 31 mm.

Three *srang* coins of the new design were struck from 16-9 to 16-12 (A.D. 1935 to 1938) and again in 16-20 (A.D. 1946). The three *srang* coins were of about the same weight as the Indian silver rupees but were traded at a small discount. They were struck from silver supplied by British India. (see I.43)

Silver coins of the same design with the denomination 1 1/2 *srang* (*srang gang zho lnga*) were struck between 16-10 and 16-12 (A.D. 1936 to 1938) and again in 16-20 (A.D. 1946). These coins are half the size of the 3 *srang* issues and their average weight is just over 5 grammes.

Nr. 54. Cu. W: 8.79 g. D: 28.5 mm.

The three zho coin exists only with the date 16-20 (A.D. 1946). The production of this coin was discontinued as it had the same size as the 5 zho coin which was introduced one year later (see nr. 55) which must have caused some confusion in the markets. (see I.41 and IX.111)

Nr. 55. Cu. W: 8.71 g. D: 29.3 mm.

Considerable quantities of copper 5 zho coins were struck between 16-21 and 16-27 (A.D. 1947 and 1953). Two major varieties exist, one shows two suns on the obverse, while the other has moon and sun in the same position. The 5 zho coins dated 16-27 were the last copper coins which were struck in Tibet.

Plate VIII

Nr. 56. Billon. W: 16.61 g. D: 32.5 mm.

Ten srang coins with the design of two jewel spitting mongooses on the reverse were struck between 16-22 and 16-26 (A.D. 1948 and 1952). Two major reverse varieties exist: one has the denomination in figures *srang 10* (see illustration), the other in words *srang bcu*. The obverses can have two suns or sun and moon. These coins contain only about 14% of silver.

Nr. 57. Billon. W: 16.77 g. D: 32.4 mm.

This type of 10 srang coins was struck with the dates 16-24 and 16-25 (A.D. 1950 and 1951). The denomination is given as *ngul srang bcu* (ten silver srang), although the silver content of these coins is only about 14%. The outer legend on the reverse of the coin reads as follows: *'du 'god bde skyid 'dod rgu 'khil ba*. It is believed that these coins were struck to pay Tibetan army members and that a mint was set up within the army compound in Trabshi, north of Lhasa. The expression *bde skyid 'dod rgu* in the coin's reverse legend may represent the name of this mint.

Nr. 58. Ag. W: 4.51 g. D: 26.5 mm.

Undated special issue in the style of the "Gaden tangkas". Coin dies for the minting of this issue which were illustrated in a Chinese article (see IX.31) are inscribed with the dates *rablo 927* and *928* (A.D. 1953 and 1954) which allows us to date these coins to this particular period, making them the last silver coins to be struck in Tibet. Many of them were distributed to monks. These tangkas entered circulation at the value of 5 srang and were referred to as *tangka dkarpo sarpa* (new white tangka). A Chinese source reports that 331,292 pieces were struck.

Nr. 59 Ag. W: 6.57 g. D: 26.7 mm.

This undated 5 zho coin was probably not meant for circulation but represents a pattern. There exist pattern coins of similar design but of larger size which have the denomination "10 Tam". The illustrated coin represents an accomplished example of the art of Tibetan die engravers. (see I.48 and I.192)

Nr. 60. Brass. W: 5.26 g. D: 24.2 mm.

Pattern for a *zhogang* coin with a snow lion of somewhat British aspect. The dies to produce this coin were probably sent to Tibet from England in the late 1920s along with modern coin presses. The date on this coin is 16-1 (A.D. 1927). (see I.194)

Nr. 61. Cu. W: 6.63 g. D: 26.6 mm.

This coin is most probably a pattern for an unissued five srang coin. It is also known in billon which is probably the metal in which specimens were going to be issued for circulation, had the plans for their production not been abandoned. The coin is dated *rab lo* 927 (A.D. 1953).

I. Literature in Western Languages on Coins

Note: In the case where a source refers to coins as well as to other forms of money, it will normally be listed only in this section. However, in some exceptional cases a publication may be listed in more than one section.

I.1a. Aav, Marianne; Kiyilinna, Harri; Pirjo, Riihelä and Tarma, Kati (editors): *Tiibet - Kulturi ja Taide* (Tibet - Culture and Art). Exhibition at the Museum of Art and Design, Helsinki, 16.4. - 2.8.1998 (94pp., ill.).

pp. 69-70: Items nrs 97 to 111 are banknotes (97-101) and coins (102-111) on loan from the Namgyal Monastery (Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh). Most of the items are dated erroneously to the 17th, 18th and 19th century. The rarest piece listed is a 20 Srang gold coin, dated 15-53.

I.1. Alexander, David T.: "Tibet's exiled Dalai Lama authorizes coins." In: *Coin World*, Vol. 19, issue 932, Sydney, Ohio, Feb. 22, 1978, p. 44.

Restrikes of the Tibetan 10 Srang of 1948-49, struck by the Valcambi Mint, Balerna, Switzerland, in gold, silver and cupronickel and authorized by the 14th Dalai Lama are discussed. Illustrated is the obv. and rev. of the artist's plaster model.

I.2. American Numismatic Society: *Annual Report for 1973*, New York, n.d., p. 21.

A specimen of the very rare silver shokang, Qian Long, year 57 is illustrated.

I.3. American Numismatic Society: *Annual Report for 1979*, New York, n.d., p. 22.

The modern restrike of the 10 Srang coin Y 29b is illustrated.

I.3a. Anonymous: *Further Papers Relating to Tibet. [In Continuation of Cd 2370]. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of his Majesty.* London, 1910.

p. 132: No. 205 Despatch from Sir J. Jordan to Sir Edward Grey, dated Peking, 24th July, 1907. Received 9th September, 1907. Enclosure to No 205. Extract from the "Peking Gazette" of 18th July 1907.

Summary of a Memorial by the Board of Finances respecting Tibet, approved by Imperial Rescript of 20th June, 1907.

"Silver coin of 1 m. 5 c., Tibet standard, equivalent to 1 mace, Kuping standard, are to be minted in Tibet. Money supplies sent to Tibet from Szechuan are henceforth to be sent in Sycee, to be coined in Tibet. The rupees of 3 m., 2 c. struck by the Szechuan mint having depreciated in market value to less than 3 mace, the viceroy of Szechuan is to report as to the advisability of continuing them."

***I.4. Anonymous:** "Chinese Rupee and its Divisions for Tibet". *The Numismatist*, Vol. 27, 1914, p. 542.

An article on the history of minting of the Sichuan rupee.

***I.5. Anonymous:** "Currencies of Tibet". Salem, Massachusetts: Essex Institute, *American Consular Report*, nr. 21188, n.d.

The official coin in Tibet is the *tang-ka*, but coins of neighbouring countries are also current along the borders. In Northern and Eastern Tibet Chinese money as well as sycee silver and copper cash are most frequently used. The Tibetans refuse paper notes. Barter is the rule, the trade on a monetary basis being scarce. Tea bricks are widely used as a medium of exchange.

I.6. Anonymous: *Tibet. Handbook Prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office.* No. 70. H.M. Stationery Office. London, 1920.

Includes a section on commerce (Tibet's trade with China and India) and finance (taxes and public revenue, currency).

I.6.a. Anonymous: *The Boundary Question between China and Tibet. A Valuable Record of the Tripartite Conference between China, Britain and Tibet Held in India, 1913-1914.* Published in Peking, China, 1940.

p. 47: It is reported that in the beginning of the 20th century Chao Erh Feng "cast the bronze and copper offering vessels of worship into bullets and small coins" during the Chinese invasion of Eastern Tibet.

***I.7. Anonymous:** *Chugoku Kindai Kahei Gaiyo.* (An Introduction to the Chinese Coinage and Paper Money since the 19th century). Tokyo, 1967.

Japanese text. Tibet: Hsuan T'ung 2nd year, 7th month, 1st day (5 August 1910), the Office for Tibetan affairs established a mint. A trial issue of two types of copper coins was made, equivalent to 5 silver Li.

I.8. Anonymous (Chief editor: Eleanor Olson): *Catalogue of the Tibetan Collection and other Lamaist Material in the Newark Museum. Vol. V, Food Utensils and Tables, Fire-Making and Tobacco Utensils, Track and Fighting Equipment, Currency and Stamps, Appendix to Preceding Volumes, Index to the Five Volumes.* Newark, New Jersey, 1971 (second edition: 1977); pp. 2 and 25-32.

Includes a brief introduction to the currency of Tibet. Some Tibetan coins are listed and illustrated. Also six different banknotes are described and two are illustrated. Some comments on Tibetan tea bricks (p.2).

***I.9. Anonymous:** "Illustrating the 'Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Coins'". *India Asiatic Numismatic Society*, Vol. 2, nr. 1, 1973, p. 77, plates XV, XVI.

The following varieties of the "3 Srang", Y. 25 (different numbers of flames in the lion's extended fore paw and his tail) are listed: 16-7: 4/7, 4/8, 5/8; 16-8: 4/6, 4/7, 4/8 and 5/8.

***I.10. Anonymous:** "Dating modern Tibetan Coins." *A Study of Collector's Research, Montreal Journal of International Numismatics*, Vol. 8, Nr. 2, 1974, pp. 38-39.

Dates are invariably found on the reverse of Tibetan coins. On copper coins, the dates are usually stated in numerals, inscribed clockwise in the outer rim legend. On silver pieces, the dates are written in words: a) the word "year" and the year-figures are usually placed in the centre; b) the word "cycle" and the cycle-number may be written in the centre or on the outside rim legend. Once the cycle and the year are deciphered, the method of converting the Tibetan date to A.D. or C.E. (Common Era) is simplified by the following formula: $(60 \times \text{cycle}) + \text{Year} + 966 = \text{A.D. or C.E.}$

I.11.a. Anonymous: *Tibet under Chinese Communist Rule. A Compilation of Refugee Statements 1958-1975.* Information & Publicity Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Dharamsala, 1976.

pp. 5-6: "Monetary Currency. Even after the Chinese occupation, gold, silver and copper coins and notes issued by the mint department of the Government of Tibet remained in circulation. The Chinese on a number of occasions tried to have the Tibetan Government stop the circulation of

Tibetan currency, but this was resolutely rejected by the people and the National Assembly of Tibet. The Tibetan currency remained in use till 1959. All transactions by Chinese personnel were made in Chinese silver dollars (called Dayen [sic]) at the rate of 15 Tibetan *sangs* per dayen. The [6] Chinese had specific instructions not to use Tibetan currency. Later, they stopped the use of dayens and issued coupons instead. These coupons could be used at Chinese stores but they had no value at Tibetan shops."

I.11. Anonymous: "Tibet Plans Proof Sets After 28-Year Delay." In: *World Coin News*, Vol. 5, Nr. 6, Feb. 7, 1978, p. 21.

Proof restrikes of the 10 Srang (Y 29a) in gold and silver, to be struck by the Valcambi Mint in Switzerland were authorized by the 14th Dalai Lama. The Australian distributor of these issues, Nelson Eustis, is quoted as saying "A gap of 28 years between the release of regular issue coinage and the production of proofs of that coinage - both approved by the same authority - probably never occurred in numismatic history".

I.12. Anonymous: "Distribution Planned for Tibet Proofs". In: *World Coin News*, Vol. 5, No. 8, Feb. 21, 1978, p. 25.

Reports that proofs of the Tibetan 10 Srang issue of 1950 (Y 29a), struck in cupronickel, silver and gold by the Valcambi mint in Switzerland and authorized by the 14th Dalai Lama, will be distributed by an Australian agent.

I.13. Anonymous: "World Coin Roundup. Tibet." In: *World Coin News*, Vol. 5, No 19, May 9, 1978, p. 13.

It is reported that restrikes in gold, silver and cupro-nickel of the Tibetan 10 Srang issue of 1950 Y-29a will be struck by the Royal Australian Mint (with illustration).

I.14. Anonymous: "Newest in Coin Offerings. Tibet." In: *Proof Collectors Corner*, World Proof Numismatic Association, Vol. XV, Issue Nr. CVIX, Pittsburg, Penna (USA), December 1978, p. 219.

Gives a brief description of the proof restrikes in gold and silver of the Tibetan 10 Srang coin of 1950, struck by the private Valcambi Mint in Switzerland (with illustration).

I.15. Anonymous: "Tibetan Fake Coins Hit U.S.; Copper 2 1/2-, 7 1/2 Pieces." In: *World Coin News*, Vol. 6, no. 16, April 17, 1979, pp. 3 and 26.

Reported and illustrated are a 7 1/2 skar copper coin imitating the Y-11 type and a 2 1/2 skar of the Y-A19 type. The former has a lion of wrong style on the obverse while the latter can easily be identified owing to the wrong date 5-15 given on the obverse. The coins were identified as fakes by Brian Hannon and Charles Panish.

I.16. Anonymous (Tibetan Coin Distributors, Adelaide, South Australia): "World Coin Roundup. Tibet." *World Coin News*, Vol. 7, Nr. 38, Sept 16th 1980, p. 10.

Restrikes of the Tibetan 5 Sho copper coin 16-21 (1947) struck by the Swiss Valcambi Mint in copper, silver and gold are listed with illustration of the obverse.

I.17. Anonymous: "South Asian Catalog Covers Everything From Kutch's Swamps to Himalayan Peaks." In: *World Coin News*, Vol. 9, No. 10, June 22, 1982, p. 2.

A review of the *Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money* by Colin R. Bruce II, John S. Deyell, Nicholas Rhodes and William F. Spengler, Krause Publications, Iola, Wisconsin. (See V.2)

I.18. Anonymous (editor of WCN): "Tibet counterfeit?" In: *World Coin News*, Vol. 10, no. 20, May 17 1983, p. 4.

On the Tibet Y-22, gold 20 srang fake coin the lion's face lacks personality, appearing round and lacking expression. The lion's face on a genuine coin has more detail, although the workmanship is crude. One believes that South Asia is the source of the Tibetan gold counterfeits. These forgeries are all dated 15-54.

I.19. Anonymous: "A Token from Tibet???" In: *East Asia Journal*, Issue Nr. 5 (First Quarter 1983), p. 71

The legend of a token struck over a Tibetan 5 Sho copper coin is read as: "La Hsiu Han", literally meaning "La Hsiu cliff". A monastery of this name existed in Qinghai province. Author is most probably Bruce W. Smith.

I.20. Anonymous: *Tibetan Materials in the Collection of Kawaguchi Ekei*. Edited by the Department of Oriental and Japanese Art History, Faculty of Arts and Letters. Tohoku University. Tokyo, 1986.

Pp. 290-293. A Tibetan 5 Tam note without serial number and seal imprints and several coins from Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and a few unidentified copper coins are illustrated.

I.21. Anonymous: "New Type of Lukuan Rupee Turns up in Taisei Sale." In: *Journal of East Asian Numismatics*, Vol. 3, Nr. 2 (issue 11) summer 1996, pp. 4-5.

(the author is probably Bruce W. Smith)

The new type is without the dotted circle in the centre of the reverse and appears to have a different Tibetan inscription. It is suggested that the Chinese "Lu" does not refer to "Tachienlu" as thought by Kalgan Shih but stands for Luting (30 miles southeast of Tachienlu) or Lubuo, a county near Tachienlu.

I.22. Anonymous: "Major Chopmark Sale." In: *Journal of East Asian Numismatics*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (issue no. 13), summer 1997, pp. 26-27.

A brief discussion of the Hal Walls Collection of World Trade Coins, Counterstamped and Chopmarked Coins auctioned on August 4th 1997 in New York by Paul Bosco. The sale includes seven lots of Tibetan coins with countermarks.

I.23. Aoki, Bunkyo: *Tibet*. First Print: Tokyo, Showa 44 (15.12.1969). Second Print: Tokyo, Showa 55 (30.09.1980).

Japanese text. P. 177-179: A table of Tibetan coins, illustrating a silver 1 Srang, 5 Sho and tamka coin as well as fractions of Nepalese tangkas representing 1 Sho, 1 Chegye, one Karma and one Kakang.

I.24. Baber, E.C.: "On the Chinese tea-trade with Tibet." In: Geographical Society, London. *Supplementary Papers*, Vol. 1, part 1, London, 1882, pp. 192-201.

Most of the tea imported by Tibet via Ta-chien-lu is paid for with Indian rupees of which great quantities are melted down by the Chinese in Ta-chien-lu:

"It is probable that most of the tea is paid for in rupees, as the export of Tibetan woollens cannot do much more than balance the supply of cotton clothes and silk. The rapid influx of these coins during the last fifteen years (that is from 1866) is remarkable; before that period they were rare, but have now become the currency of Tibet and are counted instead of being valued by weight (p. 197). Great quantities are melted down by the Chinese in Ta-chien-lu, the Tibetans being unable to reduce them. On my asking a Tibetan why it was necessary to melt them down at all he replied that if they did not do so, they would have no use for such an immense quantity. It is clear that there must be a trade of no small proportions between Tibet and India. For exchange with Chinese silver in Ta-chien-lu, the rupees were weighed against silver, and two rupees are added for every 10 Chinese ounces."

“Rupees are called Peiling-tchranka, i.e. English coins; (...). Another name is Peiling ngo-mu, i.e. English woman-face.

Georgian and Victorian rupees are distinguished as p'o-tu and mo-tu, meaning male-head and female-head. Those which bear a crowned presentment are named Lama tob-du or “vagabond Lama”, the crown having been mistaken for the head-gear of a religious mendicant.” (p. 198)

I.25. Bailey, Lt. Col. F. M.: *China - Tibet - Assam. A Journey, 1911*. Jonathan Cape. London, 1945, pp. 68-69.

An extensive discussion of the value of the Sichuan rupee which is traded at a large discount in central Tibet. Mentioned are different names of Indian rupees given by Tibetans in eastern Tibet and the practise of cutting rupees in half in order to give change.

I.26. Bajracharya, Bhadra Ratna: *Bahadur Shah: The Regent of Nepal (1785-1794 A.D.)*. New Delhi, 1992, pp. 282-285.

The amount of silver used for the mohars struck for Tibet in the name of Pratap Singh is given as 113,206 tolas for V.S. 1697, 671,590 for V.S. 1698 and 265,010 tolas for V.S. 1699.

Remarks on Nepal's right to mint coins for Tibet on pp. 301, 335-336 and 342.

I.27. Baker, Henry D.: *British India. With Notes on Ceylon, Afghanistan, and Tibet*. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Government Printing Office. Washington, 1915,

p. 568: As trade in Tibet is chiefly by exchange or barter, and comparatively few articles are paid for in cash, bricks of tea are often used as a convenient currency instead of money, being in such universal demand, while at the same time they are limited in production, fairly portable, and of nearly uniform size.

Money is, however, also current and coined by the Tibetans at their mint in Lhasa. It is in the form of crudely fashioned silver pieces about the size of a halfpenny, but thick as a sixpence, and modeled after the Nepalese “tangka”, which Indian name it also bears. Tibet used to import coins from Nepal, but has for several years been minting its own and retaining on them the eight lucky symbols. Its value is that of its silver, equivalent to 5 pence, and like its Nepalese prototype is clipped into half, a third, or a quarter to form coins of smaller denomination. The almighty rupee is, however, in great demand.

[...] Chinese tea bricks now chiefly sold in Tibet consist of hard blocks of tea leaf and crushed twigs mixed with a strong extract of the boiled leaves and compressed. The cakes weigh about 5 1/2 pounds each, and being in universal demand and fairly portable and uniform in size, they are, as above stated, often used as currency or substitute for money at their market value. About 12 of the bricks, weighing about 70 pounds, are usually sewn into bales of skin to form loads for yaks or mule carriage.

***I.28. Baulmont**, Capitaine: “La monnaie d'argent au Thibet”. In: *Revue Indo-Chinoise*, Hanoi, 1907, pp. 1349-1350.

Two drawings and a description of the Sino-Tibetan coins Ch'ien-lung Year 59 and Tao-kuang Year 1.

***I.29. Becker**, Andrea: *Eine Chinesische Beschreibung von Tibet aus dem 18. Jahrhundert*. Thesis, Munich, 1976.

German text. A translation of the Chinese “Wei-tsa'ang shih-lüeh” (Record of Tibet) from the 18th century (author: Sheng-Sheng-Tsu). P. 127: gold and silver are current in Tibet.

***I.30. Bell**, Sir Charles A.: *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*. 1st edition, Calcutta, 1919. Reprinted by Dover Publications, New York, 1977. Also reprinted by Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1978.

An introduction to Tibet's monetary system. The silver coins are: trang-ka, sho-nga, ngü-sang. The copper coins are: kha-kang, kar-ma-nga, chhe-gye. There are no gold coins - in 1918! (p. 136, American edition; p. 118, Nepalese edition)

***I.31. Bell, Sir Charles A.:** *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*. London, 1946.

The chief monetary unit is the trang-ka, a silver coin with a large measure of alloy. It is divided into lesser units, known as ka. Owing to over-coinage of copper coins, large quantities of which were counterfeited in India and smuggled across the border of Tibet, the trang-ka depreciated greatly. Lumps of silver, called "horseshoes" and varying greatly in size, are used for higher values (p. 162). The book contains a photograph of 12 Tibetan coins and of a silver lump (p. 161).

Treasury notes of five, ten, fifteen, twenty-five and fifty trangkas, respectively, are in use, the issue of these notes commenced in 1914 (p. 162).

I.32. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Varieties of Tibet's Srang Issues." In: *NIB*, Vol. 20, No.1, January 1986, pp. 7-12.

Five varieties of the 1 Srang silver issue Y # 9 and four varieties of the issue Y # 12 are described and pictured. Besides these the author publishes with pictures three forgeries of the Y # 12 issue. He has not encountered any forgeries of the Y # 9 issue.

I.33. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "A Pattern Struck in England for Tibet." In: *NIB*, Vol. 21, No.1, February 1987, pp. 33-35.

A pattern struck in brass dated "Cycle 15, Year 57" (1923 AD) with the denomination "Tam Srang 20" is described and illustrated. It may have been minted by Taylor & Challen Co. (U.K.) and was never adopted by the Tibetan Government.

I.34. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Tibetan Patterns of the Year 1951." In: *NIB*, Vol. 27, No. 4, April 1992, pp. 94-96.

Three hitherto unknown patterns were illustrated in a booklet issued in Chinese by the Institute of Finance of the People's Bank of China (Lhasa Branch). Described and pictured are a) silver 50 srang, b) silver 25 srang and c) silver 50 srang with design of Potala. All three are dated "925" (= A.D. 1951).

I.35. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Some Difficulties in Dating An Early Tibetan Coin." In: *NIB*, Vol. 25, No.8 August 1990, pp. 184-185.

The author attributes the so-called Vartula-tamga (C # 5) to the 2nd Demo Regent who ruled from 1811 to 1819 because the same Vartula character "dza" which one encounters on the coin is also engraved on the upper border of the seal of the 2nd Demo Regent.

I.36. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Forgeries of Tibetan Copper Coins from Northern India." In: *ONS Newsletter*, No. 126, Sept.-Okt. 1990.

The author obtained and describes the dies which were used to produce the forgeries of 7 1/2 Skar copper (15-43), 5 Skar (15-43) and 2 1/2 Skar (15-43). The forger worked in Gangtok (Sikkim) and died in 1985. With 15 photos.

I.37. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The 'Gaden' Inscription On Tibetan Coins." In: *NIB*, Vol. 25, no. 9, September 1990, pp. 204-207.

Interpretation and origin of the so-called "Gadan Phodang" (dga'-ldan pho-drang) inscription on Tibetan coins.

I.38. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The Snow Lion on Tibetan Coins." In: *NIB*, Vol. 26, No.4, April 1991, pp. 87-89.

The development of the Tibetan snow lion from a guardian of one of the quarters to a buddhist animal and finally to the symbol of Tibet as used on coins, paper money and post stamps, is discussed.

I.39. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "A Tibetan Countermark on a Spanish American Coin?" In: *ONS Newsletter 139*, 1994.

It is suggested the a countermark on a 8 reales of Mexico could be the Tibetan syllable "rgya". see also under Smith, Bruce W. (see I. 227).

I.40. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The 20th century Pattern Coinage of Tibet." In: *NIB*, Vol. 32, Nr. 1, January 1997, pp. 7-18.

A total of 16 patterns are illustrated and described; 2 are published for the first time.

I.41. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The Tibetan 3 Sho Copper Coin." In: *NIB*, Vol. 32, Nr. 9, September 1997, pp. 225-231.

Four major obverse varieties and five reverse varieties of this coin are explained and illustrated. also a grain token struck on a 3 Sho coin is shown along with another specimen struck on a 5 Sho copper coin.

I.42 Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The Tibetan Grain Tokens." In: *ONS Newsletter*, No. 155, Winter 1998, pp. 23-24.

The grain tokens were produced in the 1960s and are attributed to a "Motor Repair Workshop" in Lhasa. A specimen struck over the Tibetan 3 Sho copper coin is reported.

I.43 Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The Second Issue of the 3 Srang Silver Coin of Tibet." In: *JEAN*, Vol. 5, No.. 3, Fall 1998 (Issue 17), pp. 19-27.

Contains remarks on the background and significance of the second 3 Srang issue, suggests a classification of the obverse varieties and explains three scarce reverse varieties.

I.44. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Some Modern Forgeries of Tibetan Coins." In: *ONS Newsletter*, no. 157, autumn 1998, pp. 18-20.

Forged Sino Tibetan coins of the Qian Long and Xuan Tong eras, silver strikings of the 20 srang gold coin, dated 15-53 and a copper forgery of a 3 Srang coin, dated 16-10, are illustrated and described.

I.45. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The Kalsang Tangka of Tibet." In: *JEAN*, Vol. 5, Nr. 4, winter 1998 (Issue 18), pp. 22-29.

An explanation for the term "Kalsang Tangka" is suggested, the tangka's issue is placed into its historic context and the major varieties of this coin, including a gold striking, are listed.

I.46. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The Silver Coin Presented by the 13th Dalai Lama to Monks in 1910 A.D." In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, Winter 1999, pp. 22-34.

After giving a brief introduction to the coinage of Tibet until the beginning of the 20th century the author discusses the so called "monk tangka" in the context of the normal tangka issues of Tibet. Variants of this special tangka are pointed out and a gold striking is recorded.

I.46a. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Tibetan Monastic Token Currency". In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, summer 2001, pp. 39-55.

Four paper notes issued by Tashi Dargyas monastery aer illustrated and the background to their issue is given. These notes could be exchanged for high quality tea bricks at this monastery's store rooms. Sichuan rupees with the countermark "Li Yong Lam". probably issued by the monastery of Litang and copper tokens issued by Labrang Tashi Kyil monastery are also discussed.

1.46b. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Un Unrecordded Date of the Second Issue of the Tibetan Copper Sho". In: *Supplement to Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, no. 169 Autumn 2002, pp. 15-16.

A machine struck copper *zhogang*, dated 16-16, is described and illustrated.

I.47. Bertsch, Wolfgang and Gabrisch, Karl: "Some Varieties of Tibet's First Struck Coins." In: *NIB*, Vol. 20, No. 6, June 1986, pp. 125-128.

Based on a Russian paper which refers to the Chinese report written by Ao-Hiu, who refers to his visit to Tibet in 1789, the authors state that the first coins in Tibet were struck in 1763-6 and 1785. They describe and picture three types of the first issue and two types of the second issue. Most of the coins are extremely rare or unique.

I.48. Bertsch, Wolfgang and Gabrisch, Karl: "10 Tam Coins from Tibet." In: *ONS Newsletter*, No. 128, March-May, 1991.

For the first time the authors describe three types of the extremely rare 10 Tam coins from Tibet all from their collections. Though undated it is supposed that the coins were issued in 1909, 1928 and 1929/30. The reason for the issue probably may be the attempt of the Tibetan government to issue coins in size and weight similar to the very popular Indian rupee. The paper is illustrated with 12 photographs of the coins and related issues.

I.49. Bertsch, Wolfgang, Gabrisch, Karl and Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "A Study of Sino-Tibetan Coins of the Jia Qing Era." In: *The Journal of East Asian Numismatics*, Vol. 2. Nr. 4, Taipei and Niskayuna, summer 1995, pp. 23-34.

Following a brief historical introduction, all the known dates and major variants of this series are described and illustrated with line drawings.

I.50. Blair, Allen M.: *A World of Money from the Earliest Times: A Concise Non-Eurocentric History of the World's Native Currencies*. Alexandria, Minnesota, 1995. not seen by the compiler. Is said to contain some remarks on Tibet's currency.

***I.51. Bons d'Anty, P.:** "Une roupie chinoise pour le Thibet." In: *La Géographie. Bulletin de la Société Géographique*. Vol. 8, 2nd semester 1903., pp. 152-153.

A description of the Sichuan rupee, without illustration.

I.52. Bonvalot, Gabriel: *Across Tibet* (original French title: *De Paris à Tonking. A travers le Tibet inconnu*) New York, 1892, p. 290 and 313.

"Revolvers, matches, mirrors, as well as knives and scissors, were in great request, while gold coin and silver rubles were highly appreciated. Small change too, was accepted with pleasure, for they will serve as buttons in the Chinese fashion. As it is, two or three lamas of high rank have buttons formed of quarter rupees."

"The only Tibetan coin we have seen is one about as thick as a sixpence and as large as a halfpenny, weighing the sixth of an ounce. It ought always to be of silver, but sometimes, to the disgrace of the authorities of the "mint", it is of a bad alloy, so that the savages do not readily accept it. One side it is stamped with inscriptions on eight medaillons, forming a circle round a rose in the centre; and on the other, with curious ornamentations, among which we fancy we can recognize the crescent touching the sun, and the trident."

(The author refers to South-east Tibet in ca. 1890.)

I.53. Boulnois, Lucette: *Poudre D 'Or et Monnaies D 'Or et Monnaies D 'Argent au Tibet (principalement au XVIII e siècle)*. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Paris, 1983.

French text. This contribution to the history of precious metals in Asia relies on documents in Western languages, as well as in Russian and Chinese. It includes two parts: the first one, on Tibetan gold; the second one on the silver coinage minted by Nepal for Tibet before 1792. In both parts the 18th century period is given special attention. In the first part testimonies and legends are reported dealing with the gold mines of Tibet (including the famous text by Herodot on gold-digging "ants" and the discussion it has raised) and actual facts, from ancient times till nowadays.

Based on various sources, the identifications of old and recent gold mines and gold fields, the extraction and circulation of gold, prices, gold/silver exchange rate, comparisons with world prices, and political consequences, are studied - as well as the ways gold was made use of, beliefs as to precious metals and mines, treasures accumulated in monasteries and their fate. Photographs of 18th century maps help to interpret reports.

The second part deals with the monopolistic treaties by which the Nepal kings, until 1792, were entitled to mint silver coins for Tibet out of bullion provided by the Tibetans; with the evolution of this agreement during the 18th century, its commercial and political context, its numismatic aspects, the consequences of minting debased coins, the Gorkha conquest, the war with Tibet and China "the abrogation of the monopolistic treaty", Chinese attitude towards Tibetan coinage after 1793, and the source of silver bullion used to mint Tibetan coins.

[This summary was published anonymously in: *The Himalayan Research Bulletin*. South Asia Program. Center for International Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Vol. IV, Winter 1984, p. 30.]

***I.54. Bowker, H.F.:** "Notes on Asian Numismatics. The Lama Dollar of Tibet." *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, Vol. 22, 1956, pp. 2134-2136.

The author considers the so-called Lama dollar not as a forgery nor fantasy coin as classified by E. Kann in his "Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Coins" (B-74), but as an authentic coin struck in the early 1900's in the Szechuan Provincial Mint at Chengdu.

I.55. Brace, A.J.: "Silver Rupees in Tatsienlu". In: *Journal of West China Border Research Society*. Vol. VII, Chengtu, 1935, pp. 131-132.

A brief account of the different types of Indian rupees and the rupees with the portrait *Kwang Su* which circulated in Tatsienlu (modern day Kangding) in the 1930s (no illustrations).

***I.56. Brauen, Martin:** *Heinrich Harrers Impressionen aus Tibet*. Innsbruck and Frankfurt, 1974.

German text. Gives an introduction to the coins and banknotes used in the 1940's (pp. 165-167), with beautiful plates 102-105.

I.57. Brauen, Martin: *Peter Aufschneiter. Sein Leben in Tibet*. Innsbruck, 1983.

German text. Listing of daily wages of Tibetan artisans, prices for commodities, food and services at Lhasa between 1947-1950 (p. 197). Conversion table for the different Tibetan monetary units (p. 198).

I.58. Briggs, David G.: "Numismatic Gleanings, The Monetary System in Tibet, 1846. Extracts from Huc and Gabet." In: *NIB*, Vol. 25, Nr.1, January 1990, p. 8.

***I.59 Bruce II, Colin R.:** "Tibet Silver Tangka, Y-13, a Preliminary Study." *India Asiatic Numismatic Society*. Vol. 2, No. 1, 1973, p. 75.

An attempt to classify the "white tangka".

***I.60. Bushell, S. W.:** "Chinese Silver Coinage of Tibet". In: *China Review*, Vol. 6, No. 6, 1878, pp. 348-349.

A mint for the coinage of silver money was established in Lhasa by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung in the 57th year (A.D. 1792) of his reign. The rules of the new mint are detailed in the Regulations of the Board of Revenue, Ch. 34, fol. 35-36. Two "1 sho" specimens of this coinage are illustrated: Ch'ien-lung pao tsang Year 59 (A.D. 1794) and Tao-kuang pao tsang Year I (A.D. 1821).

***I.61. Bushell, S. W.:** "The Chinese Silver Coinage of Tibet". In: *China Review*, Vol. 8, No. 6, 1880, p. 392.

A drawing of the "1/2 sho" of Ch'ien-lung pao tsang Year 58 (A.D. 1793).

***I.62. Bushell, S. W.:** "Additional Coins of the Present Dynasty". In: *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 33, 1889/1890, pp. 30-34.

The mint in Lhasa is under the superintendence of four officers jointly appointed by the Chinese resident and the Dalai Lama. The coins were directed to be cast from standard sycee silver, un-mixed with other materials. The later emperors ordered that one fifth of the issues of the silver coinage of Tibet as well as of the coinage of Illi should still be inscribed with the reign of Ch'ien-lung in memory of the great Emperor's conquest.

***I.63. Bykow, A. A.:** *Monety Kitaja*. Leningrad, 1969.

Russian text. On p. 32 there is a short note on the Kong-par tangka and the first Sino-Tibetan issue of 1793. On plate XVI the following coins are illustrated: the Kong-par tangka 13-46 (no. 126), the 1 sho of Ch'ien-lung Year 59 (no. 127) and of Tao Kuang Year 3 (no. 128).

I.64. Carson, R. A. G.: *Coins. Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern. Vol. 3: Coins of America, Australasia and Asia*. Hutchinson & Co. London, 1971 (originally published in one volume: London, 1962).

Gives a very brief introduction to the coinage of Tibet (pp. 544-545) with illustration of a 5 Sho silver coin, dated 15-50 (plate 61, no. 1007).

***I.65. Cassinelli, C. W. and Ekvall, Robert B.:** *A Tibetan Principality. The Political System of Saska*. Cornell University. Ithaca, N. Y., 1969.

Notes on daily wages of artisans in Tibet, in 1947, and on prices of some commodities (p. 379).

I.66. Chakrabarti, Phanindra Nath: *Trans-Himalayan Trade. A Retrospect (1774-1914)*. In *Quest of Tibet's Identity*. New Delhi, 1990, pp. 19-20.

Contains some remarks on the coins minted by Nepal for Tibet.

***I.67. Chang, H.:** *The Silver Dollars and Taels of China*. Hongkong, 1981.

Description and photographs, with prices, of the five issues of the "1 Srang" (nos. CH57-CH61).

I.68. Chapela, Leonard R.: "Economic Institutions of Buddhist Tibet." In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XVII, Nr. 3, Dharamsala, Autumn 1992, pp. 2-40.

On p. 19 and in footnotes 98 and 101 are to be found some remarks on Tibet's currency, mainly based on R. Ekvall and W.D. Shakabpa. Unfortunately some wrong statements by Shakabpa are included and have not been corrected in the light of more recent numismatic publications.

***I.69. Chapman, Spencer F.:** *Lhasa the Holy City*. Readers Union. London, 1940.

The author visited the Government mint at Trab-shi and observed the minting of silver and copper coins and the printing of bank notes. He adds some remarks on the debasing of coinage and the lack of backing for the notes (p. 238).

***I.70. Clark, William L.:** "Denominations of Tibetan Coins." In: *The Coin Collector's Journal*, Vol. 16, Nr. 2 (1949), pp. 46-47.

The first western attempt to classify the different denominations of Tibet's modern coins, now outdated.

I.71. Clements A. J.: "The coins of West China. A Manyfold and Vaired Currency." In: *The North China Herald*, Vol. CXXXII, No. 2718, Shanghai, 13. Sept. 1919, p. 671-673.

Reprinted in: *Numismatics International Bulletin*, Vol. 29, Nr. 6, June 1994, pp. 131-137.

Description of coins circulating in Tachienlu (Kangding) at the border of Sichuan with Tibet. Silver ingots, Chinese dollars (mostly from Sichuan), Indian rupees, Sichuan rupees, silver bricks (80-240 ounces by weight), gold dust and gold bars circulate in Tachienlu; their relative value fluctuates. Counterfeits of coins are made and even low grade silver ingots are produced. The small fractions of the Sichuan rupees are popular among Chinese and Tibetans as buttons for outer garments. That's why half rupees were obtained by cutting the rupee pieces into two halves with a sword.

***I.72. Coole, A. B.:** *Coins in China's History*. 4th edition. Kansas, 1965.

Three Tibetan coins are illustrated on pp. 115-117. These coins are considered to be phantasies struck in the 20th century.

I.72.a. Cooper, James: "The West and the Modernisation of Tibet: 1900 to 1950. A Short Introduction." In: *Tibetan Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 11, Dharamsala, November 1986, pp. 9-19.

On p. 12 there is a short reference to the coins issued in 1910 and 1914 and to paper money introduced in 1890 and a new issue released in 1914.

Comment: The author's details given on paper money, based on T.W.D. Shakabpa, are incorrect.

***I.73. Cresswell, Oliver D.:** *Tibetan Coins*. Numismatics International, Dallas, Texas, 1977.

In spite of its title, this booklet lists only coins of autonomous Tibet. The Sino-Tibetan issues are omitted. It contains useful information for beginners, but, unfortunately, there are some wrong statements and omissions in the listing of the issues.

For a review in German language see: Gabrisch, Karl: "Cresswell, O.D., Tibetan Coins." In: *Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten*, Vol. 13, No. 64, 1978, pp. 92-93.

***I.74. Cybikov, G.C.:** *Buddhist-palornik i swiatyn Tibeta* (A Buddhist Pilgrim at the Holy Places of Tibet). Petrograd, 1919, pp. 166-168.

Also published in French language: Tsybokov, G.T.: *Un Pèlerin Bouddhiste au Tibet*. Edition Peuples du Monde. Paris, n.d.

Russian text. About 1900 the author visited the mint at the Potala of Lhasa and observed the coining by the native blacksmiths under the supervision of special lamas. He frequently met with coins bearing the dates 1872 and 1890 A.D. At that time, an Indian was engaged in the construction of a minting machine but Cybikov did not see any coins produced by it. He saw current coins of Nepalese origin, even of the 17th and 18th century. Some Tibetan coins are illustrated.

I.75. Dabringhaus, Sabine: *Das Qing-Imperium als Vision und Wirklichkeit. Tibet in Laufbahn und Schriften des Song Yun (1752-1835)*. Stuttgart, 1994.

Quotes from a memorandum by O Hui, Chengde and Ba Chong which contains extracts from a speech made on 26.5. of the 54th year of Qianlong (AD 1788) by the Gorkha leaders Gedengla Sanhai and Halibu. In this speech the Gorkha leaders give as reasons for the invasion of Tibet in 1788 that the Tibetans are taxing the Nepalese traders excessively, that Tibetan traders mix their salt with sand and that the Tibetan council of ministers has ordered a devaluation of the Nepalese silver coinage in Tibet and refuse its further use.

***I.76. Das, Sarat Chandra:** *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*. Reprinted by Manjushri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1970. Originally published by John Murray, London, 1904.

On p. 64 the author refers to a decree to enforce the circulation of every kind of silver coins, no matter how debased. Presumably, the debased (or counterfeit?) coins referred to are the so-called Shigatse tangkas (Craig # 27).

For the text of this decree see entry I. 220.

I.77. David-Neel, Alexandra: *Journal de Voyage. Lettres à son mari. 14 Janvier 1918 - 3 Décembre 1940. De la Chine à l'Inde en passant par le Tibet.* Plon. Paris, 1976, pp. 58-59.

A letter written from Kumbum 11th November 1918, contains the following remarks on the currency in that area of Amdo:

“T’ai-je déjà dit que l’on se sert, ici comme numéraire que de sapèques enfilés en longs chapelets. Cette monnaie lourde, volumineuse, sert à toutes les petites transactions, dès que la somme s’élève, on la solde en argent qu’il faut peser. On compte par once d’argent (ce n’est pas notre once de pharmacien). Il faut toujours avoir sa balance à la main et, comme il n’y a aucun contrôle des poids et mesures, les balances diffèrent beaucoup entre elles, d’où pour parler à n’en plus finir au sujet du poids aussi bien qu’à celui de la qualité des lingots d’argent dont un grand nombre sont affreusement mélangés d’étain et d’autres matières. Cette <<once>>, le ciel en soit loué - se divise en fractions décimales de 10 chos et 100 puns, cela facilite le calcul. Mais il y a 2000 sapèques dans une <<once>> (1 once s’appella sang, mais les Européens l’appellent tael - son nom chinois classique et correct) - ces 2000 sapèques forment 4 trompas, c’est-à-dire 4 chapelets de 500 sapèques chacun. Mais les 500 sapèques sont dites <<grandes>> par comparaison à un type qui n’existe plus dans la circulation dont on parle toujours dans les transactions, de sorte que le boutiquier dit: 1000 machers (sapèques) sho (petites) et vous devez comprendre que cela signifie 500 réelles sapèques. S’il dit 1000 machers ta (grandes) c’est bien 1000 machers qu’il faut lui donner. Mais ces mille ne sont point mille du tout. Le compte correct de cent petites sapèques est 47 grandes. Dans les chapelets (les meilleurs, car il y en a de diverses sortes) 94 est dit être 100, mais parfois 92 et même 85 sapèques seulement sont enfilés au lieu de 100.”

I.78. Davies, Major H.R.: *Yün-nan. The link between India and the Yangtse.* Cambridge, 1909 (Reprint Taipei, 1970), p. 279.

Reports the chopping of Indian rupees into three or four pieces with a big knife and a hammer in Eastern Tibet.

“The money used in this part of Tibet is the Indian rupee. They do not care about Chinese silver, and we converted all our silver into rupees. Small change does not exist. So the Tibetans adopt the rough and ready expedient of chopping rupees into pieces with a big knife and a hammer. Besides rupees chopped some into three pieces, and some into four pieces, we also found it convenient to carry about some of the Chinese brick tea which is the universal beverage in Tibet. Tea is so indispensable to the Tibetans that the disc shaped “bricks” will pass current everywhere, and are often preferred to silver.”

I.79 Deb, Arabinda. “Tibet and Bengal. A Study in Trade Policy and Trade Pattern (1775 - 1875).” In: *Bulletin of Tibetology*, New Series, Gangtok, 15 Nov. 1984 (Nr. 3), pp. 17-32

Contains a brief discussion on the coins which Nepal minted for Tibet.

I.80. Desgodins, C. H.: *La Mission du Thibet. De 1855 à 1870. D’après les lettres de M. l’abbé Desgodins.* Verdun, 1872.

p. 211 “4^e Monnaie. Il y a au Thibet une pièce de monnaie en argent, frappée à H’ Lassa par le Leangtay, avec la permission préalable de Pékin. Chaque pièce est ronde et plate, elle pèse une dixième d’once chinoise, et vaut quatre-vingts centimes; d’un côté elle porte en caractères chinois le nom de l’Empereur et l’année de son règne; sur l’autre, on lit encore les mêmes indications en lettres thibétaines, mais rien qui rappelle le gouvernement thibétain de H’Lassa; toutes les pièces sont d’une date postérieure à la conquête du Thibet par le général Yo-kong-yé en 1703. La pièce de

monnaie du Thibet antérieure à cette époque, et qui a cours encore, présente la même forme, pèse un tsien - cinq - fent [sic], c'est à dire trois vingtièmes d'once chinoise, et vaut un franc vingt centimes, [212] mais ne porte sur les deux faces que des lettres sanscrites. Depuis la conquête, H'Lassa n'a plus frappé monnaie pour son propre compte. Aujourd'hui les roupies anglaises et les lingots sont très communs dans le commerce."

p. 304 "Exportations du Thibet en Chine. De l'argent en grande quantité, et dans cet argent beaucoup de roupies anglaises de l'Inde qui sont fondues et remises en globules ou lingots par les Chinois; elles n'ont plus cours à l'est de Ta-t sien-lou. Sur la grande route du Thibet elles ne se pèsent pas, elles comptent pour trois dixièmes d'once chinoise, ce qui vaut de 2 fr. 25 à 2 fr. 30 c.; ailleurs elles se pèsent comme tout autre argent."

p. 299 The lowest quality of Tibetan brick tea is called 'ching-kia'.

