THE BEGINNINGS OF COINAGE IN THE BLUE HORDE*

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Since the publication of Hammer-Purgstall’s path-breaking monograph (1840) on the history of the Golden Horde much has been written on this westernmost Tatar state, but some basic problems have remained unsolved ever since. One of the most obscure periods in the history of the Golden Horde is the twenty years’ anarchy (called bulqaq in Turkic) after Berdibek Khan’s death in 1359/60 (AH 761), lasting until 1380, the date of the establishment of Tokhtamish’s rule. With Berdibek’s death Batu’s line extinguished, and a cruel fight began among the Jochid families for the throne. Originally the western part of the Golden Horde (alias Right Wing or White Horde) was held by Batu’s house seated in Saray, and their jurisdiction nominally extended also to the eastern part of the Golden Horde (alias Left Wing or Blue Horde) where Batu’s elder brother Orda and his own successors sat on the khanal throne in Sığnaq. Practically they enjoyed total independence in matters of inner affairs, but had no coinage of their own. For long it was thought that the first eastern khan to mint coin in 770 AH (1369/70 AD) was Urus Khan, ancestor and predecessor of Girey and Jānibek, founders of the Kazak khanates in 875 AH (1470/1 AD).

But some contradictory statements also appeared time and again as if a certain Mubārak-hoja was the first khan to mint coin in the east. Savel’ev and Markov published a few coins of Mubārak-hoja that were allegedly dated to 728 and 729 (perchance to 738 and 739). These dates contradicted our historical knowledge derived mainly from the Persian historian Naṭanzī’s narrative. But Jakubovskij, Safargaliev, and Ağat, bothered by the contradiction of the data, tried to reconcile the numismatic evidence with that of the written sources with no avail.

The solution of the question lies in the exact date on Mubārak-hoja’s coins. The present paper refutes the former dates 728, 729 (or 738, 739), suggested by Savel’ev and others, as misinterpretations, and endeavours to prove that the correct dates are 768 and 769. This indisputable numismatic evidence of Mubārak-hoja’s coins enables us to reinterpret a whole chain of events and eradicate a number of inveterate misbeliefs. Above all, Mubārak-hoja minted his coins in 768 and 769

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AH (07.09.1366–15.08.1368), i.e. forty years later than supposed hitherto by the majority of researchers. Now it becomes clear that Mubarak-şoja was the first khan to mint coins in the Blue Horde, as a sign of declaring independence in Sığnaq, capital of the Blue Horde. All this happened already during the period of the bulqaq, the great upheaval subsequent to Berdibek Khan’s death in 1259/60. Urus Khan then took over power in Sığnaq in 770 AH (1368/69), and from that time onwards the khanal mint in Sığnaq began to issue coins with a regular flow.

**Key words**: Blue Horde, Golden Horde, Sığnaq, Mubarak-şoja, coinage.

Since the publication of Hammer-Purgstall’s path-breaking monograph on the history of the Golden Horde in 1840 much has been written on this westernmost Tatar state, but there are some generally accepted opinions which have to be questioned while some basic problems have remained unsolved ever since. The basic difficulty derives from the paucity and contradictory character of the various source groups. The testimony of the Oriental (Arabic, Persian, and Turkic) and Russian written sources, compared with the witness of numismatical material sometimes are in sharp contrast. New sources would vitally be needed, but an essential broadening of source material can be awaited only in the field of numismatics and archaeology. Nevertheless, there is a distinct group of written source which has hitherto been neglected by researchers owing to several reasons. These sources are all written in Turkic, so one could call them the “native sources” of the Golden Horde. But all of these sources were put down after the fall of the Golden Horde in the 16th–18th centuries, in the territory of the successor states of the Golden Horde (in Shibanid Central Asia: Transoxiana and Khiva; the Kasimov and the Crimean Khanates).<sup>1</sup> They are not contemporary with the events of Golden Horde history, but have the special value that they are partly based on oral tradition of the Turkic nomads, so sometimes they preserved the authentic tradition, more than the outsider Persians and Arabs. It was V. P. Judin, the eminent Russian scholar in Kazakhstan who labelled this genre of Turkic historiography as “oral historiography of the steppe” (stepnaia ustnaia istoriografiia) (Judin 1992, p. 57) and restored this group of sources to their well-deserved historical value. Judin’s great merit is that he edited, alas but posthumously, Ötemiš-hājji’s Tāriḵ-i Dost Sulṭān, accompanied by notes and interpretation (Judin 1992). In addition to the sources of the “steppe historiography”, numismatical evidence is growingly important. During the past twenty years so many new finds and hoards have been unearthed and found in the territory of one-time Golden Horde (Russia, Ukraine, Romania, and Kazakhstan) that the numismatic history of the Golden Horde has to be rewritten.

