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<b>Autor:</b>	Sala, Simona
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## Coins of the Golden Horde in the collection of the Bernisches Historisches Museum

### Introduction

The coins of the Golden Horde presented in this catalogue are, with a few exceptions, part of a collection brought together by the Swiss adventurer and collector Henri Moser<sup>1</sup>. Born in Saint Petersburg in 1844, the son of a rich merchant and industrialist spent the better part of his life travelling throughout Eastern Europe, Central Asia and Persia. The by-product of these adventurous and often hazardous expeditions was the accumulation of an ever-growing number of oriental arms and handicrafts. Collecting, an activity Moser certainly considered as a simple pastime in his early years, should later become the main occupation in his life, bringing him international recognition and fame. Deriving profit of the fin-de-siècle enthusiasm for all things oriental, Moser displayed his collection at several very successful itinerant exhibitions. Amongst the most sensational ones can be cited the pompous but financially ruinous presentation at the Palais Marigny in Paris (1891) and the appearances at the two World exhibitions in Brussels (1897) and Paris (1900). After his retreat into private life, Moser opened his own private museum at the family property of Charlottenfels in the Swiss canton of Schaffhausen. At the same time he continued to purchase oriental art in the European and Near eastern art trade. In order to secure his heritage – his only child Henri Benjamin Schaffhouse had passed away in 1898 – Moser was desirous to donate his collection to a museum where it would be publicly available. The Bernisches Historisches Museum in Bern, well known for its collection of (European) arms and armour, accepted the offer in 1914 and decided to build an annex that should house the «Musée Moser». The 21 may 1922, one year before his death, Moser, accompanied by his wife, could assist the inauguration of the Moser-extension and the opening of the exhibition presenting his life's work<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank Daniel Schmutz from the Bernisches Historisches Museum in Bern for the permission to publish the coins in this catalogue, Sophie Sladek, Bern, for reading the text and especially Lutz Ilisch from the Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik in Tübingen whose precious help and advice have made this publication possible.

<sup>2</sup> R. N. BALSIGER/E. J. KLAY, Bei Schah Emir und Khan, Henri Moser Charlottenfels 1844–1923 (Schaffhausen 1992). Concerning the Moser foundation at the Bernisches Historisches Museum see: E. J. KLAY, «Unser Ziel ist es, ein Werk zu schaffen, das überlebt.» Zum wechselvollen Schicksal der Orientalischen Sammlung Henri Moser Charlottenfels, Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde 56, 1994, pp. 335–358.

<sup>3</sup> G. C. MILES, Some Islamic Coins in the Berne Historical Museum, SNR 41, 1960/61, pp. 131–142.

The collection of Islamic coins Moser had assigned to the Bernisches Historisches Museum consists of about 1000 pieces, principally from Persia and Central Asia. Represented are Mongolian, Abbasid, Timurid, Safavid, and Qajar coins, as well as pieces from Khiva, Bukhara, Kokand, and Kashgar. In addition to that, several private donations, some of them of great importance, have completed the collection. One of the most significant ones is an endowment of the Bernese orientalist and diplomat Dr. Eberhard Friedrich von Mülinen. In 1938 he donated 326 Islamic coins covering 13 different dynasties; among them can be found 43 Umayyad, 73 Abbasid, 30 Artuqid and 110 Ottoman coins. Some very interesting bronze coins of Ayyubid, Seldjuq, Zengid or Memluk origin, some of them inedited, were also part of the donation<sup>3</sup>.

The coins of the Golden Horde examined in this catalogue all seem to belong to the original Moser stock, with the exception of three copper coins (catalogue No. 65, 67, 68) and one silver coin (catalogue No. 63) that were given to the Museum by a private donator. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude with full certainty that a few coins of different provenance have been added at a later point but, as they were supposed to complete the collection, were labelled as if belonging to the