"On le vend en paquet ou briques que les thibétains nomment Pa-ka; ces briques ont environs 25 centimètres de longueur sur 20 de largeur, et 0 m. 10 d'épaisseur; elles devraient peser cinq livres françaises, mais souvent elles ne pèsent que quatre livres et demie ou quatre livres trois quarts. (...) Quatre briques font un ballot ou kor-djrou; trois ballots font une caisse ou gam, deux caisses font une charge d'animal ou guiop. Le thé arrive à Ta-t sien-lou renfermé dans une simple natte de bambou; là, on enveloppe les ballots, les doubles ballots et les caisses dans des peaux de bœufs qui l'empêchent de se perdre et de [300] s'avarier à la pluie. Le ballot de quatre briques acheté à Ta-t sien-lou pour la modique somme de 8 francs (environ 40 centimes la livre de 500 grammes) se revend à Patang [Batang] 15 ou 16 francs, à Kiang-ka [Markam] 19 ou 20 francs, à Tcha-mon-to [Chamdo] 24 francs. A H'Lassa il doit coûter de 30 à 35 francs."

The French author refers to the period 1861 - 1865.

I.81. Deshayes, Laurent: *Histoire du Tibet*. Fayard. Paris, 1997.

p. 185: "Qianlong ôte aussi au Népal le privilège de la frappe de la [186] monnaie tibétaine. Une nouvelle pièce d'argent est créée avec ses divisions dès 1793. Ses caractéristiques la rendent exceptionnelle dans l'histoire des monnaies Qing. La monnaie mandchoue, fondue à Lhassa, ne remplace cependant les anciennes pièces népalaises, même celles de mauvais aloi."

Discussing the reforms introduced in Tibet by Zhao Erh Feng in 1907 the author states:

p. 248: "Dans les échanges commerciaux, seule la monnaie mandchoue, fondue à Chengdu, sera autorisée; avec réalisme, les autorités chinoises accepteront les lingots s'il sont d'argent pur."

p. 253: "A la fin de 1907, Pékin interdit la circulation des roupies anglo-indiennes dans tout l'ouest de l'empire et envisage la création d'une banque à Lhassa pour favoriser les échanges commerciaux sino-tibétains."

p. 268: "Les monnaies en circulation étaient jusqu'alors des pièces mandchoues fondues depuis Qian long, d'anciennes pièces frappées au Népal, des roupies anglo-indiennes et ausse quelques roubles qui pénétraient par le nord. Hormis quelques pièces frappées au Tibet dans la seconde moitié du XIXème siècle et marquées à l'ancien nom du gouvernement tibétain (Ganden P'ho drang Tchoglé Namgyal) le pays n'a toujours pas de monnaie nationale. Thoubten Gyamtso y remédie en créant une unité monétaire, le sang, divisée en quatre pièces, les tamka; des billets de 5, 10, 25 ou 100 sang son aussi émis, qui portent l'inscription du Ganden P'hodang. Timbres et monnaies resteront en usage jusqu'au milieu du XXe siècle."

p. 288: "L'ascension de Kunp'hela est renforcée par la création de la Drabshi Lékhoung, un service qui rassemble sous sa seule autorité l'arsenal, la centrale hydro électrique et l'hôtel des Monnaies. Tsarong lui est adjoint (...)."

I.82. De Wardt Lane, Roger: "Lhasa" In: *Encyclopaedia Britannica, A Dictionary of Arts, and General Literature*, Ninth Edition - Popular Reprint, Vol. XIV, New York, 1888. In: *NIB*, Vol. 27, Nr. 5, May 1992, pp. 120-121.

The minting of coins for Tibet by the Nepalese is discussed. The Kong Par Tangkas are thought to be Nepalese. The “Tibeto-Chinese” coinage and the use of Indian rupees in Tibet are briefly mentioned. The text is partly based on articles by de la Couperie.

I.82.a. Dewatshang, Kunga Samten: *Flight at the Cuckoo's Behest. The life and times of a Tibetan freedom fighter as told by his son Dorjee Wangdi Dewatshang.* Paljor Publications, New Delhi, 1997.

pp. 63-64: “After 1620 Nepalese coins were in circulation and were widely accepted by traders throughout Tibet. During the time of the eighth Dalai Lama, Jampel Gyatso (1758-1804), the Regent, Tshemonling Ngawang Tsultrim, proposed the minting of Tibetan coins. Consequently, the first Tibetan coins modelled on the Nepalese, entered circulation in 1792 during the time of Tatshag Tenpai Gonpo. Subsequently, coins made of silver, copper, and gold were minted by the Tibetan Government in denominations called *karma*, *zho* and *sang*. The value of the coins was reckoned according to their weight in silver. Thus, there were ten karma in one zho, ten zho in one sang, and fifty sang to one *dotshed*. Paper currency was introduced during the reign of the thirteenth Dalai Lama. Notes were issued in denominations of five, ten, [64] fifteen, twenty-five and fifty *tamka*. Eventually, a one-hundred sang note, the highest denomination, was also issued. However, although Tibet had its own currency, most of the transactions that took place at Dartsedo were carried out on the basis of barter.”

On p. 86 the author reports forged ten tamka bills given to his father in payment for tea in the Gyashoy Benkar area in 1947.

Comment: The author apparently refers to “ten srang” notes, since in the 1940s no ten tamka notes were in circulation.

I.83. Dhondup, K.: *The Water-Bird and other Years*, Rangwang Publishers. New Delhi, 1986.

p. 26 “He (Chao-Erh-Feng) looted the gold, silver and rare bronze and copper offering vessels and made them into bullets and small coins.” (the author refers to the year 1906 and to the areas near Ba Chode Monastery, Chating, Lithang and Gonkar Namling).

p. 32: “To further mark the occasion (the Dalai Lama’s return to Lhasa in December 1909) new silver coins marked with Gaden Podrang - the name of the Tibetan Government - was issued by the Dalai Lama and released into circulation.”

p. 78: “After Tsarong’s dismissal from the Cabinet, the Dalai Lama combined the mint, paper currency factory and the ammunition factory under one department called Drapchi Lekhung.”

I.84. Douglas, Nick and White, Meryl: *Karmapa the Black Hat Lama of Tibet.* London, 1976.

This book contains the reproduction of a document with the seal imprint of the 16th Karmapa. The border of this seal is very similar to the border design of the so called Sucakra Vijaya Tangka. (entry contributed by Nicholas G. Rhodes).

I.84.a. Du Halde, J.B.: *Description de La China.* Paris 1733, vol. 3, p. 168.

Three Nepalese coins of the Malla dynasty are illustrated as examples of Tibetan coins. This is the earliest known western illustration of coins circulating in Tibet.

I.85. Duka, Theodore: *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Körös.* Reprint, New Delhi, 1972 (First published London, 1885).

Dr. Campbell’s report made after the death of Csoma de Körös in Darjeeling contains some remarks on the currency in possession of Csoma de K. who was preparing a journey to Tibet before he died.

p.152: “Annexed is a detailed list of the contents of the boxes. Among his papers were found the bank-notes for 300 rupees, to which he alluded before his death, and a memorandum regarding

Government papers for 5000 rupees, which is stated in transcript of a letter to the Government, dated 8th February 1842, it was his wish to leave at his death to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for any literary purpose. Cash to the number of 224 rupees of various coinage, and a waist belt containing 26 gold pieces (Dutch ducats, I believe), complete the money part of his effects."

I.86. Dung-dkar, blo-bzang 'phrim-las: *The Merging of Religious and Secular Rule in Tibet*. Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1991, pp. 117-118.

As an appendix the "Twenty-Nine Article Ordinance for the More Efficient Governing of Tibet of 1793 AD" is published. The 3rd article deals with the newly introduced sino-tibetan silver coinage and with the Nepalese and Tibetan Tangkas which were in use at that time.

I.87. Duncan, Marion H.: *The Yangtze and the Yak*. Alexandria, Virginia, 1952.

Jyekundo as a tea-port is second to Tachienlu in importance. Two hundred loads with twenty-four bricks of tea to the load (about 100 pounds) leave Tachienlu each day (1929-36). The tea at Tachienlu costs 48-60 rupees a load, freight 18 Rp. to Jyekundo and 10-12 Rp. more to Lhasa. Thus the tea costing about 78-90 Rp. in Lhasa brings a high profit when sold there at 110-160 Rps if one does not consider the losses on the road from climate, thieves, storage charges in Jyekundo and personal travel expenses of the merchants who must accompany their goods or pay for a representative to safeguard them. About eight to nine thousand loads of tea are sent to Lhasa. Tea which leaves Tachienlu in March and April arrives in Jyekundo in May and June prior to the onset of the monsoon rains. The caravans arrive in Nyachukha in November and December, and in Lhasa before the New Year's festivals. In this schedule the trip to Lhasa consumes a year. (pp. 199-200). Some deals are by barter but small articles are bought with Chinese copper coins. Expensive goods are purchased with silver rupees having the last Manchu Emperor's head engraved on the face and coined by the Chinese for the Tibetan trade. The Tibetan refuse to accept the debased Chinese dollars and Chinese paper money (p. 216).

***I.88. Easton, John:** *An Unfrequented Highway*. London, 1928, pp. 83-84.

Some remarks on the monetary system. The lower values are of copper and the greater part of Tibetan trade is carried out in copper values.

I.89. Ekvall, Robert B.: *Religious Observances in Tibet. Patterns and Function*. Chicago and London, 1964, p. 155.

Some remarks on the use of commodities as currency. In barter trade commodities are valued in terms of a particular currency.

I.90. Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature, 9th edition, Vol. XIV, Henry G. Allen and Company, Publishers, New York, 1888.

The article Lhasa contains a brief discussion of the coinage of Tibet and illustrations of a Gaden Tamga, a Kong Par Tamga and a Sino Tibetan Sho of Quien Long, 58th year.

I.91. Encyclopaedia Britannica: Vol. 21. Chicago, London, Toronto Geneva, Sydney, Tikyo and Manila, 1969, p. 116.

Contains some remarks on the coinage and banknotes of Tibet in the article "Tibet" written by D.S. Snellgrove.

***I.92. Fano, Domenico da:** *Short description of the Kingdom of Tibet*. (Manuscript translation by N.G. Rhodes of the Italian text *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* by Luciano Petech. 7 volumes. Rome, 1952-1956.

In the early 18th century the currency of Tibet consisted of Nepalese coins, "mandermali". Smaller fractions were silk scarves (K'a-btags) which circulated to the sixth part of a tam-ka, and Areca nuts (Vol. 3, pp. 13-15). (See also entry nr. I. 171).

I.93. Fengler, Heinz; Gierow, Gerhard and Unger, Willy: *Lexikon der Numismatik*. 3rd edition, Berlin, 1982 (first edition 1976), p. 483.

In German language. Contains a brief discussion of the Nepalese mohurs struck for Tibet and of the Gaden and Kong Par tangkas and of the sino-tibetan coinage.

I.94. Filchner, Wilhelm: *Om mani padme hum. Meine China- und Tibetexpedition 1925/28*. 2nd edition. F.A. Brockhaus. Leipzig, 1929.

P. 306-307: It is reported that Ngoloks accept "Tschangas (Tangkas)" for payment in 1928. The value of 1 tangka is given as 12 Chinese cents of black silver or 8 Chinese cents of silver or 23 German Pfennig.

***I.95. Filchner, Wilhelm:** *Kumbum Dschamba Ling. Das Kloster der hunderttausend Bilder Maitreyas*. Leipzig, 1933, pp. 397-399.

German text. The author discusses the monetary conditions in the 1910s. The national unit is the trangka (called damkha in Lhasa dialect). In Western Tibet the Indian rupee is more widespread, the same holds true for Eastern Tibet where silver ingots are also current. In Northern Tibet tea bricks are widely in use. The newly minted copper coins are accepted only in areas within 100 miles from Lhasa.

***I.96. Filippi, Filippo de:** *An Account of Tibet. The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S.J., 1712-1727*. London, 1937, p. 167.

Desideri was a contemporary of the second entry of Tibet by the Chinese (autumn 1720). Shortly afterwards the whole country was flooded with Chinese silver. The Tibetans sent it from Lhasa to Nepal in order to exchange it for money of the three kings who ruled the Kathmandu valley.

I.97. Forrest, Bob: "Coin Abuse II." In: *Numismatics International Bulletin*, Vol. 31, Nr. 1, January 1996, pp. 10-17.

A small suff bottle made from two Tibetan machine struck shokang coins (Y 23) is described and illustrated (p. 12). The author thinks that it was made in Tibet. These items are, however, produced in Nepal, but occasionally they are sold in Lhasa curio shops.

I.98. Franck-Weiby, Greg: "Numismatic Gleanings. Excerpted from 'My Journey to Lhasa' by Alexandra David-Neel." In: *NIB*, Vol. 25, Nr. 4, April 1990, pp. 90-91.

A David-Neel used Indian Rupees for her journey. She mentions the striking of Tibetan gold coins in a place near the Norbu Ling (sic). Silver Tangkas and 50 Tael sycee have almost disappeared in Lhasa (in 1924). Earlier (1914-16) she had found plenty of Tangkas in Shigatse. Copper coins are issued but are not used 100 miles away from Lhasa. The paper currency is refused by traders.

***I.99. Gabrisch, Karl:** "A Forgery of the Sino-Tibetan Lukuan Rupee". In: *ONS Newsletter*, No. 75, Dec. 1981.

A photograph and a short description of a forgery seen in Kathmandu in December 1980.

***I.100. Gabrisch, Karl:** "Abriss der Münzgeschichte Tibets". In: *Der Weg zum Dach der Welt*. Edited by C.C. Müller and W. Raunig. Innsbruck and Frankfurt/M., October 1982, pp. 220, 233-237.

German text. A short history of the development of currency in Tibet, especially in connection with the Transhimilayan trade. The article is illustrated with photos of 19 coins, some of which published for the first time: Jia Qing, Year 5; 20 Srang, cycle 15, year 55. Also colour photographs of six Tibetan banknotes from the author's collection are included.

***I.101. Gabrisch, Karl:** "Beiträge zur tibetischen Numismatik I: Die Sichuan Rupie und ihre Varianten". In: *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1982, pp. 44-47.

German text. The history of the Sichuan Rupee and an attempt to classify the main types according to two characteristics on obverse and two characteristics on reverse. Based on the author's collection, a total of nine types are listed. Some mintage figures are supplied. The author negates the existence of "mules" of this denomination. Remarks on the "dollar-size" pieces (2 1/2 rupees) with photos of two types. 19 different types and varieties are pictured.

This article was also published in English:

"The Szechuan Rupee and its Variants." In: *NIB*, Vol. 17, No. 4, April 1983, pp. 103-112.

***I.102. Gabrisch, Karl:** "Grain Tokens from Tibet." In: *ONS NL*, 1983.

In 1981, a copper piece with a Chinese inscription overstruck on a Tibetan "5 Sho 16-26", appeared on the market in Kathmandu. It seems to be a ration token and is considered to be genuine. Two different pieces are illustrated.

I.103. Gabrisch, Karl: *Geld aus Tibet. Sammlung Dr. Karl Gabrisch.* Winterthur and Rikon, 1990 (73 pp. and 43 pl.).

In 13 chapters on 68 pages the author introduces the history of currency in Tibet based on the latest research published in Western and Chinese literature. The 40 plates illustrate 155 coins, medals and banknotes, some published for the first time, except two items they are all from the author's collection. Part of this collection was on display from 25 Sept. 89 till 12 August 1990 in the coin cabinet at Winterthur (Switzerland).

***I.104. Gabrisch, Karl:** "Beiträge zur tibetischen Numismatik II: Die Tibetischen Goldmünzen und deren Fälschungen". In: *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 20, no. 2, 1990, pp. 1-3 and vol. 21, no 2, 1991, pp. 1-5.

German text. Tibet is rich in gold. Auriferous fields are reported in western and central Tibet. Gold is also found in the rivers in eastern parts between Chiamdo and Tachienlu. According to Chinese sources an Indian 1 Tola gold coin was current in Tibet before 1914. The first gold coin of Tibet was minted 15-52 (AD 1918). In 15-55 (AD 1921) the minting was suspended, the last issue being the rarest. The study is based on a collection of 31 gold coins, the results such as weight, specific weight, gold content, different measurements being summed up in three tables. The author tries to establish criteria for the genuine Tibetan gold coin.

I.105. Gabrisch, Karl and Shakya, Amogh R.: "Numismatic Glimpses from Tibetan Borderlands". In: *NIB*, Vol. 30, Nr. 5, May 1995, pp. 105-112.

A survey of the currency used in the 20th century in areas inhabited by Tibetans of Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces.

I.106. Gabrisch, Karl and Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Chopmarks on Sichuan Rupees and Coins from Tibet". In: *NIB*, Vol 26, No. 3, 1991, pp. 57-65.

17 different chopmarks, all, except three, on Sichuan Rupees, are mentioned and, where possible, also explained. 27 coins with chopmarks are pictured.

Comment: In fact, the marks found on Sichuan rupees should not be called "chops", since they are mostly found on rupees of the later minting period (after 1930), when the habit of chopping coins was not any more prevailing in China. At least one mark seems to have had official character and could therefore be called a "counterstamp".

Meanwhile the compiler has come to the conclusion that there exist several countermarks on Sichuan rupees and Tibetan coins which have to be considered as modern fabrications, probably of northern Indian origin.

I. 107. Gabrisch, Karl (edited by Bertsch, Wolfgang): "The First Coins Struck in Tibet." In: *NIB*, Vol. 34, Nr. 3, March 1999, pp. 56-63.

Four different chronologies for the issue of four early Tibetan coin types are discussed with illustrations of most coins mentioned.

I.108. Gopakumar, P.: "Coins of the Roof of the World." In: *Hindu* (daily newspaper), New Delhi, Nov. 26, 1989.

A brief introduction to Tibet's coinage with illustrations of three common copper coins.

I.109. Goré, Francis (des Missions Etrangères de Paris): *Trente ans aux Portes du Thibet Interdit. 1908-1938*. Imprimerie de la Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris. Maison Nazareth. Hongkong, 1939, pp. 283-284.

Reports that apart from the Gaden tangka five different copper coins are circulating in Tibet and that the banknotes issued in Lhasa have been withdrawn from circulation, as they could easily be counterfeited.

I.110. Goré, Francis: "Notes sur les Marches Tibétaines du Sseu-tch'ouan et du Yun-nan." In: *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient*, Vol. 23, 1923.

p. 324: *Commerce*. - Les principaux centres de commerce sont Ta-tchien-lou au Sseu-tch'ouan et Atentseu au Yun-nan.

Importation: "Ta-tchien-lou: thé de la région de Ya-tcheou, toiles, soieries, opium; Atentseu: sucre, thé et toiles de Yun-nan.

Exportation: musc, laine, peaux, fourrures, or, cornes de cerf dures et tendres, plantes médicinales, tapis.

Le commerce, tant à Atentseu qu'à Ta-tchien-lou, est souvent un commerce d'échange.

Les roupies du Sseu-tch'ouan et des Indes, la piastre chinoise, les lingots d'or, d'argent (10 ou 50 taël), ont cours partout."

I.111. Grenard, F.: *Dutreuil de Rhin: Mission Scientifique dans la Haute Asie 1890-1895. Deuxième Partie: Le Turkenistan et le Tibet*. Etude Ethnographique et Sociologique. Paris, 1898, pp. 388-399.

Discusses the use of the Tibetan tangka, the Indian rupee and Chinese silver ingots in north-eastern and eastern Tibet.

"La monnaie la plus usuelle dans les limites du royaume de Lha-sa [389] est le tan-kal, pièce d'argent frappée à Lha-sa par le Talé lama, plus grande, mais beaucoup plus mince que notre franc et contenant une quantité considérable d'alliage. Elle vaut 1/8 d'once d'argent, 2/5 de roupie, soit 0 fr. 94. Il n'existe point de monnaie divisionnaire, on se contente de couper le tan-ka en deux, trois ou quatre morceaux selon les besoins. Cette monnaie de Lhasa est peu en faveur hors des états du Talé lama et elle cesse d'avoir cours à une faible distance de la frontière ou n'est acceptée qu'à perte pour 1/3 de roupie ou pour 1/9 d'once.

Au contraire, les lingots d'argent chinois et la roupie anglo-indienne (gor-mo), qui sert quelquefois à orner la chevelure des femmes, passent partout sans subir de dépréciation. Cependant la roupie n'est point reçue par les Tibétains des bords du Kon-knor. Les lingots chinois sont moins fréquents, à cause de leur commodité moindre, mais l'once d'argent (srag) est considérée de l'un à l'autre bout des pays où sonne la langue tibétaine comme la véritable base monétaire. L'once d'argent ne varie pas tandis que la roupie et le tan-ka sont sujets à de légères fluctuations. La première était cotée en 1894 à 0 once 3125, le second 0,125. La valeur de la monnaie d'argent n'a nullement été affectée par la baisse du métal blanc et le prix des denrées est resté stationnaire. Seul l'or a augmenté de prix, mais moins qu'en Turkestan; il ne coûte encore que 18 fois son poids d'argent à Lha-sa et 15 fois à Gyé-rgoun-do ou à Ba-t'ang.

1 Sans doute le même mot que le turc tenga, qui, désigne une monnaie ayant exactement la même valeur."

I.112. Grenard, F.: *Tibet. The country and its inhabitants*. Translated by A. Texeira de Mattos. Reprinted by Cosmo Publications. New Delhi, 1974.

Pp. 301-302. This is an English translation of the passage on currency in eastern Tibet which is to be found in the French original from which we quote in the previous entry.

***I.113 Grosch, Günter:** "Tibet und seine Geldgeschichte". In: *Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten*, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp 8-12; No. 6, pp. 54-57; No. 7, pp. 92-94; No. 10, pp. 61-62 (1967-1968).

German text. A survey of the coins and notes relating to the history of the currency in Tibet. At the time of publication one of the most extensive papers on the currency of Tibet. Photographs of 66 coins and 5 notes are included.

I.114. Haikichi, Aizawa: A Study of Tangka. Published in Showa 44 (AD 1969) in Nr. 3 of an unidentified Japanese Numismatic Journal.

A Japanese article discussing variants of the "Gaden tangka".

I.115. Hamal, Lakshman B.: *Economic History of Nepal (from antiquity to 1990)*, Varanasi, 1994, pp. 162-166.

Gives a brief account on minting of coins by Nepal for Tibet.

***I.116. Hans, J.:** *Geld und Gold aus Asien*. Vienna, 1930.

According to Dr. Filchner, the following foreign denominations were in use: Mongolian Lan-coins, Mexican Dollars called Sining Tael or Sining-Dollar by the natives. Copper coins were accepted in the area north of Lhasa and in Lhasa itself; in Western Tibet, however, only Tibetan silver tangkas were accepted. Apart from this, sycee silver was in common use.

I.117. Hansbury-Tracy, John: *Black Rivers of Tibet*. London, 1938.

p. 12 "Our money was all in bank-notes for the time being. But in Tibet only solid silver would be accepted, so two years' finances would have to be carried in Indian rupees."

p.35 "Tibet is serenely unaffected by the chaotic fluctuations of modern financial systems. Khamdampa arranged that we should get eight Tibetan silver trangkas for one Indian rupee, and that coolies should be paid at the rate of three tangkas a day. (...) Tibetan trangkas, minted at Lhasa are frequently made from melted rupees. They are unmilled coins, stamped with a simple design in Tibetan characters. It is a curious fact that only the rupees with a crown on the King's head are considered valid in Eastern Tibet. The crownless Edward VII coins are politely but firmly refused as inferior articles."

p.74 "He (Khamdampa) showed us with pride a specimen of the recently issued Tibetan paper currency, a 50 trangka note, worth about 9 s. 4 d. These notes are used by the merchants of Chamdo, Lhasa and Gyantse, and are never seen by the peasants, who recognize only the silver and copper coins. In some parts of Tibet lumps of silver, in the shape of ponies' hooves, are used for money."

Except otherwise stated by the author, these statements refer to Zayul in the year 1935.

I.118. Harrer, Heinrich: *Sieben Jahre in Tibet*, Wien, 1952, p. 56 and 176.

In Kyirong the main currency was the Khotrang (This is the Nepalese mohur which was cut into smaller units.).

Copper sheets for the mint are imported from India.

I.119. Hébert, Raimond. J.: "Bogle and Manning on the Monies of Tibet in 1774 and 1811-1812." In: *NIB*, Vol. 25, Nr. 4, April 1990, pp. 88-89.

Extracts from narratives of the mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa (edited by Clements R. Markham, London, 1876).

I.120. Herrli, Hans: *Zahlen, Ziffern, Zeitrechnungen. Ein Numismatisches Handbuch*. Köln, 1989.

The Tibetan dating by 60 year cycles is discussed on pp. 191-192. Dating systems of other Himalayan states like Nepal, Bhutan and Assam are also explained.

***I.121. Hoffmann, Helmut.:** *Tibet. A Handbook*. Indiana University, Bloomington, n.d. (1975).

In Tibet's early days, trading was carried on by exchange of commodities. Later, the Tibetan developed their own form of currency. The silver pieces were known as "ngul" (coin), taking the following forms: ten karma to one sho; ten sho to one srang; fifty srang to one dotse. The Nepalese tamka was added to the coinage, being the equivalent of about one and a half sho. In 1792 the Tibetans established their own system of currency with the coins bearing a Tibetan inscription.

***I.122. Huc, Régis-Evariste and Gabet, J.:** *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China 1844-6*. Two Volumes. George Routledge & Sons, London, 1928.

pp. 179-180: "The monetary system of the Thibetians consists entirely of silver coins, which are somewhat larger, but not so thick as our francs. On one side, they bear inscriptions in Thibetian, Parsee, or Indian characters; on the other, a crown composed of eight small, round flowers. To facilitate commerce, these coins are cut into pieces determining its value. The entire coin is called *Tchan-Ka* [*tang-ka*]. A *Tche-ptche* [*khapch'e (kha-phyed)*] is one half of the *Tchan-Ka*; or, in other words, is a piece of four flowers only. The *Cho-Kan* [*sho-gang*] has five flowers, the *Ka-gan* [*ka'-gang*] three. In the larger commercial operations, they employ silver ingots, which are weighed in a Roman balance, upon the decimal system."

According to the English editors the transcriptions placed in square brackets were supplied by the French scholar Paul Pelliot. The transcription of the French *Tcheptche* should, however, be *phyed brygad*, referring to seven and half (skar). *Kha-phyed* refers to one and half (skar), i.e. half of a *ka'-gang*. (WB).

I.123. Jedson International: "Tibet's intriguing white Tangka." In: *World Coins*, Vol. 8, Sydney, Ohio, July 1971, p. 885. Republished in same journal, Vol. 9, No. 97, January 1972, p. 71.

Note on the Gaden Tangka in the form of advertising. Reports that in 1948 5 Million Gaden Tangkas were melted to produce the 10 Srang coin.

I.123a. Jin Hui, Ren Yinong and Ma Naihui (chief editors): *Social History of Tibet, China. Documented and Illustrated*. China Intercontinental Press. Beijing, 1995.

On p. 33 extracts from the *Imperial Records of the Qing Dynasty* are reproduced referring to a decree disposing the setting up of a mint for Tibetan silver coins in 1791.

The title page of an official document given by the Grand Minister Resident of Tibet and the imperial envoy to *kalons* about the circulation of silver coins is illustrated. Examples of Sino-tibetan silver coins to which this document as well as the *Twenty-nine Article Ordinance for the More Efficient Governing of Tibet (1793)* refer are reproduced.

***I.124. Kalgan, Shih:** *Modern Coins of China*. Chinese Edition: Shanghai, 1949. English Edition Shanghai 1949. Reprint of the Chinese edition: Shanghai, 1989.

The author mentions two gold coins of Tibet, a yellow one and a red one with a lower silver content. Now we know that the red coin is actually a Chinese forgery of a genuine Tibetan coin (p. 10 of the English edition). Several Tibetan coins are illustrated.

***I.125. Kann, Edward:** *The Currencies of China*. Second edition, Shanghai, 1927.

An important work on gold, silver and copper currency. References to Tibet are scattered throughout the book.

***I.126. Kann, Edward:** "The Coinage of Gold in China." *Bulletin of the Numismatic Society in China*, No. 7, 1941, pp. 13 and 18.

The author's reference to a Tibetan gold coin, minted between 1909 and 1911, is incorrect, since no gold coins were struck before 1918. The illustrated coin (no. 5, p. 18) is actually the modern 20 srang gold coin.

***I.127. Kann, Edward:** *Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Coin*. Los Angeles, 1954. Second Edition: New York, 1966.

Despite of some errors, this work was considered for many years as the best catalog of Tibetan coins, particularly of the Sino-Tibetan series.

I.128. Kawaguchi, Ekei: *Three Years in Tibet*. Reprint, New Delhi, 1979 (originally published in 1909), pp. 461 and 426.

Contains some remarks on the silver tangka and its fractions.

p. 461: "Commodities are either bartered or bought with regular coins. I should more strictly say the *coin*, there being only one kind of coin, and that is a twenty-four *sen* silver piece. [...] The unit of transaction being four *sen* there are six graduations of value between this minimum and a *tangka*, each possessing a distinct denomination. Thus four *sen* is called a *khakang*, eight *sen* a *karma*, twelve *sen* a *chyekka*, sixteen *sen* a *shokang*, twenty *sen* a *kabchi* and twenty-four *sen* a *tangka*."

I.129. Kempf, Fred: "Tibet (More Coin-Grams)." In: *World Coins*, Sydney, Ohio, August 1967, p. 664.

The Kong-par tangkas, dated 13-46, 13-47, 15-24 and 15-25 which at that time were not included in the Craig- and Yeoman-catalogues are reported together with three none existing dates for this coin type: 13-48, 13-49 and 13-50. The ornamental lines encompassing the date on the obverse of these coins are interpreted as the Buddhist symbol "OM".

***I.130. Kempf, Fred:** "Reading and Dating Tibet Coins." In: *World Coins*, Sydney, Ohio, 1968, pp. 392-394.

Tibet started using its own money in the late 1700's. At first there was only one denomination, the silver tangka, weighing roughly 5 grams. It was originally a Nepalese coin. In 1909, a decimal monetary system, consisting of skar, sho and srang, was introduced: ten skar equal one sho, ten sho equal one srang. A list of interpretations is added, enabling the collector to decipher the dates and legends on native Tibetan coins, which are fascinating one they are fully understood.

***I.131. Kempf, Fred:** *A Primary Report on Native Tibetan Coins*. Mimeograph. Seattle, Washington, 1969.

Work on modern Tibetan coins, including estimated mintage figures, based on information collected from former Tibetan government officials.

I.132. Kessler, Peter: *Laufende Arbeiten zu einem Ethnohistorischem Atlas Tibets. Lieferung 40.1 Die historischen Königreiche Ling und Derge*. Tibet Institut, Rikon, 1983, pp. 40-41.

German text. In Kham (Eastern Tibet) in the period ca. 1835 till 1950 the Sichuan rupee and its imitations were current, almost exclusively.

***I.133. Klaasesz, Paul F.:** "Tibet. Part II. Coins for Use in Tibet Struck in China". In: *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, Vol. 15, No. 12, 1949, pp. 1038-1039.

A description of Sichuan rupees. The coin featuring the Emperor's bust without collar is the earliest issue, the piece with the "large bust" is the latest item. Two varieties in the shape of the Chinese characters for "4" are indicated. The crown size issue is a forgery. With illustrations.

***I.134. Klaasesz, Paul F.:** "Tibet. Part III. Coins Struck in Tibet." In: *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, Vol 16, No. 2, 1950, pp. 173-176.

A tangka and three modern issues are illustrated.

***I.135. Klaasesz, Paul F.:** "Tibet. Part IV." In: *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, Vol. 17, No. 8, 1951, pp. 664-665.

Three coins are described in some detail. However, the one that is similar in design to the gold piece is actually a silver trial-strike of a Chinese forgery of the 20 Srang gold coin, dated 15-54. The second piece is a "2 tangka" (Y # 15).

I.136. Klaproth, Jules: Description du Thibet, traduite partiellement du chinois en russe par le P. Hyacinthe Bitchourin, et du russe en français par M. xxx, soigneusement revue et corrigée sur l'original chinois, complétée et accompagnée de notes par M. Klaproth. Imprimerie Royale. Paris, 1831.

This is an offprint taken from *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 4, Paris 1829, pp. 81-158 and Vol. 6, Paris 1830, pp. 161-246.

A translation of the Chinese original *Wei Tsang Thou Chy* or *Notes on the provinces 'Wei' and 'Zang'*, with maps and plates. This text is extracted from the *Si tsang ki* or *Memorial of western Zang*, dated Qian Long, year 56 (AD 1791).

p. 99: "Il circule dans le commerce à H'lassa, une monnaie en argent pesant un thsian et cinq fen (1 fr. 25 c.) avec une inscription tibétaine et avec des dessins arabesques. On échange la monnaie d'argent contre du cuivre. Les principaux articles du commerce consistent en soie écruée du pays, en toiles, en provisions de bouche, comme raisans, noix, pêches et autres productions indigènes."

***I.137. Kleist, Christian-Ewald von:** "Zeitangaben auf Münzen Tibets". In: *Die Münze*, Vol. 8, 1977, pp. 350-351.

German text. A short introduction to the dating of Tibetan coins.

I.138. Kozlov, Petr Kuzmich: *Tibet i Dalai Lama*. Petersburg, 1920.

In Russian language. On p. 36, one sino-tibetan coin, two Tibetan tangkas and 4 Nepalese Mohars, struck for Tibet, are illustrated and briefly described.

I.139. Kroha, Tyll: *Grosses Lexikon der Numismatik*. Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag. Gütersloh, 1997.

German text. This numismatic dictionary contains an article on the Tibetan tangka and on the use of tea bricks as money.

I.140. Kuang Haolin: "On the Temple Economy of Tibetan Areas in Modern Times." In: *Social Sciences in China*, Vol. XII, No. 3, Beijing, September 1991, pp. 123-155.

p. 134 "Eight Tibetan taels equalled one silver dollar circulating in China proper during the early years of this century."

Comment: Instead of "taels" one should probably read "tangkas".

I.141. Landon, Perceval: *The Opening of Tibet. An Account of Lhasa and the Country and People of Central Tibet and of the Progress of the Mission sent there by the English Government in the year 1903-4*. New York, 1906 (reprinted by Vipin Jain for Vintage Books, New Delhi, 1990), p. 370.

Notes on the cutting of tankas (sic) and on the exchange value of the Indian rupee (1 rupee = 3 tankas). The intrinsic value of the tangka is given as "four and a fifth pennies" (sic for "annas").

I.142. Landor, Henry Savage A.: *In the Forbidden Land*. London, 1908.

A photograph of "Silver Lhasa Coins". A Kongpar-tangka, a Gaden-tangka and two jaus of Ladakh are illustrated (p. 281).

I.143. Lamb, Alistair: *Britain and Chinese Central Asia. The Road to Lhasa 1767 to 1905.* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1960, p. 340.

Some remarks on currency in Tibet in the 18th century based on Bogle and Turner's writings.

I.143a. Lamb, Alistair: *Tibet, China & India 1914-1950. A History of Imperial Diplomacy.* Roxford Books. Hertingfordbury, 1989.

p. 149: "The Tibetan silver coinage in general use was quite unsuited to large scale international purchases. The Lhasa Government still failed to appreciate that the simple printing of currency notes on paper without any guarantee, let alone backing in bullion, did not result in a form of money acceptable to the outside world."

Footnote 287 (p. 172) contains a very brief historical survey of Tibet's currency.

I.144. Lang, Joseph E.: "Series of Asian counterfeits surface." in: *World Coin News*, Vol. 25, No. 7, July 1998, p. 4.

Reports (among others) a forgery of the 1/2 Sichuan rupee Y #2, which has recently been discovered in Vietnam.

I.145. Laufer, Berthold, *Sino-Tibetan Studies.* Vol. 2. (article: *Loan-Words in Tibetan.*) New Delhi, 1987, p. 514.

The floral design in the centre of the obverse of the Gaden tangka was explained by a Lama informant to Laufer as a *dpag bsam ljon shing* "wish-granting tree" (Sanskrit: Kalpalata).

***I.146. Lee, F.E.:** *Currency, Banking and Finance in China.* n.p. 1926.

A special dollar is minted at Chengdu, for use at Tashienlu, on the Tibetan border. This dollar is smaller than the Sichuan dollar and is nominally worth 5 mace. Indian rupees are also in use along the border of Tibet.

I.147. Legarda, Angelita G. de: "Tibetan Voyage." In: *Barrilla.* The Central Bank Money Museum Quarterly. Vol. 1, Nr. 2, Manila, October 1974, pp. 46-51.

The author gives a personal report on how she started collecting Tibetan coins. Three common Tibetan coins are illustrated and the "Eight Lucky Symbols" as they appear on the second "monk tangka" are briefly explained. Probably the only article on Tibetan coins published in the Philippines.

I.147.a Lindegger, Peter: "Vom Dach der Welt - Geld aus Tibet. Die Sammlung Dr. Karl Gabrisch im Münzkabinett der Stadt Winterthur." In: *Zeichen und Werte.* Kulturelle Beilage zum <<Landboten und Tagblatt von Winterthur und Umgebung>>. Nr. 10, Samstag, 13. Januar 1990, p. 29-30.

German text. An introduction to the history of Tibet's currency and to the exhibition "Money from Tibet" (collection of Dr. Karl Gabrisch) in the coin cabinet of the Swiss town of Winterthur.

I.147b. Lindegger, Peter: >>Die letzten 100 Jahre<< Kurzer Abriss der Geschichte Tibets im 20. Jahrhundert. Drei Vorträge gehalten am 24. Mai, 31. Mai und 14. Juni 1997 am Tibet-Institut Rikon, erweitert um Anmerkungen, Illustrationen und eine Karte. Tibet-Institut Rikon. Schriften 13, Rikon, 1997.

On pp. 20-21 the author gives a very brief summary of the minting of coins and printing of paper money during the rule of the 13th Dalai Lama. On p. 35 the Tibetan trade mission, sent to USA and England under the leadership of the Tibetan Finance Minister W.D. Shakabpa is mentioned. The official purpose of this mission was to purchase gold for the Tibetan coinage.

I.148. Lin Tian: "A Diary of Tibet's Democratic Reform." In: *Beijing Review*, Vol. 35, nr. 35, Beijing, August 31 - September 6, 1992, pp. 17-20.

The term "zhangge" is explained as copper coin which equals one 20th of a tael of Tibetan silver.

I.149. Lin Tung-hai: "Récent Voyage au Tibet". In: *Revue Nationale Chinoise*. Vol. 23, No. 76, Shanghai, 14 September 1936, pp. 23-38.

p. 32: "Monnaie. - Au Thibet, les échanges se font au moyen de la roupie de l'Inde, du demi-dollar du Szechuen et du papier-monnaie thibétain dont l'unité standard est la roupie. Le demi-dollar du Szechuen et la roupie sont presque de même dimension, mais ils diffèrent considérablement en valeur, le change du premier étant à peu près de 3 contre 1 en faveur de la roupie. Comme les affaires thibétaines se régulent sur cette base, le peuple perd beaucoup au change. C'est un cas bien net du danger de la domination d'une monnaie étrangère sur celle d'un pays."

Comment: It is somewhat difficult to understand what the author means to say in the second sentence: "The half dollar of Szechuen and the [Indian] rupee are almost of the same size, but they differ considerably as to their respective value, the change of the former being about 3 to 1 in favour of the rupee". We believe that it is impossible that he wants to say that the Indian rupee is worth three times more than the Sichuan rupee, unless he is referring exclusively to the Sichuan rupee struck in Kangding in the 1930s which has a fairly low silver content.

I.150. Lowell, Thomas, Jr.: *The Silent War in Tibet*. Secker & Warburg. London, 1960, p. 123.

The Bank which was set up by the Chinese in Lhasa (date is not given, but probably 1953/4) did not accept Tibetan currency for remittances to India. "Only traders who could show legitimate possession of Chinese silver, obtained through sales to the Chinese, secured drafts for further purchases (in India)".

I.151. Macaulay, Colman: *Report on a Mission to Sikkim and the Tibetan Frontier. 1884. With a memorandum on our Relations with Tibet*. Calcutta, 1885. Reprint: Kathmandu, 1977.

pp. 87-88: "I now come to a matter of more practical importance, namely the price at which China tea actually sells at Lhasa. Though A-K expressly mentions the two [88] classes of coarse teas called Chupa and Gyépa, he fails to observe the instructive meaning of the words themselves. Pa in Tibetan corresponds to the Hindustani word walla for which we have no precise English equivalent. Chu means ten and Gyé means eight. Chupa simply means "ten-walla" and Gyé pa "eight-walla". Now it happens that these classes of brick tea are actually used in Tibet as currency. The terms used to describe them merely indicate their conventional value in tankas (six annas). The conventional value therefore of a brick (about 5 pounds) of Chupa is Rs 3-12-0, and of a brick of Gyépa is Rs 3. Besides these there are fine teas, made up, some in bricks of different sizes, some even of leaf. The first quality of "Duthang", for instance, is sold at Lhasa at 4 srang or Rs 10 for a brick of 6 pounds, and the second at Rs 7 for a brick of 5 pounds or at about Rs 1-10-0 and Rs 1-6-0 a pound respectively."

p. 95: There are no copper mines in Tibet, or at least the people have not been able to discover any which they could work for copper. The Tibetans get large supplies of copper from Nepal and Calcutta. Conveyance from Nepal being very expensive, people now turn to Calcutta as the cheapest market for copper.

pp. 96-97: Tibet gold, obtained as payment for goods by the Newars, is conjectured to be upwards of ten lakhs a year. As the coinage of Tibet is much adulterated, the Kashmiris and Newar merchants sell their goods at a discount over the chief coinage (tanka) to provide for the adulteration. When they return to Nepal, they dispose of their silver by exchange for gold or gold-dust. The Nepalese Government having prohibited by law the importation of silver into Nepal, the Newar merchants find it easy to barter in gold, and the Tibet Government naturally yield to the claims of the Newars to leave their silver in Tibet. The coinage of Tibet having no outlet remains in the country, and lessens the extent of annual coinage in the mint. The gold dust and gold pieces annually going out of the country necessitate the further working of the mines, which yield a steady [97] supply. The Newar merchants, who are strictly prohibited from bringing Tibetan, Nepal, or British

Indian silver coins into Nepal, carry down gold to dispose off the same with advantage. This saves them much trouble as to the conveyance, security on the way, and time. They refine the Tibet gold-dust, which is usually impure, and gain considerably thereby.

***I.152. Macdonald, David:** *The Land of the Lama*, London, 1929. Reprinted as *Cultural Heritage of Tibet*, Light & Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1978.

An interesting first hand account on Tibetan currency and Tibetan monetary policy. Can be considered as a *locus classicus* on Tibetan money.

I.153. Majapurja, Tilok Chandra and Majapurja, Indra: *Tibet. A Guide to the Land of Fascination. An Overall Perspective of Tibet of the Ancient, Medieval and Modern Periods*. Madhoganj, Lashkar (Gwalior), 1988.

pp. 140-141: a short section on "Old Coinage and Currency" with illustrations of some common coins and of a 10 Srang banknote.

I.154. Mangeot, Sylvain: *The Adventure of a Manchurian. The Story of Lobsang Thondup*. Collins. London, 1974.

on p. 92 the author mentions that in Lhasa one Tibetan thanka (sic) was worth 15 cents of the Chinese silver dollar (with the portrait of Yuan Shikai) in the early 1950's.

p. 104-105 "With truly Chinese ingenuity, the Communists devised a special currency operation to finance this formidable project [the Sichuan - Lhasa highway]. All Tibetans, and particularly Khambas, set great store by silver in any form. The Chinese therefore methodically collected all silver sacrificial vessels and religious ornaments in China proper and in the border provinces for melting down into bullion. They set up a mint in Chengtu, on the Chinese side of the border, where faithful replicas of the popular 'Republican' dollar were turned out in large quantities. Besides supplying the currency of the highway labour force, these heavy, picturesque coins came in useful for financing trade between Tibet and India and in buying the good will of selected Tibetan aristocrats, lamas and merchants."

The author is referring to the Yuan Shikai dollar.

I.155. Maraini, Fosco: *Secret Tibet*. Translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher. Readers Union. Hutchison. London, 1954.

p. 194: "Indian rupees circulate in the market as freely as Tibetan *tranka*. Rupees are actually much sought after. The Tibetan coinage is brass and silver; there used to be gold coins, too, but these have now vanished from circulation. The silver coins have an attractive, archaic look. There is also paper money - notes of ten, fifty, a hundred and five hundred *tranka*; they are huge notes, covered with fantastic patterns in bright colours, showing the Tibetan lion, the mountains, the Eight Glorious Emblems, as well as impressive stamps and seals."