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1 The earliest of these works seems to be the Tāwārīḵ-i guzūda, nusratnāma (1502–1505), then comes the Zubdat al-āṯār (after 1525) (concerning these see Ahmedov 1985, pp. 12–15, 30–33, 222–223). The Tāriḵ-i Ḏost Sulṭān or Čingiz-nāma was written by Ötemiš-hājji in Khiva in the 1550s (Judin 1992, p. 5), and it lay basis for the early historical parts of ‘Abdulqaffar Qırımî’s Crimean Khan history, the ‘Umdeṯ üt-tevārīḵ written in 1744 in the Ottoman idiom (Babinger 1927, p. 280; Schamiloglu 1992; edition: Asım 1924/25). Qadir ‘Ali Jalāyîr’s Jāmî’ at-tavārīḵ was written in Kasimov in 1602 (Usmanov 1972, pp. 33–96; edition: Berezin 1851). The Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā was edited by Ivanics–Usmanov (2002). Abulghāzi’s Şajara-yi Tarākîma was compiled in Khiva in 1660/61 (editions: Kononov 1958; Kargi Ölmez 1996), and his famous Şajara-yi Türk in 1663/64 (Ahmedov 1985, pp. 72–78; edition: Desmaisons 1871–1872).
In this article I endeavour to demonstrate the use of combined evidence offered by numismatics and the written sources in re-evaluating some chronological and genealogical questions of the Golden Horde.

One of the most obscure periods in the history of the Golden Horde is the period of twenty years’ anarchy (called bulqaq in Turkic) following Berdibek Khan’s death in 1359/60 (AH 761 = 23.11.1359–10.11.1360) and lasting until 1380, the establishment of Toqtamish’s rule on the throne of the Golden Horde. It is well known that approximately twenty five khans changed their places on the throne, and it is sometimes difficult to reconcile the evidence of numismatics and that of the written sources. Sometimes we know a khan’s name only from the Muslim or Russian sources, sometimes we have coins minted to the name of khans otherwise unknown from written sources, and even if the khanal names happily coincide in all types of sources we are frequently encountered by chronological problems.

Most researchers agree that with Berdibek’s death a sudden break occurred in Jochi’s lineage, namely Batu’s line extinguished. For the extinction of Batu’s line the main responsibility rested with the by 1360 defunct Berdibek himself who “successfully” extirpated his closest relatives, his brothers, his cousins and his own son. According to the Tatar tradition preserved in the Tārīkh-i Dost Sultān that is why he was deservedly called kerkin köten han (Čingiz-name 50a: Judin 1992, p. 135). The decay began already in 1359, in Berdibek’s lifetime. From the year 760 AH (1358/59) we have four khans’ coins at our hands: Berdibek (Azaq, Qırm, Gulistan, Khwarezm), Qulpa (Azaq, Gulistan, Saray al-jadīda), Navruz (Azaq, Qırm), Hıdır (Azaq), and from the subsequent year 761 AH (23.11.1359–10.11.1360) we have five khans: Berdibek (Gulistan, Saray al-jadīda), Qulpa (Gulistan, Saray al-jadīda, Khwarezm), Navruz (Gulistan, Saray al-jadīda, Khwarezm), Hıdır (Gulistan, Saray al-jadīda), Murid (Saray al-jadīda) ( Ağat 1976, p. 137). Especially the centre of the Golden Horde fell prey to the waring factions of the Golden Horde: as could be seen, in the year 761 the capital city Saray al-jadīda changed overlordship five times (!) a year, Gulistan four times. It is not our task now to disentangle the complicated process of succession of khans in its entirety, the above examples only served to present the complexity and difficulties of research in these two decades. After the extinction of Batu’s line, practically representatives of all other Jochid lines could become possible pretenders to the throne of the Golden Horde. But, as can be seen from the sources, only three Jochid branches were in the position to take an active stand in the throne fights of the 1360s and 1370s, namely the descendants of Orda (Jochi’s eldest son), Šiban (Jochi’s fifth son) and Toqa-Temür (Jochi’s thirteenth son), even if occasionally representatives of some other lines could also have an ephemeral appearance and play a transitory role in the events. In the long run it was only the Šibanids and Toqa-Temürids who succeeded in securing stable dynasties for Central Asia (Khwarezm, Bukhara), Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea.

At any rate, with the Batuids’ disappearance the role of the eastern branches enhanced. So in the forthcoming part I will disregard the history of the fight for the

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2 For the best analysis of the period of bulqaq, see Grigor’ev (1983).
called Eastern Dašt-i Qipčaq. The eastern territories of the Golden Horde which can be
precisely traced back in Rašīdīn’s reliable narrative as far as the beginning of
the 14th century: Orda (first son of Joči) → Qongkiran (fourth son of Orda) → Qončī
(first son of Sartaqtay, Orda’s first son) → Bayan (first son of Qončī) → Satu(Sas?)-
Buqa (second son of Bayan) (Rašīdīn/Tehran I, pp. 710–719).4 But one must
note that the latter is mentioned only as Bayan’s second son, not as a ruler, conse-
quently in ca. 1304 when Rašīdīn accomplished his History, Bayan was still the
ruler.