initial Moser assortment. Several indications, however, tell us that the majority of the coins were probably purchased by Moser as a homogenous group, representing a single hoard or at least part of it. The strongest fact supporting this thesis can be derived from comparing the chronological distribution of our pieces with the one prevailing in other Golden Horde hoards. In their 1982 article «Ein alter Fundbestand von Silbermünzen der Goldenen Horde», Lutz Ilisch and Astrid Kaim published diagrams of five different hoards of the Wolga region, illustrating their composition with regard to the dates of coinage<sup>4</sup>. All diagrams show an amazing consistency. If we compare them with our coins, the similarities are even more striking. All hoards, as well as our group, show a first peak in coinage in the year 710 H., date of a coinage reform put through by Toktu Khan. The years 743 H., 746–748 H. as well as 761 H. are also high points in all six diagrams. Particular in our group are the absence of coins minted in 759 H., normally a very strong year, and the large quantity of coins dated 734 H., a year usually underrepresented. Yet, Ilisch and Kaim have also observed this last irregularity in a hoard from Nizhny Novgorod, Russia. The most recent coin in our little collection was minted under 'Aziz Shaykh Khan in 767 H.; being the last piece of the series, it indicates the possible burying date. The year 767 H. is quite frequently attributed to Golden Horde hoards.

Although many arguments support our hoard-thesis, some observations are more difficult to explain. One problem is the fact that eighteen of the coins have small yellow numbers painted on them, most of which are too deteriorated to be read. There is no doubt that these numbers have been added before the coins were handed over to the Bernisches Historisches Museum. Naturally that makes us ask ourselves if we might not be dealing with two different hoards. Or have the other numbers simply disappeared with age? Another little enigma is an exotic coin of Eretnid origin, minted between 756 and 759 H. (catalogue No. 74), that has probably already been with the 73 Golden Horde coins when they passed into the museum's ownership. Could this coin be part of the hoard – the minting date would not contradict this idea – or has it been added at a later moment by someone wrongly thinking it was a Golden Horde coin? But in spite of these questions – nonexistent sources will make it impossible to answer them – the arguments in favour of the hoard-thesis seem to be sufficiently well funded in order to accept it as a plausible theory.

<sup>4</sup> L. ILISCH/A. KAIM, Ein alter Fundbestand von Silbermünzen der Goldenen Horde, *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung* 1, 1982, pp. 1–9.

## Catalogue

### Batu Sain Khan (621–654 H. / 1224–1256) or Bereke (654–664 H. / 1256–1266)

#### *Bulghar*

1. Dengi; [649–658] H. / [1251–1259]; BMC VI 350, cp. Jena type 28 (AR instead of AE); AR; 1.33 g; 17.2 mm; 135°; ruler named on the coin is Mangu, great khan of Mongolia (649–658 H. / 1251–1259); Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 665.

### Toktu (Toktugu) Khan (689–712 H. / 1290–1312)

#### *Serai*

2. Dengi; 710 H. / 1310; BMC VI 360, Jena type 57; AR; 1.36 g; 17.1 mm; 45°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 667.
3. Dengi; 710 H. / 1310; BMC VI 360, Jena type 57; AR; 1.38 g; 17.8 mm; 360°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 668.
4. Dengi; 710 H. / 1310; BMC VI 360, Jena type 57; AR; 1.24 g; 17.5 mm; 135°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 669.
5. Dengi; 710 H. / 1310; BMC VI 360, Jena type 57; AR; 1.52 g; 17.5 mm; 90°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 670.
6. Dengi; 710 H. / 1310; BMC VI 360, Jena type 57; AR; 1.5 g; 17.6 mm; 135°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 671.

### Uzbeg Khan (712–741 H. / 1312–1340)

#### *Khuwarezm*

7. Dengi; 732 H. / 1331; cp. BMC VI 376 (year 732 instead of 733); AR; 1.38 g; 16.1 mm; 225°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 677.

#### *Serai*

8. Dengi; [717] H. / [1317]; cp. BMC VI 362, cp. Jena type 58; AR; 1.54 g; 17.9 mm; 180°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 684.
9. Dengi; 722 H. / 1322; BMC VI 367, Jena type 61 (on obv. square knot); AR; 1.28 g; 15.4 mm; 225°; Moser Collection, Inv. No. I 674.
10. Dengi; 722 H. / 1322; BMC VI 367, Jena type 61 (on obv. square knot); AR; 1.46 g; 16.5 mm; 360°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 675.
11. Dengi; [727/728] H. / [1326/1327]; is mis-

sing in BMC VI, cp. Jena type 63 (on obv. upwards on the right daraba (?)) instead of Serai, on the bottom sana); AR; 1.35 g; 16.3 mm; 45°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 683.