The author refers to the Lhasa market in the late 1940's.

***I.156. Markham, Clements R. (editor):** *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*. London, 1876. Reprinted: Manjusri Publishing House, Bibliotheca Himalayica, Series I, Vol. 6, New Delhi, 1971.

Some notes on currency (p. CXXIII) and coins (pp. 128-129).

***I.157. Martynov, Alexander S.:** "O pervykh chekankakh monety v Tibete". *Kratkie Soobshcheniia, Akademia Nauk SSR, Institut Narodov Azii*, No. 69, Moscow 1965, pp. 197-202.

Russian text. Based on a little-known Chinese work, "Koerkha Chilueh", the dates of the first coins issued in Tibet are stated to be A.D. 1763, 1764, 1785 and 1791-2, prior to a decree by the Emperor.

***I.158. Martynov, Alexander S.:** *Status Tibeta w XVII-XVIII wekach*. Moscow, 1978, pp. 156-175.

Russian text. A longer excursion into Tibetan monetary policy.

I.159. Martynov, Alexander S.: "Some Aspects of the Qing Policy in Tibet at the close of the 18th Century. (Prehistory of the Manzhou Invasion of Nepal in 1792)"

In: *Rolumba*. Journal of the Joshi Research Institute, Vol. 7, No. 3, July/Sept. 1987, pp. 6-20. (Adapted from "Manzhou Rule in China" Moscow 1983, pp. 216-234).

Discussion of the coinage problem which existed between Tibet and Nepal after Prithvi Narayan Shah had conquered the Kathmandu Valley and of the somewhat belated reaction of the Manzhou Government to the conflict between Nepal and Tibet.

I.160. Martynov, Alexander S.: "The Sa-skya Episode in the Nepal Campaign of 1791-1792". In: *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Körös*, edited by Louis Ligeti, Vol. 2, Budapest, 1984, p. 155.

"The Manchu authorities ordered "Zva-dmar-pa's gilded statue to be moulded into coins to be distributed among soldiers as payment."

***I.161. Marvin, W. T. R.:** "The Coin of Thibet". *American Journal of Numismatics*. Vol. 42, 1907, pp. 3-13.

A very instructive report on coins and the monetary system mainly of Eastern Tibet and the border areas between China and Tibet.

I.162. McGovern, William Montgomery.: *To Lhasa in disguise. An Account of a secret expedition through mysterious Tibet*. London and New York (2nd edition), 1924. Reprint: Bookfaith, New Delhi, 1992.

The author discusses the different coin units, mentions the debasement of the currency and that Tibet has three mints and that a fourth is being established in the Chumbi valley.

p. 440-441 "The Tibetans have found their mint a paying proposition, on account of the debased coinage which they issue and force the people to accept. In addition to the commoner copper coins, none of which are worth their face-value, a number of silver coins used to be issued, a trangka coin, a coin worth six and two thirds trangkas, as well as a gold coin worth 133 1/3 trangkas; but with the march of civilization the Tibetans, or rather Tsarong Shape, who is master of the mint, has found that it is cheaper to print paper money than to issue silver coins; and so now Tibet has also a paper currency with notes for ten, fifteen, and twenty-five trangkas. No wonder that in place of the old single mint Tibet has now three mints and is establishing a fourth in the Chumbi Valley. One can only wonder how long this debasement of the currency can go before it results in a financial smash.

Tsarong no doubt sees this and is trying to strengthen the financial standing of the Government by a very bold move. This is no less than a law to force the lands owned by the monasteries and the privileged nobility to pay their fair share of taxes."

***I.163. Meyer, H.:** "Münzgeschichtliches aus Tibet." In: *Die Münze*, Vol 7, 1976, pp. 321-323.

A short sketch of the monetary history of Tibet.

I.164. Michael, Franz: *Rule by Incarnation*. A Westview Special Study. Boulder (Colorado), 1982.

Contains a short paragraph on the minting of coins and printing of paper money after 1930. "Directly under the Cabinet was the Finance and Mint Department (Dra zhi Ngü-khang), which was established in 1920 and located at Drazhi near Lhasa." (pp. 65-66).

I.165. Milloué, L. de: *Bod-Youl ou Tibet (le Paradis des Moines)*, Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliotheque d'études, tome douzième, Paris, 1906, p. 136-137.

Reports that only two different kinds of silver tangkas are circulating: Sino-tibetan tangkas and a type of tangka which has a Tibetan inscription on one side and a round crown composed of eight petals on the other side, called "tchan-ka" which is cut into pieces the value of which is determined by the number of petals found on them.

I.165.a. Mishra, Tirtha Prasad: *The Taming of Tibet. A Historical account of Compromise and Confrontation in Nepal-Tibet Relations (1900-1930)*. Nirala Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi, 1991.

On pp. 32-40 and 210-212 the author gives a quite detailed account of Nepal's right to mint coins for Tibet from silver supplied by the latter and of the problems which arose in the 18th century between Tibet and Nepal, owing to the decreasing silver content of the coins minted in the Kathmandu valley for Tibet.

I.166. Mitter, J. P.: *Betrayal of Tibet*. Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1964.

Contains three plates on which a 100 and a 10 Srang paper note and 4 modern Tibetan coins are illustrated.

I.166a. Neame, Philip: *Playing with Strife*. London, 1947.

On p. 174 a reference to a Tibetan Government Mint located between Yatung and Phari Dzong "worked by a 'Health Robinson' water-wheel, where coins and paper money of birch-bark paper used to be made."

***I.167. Obojski, R.:** "The Coins and Currency of Tibet, the Forbidden Land." *Numismatic News Weekly*, Vol. 12, No. 11, May 1964, pp. 9-10.

A short, illustrated introduction to Tibetan coins and banknotes.

I.168. Ovchinnikov, Vsevolod: *The Road to Shambala*. Translated from Russian into English by Olga Fleshler. New World Press. Beijing, 1995, p. 31 and 48.

"It was considered against the rule not to bargain for buying something. You heard the jingle of silver; paper money was not in favour. People paid in coins by weight. Where and when they were coined did not matter. Chinese currency of the old days, Indian rupees of the colonial times, even roubles from the time of Nicholas II, the last tsar of Russia, would do. To make sure that the metal was genuine, the coins were struck on a stone."

The author refers to the Lhasa market in 1955.

The author also reports that in 1955 fox skin was used as money among the nomads of the Dam valley near the Nyainqentanglha Range in Northern Tibet.

***I.169. Panish, Charles K.:** "Tibet Y 13, Struck in a Collar". In: *India Asiatic Numismatic Society*. Vol. 2, No. 1, 1973, p. 76.

Some notes on the minting of the "tamga Gabo" (white tangka).

I.170. Pennant, Thomas: *The View of Hindoostan. Vol. I. Western Hindoostan*. Printed by Henry Hughs. London, 1798.

p. 356: Besides musk, the fine wool, and cow tails, Thibet produces great quantities of gold, either washed from the sands of the Sampoo, or lesser rivers, or dug out of the mines. The Lama never uses any in his mint, but it is exchanged for the articles of commerce.

***I.171. Petech, Luciano:** *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*. II Nuovo Ramusio II, Raccolta di Viaggi, Testi e Documenti Relativi ai Rapporti fra L'Europa e l'Oriente a Cura dell'Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. (7 volumes), Vol. 4, pp. 235-237, Appendice I. La Moneta Nepalese e Tibetana nel Secolo XVIII (Appendix I: Nepalese and Tibetan Coinage in the 18th Century.) Rome, 1952-1956.

A) Nepal: The coinage of the Malla Dynasties forms a homogenous complex, spread over a period of about two centuries (1560-1769). With a single exception (a gold coin of Jaya Prakasha Malla of Kathmandu, dated 1736), the Malla coinage is exclusively of silver. The basic coin was the "mohar", struck for the first time by Mahendra Malla of Kathmandu (c. 1550-1570) in imitation of the Moghul coinage. From this coin derives the name "mahendramalli", by which the Nepalese mohar was known until the Gurkha conquest. The fractions in common use were the half mohar ("suki" or "suka") and the quarter mohar ("sukica").

B) Tibet: According to an agreement between Mahendra Malla and the Tibetan authorities, his mohar became legal tender also in that region, for which a special type was struck. Later on, the privilege was extended to the mint of Bhatgaon, which gradually succeeded in obtaining the monopoly of the supply of coins for Tibet. In spite of the gradual reduction of the silver content in the mohar under the last Malla rulers, this system continued until the Gurkha conquest of 1769 and even much later. For the first three quarters of the 18th century, the mahendramalli was the only coin circulating in Tibet. When smaller fractions were required, the Nepalese mohar coin was divided into parts or fragments. The Chinese tael was in circulation particularly in the eastern regions.

In part III (Vol II) of the same work (Rome, 1953) the "Breve Relazione del P. Domenico da Fano (1713)" [Short Relation of Father Domenico da Fano (1713)] is published (pp. 3-37). This report contains one of the earliest and most detailed western description of Tibet's currency (pp. 13-15):

"Il denaro che corre in Lassa e per tutto il regno è una moneta che viene da Nepal, chiamata in quel regno mandermal [*mahendramalli*], e i Butiani la chiamano petanh [*bal-tam*]. Questa è una moneta rotonda, come sarebbero due paoli o un cavalotto di Bologna; sono impresse in esse alcune lettere col nome del Re, regno e anno che sono state fatte. Li butiani da queste monete impresse fuori dal loro regno ne formano una propria, ma idealmente, e la chiamano tangh, che consta di 6 petanh e due terzi, che sarebbero alla nostra usanza tredici paoli e un terzo. Sopra questa moneta ideale hanno alcune bilancie accomodate a tanga per tanga, a mezza per mezza, a petanh per petanh, a due terzi, a un terzo e mezzo terzo. E quando uno non ha di queste monete, basta che abbia dell'oro o dell'argento; questo si pesa con detta bilancia e corre ugualmente a proporzione. E ben vero che quando la somma è grande, bisogna defalcare il cambio dell'argento in moneta, et in tal caso sopra l'argento non monetato vi si perde dieci per cento.45)

Per le cose poi minute si servono d'una certa commutazione; per esempio ho bisogno d'un poco di latte, d'erbe, sale ecc.: prendo un poco di thè o di tabacco o di butiro ecc., e con queste cose averò il mio bisogno. Se poi il prezzo della cosa che vogliono comprare arriva alla sesta parte de un petanh, non è necessario che li dia l'argento, ma vi sono alcuni fazzoletti de seta, che corrono per questo prezzo, purchè siano almeno quadri; se poi sono più lunghi que quadri, sono como trabocanti, e così corrono senza misurarsi.46) Hanno l'uso ancora di un'altra moneta, con la quale dividono questo fazzoletto sino alla 20^a parte, e questi sono alcuni frutti che vengano dall'Industano. Questi frutti al di dentro sono como noci moscate, ma non hanno odore, e la figura non è totalmente consimile; e sono chiamati nel Butant Cuiù [go-yu]. E li fazzoletti di seta che vengano della China e servano nel Butant per moneta, si chiamano Mansè o Mancìa [man-tsi].47)

Quando poi si fa viaggio, bisogna portarsi seco varie cose, como mansè, thè, sale, butiro, tabacco per fumare di quello della China, una certa tela che chiamano Samsò [*zam-zo*] che si spende parimente per fazzoletti, kat [*had*], cuiù ecc.,48) perchè quando si giunge all'abitato e si addimanda un poco di cianh [*c'an*] oorzata per bere, un poco di paglia per le bestie, un poco di sterco d'animale per fare il fuoco ecc., non sono obbligati a prendere alcuna cosa determinata, ma addimandano quello che hanno bisogno, e se uno no l'ha, quando ti vedessero crepare non te lo daranno. Non voglio dir per questo che l'argento non corra per tutto; ma se si vuol pagare con l'argento, il viandante non troverà il suo conto. Et anco mi sono trovato aver bisogno d'un poco di farina d'orzo per mangiare, et un'altra volta un pugno de riso, dico un pugno, e con l'argento non lo potei avere, quantunque per cosidire mi morissi di fame per aver camminato tutto il giorno antecedente, et avendo trovato quantità di neve su le montagne, non la potei passare quel giorno; le provisioni erano finite e bisognò dormire, o per dir meglio passar quella notte, tra la neve; ed il giorno seguente trovai uno che me diede un pugno di granturco per un poco di tabacco.

45) Sulle monete correnti nel Tibet e Nepal nella prima metà del sec. XVIII vedi Parte IV, Appendice I. Qui basterà ricordare che il tangh qui menzionato non è il *tam-k'a*, ma il *dnul-sran*.

46) I *k'a-btags*, i fazzoletti che accompagnano qualsiasi dono o missiva e che vengono presentati o scambiati durante ogni visita di riguardo, servono anche da moneta. Ciò è il caso soprattutto per le due qualità migliori, di seta, chiamate *nan-mdsos* ed *a-sé*; TUCCI, Lhasa, p. 65.

47) *Go-yu* è la noce d'areca, *Areca Catechu*; LAUFER, p. 457 n. 51. Non ho notizie sull'uso di questo frutto come moneta spicciola, ma va osservato che nel distretto di Ba-t'an le noci adempiono allo stesso ufficio; ROCKHILL, *Ethnology*, p. 719. *Man-tsi* è il cinese *man-tzu*; LAUFER, p. 522 n. 280. È fatto di seta gialla con puntini di vari colori. Vedi sopra, n. 46.

48) *Zam-zo* secondo il dizionario di S. Ch. Das è un cuscino di stoffa simile al velluto, il che non collima con la <<tela che si spende per fazzoletti>> dell'A. *Had* è il frutto di una specie di pero selvatico (*Pyrus betulaefolia*), il mongolo *qat*; LAUFER, p. 487 n. 194. Su cuio o *go-yu* vedi la nota precedente."

I.171.a. Peter, Prince of Greece & Denmark: "The Chinese Colonisation of Tibet." In: *Tibetan Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, Dharamsala, April 1978, pp. 22-25.

"The PLA [= People's Liberation Army] [before 1959] paid for all supplies bought from the [Tibetan] population, conscientiously, with silver coins (*Da-yans*). They produced an enormous inflation by their numbers until they were exported for profit to India and were melted down at the Bombay mint. They were replaced by paper notes, thus imprisoning the Tibetans irretrievably in the stream of worthless Chinese currency."

***I.172. Plant**, R.J.: *Greek, Semitic, Asiatic Coins and how to Read them*. Scorpion Publishers, Amherst, New York, 1979.

Introduction to the Newari alphabet and inscriptions on the Malla coinage (pp. 178-186) and to the Tibetan alphabet and inscriptions on the Tibetan issues (pp. 187-191).

I.173. Pratt, A.E.: *To the Snows of Tibet. Through China*. Longmans, Green and Co. London, 1892.

"A large quantity of tea comes into Ta-t sien-lu, principally from Ya-Chow-Fu. It is of a very coarse description, and is made up in slabs about fourty inches long, nine wide, and thee and a half thick, weighing perhaps twelve to fifteen pounds each, and are wrapped in matting. [...] At Ta-t sien-lu the slabs of tea are cut up into so-called bricks which are packed in hide and taken by the caravans to all parts of Tibet. Indian rupees are here plentiful, and are a recognized currency. Russian roubles are also found, and in increasing numbers."

The author refers to the years 1887/1888.

I.174. Prinsep, James: *Useful Tables Illustrative of the Coins, weights and Measures of British India. Edited with Notes, and Additional Matter by Edward Thomas*. London 1858. (Reprint: Indological Book House, Delhi and Varanasi, 1971). pp. 65-66 and plate XLVI, Nr. 7.

Possibly the earliest illustration and description of two of the Sino-tibetan issues in the name of emperor *chah hchhin* (sic), year 8 and 25.

I.175. Prothero, G. W. (General Editor): *Tibet. Handbook prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office*. Published by H.M. Stationery Office. London, 1920.

p. 24 (2) Currency. "There is a Tibetan silver coin known as *tenga* or *tanka* (corrupted from the Hindi word *tanka*, a rupee). It is about the size of a half-penny but not thicker than a sixpence, and contains silver to the value of about 5 1/2 d. *Tengas* are cut into halves, thirds, or quarters to form

coins of smaller denomination. Indian rupees, worth 2 1/2 to 3 tengas, are also current, as likewise are Chinese rupees. They are often melted down and pass by weight as *sycee*.

The *srang*, worth 2 1/2 Indian rupees, appears to be a measure of value, as it "presents an ounce of silver. It is therefore, the equivalent of the Chinese tael. The *sho* is evidently a tenth of a *srang*."

I.176. Rahul, Ram: *The Government and Politics of Tibet*. Vikas Publications. New Delhi, 1969.

p. 57: "In 1927, the Government of Tibet sent several lay and monk officials to India to study the works and methods of the minting of coins and the printing of currency notes."

See also the section "Medals, Decorations and Militaria".

***I.177. Rauber-Schweitzer, Hanna:** *Der Schmied und sein Handwerk im traditionellen Tibet*. Thesis, Zurich, 1976.

An interesting listing of daily wages of Tibetan artisans in 1947. Between 1950 and 1958, the prices for grain multiplied due to the effects of the Chinese occupation, e.g. the price for 1 American pint (0.55 liter) [of barley beer?] went up from c. 1 *srang* to c. 7.5 *srang*.

I.178. Redwood French, Rebecca: *The Golden Yoke. A Legel Ethnography of Tibet pre - 1950*. Dissertation. Yale University, May 1990.

p. 39: "Silver and gold were employed as measures as early as the seventh century in Tibet and in the eighteenth century, Nepalese coins were introduced, in a limited form, as currency. The Tibetans issued their own coinage bearing the seal of the lion in the 1790's and paper money in 1890, but none of the currency was ever backed by reserves. Most taxes and other payments were made in produce and service rather than in currency."

This passage is typical for the incorrect statements regarding Tibetan currency which can be found in several western tibetological works.

***I.179. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "A Communist Chinese Restrike". In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 83, 1975, pp. 239-240.

The Yuan Shi-kai dollar was restruck by the Chinese Communists in the mid-1950's, primarily for circulation in Tibet. All the coins examined were dated to the 3rd year of the Republic. One can distinguish the restrike from the normal issue by the character "yuan" on the reverse, the top half of which has a closed triangle in the restrikes, whereas in the normal coins this triangle is left open. With illustrations.

***I.180. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "An Unpublished Sino-Tibetan Date." In: *NIB*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1975, p. 101.

Drawings of two coins of very different styles, dated Ch'ien Lung Year 61 and recorded for the first time. This date is unexpected because the Chinese Emperor Ch'ien Lung only reigned for 60 years and abdicated on 6th February 1796. These Sino-Tibetan coins must have been struck in the weeks before the news of the abdication of Ch'ien Lung had reached Lhasa.

***I.181. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "A Sino-Tibetan Rupee. In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*. Vol. 85, 1977, pp. 107-108.

An extremely rare rupee with legends on both sides poorly written and difficult to interpret. The Chinese characters on the obverse are translated "Lu Kuan Yin (?)" (Tachienlu Customs Enough Silver (?)); the Tibetan inscriptions on the reverse read "nged gsum sho dar" (three sho of Tachienlu, genuine silver). The date of issue is probably between 1890 and 1903.

***I.182. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "Further Forgeries". In: *ONS NL*, No. 51, 1977.

A short note on a forgery of the Tibet 7 1/2 skar 15-43 (A.D. 1909; Y # 11). It can be distinguished by one letter in the word below the lion which is written in a different way. Apart from this, the forgery is of good workmanship and could easily deceive.

***I.183. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "A Sino-Tibetan Countermark" In: *ONS NL*, No. 53, 1978.

A rectangular countermark on a late Sichuan rupee consisting of one Tibetan and two Chinese characters. The author gives some possible translations but the true meaning of this countermark remains a mystery.

***I.184. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "A Tibetan Forgery". In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 86, 1978, pp. 364-365.

A Chinese forgery of the Tibetan 20 Srang gold coin struck at Chengdu before 1949. Examples struck in silver and in copper and, possibly, in brass, also exist. The forgery (dated 15-54) and a genuine coin are illustrated.

***I.185. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** *Tibetan Mints*. ONS Information Sheet, No. 19, 1978.

Personal research enables the author to list ten mints established in Tibet during the last 150 years. These are Dodpal, Giamda, Tip Arsenal, Dode, Mekyi, Ser-khang, Norbu Tsoki, Takpo, Tapchi and Dogu. Each mint is classed with different types of coins produced there, according to historical sources or statements made by the author. The report is completed with drawings of 15 coins and two maps illustrating the locations of the mints "outside Lhasa" and "in and around Lhasa", respectively.

***I.186. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "The Development of Currency in Tibet". In: *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*. Edited by Aris, Michael and Suu Kyi, Aung S. Warminster, 1981. Reprinted: *NIB*, Vol. 15, No. 10, October 1981, pp. 295-305.

An exhaustive article on the history of Tibet's currency, from barter of the earliest days till the issue of the last coin - a Chinese restrike of the 1950's. With 16 drawings of historically important coins.

***I.187. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** *The Gaden Tangka of Tibet*. ONS Occasional Paper. No. 17, January 1983. (20 pp.)

Contains "Appendix I: Description of Main Classes and Varieties"; with 20 drawings and "Appendix II: An Analysis of Weight Standards"; with a list of tangkas, weighed by C. Valdetaro and by the author.

This is the best substantiated work on the Gaden tangka to date. The author's comments on the secret marks on the tangkas, probably introduced partly as a method of detecting forgeries and partly to identify the date of issue and the official responsible for the mint, represent most useful and original research.

I.188. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Tibetan-Indian Exchange Rates." In: *Postal Himal*, No. 35, 3rd. Quarter, 1983, p.33.

Tibetan-Indian Exchange rates between 1904 - 1947 (March) are listed.

I.189. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Some Sino-Tibetan Forgeries." In: *NIB*, Vol 20, Nr. 11 1986, pp. 254-257.

The author discusses 3 Sino-Tibetan "5 Fen" issues (Chia Ching Yr. 8, Tao Kuang Yr. 1 and Hsien Feng Yr. 3) which were offered in the Money Company auction, Sept. 1986 and states that all these pieces are forgeries. The paper contains 6 drawings of the mentioned issues.

I.190. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Some Sino-Tibetan Coins Formerly in Peking." In: *NIB*, Vol. 20, Nr. 12, 1986, pp. 283-285.

In 1937 Huang Peng-hsiao published a small book entitled "Coins of the Ching Dynasty" and mentioned some Sino-Tibetan coins said to have been presented to the Emperor as examples of

those issued throughout the Empire. The author analyses 9 Sino-Tibetan coins mentioned and pictured but hitherto unknown to collectors.

I.191. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: 'The "Suchakra Vijaya" Tangka of Tibet.' In: *NIB*, Vol. 21 Nr. 1, 1987, pp. 21-23.

This is a rare coin attributed to ca. 1840 AD. The inscription, identical on both sides, is in the so called "Hor-yig" or "Phags-pa" script and means "Suchakra Vijaya" which can be translated as "The Victory of the Dharma (the Buddhist doctrine)."

I.192. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: Two "Tibetan Pattern Coins." In: *ONS Newsletter*, Nr. 105, March-April, 1987.

A unique copper pattern with the denomination "50 silver srang" dated in the Tibetan year 925 and in Christian year 1951 and a smaller copper pattern "5 srang" from the author's collection are described and pictured.

I.193. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Silver in the Himalayas." In: *Newsletter. The Journal of the London Numismatic Club*, Vol. VII, Nr. 14, 1989, pp. 3-7.

A historical sketch on silver coins of the Himalayan states Cooch Behar, Bhutan, Nepal, Garhwal and Ladakh which were minted for the Transhimalayan wool trade with Tibet and play an important part in the numismatic history of that country.

I.194. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Two Rare Tibetan Coins." In: *ONS Newsletter* No. 124, May-June 1990.

The 1 Sho brass dated 16-1 (1927) and the 5 Sho silver dated 16-4 (1930) should probably be regarded as patterns. It is supposed that the first mentioned coin was struck by Messrs. Taylor and Challen in Birmingham in 1923. The second coin appeared in Nepal in 1969. The rev. of the no. 2 is the re-engraved die of the coin no. 1 done by the Tibetans themselves to strike the 5 Sho silver, which was never issued in quantity.

I.195. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "The first Coins struck in Tibet." In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. 15, Nr. 4, Winter 1990, pp. 115-134.

The author tries to date three early Tibetan Tangkas (which are undated) taking as base the "Qing Ding Guo Er Ka Ji Lue" (The records of the Emperor's decisions regarding relations with the Gorkhas). He includes translations of chapter XI and XII of this important Chinese document as appendix. He also discusses the Sino-Tibetan trial issues, dated 57th year of Qian Long which are all extremely rare. He illustrates all five pieces which are known from Western Collections and a recently published book in Chinese about Tibet's coinage by Xiao Huaiyuan (see section IX).

I.196. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Tibetan Forgeries made in Calcutta." In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 152, 1992, pp. 89-96, pl. 12 and 13.

Details of the production of large numbers of forgeries (mostly of the copper shokang) in Calcutta in the mid 1920's are described. The forged types are illustrated.

I.197. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Coins used in Tibetan Medicine." In: *ONS Newsletter*, Nr. 138, 1993, p. 10.

In Tibetan Medical Paintings recently published, there is a most unexpected numismatic reference. 23 paintings illustrate various forms of silver ingots in the form of Indian, Nepalese, Bhutanese, Russian and Khampa Kho-kha-ma currency.

I.198. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "A Tibetan Coin Struck in the name of Aurangzeb." In: *ONS Newsletter*, Nr. 156, summer 1998.

Reports a gold mohur of Aurangzeb, dated 1076 AH, Year 8 (1665/66 A.D.) bearing the mint name *Tibet-i-Kalan*. The author suggests that it was probably struck in some mint in Kashmir by order of the king of Ladakh (and with the permission of the Moghul emperor) who used it to pay tribute to Aurangzeb in AD 1665.

***I.199. Rhodes, Nicholas G. and Gabrisch, Karl:** "Two Sino-Tibetan Coins." In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 88, No. 5, 1980, p. 172.

An illustrated article on two rare Sino-Tibetan coins that have never been fully recorded before: 1) a very rare "1/2 Qian" of Qian Long, year 57 (A.D. 1792). The Tibetan inscription "Bod-kyi Rin-po-che" means "Tibetan Rinpoche", a reference to the Dalai Lama. 2) "1 Qian" of Jia Qing, year 6 (A.D. 1801) with Tibetan, Chinese and Manchu inscription, fully translated by the authors.

I.200. Richardson, Hugh E.: *Tibetan Precise*. Calcutta, 1945. Reprinted in Richardson, Hugh: *High Peaks, Pure Earth. Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*. Edited with an Introduction by Michael Aris. London, 1998.

p. 41 [p. 569 in the reprint]: "As another mark of friendship the Government of India would sell fine silver considerably below market prices and free of duty." [As a result of the mission under Colonel Weir to Lhasa in August 1930]

Comment: This silver must have been used to mint the 3 Srang silver coins dated 16-7 and 16-8 (1933 and 1934).

I.201. Rijnhart, Susie Carson Dr.: *With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple*. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Edinburgh and London, 1901.

p. 183: "The tea is the most important item in Tibetan culinary art, and any one who can make it to suit the fastidious is indeed clever. The tea used is the brick tea, made of coarse leaves and small twigs of the tea plant in China, pressed into bricks bound around by basket work, and sent up to the Tibetan border on the backs of coolies, and then into the interior of Tibet on the backs of oxen. There are three principal grades and the best grade goes in very large quantities to Lhasa."

The preparation of tea is also described (pp. 183-184). Short description of the "Ja-Lam" (tea road from Ta-chien-lu to Nagch'uk'a) on p. 271. Apparently the use of tea bricks as money is not mentioned.

The author reports that 8 tangkas are exchanged for 1 Chinese tael and that rupees are used in the area north of Nagch'uk'a (p. 261).

I.202. Rockhill, William Woodville: "Tibet. A Geographic, Ethnographic and Historic Sketch, derived from Chinese Sources.: In: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1891, pp. 1-133, 185-291.

The medium of exchange in Tibet is a silver coin called "gaden tranka" which weighs 1 ch'ien 5 fen. This coin can be divided, the fractions being in use.

***203. Rockhill, William Woodville:** *The Land of the Lamas*. London, 1891. First Reprint: Ch'eng Wen Publ. Company, Taipei, 1972; Second Reprint: Asian Educational Services, New Delhi and Madras, 1988, pp. 207-208.

Notes on Tibetan coins and currency in Eastern Tibet and drawings of fractions of the Tibetan tranka.

pp. 277-282: An extensive discussion of the tea trade, different qualities of tea bricks and their use as currency.

***I.204. Rockhill, William Woodville:** *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*. Smithsonian Institute. Washington, 1894.

A few notes on coins, under "currency" on p. 259 and passim.

***I.205. Rockhill, William Woodville:** *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet, Based on the Collections in the United States National Museum.* Smithsonian Institute. Washington, 1892-93.

pp. 718-719: "A Chinese author, called Wei Yüan, in his work entitled Sheng-Wuchi (Book XIV, p. 53), says that in ancient times the Tibetan used cowrie shells and knife-shaped coins, but that since the Sung, Chin, and Ming periods (i.e., since the twelfth century) they have used silver. He further adds that since the Cheng-tung period of the Ming (A.D. 1436) they have paid their taxes (or tribute to Cina) in silver coins.

As far as my information goes the present coinage of Tibet has been in use since the middle of the eighteenth century. It comprises only one coin, a silver one called *tranka*, of the nominal value of about 16 cents of our money. Fractional currency is made by cutting the *tranka* into pieces. (Land of the Lamas, p. 207) The only mint I know of is at Lha'asa. The *trankas* minted there bear on the obverse the inscription *Jyal-wai Gadän p'odrang chyog-las*, "From the Jyal-wa's castle of Gadan", *Jyal-wa* standing for *Jyal-wa jya-mts'o*, the usual title of the Tale lama. On the reverse are the eight signs of good luck, each enclosed in a small circle, and in the center is what I take to be a lotus flower. These *trankas* are colloquially called *Gadän tranka*.

Coins of similar value, but minted in Nepaul, Indian rupees and Chinese bullion, are also in use, and rupees, from their purity and the impossibility of counterfeiting them, are in much greater demand than [719] the native coins or even Chinese bullion, the purity of which the people have no means of testing. [...]

In most parts of the country money is but little used, the people bartering for most of the things they require. Brick tea is used to such an extent in their mercantile transactions that it is, for all practical purposes, a unit of value. Salt, *tsamba*, boots in the Kokonor, *pulo*, cotton cloth, and even walnuts (in the Bat'ang country), are accepted without a murmur instead of silver, and in most places one or any of these articles are preferred to it."

I.206. Rockhill, William Woodville: "The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China 1644-1908." In: *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 11, Leiden 1910, pp. 1-92.

pp. 53-54: "To put an end to the difficulties which had arisen between the Gorkhas and the Tibetans resulting from the use of debased coins in Tibet, and from the inability they had heretofore shown to regulate exchange, the Imperial Government ordered the establishment of a mint in Lhasa [in AD 1792] and the coining of two silver coins of the standard weights of 1 mace and 1/2 mace respectively1).

1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXIV, 13-15, CXVII, 8. [...]. On the difficulties between Tibet and Nepaul arising from the condition of the currency, see *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, 3, 11-14; 11, 10-11; 13, 1-3; and on the reform of the Tibetan currency by Fu K'ang-an, *Ibid.*, 13, 1-3, and particularly 47, 13-17 and 54, 4b - 5, 9a.

I.207. Rockwell, Thomas, P.: "Dating Systems on Coins since 1000 A.D." In: *NIB*, Vol.17, Nr. 5 (May 1983), pp. 136-151. This article was published also in: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 87, Nr. 1, Jan. 1974, p. 5-32.

On pp. 148-149 a discussion of the "Tibetan Era" used on Tibetan banknotes. The author suggests that adding 256 to the T.E. date gives the Western date.

I.208. Rodgers, Chas. J.: *Catalogue of the coins collected by Chas. J. Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the Punjab.* Part IV, Miscellaneous coins. Calcutta 1895, p. 113.

Lists two Sino-Tibetan coins (1 Tao Kwang and 1 Chien Lung) and two Gaden Tamgas.

I.209. Roerich, Nicholas: *Altai-Himalaya. A Travel Diary.* Jarrolds Publishers. London n.d., p. 379.

“With astonishment we look at the *sho*, the only copper coin of Tibet in circulation. We saw neither silver nor gold in the dzongs nor in popular use. Although the minting of the small copper coins is poor, yet how grandiose is the inscription: “The government is victorious in all directions.” It is astonishing that the half-*sho* and the quarter-*sho* are bigger than the *sho* itself.”

The author refers to the Namru-, Shentsu-, Saga-, Tingri- Shekar- and Kampa Dzongs in 1927-28.

I.210. Roger, Juan: *El Tibet.* Second edition. Barcelona, 1967.

Spanish text. On p. 124 a brief survey on the coins of Tibet is given.

***I.211. Ronge, Veronika:** *Das Tibetische Handwerkertum vor 1959.* Franz Steiner. Wiesbaden, 1978.

The author provides details of the wages in Tibet. Her listing gives a good idea of the value of local currency within Tibet (p. 141).

I.212. Rose, F.M.: *Chopmarks.* Numismatics International. Dallas, 1987.

On p. 33 the author illustrates and describes a 1 Srang coin, Xuan tung year 1, bearing several small Chinese chops. This and another coin of the same type sold in the Money Company Hongkong auction Sept. 25, 1982 are the only examples of Tibetan coins with chops known to the author who believes that some Tibetan tangkas with chops should exist.

***I.213. Rudko, P. J.:** “An Introduction to the Dating of Modern Coinage of Tibet”. In: *India Asiatic Numismatic Society*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1973, p.78.

A short note on dating modern issues.

I.214. Salmen, W.: “Die tibetische Wahrung und ihr Ausdruck auf den Briefmarken des Landes.” In: *Der Sammler-Dienst.* Vol. 23, Nr. 1, Coburg, Jan. 1972, pp. 50-53.

A German language introduction to the Tibetan currency system explained with the help of two tables and illustrations of a copper shokang, a silver Tangka with Lantsa inscription and a blue 50 Tam banknote.

This article is already listed in the philatelic section of the Hellrigl/Gabrish Bibliography.

I.215. Schafer, Ernst: *Unter Rubern in Tibet. Gefahren und Freuden eines Forscherlebens.* Vieweg Verlag. Braunschweig, 1952.

Reports the cutting of rupees in Eastern Tibet (Jekundo) in the late 1930’s.

I.216. Schafer, Ernst: *Dach der Erde,* Berlin, 1938, pp. 100-101.

Similar report on rupees which are struck in Tatsienlu (Kanding) and cut in half in Eastern Tibet, the two halves diminishing in size as they change hands on their way to Jyekundo, as each person who handles these is entitled to cut away further bits as his interest.

P. 100-101: “An dieser Stelle mochte ich die Schwierigkeiten erwahnen, auf die wir bei der leidigen Geldbeschaffung stossen. Abmachungsgemass hatte einer unsrer besten Freunde und Gonner, der tatkraftige und grosszugige Missionar Cunningham in Tatsienlu zehntausend volle silberne Rupien zu bestimmter Zeit an einen tibetischen Grosskaufmann eingezahlt. Wir wollten uns dieses Geld bei einer befreundeten “Firma” in Jekundo abheben und stiessen dabei auf ungeahnte Widerstande. Nicht nur verlangte der Jekundokaufmann, den wir nach langem Suchen endlich ausfindig gemacht hatten, einen unerhorten Wucherzins von zwanzig Prozent. sondern er besteht sogar darauf, uns nur halbe Rupien auszahlen zu konnen. Hierbei muss erklart werden, dass die vollen runden Silberstucke, die in Tatsienlu gepragt werden, auf dem Weg ins Innere Tibets einfach halbiert werden, und dass jeder Kaufmann, durch dessen Hande das Silber lauft, je nach Stimmung, Gutdunken und Ehrlichkeit ein kleines Stuckchen abzuschlagen berechtigt ist. Diese originelle Zinserhebung hat zur Folge,

dass das durchschlagene Silberstück nicht halbmondförmig bleibt, sondern auf seinem Wanderweg ins Innere immer sichelförmigere Gestalt annimmt und selbstredend an Kaufkraft auch die entsprechende Einbusse erleidet. Hier in Jekundo, der nachweislich letzten Etappenstation des abnehmenden Silbermondes, sollen wir nun gründlichst übers Ohr gehauen werden. Auf diese Weise will uns der Kaufmann um mehrere tausend Rupien betrügen und behauptet mit der unschuldigsten Miene der Welt, dass er sein Geld wieder nach Tatsienlu zurücklaufen lassen müsse, wenn wir uns mit seinen Forderungen nicht einverstanden erklärten. So zwingt uns der Gauner, die halben Rupien unter fast untragbaren Verlusten anzunehmen.”

I.217. Schroetter, Friedrich Freiherr von: *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*. Walter de Gruyter Co. Berlin, 1970, pp. 679-680.

German text. Includes a short article on “tangka” and on the different kinds of sycee used in Tibet.

***I.218. Semans, Scott:** *The Gaden Tangka of Tibet*. Info-Sheet No. 11, Cleveland, n.d.

An attempt to classify the Tibetan Gaden tangka.

***I.219. Semans, Scott:** “Some more Forgeries”. In: *ONS NL*; No. 50, August 1977.

A forgery of the Tibetan 2 1/2 skar (Y # A19), dated 15-55, is currently found in India. It is easy to detect, as the figures “1” and “5” in the date are connected and the tail of the “5” is split. Also the style of this forgery is generally wrong.

I.220. Sgrolkar, Xiao Huaiyuan and Vodzer (Editorial Committee of *A Collection of Historical Archives of Tibet*): *A Collection of Historical Archives of Tibet (pod kyil lo rgyus yig tshags ces bsdu)*. Cultural Relics Publishing House. Lhasa, 1995.

This volume reproduces in colour 107 documents from the Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Most of these are translated into English. Two documents are of relevance for the history of Tibetan money:

1. The 29-Article Imperial Ordinance. Article 3 deals with coinage and is translated into English as follows:

“The Tibetan *tramka* (a silver coin) has long been known to contain a lot of impurities. Henceforth, coins shall be minted with pure silver. The new coins, like the old ones, shall weigh one and a half *qian* each and be convertible to Han silver money at the rate of six pure silver *tramka* to a one *liang* [Before 1949, One *jin* (500 grammes) = 16 *liang* (10 *liang* today), One *liang* = 10 *qian* = 31.25 grammes, One *qian* = 3.125 grammes] Han silver coin. One *liang* of Han silver coin contains nine *qian* of silver, the one *qian* difference going to pay for the cost of manufacture. Silver coins minted by the government of Tibet or Nepal that contain no impurities shall be converted at the exchange rate quoted above. All the old *tramka* plus newly minted *tramka* not up to standard shall be converted into Han silver at the rate of eight such coins to one *liang* of Han silver money, and henceforth no *tramka* containing impurities are to be minted.”

2. Notice Issued by the Resident Minister Sheng Tai and Living Buddha Demo Concerning the Circulation of Silver Coins (AD 1891):

“Vice Commander Sheng, Resident Minister in Tibet by Imperial Order, and Living Buddha Demo, Assistant in the Administration of District Affairs, hereby issue the following important notice:

We all know that silver coins have been in circulation in Tibet for many years, but recently some bad elements have been arbitrarily deciding on the percentage of silver in the coins, whether old or new, shiny or worn, thus creating money circulation problems. This may well give rise to quarrels and conflicts, running counter to the purpose of issuing money, which is for the convenience of the people. Therefore, it has been decided to put samples of silver coins on display, along with the following instructions. This is to inform all Han and Tibetan soldiers and civilians in Upper and Lower Tibet, plus the guild hall members, merchants and monks from the three major monasteries, plus all Kanbas, Mongolians, Gurkhas and Bhutanese that henceforth all types of silver coins, old or new, shiny or worn, as shown in the displays, are to be kept in circulation, without discrimina-

tion. Dealing in coins made of copper, iron, tin or lead is forbidden. Whoever is found by local Han or Tibetan officials to be illegally selling or using such coins shall be penalized severely and expeditiously in public. Cutting off the rim of a one half dollar coin is forbidden. Whoever is found violating this rule shall be punished severely without leniency. We, the Minister and the Living Buddha, are impartial and trustworthy. Do not step outside the law or you will regret it later. Abide strictly by these instructions. This is the end of the instructions.

[Numeral for the day is missing in the original document] the fourth day of the 5th month of the 17th year of Guangxu (1891)

To be put up at the market of Gyangze. Do not deface these instructions in any way."

I.221. Shaha, Rishikesh: *Modern Nepal. A Political History 1769-1955*. 2 Volumes. Manohar. New Delhi, 1990.

p. 39: "Prithvinarayan Shah was very much interested in the circulation of his coins in Tibet, and as soon as he conquered the Kathmandu Valley he sent a deputation to Tibet with newly minted coins of proper alloy struck in his name. However, Tibet refused to accept them for circulation until Prithvinarayan had undertaken to buy at face value all the debased Malla coins. No agreement could be reached between Tibet and Nepal on the value of silver and that of coins to be minted in Nepal for Tibet in future, and on the exchange rate to be established between the new coins and the debased old coins of the Malla rulers. Prithvinarayan refused to accept responsibility for the coin sent by his enemies, whereas Tibet insisted that as it had paid full value even for the debased coins, it was up to Nepal to take them back even at a loss."

p.56: One of the terms mentioned in a treaty concluded between Tibet and Nepal in 1789 was the following:

"Tibet agreed to accept and use Nepali coins, minted by the Nepal Government, and to exchange the Nepali currency at the rate of one new coin for one and one-half (1-1/2) old coins. (This was a compromise between the Nepali demand that the ratio be 1 new to 2 old coins and the Tibetan position that the exchange should be on a basis of equality.)"

I.222. Shakabpa, Wangchuck Deden, Tsepon: *Tibet. A Political History*. Potala Publications. New York, 1984.

pp. 10-11: *Currency*. After 1750 Nepalese coins were circulated in Tibet. In 1792 Tibetans struck their own *tamka* using Nepalese coins as a model. The Tibetan government introduced paper currency in 1890. Government-held gold reserves backed up the currency notes.

Comment: The year 1890 for the introduction of paper currency is based on an erroneous conversion of the Tibetan Era year, indicated on the first notes, into western year. In fact paper currency was introduced only in 1912/13.

I.223. Shakabpa, Wangchuk Deden, Tsepon.: "Tibetan Currency." In: *Tibet House Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No. 1 Spring 1992, pp. 1 and 3. (Translated by Lhakdor).

This article was originally published in Tibetan language (see below, section X).

I.224. Sherring, Charles. A.: *Western Tibet and the Indian Borderland*. New Delhi, 1974. Reprint. (Originally published under the title *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, London, 1916).

On p. 205 some remarks on currency: "It is a patent fact, however, that the Indian rupee with all its fractions and also the Indian copper coinage, are freely current in this part of Tibet, and I am informed, on good authority, that they are preferred in trade to the Tibetan coin and frequently to barter. Even the Nepalese coinage takes prior rank to that of Lhasa in the popular estimation. Indian notes and British gold are still looked on with suspicion in this part of Tibet, which is in some ways a remarkable fact, as in the tracts of Nepal adjacent to these parts (and there is considerable communication between that country and Taklakot) Indian notes are at a heavy premium."

I.225. Shrestha, Swoyambulal: "Mudraharubare Yauta Chithi (A letter on coins)". In: *Nepali*, Nr. 15, Madan Puraskar Guthi 2020 (= AD 1963), p. 34-36.

Article in Nepalese language. A Tangka of the type C # 27 and a Kong Par Tangka dated 15-24 are illustrated together with two Nepalese coins.

I.226. Silvestre, J., *Notice sur les monnaies de la Chine et dependances*. (Administration Des Monnaies Et Médailles. Rapport au Ministre des Finances. Dixième Année. Paris, 1905)

I.227. Smith, Bruce W.: "A Tibetan Countermark on a Spanish American Coin? by Wolfgang Bertsch. ONS Newsletter # 139 Winter 1994, p. 13." In: *JEAN*, Vol. 2, Nr. 1, 1995, p. 13.

Some comments on Bertsch's article, suggesting that the countermark on the Spanish American coin is not Tibetan, but represents an abbreviated cursive form of the Chinese character "shou".

I.228. Smith, Bruce W.: "Tibetan Coins and Tokens". In: *JEAN*, Vol. 5, Nr. 1, Niskayuna Winter 1997/Spring 1998, Issue 14/15, p. 40.

Refers to the article "The Tibetan 3 Sho Copper Coin" by W. Bertsch and agrees that the pieces showing Chinese characters overstruck on Tibetan 3 Sho and 5 Sho copper coins are ration tokens for four liang of grain.

I.229. Smith, Warren W. Jr.: *Tibetan Nation. A History of Tibetan Nationalism and Sino-Tibetan Relations*. Harper Collins Publishers. New Delhi, 1997 (First published: Westview Press, 1996), p. 472.