The difficulties begin with the cessation of such reliable reports as Rašīdīn’s are. Namely, for the fifty years subsequent to Bayan’s rule (ca. 1310–ca. 1360)
we are short of trustworthy reports of any kind. Practically we are dependent on one
Persian narrative source, the Muntahab at-tawārīḥ of Muʿīn ad-Dīn Naṭanzī, dedicated
to the Timurid Iskender in 1414. The author was first unidentified and called, in the

3 Rašīdīn himself refers to the eastern wing as the ulus of Orda, and the successors of
Orda and his four brothers Udur, Toqa-Temür (Šingqr) and Šingqum are referred to as sahāzade-
gān-i dast-i čap ‘princes of the left hand’ (Rašīdīn/Tehran I, p. 710). Rašīdīn himself does
not mention Šingqr by name but Allsen was probably right to include him too in the list (Allsen
1987, p. 6).

4 For a detailed treatment of the question see Judin (1992). For the rich literature of the ques-
tion see also Judin (1992, pp. 28–29, note 25). In a separate article, I will also try to summarise my
views concerning the use of the terms White Horde and Blue Horde.

5 The original form in Rašīdīn is Satu-Buqa, but the Suʿāb-i panjgān (f. 108r: Allsen
1987, p. 25, note 86), Naṭanzī and the later sources use Sasi-Buqa, so I will use the latter form in the
following. It is difficult to judge which form the correct one is since both Sasi and Sasi were
well-known names in Mongol, and abundantly used with the Chingisids throughout the 13th–14th
centuries. For example, 1. Çağatay → Mūţūn → Būri → Ahmad → Satu (Rašīdīn/Tehran I,
p. 754); 2. Çağatay → Baydar → Algu → Čubi → Satu (Rašīdīn/Tehran I, p. 761); 3. Toluy →
Ḫūlegū → Tubsin → Sasi (Rašīdīn/Tehran II, p. 967); 4. Sasi was the son of Alkı tuğavul,
a Kereit chief (Rašīdīn/Tehran I, p. 114). In Joči’s line there are two persons called Sasi: 1. Joči
→ Orda → Hūlegū → Temūr-Buqa → Sasi (Rašīdīn/Tehran I, p. 719); 2. Joči → Udur →
Qurāĉar → Qurtuqa → Sasi (Rašīdīn/Tehran I, p. 729).

wake of Barthold, as “the Anonymous of Iskender”. As far as genealogy and chronology are concerned, Natanzi’s work, as was established by many scholars, is extremely negligent and unreliable, and even his text was known prior to Tizengauzen’s edition in 1941 only from later historical compilations which heavily relied on and made excerpts from Naṭanzī’s work. Thus Qāḍī Aḥmad Gaffārī’s Nusḥ-i Jihān-ārā compiled in 972 AH (1564/65), Ḥaydar Rāzī’s work written in 1028 AH (1618/19) and Müneccimbaş’s Ṣahā’īf al-ḥbār accomplished in the 1670s were the only sources on which Hammer-Purgstall, V. Savel’ev and other early researchers of the Golden Horde could rely. But basically Naṭanzī’s original text on which Jakubovskij already heavily drew in his monograph (Grekov–Jakubovskij 1950, especially pp. 262–316), could not alter or add anything essential to the later compilers’ reports. In his basic monograph Spuler (1965) was not interested in the history of Eastern Dašt-i Qipčaq, so he simply disregarded the events there. He only refers to Orda, Joči’s eldest son as the heir and ruler of Eastern Siberia and the territories of Ili, Alakul and Oxus stretching as far as the Irysh river, then drops the history of the “White Horde” as he, like many others, terms the eastern half of the Golden Horde (Spuler 1965, p. 25). So one may say that the genealogical affiliations of the rulers of the eastern half of the Golden Horde after Bayan’s death in ca. 1310 was first established by J. Hammer-Purgstall in 1840 (!) and practically remained unchanged in later research to our day. Hammer worked with a very limited number of sources, using sometimes very bad and corrupt manuscripts, and the emergence of new sources, especially Ötemiş-hâjji’s Tārīḫ-i Dost Sultān and new numismatic evidence urges us to redraw the picture given by Hammer and followed in a slavish way by later investigations.