12. Dengi; 731 H. / 1330; BMC VI 375, cp. Jena type 70 (year 731 instead of 739/740); AR; 1.5 g; 15.4 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 676.
13. Dengi; 734 H. / 1333; BMC VI 377, Jena type 65; AR; 1.53 g; 16.2 mm; 225°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 678.
14. Dengi; 734 H. / 1333; BMC VI 377, Jena type 65; AR; 1.46 g; 15.5 mm; 90°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 679.
15. Dengi; 73[4] H. / 133[3]; cp. BMC VI 377, cp. Jena type 65; AR; 1.57 g; 15.3 mm; 90°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 680.
16. Dengi; [734] H. / [1333]; cp. BMC VI 377, cp. Jena type 65; AR; 1.53 g; 15.3 mm; 90°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 681.
17. Dengi; [734] H. / [1333]; cp. BMC VI 377, cp. Jena type 65; AR; 1.56 g; 15 mm; 225°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 682.
18. Dengi; [734] H. / [1333]; cp. BMC VI 377, cp. Jena type 65 (on rev. no square knot above sultan); AR; 1.55 g; 15 mm; 360°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 686.
19. Dengi; [734] H. / [1333]; cp. BMC VI 377, cp. Jena type 65 (on rev. no square knot above sultan); AR; 1.49 g; 15.9 mm; 90°; coin pierced; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 687.
20. Dengi; [739–741] H. / [1338–1340]; cp. BMC VI 375 (on obv. on the top daraba), cp. Jena type 70; AR; 1.53 g; 15 mm; 180°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 685.

#### *Mint unidentified*

21. Dengi; 716 H. / 1316; cp. BMC VI 362 (on rev. below the square sana), Jena type 58; AR; 1.53 g; 17.3 mm; 180°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 673.

### Janibeg Khan (741–758 H. / 1340–1357)

#### *Gulistan*

22. Dengi; 752 H. / 1351; BMC VI 416, Jena type 151 (on rev. the word sana is missing); AR; 1.51 g; 16.4 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 715.
23. Dengi; 754 H. / 1353; BMC VI 420, Jena type 154 (on obv. on the right a square knot, on rev. the date is mirror-inverted); AR;

1.55 g; 16.3 mm; 90°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 717.

#### *Khuwarezm*

**24.** Dengi; 744 H. / 1343; BMC VI 389; AR; 1.87 g; 17.3 mm; 225°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 697.

**25.** Dengi; 746 H. / 1345; BMC VI 388 (year 746 instead of 743); AR; 1.92 g; 16.1 mm; 270°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 700.

#### *New Serai*

**26.** Dengi; 742 H. / 1341; missing in BMC VI, Jena type 84; AR; 1.51 g; 15.7 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 720.

**27.** Dengi; [742/743] H. / [1341/1342]; missing in BMC VI, Jena type 86; AR; 1.52 g; 16 mm; 135°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 721.

**28.** Dengi; 743 H. / 1342; cp. BMC VI 383, cp. Jena type 86; AR; 1.52 g; 16.1 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 689.

**29.** Dengi; 743 H. / 1342; BMC VI 384, Jena type 90; AR; 1.49 g; 17.6 mm; 135°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 690.

**30.** Dengi; 743 H. / 1342; BMC VI 384, Jena type 90; AR; 1.56 g; 16 mm; 225°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 692.

**31.** Dengi; 743 H. / 1342; BMC VI 384, Jena type 90; AR; 1.56 g; 17.2 mm; 135°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 693.

**32.** Dengi; 743 H. / 1342; BMC VI 384, Jena type 90; AR; 1.6 g; 16.7 mm; 45°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 694.

**33.** Dengi; 743 H. / 1342; BMC VI 384, Jena type 90; AR; 1.52 g; 15.8 mm; 135°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 695.

**34.** Dengi; 743 H. / 1342; BMC VI 384, Jena type 90; AR; 1.54 g; 16.3 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 696.

**35.** Dengi; 743 H. / 1342; cp. BMC VI 392 (year 743 instead of 745), cp. Jena type 91 (year 743 instead of 745 H.); AR; 1.55 g; 16.4 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 691.