Basing his statements on interviews with Rinchen Paljor and Jampa Gyaltzen (Dharamsala, 1989) the author writes:

"All Tibetans were required to exchange their Tibetan money for Chinese *yuan* at the rate of only 50 percent of that before the revolt [of 1959]. The Chinese silver dollars, *dayan*, were exchanged one for one for paper *yuan*. Many Tibetans kept their Tibetan money because they hoped that the Dalai Lama would return and Tibet would recover its independence; many also kept the silver *dayan* because they trusted worth of silver more than that of Chinese paper money. After a short (7 to 10 days) exchange period, both Tibetan money and *dayan* were declared worthless."

I.230. Snelling, John: *Buddhism in Russia: The Story of Agvan Dorzhiev, Lhasa's Emissary to the Tsar*. Rockport, Massachusetts 1993, p. 112.

Contains some remarks on Dorjiev's occupation in the Tibetan mint.

I.231. Sreedhar: "Treaty relations between Nepal and Tibet." In: *China Report. A Journal of East Asia Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3, New Delhi, Juli/Sept 1988., pp. 243-288).

Among others the treaties dealing with the right of Nepal to coin money for Tibet are summarized: 1. The Agreement of Kuti (1615-20 AD). 2. Second treaty of Kuti (1661-80) 3. The Kana Treaty of 1775 4. Two Treaties of Kyirong (1789) 5. The Sino-Tibetan-Nepali Peace settlement of 1792.

I.232. Stiller, S.J., Ludwig F: *The Rise of the House of Gorkha. A Study in the Unification of Nepal 1768-1816*. Ratna Pustak Bhandar. Kathmandu, 1993.

Gives surveys of Nepal's minting activities for Tibet by the Malla (pp. 102-104) and Saha kings (pp. 119-120 and 192-195).

***I.233. Strauch**, F.: "Chinesische Rupien mit dem Bidnis des Kaisers Kwang Hsü". In: *Berliner Münzblätter*, 1906, pp. 323-324.

German text. A very early record of the issue of the Sichuan rupee and its fractions, with notes on the historical background.

I.234. Surkhang, Wangchen Gelek: "Tax measurement and Lag'don Tax." In: *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. III, No. 1, Gangtok, Febr. 1966, pp. 15-28.

Some remarks on Tibetan currency and measures and prices of butter in footnotes 10 and 12.

***I.235. Swami Pranavananda:** *Exploration of Tibet*. Calcutta, 1950.

An interesting remark that a half tanga called jav is also current in Western Tibet (p. 130). The "jav" is actually the ja'u or timasha of Ladakh, presumably minted for the benefit of the wool trade between Western Tibet and Kashmir, via Ladakh.

I.236. Tada, Tokan: *The Thirteenth Dalai Lama*. East Asian Cultural Studies Series No. 9, The Centre of East Asian Cultural Studies. Tokyo, 1965.

Gives a brief description of the coins circulating in Tibet after the 13th Dalai Lama returned from his exile in India in January 1913.

p. 68: "Tibetan coins in currency by that time were the silver coins minted by the Tibetan government and those minted by the Ch'ing government and coppers as auxiliary coins which were also minted by the Ch'ing government. The Dalai Lama wanted to drive away all the Chinese coins, so that only Tibetan coins would be in use. He promulgated the law to this end. Naturally there came a shortage in the number of coins in circulation and there arose a need for auxiliary coins of smaller denominations. He ordered the minting of the of the coppers in imitation of the copper and nickel coins of India. I was often consulted by him about this problem. I happened to find copper sheets which were imported from India for the mint bore the name Fujitagumi of the Kosaka Copper Mine, Japan. I also advised him that Japan adopted gold standard. He also decided to mint the gold coins because Tibet is a gold producing country. Unfortunately, these coins were of pure gold, and thrifty foreigners bought them up and they were absorbed by India, so that the minting and circulation of gold coins had to be stopped. Instead, paper notes now appeared to take their place. From this field, the modernization of Tibet was pushed by the Dalai Lama."

I.237. Takeuchi, Isuguhito: On the Old Tibetan Sale Contracts. In: Ihara, Shoren and Yamaguchi, Zuiho (ed.): *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*. Narita, 1989. Naritasan Shinshoji. Vol. 2, Narita, 1992, pp. 773-792.

On pp. 784-85 the author gives a transcription and translation of a sale contract found in Dunhuang (Pelliot, *Fonts Tibétain* nr. 1094) in which the price for an ox is given as 3 srang of *dmār*. In footnote 7 the author explains that *dmār* usually means copper but may refer to "red gold" in this context. "However, the Chinese contracts of the same period clearly indicate that money, including coins made of copper, was not in use under [sic] Tibetan-controlled Dunhuang. Instead, grain and cloth (esp. silk) were used as the media for disbursements."

I.238. Taring, Rinchen Dolma: *Daughter of Tibet*. Indian Reprint. R.N. Sachdev. New Delhi, 1978. First published by John Murray Publishers, London 1970.

p. 110: A brief survey of Tibet's currency. In 1925 two officials from the Tibetan mint were sent to Calcutta to buy printing presses and learn how to use them. In the 1920's Tsarong initiates the creation of a gold reserve for the backing of Tibet's paper currency.

I.239. Teichmann, Eric: *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet*. Cambridge 1922.

Apart from the trangkas, rupees are universally current in Tibet and its border lands from Ladakh to Tachienlu. These rupees are both Indian and Chinese; the Chinese rupees, which were originally produced in imitation of the Indian coins, are minted at Chengdu in Szechuan, and bear the head of the former Chinese Emperor, Kuang Hsu (p.146).

The trangka is a Lhasa minted silver coin, exchanging three to a rupee; with the exception of those recently minted they are for the most part thin, battered, defaced and irregular in circumference; but

in Tibetan territory we always carried a good stock of them as they form a useful subdivision of the rupee; where they are not available, one has to make use of rupees cut in half (p. 186).

I.240. Temple, Richard Carnac: "Currency and Coinage among the Burmese." In: *The Indian Antiquary*, Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XXVI, Bombay, June 1897, p. 161, footnote 31 and pp. 235-244.

Reports that Indian rupees must have been current in Tibet to some small extent. An extensive discussion of the word "tangka" and similar forms as used in different periods and different countries, with numerous quotations, is to be found on pp. 235-244.

***I.241. Terrien de Lacouperie, A.:** "The Silver Coinage of Tibet". In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. 3, 1881, pp. 340-353 and plate XV.

One of the classical reports on the early history of currency in Tibet. The author describes the mintage of the Malla kings of Nepal on behalf of Tibet, and the Sino-Tibetan issues. There are some errors, discovered and corrected by later writers. Sixteen coins are illustrated.

I.242. Theos, Bernard: *Penthouse of the Gods. A Pilgrimage into the Heart of Tibet and the Sacred City of Lhasa*. New York/London, 1939.

p. 156: "Among his [Tsarong's] duties today is that of the head of the mint, which manufactures all the coins used in the country, as well as prints paper money and postage stamps [after 1933]."

I.243. Thierry, François: *Monnaies de Chine*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1992.

This work includes a chapter called *La tradition tibétaine* (pp. 83-85) in which 35 Tibetan coins (including a mohar of Ranjit Malla of Bhaktapur struck for Tibet) are described. The Malla coin and a Sino-tibetan 1 Sho silver coin of Qian Long, year 59, are illustrated.

***I.244. Thwing, E. W.:** "Tibet, New or Recent Issues." In: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 45, No. 7, July 1932, p. 452.

A short description of a "tram-sang" coin. The obverse shows a lion in a circle, the reverse bears the date 15-43 (A.D. 1909). This is actually the "tam srang gang", called "sranggor" by the Tibetans, the srang coin classified as Y # 12.

I.245. Tibetan Coin Distributors: "1950 Tibet Proofs". In: *WCN*, Vol. 5, no. 10, March 7, 1978, p. 21.

A full page advertising offering proof restrikes of the Tibetan 10 Srang issue of 1950 (Y-29a), struck in cupronickel, silver and gold by the Valcambi Mint in Switzerland, claiming that these were authorized by the XIVth Dalai Lama.

I.246. Tibetan Coin Distributors: "1947 Tibet Proofs". In: *WCN*, Vol. 7, No. 31, July 1980, p. 13.

A full page advertising offering proof restrikes in copper, silver and gold of the 5 Sho copper coin of 1947, claiming that these were authorized by the XIVth Dalai Lama.

I.247. Tieh-Tseng Li: *Tibet. Today and Yesterday*. New York, 1960. (Revised Edition of *The Historical Status of Tibet*, 1954).

On pp. 50 and 54 a brief survey of the coinage problem existing between Nepal and Tibet in the 18th century. The introduction of new coinage in Tibet, minted in a new mint at Lhasa with the help of Chinese experts at the end of the 18th century is mentioned.

p. 54: "The money coined by the Gurkhas, which had been the source of trouble between Nepal and Tibet, was declared suppressed [in 1792]; 154) a new uniform currency bearing the title of the Emperor was issued by the Tibetan treasury and a mint with Chinese experts was established. 155)

154) Kau-tsung shih-lu, Chap. 1415, pp. 15a - b. From the Chinese official record, it was the old Tibetan silver coins that were debased and mixed with copper; the Gurkhas had therefore asked for

a better rate of exchange of their own coins. cf. Rockhill, *Dalai Lamas*, p. 50, which says that the Gurkhas made high handed attempts to force their debased silver coins upon Tibet. A fuller explanation on this point is given by Cammann, pp. 108-11, based mainly upon Colonel Kirkpatrick's *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*.

155) For details and subsequent modifications, see reports to the Emperor in Weitsang t'ung chih, I, Chap. 10, 191-195."

I.248. Tsarong, Paljor: "Economics of a Tibetan State Treasury: The Barley Supply Office." In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, Dharamsala, summer 1998, pp. 3-10.

The funds of the Barley Supply Office were mainly derived from taxes collected in kind. In footnote 5 the major Tibetan currency units are mentioned.

I.249. Tsering, Shakya: *The Dragon in the Land of Snows. A History of Modern Tibet since 1947*. Pimlico. London, 1999.

p. 13: "By 1949 it was clear that the stock of ammunition and arms in Tibet's possession would be wholly inadequate to counter a Chinese offensive, and so the Kashag agreed to sanction further military expenditure. For this they took silver coins (tangka) from the Potala treasury, worth four hundred thousand rupees, and minted them into 10 srang silver coins to meet the costs of military pay and supplies."

As source the British Foreign Office file *FO 371-84453: MR, 15 February 1950* is given.

p. 94-95: "As a part of their propaganda, the Communists had always stated that they would pay for everything they acquired. Chinese money was, however, not accepted by the Tibetans (since it could not be exchanged in India); with great ingenuity, the Chinese collected silver ornaments and religious objects in China which were melted down into bullion. In Chengdu a special mint was set up to produce the old Nationalist silver dollar known as Da Yuan. This was used exclusively in Tibet. The circulation of the Da Yuan in Tibet served two purposes: first it was acceptable to Tibetans because it could be melted down and resold. Second, the large-scale use of Da Yuan meant that the Chinese were able to undermine the circulation of Tibetan currency and make it virtually worthless.

There was a popular saying that the Chinese dispensed silver coins like a shower of rain. The Da Yuan were smuggled to India, where there was a great demand for silver. Sinha reported to the GOI: 'the Kutras [aristocrats] have done well by themselves as a result of the influx of Chinese into Tibet, for the Chinese desperately needed goods and services (monopolised by the Kutras), and were almost incredibly over-generous in meeting their obligations with large sums of silver dollars, squandered with the liberality of princes and the sleek abandon of rakes'."

In two footnotes the author gives as sources: Mangeot Sylvain: *The Adventures of a Manchurian. The Story of Lobsang Tondup* (see above) and the following Foreign Office File: *FO 371-99659: MR, 15 December 1951*.

I.250. Turner, Samuel: "An Account of a Journey to Tibet." In: *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 1, pp. 178-187. Reprinted: Varanasi, 1972.

p. 184: "Bullion was somewhat reduced in worth in comparison with the year 1783. A potree, or bulse of gold dust, the same quantity that then sold for twenty-one indermillees, was procurable of a purer quality for nineteen and twenty indermillees. A talent of silver which was then 500, was 450 indermillees; so that the exchange was much in favour of the trader."

This account is on Gosseyn Poorunger's voyage to Tibet from April 1785 to October 1785. It is dated Calcutta, February 8, 1786. (indermillee = mohur of the Malla kings)

I.251: Turner, Samuel: *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet. Containing a Narrative of a Journey Through Bootan, and Part of Tibet*. Reprint. Manjusri Publishing House. New Delhi, 1971. (First published in 1800).

p. 372: "A very small quantity of specie, and that of a base standard, is current in Tibet. It is the silver coin of Nepal, here termed indermillee; each is in value about one-third of a sicca-rupee, and they are cut into halves, third parts, and quarters. This, which is the only money, serves to obtain the exigencies of life, but never enters into important contracts in the larger concerns of trade; in all such transactions, the equivalent is made in bullion, that is, talents of gold and silver, which bear a value, in proportion to the purity and speciic gravity of the metal."

I.252. Van Spengen, Wim: *Tibetan Border Worlds. A Geo-historical Analysis of Trade and Traders.* University of Amsterdam, 1992.

I.253. Van Spengen, Wim: "The Geo-History of Long Distance Trade in Tibet. 1850-1950." In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XX, Nr. 2, Dharamsala, 1995.

The author gives this summary of his article: "Traditional trade in Tibet and its borderworlds rested on the local and regional exchange of salt, wool, grain and tea. In addition to this barter complex, there was a long-distance trade in luxury goods like musk, medicinal herbs, and precious stones, which initially focused on monastic fairs and supra-regional places of pilgrimage. On top of that, and perhaps increasingly so with monastic and government control over its mining operations, gold too, by virtue of its low weight for value, served as a long-distance bridging trade commodity, in particular in its quality as payment for the numerous tea imports from China into Tibet (p. 48)".

p. 45: "Actually, very little of the Tibetan gold found its way to India, rather, Indian silver rupees were coming in, so as to pay for the wool exported to Ladakh and Kashmir."

I.254. Uprety, Prem R.: *Nepal-Tibet Relations 1850-1930. Years of Hope, Challenges and Frustrations.* Kathmandu, 1980

Private Tibetan orders from the first decade of the 20th century are mentioned regarding legends on Tibetan coins which should not make reference to the Chinese emperor but include Tibetan dates. (p.127) References to Nepal minting coins for Tibet on pp. 26, 27, 43, 45 and passim.

I.255. Vaidya, Tulsi Ram: *Prithvi Narayan Shah. The Founder of Modern Nepal.* New Delhi, 1993, pp. 199-202.

Gives a brief account of Prithvi Narayan Shah's attempt to solve the coinage problem which existed between Nepal and Tibet in the second half of the 18th century.

I.256. Van Heurck, Philippe: "Introduction à la Numismatique Tibétaine". In: *La vie Numismatique*, Vol. 34 (1984), pp. 156-160 and 205-211 and Vol. 35 (1985), pp. 58-63.

French language. An illustrated introduction to Tibet's coinage history including several passages translated from "The Development of Currency in Tibet" by N.G. Rhodes without giving credit to this author.

***I.257. Villaret, E. de and Codrington, O.:** "On some Silver Coins of Tibet". In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol 3, 1895, pp. 1052-1056.

Drawings of five coins and a reprint of the paper "The Silver Coinage of Tibet" by Terrien de Lacouperie.

***I.258. Wadell, L. Austine:** *Lhasa and its Mysteries. With a Record of the Expedition of 1903-1904.* Reprint. Sanskaran Prakashak, New Delhi, 1975 (first published in 1905), pp. 353-354 and 477.

"As trade in Tibet is chiefly by exchange or barter, and comparatively few articles are paid for in cash, bricks of tea are often used as a convenient currency instead of money, being in such universal demand, whilst in the same time they are limited in production, fairly portable, and of nearly uniform size. Money is, [354] however, also current and coined by the Tibetans at their mint in Lhasa [footnote 1: The mint is called Gahldan p'odang. ("The Happy Palace" a title of Potala)]. It

is in the form of crudely fashioned silver pieces about the size of a half penny, but thin as a sixpence, and modelled after the Nepalese "Tangka", which Indian name it also bears. Tibet used to import these coins from Nepal, but has for several years been minting its own and retaining on it the eight lucky symbols [footnote 2: see page 224, footnote]. It is of its silver value, being equivalent of a fivepence, and like its Nepalese prototype is clipped into half, a third, or a quarter to form coins of smaller denomination. The almighty Indian rupee is, however, in great demand, and the image of the late Queen-Empress upon it was regarded with reverential awe as being the effigy of the mild form of the dread Buddhist Goddess, who is called "The Great Queen". As our money consisted mainly of the new rupees bearing the head of the King-Emperor most of the Tibetans at first refused to receive these unaccustomed coins which they called "The Lama's head". Russian roubles were found, also a Chinese coin bearing a Turkish legend on the reverse and some pure bullion in the form of Chinese ingots of silver as "shoes" (Tibetan Dotsa), in value about Rs. 150."

p. 477: (Appendix X Trade - Imports and Exports). "The process of manufacture of these bricks is well known. The cakes weigh about 4 1/2 lbs. each, and being in such universal demand and fairly portable and uniform in size, they pass as money at their market value. In Lhasa the commoner kinds are of two kinds, Chupa or "tens", because they cost 10 tankas each, or Rs. 10/3; and Gyepa, or "eights", costing 8 tankas or Rs 8/3, but the market price is usually higher than this. [...] For unbuttered tea, which the wealthier classes drink, a much better quality is used called Dint'ang, at Rs 6 to 8 a brick."

1.258a. Wadell, Ron: "Chopmarks - Interesting Specimens". In *Chopmark News*. The Newsletter of the Chopmark Collectors. Vol. 8, no. 2, Chula Vista, April 2002, pp. 9-12.

On p. 10 a Tibetan 1 srang coin of the type Y 12 is illustrated. This coin was sold in the Hong Kong Money Company Auction of 25th September 1982 as lot nr. 833. The obverse of this coin bears a small Chinese chop (seen on the coin's rump).

Comment: Tibetan coins with Chinese chops are rare. This coin may be evidence that some Tibetan coins did reach China and were treated like other foreign silver coins which circulated in China (see also entry nr. 1.212).

I.259. Wagel, S. W.: *Chinese Currency and Banking*. Shanghai, 1915 (457 pp.).

1,072,865 Tibetan coins were minted in Chengtu during 1911 (pp. 126-127).

I.260. Wahid Radhu, Abdul: *Caravane Tibétaine*. Adapté en français par Roger Du Pasquier d'après les mémoires inédits de l'auteur. Préface de Mario Pallis. Fayard. Paris, 1981.

It is reported that Shakapba sold copper left overs of the Lhasa mint to India with a good profit.

"Il [Shakapba] avait remarqué qu'à Lhasa l'atelier de la monnaie qui produisait les pièces de cuivres jetait les déchets de métal après la frappe. Ce fut Shamokabo qui lui donna l'idée de recueillir les déchets et de les revendre en Inde où le cuivre avait atteint des cours très élevés. Il en résultat [sic] de bénéfices tels que le grand Pangdatshang lui-même en fut jaloux."

***I.261. Walsh, E.H.:** "The Coinage of Tibet". In: *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 11-23, 2 plates. Calcutta, 1907.

The first extensive work on earlier Tibetan currency, unfortunately containing errors which diminish its value for reference purposes. 29 Sino-Tibetan and Nepalese issues for Tibet are illustrated.

I.262. Wilkinson, Constance et alia (ed.): *The Life of Shabkar*. Suny Series in Buddhist Studies. State University of New York Press. Albany, 1994, p. 26, note 68.

Translation of the autobiography by Shabkar Tsogdruk Rangdrol (1781 - 1851). A brief survey of Tibet's currency is given, mainly based on Nicholas Rhodes' article "The Development of Currency in Tibet."

p. 328 "I was also offered thirty gold tanka-coins, [...]"

I.263. Williamson, Frederick: *Who's Who in Tibet. Corrected to the Autumn of 1937, with a few subsequent additions up to February 1938.* Government of India Printing Press. Calcutta, 1938.

On p. 13 a short biography of Chang-ngö-pa (Ringang) who in 1935 set up the hydro-electric plant in Trapshi.

Of interest are also the bibliographical notes on Kunphela and Tsarong Shabpe who were in charge of the mint in the 1930's.

I.264. Williamson, Margaret D.: *Memoirs of a Political Officer's Wife in Tibet, Sikkhim and Bhutan.* Written in collaboration with John Snelling. Wisdom Publications. London, 1987, p. 124.

Some remarks on the Tibetan Government mint which was visited by Mr. Williamson in 1933. The book also includes two photographs of the Trabshi Lekhung mint taken by F. Williamson.

***I.265. Wood, Howland:** "Some Remarks on a Series of Coins Issued in China, Based on the British-India Rupee". In: *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. 41, 1906, pp. 29-31 and plate.

The three issues are approximately five grains lighter than the Indian Victoria rupees. On the reverse they bear the inscription "Sze Chuan Seng Tsao" ("minted in the Province of Szechuan"). With illustrations.

***I.266. Wood, Howland:** "The Coinage of Tibet". In: *American Journal of Numismatics*. Vol. 46, No. 4, October 1912, pp. 164-167. Reprinted in: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 26, No. 5, May 1913, pp. 233-238.

An excellent article on the monetary history of Tibet. According to Chinese sources, in former times cowries and knife-shaped coins were current in Tibet. Silver has been known as a medium of exchange since the 12th century. Later, the minting of coins took place in three periods: Nepalese issues on behalf of Tibet, Sino-Tibetan coins and native Tibetan issues. With illustrations.

***I.267. Wood, Howland:** "Tibet, New and Recent Issues". In: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 45, No. 7, 1932, p. 425.

The Sichuan rupee minted in dollar-size (as Tibet-Tael) is a fantasy.

***I.268. Wright, R. N. J.:** "The Silver Dragon Coinage of the Chinese Provinces, 1888-1949". In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, Vol. 16, 1976, pp. 169-200.

The first general circulation of the Sichuan rupee was recorded at Chungking in November, 1902. It was not an immediate success. Thereafter, the daily output of the mint averaged about 5,000 dragon coins a day, with the addition of Szechuan rupees, from 1903 (p. 191).

***I.269. Wright, R. N. J.:** "The Szechuan Rupee": In: *Coins and Medals*, 1976, pp. 35-36.

The author gives important details on the Sichuan rupee. There are two main types: 1) Bust of the Emperor Kuang Hsu, without collar (obverse), horizontal rosette (reverse). This issue, produced in 1903 (or late 1902), was regarded in Western China as being the best. 2) Bust with collar; vertical rosette. Mules of the two main types exist, but they are rare. During the republican period, a rupee with a crude "large head" and inferior silver content, appeared at Tachienlu.

I.270. Wright, R. N. J.: "The Silver coinage of China, 1912-1928". In: *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 138, London, 1978.

On p. 169 a table shows the mintage figures of the Sichuan rupees and its fractions struck at the Chengtu mint between 1903 and 1916.

*I.271. Wylie, A.: "Coins of the Ta-Tsing or Present Dynasty of China". In: *Journal of Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society*, No. 1, 1858, pp. 44-102.

The mint at Lhasa was established in 1792 (p. 71).

I.272. Wu Congzhon: "Feudal Serfdom of the Monpas." In: *Tibetan Studies I* (1991), pp. 76-106.

"In Monyul in ancient times shells, iron rings and copper coins were used as money."

It is mentioned that after 1793 the new Tibetan silver coins were also used in Monyul.

I.273. Ya Hanzhan: *Biographies of the Tibetan Spiritual Leaders Panchen Erdenis*. Translated by Chen Guansheng and Li Peizhu. Foreign Languages Press. Beijing, 1994, p. 393.

"Sometime later (after 1793), in Lhasa was installed a deputy liangwu in charge of coining money."

I.A. Coins (Unpublished Material)

I.A.1 Bertsch, Wolfgang: *Numismatica Tibetana*. Materials for the History of Tibetan Money. Gundershausen (near Darmstadt), 1993.

Listed and illustrated is a selection of Tibetan coins from the collection of W. Bertsch.

I.A.2 Gabrisch, Karl and Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan: *A study of Sino-Tibetan coins of the Xuan Tong Period*. Mannheim and Kathmandu, ca. 1993/94

Article prepared about 1993/94 and planned for publication in NIB. Discusses and illustrates all copper and silver coins which mention the era "Shon Tong" (Xuan Tong) in their legends.

I.A.3. Hoelle, John von: *Types and Varieties of the Gaden Tangka*. n.p. 1978 (?)

Varieties of the eight Buddhist emblems and the dots or squiggles placed outside the petals are taken as a guideline for the attempt to classify the Gaden tangka.

I.A.4 Rhodes, Nicholas G.: *Chinese Silver Coins for Tibet*. Hythe, 1978.

Relates the historical background of the early sino-tibetan issues and represents an attempt to classify the varieties of the coins struck in the names of Qien Long, Jia Qing and Dao Guang.

I.A.5 Richardson, Gilbert R.: *History of Money and Coinage of Tibet*. Edited by Adam Green. West Reston, January 1995 (Internet: ANU Soc. Sci. WWW Server at <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/CoombsHome.html>).

So far only the first two chapters have been edited by Adam Green. These give a general introduction to Tibet and deal with the Malla coinage of Nepal.

I.A.6. Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan: *Varieties of Kong-par Tangkas*. Kathmandu, n.d. (3 pp.)

A table of 58 varieties is given (with drawings).

I.A.7 Snorrason, Gylfi: *Tibetan Coinage*. Varberg (Sweden), 1972.

An introduction to the coinage, including foreign coins used in Tibet and cut coins with a list of known dates and major varieties of Tibetan coins.

I.A.8 Valdetaro, Carlo: *Tibetan Coins in the Collection of CVR*. Draft for III Ed., Breganzona, April 1974.

A complete listing of the Valdetaro coins with occasional illustrations and charts explaining varieties of Kong-par and Gaden tangkas.

Note: Unpublished documents related to the coinage and /or the banknotes of Tibet may be found in the following archives:

India Office Library, London

National Archives of India, New Delhi. (In March 1999 I was informed by this institution that documents related to Tibet are available for studies only if dated before 31 December, 1912.)

National Archives, Kathmandu, Nepal

Archives of the Foreign Ministry, Kathmandu, Nepal.

I.B. The Coinage of the Hsi Hsia Empire (Western Languages)

The Hsi Hsia (Western Hsia, spelt "Xi Xia" in Pinyin transcription) Empire was established in the 10th century AD and declared its independence from China of the Sung dynasty in A.D. 1032 under the Hsi Hsia emperor Yuan Hao. The Hsi Hsia empire was destroyed by Genghis Khan in 1227 A.D. Most of the rulers of independent Hsi Hsia struck coins in the style of Chinese cash, some of which are inscribed with the peculiar Hsi Hsia script which - as most authorities believe - was invented during the rule of emperor Yuan Hao. The Hsi Hsia empire roughly occupied the lands which nowadays form the Gansu province in northwest China and included large areas with Tibetan speaking population.

I.B.1. *Bushell, S. W.: "The Hsi Hsia Dynasty of Tangut. Their Money and Peculiar Script". In: *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 30, pt. 2, 1895-1896, pp. 142-160. Reprinted: *NIB*, Vol. 9, September 1975, pp. 41-45.

A history of the Tangut Empire, with a list of its rulers and description of 12 coins, with drawings.

***I.B.2. Bushell, S. W.:** "Notice sur une nouvelle monnaie Tangoutaine". In: *Japan Advertiser*, Ser. 9, Vol. 14, 1899, pp. 558-560.

Article not seen by the compiler.

***I.B.3. Bushell, S. W.:** "The Tangut Script in the Nank'ou Pass". *China Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1900, pp. 64-68.

Translation of inscriptions on two Tangut coins in Tangut characters: "T'ien Tzu Pao Ch'ien" and "Ta An Pao Ch'ien", the second and third Nien Hao of the same sovereign Hui Tsung (A.D. 1068-1086).

***I.B.4. Drouin, E.:** "Monnaies Tangoutaines ou Si-Hia (Hsi-Hsia)." *Revue Numismatique*, Ser. 4, Vol. 3, 1899, pp. 225-240.

A drawing and description of a coin with Tangut characters of Hui Tsung (1068-1087 A.D.) with the 4th Nien Hao "Ta An" of this emperor.

***I.B.5. Ramsden, H.A.:** "The Tangut Script and Numismatics". In: *The Numismatic and Philatelic Journal of Japan*, Vol. 3, 1914, pp. 121-126.

A short historical survey of the monuments with Tangut script and a list of the Tangut rulers.

***I.B.6. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "A Large Coin of the Western Hsia Dynasty". In: *ONS NL*, Nr. 100, Feb. - May 1986.

A large coin of Ch'ien Yu (1171-94) of the Western Hsia Dynasty is illustrated and discussed.

***I.B.7. Satoshi, Nakajima:** "Seika ni okeru Dotetsusen no Chuzo ni tsuite" ("Copper and Iron Coinage of the Hsi-Hsia Dynasty"). In: *Toho Gakuhon/ Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 7, 1936.

Japanese text. With drawings of 11 coins.

I.B.8. Schlösser, R.: *Chinas Münzen*. Franziskus Druckerei. Werl, 1935.

German text. Some remarks on Tangut coins (pp. 93-94) with drawings of two coins with Tangut characters and a photograph (No. 119 on plate 19) of the coin T'ien Shen Yüan Pao.

IB.9. Turk, F.A.: "The Tangut Inscriptions of the Hsi Hsia Coinage". In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 81, 1973, pp. 3-5.

The author discusses certain characteristics of the Tangut script which are particularly difficult to decipher on coins, and illustrates the Tangut inscriptions on seven coins of Hsi Hsia.

II. Medals and Militaria

II. 1. Bell, Sir Charles A.: *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*. Collins. London, 1946.

p. 130: "The Dalai Lama gave me also a very large gold medal, six and a quarter inches in circumference, weighing more than four ounces, and more than ninety percent pure gold, as a mark of intimate friendship. On the one side runs the inscription in Tibetan, "From the Dalai Lama who holds the Thunderbolt, Lord of all the Buddhists on earth. Given on the fourth day of the fifth month of the Water Rat year." On the other side is a partial translation in English, and a Wheel of Religion in the centre." (Bell refers to June, 1912).

II.1a. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Tibetan Army Badges". In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XXVI, no. 1, spring 2001, pp. 35-72.

In this compilation the author describes and illustrates more than 40 army badges from various private collections. The badges date from the first part of the 20th century and were used by both ordinary troops (badges in bronze) and officers (badges in silver).

II.3 Collins, Daniel F. (compiled by) *The Medals Yearbook. A-Z of Medals*. Seventh edition. London and Bournemouth, 1986, p. 63 (nr. 109).

While the cover of the book gives Dalien F. Collins as compiler, on the first page John G. Brant is mentioned as compiler and editor, whereas Collins figures as publisher.

The bronze and silver medals for the Younghusband expedition are briefly discussed. "About 850 silver medals were issued to British recipients, and about 2,500 to Indian troops."

***II.3. Cresswell, Oliver D.:** "Tibet 1903-1904 Medal". In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 79, 1971, p. 368.

The military escort of the British Mission to Lhasa consisted of four companies of the Royal Fusiliers and two Maxim crews from the Norfolk regiment and the Royal Irish Rifles.

II.4. Datta, C.L.: *General Zorawar Singh. His Life and Achievements in Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet*. Deep & Deep Publications. New Delhi, 1984, pp. 84-90.

In an appendix to chapter four, entitled "The Dogra Prisoners in Tibet: Their Liberation after fifteen Years" (pp. 84-92) the author mentions that in 1856 106 erstwhile soldiers of Zorawar Singh's army reached Nepal after having lived as prisoners of war in Tibet for 15 years; out of these, 65 agreed to return to Jammu and Kashmir State, and they were presented with a silver medal with the portrait of Surendra Bikram Sah and a Persian inscription. This medal was struck in Kathmandu and is illustrated on p. 88.

II.5. Gabrisch, Karl and Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Nepalese Medals of the 3rd Nepal-Tibet War, 1855-6". In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. XCVII, 1, 1989, pp. 260-263.

Sixteen regimental medals are pictured (fourteen for the first time) and the regiments' history is mentioned. Besides this a pattern of a medal of 1854 (not issued) is also pictured.

II.6. Gurung, Chandra Bahadur: *British Medals & Gurkhas*. The Gurkha Memorial Trust (Kathmandu). Himalayan Yeti Nepalese Association (UK). Kathmandu 1998.

On pp. 61 and 62 the Tibet medal with Gyantse bar of 1904/04 is illustrated and briefly described.

II.7. Joslin, E. C.: *Spink's Catalogue of British and Associated Orders, Decorations and Medals with Valuations*. Webb & Bower, Exeter, 1983, p. 128.

Under nr. 139 the copper and silver issues of the Younghusband Expedition medals are listed.

II.8. Joslin, E. C., Litherland, A.R. and Simpkin, B.T.: *British Battles and Medals*. Spink. London, 1988.

The Younghusband Expedition medal "was authorized on 1st February 1905, to be awarded to all who took part in the Tibet Mission and to troops accompanying it who served beyond Silgari [sic for Siliguri] between 13th December 1903, and 23rd September 1904." The medal is illustrated with the Gyantse bar as nr. 138, a brief summary of the expedition is given and the regiments which participated are enumerated.

II.9. Kleist, Christian-Ewald von: "Einige nepalesische Medaillen aus dem Krieg zwischen Nepal und Tibet (1854 bis 1856)." In: *Festschrift für Peter Berghaus zum 70. Geburtstag*. Münster, 1989, pp. 55-56.

German language article on Nepalese military campaign medals issued to members of the army who participated in the Nepal-Tibet war of 1854-56.

II.10. Litherlan, A. R. & Simpkin, B. T.: *Spink's Standard Catalogue of British and Associated Orders, Decorations & Medals*. With Valuations. London, 1990, p. 118.

The copper and silver Younghusband Expedition medals are listed as nr. 152.

II.11. O'Toole, E. H.: "A Tibetan medal to King Edward VIII." In: *The Journal of the Orders and Medals Research Society*, Vol. 27, no. 1, Spring, 1988, pp. 37-41.

A medal presented by the 6th Panchen Lama to Edward VIII on the occasion of the latter's accession is described and illustrated. The medal is displayed in the National Army Museum in London and was most probably produced in China and sent to England by the exiled Panchen Lama in 1936.

***II.12. Paterson, David:** "The Tibetan Medal 1903-4". In: *Coins and Medals*, January 1980, pp. 22-24.

A brief historical survey of the British Mission to Lhasa, 1903-04. The Tibet Medal in silver was to be given to all who took part in the mission or were with the escort. One bar "Gyantse" was given to all those who participated in the actions in that area between 3rd May and 6th July, 1904. The medals were named around the edge in neat "running script". Bronze medals, with or without the Gyantse bar, were given to native carriers and porters who accompanied the Mission and are usually named "S. & T." (Supply and Transport) Corps.

II.13. Purves, Alec A.: *Collecting Medals and Decorations*. Seaby. 3rd edition London 1978 (first edition 1968), p. 143.

For the Tibet 1904-04 Younghusband Expedition medals with unofficial bars exist having smaller, compact letters; also a bar with slightly larger letters than normal exists, but it is not known whether this is an unofficial or whether it may be from a Calcutta Mint die.

II.14. Rahul, Ram: *The Government and Politics of Tibet*. Vikas Publications. New Delhi, 1969, p. 58.

"Dasang Dadul [Tsarong] received his personal name inscribed on a gold medallion from the Dalai Lama himself as a reward for engaging in battle for two days the Chinese detachment which had almost overtaken the fleeing Dalai Lama at the Chaksam ferry on the Tsangpo and thus not merely saving the life of the Dalai Lama but also facilitating his escape to India in 1910."

II.14a. Rhodes, Nicholas: “A Remarkable Silver Medal from Nepal”. In: *Oriental Numismatic Society, Newsletter*, no. 170, Winter 2002, pp. 30-31.

A medal with the portrait of king Surendra of Nepal on obverse and an Urdu legend on reverse is illustrated. This medal was given to former prisoners of war which were taken from western Tibet to Lhasa after the failed Tibet campaign of Zorawar Singh in 1841. Most of these prisoners were released by the Tibetans in 1856 and sent to Nepal. Specimens of the illustrated silver medal were given to those former prisoners who agreed to be repatriated to Jammu.

II.15. Singer, Armand E.: “The British Raj Campaigns in Tibet”. In: *Postal Himal. Quarterly of the Nepal and Tibet Philatelic Study Circle*, No. 68, 4th Quarter 1991, pp. 61-65.

A philatelic article which includes a brief description (with illustration) of a silver medal with Gyantse bar of the 1903/04 Younghusband Expedition.

II.15a. Tsarong, Dundul Namgyal: *In the Service of his Country. The Biography of Dasang Damdul Tsarong. Commander General of Tibet.* Snow Lion Publications. Ithaca, New York, 2000.

The book contains a plate with illustrations of three medals which were awarded by the 13th Dalai Lama to D. D. Tsarong in 1916. On p. 51 the medals are described as follows: “... Tsarong was awarded three medals by His Holiness. One gold medal (about three inches in diameter) was for his gallant work in organizing a modern army for Tibet. One silver medal was for attaining first place in the dismantling and assembling of Mauser pistols. The third medal was for coming in first in target shooting while on horseback.”

The book also contains short references to the Sertam (p. 52), Norbu Tsokyil (p. 74-75) and Drapshi (p. 84) mints and to the printing of paper currency (pp. 99-100).

II.16. Turk, F.A.: “An Unrecorded Chinese Amulet Coin and its Probable Historical Importance.” In: *Seaby's Coin & Medal Bulletin*, November 1965, pp. 331-333.

Discussion and illustration of a copper-bronze medal with the obverse Chinese inscription “Chou chun ti shen” (Spells permitting the repose of spirits) and a reverse inscription in Lantsa characters which the author is unable to read. The author assumes that only few medals of this kind can have been minted and that they may have circulated in Tibet rather than China and “served some single specific historical occasion”. The medal is tentatively attributed to the Huan-Chung (Sining) mint in Kansu which was established in 1723 or 1724.

II.A. Unpublished Material on Militaria

II.A1. Bertsch, Wolfgang: *A Catalogue of Tibetan Army Badges. With Illustrations of Specimens from the Collections of Alexander Boris Lissanevitch, Bhupendra Narayan Shrestha, Karl Gabrisch and Wolfgang Bertsch.* Gundershausen (near Darmsadt), 1999.

The author describes and illustrates more than 40 army badges dating from the first part of the 20th century and used by both ordinary troops (badges in bronze) and officers (badges in silver).

A slightly different version of this catalogue was published in the form of an article in the *Tibet Journal* (see section II)

III. Paper Money

III.1. Anonymous: "Tibetan Notes to circulate." In: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 53 (1940), p. 419.

Reports notes of the Farmers Bank of China, surcharged in Tibetan language.

***III.2. Anonymous:** "Tibetan Bank Notes." In: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 55 (1942), p. 27.

Records notes of 1, 5 and 10 Yuan, placed into circulation by the Central Bank's branch in Kanting, Sikang province. Unfortunately no description of these notes is given.

***III.3. Anonymous:** "Lama-Ruled Tibet Issued Exotic Notes." In: *World Coins*, Vol. 4, Nr. 42, Sydney, Ohio, June 1967, p. 480.

A brief introduction to the different issues of Tibetan notes with numerous incorrect statements. The face of a 100 Srang note is illustrated.

III.4. Anonymous (chief editor: Eleanor Olson): *Catalogue of the Tibetan Collection and other Lamaist Material in the Newark Museum*, Vol. V, Newark, New Jersey 1971, pp. 30 - 32 and plate 17.

A brief introduction to Tibetan paper money. "From about 1932, the paper was manufactured in Kyemdong, in the district of Dhagpo, a famous paper-making center in southern Tibet, and only the printing was done in Lhasa, with electrically-worked machinery from England." A translation of the legend of the early Tam issues is given. The five Tam, the multicoloured 50 Tam, the 10 Srang and the 100 Srang notes are described. A multicoloured 50 Tam note dated T.E. 1673 and a 100 Srang note are illustrated on Plate 17 (p. 51).

III.4a. Anonymous: "Billets de Banque Tibétains." In: *Nouvelles de Tibet, Getza Tibet Secours*, no. 2, June 2000, pp. 5-6.

Introduction to Tibetan paper money in French language based on "A Study of Tibetan Paper Money" by W. Bertsch (see below).

III.5. Beresiner, Yasha: *A Collector's Guide to Paper Money*. Stein and Day, Briarcliff Manor, N.Y., 1977, pp. 154-155

Claims that the srang-notes are printed on 'edible' rice paper. Chinese issues overprinted with Tibetan characters for use by Tibetan communities in China include those of the Manchu-Mongol Bank of Colonisation, the China and South Sea Bank, and the Central Bank of China.

III.6. Beresiner, Yasha: "Tibetan Notes Have Aura For Hobbyists." In: *WCN*, Vol. 5, No. 49, December 5, 1978, p. 28.

A brief introduction to Tibetan paper money. It is erroneously reported that the first notes were printed in 1915 and that the Srang notes were introduced in 1945. The red seals are attributed to the Panchen Lama and the black ones to the Dalai Lama. The legend in four lines as found on the early issues and the 10 Srang notes is translated.

III.7. Beresiner, Yasha: "A Look At Tibet." In: *Bond and Banknotes*, No. 7, June 1984, pp. 34-35.

A short survey of Tibetan paper money, unfortunately a repetition of many errors known from other sources.

III.8. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Buyer Beware! The forgeries of the 1913 50 Tam banknotes of Tibet." In: *Bank Note News*, No. 40, March/April 1991, p. 24.

Was also published under the title "Forgeries of the Tibetan 50 Tam Bank Notes of AD 1913." In: *Journal of the International Banknote Society*, Vol. 30, nr. 3, October 1991, pp. 21-22.

The forged 50 Tam note can be recognized by the fully drawn petals of the flowers located on the horizontal middle line of the obverse of the notes. Two different genuine and one possibly forged note are illustrated.

III.9. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Some notes on Tibetan paper currency." In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Spring 1991, pp. 128-137.

The author publishes a 10 Tam note, dated T.E. 1658 (=AD 1912) and suggests that the early 15, 25 and 50 Tam notes which are only known with the date T.E. 1659, may have been issued already with date T.E. 1658. Most of the notes dated T.E. 1659, are obviously printed from blocks with the 1659 altered from an original 1658. Also mentioned is a forgery of the 50 Tam note T.E. 1659 and a printing block is illustrated which may have been a pattern for a note which was planned in the 1950s but was never issued.

III.10. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Exotisches Papiergeld aus Tibet." In: *Der Geldscheinsammler*, 8th year, Nr.6, Regenstauf, 1994, pp. 6-11 and 8th year, Nr. 7, 1994, pp. 12-21.

German text. A survey on Tibetan Paper money based on western and Chinese sources and the author's own research with many illustrations of banknotes from the author's collection.

III.11. Bertsch, Wolfgang: *A Study of Tibetan Paper Money. With a Critical Bibliography.* Tibetan Works and Archives. Dharamsala, 1997.

A historical and numismatic survey of Tibetan banknotes based on Chinese and western sources and illustrated with colour plates showing notes from the author's collection. A detailed catalogue lists all known types and dates of Tibetan banknotes.

III.12. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Early Tibetan Paper Money." In: *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, Autumn 1997, pp. 5-17.

Contains a brief discussion of the first banknote series in Tam and gives a list of 10, 15, 25 and blue 50 Tam notes known to exist in private and public collections.

III.13. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "A Survey of Tibetan Paper Currency (1912-1959)." In: *Bulletin of Tibetology*. New Series, no. 3, Gangtok, 2nd November 1996, pp. 3-22.

This article has been extracted from the manuscript which formed the base for the publication "A Study of Tibetan Paper Money" (see above).

III.14. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Security Devices on Early Tibetan Banknotes." In: *JEAN*, Vol. 5, Nr. 1, Winter 1997, Spring 1998 (14/15), pp. 22-30.

Variants existing among the early red 10 Tam and blue or purple 50 Tam notes are interpreted as being possible security devices.

III.15. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "A Partly Forged Tibetan 50-Tam note." In: *Spink Banknote Circular*, Nr. 11, London, September 1998, p. 7.

A multicoloured 50 tam note dated T.E. 1682 with a serial number belonging to the range used for the notes dated T.E. 1677 is identified as a note which must have been stolen from the mint or bank and released for circulation after having been unexpertly numbered and stamped with a forged red seal. Unfortunately this article is published without the proper illustrations and cannot be understood without them.

III.16. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The Production of Tibetan Banknotes." In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring 1999, pp. 29-54.

Based on a metal block for a 10 Tam note and on several metal blocks for the 25 and 100 Srang notes, the author discusses the printing technique used for the Tibetan banknotes.

III.17. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Tibetische Klostergeldscheine für den Kauf von Teeziegeln." In: *Der Geldscheinsammler*, Vol. 13, Issue 7, Regenstauf, October 1999, pp. 10-14.