So first let us see Hammer’s tableau given of Bayan’s successors drawing on Gaffārī’s and Müneccimbaş’s reports: Sašibuga (second son of Bayan) → 1. Ebisan, (2. Mubārak) → Čimtay → 1. Himtay, 2. Urus, 3. Tuli-ḥoja (Toqtamīš’s father). Hammer rightly claims that Rašīddān’s genealogical table ends with Sašibuga, Bayan’s second son, who, in Hammer-Purgstall’s opinion, must have been the later Urus Khan’s and Toqtamīš Khan’s forefather. The chief residence or capital of the khans of the White Horde (Blue Horde in our terminology) was Siṅqaq, and their most important cities were Otrar and Taraz, all situated not too far from the Syr-Darya. Sašibuga’s successor on the throne was Ebisan who died in 720 AH (1320/21). His rule was taken over by his brother Mubārak, who after 25 years of government died (745 AH = 1344/45) and was buried in Siṅqaq (Gaffārī). Mubārak’s successor was his nephew Čimtay, son of Ebisan who ruled for 17 years (until 762 AH = 1360/61). Then his son, Himtay succeeded for a few years who was followed by his brother Urus Khan (Hammer-Purgstall 1840, p. 329). Savel’ev follows the scheme settled by Hammer-Purgstall: Sašibuga → 1. Abisan, (2. Mubārak) → Čimtay → 1. Himtay, 2. Urus, 3. Tuli-ḥoja (Toqtamīš’s father) (Savel’ev 1858, p. 153). Savel’ev’s genea-

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7 For these works see Tizengauzen (1941, pp. 210–212, 269–271 (Gaffārī), pp. 213–215, 272–274 (Ḥaydar Rāzī)). For the “Aq Orda” see Müneccimbaş (1868/69, II, pp. 691 ff.).
The logical table was used unaltered for almost one hundred years by Russian research, even Jakubovskij basically accepted it. But since he knew already Naťanzī’s text, he could correct a few names used by Savel’ev (e.g. Sašibuqa → Sasi-Buqa, Abisan → Erzen, Tuli-ḥoja → Tuy-ḥoja, etc.), but left Naťanzī’s and his followers’ obscure chronology untouched (Grekov – Jakubovskij 1950, pp. 310–311). Later research followed Savel’ev’s and Jakubovskij genealogical track (e.g. Sultanov 2001, pp. 140–144), and reference works and hand-books such as Golden’s Introduction, Bosworth’s Islamic Dynasties and Soucek’s Inner Asia regard the descension of Urus and Toqtamīsh from Orda’s line as evidence.8

Now we can control in Naťanzī’s original text whether his genealogy is identical with that drawn by Hammer-Purgstall and Savel’ev. The genealogical table that can be set up on the basis of Naťanzī’s text is, in the main lines, identical with the genealogies of Hammer-Purgstall and Savel’ev who drew on Naťanzī’s followers: Sasi-Buqa (second son of Bayan, died in 720 AH = 1320/21) → Erzen (son of Sasi-Buqa, reigned in 720–745 AH = 1320/21–1344/45)) → Čimtay (son of Erzen, reigned in 745–762 AH = 1344/45–1360/61). But there are some differences in the lineage and the chronology. In Naťanzī (and in Gaffārī and Ḥaydar Rāzī too) Mubārak-ḥoja is Erzen’s son who ruled only for 6 months in AH 745 (1344/45), while in Hammer-Purgstall and Savel’ev Mubārak-ḥoja is Erzen’s (Ebisan or Abisan in their reading) brother who ruled for 25 years (720–745). Here, Hammer-Purgstall and Savel’ev followed Müneccimbaş’s later text who evidently corrupted the lineage. Besides, Naťanzī (and Gaffārī and Ḥaydar Rāzī too) do not make mention of an alleged Ḥimtay who ruled only a very short time. Otherwise, the name Himtay does not occur in any other source of the Mongol period, so it seems probable that it is a distorted pair of the really existing Mongol name Čimtay. So we may rightly claim that the name Himtay is a ghost-word and such a khan has never existed in the Blue Horde. Now, after these critical remarks we may establish the Ordaid lineage of the khans of the Blue Horde after Bayan’s death in ca. 1310 as follows: Sasi-Buqa (second son of Bayan, died in 720 AH = 1320/21) → Erzen (son of Sasi-Buqa, reigned in 720–745 AH = 1320/21–1344/45)) → Čimtay (son of Erzen, reigned in 745–762 AH = 1344/45–1360/61). This core of genealogy for the Blue Horde looks fairly acceptable between 1310 and 1360.

Before proceeding further to the first years of anarchy following 1360, let us recapitulate what seems to be safe in the genealogy of the ruling houses of Joci’s Ulus. The western part of the Golden Horde (alias Right Wing or White Horde) was held by Batu’s house. Their jurisdiction nominally extended also to the eastern part of the Golden Horde (alias Left Wing or Blue Horde) but Batu’s elder brother Orda had his own successors on the khanal throne of Şiğnaq. With Berdibek’s and Čimtay’s death in 1360 (761 AH and 762 AH respectively), the throne fights set in immediately in both halves of the Golden Horde. For the most part, Persian sources