**36.** Dengi; 744 H. / 1343; BMC VI, 390, Jena type 90; AR; .79 g; 12.3 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 688.

**37.** Dengi; 745 H. / 1344; cp. BMC VI 392 (on obv. upwards on the right 57 [?], cp. Jena type 91 (on obv. upwards on the right 57 [?]); AR; 1.56 g; 16.4 mm; 45°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 698.

**38.** Dengi; 745 H. / 1344; cp. BMC VI 392, cp. Jena type 91; AR; 1.62 g; 15.1 mm; 180°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 699.

**39.** Dengi; 746 H. / 1345 or 756 H. / 1355; is missing in BMC VI, Jena type 93; AR; 1.55 g; 16.1 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 718.

**40.** Dengi; 747 H. / 1346; BMC VI 400, Jena type 98 (on obv. two square knots and a six armed star); AR; 1.57 g; 15.8 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 701.

**41.** Dengi; 747 H. / 1346; BMC VI 400, Jena type 98 (on obv. two square knots and a six armed star); AR; 1.55 g; 15.8 mm; 45°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 702.

**42.** Dengi; 747 H. / 1346; BMC VI 400, Jena type 98 (on obv. two square knots, third square knot is invisible); AR; 1.54 g; 16.6 mm; 270°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 703.

**43.** Dengi; 747 H. / 1346; BMC VI 400, Jena type 98 (on obv. three square knots); AR; 1.41 g; 17.1 mm; 135°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 704.

**44.** Dengi; 747 H. / 1346; BMC VI 402, Jena type 97 (on obv. the first letter of 'adil is represented as a square knot); AR; 1.54 g; 17.3 mm; 135°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 705.

**45.** Dengi; 747 H. / 1346; cp. BMC VI 402, cp. Jena type 97 (on obv. the first letter of 'adil is represented as three dots); 1.48 g; 17.0 mm; 225°; Moser Collection, Inv. No. I 707.

**46.** Dengi; 747 H. / 1346; cp. BMC VI 396 (on rev. the numbers at the top are also mirror-inverted), Jena type 94 (on rev. the numbers on the left and at the top are mirror-inverted); AR; 1.53 g; 14.9 mm; 270°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 719.

**47.** Dengi; [747] H. / [1346]; cp. BMC VI 402, cp. Jena type 97 (on obv. the first letter of 'adil is represented as three dots); AR; 1.54 g; 16.7 mm; 225°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 706.

**48.** Dengi; 749 H. / 1348 ; BMC VI 406, Jena type 100; AR; 1.54 g; 16.6 mm; 225°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 708.

**49.** Dengi; 74[6–9] H. / 134[5–8]; cp. BMC VI 395, cp. Jena type 98 (on obv. four square knots, on rev. in the middle one square knot); AR; 1.58 g; 16.9 mm; 270°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 709.

**50.** Dengi; 74[6–9] H. / 134[5–8]; cp. BMC VI 400, cp. Jena type 98 (on obv. three square knots); AR; 1.56 g; 17.5 mm; 180°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 710.

**51.** Dengi; 74[6–9] H. / 134[5–8]; BMC VI 400, Jena type 98 (on obv. three square knots);

AR; 1.34 g; 16.9 mm; 360°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 711.

- 52.** Dengi; 74[6–9] H. / 134[5–8]; BMC VI 400, Jena type 98 (on obv. three square knots and one special sign, on rev. in the middle one square knot); AR; 1.54 g; 16.8 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 712.
- 53.** Dengi; 74[6–9] H. / 134[5–8]; cp. BMC VI 395, Jena type 98 (on obv. three square knots); AR; 1.54 g; 15 mm; 45°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 713.
- 54.** Dengi; 74[6–9] H. / 134[5–8]; cp. BMC VI 395, cp. Jena type 98 (on obv. three square knots); AR; 1.55 g; 15.1 mm; 225°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 723.
- 55.** Dengi; 74[7–9] H. / 134[6–8]; cp. BMC VI 406, cp. Jena type 100; AR; 1.56 g; 16.6 mm; 360°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 714.
- 56.** Dengi; 750 H. / 1349; cp. Jena type 102 (on obv. in between the lines one square knot and a special sign); AR; 98 g; 13.8 mm; 180°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 722.
- 57.** Dengi; 752 H. / 1351; BMC VI 413, Jena type 107; AR; 1.53 g; 16.3 mm; 270°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 716.