In German language. Four paper notes issued in the 1940's by Tashi Dargyas monastery (eastern Tibet) and intended for the purchase of high quality tea bricks from the monastic storerooms are illustrated (two issues of "half rupee" and two issues of "one rupee") and described and a brief discussion of the use of brick tea in Tibet is given.

III.18. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Tibetische Rationsscheine von 1960 bis 1996 (Part 1)." In: *Der Geldscheinsammler*. Vol. 15, nr. 1, Regenstauf, February 2001, pp. 6-11; Part 2: Vol. 15, nr. 2, March 2001, pp. 25-28.

In German language. Ration coupons and related items which were used in Tibet during the "Cultural Revolution" and thereafter are discussed in their historical context and their inscriptions are explained. Many examples are illustrated.

III.18a. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Tibetan Monastic Token Currency". In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, Dharamsala, summer 2001, pp. 39-55.

Illustrates and describes four paper notes issued by the bKra-shis dar-rgyas monastery in northeastern Tibet and given to monks who regularly attended the debating sessions. The notes could be exchanged for high quality tea bricks from the monastery's stores and may have functioned as local currency in the area surrounding the monastery. A countermarked Sichuan rupee, probably from the Litang area, is also illustrated and its possible use is discussed.

III.18b. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Tibetan Monastic Token Currency". In: *Numismatic Digest*. Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri. Dist. Nasik, Vol. 23-24 (1999-2000), pp. 139-155.

Same article as the one listed above as nr. III.18a.

III.18c. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Banknotes of the Farmers Bank of China with Tibetan Overprints". In: *Spink Numismatic Circular*, Vol. CIX, Nr. 6, December 2001, pp. 372-373.

The Tibetan overprint "sgor-mo Inga" on a five yuan note of the Farmers Bank of China is discussed and in the author's opinion the overprint may be genuine. The relevant note is illustrated, a ten yuan note of the same bank with Tibetan overprint is also mentioned and it is suggested that these notes were issued in the late 1930s in Kangding, the former capital of the Xikang province (located in what is now part of Sichuan province).

III.18d. Bertsch, Wolfgang: *A Catalogue of Tibetan Ration Coupons and Related Paper Notes*. Published by Geoffrey Flack. Vancouver B.C., 2001.

Illustrated catalogue of ration coupons which were issued in Tibet under Chinese authority during and after the Cultural Revolution. The Tibetan legends found on the coupons were explained and the historical contexts which led to their circulation is briefly described (for a similar publication in German language see entry nr. III.18).

III.19. Bower, Peter: *Banknote Examination. Five Tibetan Banknotes from the Collection of Colin Narbeth*. London, May 1995.

Three 100 Srang and two 25 Srang notes were examined. The paper seems to be a blend of fibers of *Daphne Papyracea* and *Daphne Bholua*. The notes consist of two layers of paper which were glued

together before printing. The “security legend”, which appears like a watermark, was printed on the verso sheet in the case of a delaminated 25 Srang note. It was printed in inverted script on the back of the face layer in the case of a delaminated 100 Srang note.

(B.N. Shrestha found a third interior layer of paper on which the security legend was printed, but when interviewed in 1995 by the compiler he could not remember which notes he had delaminated and was no longer in possession of the delaminated notes.

It is likely that both methods of producing the security legend were used even within the same series of banknotes.)

***III.20. Bowker, H.F.:** “A Tibetan Paper Note.” In: *The Numismatist*, Vol. 64, Nr. 2, 1951, pp. 141-142.

Illustration and description of a 5 Srang note (Serial Nr. ka 024831).

III.21. Bruce II, Colin R.: “It’s Backwards, Upside Down!”. In: *WCN*, Vol. 9, No. 19, May 11, 1982, p. 3.

Reports a 100 Srang note with inverted security legend discovered by the Hong Kong collector Anil Kumar Jain. A 100 Srang note with this error (serial number za/110528) is illustrated together with a note which has the normal security legend (ser. nr. na/1 17179).

***III.22. Cresswell, Oliver D. and Hogan, Patrick D.:** “An Unrecorded Date of Tibetan 50-Tangka Note Issue.” In: *T’ung Pao*, Vol. 1, Nr. 3, 1975, p. 73.

The multicoloured 50 Tam note dated T.E. 1680 (= A.D. 1934) is recorded for the first time.

III.23. Cobham Numismatics Ltd: *Oriental List. Paper Money, Numismatic Books*. London, summer 1977.

The cover of this catalogue illustrates a 5 Srang note (serial nr. 66927). On p. 34 the following Tibetan notes are listed: 7 1/2 Srang (= 50 Tam), 5, 10, 25 and 100 Srang.

III.24. Dahnke, K. H.: *Tibet. Handbuch und Katalog der Marken und Stempel*. Handbuch der Forschungsgemeinschaft “China-Philatelie e.V.” Essen, 1978 and 1981.

Contains some remarks on the Tibetan banknotes and illustrations of the backsides of the 25 Tam, the blue 50 Tam and the 100 Srang notes. The obverse of a 25 Srang note is also illustrated (nr. 117-119).

The book also contains an extensive chapter on the coinage of Tibet with illustrations of several coins (pp. 156-165). On p. 164 a table shows the equivalents of the value of Tibetan currency in Indian rupees, German marks, U.S. dollars and Chinese taels for the year 1958,

III.25. David-Neel, Alexandra: *Voyage d’une Parisienne à Lhasa*. Paris, 1927, p. 292.

The Tibetan banknotes are an object of curiosity and even in Lhasa traders refuse to accept them.

III.26. David-Neel, Alexandra: *My Journey to Lhasa*. London, 1927 (reprinted London, 1983), p. 268.

English translation of the previous publication in French.

III.26.a. Dawson, Derrick: *Some Tibetan Seals Illustrated and Described*. Published by Geoffery Flack. n.p. (Vancouver), 1997.

The author illustrates the black seals found on Tibetan banknotes and gives transcriptions and translations of their texts. However, not being familiar with recent Chinese and Western publications on Tibetan paper money, he suggests erroneous dates for the use of these seals and the corresponding banknotes.

III.27.a. Dewatshang, Kunga Samten: *Flight at the Cuckoo's Behest. The Life and Times of a Tibetan Freedom Fighter as Told by his Son Dorjee Wangdi Dewatshang.* Paljor Publications. New Delhi, 1997, pp. 85-86.

Kunga Samten Dewatshang reports forged 10 srang notes (the author calls them "10 Tam notes", but considering the period he is referring to, the year 1947, he must mean 10 Srang notes) in the Gyashoy Benkar area. The village headman of Gyashoy Benkar had instructions from Lhasa to arrest any person found in possession of forged notes.

The author also mentions a mint in Shol (p. 57) and gives a brief survey of Tibet's currency (pp. 63-64).

III.27. Dhondup, K.: "Gedun Chophel: the Man Behind the Legend." In: *Tibetan Review*, Vol. XIII, no. 10, New Delhi, October 1978, pp. 10-18.

It is reported that in 1947 the Kashag decided to arrest Gedun Choephel who was suspected of being a communist spy. The Lhasa Mepons (Magistrates) were instructed, however, to arrest Gedun Choephel on the ground of making counterfeit 100 Srang notes.

Phuntsog Wangyal had founded the Tibetan Communist Party in the early 1930s. "Phuntsog Wangyal's group had secretly counterfeited Tibetan Hundred Srang notes in Peking to meet their expenses but spent them only when needed to escape detection under the different name of association of Young Tibetans under Oath."

III.28. Dhondup, K.: *The Water-Bird and Other Years*, New Delhi, 1986, p. 105.

"In 1937 the regent Radreng had introduced a new paper currency worth 100 Srang. Formerly the Dalai Lama XIII did not issue any currency worth more than 7.5 Srang. This financial policy of the regent was a failure since it tended to raise the price of all commodities."

***III.29. Gabrisch, Karl:** "Six Unrecorded Dates of the Tibetan 50 Tam Note." In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 85, 1977, p. 544.

The following dates for the multicolored 50 Tam note are recorded: T.E. 1678, 1679, 1681, 1682, 1683 and 1686.

***III.30. Gabrisch, Karl:** "An Unknown date of the Tibetan 10 Srang Note." In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 86, 1978, p. 189.

The 10 Srang note dated T.E. 1690 is recorded for the first time.

III.31. Goldstein, Melvyn C.: *A History of Modern Tibet. 1913 - 1951. The demise of the Lamaist state.* Indian edition, New Delhi, 1993 (first published in USA in 1989), pp. 151 - 152 and 570.

Appointment of Kumbela as head of Trabshi Lotrü Laygung (Trabshi Electrical Machine Office) in 1931. This complex merged previously separate offices such as the various coin and currency mints.

The idea of sending a trade mission abroad originated in the Trabshi Mint in 1947 and was mainly promoted by Tsarong who wanted to see Tibet's currency notes backed by gold or some other commodity.

III.32. Grosch, Günter: "Tibet und seine Geldgeschichte, ein Versuch." Schluss. In: *Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten*, Vol. 2, Nr. 10 (1968) pp. 61 - 62.

A brief description of the Srang issues and of the multicoloured 50 Tam, which the author calls a "7 1/2 Srang" note. Both sides of each type of these notes are illustrated.

III.33. Hage, Sidney: "Tibetan Paper Money." In: *International Banknote Society Magazine*, Autumn 1963, pp. 4-5.

III.33a. Hanevich, Murray (editor): *"Update"*; In: *Inside IBNS, Newsletter of the International Banknote Society*, No. 3, 2001.

Includes the illustration of a 1 rupee note (sgor-mo gcig) of the Tashi Dargyas (bkra shis dar rgyas) monastery with serial nr. 321. Notes of 1/2 and one rupee of this type were sold in 1999 and 2000 in IBNS Auctions (see entry nr. VII.1).

III.34. Harrer, Heinrich: *Sieben Jahre in Tibet. Mein Leben am Hofe des Dalai Lama*. Wien, 1952, p. 174.

All attempts to forge Tibetan banknotes were thwarted by the inability of the forgers to imitate the calligraphy of the handwritten serial numbers on the notes.

III.35. Haverbeck, H.D.S.: *The Postage Stamps and Postal History of Tibet*. The Collectors Club Philatelist, Vol. 31, no. 2, New York, March 1952. Second edition: Collectors Club, New York, 1958.

The 10 Tam note T.E. 1659 with serial nr. 18080 is illustrated.

The book also contains an Appendix A, entitled *The Tibetan Monetary System*. (p. 76 of the second edition).

III.36. Helfer, A. L.: "Tibetan Paper Money." In: *Bulletin. International Banknote Society*. Summer, 1964.

III.37. Journal of East Asian Numismatics, Vol. 5, No. 2, Summer, 1998, p. 56 and back cover.

On the back cover the faces of the following notes are illustrated: 5 Tam, missing black seal, ser. nr. 9061; 10 Tam, T.E. 1659/58, ser. nr. 19252; 15 Tam, T.E. 1659/58, ser. nr. 2799; 25 Tam, yellow, T.E. 1659, ser. nr. 54165 and 50 Tam (blue), T.E. 1659, ser. nr. 50461.

On p. 56 the following comment: "This group of notes is documented to have been together since 1951. The notes were given to U.S. official (sic) from a member of 1948 Tibetan Trade mission to the United States. The five trade mission members was (sic) scheduled to meet President Truman. (...)".

Comment: The member of the trade mission who presented the notes was Surkhang Shape.

III.38. Kimura, Hisao: *Japanese Agent in Tibet*. London, 1990, p. 129.

Reports the counterfeiting of 100 Srang notes by an artist from Outer Mongolia, called Dharma.

***III.39. Klaasesz, Paul F.**: "Tibet. Part 1 - Paper Money." In: *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, Vol. 15, Nr. 10, October 1949, pp. 848 - 853.

Illustrates and describes a purple 15 Tam (serial nr. 4375), a yellow 25 Tam (called "3 sangs or 7 1/2 shyos"; serial nr. 39236), a blue 50 Tam (called "7 1/2 sangs"; serial nr. ?), a multicoloured 50 Tam dated T.E. 1675 and a 10 Srang, dated T.A. 1692.

Comment: It is likely that these notes were part of the samples brought to the USA in 1948 by the Tibetan Trade Mission.

***III.40. Lehmann, Peter Hannes and Ullal, Jay**: *Tibet. Das stille Drama auf dem Dach der Welt*, Geo Verlag, Hamburg, 1981, p. 106.

A multicoloured 50 Tam note and the 5, 10, 25 and 100 Srang notes are illustrated.

III.41. Lowell, Thomas: *Out of this World. Across the Himalayas to Forbidden Tibet*. The Grey Stone Press. New York, 1950.

p. 27: In 1949 the Tibetans in Lhasa preferred Indian or Tibetan paper currency to coins.

***III.42. Mao, King. O.**: *History of Chinese Paper Currency*. Vol. I, Hongkong, 1968, pp. 167 - 196.

The 1, 5, 10, 50 and 100 Yuan notes of the Central Bank of China with overprint in Tibetan are described and illustrated. The author suggests that these notes were printed in Burma during the Second World War, probably in 1944 (p. 171).

***III.43. Muszynski, Maurice:** "Varieties of the Tibetan 50 Tam Note." In: *Bulletin of the International Banknote Society*, 1970, pp. 99 - 102.

Discusses some interesting variants of the multicoloured 50 Tam note. The tablets which contain the handwritten serial numbers were enlarged from originally 19 mm to 22,5 mm in length on later issues in order to accommodate the higher serial numbers. Most of the 50 Tam notes dated T.E. 1677 bear an additional red seal which was stamped on genuine banknotes after inspection which became necessary because false 50 Tam banknotes had been discovered in 1930.

III.44. Narbeth, Colin: "Tibet" In: *Coin & Medal News*. November 1987, pp. 71-72.

Brief introduction to Tibetan paper currency and a review of the publication *Tibetan Paper Currency* by B. N. Shrestha.

III.44a. Narbeth, Colin and Snorrason, Gylfi (Assisted by Wolfgang Bertsch, Nicholas Rhodes and B. N. Shrestha): *Catalogue of Tibetan Paper Money*, Published by Geoffrey Flack. Vancouver, Canada, 2001.

Includes colour illustrations of Tibetan banknotes and a detailed catalogue of all known dates and varieties along with their estimated collector's value.

III.45. Neame, Philip: "Tibet and the 1936 Lhasa Mission." In: *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. 26, 1939, p. 237.

"Near the plain of Lingma Thang, we passed the Government Mint, where Tibetan paper money used to be printed on hand-made willow-bark paper by power developed by a 'Health Robinson' water-wheel."

This work also contains a reference to Grva-bzhi mint (p. 41) and to a mint located between Yatung and Phari Dzong (p. 174).

III.46. Obojski, Robert: "The Coins and Currency of Tibet - The Forbidden Land." In: *Numismatic News*, Vol. 12, Nr. 11, 25th May 1964, pp. 9 - 10.

III.47. Ovchinnilov, Vsevolod: *The Road to Shambala*. Translated from Russian into English by Olga Fleshler. New World Press. Beijing, 1998, p. 31.

Visiting the market in Lhasa in 1955 the author observes: "(...) paper money was not in favour."

***III.48. Panish, Charles K.:** "Tibetan Paper Money." In: *Whitman Numismatic Journal*, Vol. 5, Nr. 8, August 1969, pp. 467 - 471 and Vol. 5, Nr. 9, September 1968, pp. 501 - 508.

This was the best work on Tibetan paper notes till 1987, when B.N. Shrestha's monograph appeared (cf. entry III.52) The issues for Sikang province with Tibetan script and the Central Bank of China issues with Tibetan overprint most probably never circulated in Tibet according to the author. All notes which were produced in Tibet are listed and the following notes are illustrated: 15 Tam (purple), serial nr. 12132, 50 Tam (blue), serial nr. ?, multicoloured 50 Tam dated T. E. 1675 and another one dated 1687, a 10 Srang dated T. E. 1692, and a 5, 25 and 100 Srang note. The date T.E. 1689 for the multicoloured 50 Tam note has been recorded by Panish, but could never been confirmed. Most probably he refers to a 1686 note the date of which was misread.

III.49. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Obscure System. The Dating of Tibetan Banknotes" In: *Coin & Medals News*, January, 1987, pp. 89-90.

See following entry.

III.50. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "The Dating of Tibetan Banknotes." In: *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XIII, no. 1, 1988, pp. 57-60.

The author solves definitively the problem of the dating on Tibetan banknotes and gives the conversion factor of Tibetan Era + 254 = A.D. - date.

III.51. Shakabpa, Wangchuk Deden, Tsepon: *Tibet. A Political History*. New Haven and London, 1967 (second printing 1973 and reissued by Potala Publications, New York in 1984), pp. 10 - 11.

The author states that the Tibetan Government introduced paper currency in 1890 and that Government-held gold reserves backed up the currency notes.

Comment: Since Shakabpa was Finance Secretary in independent Tibet his statements were taken as authoritative and some authors repeated the date 1890, as the year when the first Tibetan notes were issued. The first Tibetan banknotes of 5, 10, 15, 25 and 50 Tam to which Shakabpa refers, bear the date T.E. 1658 or 1659 (1912 or 1913 A.D.). Banknotes with earlier dates have never been discovered, nor are Tibetan banknotes mentioned by any foreigner who visited Tibet before 1912.

III.51a. Shakya, Tsering W.: "1948 Trade Mission to United Kingdom". In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol 15, no 4, winter 1990, pp 97-114.

p.98: "In 1947 the Tibetan government's grain and gold reserves were low, and there was also a need to introduce the circulation of paper currency. Therefore the need to develop Tibet's own gold reserves to back the currency in circulation became urgent. Tsarong Dzasa, Tshipon Shakabpa and Trungyinchemo Cawtang, who jointly administered the Trapchi mint, discussed the idea of purchasing gold from abroad.

III.52. Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan: *Tibetan Paper Currency*, Transatlantic Authors Ltd. St. Albans, Herts, 1987.

So far the most thorough work on Tibetan banknotes published in English, profusely illustrated with photocopies of notes from the author's collection which may be the best existing. The black seals are read for the first time, many details of the design of the notes are explained and, based on the recorded serial numbers of surviving notes, fairly exact figures of the total numbers printed of each denomination are given. The following rare early notes are illustrated: 1) 10 Tam (red), dated T.E. 1658, black and red seals missing, serial nr. 3600. 2) 10 Tam (red), dated 1659, serial nr. 16211. 3) 15 Tam (reddish violet), serial nr. 5654, 25 Tam, serial nr. 18180 and 50 Tam (blue), serial nr. 23346. Also a forged blue 50 Tam note and some forged Srang notes are illustrated. (cf. entry nr. III.44)

For a review of this book written by N.G. Rhodes see ONS Newsletter Nr. 109, November/December 1987.

(Abstract written by K. Gabrisch: The basic publication on Tibetan paper money with numerous photocopy-illustrations of notes from the author's collection. It also deals with forgeries and contains tables which allow the collector to identify any note, Tibetan number or letter which appear on notes.)

III.53. Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan and Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "The Earliest 10 Srang Tibetan Bank Note?" In: *International Banknote Society Journal*, Vol. 30, Nr. 3 (1991), pp. 20-21.

A so far unique 10 Srang note without serial numbers, dated T. E. 1686 is illustrated and the possibility of it being either a forgery or an early trial print is discussed.

III.54. Slobodnik, Martin: "Tibetské papierové platidla v hodnote 50 tam z r. 1926, 100 srang z. 1937, 5 a 10 srang z r. 1941. (Tibetan paper money with the nominal values 50

tam 1926, 100 srang 1937, 5 and 10 srang 1941)." In: *Numizmatika*. Journal of the Slovak Numismatic Society, Nr. 16, Bratislava, 1998, pp. 65-91.

Well researched, illustrated article in Slovakian language. Discusses the issue of Tibetan paper money in its historical and economic context and explains the seals and the iconographic elements found on the late 50 tam and the srang notes. The author gives a summary in English.

III.54a. Snorrason, Gylfi: *Tibetan 50 Tam Notes. A Study of the Different Dates, Seals and Obverse Printing Blocks and their Combinations as Found on Surviving Notes*. Privately published, n.p. (Akureyri, Iceland), 2001.

Based on multicoloured 50 Tam notes from his own collection and those of other collectors the author studies and illustrates variants of the printing blocks with which the legend in four lines and the denomination were printed on the obverse of the notes.

III.55. Surkhang, Wangchen Gelek: "Tibet: The Critical Years (Part III), <<The Regent Reting Rinpoche>>". In: *Tibet Journal*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 2, summer 1983, p. 36.

"During the Dalai Lama's reign, there was no paper currency worth more than 7 1/2 srang, but Regent Reting introduced a new paper currency worth 100 srang, and this tended to raise the price of every product."

(cf. the above quoted text from *Dhondup*)

III.56. Taring, Rinchen Dolma: *Daughter of Tibet*. Indian Reprint. New Delhi, 1978 (First published 1970), p. 107 - 108.

"Shortly after Tsarong's degradation from the Kashag, His Holiness set up a new government department, called the Trapchi Lekhung, to take care of the mint, the paper currency factory and the ammunition factory. (...) In 1925 two officials from the mint were sent to Calcutta to buy printing presses and learn how to use them. After a lot of paper currency had been printed Tsarong said that this was not good for the country and suggested that we should have a gold reserve. So every year three hundred small slabs of gold, each weighing twenty-seven tolas, were put away in the Potala. This gold was imported from India - along with silver and copper for the mint - because our own mining was not well developed."

III.57. Teichmann, Eric: *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet*. Cambridge, 1922, p. 14.

It is reported that in Chamdo and Batang in eastern Tibet Tibetan silver money and banknotes from Lhasa have driven out Chinese copper coins.

III.58. Tsung-Lien Shen and Shen-Chi Liu: *Tibet and the Tibetans*, New York, 1973, pp. 176-177.

A 10 Srang note, dated 1691 is illustrated. The red seal is identified as that of the Dalai Lama, while the black seal is of the Ka-Sha (cabinet).

III.59. Ya Hanzhang: *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, Beijing, 1991, pp. 233, 320, and 415.

Zhang Yintang's report on Tibet to the Board of Foreign affairs (1907) contained the suggestion to "take back the right to mint silver and copper coins and the right to print paper currencies. Set up banks to help with the circulation of money. These banks will be the sole institutions responsible for paying troops and government officials." (p. 233)

About 1925 a bank was set up, first managed by Phunkhang Kung and later concurrently by Tsarong Dzaza. "Also put in circulation were Tibetan monetary certificates in a number of denominations such as fifty tramka and one hundred tramka. These certificates could not be cashed, but their issues were kept below a ceiling, and each new issue required the withdrawal from circulation of the previous one". (p. 320).

The Tibetan Trade Mission which arrived in Washington in July 1948, hoped to obtain a loan of USD 8.000.000 to back the Tibetan currency. (p. 415)

Comment: This is the only reference from which one could deduce that paper money was already printed before 1912. But most probably "the right to print paper currencies" was not used by the Tibetans at that time (1907).

III.59a. Zou Damai: "Tibetan Paper Money with the largest Face Value." In: *China's Tibet. A Bimonthly of Tibetan News & Views*, Vol. 12, No. 6, Beijing 2001, p. 36.

This article was also published in Tibetan and Chinese language in the corresponding issues of *China's Tibet (krung go'i bod ljongs and Zhong-guo Xi-zang)*.

A brief historical survey of the Tibetan bank note issues, some remarks on the paper used for the notes and a table giving the number of 100 Srang notes which were issued between 1939 and 1959.

IIIA. Paper Money (Unpublished Material)

III.A.1. Bertsch, Wolfgang: *Rare Tibetan Banknotes. An Album of Early Tibetan Paper Currency with Colour Illustrations of Notes from the Collections of Alexander Lissanevitch, B.N. Shrestha, Colin Narbeth, Gylfi Snorrason, Nicholas Rhodes, Wesley Halpert, Wolfgang Bertsch, Völkerkundemuseum of Zürich University and Geldscheinmuseum of Hypo- und Vereinsbank, Munich.* Gundershausen (Germany), 1999.

This album includes 98 colour illustrations of rare 5, 10, 15, 25 and 50 Tam notes and gives a list recording the serial numbers and black seal types of all notes (excluding the multicoloured 50 Tam note) which are presently known to exist.

III.A.2. Bertsch, Wolfgang: *Rare Tibetan Banknotes. An Album of Early Tibetan Paper Currency with Colour Illustrations of Notes from the Collections of Alexander Lissanevitch, B.N. Shrestha, Colin Narbeth, Gylfi Snorrason, Nicholas Rhodes, Wesley Halpert, Wolfgang Bertsch, Völkerkundemuseum of Zürich University and Geldscheinmuseum of Hypo- und Vereinsbank, Munich.*

Supplement Including Illustrations of Further Notes from the Collections of B.N. Shrestha, Alexander Lisanevitch, Nicholas G. Rhodes and Gylfi Snorrason as well as three notes from the Museum of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. Gundershausen - Germany 2001.

Contains 15 black and white and 3 colour plates on which rare notes and one 10 Tam printing block are illustrated, all items not to be found in the original album.

III.A.3 Snorrason, Gylfi: *Tibetan Paper Money.* Varberg (Sweden), 1972.

Explains the dating system and gives a list of all known denominations with their different dates.

IV. Primitive Money

(Currency other than Coins and Paper money)

***IV.1. Aumann, G.:** *Primitives Geld - Vormünzliche Zahlungsmittel*. Erläuterungen zu den Schausammlungen des Naturwissenschaftlichen Museums Coburg. Coburg, n.d. (68 pp.)

German text. Includes a brief discussion of sycee silver with two photographs (pp. 59-61).

***IV.2. Baber, E. C.:** "Travels and Researches in Western China". In: *Royal Geographic Society, Supplementary Papers*. London, 1982.

Gives a good account of the tea trade.

IV.3. Bald, Claud: *Indian Tea. A Textbook on the Culture and Manufacture of Tea*. Fifth Edition. Thoroughly Revised and Partly Rewritten by C.J. Harrison. Thacker, Spink & Co. Calcutta, 1940 (first edition, 1933).

Brick tea is discussed on pp. 379-385.

IV.4. Borin, Françoise: *Le Tibet d'Alexandra David-Néel*. Plon. Paris, 1979.

Gives a quite detailed description of the tea bricks which are made in Yatchou. The bricks of best quality are about 20 to 30 centimeters long and less large. The second quality tea bricks are about double this size and the ones for the third quality still larger. The bricks are carried by porters in bamboo baskets to Tatsien lou, from where the bricks are transported to Tibet by yaks. For the markets in central Tibet the bricks are repacked in yak hides while those to be distributed in Eastern Tibet remain in their original bamboo packing.

IV.4.a. Chen Yishi and Chen Fanzhou: "A Survey of Export of Yunnan Tea for Tibet." In: *Tibet Studies. Journal of the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, Nr. 1, Lhasa, 1990, pp. 154-167.

Gives an account of the production in Yunnan of tea cakes for the Tibet trade; these have the shape of a heart.

P. 164: <<Seven cakes make up a "tong" (a section of thick bamboo), and eighteen "tong" a basket. Each basket contains 126 cakes of tea. Usually a pack animal can carry two baskets, with a total of about 105 to 110 jin (two jin = one kilogram).>>

<<The steaming and pressing methods in making Yunnan tea into cakes are similar to those for Sichuan brick tea. A cake of Yunnan tea consists of three layers of tea, different in quality, and the best quality of tea is on the surface, so its surface layer looks quite good. But the shortcoming of Yunnan *Jincha* is that the size and quality are not standardized.>>

IV.5. Combe, G. A.: *A Tibetan on Tibet. Being the Travels and Observations of Paul Sherap (Dorje Zödpä) of Tachienlu*. Reprint: Kathmandu 1975. First published: London 1926.

p. 143-144: "The staple trade is tea. It is brought from China in the form of bricks wrapped in basket-work packages and carried by coolies on the back, the usual load being nine packages of

seventeen catties each.*From Dartsendo the tea is distributed over Tibet in two ways. In the "small road busines" (hsiao lu) it is carried by yak to Litang and Jyekundo and places on this side of these towns, the tea being left in the original packages but wrapped loosely in yak skin. In this business the tea-brick is usually of very inferior quality. In the "big road business" (ta lu) the tea goes by yak caravan to Lhasa, the loads not being broken this side of Jyekundo. At Dartsendo the cost of a tea-brick such as is used in the Lhasa trade averages, for good and indifferent qualities, about Rs. 1 1/2; purchasing in large quantities for export it would work out at an average of R.1.†

*One carrier whom I passed on the road had on his back sixteen packages of eighteen catties each, = 374 1/2 lbs., but he was not travelling more than about seven miles a day. I am assured that, for such short distances, 28 stone is no uncommon weight, and that heavier loads are known.

† Money table: -	5 Karma (cents)	=	1 Pice
	6 Pice	=	1 Tranka, about 3 d.
	3 Trankas	=	1 Chinese Rupee, about 9 1/2 d.
	2 1/2 Rupees	=	Mex. \$1."

Comment: The first line in the Money table should probably read: 2 1/2 Karma (cents) = 1 Pice. (WB)

Gives a quite detailed description of the tea routes from Dartsendo (Kangding) to Lhasa, and of transportation costs and taxes to be paid by the tea merchants. Average selling price of a tea-brick in Lhasa is 6 rupees.

VI.5a. Flack, Geoffrey: *Tibet & The Himalayas. A Price List.* Vancouver, Canada, September 2001.

On page 2 a bronze (without clasp) and silver (with Gyantse bar) medal of the Younghusband Expedition 1903/04 are illustrated and described as Nr. S12 and S13.

IV.6. Cribb, Joe: "A Historical Survey of the Precious Metal Currencies of China". In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 149, 1979, pp. 185-209.

Mainly based on Chinese sources, this article deals with Chinese silver and gold ingots.

IV.7. Cribb, Joe: *A Catalogue of Sycee in the British Museum. Chinese Silver Currency Ingots c. 1750 - 1933.* British Museum Press, London, 1992 (366 pp. and 71 plates).

This is the best and most extensive English language work on this subject. Based on the extensive collection of sycee in the British museum, the author explains the production of ingots, their use, the Chinese names given to them and how to date the pieces. In the catalogue section 1300 specimens are listed with full transcriptions and translations of their legends. Most of the listed pieces are illustrated on 71 plates. Forgeries, hoards, metallurgy, paper sycee are discussed in appendices.

IV.7.a. Ekvall, Robert B.: *Fields on the Hoof. Nexus of Tibetan Nomadic Pastoralism.* Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1968.

p. 60: "Even when payment is not made in butter, the value of commodities and even currency are quoted in weight units of butter, for example, 2 pounds (Tibetan) for a square cloth, or 5 pounds of butter for a Chinese silver dollar. It is, indeed, a currency based on its own utilitarian value in the economy. In technology, at its oldest oilest stage, when no longer acceptable as food, it is the universally used tanning agent for softening all the hides used in making many artifacts of a pack-and-saddle existence, and for all the sheepskins used for clothing. In social relationships it is the preferred gift in the reciprocal attitudes and responsibilities created by the gift-exchange system: in religious observances it is the universally preferred offering, because it fuels the millions of butter lamps in Tibetan shrines and temples."

IV.8. Harler, C.R.: *The Culture and Marketing of Tea.* Second Edition (first edition, 1933). Oxford University Press. London, 1956 (Reprinted, 1958).

p. 61: "Brick tea is made in China for export to Mongolia, Tibet and Russia. Some years ago its preparation in India was seriously considered, but the project was not developed. Brick tea intended for Tibet consists of leaf, stalks and even twigs, whilst that for the Russian market is made mainly from tea dust and siftings. Both black and green teas are compressed into bricks.

In the modern factories at Hankow, which used to supply the Russian market, the carefully graded dusts are steamed in cotton bags and poured into wooden moulds in which the brick was formed by hydraulic pressure. The making of the poorer grade bricks for Tibet is largely in the hands of the Chinese. The leaf is steamed until it is moist and pliable and then rammed into wooden moulds, where it is left to dry and harden."

Further remarks on tea bricks are to be found on pp. 103 sqq. Tablets, made from tea dust, for the Russian market; bricks, made from leaves and stalks, for the Mongolian and Tibetan market.

***IV.9. Jordan, Reinhold:** "Ein Beitrag zum Teeziegelgeld". In: *Die Münze*, Vol. 6, No. 1-12, 1975, pp. 248-250.

A brief introduction to the use of tea bricks as currency. Reports that a sword is valued at three tea bricks, a horse at 20 tea bricks. With an illustration of what is most probably a modern tea brick, especially made for collectors.

IV.10. Jones, Schuyler (edited by Ida Nicolaisen) *Tibetan Nomads. Environment, Pastoral Economy and Material Culture*. Thames and Hudson. London, 1996.

p. 71: "In the 19th and early part of this century the tea consumed in Tibet arrived from China in the form of compressed bricks which were easily portable, each clearly marked with an indication of its quality, and each category being relatively uniform in size. Because of this certain of these tea bricks served as standard of value and were used as currency for purchases and in the settlement of debts."

These remarks on the use of tea bricks as currency are based on Desgodins and W. W. Rockhill.

***IV.11. Jussow, R.:** *Tibet*. VEB Bibliographisches Institut. Leipzig, 1953.

German text (translation from Russian). Tibet imported 6,500 tons of tea bricks annually, c. 4,000 of them via Kang-tib [sic] (p. 56).

IV.12. Kroha, Tyll: *Grosses Lexikon der Numismatik*. Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag. Gütersloh 1997.

German text. P. 460 "Teeziegelgeld [engl. Brick Tea Money], ein Naturalgeld in Form von flachen quaderförmigen, mit Hilfe eines Bindemittels ausserordentlich fest gepressten Platten von Teeblättern. Es wurde vor allem im südlichen China hergestellt. Als Geld wurde es bis in unser Jahrhundert verwendet, hauptsächlich in Tibet, aber auch bei nomadisierenden Völkern in Szetschuan sowie in einem breiten Gürtel Südsibiriens entlang der chinesischen Grenze. Es gab T. in verschiedenen Grossen und Gewichtskategorien. Chinesisches T. trug meist auf einer Seite eingeprägte Schriftzeichen, häufig Herstellernamen und Qualitätsangabe. Russisches T. wurde von verschiedenen Firmen sogar mit Wertangaben in Kopeken geprägt. T. stand wie andere vormünzliche Zahlungsmittel, in festen, wenn auch zeitweilig schwankenden Wertverhältnissen zu den Währungen von China und Russland. Es war ein echtes Nutzgeld, es konnte zerbrochen und als Tee genossen werden. Heute werden in Russland and China weiterhin Teeziegel hergestellt, aber nicht mehr als Zahlungsmittel, sondern nur noch für den Gebrauch."

A tea brick is illustrated showing a Chinese character (resembling "tien") which is pressed into it in incuse.

IV.13. Louis, J.A.H.: *The Gates of Tibet*. Vivek Publishing House. Reprint (original publication date is not mentioned). New Delhi 1972, pp. 10-12.

Some remarks on brick tea and its different qualities as well as its use as currency in Tibet. Partly based on a pamphlet on Chinese tea for Tibet, authored by Abbé Desgodins and printed by the Bengal Secretarial Press in the 1880's.

"There are 5 standards or qualities of brick-tea prepared for the Tibetan market, sorted according to the more or less perfect degree of fermentation and the greater or lesser admixture of wood with the leaves. The staple brick or 3rd standard called Guié-pa by the Tibetans and Pa-chang-kin by the Chinese is by far the most generally used in Tibet, not only as beverage, but as staple of trade and as the common money of traders, and it is therefore most important that tea of that quality should be made up of the exact weight."

IV.14. Opitz, Charles J.: *Odd & Curious Money. Descriptions and Values*. Second edition, Ocala, Florida, 1991 (First published in 1986).

Contains some remarks on and photographs of sycee (pp. 105-106) and a brief discussion of "tea money" with illustrations of examples from Mongolia, China and Burma.

IV.14a. Opitz Charles J.: *An Ethnographic Study of Traditional Money. A Definition of Money and Descriptions of Traditional Money*. First Impressions Printing, Inc., Ocala, Florida, 2000 (Includes *Price List of Traditional Money*).

Sycee is discussed with many illustrations on pp. 322-329. Tea Money on pp. 337-342 with many, mostly modern, examples illustrated. Deoganta (ceremonial bells) are mentioned as being used as money in Tibet (pp. 130-31).

IV.14b. Polo, Marco: *The Travels of Marco Polo*. Translated and with an introduction by Ronald Latham. Penguin Books Harmondsworth (U.K.), Baltimore (USA) and Ringwood (Australia), 1958.

p. 173: "The natives have no coinage and do not use the Khan's [Kublai Khan's] paper currency; but for money they use salt."

p. 176: "Let me tell you next about their money. They have gold in bars and weigh it out by *saggi*; and it is valued according to its weight. But they have no coined money bearing a stamp. For small change they do as follows. They have salt water from which they make salt by boiling it in pans. When they have boiled it for an hour, they let it solidify in moulds, forming blocks of the size of a twopenny loaf, flat below and rounded on top. when the blocks are ready, they are laid on heated stones beside the fire to dry and harden. On these blocks they set the Great Khan's stamp. And currency of this sort is made only by his agents. Eighty of these blocks are worth a *saggio* of gold. But traders come with these blocks to the people who live among the mountains in wild and out-of-the-way places and receive a *saggio* of gold for sixty, fifty, or forty blocks, according as the place is more isolated and cut off from cities and civilized people. Here the natives cannot dispose of their gold and other wares, such as musk, for want of purchasers. So they sell gold cheap, because they find it in rivers and lakes as you have heard. These traders travel all over the highlands of Tibet, where the salt money is also current. They make an immense profit, because the people use this salt in food as well as for buying the necessities of life; but in the cities they almost invariably use fragments of the blocks for food and spend the unbroken blocks."

The passage on p. 173 refers to eastern Tibet, the passage on p. 176 to the provinces of Kaindu (present day western Sichuan).

***IV.15. Quiggin, Alice Hingston:** *A Survey of Primitive Money. The Beginnings of Currency*. Reprint, London, 1978 (First published in 1949).

Notes on tea bricks used as currency between Tibet and China (pp. 222-223) and some remarks on silver ingots (p. 246).

***IV.16. Richter, H.:** "Silberbarren in der chinesischen Geldgeschichte". In: *Geld aus China*. Köln, 1982.

German text. A historical survey of sycee silver ingots with 4 photographs (pp. 54-63).

IV.17. Rijnhart, Susie Carson Dr.: *With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple*. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Edinburgh and London 1901.

p. 183: "The tea is the most important item in Tibetan culinary art, and any one who can make it to suit the fastidious is indeed clever. The tea used is the brick tea, made of coarse leaves and small twigs of the tea plant in China, pressed into bricks bound around by basket work, and sent up to the Tibetan border on the backs of coolies, and then into the interior of Tibet on the backs of oxen. There are three principal grades and the best grade goes in very large quantities to Lhasa."

The preparation of tea is also described (pp. 183-184). Short description of the "Ja-Lam" (tea road from Ta-chien-lu to Nagch'uk'a) on p. 271. Apparently the use of tea bricks as money is not mentioned.

IV.18. Rockhill, William Woodville: *The Land of the Lamas*. Reprint. Asian Educational Services. New Delhi and Madras, 1988 (First published in London, 1891).

pp. Detailed account of the tea trade in Ta-Chien-Lu and the different types of tea bricks. The author quotes extensively from the following pamphlet: Desgodins, father: *A Tea Trade with Thibet*. Published by the Bengal Secretariat in 1883.

IV.19. Roerich, George N.: *The Blue Annals*. Second Edition. Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi 1976 (First edition, Calcutta, 1949).

The use of gold and silver by weight, the basic unit being the srang, for payments in medieval Tibet is mentioned in various places (pp. 112, 927, 1026, 1027 and 1064).

***IV.20. Senior, Bob:** "Brick Tea Money". In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 72, 1964, p. 229.

Tea is manufactured in China, compressed into bricks of various sizes and sometimes stamped with a value that varies according to the quality of the tea.

***IV.21. Sigler, O. P.:** *Sycee Silver*. American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 99, 1943.

An informative booklet on sycee silver, with illustrations of 24 items.

***IV.22. Sigler, O. P.:** "Brick Tea Money". In: *The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1950, pp. 81-84.

The author discusses the size of tea bricks, weight, grades of tea used, machinery involved, processes, manufacturers, marketing and costs. The business flourished especially from 1875 to 1900. First in Mongolia, later in Tibet, the bricks assumed a value and were used in trade (at one time five tea bricks were equal to one ounce of silver). In the 1920's Russia became the principle importer though for food rather than as a medium of exchange. Since 1935 the business has noticeably declined.

IV.23. Werake, Kalvane Mudiyansele Mahinda: *Foreign Policy of Yuan Shih-k'ai with Special Emphasis on Tibet. 1912-1916*. Dissertation. Washington 1980.

Contains some remarks on the border trade at Tachienlu and the estimated amounts of brick tea imported by Tibet via this border town.

***IV.24. Witham, P.E.:** "China Tea and Trade Routes". In: *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, 1947, pp. 150-162.

The author gives important details on the tea trade: "Today brick tea goes principally to Tibet, Sinkiang and Manchuria; 1901 appears to have been the peak of brick-tea production. There was a big trade between Russia and China, but the Russian Revolution in 1917 killed that trade. It is

interesting to note that even to this day brick tea serves as a form of currency in Sinkiang and Mongolia. A caravan can be paid for in brick tea instead of in dollars."

IV.25. Wooton, "Notes on some Forms of Primitive Currency and Money." In: *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 558, December 1964.

Contains a brief discussion of brick-tea currency and its use in Siberia, Mongolia and Tibet. With illustration of a rectangular block from Russia and a round one from Yunnan.

V. Catalogues

V.1a. Beyer Erwin: *Important Provincial, Commercial and Military Banknotes of China.* Graftschaff, June 2001, Vol. II, p. 607.

The three notes with Tibetan overprints, issued by the Provincial Bank of Xikang, are listed, but not illustrated.

V.1. Bobba, Cesare: *Monete oro e scudi dal secolo XIX ai giorni nostri. Valutazioni e numero delle monete coniate.* Vol. II America, Africa, Asia, Oceania. Cesare Bobba Editore. Asti, 1969.

On pp. 617-618 a Tibetan gold coin of 15-52 date, a 1 Srang, 1st year Xuan Tong, a 1 Srang, dated 15-43 and a 10 Srang dated 16-24 are illustrated. Curiously, the place of minting of these coins is given as "Chengtu".

***V.2. Bruce II, Colin R., Deyell, John S., Rhodes, Nicholas G., Spengler, William F.:** *The Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money since 1566 AD.* Iola, Wisconsin, n.d. (1982).

Contains a listing of Tibetan and Nepalese coins and banknotes, which was the best available at the time of publication.

***V.3. Bruce II, Colin R.:** *Unusual World Coins. A Standard Catalog of World Coins. Companion Listing and Price Guide of Novel Non-circulating Coins.* Iola, Wisconsin, n.d. (ca. 1988), pp. 46-48 and 183-184.

Phantasies in the style of known sino-tibetan coins, phantasy coins related to Sichuan rupees and modern medallic issues struck by the Franklin Mint and the Royal Australian Mint are listed with illustrations.

***V.4. Craig, William D.:** *Coins of the World. 1750-1850.* Whitman Publishing Co. Racine, Wisconsin. 3rd edition, 1976 (First edition 1966).

***V.5. Davenport, John S.:** *The Dollars of Africa, Asia & Oceania.* Galesburg, Illinois, 1969.

As nrs. 311 and 312 Srang issues are listed, the first being of type Y 9, the second of type Y 12.

***V.6. Friedberg, Robert:** *Gold Coins of the World.* First Edition New York, 1958, p. 361.

Two different phantasies in the style of the Tibetan 20 Srang gold coin are illustrated. The second type shows the design of a pagoda on the reverse. This "pagoda" is most probably a Chinese character.

The listing of these phantasies was excluded from subsequent editions of this work. ●

V.7. Krause, Chester L., Mishler, Clifford and Bruce II, Colin R.: *Standard Catalog of World Coins,* 22nd edition, Iola 1994.

This well known publication, often referred to as the “bible” of coin collectors or as the “telephone book”, is edited on a yearly base since 1972.

Since the early 1990s this catalogue has been divided into three parts, one covering the 18th, one for the 19th and one for the 20th century (see following entries).

V.8. Krause, Chester L., Mishler, Clifford and Bruce II, Colin R.: *Standard Catalog of World Coins*. Deluxe ANA Centennial Edition in 2 Volumes. Iola, Wisconsin, 1991.

This catalogue covers the complete range of Tibetan coin issues from the 18th century early tangkas till the last issues of the 1950s.

V.9. Krause, Chester L., Mishler, Clifford and Bruce II, Colin R.: *Standard Catalog of World Coins 1701-1800*. 2nd Edition, Iola, Wisconsin, 1997.

V.10. Krause, Chester L., Mishler, Clifford and Bruce II, Colin R.: *Standard Catalog of World Coins. 19th Century. World Coin Listings and Value Guide. 1801-1900*. Iola, Wisconsin, 1997.