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8 Golden thinks that Urus (1361–1375) was “the Ordaid master of the Aq Orda” and Toqtamīsh (1377–1397) was his nephew (Golden 1992, p. 300). – Similarly, in Bosworth (1996, p. 254) and Soucek (2000, p. 323) Urus and Toqtamīsh are direct descendants of Orda.
are very tacit on these obscure, two-decade long events of internecine wars within the northern Tatar state and have only very fragmentary reports of the khans of the period of anarchy. Naṭanzī and his followers take note only of Urus Khan and Toqtamīš Khan and their sons while some other Timurid historiographers like Nizāmaddīn Sāmī and Šarafaddīn ‘Abbāzī mint a confuse list of khans with corrupted forms without any further reference. But some representatives of the “oral historiography of the steppe” like Ötemiš-ḥājjī in his Ṭārīḥ-i Dost Sulṭān and Abulğāzī Khan in his Ša-jara-yi Türk provide us with some new details hitherto passed by in silence. A critical consideration of all these written sources coupled with numismatic evidence will be our scorch light in our further scrutiny.

The first clue that can be helpful in entangling the genealogical and chronological mess can be found in Mubārak-ḥoja’s person. As was mentioned above, Naṭanzī and his late excerptor Muńecimbaṣī differed on Mubārak-ḥoja’s lineage and ruling period: according to the former he was Erzen’s son who ruled only for 6 months in AH 745 (1344 or 1345), while the latter (and in his wake Hammer-Purgstall and Savel’ev) claimed that Mubārak-ḥoja was Erzen’s brother who ruled for twenty five years (720–745 AH). The uncertainty of chronology could not be settled in either direction, moreover a numismatic find further complicated the question. The khans of the Blue Horde or Left Wing did not mint coins to their names for very long since it would have been a sign of sovereignty. For long it was thought that Urus Khan was the first in the eastern ulus to mint coins in his name beginning from 770 AH (= 1369/70) onward. The first coin from Mubārak-ḥoja became known from the Ekaterinoslavsk Hoard and was published by Savel’ev (Savel’ev 1858, pp. 155–157). Since only the digit referring to units was legible on the coin as 9, Savel’ev hypothetically restored the total date as 729 or 739. The basis of his reading was the fact that according to Muńecimbaṣī’s late Ottoman text Mubārak-ḥoja ruled between 720 and 745. According to Savel’ev the coin proved that Mubārak-ḥoja made his ulus independent of Özbek’s rule in 1328/29 or 1338/39. Later, Markov published four coins of Mubārak-ḥoja minted in Siṅqaq allegedly in 728 and 729; now they are placed in the collection of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (Markov 1896, p. 528, Nos 1–4). The obvious contradiction between the dates 728 and 729, and what was written in Naṭanzī’s text about Mubārak-ḥoja, is striking. Namely, according to Naṭanzī, Mubārak-ḥoja followed his father Erzen on the throne in 745, and ruled for 6 months and afterwards spent two and a half years in exile among the Kirghiz in the Altay (Tizengaizen 1941, pp. 234, 130; Aubin 1957, p. 89). He had to flee because he was the first to rebel against the central rule, and he was the initiator of the ensuing great anarchy, the bulqaq in the Horde. The contradiction between the numismatic and written evidence seemingly bothered Jakubovskij who gave preference to the numismatic data versus Naṭanzī’s false chronology (Grekov–Jakubovskij 1950, p. 311). Safargaliev also saw the contradiction between Naṭanzī’s date and the alleged chronology of Mubārak-ḥoja’s coins from 728, 729 or 738, 739, but he gave credence to Naṭanzī’s date, so he simply denied the possibility of the existence of Mubārak-ḥoja’s coins from before 745, i.e. 1345/46. But he could not give any plausible explanation to reconcile the numismatic evidence with that of the written source. Moreover, he made an unfounded attempt at

identifying Mubārak-hoja’s person with a certain Ordak khan occurring in the Russian annals (Safargaliev 1996, p. 371). Ağat also continues to operate with the dates 728 and 729 of the numismatic evidence, without even being aware of the chronological difficulties ( Ağat 1976, p. 64).

However simple it may seem, the solution of the question lies in the date on Mubārak-хоja’s coins. But it is important to have real and reliable dates, and the dates 728, 729 or 738, 739 put forward by Savel’ev are not the real dates. Savel’ev was so much obsessed to read a date which falls between 720 and 745, the alleged dates of Mubārak-хоja’s rule that he had no other choice but the 720s or the 730s. Savel’ev’s reading became so much inveterate in the scholarly literature that Jakubovskij who later saw two coins of Mubārak-хоja with the absolutely legible dates 768, could not believe his eyes and interpreted it as 728, by explaining the Arabic digit 6 (٦) for a failed 2 (٢) (Grekov–Jakubovskij 1950, p. 311, note 4). In addition to the coins published by Savel’ev and Markov, at the moment we have four more coins of Mubārak-хоja at our disposal that are fully legible. There can be no doubt that the dates are 768 (٨٦٨) and 769 (٩٦٩). This indisputable numismatic evidence of Mubārak-хоja’s coins enables us to reinterpret a whole chain of events and eradicate a number of inveterate misbeliefs in our historical knowledge. First of all, Mubārak-хоja minted his coins in 768 AH and 769 AH (07.09.1366–15.08.1368), i.e. forty years later than supposed hitherto by the bulk of researchers. Consequently, Mubārak-хоja’s move to independence in Sı̇ğnaq, capital of the Blue Horde happened already during the period of the bulqaq, the great upheaval subsequent to Berdibek Khan’s death in 1259/60.