#### Nouruzbeg Khan (761 H. / 1360)

##### Gulistan

- 58.** Dengi; 761 H. / 1360; cp. BMC VI 453 (on rev. Gulasán instead of Gulastán [?]), Jena type 161; AR; 1.55 g; 17.3 mm; 225°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 724.
- 59.** Dengi; 761 H. / 1360; cp. BMC VI 453, Jena type 161; AR; 1.48 g; 17.4 mm; 180°; coin pierced; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 725.
- 60.** Dengi; 761 H. / 1360; BMC VI 453 (on rev. Gulasán instead of Gulastán [?]), Jena type 161; AR; 1.17 g; 14.6 mm; 180°; private donation; Inv. No. I 726.

#### Khizr Khan (760–762 H. / 1359–1361)

##### Azak

- 61.** Dengi; 763 H. / 1362; BMC VI 470, Jena type 205; AR; 0.89 g; 12.9 mm; 135°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 734.

##### Gulistan

- 62.** Dengi; 762 H. / 1361; BMC VI 460 (on rev. Gulasán instead of Gulastán [?]), Jena type 163; AR; 1.53 g; 17.1 mm; 225°; coin

pierced and slit.; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 727.

- 63.** Dengi; 762 H. / 1361; BMC VI 460, Jena type 163; AR; 0.92 g; 13.2 mm; 315°; private donation; Inv. No. I 728.
- 64.** Pul; 762 H. / 1361; cp. BMC VI 462 (on rev. Gulasán instead of Gulastán [?]) and on the top of the s a special sign or sana), Jena type 164; AE; 2.77 g; 19.4 mm; 90°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 732.
- 65.** Pul; 762 H. / 1361; cp. BMC VI 462, Jena type 165 (on rev. in the middle a tendril pattern); AE; 3.43 g; 19.5 mm; 90°; private donation; Inv. No. I 733.

##### New Serai

- 66.** Pul; 762 H. / 1361; BMC VI 461, Jena type 129; AE; 3.78 g; 20.5 mm; 270°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 729.
- 67.** Pul; 762 H. / 1361; BMC VI 461, Jena type 129; AE; 3.27 g; 19.7 mm; 90°; private donation; Inv. No. I 730.
- 68.** Pul; 762 H. / 1361; BMC VI 461, Jena type 129; AE; 2.93 g; 18.5 mm; 90°; private donation; Inv. No. I 731.

#### Murid Khan (762–764 H. / 1361–1363)

##### Gulistan

- 69.** Dengi; 764 H. / 1363; cp. BMC VI 475 (on rev. Gulasán instead of Gulastán [?], above the s of Gulastán a square knot), Jena type 169; AR; 1.46 g; 17.8 mm; 360°; coin pierced; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 735
- 70.** Dengi; 764 H. / 1363; cp. BMC VI 475 (on rev. Gulasán instead of Gulastán [?], above the s of Gulastán a square knot), Jena type 169; AR; 1.53 g; 19.5 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 736.

#### Khir Pulad (Pulad Khojah) Khan (764–766 H. / 1363–1365)

##### New Serai

- 71.** Dengi; 764 H. / 1363; BMC VI 479, Jena type 134; AR; 1.52 g; 17.2 mm; 180°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 737.

#### 'Aziz Shaykh Khan (766–768 H. / 1365–1367)

##### Mint unidentified

- 72.** Dengi; 767 H. / 1366; obv. cp. BMC VI 480, cp. Jena type 172; AR; 1.45 g; 17.3 mm; 315°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 738.

**Anonymous***[Bulghar]*

- 73.** Dengi; [2<sup>nd</sup> half of 7<sup>th</sup> century] H. / [2<sup>nd</sup> half of 13th century]; missing in BMC VI and Jena; AR; 1.37 g; 18.2 mm; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 666.