***V.11. Krause, Chester L., Mishler, Clifford and Bruce II, Colin R.:** *1998 Standard Catalog of World Coins. 1901-Present*. 25th edition, Iola, Wisconsin, 1997, pp. 1582-1589.

Apart from the 20th century coinage of Tibet which had been listed in previous editions of this standard work, several rare patterns and a grain token are listed for the first time.

V.12. Krause, Chester L. and Mishler, Clifford: *Standard Catalog of World Gold Coins*. Iola, Wisconsin, n.d. (so far three editions).

***V.13. Mitchiner, Michael:** “Non-Islamic States & Western Colonies AD 600-1979”. *Oriental Coins and their Values*. Vol. 3, Sanderstead and London, 1979, pp. 287-294.

A good survey of Tibetan coins, despite of some omissions, especially in the Sino-Tibetan series. The gold coinage is not mentioned. With illustrations of 74 items.

***V.14. Moschniagin, D. I. and Schuk, A. B.:** *Monety Stran Zarubieschnoi Azii i Afriki XIX-XX wieka (The Coins of Asia and Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries)*. Izdatelstvo, Moscow, 1967.

Russian text. 35 Tibetan coins are listed, 23 are illustrated. The catalogue lists a 2 1/2 Sichuan rupee: this dollar-sized coin is actually a phantasy.

V.15. Pick, Albert (editors: Shafer, Neil and Bruce II, Colin R.): *Standard Catalog of World Paper Money*, Vol. II, General Issues, 7th edition, Iola, 1994, pp. 271 - 272 and 1155 - 1156.

Similar listing to the one given in the “Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money from D.D. 1556” (entry nr. V.2), but with less illustrations and excluding the issues for Sikang. The 5, 10, 50 and 100 Yuan of the Central Bank of China (1936 A.D.) with Tibetan overprint are listed on pp. 271 - 272 with an illustration of the 10 Yuan note.

V.16. Pick, Albert (editors: Bruce II, Colin R. and Shafer, Neil): *Standard Catalog of World Paper money*, Vol. I, Specialized Issues, 7th edition, Iola, 1995, p. 339.

The half, 1 and 5 Yuan notes for the Sikang province are listed with illustrations of the first two values. All these notes have Tibetan and Chinese legends.

***V.17. Schön, Günter and Cartier, Jean-François:** *Weltmünzkatalog. 19. Jahrhundert (World Coin Catalogue, 19th Century)*, Battenberg Verlag. 11th edition, Augsburg, 1993.

***V.18. Schön, Günter:** *Weltmünzkatalog. 20. Jahrhundert (World Coin Catalogue, 20th Century)*, Battenberg Verlag, 5th edition, 1974.

Various further editions. The latest: 29th edition, Augsburg, 1997.

Various further editions. The latest: 29th edition, Augsburg, 1997.

V.19. Smith, Ward D. and Matravers, Brian: *Chinese Banknotes*, Menlo Park (California), 1970, pp. 70 - 71 and 100 - 101.

The 1, 5, 10, 50 and 100 Yuan notes issued in 1936 by the Central Bank of China and bearing overprints in Tibetan are listed with an illustration of the 10 Yuan note. Also listed are the 50 c. and 1 Yuan note of the Sikang Provincial Bank of 1939 with an illustration of the 50 c. note.

V.20. Yeoman, R.S.: *A Catalog of Modern World Coins*. Racine, Wisconsin, 9th edition, 1970. 12th edition, 1978.

VI. Selection of Auction and Sales Catalogues (Coins and Primitive Money)

VI.1. Baldwin's Auctions Ltd.: *Auction Nr. 9*, London, October 7th and 8th 1996.

Includes the George Blaker collection of Indo-greek, Kushan, Gupta, Nepal and Tibet coins.

Among the Tibetan coins (lot nr. 1453-1522) are three rare tangkas with Vartula script and two varieties of the "Sucakra Vijaya" Tangka.

***VI.2. Brilliant, Lawrence B.:** *Himalayan Numismatics. Tibet. Offer at Fixed Prices.* London, 1982.

Lists and illustrates numerous rare Tibetan coins and patterns.

VI.3. Brilliant, Lawrence B. and Girija E.: *Himalayan Numismatics.* Chelsea, Michigan, Spring 1983.

Numerous Tibetan coins are listed and illustrated. Among these are the following rare coins: Nr. 194-196: three early tangkas with eight times the syllable "dza" in Vartula script. Lot 197: Sucakra Vijaya tangka. Lot 226: copper token of 4 Liang, struck on a copper 5 Sho coin. The catalogue also includes Nepalese coins of the Licchavi, Malla and Saha dynasties.

VI.4. China Guardian Stamps and Coins: *1997 Spring Auctions*, Beijing, April 20, 1997.

Lot 1557 illustrates a half Sichuan rupee which is described as "Sichuan Guangxu 10c essay copper coin". The estimate RMB 46,000-50,000 is given.

VI.5. Christensen, Henry, Inc.: *Coins of the World.* Public and Mail Auction Sale. Hoboken, New Jersey, Nov. 30 to December 2, 1967.

Included are the following Sino-tibetan coins: Lot 2297: 1 sho, silver Hsien Feng, 3rd year. Lot 2298: 1/2 sho, silver, Hsien Feng 3rd year. Lot 2299: 1 sho, silver, Tung Chih, 2nd year. Lot 2300: 1 sho, silver, Kuang Hsu, 4th year. With illustrations, except lot 2298.

Comment: It is doubtful whether these coins are genuine.

VI.5a. Flack, Geoffrey: *Tibet & The Himalayas.* A Price List. Vancouver, Canada, September 2001.

On page 2 a bronze (without clasp) and silver (with Gyantse bar) medal of the Younghusband Expedition 1903/04 are illustrated and described as Nr. S12 and S13.

***VI.6. Frankfurter Münzhandlung: E. Button:** *Auktionskatalog 117.* Frankfurt, January 1970.

German text. A large group of Tibetan (lots 1995-2085) and Nepalese coins (lots 1914-1988) are included (with illustrations).

VI.7. Glendening & Co. Auctions: *Collection of Mrs. Elsie Spinner. Gold Coins of the Kushans, Guptas, Sultans of Delhi, Mughals, British India, Afghanistan, Persia, Burma Siam, China, Tibet, Central and South America.* London, 16-17th June, 1937.

Lot 265: Phantasy gold coin in the style of the 20 srang gold coin, but with obverse date 15-51 and a Chinese character in the centre of the reverse. Lot 266: Gold striking of Sichuan rupee.

***VI.8. Glendining & Co.:** *Catalogue of the Important Collection of Silver Coins of China and the Colony of Hongkong Formed by W. von Halle, Esq.* London, 24th November 1966.

Tibetan coins: lots 681-1001. Sycee: lots 1059-1064. Lot 985 is a 1/2 sho of Qian Long, dated 58, with erroneous Tibetan legend on reverse: "lu" instead of "lung" and brygad (eight) written with retrograde letters; this coin is most probably a forgery.

***VI.9. Joel L. Malter & Co. Auctions:** *Auction XXIV.* Encino, California, 25-27 March 1983.

Lots 542 and 543: Szechuan rupee and Szechuan 1/2 rupee in gold. With illustrations.

VI.10. Lepczyk, Joseph: *Auction # 53 in conjunction with the International Numismatic Society Spring Convention.* Arlington, Virginia, June 17-18, 1983.

Lot 1507: a 5 sho Y # 8. Lot 1307: 20 srang gold coin, dated 15-52 and lot 1308: 20 srang gold coin, dated 15-53. Lot 2341: Sucakra Vijaya tangka.

VI.11. Lepczyk, Joseph: *Auction # 59 in conjunction with the Middle Atlantic Numismatic Association Convention.* Philadelphia, October 12-13, 1984.

Lot 142: 20 Srang gold coin, dated 15-53. Lot 761: Early tangka with eight times the syllable "dza" in Vartula script. Lot 767: 1 sho pattern in brass, dated 16-1. Lot 769: 1 Srang, dated 15-48. Lot 768: 5 sho, Y # 32.

VI.12. Pacific Coast Auction Galleries, Inc. and Gillio Coins (Asia) Ltd.: *Public Auction and Mail Bid Sale Nr. 22,* Hong Kong, September 5 and 7, 1989.

A group of Tibetan coins from the collection of Kenneth R. Seachman is offered. Among these are the following rare coins: Lot 729: 20 Srang gold coin, dated 15-52, lot 730: 20 Srang gold coin, dated 15-53 and lot 731: gold coin, dated 15-54. Lot 731-A: a Sichuan rupee with the emperor's portrait on both sides (not being a brockage). Lot 736: 5 Sho, silver Y # 8. Lots 749 and 750: two 5 Sho silver coins of the type Y # 32.

VI.13. Quality Sales Corp. (Catalogued and sold by Abner Kreisberg and Jerry Cohen): *Male Bid Sale.* Beverly Hills, March 20th 1972.

Contains most of the Tibetan coins and Sichuan rupees of the Edward Kann collection.

VI.14. Raymond, Wayte: *Rarer Coins of the World.* Sale Number 394, New York, February 23rd and 24th, 1939.

Lot 335 is a 1 Srang coin dated 15-43, described as "double ruppe". This may be among the earliest appearances of this coin in a western auction.

VI.15. Schulman, Hans M.F.: *A Superb Offering of Coins... Catalog Nr. 26,* New York, 1946. 194 pp. illus.

p. 167: Lot P 618: large Wood Block for printing paper money, with many characters carved on face, in rows. Rare.

Lot KP 619: Bronze Bell Coin 1500 AD. Inscription. Rare.

Lot KP 620: Pilgrim Money. A most unusual specimen. Hand-made ornately hammered brass bottle or jug, 4 x 5" given to important travellers by head Lama, and symbolizing "Everlasting Sustenance." All Tibetans, no matter how humble or rich, were obliged to give help, food or lodging to bearer. Extremely rare. About 1600 [illustrated is a small bottle with inscription in six Lantsa script characters arranged in a circle like on a coin; certainly the object does not represent money (comment by compiler).]

***VI.16. Schulman, Hans M.F.:** *Primitive Money, Offers at fixed Prices.* New York 1967-1968.

Tea bricks: lots 160-162. Sycee: lots 73A-81 and 203.

V.17. Schulman, Hans M.F.: *Public Auction Sale. A selection from the Collection of José Toribio Medina of Proclamation Coins and Spanish-American Rarities and other consignments.* New York, March 19-21, 1968.

Lots 1342-1447. Among others, a large size Sichuan rupee phantasy in silver, a 1 Srang coin, dated 15-43 and a medallion issue with a portrait of the 14th Dalai Lama. With illustrations.

VI.18. Schulman, Hans M.F.: *Public Coin Auction. The Coin and Primitive Money Collection of the Estate of Howard D. Gibbs,* Pittsburg, Pa. Part I, New York, 6 - 8th Oct. 1970.

Lot 1060: Thin wood money 2 1/2 x 52". Long native inscr., ca. 1804. Very rare.

Lot 1061: Large bronze temple coin 1700-50, 6 inches high.

Both lots are listed as "Tibet". No illustrations.

VI.19. Schulman, Hans M.F.: *Public Coin Auction. The Coin and Primitive Money Collection of the Estate of Howard D. Gibbs,* Pittsburg, Part II "The Coins." New York, December 14 and 15, 1970.

Lots 1430 and 1431 are bronze and brass pieces described as sinkiang coins for use in Tibet. Lot 1430 has the Nepalese inscription "Shri shri shri Surendra Vikrama Saha Deva" on reverse. Both coins are probably phantasies. Lots 1517 and 1518 are two fantasy silver coins in the style of the early Sino-tibetan coinage.

***VI.20. Schulman Coins & Mint Inc. Auctions:** *Eduard Kann Collection. Coins of China and Japanese Coins, Odd & Curios from the H.D. Gibbs Collection.* Part V. Beverly Hills, 18-20 June 1971.

Sichuan rupees: lots 688-702.

***VI.21. Schulman Coins & Mint. Inc. Auctions:** *Chinese Antique Jade, Chinese Bronzes, Coins and World Primitive Monies - H. D. Gibbs Estate et al.* New York, 20-21 March 1972.

Tea brick money: lots 496-497, with illustrations.

VI.22. Schulman, Jacques.: *Auction Catalogue nr. 233,* Amsterdam, 28 - 31st March 1960.

Lot 1991 is a phantasy gold coin with obverse as the 1/4 Sichuan rupee and reverse design of five bats arranged around a central monogram. Lot 1992 is a gold coin in the style of the 20 Srang coins, but with the date 15-51 on obverse and a Chinese character in the centre of the reverse (similar to the coin illustrated in the first edition of Friedberg, *Gold Coins of the World*).

VI.23. Schulman, Jacques: *Collectie G.H. Crone. Collection Kortenbach. Auction Sale,* Amsterdam, 18-21 March, 1963.

Lot 2900: Sichuan 1/2 rupee in gold. Lot 2925: Phantasy in the style of the 20 Srang gold coin, but with date 15-51 on obverse and design of pagoda (Chinese character?) in the centre of the reverse.

VI.24. Semans, Scott: *The Daniel K.E. Ching Sale,* Long Beach (California), June 2nd 1991. Lot 1311-1346.

VI.25. Spink New York: *Ancient, Foreign and United States Coins and Banknotes.* New York, Monday 11 & Tuesday 12 December 2000.

The first part of this auction catalogue contains *The Halpert Collection of Tibetan and Nepalese Currency* and represents the largest group of Tibetan coins and banknotes which was offered in an auction sale to this date. Most of the coins are illustrated in black and white (some in colour) and all obverses of the rare banknotes are illustrated in colour and makes this catalogue one of the major references on Tibetan currency.

VI.26. Superior Galleries: *The Irving Goodman Collection of Chinese Coinage.* Beverly Hills, California, June 3rd and 4th 1991. Lots 710-742, 846, 1802-1918.

An important group of Nepalese and Tibetan coins as well as Sichuan rupees and their fractions. Among the most interesting coins are lot 1802 and 1901 (two varieties of the rare Lukuan rupee) and lot 1857 (the very rare tangka pattern, Qian Long, year 57).

VI.27. Stack's: *Catalogue of rare United States and Foreign Gold and Silver Coins.* New York, 4th and 5th June 1940.

Lot 747 is the 20 Srang gold coin, dated 15-54 (possibly a Chinese forgery). Lot 748 is a phantasy in the style of the 20 Srang gold coin, but dated 15-51 on obverse and showing a Chinese character in the centre of the reverse.

***VI.28. The Money Co. Auctions:** *Rare Coin Auction Number Four.* Tarzana, 15 January 1980.

Lot 192: the 1920 20 Srang silver coin is actually a trial strike of the well known Chinese forgery of the Tibetan gold coin.

***VI.29. The Money Co. Auctions:** *Rare Coin Auction Number Five.* Tarzana, 30 June 1980.

Tibetan Coins: lots 660-695. Lot 690 is the rare 1 Srang, dated 15-48 and lot 686 a Sucakra Vijaya tangka.

***VI.30. The Money Co. Auctions:** *Rare Coin Auction Number Eight.* Tarzana, 25 January 1981.

Lot 163: This 20 Srang pattern in silver is a forgery.

***VI.31. The Money Co. Auctions:** *Hong Kong International Coin Exposition. Rare Coin Auction.* Hong Kong, 25 September 1982.

Lot 214: a gold trial strike of the 2 1/2 Sichuan rupee - a fantasy.

VI.32. The Money Company: *Public Auction.* Hongkong, September 6 and 7, 1985.

Lot 1194 is the Tibet "silver cake" K # 1479. The obverse inscription is translated as "Tibet, 1 Tael", the reverse inscription as "Made in the Official Furnace" and "Valuable Coin of the Kuang Hsu (Regime)". The auctioneers state that this coin was produced in Tibet. Lots 1195 to 1209 are Sino Tibetan coins of Chien Lung, Chia Ching and Tao Kwang. Lots 1210 to 1227 are Sichuan rupees and Tibetan coins including a Sucakra Vijaya tangka (lot 1227). Almost all coins are illustrated.

VI.33. The Money Company: *Public Auction.* Hongkong, September 1986.

Lot 895: 1/2 sho Xien Feng, first year. Lot 896: 1/2 sho, Dao Guang, first year. Lot 897: 1/2 sho, Jia Jin, eight year (Reverse: Tibetan word for "eight" *brgyad* is written retrograde). These three coins are believed to be forgeries or phantasies.

VI.34. The Money Company: *Public Auction.* Hongkong, September 4 and 5, 1987.

Lots 391-393 are 5 Tam banknotes, lot 394 a 50 Tam note of T.E. 1687, lot 394 a 5 Srang note, lot 396 a 10 Srang note and lot 397 a 25 Srang note. Lot 419 is a half Sichuan rupee in gold, lot 479 a 20 Srang gold coin, dated 15-54, lot 775 a Sucakra Vijaya tangka, lot 778 an obverse brockage of

a copper shokang, lot 782 a cut Sichuan rupee with Chinese countermark, lot 786 a quarter Sichuan rupee struck in copper and lot 918 a Lama dollar K # B75. All banknotes and coins are illustrated.

VI.35. The Money Company: *20th Anniversary Special. Rare Coin Auction Nr. 20.* Mail Bid Auction. Tarzana, California, June 15, 1988.

Lot 870: A forgery of a rare 10 Tam pattern coin, having reversed auspicious emblems on the reverse.

VI.36. The Money Company: *Hong Kong International Coin Exposition Rare Coin Auction.* Hong Kong, May 19 and 20, 1989.

Lots 671 to 673 are gold strikings of the rupee, 1/2 rupee and 1/4 rupee of Sichuan. Lot 674: a gold phantasy in dollar size of the Sichuan rupee. Lot 678: 1/4 rupee of Sichuan, struck in copper, possibly a pattern. Tibetan coins: lots 679-697.

VII. Auction Catalogues (Paper Money)

VII.1 Brooks, R. J.: *I.B.N.S. Auction 55*, Racine, Wisconsin, Closing date December 31, 1998, pp. 74-75.

Lot nrs. 3713-3716 are notes issued by Tashi Dargas monastery in Eastern Tibet. Two notes are 1/2 rupee (sgor phyed) and two notes 1 rupee (sgor gcig). See also the section "Chinese Publications on Paper Money".

VII.1.a. Flack, Geoffrey: *Tibet & The Himalayas. A Price List*. Vancouver, Canada, May 2002.

On p. 9 a blue 50 tam note of the second block type, dated T.E. 1659, serial nr. 48069, is illustrated. Comment: This note is from a small hoard of early 50 tam notes which was discovered in Lhasa in the second half of 2001.

***VII.2. George Alevizos Auctions:** *Philatokyo 81. Public Auction No. 31*. Tokyo, 12-13 October 1981.

Lot 2099, with photograph: 50 Tam note blue, dated Tibetan Era 1659 (A.D. 1913).

VII.3. Spink & Son Ltd.: *Banknotes. Sale Nr. 1192*, London October 1 1998, lot 911 (pp. 70 and 156).

A violet 15 Tam note, serial number 6054, is described and the face of the note illustrated.

VII.4. Spink & Son Ltd.: *Banknotes. Sale Nr. 1205*, London, 30 September 1999, lot 716 (pp. 94 and 97).

A 50 Tam note, dated 1687, serial nr. 963773, is described and the face of the note is illustrated in colour.

VIII. Numismatic and General Bibliographies

Note: Many of the general bibliographies on Tibet record several titles on its monetary history, but not all have been listed here.

VIII.1. American Numismatic Society: *Numismatic Literature*. New York, since 1947/49.

This is a semiannual publication dedicated to recent numismatic literature published worldwide and occasionally records new titles on Tibet and neighbouring areas.

***VIII.2. Bowker, H.F.:** *A Numismatic Bibliography of the Far East. American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 101, New York, 1943.

Lists several articles and catalogues which contain references to Tibetan numismatics.

VIII.3. Bertsch, Wolfgang: *Chinese Chops - A Bibliographical Survey of Western Publications*. ONS Information Sheet no. 29. Llanfyllin, January 1998.

An enlarged version of this compilation was published in: *Chopmark News*, Vol. 6, nr. 3, Chula Vista, July 2000, pp. B-1 - B-24.

Presents extensive quotations from western literature on Chinese chops. The chopping of Tibetan coins hardly ever occurred and is mentioned only in two publications.

VIII.3a. Bertsch, Wolfgang: *Numismatic Literature on the Coins and Banknotes of Tibet*. Supplement to ONS Newsletter, no. 169, Autumn 2001.

Under "Western Literature on Coins Struck in Tibet." 103 titles are listed. Under the heading "Western Literature on Tibetan Paper Money." 38 items and under "Chinese Language Publications on the Coins struck in Tibet" 42 items are listed. Also two Chinese articles on Tibetan paper money and three publications in Tibetan Language on Tibetan numismatics are listed. Nearly all bibliographic data are accompanied by a short summary of the contents of the publications.

VIII.4. Clain-Stefanelli, Elvira: *Numismatic Bibliography*. Battenberg. München, 1984.

This is an expanded edition of the earlier work by the same author: *Select Numismatic Bibliography*, Washington D.C., 1965. It contains 5 titles on Tibetan coins and two on Tibetan paper money (pp. 1038-39 and 1165).

***VIII.5. Coole, A. B.:** *A Bibliography on Far Eastern Numismatology and a Coin Index. An Encyclopedia of Chinese Coins*. Vol. 1, Mission, Kansas, 1967.

An important work listing several articles on topics related to Tibetan numismatics.

VIII.6. International Numismatic Commission: *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1960-1965*.

VIII.7. International Numismatic Commission: *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1972-1977*. (Edited by R. Carson, P. Berghaus, N. Lowick.) Bern, 1979.

VIII.8. International Numismatic Commission: *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1978-1984* (Edited by M. Price, E. Besley, D. Mac Dowall, M. Jones and A. Oddy). Vol. I.: Ancient, Medieval and Modern Numismatics. Vol. II: Oriental Numismatics; Medals, Scientific Techniques in Numismatics. London, 1986.

VIII.9. International Numismatic Commission: *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1985-1990* (Edited by Toni Hackens et alia), Vol. II. Brussels, 1991, p. 723.

Briefly discusses some Chinese and Western publications on the coinage of Tibet.

VIII.10. Grierson, Philippe: *Bibliographie Numismatique*. Second edition, Bruxelles, 1979.

VIII.11. Hellrigl, Wolfgang and Gabrisch, Karl: *Tibet. A Philatelic and Numismatic Bibliography*. George Alevizos. Santa Monica, California, 1983.

The numismatic part of this work is divided into the following chapters: A) Coins, B) Paper Money, C) Medals, D) Primitive Money, E) Catalogues and F) Selected Auction Catalogues, with a total of about 320 numismatic entries. It forms the base of the present sourcebook.

For a brief review see: Anonymous: "Tibetan Stamps and Coins Bibliography." In: *Tibetan Bulletin*, Vol. 15, No. 2, Dharamsala, June-July 1984, p. 12.

A further review by Ronge Veronika: *The Journal of the Tibet Society*, Vol. 3, Bloomington, 1983, p. 49.

VIII.12. Kuløy, Hallward Kåre and Imaeda, Yoshiro: *Bibliography of Tibetan Studies*. Monograph Series of Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies. Vol. 2. Naritasan Shinshoji, 1986.

With more than 11,000 titles listed this is the most extensive bibliography on Tibet published so far. It includes publications in western languages as well as in Chinese and Japanese published up to 1975.

The listing is given alphabetically by authors. Unfortunately the bibliography does not include a subject index, hence its consultation is very time consuming.

VIII.13. Lindegger, Peter and Küng, Rosemarie: *Sachkatalog der Sekundärliteratur am Tibet-Institut Rikon/Zürich*, 1981.

This is the catalogue of the western literature in the library of the Tibetan Monastic Institute of Rikon (Switzerland). In section E 6 "Realia" one numismatic article on Tibetan paper money is listed.

VIII.14. Wang, Helen: "A selection of recent numismatic publications from the PR China." In: *ONS Newsletter*, nr. 149, Supplement, summer 1996.

Based on the holdings of Chinese numismatic literature collected by members of the Coin Department of the British Museum the author lists 70 numismatic works which have been published (in the form of books; articles are not listed) in China after 1982. An abstract has been added to each entry.

The following supplements were published by Helen Wang; these also include, abstracts of articles published in Chinese numismatic journals, especially those which appeared in *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, as well as numismatic news of China:

ONS Newsletter, no. 165, Autumn 2000, pp. 19-22; and *ONS Newsletter*, no. 167, Spring 2001, pp. 23-28.

IX. Chinese Language Publications on Coins and Related Subjects

Note: This compilation is based on a draft written by Karl Gabrisch which was subsequently revised and enlarged by Nicholas Rhodes and contains additions made by Wolfgang Bertsch.

Works listed with incomplete bibliographical details are either quoted as found in Chinese publications or the details were not available for other reasons. Publications which deal with coins only or with both paper money and coins are listed in section IX, while publications dealing exclusively with paper money are to be found in section IX A. Section IX B includes Chinese articles on the Hsi Hsia (Xi Xia) coinage.

The Chinese characters of older publications are transcribed according to the Wade Gile system, while the names of the authors and the titles of recent publications are transcribed using the Pinyin system as used in present day China.

A list of Chinese publications on Tibet, published from 1949 to 1995 which includes titles on trade, economy and currency of ancient and modern Tibet can be found in the following publications:

<Catalogue of Chinese Publications in Tibetan Studies> Compilation Committee: *Catalogue of Chinese Publications in Tibetan Studies (1949-1991)*. Foreign Languages Press. Beijing, 1994.

——: *Catalogue of Chinese Publications in Tibetan Studies (1992-1995)*. Foreign Languages Press. Beijing, 1997.

IX.1 Anonymous: *The Record of the Emperors decisions regarding relations with the Gorkhas (Guo Er Ka Ji Lue)*. Chapter XI & XIII.

Important primary source regarding the currency situation in 1792, and the first Tibetan coins of 1763/64 and 1785.

IX.2. Anonymous: *The Tibetan Annals (Wei Zhang Tong Zhi)* Vol. X (pp. 509-520).

IX.3. Anonymous: "The Currency System." In: *Research into the Social History of the Na-Xi Nationality (Na Xi Shi Hui Li Shi Diao Cha)*, Kunming, 1986, p. 163.

IX.4. Anonymous: (Numismatic Research Institute of the Institute of Finance of the Tibet Branch of the People's Bank of China): "Xi Zang He Ping Fang Qian Yin Zi Qian Bi Kai Kuang (Brief information on the Minting and Printing of Tibetan Money before the Peaceful Liberation)", in: *China Numismatics*, Nr. 28, Beijing, 1988.1, pp. 50-55.

IX.5. Anonymous: "Special Conference on the History of Tibetan Currency in Lhasa." In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Beijing, 1989.4, pp. 74-75.

General survey of recent research on Tibetan currency.

IX.6. Anonymous: (Numismatic Research Institute of the institute of Finance of the Tibet Branch of the People's Bank of China): "Xi Zang Di Fang Zhen Fu De Zhao Bi

Chang (The Mint of the Local Tibetan Government)". In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Nr. 22, Beijing, 1990.1, pp. 29-42.

The modern Tibetan mint *Grva-bzhi las khungs* was officially opened on 18 Nov. 1931 and replaced the earlier mints *Grva-bzhi* (founded in 1914 as machine factory) *Me khyim* (founded in 1917), *Luo-Dui* (founded in 1920) and *Dog-sde* (founded in 1922).

The article discusses the organization, the income of the mint and its departments located outside the main plant like a paper factory in Jing-Dong and banks in Shigatse and Gyantse. An account of the machinery used in the mint, also of the kind of paper money printed and the coins minted is given including figures for the amount of notes printed, the number of coins struck and the production techniques used.

In the early 1950s there existed a project in the mint to buy up Yuan Shikai dollars at the rate of 15 srang each, to melt them down and to recoin them as 25 and 50 srang low grade silver issues.

IX.7. Anonymous: "The Commemorative Coins for the Advance of the Army from Sichuan and Sikang to Tibet" (in the possession of E. Kann; Kann # 759). Chuan Kang Jiun Zhang Ji Nian Bi. In: *Qian Bi*, Nr. 26.

IX.8. Anonymous: *The Biography of 700 famous people of the Qing Dynasty. (Qing Dai Qi Bai Ming Ren Zhuan)* Vol. II, Military. The Biography of Er-Hui.

IX.9. Anonymous: (Article about the forgeries of the "Sichuan Rupee" in the Province of Gansu) *Qinghao Wenshi Zhiliao Wuanguan*, Xining 17 (1988), pp. 112-114.

IX.10. Anonymous: *Simple Coin Dictionary. (Jian Ming Qian Bi Ci Dian)* Shanghai, 1990, Chapter 3, Modern Silver and Copper Coins.

IX.11. Anonymous: *0058 Report to the Emperor from the Finance Department and the Home and Tax Ministry about the further striking of Tibet Dollars for use in the Frontier Region, from 29th day, 12th month of 31st year of Guang Xu* (Archive for Frontier Affairs, Volume IV).

IX.12. Anonymous: *0264 Complete Explanation of the Value of the Tibet Dollar with 3 Qian + 2 Fen, from the Finance Ministry and the Mints, from 9th day, 1st month of Xuan Tong 1st year*, (Archive of Frontier Affairs, Volume IV).

IX.13. Anonymous: *0303 Striking of Copper Dollars for the Region West of Kangding and the fixing of the Exchange Rate, from the 4th day, 4th month of Xuan Tong, 1st year*. (Archive of Frontier Affairs, Volume IV).

IX.14. Anonymous: *0464 Official Communication about the need for Tibet Dollars of 3 Qien + 2 Fen from 13.12.1909*. (Archive of Frontier Affairs, Volume IV).

IX.15. Anonymous: *0656 Official Communication about the exchange Rate between Tibet Dollars and Copper Dollars, 6th month, Xuan Tong year 2*. (Archive of Frontier Affairs, Volume IV).

IX.16. Anonymous: *0801 Report from Officials of the Salt and Grain Office on the accumulation of Copper Dollars and the resulting measures undertaken. 23rd day, 3rd month, Xuan Tong year 3*. (Archive of Frontier Affairs, Volume IV).

IX.17. Anonymous: *Chung Kuo Li Tai Huo Pi (Zhong Guo Li Dai Huo Bi Shi)* ("Currencies throughout Chinese History") Hsin Hua Publishing Company, Peking, 1982.

Chinese text. Four different silver fantasy coins of Tibet, including a Kang Hsi (1662-1722) half tael are listed and pictured.

IX.18. Bian Zhu: *Zhong Guo Yin Bi (Chinese Silver Coins)*. Beijing, 1994, pp. 1-23 and table 2.

Catalogue listing Tibetan silver coins and Sichuan rupees with prices in Chinese yuan, illustrated with rubbings and some plates, of which one is dedicated to Tibetan silver coins.

IX.18a. Cai Ning and Li Tong: *Zhong Guo Hui Zhang (Chinese Badges)*. Bai Hua Wen Yi Chu Ban Zhe (Hundred Flowers Literature Publishing House), 20001.

Seven badges with Tibetan inscriptions, produced after 1959, are illustrated and described (nrs 237, 324, 370, 371, 377, 391, 515).

IX.19. Cai Zhiyuan: “The Tibetan Qian-lung-bao-zhang Silver Coins (Xi Zhang De Qian Lung Bao Zhang Ying Bi),” In: (?), pp. 248-249.

Short note, pointing out that the Tibetan silver coins were the first silver coins to be issued in China.

IX.20. Cai Zichuen: “Short Description of the Tibetan Poststations during the Yuan Dynasty. (Yuan Dai Tu Fan Zhan Lue Shu)”. In: *Tibetan Studies*, Chengdu, 4, 1984, pp. 52-56.

IX.21. Cao Gang: *Zhong Guo Xi Zang Di Feng Huo Bi (Chinese Tibet's Regional Currency)*, Sichuan Minzi Chubanshe. Chengdu, 1999. (206 pp. illustrated).

Judging by the first part of the book which appears as well in English translation, the author tries to interpret Tibet's currency primarily as part of Tibet's economic and cultural history. Numismatically he hardly contributes anything to Tibet's currency history which is not known already from previous Chinese publications. As is usual with Chinese authors who write on this subject, he ignores the extensive Western numismatic literature on Tibet. A catalogue of major coins is given and the book has several colour plates of reasonable quality, unfortunately with some illustrations and legends being mismatched. Illustrations of two dies of rare patterns, one shokang die and one die for a 50 Srang issue featuring the Potala, are published for the first time. Most of the rare coins and banknotes which are illustrated are from the collection of the Lhasa Branch of the People's bank of China and were previously published by Zhu Jing zhong, Ci Ren Ping Cuo & Yan Lunzhang: *Introduction to the Tibetan Regional Currency (Yuan Xi Zhang Di Fang Qian Bi Gai Kuang)*. Institute for Financial Affairs of the People's Bank of China in Tibet. Lhasa, 1988.

IX.22. Chen De Pu: “Zhong Guo Gu Zhen Bi Da Chuan (A Survey of Ancient Precious Coins)”, Chengdu, 1995, pp. 155 and 178-182.

Contains a brief discussion of the Sichuan rupee and of the Tibetan silver coinage (illustrated with rubbings).

IX.22.a. Chen Jin Zhong: “Xi Zang De Ji Yu Yin Zhang” [Auspicious words on Tibetan seals]. In: *Tibetan Folklore*, July 1995, issue 3, pp. 15-17.

A Gaden tangka and a 5 srang note (nr. ka 028869) are illustrated and their legends are explained.

IX.23. Chen Wensheng: “Report of the Exhibition of Coins Given by Ma Dingxiang”. In: *The Numismatic World Bimonthly*, Taibei, Nov. 26, No. 6 (1990), pp. 34-37.

A 100 wen copper coin of Xikang, Yr 15 is described, as is a Sichuan rupee with no collar and vertical rosette. Both coins are described as scarce.

IX.24. Chen Yishi: “Lu Bi Qing Ying Kang Zhang Ji Qi Ying Xiang (The Penetration of the British Indian Rupee into Tibet and Xikang and the Consequences)”. In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Nr. 28, Beijing, 1990.1, pp. 43-50.

Detailed account of the circulation of British Indian rupees in Eastern Tibet.

IX.25. Chen Yishi: “Qingdai Xizang Yinbi Kao Lue (A brief investigation on the Qing period silver coins of Tibet)”. In: *Sichuan Wenwu* (Sichuan Cultural Relics) Chengdu 1985, Issue 2.

IX.26. Chen Xunzhou: (Article on the History of Trade in the Ngaba Prefecture [Amdo] between Chinese and Tibetans. In: *Zhong Guo Zang Xue*, 3, 1990, pp. 71-80.

IX.27. Chinese Numismatic World Bimonthly, No. 38, Taipei, March 1983.

On pp. 2-9 there are two articles on Tibetan coins with drawings (obv. and rev.) of seven Tibetan modern copper and silver coins.

***IX.28. Chiang, Chung Ch'uan:** *Chung kuo Yin Nieh Pi T'u Shuo (Illustrations of Chinese Gold, Silver and Nickel Coins)*, Shanghai, 1939 (257 pp.).

Chinese and English text. On pp. 11-18 Tibetan coins are listed with 17 drawings.

***IX.29. Chin'ting:** *Kuo-erh-k'o chi-lüeh (The Official Digest of the Records of the Gurkha Campaign)*. China, 1795.

A rare book containing the official documents of the campaign of 1791-92 in Tibet and Nepal. It contains the only mention of the first coins minted in Tibet: 1763 and 1764 A.D., by the Demochutuchta (leaves 11 and 12a), and 1785 A.D., with a higher silver content, by the 8th Dalai Lama (leaves 11 and 20). These mintages are completely unknown to numismatists. Unfortunately, these issues are neither described nor illustrated - we only know that the Tibetan issues did not differ greatly from their Nepalese prototypes. To the knowledge of the compiler (K. Gabrisch) these early Tibetan coins are not confirmed by any other Chinese source.

IX.30. Ci-ren Ping-cuo, Yan Lunzhang & Zhu Jinzhong: “The Study of Tibetan Currency and its Practical Meaning.” In: *A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Thesis (Zhong Guo Qian Bi Lun Wen Chi)*, Vol. II, Beijing, 1992, pp. 464-468.

General description of Tibetan currency. It is noted that a numismatic collection exists in the Institute for Financial Affairs of the People's Bank of China. This collection consists of 4000 items, including metal dies, and blocks for printing banknotes. Also there is an archive of some 200 documents.

IX.31. Ci-ren Ping-cuo and Zhu Jinzhong: “Xi Zhang Di Fang Jin Wan Zhou Bi De Xia Jan - Lun Bai Yin Wu Liang Tanga Bi (article on the silver tangka valued a 5 Srang)”. In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, 1997, issue 1 (nr. 56), pp. 28-29 and 36 and one plate.

With the help of a dated pair of dies of the so-called “monk-tangka (Y # 31)”, an undated drawing of this coin and other documentary evidence the authors establish that in the years 1953 and 1954 331292 pieces of this special tangka were struck, making it Tibet's last coin issue. The authors also publish a drawing of an apparently unissued Gaden Tangka of the same period, which could have served as alternative design for the monk tangka.

IX.32. Ding Jin Jun: (article in which a document referring to the issue of silver coins for Tibet during the late Qian Long period is published). In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Beijing 1995, 3rd issue (nr. 50), pp. 23-25.

IX.32.a. Ding Jin Jun: “When were the first Sichuan rupees of the late Qing cast?” In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)* Beijing 2000, fourth issue (nr. 71), pp. 7-9.

The author outlines the arrival of British merchants in Tibet, their promotion of Indian rupees in Tibet (welcomed by Tibetans who liked silver coins) to the extent that they threatened existing currency systems. To fight back, the Chinese made silver coins at Chengdu and put them into circulation west of Daqianlu. The author presents the conflicting accounts in different references, and concludes that the Sichuan silver coins were made between 1905-7.

This abstract was published by Helen Wang, "Zhonggu Qianbi/China Numismatics-Summary of Contents. Issues 70 (2000/3) and 71 (2000/4)." In: ONS NL, nr. 167, Spring 2001, p. 26.

IX.33. Dong Wenchao: *An Overview of China's Gold & Silver Coins of Past Ages - the Gold and Silver Coins and Medals of Modern China.* Beijing, 1992. pp. 69-70 (gold coins); pp. 139-165 (Qing Dynasty silver coins); pp. 627-638 (Republic of China Period, silver coins).

An impressive book, with bilingual text, Chinese and English. Of particular interest are the 5 Fen of Jia Qing Year 1 (no.142), the base anepigraphic copy of Ranajit Malla, apparently with number "45" (no. 127), and the 1951 patterns (nos. 1406-09).

IX.34. Feng Mingxin: "The History of Currency Circulation in the Province of Xikang and Tibet." In: *Business in Xikang* (Quarterly), Vol. 9 (Date ? - probably before 1945)

IX.35. Fong Chen Yuan: "Wo Go Cui Zhao Kao Yu Rin Zhang De Yin Bi." In: *Jiyou Bolan.* Beijing 9.1997, p. 38.

Short article on the Sichuan Rupee.

IX.36. Fong Hanyong: "Research on the Trade Route from Sichuan across Tibet to India during the Tang Dynasty. (Tang Dai Xi Su Jing Tu Fan Tong Zu Lu Xian Kao)". In: *Tibetan Studies*, 4 (1985), pp. 77-81.

IX.37. Fu Songxia: *1031 The Issue of Copper Coins Zhi-qian and their Exchange Rate. 6th day, 8th month, Xuan Tong year 3.* Archive for Frontier Affairs, Volume IV.

IX.38. Fu Zhenlun: "Xi Zang Yin Bi Kao (Discussion of Tibetan Silver Coins)." In: *Yugong*, Vol. VI, Nr. 12 (1937), pp. 83-88.

A detailed account of the introduction of silver coins in Qian Long Yr. 57, based on imperial records, together with an account of the introduction of the Sichuan rupee.

IX.39. Gao Wen & Yuan Yugao: *Illustrations of the Historical Copper Coins in the Province of Sichuan.* Sichuan University Press, Chengdu 1988, p. 34-35.

Three varieties of the Lion Cash of Sichuan, and the 100 wen of Xikang (Year 15, year 19, copper, and year 19, brass) are described and illustrated.

IX.41. He Juefei & Lin Chao: *Historical Poems about Xikang.* Lhasa, 1988. Appendix "Currencies of Xikang".

Description of the use of the Sichuan rupees, including cut pieces, silver ingots, silver coins from Yunnan and paper money in Xikang province during the early years of the Republic, up to about 1940.

IX.42. Hua Guangpu (chief editor): *Catalogue of the Chinese Copper Dollar (Zhong Guo Tong Yuan Mu Lu).* Hunan Printing (*Hunan Chubanshe*), Changsha, 1992.

On p. 104, three lion cash (5 fen) of Sichuan are illustrated, and on pp. 212-215 various copper coins are listed, including two fantasy pieces - one silver Qian Long type with pagoda, and a 15-43 7.5 sKar with portrait in centre.

IX.43. Huang Kangxian: "The Tea-Trade between Sichuan and Tibet during the Qing Dynasty. (Qing Ji Si Chuan Yi Xi Zhang Xi Zhang Jian De Ca Ye Mao Yi)" In: (?), pp. 38-51.

A detailed account of the tea-trade, well documented from European and other sources, with references to the use of silver rupees.

***IX.44. Huang Peng Hsiao:** *Ku Kung Ch'ien P'u (Old Ching Coin Catalogue).* Peking 1937.

Chinese text. The Sino-Tibetan Hsien Feng issues are “samples”, perhaps “genuine patterns”, made in China for Imperial inspection.

IX.45. Huey-Shinn, Jang: *Catalog of Chinese Coins*, Taipei, 1994, pp. 158-160 and 322-355.

Contains a quite extensive listing (with line drawings or photographs) of Tibetan silver coins and of Sichuan rupees.

IX.46. Kang Liusuo: “Gan Nan Zan Qui Jing Dai Huo Bi Liu Tong (A Survey of Money Circulation in the Tibetan areas of South Gansu).” In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Beijing, 1990.1, pp. 37-42.

Much detailed and useful information on the use of coins in north-eastern Tibet, including prices of commodities and the use of paper money during the 1920's and 1930's.

IX.47. Lang Sa: “Xizang Yinbi Kao (Research on Tibetan Silver Coins)”. In: *Lhasa He*, 1994.1(Nr. 11) pp. 62-64.

Description (no illustrations) of various Tibetan silver coins, including the 1763 issue, the 13-45 coin described as struck in Jue Mu Ka Gou in the Gongbu region and the 50 srang coin with the view of the Potala. Some interesting comments.

IX.48. Li Dongyuan: “Textual Research into Tibetan Money”. (From: *Research on the History of the Post and Currency of Tibet*). Taipei, 1959.

A light-weight book, with information mainly derived from Kann: One unusual silver coin, probably a fantasy piece of Jia Qing, is illustrated opposite p. 48. This coin is not known from other sources.

IX.49. Li Feng: “An attempt to analyse the historical background behind the minting by Tibet of its own coinage”. In: *Min Zu Yan Jing*, 1992.2, pp. 85-87.

IX.50. Lian Yu: see book by Fu Fengpei (editor), which publishes the Imperial reports of Lian Yu.

IX.51. Li Jia Kui: (title?), In: *Anhui Qianbi* (Anhui Numismatics), 1996, third issue, p. 47. Short article on the Sichuan rupee and its fractions.

IX.52. Liu Dayou: (Article on the Forgeries of the Sichuan Rupee in the Province of Gansu) In: *Qinghai Wenshi Ziliao Xuanquan*, Nr. 17 (1988), pp. 112-114.

IX.53. Liu Jun: (Article on the History of Trade in Kham from 1911 to 1949) In: *Zhong Guo Zang Xue*, 3 (1990), pp. 63-70.

Includes comments on the number of Sichuan rupees issued, and their use.

IX.54. Liu Yuan: “Amusing Anecdotes about Tibetan Money.” In: *Xue Yi Wen Hua (gang ljongs rig gnas [Tibetan Culture])*, Vol. 19, Nr. 3, Autumn 1993, p. 50.

Brief comments on the 3 Srang silver coin of 1932/33, called “black money” after the 13th Dalai Lama had died, and about the cutting of Nepalese coins in Tibet.

IX.55. Lu Rongquan: “The important witness of the unified China in politics”. In: *Wuxi Qianbi (Wuxi Numismatics)* 1991, second issue, pp. 38-44.

An introduction to the coinage of Tibet with 30 rubbings of Tibetan coins, Indian and Sichuan rupees and Nepalese mohars.

IX.56. Ma Ding Xiang: “Tibetan Silver Coins Struck in the first year of the Republic of China. (Ming Guo Yuan Nian Xi Zhang Bi)”. In: *Qian Bi*, Nr. 30.

IX.57. Ma Ding Xiang (edited by Ma Chuan De and Xu Yuani): *Catalogue of Xien Feng Currencies*. Shanghai 1994, pp. 1025-26 and 1047-48.