Let us have here a short excursus concerning the writing of dates on the coins of the Golden Horde. All examples will be taken from Savel’ev (1858). There are three possible ways of writing a three-digit number on a coin.

1. The most common way is the regular writing from left to right, e.g. on Pulad-Temür’s and Jānibek’s coins: 768 = ٨٦٨ (Savel’ev 1858, pp. 210–214: Nos 402, 403, 404).
2. Sometimes a total mirror image of the date is engraved on the coin, in this case all digits are written from left to right, e.g. on ‘Azīz’s coin minted in Gulistān: ٨٣٧ = ٣٨٧, but it must be read 768 (Savel’ev 1858, p. 214: No. 407), or on ‘Abdullah’s coin minted in Azaq: ٧٢٩ = ٢٧٩, but it must be read 769 (Savel’ev 1858, p. 214: No. 411).
3. Rarely a partial mirror image is given which can merely be the result of the engraver’s negligence. It generally happens with the digits ٢ and ٦ which are easily interchangeable. E.g. on another coin of ‘Azīz minted in Gulistān: ٨٦٨ = ٦٨٨, but it must be read 768 (Savel’ev 1858, p. 214: No. 406).

The pictures and descriptions of five coins can be found on the following websites (first accessed in April 2004, controlled in September 2009):

All are silver coins minted in Sı̇ğnaq (سغناق) with the following characteristics:
4589: 16 mm, 1.56 g, 768 AH; 4592: 16 mm, 1.42 g, 768 AH; 4594: 15 mm, 1.46 g, 769 AH; 4595: 16.8 mm, 1.36 g, 769 AH; 48727: diameter and weight missing, 769 AH. The coins are in the private collection of the Russian scholar E. Gončarov to whom I am indebted for his permission to refer to his coins.

Naṭanzī’s narrative preserved some reminiscences of Mubārak-ḥoja’s role in the bulqaq, but with a totally confused chronology. Now it becomes clear that after his two years of rule, in 770 AH (1368/69) Urus Khan took over the power in the Blue Horde in Şiğnaq. From that time onwards he minted his coins in Şiğnaq, and temporarily occupied and minted coins also in Saray. But this story and his strife with his relative Toqtamış lies outside the time frame of this article. It will be illuminating to have a glance at the numismatic map of the Golden Horde in the years 767–770.

**Golden Horde coins in chronological order**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Mint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>767</td>
<td>'Abdullah</td>
<td>Ordu, Šahr al-jadid, Azaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Mubārak-ḥoja</td>
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<td>770</td>
<td>'Abdullah</td>
<td>Azaq, Ordu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Urus</td>
<td>Şiğnaq</td>
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**Golden Horde coins according to mints**

<table>
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<th>Mint</th>
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<th>King</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>King</th>
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So in the years 768–769 three rivalling khans, ‘Abdullah, ‘Azīz-Šayḥ and Pula-Temür minted coins in the central territories and in Azaq, while in Siğnaq Mubārak-ḫoja “declared independence” in the Blue Horde by minting silver coins for the first time in the history of Eastern Dašt-i Qipçaq. The numismatic evidence from the Blue Horde has almost been equal to naught prior to 768, the year of appearance of Mubārak-ḫoja’s first silver coin from Siğnaq. Of course, some anonymous copper puls minted in Siğnaq were attested during the past decade, but these are local currency bearing no evidence to the suzerainty of the region. For instance on the obverse of the coin published by Hromov (found in the Čerkassk region of Ukraine) we can read: “duriba Siğnaq, 734” (Hromov 2004, p. 13).