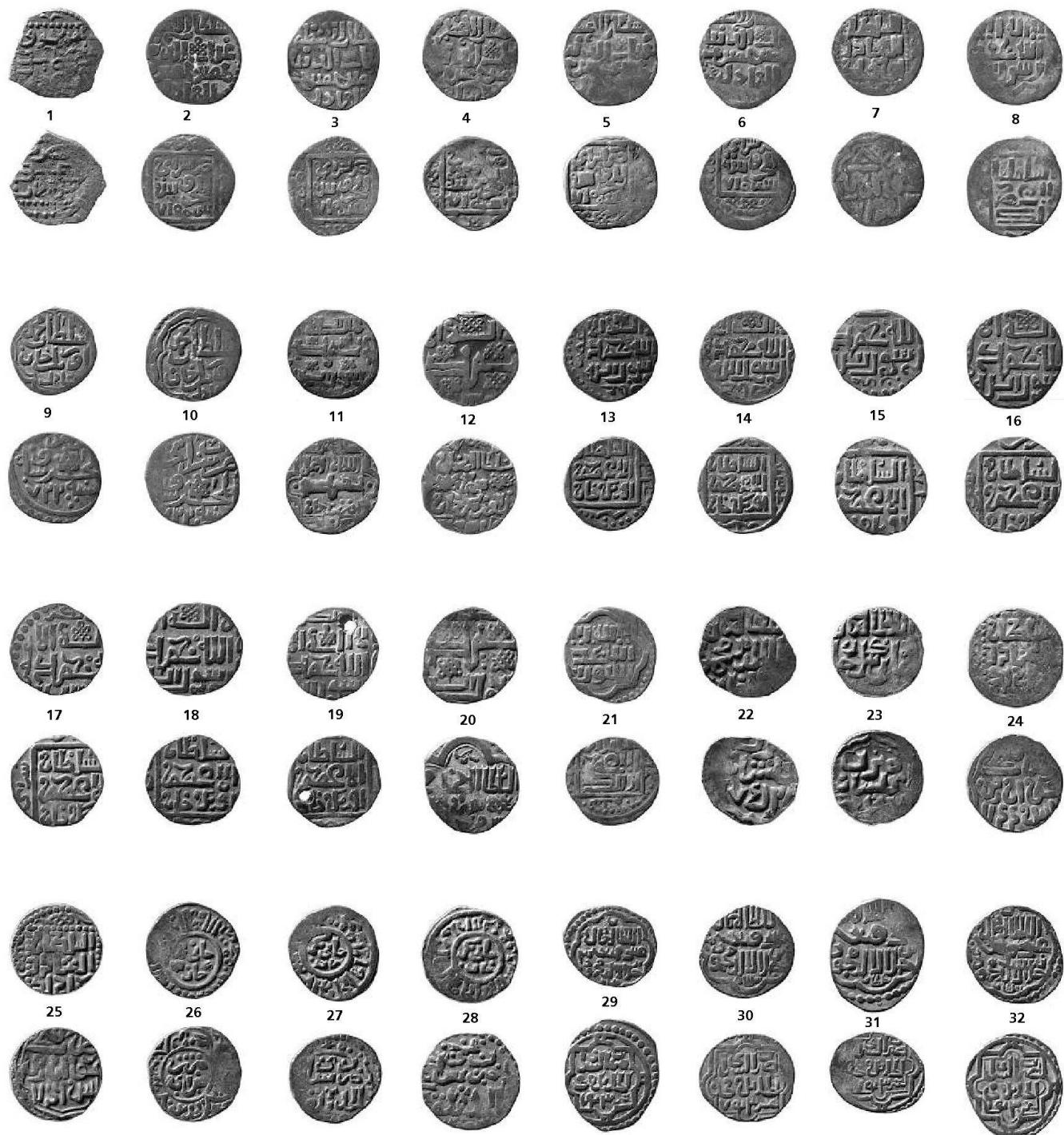
**Coin associated with the collection of Golden Horde Coins in the Bernisches Historisches Museum**

- 74.** Eretnids; Central Anatolia; Dirham; [756–759] H.; Perk/Öztürk type 2a; AR; 1.39g; 19.8 mm; 225°; Moser Collection; Inv. No. I 672.