This important work gives a brief description and illustrations of the sino-tibetan 1/2 Sho and 1 Sho, dated year 1, and of the 1/2 Sho and 1 Sho, dated year 3, struck in silver in the name of Xien Feng. (all these issues are believed to be fantasies)

IX.58. Ma Fei Hai (general editor): *The Great Series of Chinese Money (Zhong Guo Li Dai Huo Bi Da Xi)*. Vol. 8, Silver Ingots and Copper Dollars of the late Qing and Republic. Shanghai, 1998.

One of the most comprehensive listing of Tibet's gold (p. 251), silver (pp. 370-384) and copper (pp. 792-800) coins, including some rare patterns. The Lukuan rupee (p. 526) and the Sichuan rupees (pp. 527-529) are also included. All coins are illustrated.

IX.59. Ma Xiang: The Earliest Silver Coins with a portrait in China. (Zhong Guo Zhui Zhao Yao Ren Wu Tu Xiang De Ying Bi). Place and date (?)

IX.60. Mu Yuan: "A Brief Discussion on the Pul Coin System of Southern Xinjiang in the Early Qing Dynasty." In: *A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Thesis*, Vol. II, Beijing 1992, pp. 361-369.

IX.61. Peng Xingwei: *Chinese Numismatic History (Zhong Guo Huo Bi Shi)*, Chapter VIII: The Currency of the Qing Dynasty. Extract I - The Currency System. Part IV; Gold and Silver Coins (pp. 784-5, 799, Footnotes p. 802, Plate 97).

The following English translation of this important work has been published: Translated by Edward H. Kaplan. *A Monetary History of China*, 2 Volumes. Western Washington University 1993.

IX.62. Qian Jie: "Xi Zhang Qian Bi. Bian Shi. (Tibetan Coinage)" In: *Qianbi Bolan*, Shanghai, 1996, first issue, pp. 15-19 and 1996, third issue, pp. 25-28 and p. 15.

Article in two parts introducing the coinage of Tibet with explanations of the coin legends and some design details, illustrated with many rubbings.

IX.63. Qian Jie: "Man Hua Si Chuan Ru Pie (A Discussion on the Sichuan Rupee)". In: *Qianbi Bolan*, Shanghai 1994, 4th issue, p. 25.

Illustrated is a Lukaun rupee, a British Indian Victoria rupee and three Sichuan rupees, one of the latter with the emperor's bust facing right.

IX.64. Qian Yu: "The Coin Inscriptions on the Tibetan Coins struck during the Qing Dynasty. (Qing Dai Xi Zhang Ying Bi De Bi Wen)" In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, No. 26, 1989.3, pp. 66-71 and p. 50.

IX. 65. Qiu En Da: *Gu Dai Pai Yong*. Tianjin, 1988, p. 231-232.

Rubbings of three silver sho coins of Qian Long, dated year 58, 59 and 60 are to be found along with some comments.

IX.66. Qiu Sida: *Illustrated Exhibition of Chinese Coins*. (Zhong Guo Jin Xian Dai Zhou Bi Tu Shuo). Beijing 1991, pp. 213-218.

IX.67. Shanghai Museum: *Machine Minted Coins of the Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China (Qing Dai Mia Gua Ji Zhi Bi)*. *Coins in the Collection of the Shanghai Museum (Shang Hai Bo Wu Guan Zang Qian Bi)*, Shanghai, 1995, pp. 13-21; 158-160 and 442-445.

Tibetan silver and copper coins as well as Sichuan rupees are illustrated. The most unusual coins illustrated are a 1/2 Sho (or 3/4 Sho?) of Jia Qing, year 1 (nr. 43) and a sho of Qia Jing, year 8 which shows the Tibetan word for "eight" (brgyad) spelt with a reversed character for "brgya" (nr. 44).

IX.68. Sheng Guanxi: "On Old Coins (Gu Qian Zha Tan)". In: *Numismatic World Bimonthly*, Taipei, 5 Sept. 1990 (15), pp. 213-218.

Very general description of old Tibetan coins and currency system. Mention is made of the Kong-par tamka dated 13-46 being struck at *Jue-Mu-Zong-Ka-Go* in Gong-bu District.

IX.69. Shi Jiagan: *Modern coins of China*, Shanghai, June 1949, pp. 22-28.

Important coins are the 5 Fen of Jia Qing Yr. 3, C1-8 and the Lu Kuan Silver Coin C1-35. The former has never reappeared, while the latter was again published by E. Kann, and is now in the collection of N.G. Rhodes.

IX.70. Sun Zhonghui: *Old Coins (Guo Xian)*. Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. Shanghai, 1990, Chapter 85 (pp. 187-188).

Some Tibetan Silver Coins are illustrated.

IX.71. Tang Guoyuan, Lei Jinming & Lun Bingjun: *Historical Currencies of Yunnan. (Yun Nan Li Shi Huo Bi)*, Kunming, 1989.

Chapter II discusses and illustrates cowries, (pp. 11-15). The book contains illustrations of 20th century Tibetan silver (p. 269) and copper coins (p. 274) which circulated in Yunnan.

IX.72. Tang Yu-kun Xi-yuan of Shanying: *A Study of One Cash Pieces (Jih Qian Tung Kao)*, 1852. Nos. 333-335.

Interesting, but probably fantasy, copper cash of Qian Long of three different sizes are illustrated, and their background explained.

***IX.73. Tong-Yuan, Li:** *Hsi-tsang yu pi kao (A Study of Tibetan Stamps and Currency)*. Taipei 1959 (228 pp.).

A detailed description of Nepalese and Chinese issues on behalf of Tibet (mainly based on Kann's catalogue) and coins of autonomous Tibet. The author mentions a unique coin, perhaps a pattern, of Jia Qing, held by the Chinese National Museum at Taipei. It is a Sino-Tibetan issue well defined as a coin for cutting, diameter 34-38 mm, thickness 1 mm (photo 34 on p. 48). The author gives detailed information on the mintage of the Sichuan rupee and on the rate of exchange, between Chinese and Tibetan money at the Chinese border, in the 1930's. A short chapter on banknotes includes different Chinese issues with overprints in Tibetan script and currency notes of autonomous Tibet.

IX.74. Wang Chengzhi: "Tibetan Silver Coins of the Sichuan Province. (Si Chuan Zhang Yang)". In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, 1983.3, pp. 12-18, plate 54.

Important article on Sichuan rupees. The "Lu Guan" rupee is said to have been issued by the district Governor, Liu Tingshu at Kangding between 25th and 27th year of Guang Xu (1899-1901), and immediately preceded the Sichuan rupee, but this is a supposition, because the documents regarding the issue of this coin have not yet been located. The 1/2 rupee was struck in 1904, 1905, 1907 & 1912, while the 1/4 rupee was struck only in 1904, 1905 & 1912. Countermarked coins were issued by the "Procurement committee", set up in the Li-tang Monastery. The Kanding mint was opened on 4 May 1930, and 4000 rupees could be struck there each day, until it closed in 1942; this mint is described in some detail. In 1918, a banknote was issued with the image and value of a Sichuan rupee, rose-red in colour, and the size of two matchboxes - 300,000 were issued. Then in 1937 a further small issue of 1 Yuan notes was made. 9853 pieces were issued, but of these only 128 pieces were not ultimately withdrawn. The third banknote series was issued over 2 years, 1939 to 1941 - 1/2, 1 & 5 yuan notes, to a total value of 21 million yuan.

IX.75. Wang Haiyan: "The Cut Nepalese Silver Coins Circulated During the Qing Dynasty". In: *Wen Wu*, 1985.11, pp. 92-95.

A number of cut coins are illustrated, the value they represented is explained and the way they were used described.

IX.76. Wang Haiyan: “The Two Earliest Coins Struck by the Local Tibetan Government. (Xi Zhang Di Fang Zhen Fu Di Liang Ci Zhao Qi Zhu Bi)”. In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, No. 28, 1990.1, pp. 27-28.

First publication in China of the first coins struck in Tibet in the 28/29th and 50th years of Qian Long, using the source materials from the Guo-erh-ka Ji-lue.

IX.77. Wang Haiyan: “The New 1 Qian Copper Coins of Tibet”. In: *A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses*, Vol. II, Beijing 1992, pp. 405-416.

Die varieties of the copper 1 Sho coin dated 16-6 to 16-12 are described, and the interesting comment is made that between 1938 and 1946, coins were struck bearing earlier dates, but these late productions were thinner and lighter. No further method of identifying these later productions is proposed.

IX.78. Wang Haiyan: “Tibetan Local Currency in the History.” In: *Xue Yi Wen Hua (Gang ljongs rig gnas [Tibetan Culture])*, Vol. 1, Nr. 12, Beijing, Spring 1991, pp. 23-25 and plate opposite p. 32.

Article giving an introduction to the coinage and paper money of Tibet and illustrating some sino-tibetan silver coins and a rare 15 Tam note with the serial nr. 14248.

IX. 79. Wang Haiyan: “The Tibetan 50 Srang Silver and Copper Coin (Xi Zang Wu Shi Liang Yin Bi Zhe Zhi Tong Yuan Bi)”. In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, 1995.4, pp. 39.

Illustrates and discusses a rare 50 Srang pattern, dated “rab lo 925” and “spyi lo 1951”.

IX.80. Wang Weimao: “About the Tibetan ‘Shang Gang Guo Mu’ Silver Coins (Lue Shu Xi Zang Shang Gang Guo Mu Ying Bi)”. *Hong Kong Numismatic Society*, Aug. 1991, pp. 25-26.

The 1 Srang coins, Y. 9 & Y.12 are briefly described. It is noted that they are of fine silver (96%), and only 80 pieces could be made per day at “Za-Ci” mint using machines brought from central China. Hence with an issue period of about 8 months, the total production was only about 15,000 pieces.

IX.81. Wang Yongsheng: “Research on the Dzungar Pul Coins (Zhun Ga Er Pu Er Qian Kao)”. In: *China Numismatics, (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, No. 28, 1990.1, pp. 18-22.

Important article on the Dzungar copper pul struck in Yarkand, which circulated from c. 1700 to 1760. Reference is also made to the Dzungar invasion of Tibet by Tsewang Rabten in 1716.

IX.82. Wu Fengpei (chief editor): *Lian Yu's Reports to the Emperor from Tibet*. Lhasa, 1979. Vol. I, p. 18 “About Coinage”, and Vol. II, Chapter 33, pp. 111-112. Report on currency dated 20th day, 2nd month, Xuan Tong 2nd year.

Mentions that the Tibetan mint north of Lhasa, which uses water power, has been closed, and requests permission to use the building as a base to establish a Chinese mint.

IX.83. Xiao Huaiyuan: “The Issue and Circulation of the Tibetan Local Coinage (Xi Zhang Di Fang Huo Bi De Fa Xing Yu Liu Tong)”. In: *Tibetan Studies*, Chengdu, 1983, Nr. 2, pp. 16-25.

IX.84. Xiao Huaiyuan: *The History of Coinage of Tibet (Xizung Difeng Huobishi)*, Beijing, 1987.

An important, illustrated 140 page book about the coins and banknotes of Tibet, with much information, partly based on Tibetan archives and not found elsewhere.

IX.85. Xu Shu, Chen Han Yan and Xu Lei: *Yin Bi De Shou Cang Yu Jian Ding*. Beijing, 1993, pp. 29-31, 46-47, 132-144 and 272-274.

Catalogue on Chinese silver coins including notes on the Sichuan rupee and on Tibetan silver coins with photographs and rubbings.

IX.86. Xu Weiyi: "The Tibetan 'Se Zhang Guo Mu' Gold Coins". In: *Tibetan Culture*, Vol. 16, Nr. 4, Winter 1993, p. 34-35.

IX.87. Yan Lunzhang: "Different Meanings on the article written by Zhang Hueixin (Mr. Kuizing?) <<Translation of Tibetan Inscription on Tibetan Silver Coins>> (Zhang Zi Hui Xing Xian Seng <<Xi Zhang Ji Zhu Ying Bi Zhang Wen Han Yi>> Shang Que)". In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, 1987.3, p. 78.

IX.88. Yan Peng: "The Tibetan Money during the Qing Dynasty. Measures for the Defence of Tibetan Sovereignty." Newspaper Article, Beijing, n.d., pp. 31-34.

IX.89. Yang Wencao: "On the Silver Coins struck in Tibet during the Qing Dynasty (Guan Yu Qing Chao Xi Zang Ming Jian He Di Fang Zi Zhi Ying Yi Yi)" In: *Suzhou Numismatics*, 1990, No. 6, p. 38.

Insignificant article, describing the Kong-par Tamka.

IX.90. Yuan Yugao: *The Catalogue of Emblems between 1900-1965 in Sichuan Province, China (Si Chuan Jin Xian Dai Hui Zhang Ji)*. Sichuan University Press. Chengdu 1991, pp. 15-16 and p. 154.

Some medals (decorations) with Tibetan and Chinese legends are described and illustrated.

IX.91. Yu Hongbing: "Who Struck the Lion Copper Coins?". In: *Suzhou Numismatics*, 1992, No. 8, pp. 25-26.

IX.91a. Yuan Zhe: *Zhong Guo Yin Bi Mu Lu (Catalogue of Chinese Silver Coins)*. Nei Meng Gu Ren Min Chu Ban Zhe (Inner Mongolian Publishing House), 1999.

Tibetan silver coins are illustrated on pp. 49-69, Sichuan rupees on pp. 113-115.

The silver and copper coins with lion were struck by Ying Changheng for use in the military expedition to Tibet in 1912. They only circulated in the border area between Sichuan and Tibet, but were based on the currency system of Tibet, not that of Sichuan.

IX.92. Yue Shi: "Is the Sichuan Rupee with the Countermark Jun-Yong-Ping for Military Use? (Si-chuan Lu Bi Jia Gai Jun Yong Ping Ying Bi Bian)". In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, No. 28, 1990.1, p. 74.

A countermarked Sichuan rupee is attributed to the Li Tang Monastery, and it was not produced for military use, as has been previously suggested.

IX.92.a. Zeng Shaomin and Zeng Hong: "The tibetan silver coin and the currency war between China and Britain." In *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, 4th issue, 2000, pp. 3-7.

The authors consider that in the early 20th century, silver coins were made in Sichuan to resist the Indian rupee aggressively promoted in China by British trading interests in Tibet following the Sino-British treaties concerning Tibet in 1890, 1893. (1) British aggression: the over-valued Indian rupee was used exploitatively to gain silver and raw material in this undeveloped region; (2) Chinese retaliation: coins made in Sichuan to resist Indian rupee; (3) significance of the currency war: the production of 17,500,000 Tibetan dollar coins, and 140,000 half-dollar coins in Chengdu 1902-

16 was effective in limiting circulation of Indian rupees; it brought currency changes to Tibet and Western Sichuan; and helped development of trade in the region.

(This summary was published by **Helen Wang**, "Zhongguo Qianbi/China Numismatics - Summary of Contents. Issues 70 (2000/3) and 71 (2000/4)." in: *ONS NL*, no. 167, Spring 2001, p. 26.)

IX.93. Zhang Cegang: "The position of the Tibetan silver coins struck in Sichuan in the history of Chinese silver coins (Sichuan Zangyang Zai Zhongguo Yin Zhubi Zhong De Lishi Diwei)". In: *Zhongyang Minzu Xueyuan Xuebao* (Journal of the Central Nationality College). 1988.2

IX.94. Zhang Hui-xing: "Translation into Chinese of the Tibetan Inscriptions on the Machine Struck Tibetan Silver Coins - with special reference to the Tibetan calendar. (Xi Zhang Ji Zhi Ying Bi Zi Zhang Wen Han Yi - Jiang Lung Zhang Li Huan Shuan Fa)". *Chinese Numismatic Bimonthly*, 38, Taipei, n.d.

IX.95. Zhang Hui-xing: Inquiring into Tibetan Rupees. *Numismatic World Bimonthly*, Taipei, date?, pp. 2-9.

Various minor die varieties of the 3 Srang silver coins are described. The 16-20 coins are said to be extremely rare.

IX.96. Zhang Jinzhang: "Development of the Chengtu Mint" (from the book, *Chinese numismatic History*, date ?), pp. 37-43.

An interesting article about the history of the Chengdu mint from 24th Year of Guang-Xu until about 1912.

IX.97. Zhang Kewu: "Fu Kang An's Economic Considerations in his Handling of Tibetan Affairs (Fu Kang An Zai Chu Li Xi Zhang Shi Wu Zhong De Rue Gan Jing Shi Xiang)". *Tibetan Studies*, Chengdu, Sichuan, No. 1, 1985, pp. 23-32.

A detailed analysis of the introduction of the Sino-Tibetan coins in 57th and 58th year of Qian Long.

IX.98. Zhang Quanwu: "The 'Tea-Horse Trade' between Tibet and Central China during the Ming Dynasty (Ming Dai Ne Di Tong Zhang Qui De Cai Ma Mao Yi)".

IX.99. Zhang Shopping: "Tibetan Coins through the Qian Long, Jia Qing, Dao Guang and Xuan Tong years of the Qing Dynasty, with a brief introduction of Mr Zhang Huang's Collection. (Xi-Zang-Qian-Jia-Dao-Xuan Si-Chao-Ying-Bi)". In: *Numismatic World Bimonthly*, 40, Taipei, July 15, 1983, pp. 45-62.

A representative group of Sino-Tibetan coins is described and illustrated.

IX.100. Zhang Xuehui & Wang Yuanjie: "Through Documents can one Judge the Yunnan Tibet Trade". In: *Zhong Guo Zang Xue*, Beijing, 1, 1989, pp. 157-162.

Various statistics given of the Yunnan trade between 1921 and 1934. No obvious numismatic references.

IX.101. Zhang Zhencai: "The Sichuan Rupee and the Indian Rupee (Si-chuan Rupie Yu In-Du Rupie)". In: *Anhui Numismatics*, 1993.1, pp. 9-10 & Plate.

Brief description of the war between Nepal and Tibet in 1855, and the opium wars between China and Britain. The circulation of Indian rupees in Kanding after 1894 is described, and the striking of the Sichuan rupee, but strangely, this is stated to have been approved on 4th Feb. 1906, after a report from Governor Xi-Liang on 29 Nov. 1905 (31st year of Guang-Xu).

IX.102. Zhao Erfeng: *0425 Archive of the Finance Department: Report to the Emperor from Zhao Erfeng regarding the issue of copper dollars and of transport costs in the*

area west of Kangding. 30th day, 10th month, Xuan Tong, year 1. (Archive for Frontier Affairs, Volume IV).

IX.103. Zhao Zhongyuan: “Correct Understanding and Regulation of the Currency Circulation in Tibet (Zheng Que Ren Shi He Tiao Jie Xi Zhang De Hue Bi Liu Tong)”. In: *China Numismatics (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, No. 15, 1985.1, pp. 16-19.

IX.104. Zhen Zelu: “Xian-feng Coins”. In: *The Numismatic Forum Bimonthly (Qian-Bi-Tian-Di)*. Place and date (?)

The two silver Tibetan coins of Xian-feng in the Palace Museum are illustrated from the drawings in the catalogue, and are described as pattern pieces.

IX.105. Zhou Zhiliang: “Sichuan Rupee with the Chinese Counterstamp ‘Jun-Yong-Ping’ on the obverse (Si Chuan Ru Bi Jia Gai Jun Yong Ping Yi Bi)”. In: *China Numismatics*, 1983.3 (nr. 22), p. 67.

A countermarked Sichuan rupee is attributed to the period immediately after November 1911, and possibly for military use. The attribution is unconvincing, as the countermark is wrongly read, and the coin countermarked in this way is very debased, and clearly belongs to the series struck in the 1930’s.

IX.106. Zhu Jingzhong, Ci Ren Ping Cuo & Yan Lunzhang: *Introduction to the Tibetan Regional Currency (Yuan Xi Zhang Di Fang Qian Bi Gai Kuang)*. Institute for Financial Affairs of the People’s Bank of China in Tibet. Lhasa, 1988.

A booklet which was distributed by the Lhasa branch of the people’s bank of China. Gives a historical survey on Tibet’s currency quoting from some Tibetan ordinances which refer to the issuing of coins or paper money in Lhasa. Many colour illustrations of Tibetan coins and banknotes are included.

IX.107. Zhu Jingzhong & Pu Qiong Ci Ren: “Research into the Tibetan Silver Tamga Struck in the 50th year of Qian Long (Qian Long Wu Si Nian Zao Xi Zhang Ga Ying Bi Kao)”. In: *Zhong Guo Zang Xue*, Beijing, 3, 1990, pp. 90-92.

First publication of the interesting anepigraphic tamka, wt. 5.63 g, with one side copied from Ranajit Malla of Bhatgaon, and with a detailed commentary on the documentary evidence for coins struck in Tibet in 1763/64 and 1785. The coin was apparently purchased in the coin market in Octagon Street, a few weeks before the article was written. Part of the pseudo-arabic legend, copied from a Bengali coin, is read as “Tamka”, but this seems far-fetched. Similarly, the interpretation of five and three dots as the number “23” is very unconvincing. The number “45” in Tibetan numerals is read at the top of one side, but this also is very dubious. The authors consider the possibility that the coin may be identified with the one struck by the Dalai Lama in 1785, but that is also not convincing, as that coin is said to have been of a finer standard, and the piece discussed in the article is certainly very debased, judging by other specimens seen. (Nicholas Rhodes).

IX.108. Zhu Yongjia: “The Measures taken by the Qing Dynasty in 1793 in Tibet (Qing Dai Zai Xi Zhang De Zhong Yao Chur Shi)”, n.d., pp. 512-553.

IX.109. Zou Da Mu: “Yi Dui Da Zui Jing Heng Shu Zhang Yi Qian Tong Bi Kao”. In: *Qian Bi Yan Jiu* (Numismatic Investigation) Shaanxi Jinrong (Shanxi Finance) 1994.1, pp. 3-4.

Varieties of the copper shokang dated 15-52 are discussed and illustrated.

IX.110. Zou Da Mu: (title not certain). In: *Shaanxi Jinrong*, 1995.1, pp. 73-76.

Illustrated are three brockages, one of which is an obverse brockage of a Tibetan copper shokang.

IX.111. Zou Da Mu: “Xi Zhang San Qian Tong Bi Kao (Examining the Tibetan 3 Sho Copper Coin)”. In: *Qian Bi Yan Jiu* (Numismatic Investigation), Shaanxi Jin Rong (Shanxi Finance), 1995.3, pp. 4-5.

IX.A. Chinese Language Publications on Paper Money and Related Items

IX.A.1 Anonymous: “Banknotes of the Yuan Dynasty found in the Sakya Temple, Tibet (Xi Zhang Sa-Jia Si Fa Shian De Yuan Dai Zi Bi)”. Administrative Committee for Cultural Treasures in Tibet. In: *Wen Wu*, 9, 1975, pp. 32-34.

Two banknotes dated from the Chung T’ung (1260-64) and T’ung hsing (1264-95) era were discovered in Sakya Monastery. See article by Zhang Huiying below for further historical background.

IX.A.2. Anonymous: *Sichuan Sheng Ganzi Zhou Zu Shi Hui Li Shi Diao Cha*, Chengdu, 1985, p. 307. (first published in 1956)

Paper notes of 1/2 and 1 yuan, issued in the 1930’s and 1940’s by the Tashi Dargyas monastery in Tibet for the purchase of brick tea (10 Yuan = 1 tea brick of the best quality) are reported.

Comment: Four such notes (two 1/2 rupee and two 1 rupee notes) were discovered and auctioned in USA in 1998 (see section of auction catalogues).

IX.A.3. Bur Wen: “The ‘Fa-bi’ Banknotes Issued by the Central Bank of China with Tibetan Inscription. (Zheng Yang Ying Hang Zhang Wen Fa Bi Juan)”. In: *Collected Papers of the First Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of Shanghai* (1985), pp. 121-123 (First published in: *The Numismatic Forum Bimonthly*, No. 9, Taipei, December 15, 1985, pp. 15-23).

Overprinted notes were first issued in Kangding on 22nd November 1941, in denominations 1, 5 & 10 yuan. Later 100 yuan notes were issued, and the 1 & 5 yuan notes ceased to be overprinted as there was only limited demand for the small denominations. The overprinted 50 yuan notes are all forgeries, and there is discussion regarding various forgeries of these notes, and the false claim that they were made for military use in Burma.

IX.A.3a. Hai Xieng and Zheng Wang: “Zhang Chao Gai Kuan (An account of Tibet Money)”, In: *Inner Mongolia Numismatics (Neimenggu Jinrong Yanjiu)*, October 1985, pp. 86-87.

Text quoted directly from an article entitled “Tibetan Paper Money System”, in the *Monthly Report of the Central Bank*, dated 31. 12. 1949, vol. 2, chapt. 12, p. 113. An interesting account detailing some of the inflationary pressures that were at least partly brought about by the issue of paper money in Tibet in the years after 1926. Includes the illustration of the face of a 100 Srang note.

IX.A.4. Liu Da You: *Food Coupons Collector’s Companion (Liang Piao Shou Lang Zhe De Chong ’Er)*. n.p. 1994, pp. 76-77, 121 and 154.

Lists food coupons issued in Tibet in 1960, 1962, 1970, 1973 and 1976 (with one colour illustration).

IX.A.5. Tie Jun (editor): *Zhi-Bi Tu-Lu (Illustrated Catalogue of Paper Money)*. Hualing Chubanshe. Beijing, 1993, pp. 123 and 222-223.

Three banknotes of Xikang province (1/2, 1 and 5 yuan) with overprints in Tibetan language are illustrated on p. 123.

The catalogue also contains illustrations of the multicoloured 50 Tam and of 5, 10 and 100 Srang notes (pp. 222-223).

IX.A.5a. Ting, S.P.: *A Brief Illustrated History of Chinese Military Notes and Bonds*. Chung Hsiao Color Printing Co., Taipei, 1982.

A 1 Yuan note of the Central Bank of China with serial number G/Y 850021 and bearing Tibetan overprint is illustrated as number T820-1. The author suggests that notes of the Central Bank of China with Tibetan overprints were used by the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in Burma during the Second World War.

IX.A.6. Wang Hengjie: "History of Trade in the Tibetan area belonging to Yunnan". In: *Zhong Guo Zang Xue*, 3 (1990), pp. 81-89.

In autumn 1948, a number of banknotes overprinted in Tibetan appeared on the Shanghai numismatic market. Various attributions of these notes are discussed, and the conclusion reached that they are all forgeries.

IX.A.7. Wang Songling and Yu Xiangzhen: "Discovery of the Secrets of the so called military notes with Tibetan overprint issued by the Central Bank". In: *Zhongguo Qianbi* (China Numismatic). Beijing 1984-4.

A careful examination of the 50 Yuan notes of the Central Bank with Tibetan overprint reveals that they must be modern fabrications, since the authors discovered four different types of overprints in a small block of notes with serial numbers ranging from C/H 160112L to C/H 160690L. The forger is most probably a Mr. Qian Wannan who wrote that these notes are rarities in his "Monography of the Paper Notes of the Central Bank", but who also published an article, signed as "Ansen" and entitled "Short Report on Collecting Stamps and Coins" in which he declares that the overprinted Central Bank Notes are all forgeries. Since they could not find any documentary evidence for the issue of the overprinted notes, the authors think that all values (1, 5, 10, 50 and 100 Yuan) are forgeries.

IX.A.8. Wang Songling and Yu Xiangzhen: "Guan Yu 'Zhang Wen Quan' Bu Chung Cai Kao (Additional remarks on the "Paper notes with Tibetan Overprint)". In: *Collection of Papers of the First Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of Shanghai*, 1985, p. 123.

The authors somewhat revise their opinion expressed in an article following an article by Mr. Bur Wen. They now believe that all 50 Yuan notes with Tibetan overprint are forgeries while there are both genuine and forged notes among the remaining values. Mentions an article in *Ying-Hang-Zhou-Bao* (Bank Weekly) of 2.12.1941 and from Mr. Dai Mingli, formerly in charge of the coins & banknotes under the Guo Min Tang regime, who indicated that they were issued in Kangding in 1941 to the value of 10 million yuan.

IX.A.9. Wu Chouzhong and Gu Wenbing: "Zhong Yang Ying Hang Jia Gai Zhang Wen Quan De Kao Si Yu Nun Ming Ying Hang Jia Gai Zhang Wen Quan De Fa Xian (Examination of the Tibetan Bill with Central Bank Stamp and the Discovery of the Tibetan Bill with the Stamp of the Farmer Bank)". In: *Zhongguo Qianbi* (China Numismatics), Beijing 1990, Nr. 1, pp. 51 - 54.

A comprehensive survey of all written material about the overprinted notes. Genuine pieces are identified as 1 Yuan with K/X and H/Y letters and 10 Yuan notes with C/G and F/D. The Farmer's Bank notes come in two denominations, 5 & 10 Yuan, with Tibetan denomination "sGor-mo lNga" and "sGor-mo bCu", and were issued about 1935.

IX.A.10. Wu Chouzhong and Wu Zhongying: “Sikang Provincial Bank Notes with Tibetan Inscriptions”. In: *China Numismatics, (Zhong Guo Qian Bi)*, Beijing, 1995, Nr. 1.

Most of the information contained in this article is already to be found in the article by Wu Chouzhong & Gu Wenbin (see previous entry).

IX.A.10a. Wu Keyi: *Zhong Guo Zhi Bi Tu Jian Mu Lu. Si Hang Tong Chao (China Bank Notes Pictorial Catalog. Four-Bank Notes)*. Shanghai Scientific and Technological Literature Publishing House. Shanghai 1998.

The values of 5 und 10 Yuan of ther Farmers Bank with Tibetan overprints are listed as nrs. 4-3-54 and 4-3-55 (no illustrations). The Notes of the Central Bank of China of 1, 5, 10, 50 and 100 yuan are illustrated and described.

Various variants of 100 Yuan notes with Tibetan overprints are illustrated.

IX.A.11. Xu Feng & Zhao Longye: *Catalogue of the Banknotes of the Provincial Banks of the Different Provinces of China after 1911 (Zhong Guo Ge Sheng Di Fang Yin Hang Zhi Bi Tu Lu 1911 Man Yi Hou)*, Beijing 1992, pp. 76-77 Sikang Province; pp. 161-163 Tibet.

Apart from the well known Xikang issues with Tibetan legends issued in Kangding between 1939 and 1941, a 2 Jiao (20 Cent) note of 1949 is described. This latter note does not have an inscription in Tibetan.

A brief discussion of Tibetan notes with a catalogue and some illustrations on pp. 161-3.

IX.A.12. Zhang Huying: “Textual Research on the Circulation of Banknotes in Tibet during the Yuan Dynasty”. Newspaper article (Beijing), n.d., pp. 28-30.

The background to the Yuan Dynasty banknotes discovered in 1959 in Sakya Monastery is discussed. See article in Wen Wu, 1975.9

IX.A.13. Zhang Shanxi: “Tibetan Paper Money in High Silver Value (Xi Zang Da Man Er Ying Liang Zhi Bi)”. In: *Zhoushan Numismatics Quarterly*, No. 1. 1993, pp. 11-13.

Common 10 Srang and 100 Srang banknotes are described and illustrated.

IX.A.14. Zhang Zhi Zhong: *Chinese Paper Money (Zhong Guo Zhi Bi)*. Tianjin, 1996.

Two Tibetan 100 Srang notes and one multicoloured 50 Tam note are illustrated on p. 455. A brief discussion on Tibetan banknote issues on pp. 109-710.

Issues for Sikang, including those with Tibetan legends, are illustrated on pp. 435-436 and briefly described on pp. 703-704.

IX.A.15. Zhang Zhi Zhong: *Zhong Guo Jin Dai Zhi Bi, Piao Quan Tu Jian* (Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese modern Banknotes and Loan Certificates. Beijing 1997.

Two notes of the Farmers Bank of China (issued in 1935) of 5 and 10 yuan with Tibetan overprints *sgor-mo lnga* and *sgor-mo bcu* are illustrated as nr. 1125 and 1126.

IX.A.16. Zhu Sihuang: *Ming Guo Jing Ji Si* (Economic History of the Republic of China). Printer: Bai Song. Shanghai 1948.

According to Wu Chou Zhong and Gu Wenbin (see above nr. IX.A.9) the fourth chapter of this rare book discusses the overprinting with Tibetan legends of the 1936 banknote issue of the Central bank of China. The overprints were applied to the 1, 5 and 10 Yuan notes in 1941 in order to forward these to the Kangding branch of the Central Bank of China.

IX.B. Chinese Publications on the Coinage of the Xi Xia (Hsi Hsia)

- IX.B.1. Anonymous:** The objects of West Xia found in Wuwei county of Gansu province (Gan Su Wu Wei Fa Xian Yi Pi Xi Xia Yi Wu). In: *Kao Gu (Archeology)*, Nr. 3, 1974, pp. 200-204.
- IX.B.2. Chen Bingyin:** "Some Problems Regarding West Xia Coins. (Guan Yu Xi Xia Qian Bi De Ji Ge Wen Ti)". In *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 3, 1989, pp. 18-23.
- IX.B.3. Chen Bingyin:** "The Weight and Currency System of Western Xia (Xi Xia De Heng Zhi Yü Bi Zhi)". In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 1, 1994, pp. 3-8.
- IX.B.4. Dai Baoting:** "The two west Xia Coins 'Da An Bao Qian' with West Xia inscription (Xi Xia Wen Da An Bao Qian Ling Ping)". In: *Qian Bi*, nr. 7.
- IX.B.5. Dai Jing:** "The West Xia Script and West Xia Coinage (Xi Xia Wen Yu Xi Xia Qian Bi)". In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 2, 1993.
- IX.B.6. Dasheng, Niu:** "Discussion on currency of the West Xia State" In: *Chinese Numismatic Association: A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses*. Zhongguo Jin-Rong Publishing Co.; Beijing 1985, (ref. ONS-Newsletter no. 107; 1987)
Paper not seen by the compiler.
- IX.B.7. Fang Leyu:** "The West Xia coin 'Zhen Guan Chung Bao' with Chinese inscription". In: *Qian Bi*, no. 16.
- IX.B.8. Jing Seng:** "The West Xia Iron Coin Excavated in Bao Ton (Bao Ton Jiao Qui Fa Xian Yi Pi Xi Xia Tie Qian)". In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 3, 1983, p. 38.
- IX.B.9. Jing Sen:** "On West Xia Iron Coins (Xi Xia Tie Qian Xiao Yi)". In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 4, 1985, pp. 16, 17, and 22.
- IX.B.10. Li Daxiang:** "The Silver Ingots Found in Wuwei, Gansu Province". In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 4, 1994, pp. 42-47.
- IX.B.11. Lue Muyuan:** "The West Xia copper coin 'Tian Sen Yuan Bao' with the inscription 'Xi' (west) on the reverse". In: *Qian Bi*, nr. 23.
- IX.B.12. Ma Dingxiang:** "The coin 'Qian You Yuan Bao'." In *Qian Bi*, nr. 21.
- IX.B.13. Niu Dasheng:** "Discussion on Currency of West Xia State" In: *A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses*. Beijing 1985.
- IX.B.14. Niu Dasheng:** "Discovering and identifying West Xia coins with West Xia inscriptions (Xi Xia Qian Bi Zhong Xi Xia Wen Qian De Fa Xian Yu Ren Shi)". In *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 4, 1985, pp. 11-15.
- IX.B.15. Niu Dasheng:** "The Coin with Seal script, excavated in Yingchuan (Ying Chuan So Chi Chu Tu Zhuan Shu Guang Ding Yuan Bao Ping Qian)". In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 2, 1985, pp. 28 and 42.
- IX.B.16. Niu Dasheng:** "Report on the chemical components of the coins excavated in two caves of Mount Helan (Ning Xia He Lan Shan Yao Chang Gu Qian Li Hua Che Ding Bao Gao)". In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 3, 1986, pp. 41-43.

IX.B.17. Niu Dasheng: “New Interpretation of the Coins with the Xi Xia Inscription ‘Da An Bao Qian’ (Wuo Dui Xi Xia Wen Ze Er ‘Da An Bao Qian’ De Zhai Ren Shi)”. In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 3, 1989., pp. 57-59.

IX.B.18. Niu Dasheng: “On the coin with the inscription ‘Yuan De Tong Bao’ in normal script (Zhen Shu Yuan De Tong Bao Xiao Yi). In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 4, 190, pp. 59-51.

IX.B.18a. Niu Dahen and Ren Yongxun: The Western Xia *Fu Bao Qian* and Korean *Han Tong Bao* coins found in excavations in the Mongolian community of the Yan-Chi District in Ningxia”. In: *China Numismatics*, 1988, no. 2, pp. 52-54.

IX.B.18b. Peng Jinzhang and Sha Wutian: “Shilun Dunhuang Mogaoku beiqu chutu de Bosi yinbi he Xi Xia qianbi (On the Sasanian coins and Xi Xia coins unearthed north of the caves of the Thousand Buddhas, Dunhuang), in: *Wenwu*, 1998 (10), pp. 22-27

IX.B.19. Shi Jinbo, Bai Bing and Wu Fongyun: *Cultural Relics of the Western Xia (Xi Xia Wen Wu)*. Place and date (?).

Chapter II of this work deals with currency.

IX.B19.a. Si Baozhen: “The *Tian-Sen-Yuan Bao* coin with Xi (West), excavated in Baotou.” In: *China Numismatics*, 1985, no. 2.

IX.B.20. Wang Ying Jia: “The Iron Coin ‘Tian Sen Yuan Bao’ with the Chinese Inscription ‘Xi’ (West) on the Reverse (Tian Sen Tie Qian Bei Xi)”. In: *Qian Bi*, nr. 1.

IX.B.21. Wu Weichen: “Two West Xia Coins were discovered in the town of Ningbuo (Ning Bu Jian Xuan Chu Liang Mei Xi Xia Qian)”. In *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 4, 1993, p. 19.

IX.B.22. Wu Zhongxing: “Short preliminary examen of the coin ‘Da An Tong Bao’”. In: *Zhong Guo Qianbi (China Numismatics)*, 4, 1985, pp. 68 and 80.

IX.B22a. Zhang Shuzun: “Xi Xia Dade tongbao [The Xi Xia Dade tongbao]”. In: *Quanbi*, no. 1, Hong Kong 1968, pp. 69-70.

IX.B.23. Zhao Quanzi: “Report on a recently discovered West Xia coin with West Xia inscription (Jie Shao Xing Fa Xian Yi Zhong Xi Xia Wen Qian)”. In: *Qian Bi*, Nr. 3.

X. Tibetan Language Publications

X.1. Agvan Dorjiev (Ngawang Lobsang): *Chos brgyad gdon gyis zin byas te rgyal khams don med nyul ba yi dam chos nor gyis dbul ba'i sprang bstun gzugs shig gi bgyi brjod gtam* (Communications of a person who, although dressed as a monk, is troubled by Mara's eight worldly desires, travels from place to place without aim and who possesses neither worldly nor spiritual treasures or wisdom.). Published with commentary by Khensur Ngawang Nima. Mundgod (?) 1985 or 1986.

This is Agvan Dorjiev's autobiography written in about 1924. On p. 41 (21 according to the Tibetan pagination) the author mentions that he suggested the construction of a water wheel to power machines for the production of silver Tangkas.

X.2. Khatag Zamyag, Tshongpon: *bod tang bal po rgya bcas la gnas bskor bskyod pa'i nyin deb. phyi lo 1944 nas 1956 bar.* (A Pilgrim's Diary: Tibet, Nepal & India. 1944-1956) Edited by Acharya Jamyang Wangyal. New Delhi 1997.

This book contains an appendix entitled "bod dngul rtsis stangs dang 'dra par", written by the editor. The modern Tibetan coinage as well as the banknotes are briefly discussed and a selection of coins and banknotes, mostly from the collection of the Tibet House in New Delhi, is illustrated with colour photographs.

X.2a. blo bzang tshe brtan and Tshe dhang stobs Idan: *bod rang skyong ljongs srid lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu chha u yon lhan gis rtsom sgrig byas pa. spyi'i 'don thengs 13 pa. mi rigs dpe skrung khang, Lhasa 1991.*

This book contains a chapter on "lor khang las khungs" which was established in 1918 and was responsible for the issue of Tibetan paper money and coins (p. 60) and on "grva bzhi glog 'phrul las khungs", the Tibetan government mint and arsenal which was reorganized in 1931 (pp. 71-72).

X.2b. Ngawang TobchenGoPey (editor): *Khrag dang mig chu'i rgyun ma chad pa'i grva bzhi btson khang* (Ceaseless tears and blood - Drapchi Prison). Gu Chu Sum Book. New Delhi, 2001.

On pp. 5-6 a small chapter entitled "grva bzhi glog 'phrul las khungs" gives a brief account of the Tibetan government mint between 1931 and 1959.

X.3. Sengshong Dorjee Chodpa (seng gshong rdor rje gchod pa): "Introducing some Tibetan Coins: Coins during the reign of Songtsen Gampo (bod kyi sgor moi skor gyi gnas tshul 'nga' ngo sphrod)". In: *Tibetan Studies (bod ljongs zhib 'jug)*, Issue 2, Lhasa 1995, pp. 43-47.

X.4. Shakabpa, Tsepon Wangchuk Deden: *bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs* (Political History of Tibet). Two volumes. Third edition, Tibetan Cultural Printing Press. New Delhi, 1986 (First edition, New Delhi, 1976).

The first volume contains a paragraph entitled *dngul gyi sprod len* (the use of money). pp. 95-99.

X.5. Shakabpa, Tsepon Wangchuk Deden: “Pod kyi gser dngul tam dang shog dngul bcas kyi lo rgyus sa bon (Tibet’s Gold and Silver Coins and Paper Money: The Historical Origin)”. In: *Samatok*, Vol. 1, Tibet House, New Delhi, Earth Dragon Year (probably 1988), pp. 73 - 82.

Shakabpa who was Finance Secretary in Tibet before the Chinese takeover, gives a historical account of the coinge and paper money of Tibet, largely from memory with some information not found elsewhere but unfortunately also including several incorrect statements. Subsequently, this article was published in English (see above).

X.6. Thub-stan phun-tshogs: *bod kyi lo rgyus spyi don padma ra’u gi lde mig*. Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Sichuan People’s Publishing House). 2 Volumes. Chengdu 1996.

on pp. 994-996 of the second volume a chronological listing of Tibetan coins and banknotes is given.

XI. Bordering Areas to the South of Tibet

Note: Most of the publications listed in the catalogue section contain chapters on the coinage of the countries and areas listed below.

XI.A. Bhutan

XI.A.1. Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Four unusual coins from Bhutan." In: *ONS NL*, Nr. 146, Autumn 1995, p. 13-14.

XI.A.2. Bertsch, Wolfgang: *Catalogue of Bhutanese Coins in the Collection of Wolfgang Bertsch*. Mimeograph. Gundershausen (Germany), 1996

190 coins are described and illustrated

XI.A.3. Blaker, G.B.: "Bhutan", in: *ONS NL*, No. 94-5, February-April 1985.

Short article on the different positions of the four symbols found on Bhutanese silver coins, classified by Rhodes "Period IV, group B".

XI.A.4. Eden, Ashley: *Political Missions to Bootan. Comprising the Reports of the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, - 1864; Capt. R.B. Pemeberton, 1837, 1838, with Dr. W. Griffiths's Journal; and the Account by Baboo Kishen Kant Bose*. Reprint. Manjusri Publishing House. New Delhi, 1972. First published in 1865.

p. 212 (from Captain R. Boileau Pemberton's report): "6. The coin which circulates in the country is almost confined to a silver one called 'Deba', nominally of the value of the Company's half Rupee. A prejudice appears to have at one time existed against the introduction of mints or any modification of systematic coinage; but when by the invasion of Cooch Behar, the Bootan Government had obtained possession of the dies which were used by the Rajas of that Province in their coinage of the Narrainee Rupee, the practice was introduced into the Hills, and being found profitable, gradually extended from Poonakh and Tassisudon to the castles of the Soubahs, where the Deb Rupee is now coined; but as the degree of purity of the metal is entirely dependent on the personal honesty of the Soubah, so great a variety is found in the standard value of the coin that it is altogether rejected by the inhabitants of the plains and Dooars, in which latter Narrainee Rupees still circulate extensively; they are daily, however, becoming more scarce, for the Booteahs, whenever they can obtain them, carry them into the Hills, re-melt and alloy them, and in the deteriorated forms of the Deba Rupee they are again circulated in the Hills."

***XI.A.5. Panish, Charles K.:** "Early Coinage of Bhutan." In: *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes 17*, 1971, pp. 247-254 and plates XLVII-XLVIII.

The first attempt to classify the series of coins of Bhutan and their prototypes, the coins of Cooch Behar.

***XI.A.6. Panish, Charles K.:** "Early Coinage of Bhutan". In: *C.O.I.N.*, Nr. 63.

XI.A.7. Remick, Jerry: "Unlisted Bhutan 100-Ngultrums Surface". In: *WCN*, Vol. 7, No. 7, February 12, 1980, p. 6.

Illustrates and discusses the 100 Ngultrum note showing the portrait of king Jigme Singye Wangchuk on one side.