11 For the mintage of Siğnaq see Pačkalov (2002); Hromov (2004, p. 13).
12 Hromov remarks, following the old dogma, that this copper pul of 734 comes from the the ruling period of Mubārak, Khan of the Blue Horde (720–745).
After having arrived at new chronological conclusions concerning the beginning of coinage in the Blue Horde, we may now make a fresh attempt to define the lineage of Mubārak-hoja within the Jočid lines. Ötemiš-hājjī in his Tārīḥ-i Dost Sulṭān provides us with important details concerning the period following Berdibek Khan’s death. He depicts the situation in a different way from other sources, and sheds light especially on events unfolding in the eastern region, north of the Syr-Darya. In the following I will briefly expound the events as presented by Ötemiš-hājjī. The upheaval began in Berdibek’s time when Qiyat Mamay took hold the Right Wing and marched with the people to the Crimea, whereas Tengiz-Buqa, son of Qiyat Jir-Qutlī took the Left Wing to the Syr-darya region (ong qolm Qiyat Mamay alip elkiün birlī Qırımğa kātā, sol qolm Qiyat Jir-Qutlī oghī Tengiz-Buqa Str-daryası boynıga alp kātī). The central territories in and near Saray remained with Berdibek. After Berdibek’s death the famous Taytoghī (Taulula of the Russian sources), widow of Özbek Khan and mother of Jānibek Khan, who entertained great influence in the Horde, invited Hdr, son of Mangqutay to the throne. With Hdr the Ṣibanid lineage got temporarily to the throne of Saray. But from the Syr-darya region Ötemiš-hājjī reports on something very interesting and unknown from other sources. What happened there he recounts on the basis of his lord, the Khivan ruler Il-bars khan’s narrative who was very good at preserving traditions (51b: əlar qar sözni yahsi bilir erdi). So in the fourth year of Berdibek’s reign in winter (as the last year of Berdibek’s rule 760 AH

13 Ötemiš-hājjī’s Čingiz-nāma is one of the most precious indigenous sources of the Golden Horde which, up till now has seldom been utilised in research, although some basic facts in the history of the Golden Horde must be revised in the light of this source. The causes for the negligence of this source are manifold. First, it has been a very rare work. Even after some one hundred years after its accomplishment in 1558, Abulğazı Khan seems not to have known it when writing his Sajra-yi Turk. Bartol’d discovered and referred to the Tashkent copy which has for long been the only known version of the work (Bartol’d 1973 (1904), pp. 164–169). Later a more complete copy got into the private possession of Zeki Velidi Togan which has not yet been published. M. Kafal made use of Togan’s manuscript in his doctoral thesis published later in 1976 (Kafal 1976), but in lack of a text edition his book exerted practically no influence on further research. Finally, the Tashkent manuscript was published in facsimile in Almati in 1992, with the late V. Judin’s transcription, Russian translation and studies (Judin 1992). So practically the work has become accessible only during the past decade, although some scholars tried to utilise the Tashkent manuscript in their research, e.g. DeWeese did in his monograph on the islamisation of the Golden Horde (DeWeese 1994). The news of an edition by three Japanese scholars has reached me while checking the proof copy of this article (Kawaguchi, T. – Nagamine, H. – Sugahara, M. (eds): Ötämiš Hājī. Čingiz-nāma. Kyoto, 2008).


15 In the Čingiz-nāma the tribal affiliation of each person is denoted by the tribal name placed before the name.

16 Hdr’s genealogy is the following: Šiban (fifth son of Joči) → Qadaq (third son of Šiban) → Töle-Buqa (first and only son of Qadaq) → Mangqutay (first son of Töle-Buqa) (Rašiddaddın/Tehran I, p. 724). Rašiddaddın does not mention Hdr, but according to Ötemiš-hājjī (Čingiz-nāma 50b: Judin 1992, p. 136) Hdr’s father was Mangqutay. Hdr’s Šibanid lineage was acknowledged also by Spuler (1965, p. 111: "einem Unurenkel Šybars").
began on 23.11.1359, the latter date is a *terminus ante quem* the khan was lying ill, and Tengiz-Buqa was in his winter quarters near the Syr-darya. This Tengiz-Buqa from the Qiyat tribe was Jir-Qutli’s son who, on the other hand, was Isatay’s son. This Isatay was a tribal chief of the Qiyat who after Özbek Khan’s succession to the throne in 1312 was rewarded for his loyalty to Özbek by granting him the descendants of Joči’s seventeen sons from different wives and concubines. Özbek decided so because he wanted to punish the other Jočid lines for their revolt against him before his ascension to the throne. So a legion of Jočid princes or *oğlan* served Tengiz-Buqa in his winter camp amongst whom was one called Bükri Hoja-Aḥmad. Because of his sagacity he was also called Saḡıš-artuq *[‘quick-witted’] Sayčoḡlan*; the other one, a good archer and valiant fighter was called Qara-Noğay. Once a messenger came with the news of Berdibek Khan’s death which was kept secretly before the Jočid princes. Tengiz-Buqa made a secret offer to Qara-Noğay to become khan and kill the other Jočid princes. But Tengiz-Buqa’s princely brothers, with Bükri Hoja-Aḥmad at their head, turned the flow of events and made a coup. After killing Tengiz-Buqa they raised Qara-Noğay to the khanal dignity (*Noğaynı aq kiyizgä salıp ... ḥan qıldılar* “seating Noğay to the white felt … they made him khan”). “So Ḥizr-ḥan, son of Mangḫutay and Qara-Noğay became khans in the same month. But Ḥıdır-ḥan became khan on the throne of Saray whereas Qara-Noğay became khan on the banks of Syr-darya in the Left [Wing]” (Čingiz-nāma 53a: Judin 1992, p. 139: text, p. 112: Russian translation). Qara-Noğay was on the khanal throne on the banks of Syr-darya for three years. After his death his younger brother Tuğli-Temūr became the khan, his regnal years are unknown. Then Urus, son of Badik became the khan. With his reign a new period begins in the history of Eastern Dašt-i Qipčaq: the long duel for power with his nephew Toqtamış and Timur Lang’s repeated interventions in the Golden Horde affairs. Ötemiş-hājjī’s narrative supplies us with some unknown persons and details of the hitherto rather obscure history of the Left Wing between 1360 and 1369. Two khanal names, those of Qara-Noğay and his younger brother, Tuğli-Temūr are new, and their brother Bükri Hoja-Aḥmad was also unknown. But if we search for these names, we can find them, sometimes in slightly different or distorted forms and in a confused manner, in different Timurid sources. The most important of these sources is a rather reliable genealogical work, the *Muʾizz al-ansāb*. There we find the following genealogy of one of the Toqa-Temūrid lines:  