***XI.A.8. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** *The Coinage of Bhutan*. ONS Information Sheet Nr. 16, January 1977.

So far the best chronological classification of the undated Bhutanese coins with description and line drawings of many varieties.

XI.A.9. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "An 18th Century Bhutanese Rupee". In: *ONS NL*, Nr. 107, July-August 1987.

XI.A.10 Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Some Bhutanese Overstrikes". In: *ONS NL*, Nr. 127, November 1990 - January 1991.

XI.A.11. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "The History of Old Bhutanese Coins: Who Knows". In: *KUENSEL*, 16th March 1991.

XI.A.12. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "An Unpublished Coin from Bhutan". In: *ONS NL*, Nr. 136, Spring 1993.

XI.A.13. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "A Coin Die from Bhutan". In: *ONS NL*, Nr. 147, Winter 1996, pp. 15-16.

XI.A.14. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Coinage in Bhutan". In: *Journal of Bhutan Studies*. The Centre of Bhutan Studies. Vol. I, Nr. 1, Thimpu, Autumn, 1999, pp. 84-113.

The article which is illustrated with line drawings presents an excellent survey on what is known so far on Bhutanese coins.

XI.A.15. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "The Monetisation of Bhutan". In: *Journal of Bhutan Studies*. The Centre for Bhutan Studies. Vol. 2, nr. 2, Thimphu, Winter 2000, pp. 85-103.

XI.A.16. Sharma, Nagendra: *Nepal's relations with Sikkim and Bhutan. 1770-1900*. Himshikhar Publications. Kathamandu, 2002.

P. 149: "Coinage: The circulation of Nepali coins as legal tender in Bhutan has also already been referred to. What needs to be added here, however, is that such minting, as was being done in Sikkim by the Nepalese between 1788 and 1892 AD., was also prevalent in Bhutan. [¹² Satyamohan Joshi, *Nepal Rashtriya Mudra*, 'Nepalese National Coins', Sajha Prakashan, Kathmandu, B.S. 2042, p. 66; also Walsh, E.H., *The Coinage of Nepal*, Indological Book House, Delhi, 1973, p. 25] Such coins, said to have been minted by the earlier Nepalese settlers, bore the Sun and Moon symbols on the two sides along with the words "Raja Dharma Deva" in the centre in Devnagari script. [¹³ Unpublished materials in the possession of Bipin Dev Dhungel]"

XI.B. Ladakh and Garhwal

XI.B.1. Anonymous: *Gazetteer Of Kashmir and Ladak*. Compiled under the Direction of the Quarter Master General in India in the Intelligence Branch. Reprinted, New Delhi 1974. First print: Calcutta, 1890.

p. 534: "*Coinage*. - In Ladák one meets with the coinage as well as the merchandise of all surrounding countries. The only native coin is the silver *jao* or *jo*, which is worth really 2 1/2 annas but is made to pass for 1/5 rupee.

The *Chinese silver ingot*, called *yambu* by the Yárkandis, *dotsat* or *tamikma* (horses' hoofs) by the Tibetans, and *kurus* (i.e., hoofs) by the natives of India. They consist of lumps of pure silver, often

bent like a horse-shoe, and are imported from Yárkand, to which country they are brought from Kathay, or Northern China. A silver ingot weighs about 166 2/3 tolas, and therefore is valued at the same number of rupees. Six of them are worth about Rs. 1,000. In Dr. Cayley's trade report a silver ingot is valued at Rs. 170. (*Cunningham - H. Strachey.*)

***XI.B.2. Cunningham, Alexander:** *Ladakh. Physical, statistical and historical, with notices on the surrounding countries.* Reprint: Sagar publications. New Delhi, 1970.

The Nepalese coins are of silver, each being worth half a rupee, or two jaos of Ladakh (p. 254).

XI.B.3. Francke, August Hermann: "Some Notes On Ladakhi Currency". In: *The Indian Antiquary*, October 1901, p. 456.

The name of the coin "jau" means "a little tea".

***XI.B.4. Gabrisch, Karl:** "A Hoard of Coins from Ladakh". In: *NIB*, Vol. 16, No. 6, June 1982, pp. 165-172.

A hoard of 67 coins from Ladakh forming part of the three earliest issues of Ladakh and a hitherto unknown type are described. Also mentioned are their prototypes, the earlier coins of Garhwal without mint-name (three types are illustrated). Photographs of 13 coins are included.

***XI.B.5. Panish, Charles K.:** "The Coinage of Ladakh". *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, No. 16, 1970, pp. 185-188 and plate XXXVIII.

The first survey on the coins of Ladakh, now superseded by contributions of N.G. Rhodes.

***XI.B.6. Petech, Luciano:** *The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950 - 1842. A.D.* Rome, 1977.

Remarks on sources of revenue and trade with Tibet (pp. 158-163).

***XI.B.7. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "Copper Coins from Ladakh". In: *ONS NL*, No. 56, 1978.

Four types of the copper coins struck by Ranbir Singh for Ladakh are described.

See also: Gupta, P. L.: "Queries: Copper Coins from Ladakh". In *ONS NL*, No. 60, 1979. And: Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Ladakh Coppers again". In: *ONS NL*, No. 62-63, 1979.

***XI.B.8. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "The Silver Coinages of Garhwal and Ladakh, 1686-1871". In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 141, 1981, pp. 120-135 and plates 24-25.

The Garhwal timashas circulated in Western Tibet during the 17th and 18th centuries. Around 1771, Ladakh introduces its own coin called "ja'u", primarily struck for circulation in Western Tibet. Few ja'u were struck after 1857, but they remained in circulation well into the 20th century, although their origin was not always understood. Later visitors to Western Tibet erroneously referred to the Ladakh ja'u (or timasha) as a Tibetan coin.

***XI.B.9. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "A Hoard of Ladakhi Ja'u". In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 142, 1982, pp. 164-165 and plate 42.

XI.B.10. Rhodes, Nick: "Some New Silver Coins of Fath Shah of Garhwal". In: Papers given at the Indian Coinage Study Days held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK on 13 June 1998 and 12 June 1999. Supplement to ONS Newsletter 161, Autumn 1999, p. 21.

Describes and illustrates a rare rupee dated to the 29th year of Fath Shah (AD 1693) and a quarter rupee of the same ruler.

XI.C. Nepal

Only a selection of the numismatic literature on Nepal can be given here. Nepal would

deserve an own numismatic bibliography which so far has not been compiled. For obvious reasons I gave preference to those titles which discuss Nepal's minting activities for Tibet and Nepal's coins circulating in Tibet. The best selection of western numismatic literature on Nepal can be found in the work by Rhodes, Gabrisch and Valdetaro (The Coinage of Nepal) and of Nepalese numismatic literature in the work by Jagadish Chandra Regmi (Malla Coins).

Publications on Nepalese coinage after 1900 have not been included.

***XI.C.1. Anonymous:** "The Tiny Gold Dams of Nepal". In: *Whitman Numismatic Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 8, 1964, p. 551.

Article not seen by the compiler.

XI.C.2. Bajracharya, Bhadra Ratna: *Bahadur Shah, The Regent of Nepal (1785-1794 A.D.)*. New Delhi, 1992.

Available documents prove that another Dharmapatra between Nepal and Tibet was signed after nine months of the Kerong treaty to solve the coinage problem in April 1790 (Baisakha Sudi 2, Roy 1, 1847 V.S. The Dharmapatra reads:

Facilities will be given to the merchants and subjects of Nepal (Gorkha). Bhot Agrees that Mohars (a half rupee coin) of the Shah kings will only be circulated in Tibet at a ratio of two Malla (debased) Mohars that were in circulation.

Bhot agrees to refrain from minting the Mohars of Nepal (Gorkha). From now onward the Nepalese shall mint only Suka-Suki (one fourth and one-fifth of a rupee coin) and send them for circulation in Tibet. Nepal (Gorkha) and Bhot both agree not to alter this treaty even when a high officer of Bhot wishes to do so. Whoever will alter this treaty will be looked down upon by the king of Nepal (Gorkha) and whoever will follow it with will be looked upon.

(Poka No. 18, Dharmapatra of 1790 signed between Nepal and Tibet, Foreign Ministry Archives.)

XI.C.3. Bendall, C.: "On Some Nepalese Coins in the Library of the German Oriental Society." In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. 1882, pp. 651-2.

XI.C.3a. Bertshch, Wolfgang: "Un Unrecorded Mohar of Jaya Prakash Malla of Nepal". In: *Supplement to Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, no. 169. Autumn 2001, p. 16.

A silver mohar, struck in the name of the Malla ruler Jaya Prakash Malla, dated Nepal Samvat 880 (AD 1760) is illustrated and described.

XI.C.4. Dhungel, Ramesh: "Notes on some Medieval Coinage of Nepal." In: *Rolamba*, Vol. 4, Nr. 3, Kathmandu, July-Sept. 1984, pp. 34-41.

XI.C.4a. Diskalkar: "Tibeto-Nepalese War 1788-1793." In: *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XIX (1933).

XI.C.5. Dwiwedi, Pashupati Kumar: *Museum in Nepal*. Kathmandu, 1976, pp. 128-172.

XI.C.6. Dwiwedi, Pashupati Kumar: Comparative Survey of the Coins of the Shah Dynasty. In: *Ancient Nepal. Journal of the Department of Archaeology*, Nr. 3, Kathmandu, April 1968, pp. 44-48.

Saha coins from king Surendra till Mahendra are surveyed with remarks on the legends and iconographic details found on the coins.

XI.C.7. Dikshit, Moreshwar G.: A Copper Coin of the Nepalese King Amsuvarman. In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXV, Part II, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 245-247.

Publishes a well known winged lion type Licchavi coin of Nepal.

***XI.C.8. Gabrisch, Karl:** "Rare and Unique Coins of the Malla Kings of Patan". In: *NIB*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1982, pp. 9-19.

Description of 27 coins not mentioned - or not illustrated - in the catalogues available to collectors.

***XI.C.9. Gabrisch, Karl:** "Notes on the Coinage of Jishnu Gupta of Nepal". *NIB*, Vol. 16, No. 11, November 1982, pp. 332-334.

Among others, the author mentions a hoard of Licchavi coins which were unearthed in Tibet. Unfortunately, the author could not verify this information.

XI.C.10. Gabrisch, Karl: "Münzen im mittelalterlichen Nepal". In: *Numismatisches Nachrichten Blatt*, no. 2, Febr. 1984, vol. 33, p. 31-32.

German text. A short sketch of the numismatic history of mediaeval Nepal, with pictures of 3 coins.

XI.C.11. Gabrisch, Karl and Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Nepalese Medals of the 3rd Nepal-Tibet War, 1855-6". In: *Spink's Num. Circul.*, Vol. XCVII, 1, 1989, pp. 260-263.

Sixteen regimental medals are pictured (fourteen for the first time) and the regiments' history is mentioned. Besides this is a pattern of a medal of 1854 (not issued) is also pictured.

***XI.C.12. Gabrisch, Karl and Kleist, Christian-Ewald von:** "Münzen aus Nepal". In: *Die Münze*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1981, pp. 47-48.

German text. Description and photograph of a dam of Nripendra Malla of Kathmandu.

***XI.C.13. Gabrisch, Karl and Kleist, Christian-Ewald von:** "Drei unbekannt nepalesische Münzen von Nripendra Malla und Parthivendra Malla". In: *Die Münze*. Vol. 12, No. 5, 1981, pp. 15-17.

German text. One 1/4 Mohar of Nripendra Malla and two 1/4 Mohars of Parthivendra Malla are recorded and illustrated.

***XI.C.14. Gabrisch, Karl and Kleist, Christian-Ewald von:** "An Unrecorded Dam of Lokaprakasha Malla of Nepal". In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 89, No. 9, 1981, p. 281.

Short article with one illustration.

***XI.C.15. Gabrisch, Karl and Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan:** "Malla Coins that never Were". In: *NIB*, Vol. 17, No. 1, January 1983, pp. 7-15.

34 contemporary forgeries and fantasies of Malla coins are described and illustrated.

XI.C.15a. Ganske, N.: *Münzen in Nepal*. Deutsch Nepalesische Gesellschaft, Köln 1971.

XI.C.16. Giedroyc, Richard: "Cointrek. Coins of Bhatgaon recall early ruler." In: *Coin World*, Vol. 26, Issue 1340, Sidney, Ohio, December 18, 1985, p. 66.

A brief introduction into the coinage of Nepal with illustration of two Malla coins.

XI.C.17. Gnyawali, Surya Bikram: "Nepali Coins during the Mediaeval Period." In: *Regmi Research Series*, May 1973, pp. 91-97. Translated from part of a chapter of *Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas* (Mediaeval History of Nepal Valley), Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu, VS 2019/ AD 1962.

A survey of Nepal's coins from the beginning till the end of the Malla Dynasty with some remarks on the coins specially minted for Tibet.

XI.C.18. Gopal, Lallanji and Verma, Thakur Prasad: *Studies in the History and Culture of Nepal*. Bharati Prakashan, Varanasi, 1977.

Chapter III (pp. 31-39) of this work is dedicated to the Licchavi Coinage of Nepal.

XI.C.19. Gupta, Lal Chand: "Some Lichchhavi Coins of Manadeva and Ansvarma". In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. LIII, Parts 1 and 2, Varanasi, 1991, pp. 66-70.

Twelve already well known coins of the Licchavi period of Nepal are briefly described and illustrated.

XI.C.20. Gupta, Manik Lal: "A Note on the Nepal coin of Sultan Alaud-dunya-va-Din Khalji". In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XLIII, Part II, Varanasi, 1981, p. 80.

XI.C.21. Hüttel, Hans Georg: "Zwei Licchavi-Fundmünzen von Khyinga/Südmustang. Ein Beitrag zum Mananka problem (Two Licchavi coins found in Khyinga/Southern Mustang. A Contribution to the Mananka problem.)". In: *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie*, Nr. 17, 1997, pp. 65-86.

In German language. The chronology and the meaning of the earliest Nepalese coins of the late 6th and early 7th century A.D. are discussed, based on the find of two Licchavi coins during excavations in Mustang in 1992.

XI.C.22. Jayaswal, K.P., M.A.: "Chronology and History of Nepal". In: *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. Vol. 22, part 3, Patna, 1936, pp. 157-264.

Chapter VIII of this article is dedicated to the Lichchhavi (sic) coinage.

XI.C.22a. Jha, Jaya Hari: *An Overview of Nepalese Paper Money*. Published by Manjeeta Jha, Lalitpur (Nepal), B.S. 2058 (2001 A.D.)

On page 7 and 8 a brief historical survey of Nepal's coinage is given and an example of one coin each of the Lichchhavi, Malla and Shah periods is illustrated

XI.C.22b. Joshi, Harihar Raj and Joshi, Indu: *Nepal Tibet Relationship*, Nepal Study Center in co-operation with The Nepal Studies: Past and Present. Kathmandu, December 4, 2000.

The authors publish a Dharamapatra (treaty; normally transcribed as "dharmapatra") concluded in 1775 between Tibet by the representatives of the Dalai Lama and Nepal by the representatives of Pratap Simha, confirming the exclusive right of Nepal to mint coins for Tibet and allowing Nepal to send Newar traders to Shigatse and Lhasa on a permanent basis.

***XI.C.23. Joshi, Satya Mohan:** *Nepali Rashtrya Mudra (Nepali National Coinage)*. Lalitpur (Patan), 1962.

Nepali text. The illustrated catalogue of Nepalese coins contains a section on Malla coins which played an important part in Tibetan numismatic history.

***XI.C.24. Joshi, Satya Mohan.:** *Catalogue of the Coins of Nepal*. Reprint: Kathmandu 1963 (33pp.)

A list of Nepalese coins of the Licchavi, Malla and Shaha periods. The coins are not illustrated, only their inscriptions, both in Devanagari characters and romanized, are given. Of use to the advanced student who is familiar with the Newari and Devanagari alphabets.

X.C.25. Joshi, Satya Mohan: "Evolution of Nepali Coins". In: *Regmi Research Series*, Year 8, No. 1, January 1967, pp. 8-15.

This is an English translation of *Nepali Mudrako Vikas* taken from *Nepali Rastriya Mudra*, Lalitpur 2019 (AD 1962), pp. 6-12 (see above). The author describes the religious influence on the design of Licchavi-, Malla- and Saha coinage.

XI.C.26. Kaisher, Bahadur K.C.: *The Judicial Customs of Nepal*. Part I. Ratna Pustak Bhandar. Second revised and enlarged edition. Kathmandu, 1971.

pp. 389-395. Remarks on the iconography of the Licchavi coinage.

***XI.C.27. Kleist, Christian-Ewald von:** "Von Nepals mittelalterlichen Münzen." In: *Die Münze*. Vol. 12, No. 9, 1981, pp. 35-36.

German text. Description of a gold coin with the legend "Shri Sivasya" and of a silver coin with the legend "Shri" on obverse and a sitting lion to right on reverse. Both coins are illustrated and attributed to king Sivadeva (A.D. 1098-1126).

***XI.C.28. Kleist, Christian-Ewald von:** "Einige bisher nicht beschriebene Münzen der Malla-Herrscher in Nepal". In: *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 1982, pp.33-38.

German text. This paper deals with coins of the three Malla kingdoms of Nepal, i.e. Kathmandu, Bhadgaon and Patan. 33 hitherto unrecorded or not fully recorded coins are described and illustrated.

***XI.C.29. Kleist, Christian-Ewald von:** "Einige bisher unbekannte frühe Münzen Nepals". In: *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 12, 1982, No. 4, pp. 43-44.

German text. Three coins of the Licchavi dynasty are described and illustrated together with two coins from the period between the Licchavi and Malla dynasties.

XI.C.30. Kleist, Christian-Ewald von: "Numismatische Kleinodien aus dem Himalaya. Die Kleinsten Münzen der Welt". In: *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung*, No. 2, June 1984, p. 5.

German Text. Four different varieties of a "jawa" with pictures. The weights of these tiny coins vary from 0.013-0.032 g.

XI.C.31. Kölver, Bernhard.: "Chronicles and Deads on Currency and Land." Documents from Nepal 3. In: *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, Vol. V/VI, 1981/82, pp. 133-153).

Remarks on the coinage of king Sivadeva (ca. 1098-1126) on p. 135-138.

XI.C.32. Kutcher, R.R.: "The Ang-Tuk". In: *NIB*, Vol. 28, Nr. 5 (May 1993), p. 112.

Some remarks on the mohar of Bhupatindra Malla dated N.E. 816, specially struck for Tibet. The Tibetans called it Pan-nying Tang-ka (old nepalese coinage), Dung-tang (spear Tang-ka) or Dung-tse (spear point).

***XI.C.33. Landon, Perceval:** *Nepal*. 2 Volumes, London, 1928. Reprinted in one volume: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1976.

Appendix XXV (pp. 305-330) represents an important work on the Nepalese coinage.

***XI.C.34. MacDowall, David W.:** "The Coinage of Jaya Prakasa Malla of Kathmandu". In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th series, Vol. 17, 1957, pp. 216-277 and plate XXII.

A supplement to the catalogue of the coins of this ruler - published by Walsh in "Coinage of Nepal" - with data from the collection of the British Museum. The author also makes several amendments

to Walsh's reading of dates. A table shows the theoretical standard of silver and gold coins and the actual weight of the coins in the British Museum.

***XI.C.35. MacDowall, David W.:** "Three Unpublished Denominations of Jaya Ranajita Malla or Bhatgaon". In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 19, part 2, 1957, pp. 195-196.

The author records three unknown denominations of the coinage of Jaya Ranajita Malla (1/8, 1/16, and 1/64 of a Mohar) from the collection of the British Museum.

XI.C.36. MacDowall, David W.: "The Coinage of Ancient Nepal." In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol 21, part 1, 1959, pp. 39-53 and plates II-III.

XI.C.37. Malla, Kamal P.: "Epigraphy and Society in Ancient Nepal: A critique of Regmi, 1983". In: *Journal of the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies*, Vol. 13, no. 1, Kirtipur, December 1985, pp. 57-94)

Some problems regarding the Lichhavi coinage are discussed on p. 84-85. "...there is hardly any doubt that the ancient copper coins were made with the help of embossing dies used manually, somewhat like modern post-marks on molten pieces or sheets of copper".

***XI.C.38. Mitchels, S.J.:** "Nepal. Illustrating their Coinage". In: *India Asiatic Numismatic Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 7-8, No. 2, pp. 30-32 and plates VI-VII; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 84 and plate XVII (1971-1973).

Introduction into how to read the legends on some Malla coins not previously illustrated.

XI.C.39. Morgan, J. de: "Manuel de Numismatique Orientale de L'antiquite et du Moyen Age". Tome I. Paris, 1923-1936.

pp. 402-403 description and drawings of a few Lichhavi coins

***XI.C.40. Negleman, René:** *Repertoire des Monnaies du Népal*. Bruxelles, 1970.

French text. Despite of many errors this is a helpful catalogue of Nepalese coins, except for the Licchavi issues. With many photographs of good quality.

XI.C.40a. Nepali, Chittaranjan: "Nepal-Tibet Relations." In: Regmi Research Series, Year 6, No. 6, Kathmandu, June 1, 1974, pp. 108-114.

This is a translation of an article which originally was published in Nepali language: "Nepal ra Tibbat ko Sambandha." In: *Pragati*, Year 2, No. 4, n.d. (1955), pp. 103-114.

A 17th century treaty concluded between Tibet and the Kathmandu ruler Pratap malla is discussed. This treaty was signed by Kaji Bhima Malla, a relative of king Pratap Malla and among others included the provision that Nepal is allowed to mint coins required by Tibet.

Another treaty concluded between king Jaya Prakash malla of Kathmandu and king Prithvi Narayan Shah of Gorkha in 1814 Vikrama Samvat (= A.D. 1757) is mentioned: this treaty "stipulated that Gorkha and Kantipur (Kathmandu) should send their respective coins for circulation in Tibet in equal amounts."

XI.C.41. Pant, Pushkar Nath: *The Dual Currency System in Nepal*. Theses Dr. Phil. Vanderbilt University, Nashville (Tennessee), 1964.

On pp. 64 sqq. a historical survey of Nepalese currency is given.

***XI.42. Prasad, Durga:** "A Silver Coin Struck in Nepal in the Name of Ala-Ud-din Muhammad Shah Khilji". In: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic Supplement*, No. 42, 1931, pp. 37-38.

A coin of the so-called "tanka standard coinage" (c. 1560-1639) and of "Ala-ud-din" -type is described and illustrated.

***XI.C.43. Regmi, D.R.:** *Medieval Nepal. A History of the Three Kingdoms 1520 A.D. to 1768 A.D.*, 4 Volumes, K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1966.

Mentioned and partly illustrated are 39 Malla coins not recorded by E.H. Walsh (Vol. 2, Appendix 3, pp. 1022-1041 and one plate).

XI.C.44. Regmi, Jagadish Chandra (editor): *Malla Coins*. Nepal Antiquary. Golden Jubilee Special Issue. No. XLVI - L, Kathmandu, September 1982 (210 pp.).

An extensive listing of the Malla coinage of Nepal accompanied by plates which are reproductions of the ones included in E.H. Walsh's "The Coinage of Nepal." Contains a very useful bibliography which lists many titles in Nepalese language.

XI.C.45. Regmi, Mahesh Chandra: *A Study in Nepali Economic History 1768-1846* New Delhi, 1971.

Contains some references to Nepal's attempts to mint coins for Tibet in the early 19th century (p. 160).

XI.C.46. Regmi, Mahesh Chandra.: *An Economic History of Nepal 1846-1901*. Varanasi, 1988.

IXC.46a. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Forgotten Coins of the Himalayas". In: *Coins Medals & Currency Digest*, London, December 1969 (Nr.4), pp. 50-54.

The author records his own experiences in buying old coins in Nepal. Several Nepalese silver coins and a Tibetan 20 Srang gold coin, dated 15-53, are illustrated.

***XI.C.47. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "The Smallest Coins in the World". In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 81, 1973, p. 100.

Report on a Nepalese coin called "jawa", struck in silver and gold and weighing between 0.008 and 0.014 grams.

XI.C.48. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "Some Unexpected Coins of Nepal". In: *NIB*, Vol. 9, No.4, 1975, pp. 110-114.

During the reign of Rana Bahadur (1777-1799) and Girvan Yuddha (1799-1816) Nepal struck copper coins with Arabic inscriptions. Drawings of 11 coins are included.

***XI.C.49. Rhodes, Nicholas G. and Valdetaro, Carlo:** "Coins in Medieval Nepal". In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, Vol. 16, 1976, pp. 158-166 and plate 35.

For the first time, the authors attribute some small silver and gold coins to a King Sivadeva (A.D. 1098-1126), a ruler in medieval Nepal. The coins are illustrated.

XI.C.50. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "The Monetisation of Nepal in the seventeenth century". In: *Kailash*, Vol. XV, no. 1-2, 1990, pp. 113-117.

XI.C.51. Rhodes, Nicholas, G.: "The Coinage of Nepal." In: *The Britain-Nepal Society Journal*, Nr. 16, 1992, pp. 24-27.

XI.C.52. Rhodes, Nicholas G., Gabrisch, Karl and Valdetaro, Carlo: *The Coinage of Nepal from the earliest times until 1911*. Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication no. 21, London, 1989.

Now the standard work on this subject. Includes chapters on the coinage minted by Nepal for Tibet during the Malla and early Saha dynasty.

For a review by Luciano Petech see: *East and West*. IsMEO, Vol. 39, Nos. 1-4, December 1989, pp. 318-320.

For a review by Wolfgang Bertsch see: *NIB*, Vol. 25, Nr. 9 (September 1990), pp. 218-219. This review was also published in *Postal Himal, Quarterly of the Nepal and Tibet Philatelic Study Circle*, no. 73, 1st Quarter 1993, p. 21.

XI.C.53. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "An Unusual Nepalese Tanka." In: *Numismatic Digest*. Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies. Vol. 18, Anjaneri, 1994, pp. 135-138.

The author illustrates a silver tanka in the style of the coins of the Sultans of Delhi which he believes was struck in Nepal in about 1600 A.D., since a small Newari character for "shri" is seen on the reverse of the coin.

XI.C.53a. Rhodes, Nicholas G.: "A New Type of Licchavi Coin from Nepal." In: Papers given at the Indian Coinage Study Days held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK on 13 June 1998 and 12 June 1999. Supplement to ONS Newsletter 161, Autumn 1999, p. 22.

Illustrated is a newly discovered copper coin with standing bull facing left and the legend "Sri Pashupati" above (obverse) which the author attributes to about 641 AD when Narendra Deva ascended the throne.

XI.C.54. Sakya, Mandu Ratna: *An Approach to Nepalese Currency*. [a case study]. For M. Com. Exam. 1967, Tribhuvan University. Kirtipur, 1967.

Pp. 2-5. Gives a historical review of the coinage of Nepal, unfortunately with many incorrect statements.

***XI.C.55. Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan:** "Coinage of Yoganarendra malla to Indra Malla of Patan." In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 33, part 2, 1971, pp. 93-113 and plates I-IV.

Description of 41 coins, in part unrecorded, of Yoganarendra Malla, Lokaprakasha Malla and Indra Malla. All coins are illustrated.

XI.C.56. Stiller, L.F., S.J.: *Prithvinarayan Shah in the Light of Ditya Upadesh*. Himalayan Book Centre, Reprint, Kathmandu, 1989 (First published in 1968).

on pp. 17-18 a brief discussion of the Malla kings minting coins for Tibet in the 18th century and on pp. 48 a paragraph on Prithvinarayan Shah's attempt (in the second half of the eighteenth century) to continue with the profitable arrangement which gave Nepal the exclusive right to mint coins for Tibet.

XI.C.57. Vaidya, Tulsi Ram: *Prithvinarayan Shah. The Founder of Modern Nepal*. Anmol Publications. New Delhi, 1993, pp. 359-368.

This publication includes a chapter entitled "Monetary System" which gives a brief survey of Nepal's coinage with emphasis on the early Saha period.

XI.C.58. Vaidya, T.R.: "Monetary System and Market Rate during the Reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah." In: *Voice of History. Journal of History Instruction Committee*. Tribhuvan University History Association. Vol. 2, Kirtipur, 2032-33 (1976), pp. 6-12.

The minting of coins for Tibet during the Malla dynasty and the devaluation of the Malla coins towards the end of this dynasty are briefly discussed.

***XI.C.59. Valdetaro, Carlo:** "A Double-Mohar of Sivasimha Malla of Kathmandu". In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 26, part 2, 1964, pp. 278-279.

This coin is recorded for the first time. It is an early example of Nepalese coins of which only few had been adequately recorded when this article was published. With one photograph.

***XI.C.60. Valdetaro, Carlo:** "A Mohar of Jaya Jitmitra Malla of Bhatgaon". In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 29, part 1, 1967, pp. 38-40.

The author records a silver coin of this ruler dated Samvat 783, Chaitra sudi 9. This coin shows that the ruler's coronation took place in A.D. 1662 and not in A.D. 1672 as stated by D.R.Regmi (*Medieval Nepal*, Calcutta 1966).

***XI.C.61. Walsh, E.H.:** "The Coinage of Nepal". In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 40, 1908, pp. 669-759 and *Supplimentary*, pp. 1132-6. Reprint: Indological Book House. With Scholarly Introduction by T.P. Verma. New Delhi and Varanasi, 1973.

Until the publication of the monography authored by N. G. Rhodes, K. Gabrisch and C. Valdetaro (see above) this was the fundamental work on the Nepalese coinage and, therefore, also on the Tibetan coinage of the 18th century. Unfortunately, Walsh's unfamiliarity with the old Newari numbering system led him to commit a considerable number of errors in reading the dates of many of the coins. His errors were often copied by later writers.

XI.D. Sikkim

***XI.D.1. Bhattacharya, P.K.:** "New Light on Sikkim Coinage." In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 34, Part 1, 1972, pp. 93-96.

The earliest known coin of Sikkim, a "doli paisa" is described and illustrated. It is of rectangular shape, made of copper, weighs 10.567 gms and its size is 1.1 X 1.3 mm (printing error for: 11 X 13 mm). Thickness 0.5 mm. It is an imitation of the "doli paisa" of Nepal and was minted by the Newar traders of Sikkim between 1882 and 1885.

XI.D.2. Bhattacharya, P.K.: "A coin type of Sikkim." In: *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, April 1972, pp. 3-4.

The Doli Paisa appears to be the earliest known coin of Sikkim. A description of one Doli Paisa is given.

XI.D.3. Bhattacharya, P.K.: "A Coin Type of Sikkim." In: *Journal Asiatic Society*. Vol. XIV, no. 1, 1973, p.26.

It is possible that the Doli Paisa of Sikkim was imitated from that of Nepal. It appears that the Doli Paisa was in circulation in Sikkim right from samvat 1906 (1849 AD) till even after samvat 1939 (i.e 1882 AD) when the Sikkim coin (Chepte paisa) came into being. The Sikkim coins were at first in circulation in Nepal but became unacceptable to the Government of that country because of their insufficient weight.

XI.D.4. Bhattacharya, P.K.: "Study of a Few Documents Relating to the Coinage of Sikkim". In: *East and West*, New Series, Vol. 32, Nos. 1-4, Rome, December 1982.

Important and unknown documents relating to the origin and minting of the Doli paisa and Chepte paisa are published.

XI.D.5. Bhattacharya, P.K.: *Aspects of Cultural History of Sikkim. Studies in Coinage.* K.P. BAGCHI & Company, Calcutta and Delhi, 1984.

A monograph on Sikkimese numismatic history, 86 pp and 9 pl. with 32 photos of coins (also doli paisa).

XI.D.6. Chakravarti, Monmohan: "Sikkim Copper Coins". In: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, 1909, pp. 15-17.

Historical comments on old currency of Sikkim with description and picture of the Sikkim pice.

XI.D.7. Datta-Ray, Sunanda K.: *Smash and Grab. Annexation of Sikkim.* Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 31-32.

"A separate, if short-lived coinage also underlined the Sikkimese sovereignty. Minting began when a Newar landlord, Laxmidas Pradhan, leased a tract of land on the Rungeet river, cleared the jungle, and brought in Magars and Kamis to work copper deposits at Pachekhiani, Bhotangkhani, and Tukhani. He also engaged shroffs from Darjeeling, paying them between Rs 12 and Rs 20 a month. The coins were inscribed in Devanagari *Sri Sri Sri Sikkimpati Maharaj* on one side and *Sri Sri Sri Sikkim Sarkar* on the other. Though Thutob Namgyal approved, many of the Bhutiya *kazis* superstitiously feared that the exploitation of the treasures below the earth would be visited by sickness of men and cattle, and by failure of crops. The experiment lasted for only two years; it was discontinued in 1885 when Darjeeling's deputy commissioner would not allow durbar currency to circulate in British territory."

***XI.D.8. Gabrisch, Karl:** "The Doli Paisa of Sikkim." In: *ONS NL*, 1983.

Description of a lot of eight "doli paisa" collected at Gangtok. With illustrations.

***XI.D.9. Rhodes, Nickolas G.:** "The Coinage of Sikkim". *ONS Info-Sheet*, No. 8, January 1974.

A short historical introduction and a list of three types with many varieties of the Sikkimese paisa. Drawings of four coins.

XI.E. Other Areas

XI.E.1. Allen, I.M and Wootton, Anthony: "A Note on the Origin of Primitive Currency from the Abors of the Assam-Tibet Frontier". In: *The Numismatic Circular*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 11, London, Nov. 1960, p. 237.

Illustrated is a brass object used as currency by the Abors of the Siang Valley on the Assam-Tibet frontier. It is shown that the prototype of this object could be a brass snuff-taking tray from northern Nigeria of which an example is illustrated.

XI.E.2. Atkinson, Edwin T.: *The Himalayan Gazetteer*, Vol. III, Part II, Reprint, New Delhi, 1973 (first published: Allahabad, 1882).

p. 537: "Besides the division of rupees into annas and pice, which are the same all over the British possessions, an anna in Garhwal is subdivided into two takka or 4 pice, each pice into two Kachchi or four dhélas; 20 cowrie (shells) go into one dhéla. Another mode formerly in use was four annas make one timáshi, two timáshis one dheli, two dhelis one Kachcha rupee and five timáshis one Kuldár or milled Farukkabad rupee. The Tibetan or Lhasa timáshi weighs 40 grains, and one hundred of them are worth R 23-7-9 of our money. The old Gorkháli timáshis weighed 33.2 grains each, whilst the modern Nepal timáshis still current in parts of the hills are of less value, one set being worth little more than nineteen and the other about nine rupees per hundred. The old Srinagar rupee weighed 85.5 grains."

***XI.E.3. Bhattacharya, P.K.:** "On the Dates on Coinage of Cooch Behar". In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 34, Part 1, 1972, pp. 93-96.

Queries concerning an article on Cooch Behar by V. Chowdhury and P.Ray.

***XI.E.4. Chowdhury, Vasant and Ray, Parimal:** "Hitherto Unknown Coins of Cooch Behar of Viranarayana and Mahindranarayana". In: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 33, Part 1, 1971, pp. 129-132.

XI.E.5. Chowdhuri, Vasant and Ray, Parimal: "An Assamese Trade Rupee". In: Jai Prakash Singh and Nisar Ahmad (ed.): *Coinage and Economy of North Eastern States of India*. The Numismatic Society of India, Memoirs Series Nr. 7, Varanasi n.d. (1979), pp. 176-179 and Plate XI.

An Assamese trade Rupee, dated Saka 1570 with the Chinese inscription Pao Tsang is described and illustrated. The authors suggest that his rupee may have been struck for possible trade between Assam and China (via Yunnan) and not with Tibet as was suggested earlier by N.G. Rhodes who illustrated an identical rupee (An Assamese-Tibetan Coin. In: *Numismatic Circular*, July-August 1975, pp. 288-289).

XI.E.6. Deyell, John S.: "Commemorative Rupee of Fateh Shah of Garhwal." In: *Numismatic Digest*. Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Vol. VII, Part I & II, Anjaneri, June & December 1983, pp. 87-91.

Illustrated and described is an octagonal silver rupee, dated VS 1757 (A.D. 1750) which commemorates the visit of Fateh Shah of Grahwal at the temple of Badarinath. A note of the editor suggests a somewhat different reading of the coin's legend.

XI.E.7. Duff-Sutherland-Dunbar, George: "Notes on Certain Hilltribes of the Indo-Tibetan Border". In: *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, Extra Number, Calcutta 1915, pp. 35-38 and Plates XIX to XXXIII.

Discusses the use of *dankis* (metal bowls) as currency among the Abors and kindred tribes. Bells are used as currency by the Padam, Panggis and Minyongs.

XI.E.8. Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph von: *Himalayan Barbary*. Publisher: John Murray. London 1955, pp. 199-200.

Remarks on the use as currency and as storage of wealth of Tibetan bells among the Daflas and Miris of the Subansari area (Arunachal Pradesh).

XI.E.9. Jettmar, Karl: "No Coins from Gilgit: Pre-conditions of a non-monetary economy." In: Jha, Amal Kumar and Garg, Sanjay: *Ex Moneta. Essays on Numismatics in honour of Dr. David Macdowall*, Vol. 2, pp. 401-423. Harmann Publishing House, New Delhi, 1998.

Deals with currency in Gilgit, Baltistan and Chitral and also contains some remarks on the use of currency in ancient Tibet as mentioned in documents from Dun Huang.

XI.E.10. Khemanand, Chandala: *Across the Himalayas through the ages. A study of relations between Central Himalayas and Western Tibet*. Patriot Publishers. New Delhi, 1987.

p.98 "Gold was calculated by the 'Phetang' equal to seven and a half 'Mashas'. Gold dust tied up in a piece of cloth was current as coin at eight rupees per 'Phetang'. Silver was computed at the 'Jyu' or 'Timasha' and the 'Gorma' or current Bareli and Farrukhabad rupee, both equivalent to four 'Jyu'. The 'Jyu' was coined at Ladakh of very uncertain standard. In Garhwal it was called Gangatashi and passed for more than five to the minted Farrukhabad rupee. In large payments, ingots called 'Lakalo' or 'Doja' were used. These had the Lhasa stamp on them and were very pure silver. The 'Doja' weighed seven hundred and sixty 'Jyus' and were current for something less than two hundred rupees. Srinagar 'Timasha', Ladakh 'Jyu', Bareli and Farrukhabad rupee and the 'Nagtang' or 'Tanka', the Tibetan coin, all were accepted in the marts and tent colonies of Hundes. Post 1954 period however, witnessed the entrance of 'Dhayang', the Chinese coin which in due course of time forced the coins out of circulation."

Hundes or Hundes Desh is a western Tibetan district, bordering on Garhwal and Kumaon. It has also been described as Swarnadesh, Swarnagotra or Haimuarta, signifying gold country. Rudok was the district from where gold was chiefly excavated.

***XI.E.11. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "India: The Coinage of Srinagar in Garhwal 1760-1815 A.D." *ONS Info-Sheet*, No. 4, April 1973.

***XI.E.12. Rhodes, Nicholas G.:** "An Assamese-Tibetan Coin". In: *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 83, 1975, pp. 288-289.

A coin, unique in the Assamese series, is illustrated and described for the first time. It is of octagonal shape and bears Chinese characters on both sides, transcribed as "Tsang Pao". The date, in Bengali numerals, is 1570 Saka era (A.D. 1648). According to the author, this coin seems to be a solitary survivor of an ill-fated attempt at an Assamese-Tibetan coinage.

See above, the article by Chowdhary and Ray.

***XI.E.13. Rhodes, Nicholas G. and Wiggins, K.W.:** "The Silver Coinage of the Dogra Maharajahs of Jammu and Kashmir". *ONS Info-Sheet*, No. 11, 1975.

After the conquest of Ladakh, the Dogra rulers coined also for this country. The Ladakhi coins were also current in Western Tibet. All coins are illustrated and their legends explained.

IX.E.14. Rhodes, Nicholas and Bose, Shankar K.: *The Coinage of Cooch Behar*. Library of Numismatic Studies. Dhubri, 1999.

XI.E.15. Singh, Jogishwar: "A brief survey of village gods and their moneylending operations in Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh, along with earlier importance of trade with Tibet". In: *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Gegenwärtige Forschungen in Nordwest-Indien*. Internationales Kolloquium von 9. bis 13 März in Herrnhut. Herausgegeben und redigiert von Lydia Icke-Schwalbe und Gudrun Meier. Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden. Forschungsstelle. Dresdener Tagungsberichte 2, herausgegeben von Peter Neumann. Dresden 1990, p. 244 sq.

"Most of the trade was conducted on a barter basis. It is only after 1960 that the Kinnauri economy has become monetized in a significant way. The Kinnauras were essentially intermediate handlers exchanging the produce of Tibet with that of the lower hills and plains in India. These exchange relations were carried on in a series of trade fairs at Rampur [capital of Bushahr to which Kinnaur belonged], Leh, Patseo [Lahul] and Gartok."

XI.E.16. Stubel, Hans: *The Mewu Fantzu. A Tibetan Tribe of Kansu*. New Haven, 1958.

p. 13, note 23: At the time of my visit [1936], the Chinese dollar, or yuan, was the equivalent of 50 cents in American currency; Chinese paper money, which even at the time had a considerably lower rate of exchange, was not accepted by the nomads.

pp. 26-27: During the first years of the Chinese Republic, yuan came into use in place of unminted silver (tael). In 1936, there was no [27] paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver, which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

p. 37 Smaller units of exchange are the ch'uan and copper coins. One yuan equals 11 1/2 ch'uan; 4 ch'uan equal 36 fen; one ch'uan equals 49 copper coins.

[The territory of the Mewu Fantzu is located south of the great lamasery of Heh-tso and east of the old part of Taochow (Lin-t'an)]

XI.E.17. Tarafdar, M.R.: "Bengal's relations with her neighbours: a numismatic study". In: Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commemoration Volume, Dacca Museum. Dacca, 1966.

The author denies the Bengal influence on Nepal coins as suggested by E. H. Walsh and the view being later on accepted by Stapleton (J.A.S.B., p. 162, 1910). The former thinks that the circle of

dots around the margin and the small circle in the middle of the Malla coins together with “the enclosure of the inscription within a square area” and the imitation Arabic script appearing on them, have been copied from the coins of Ghiyath-ud-din Mahmud, Muhammad Shah Ghazi and Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur of Bengal. What Walsh considers to be Bengal influence is perhaps a modification of the designs - a circle of crude dots around the margin and a rayed circle in the middle found on most of the seventh and eighth century coins of Nepal. The square enclosure seems to be a geometrical figure created by the placing of the “svastika” marks repeatedly found on the coins of mediaeval Nepal. The imitation Arabic script was possibly introduced to keep the contemporary Mughal rulers in good humour and to make the coins acceptable to the Indian merchants acquainted with Mughal coins bearing Arabic letters. It is interesting to note that Malla and Gurkha full mohar conformed to half the weight of Mughal rupee weighing 180 grains (summary by K. Gabrisch).

XI.E.18. Traille, George William: “Statistical Sketch of Kumaon.” In: *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI, Calcutta, 1828, pp. 137-234.

pp. 190-191: “The silver metallic currency in this province consists, principally, of new [191] Farruckabad rupees. A few old Farruckabad and Bareilly rupees are to be met with in circulation, as also Mahendar Mullees, a Gorkha coin, which passes for six annas. The copper coin is pice, 176 of which equal one Farruckabad rupee: cowries are not used. In Gerhwal, in addition to the above, there is a three anna piece called timash’, which is a favorite coin there. Under the former government, a mint for stamping the Timash’, existed in Srinagar: this has now been abolished, and this description of money having, in consequence, become scarce, has been greatly enhanced in its nominal value. Five only, instead of six, as formerly, are now procurable for the new Farruckabad rupees, the intrinsic worth is not much above two annas. The current rupee of account, throughout the province, is the same, being equivalent to 12 annas, new Farruckabad rupees. Gold coins are merely purchased for their metal, for making ornaments; a Calcutta sicca gold mohur sells, in the market here, for 19 Farruckabad rupees, and other gold mohurs in proportion. The Tartar gold does not fetch more than from 14 to 15 rupees the tola. In Gerhwal, copper, in weight, would appear to have been once the principal medium of exchange. This circumstance, no doubt, arose from the metal forming the staple commodity of the country. In adherence to old usages, the Zemindars of Gerhwal, even now, in many of their contracts, stipulate a part of the price in a given weight of copper, but as this is no longer plentiful, the whole amount is paid in silver coin.”

XI.E.19. Wootton, Anthony: “Notes on Some Forms of Primitive Currency and Money. Asia”. In: *Seaby’s Coin and medal Bulletin*, 1964 vol., issue 11 (nr. 558), December 1964, pp. 402 sqq.

Discusses the use of brick tea “as a medium of exchange over a wide area of central Asia: northward across Mongolia to the Siberian Frontier, southward to the Pamirs and Tibet, and eastward at least as far as the borders of Asiatic Russia.” Illustrated is a rectangular specimen bearing the letter “K”, collected in about 1893 in eastern Russia and a round brick manufactured in Yunnan in 1890 and obtained in eastern Mongolia.

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