So the *Mu’izz* fully corroborates the existence of the persons mentioned in the *Čingiz-nāma*, moreover it becomes evident that Qara-Noğay and his brothers were the descendants of Toqa-Temūr. In the light of these data two hitherto obscure passages of the descendants of Toqa-Temūr. In the light of these data two hitherto obscure passages of the two Zafar-nāmas also become clear. Namely both Nizāmadin Şamī and Şarafaaddin ‘Alī Yazdī in their Zafar-nāmas enumerate 25 rulers of the Golden Horde, drawing evidently on the same source:

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Now, drawing on the combined evidence of the Čingga-nāma, and the Mu’izz on the one hand, and the two Zafarnāmas on the other, the following conclusions can be drawn. There was a certain Noğay or Qara-Noğay, son of Sasi in Toqa-Temürid’s lineage who got to power in the Blue Horde after the Ordaid Čimtay’s death in 1361. At the same time the Šibanid Ḥiḍr became the khan in the White Horde in Saray. After a short three-year reign of Qara-Noğay, his brothers Tuğluq-Temür, (Bükri-)Qutluqhoja, then their cousin Mubārakhoja followed them on the throne. Here I accept the lineage of the Mu’izz as authentic, the Zafarnāmas evidently confused the relationship of these four persons. Mubārakhoja was the first to mint coin to his name in Sīğnaq in 768 and 769, and the next year, Urus, son of Badik, another Toqa-Temürid from another lineage got to power in the Blue Horde.

Qara-Noğay is the key figure, he was the first Toqa-Temürid to seize power after more than one hundred years after the domination of the Ordaid line. The genealogy of the Mu’izz makes it totally evident why the Ordaid Sai-Buqa (Sasi-Buqa?) was made the father or grandfather of Mubārakhoja in Naṭanzī and his followers. Sasi, the greatgrandson of Toqa-Temür was mistaken for Sai (Sasi?)-Buqa, the greatgreatgrandson of Orda. This confusion of names is well reflected in the different forms of the sources: Sasi (Mu’izz): correctly identified as Toqa-Temür’s greatgrandson, Sasi-Noqay (Sāmī): Noqay’s figure was contaminated with his father Sasi, Sasi-Buqa (Yazdī): the Ordaid Sai-Buqa’s figure erroneously identified with the Toqa-Temürid Sasi and/or his son Noqay, Qara-Noğay (Őtemiš-hājjī): another, composite form of Noğay’s name.

In sum, we may state that after the fall of the Batuid line in the White Horde and the Ordaid line in the Blue Horde in 1360–1361, in Eastern Dašt-i Qipčaq the representatives of a Toqa-Temürid lineage sprang forth and four of them rose to the khanal throne. To our present knowledge, the fourth khan, Mubārakhoja was the first to mint coins in 1367–1368 in Sīğnaq as an apparent sign of total independence. But the possibility cannot be ruled out that future excavations or finds will bring new silver coins to light minted in Sīğnaq to the name of Qara-Noğay, Tuğluq(Temür, or (Bükri-)Qutluqhoja, all cousins of Mubārakhoja whose ruling periods preceded his rule. Under unknown circumstances Urus Khan, a representative of another lineage of the Toqa-Temürids took over power in Sīğnaq in 770 AH (1368/69), and from that time onwards the khanal mint in Sīğnaq began to issue coins with a regular flow.17

17 As far as I know Urus khan has silver coins minted in Sīğnaq from the years: 772, 773, 774, 775 and 777 AH. From the years 770, 776 and 779 we have coins from Urus khan minted in Saray and Saray al-jadīda, and from the years 771 and 778, up till now, no coins have cropped up. For the coins of Urus khan, see http://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=1696 (accessed in September 2009).
References