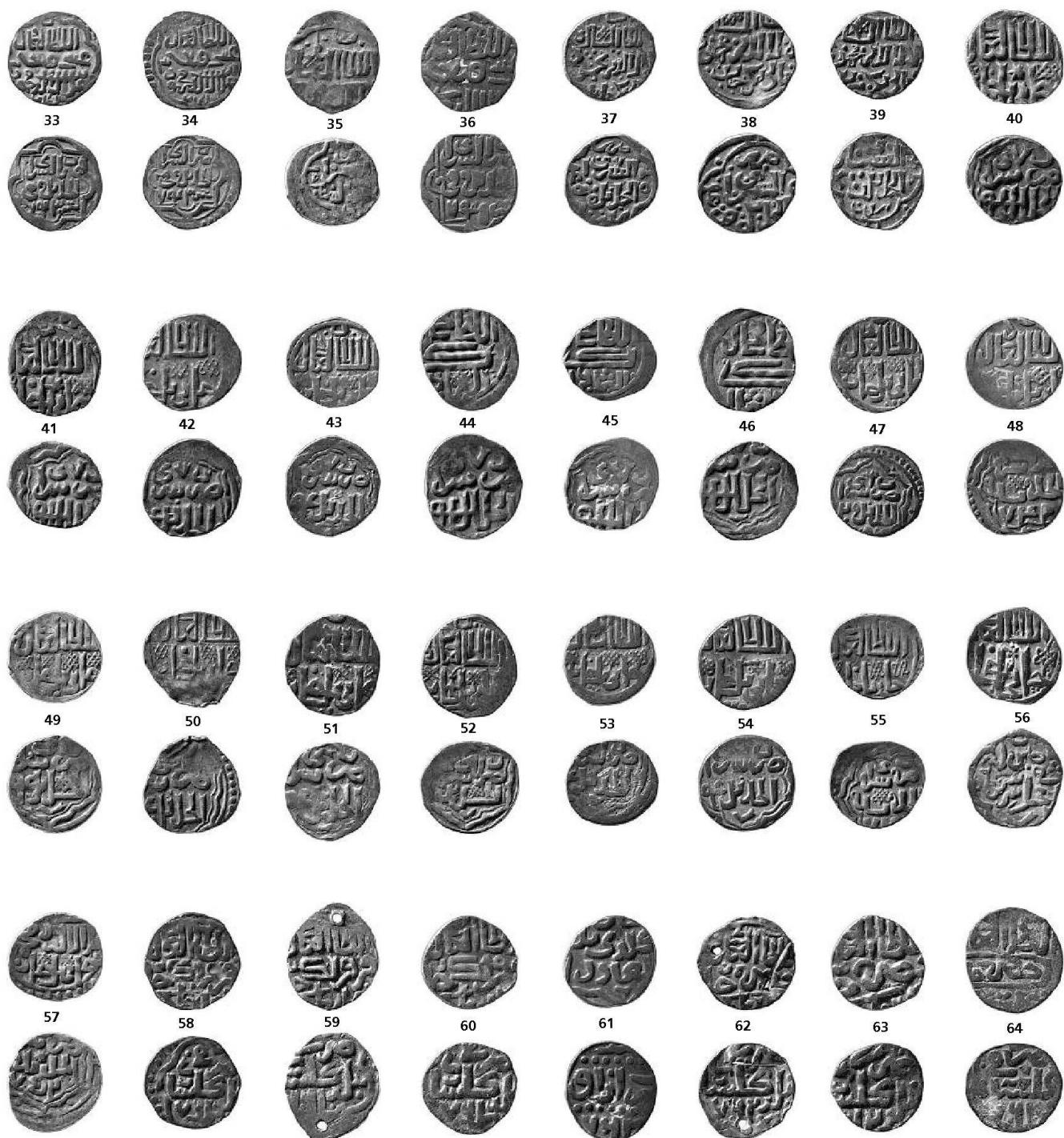
**Abbreviations used in the catalogue**

- BMC VI: S. LANE-POOLE, Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, vol. VI: The Coinage of the Mongols (London 1881).
- Perk/Öztürk: H. PERK/H. ÖZTÜRK (eds.), Eretnid, Burhanid and Amirate of Arz-injan (Mutahharten) Coins (Istanbul 2008).
- Jena: T. MAYER (dir.), Sylloge der Münzen des Kaukasus und Osteuropas im Orientalischen Münzkabinett Jena (Wiesbaden 2005).

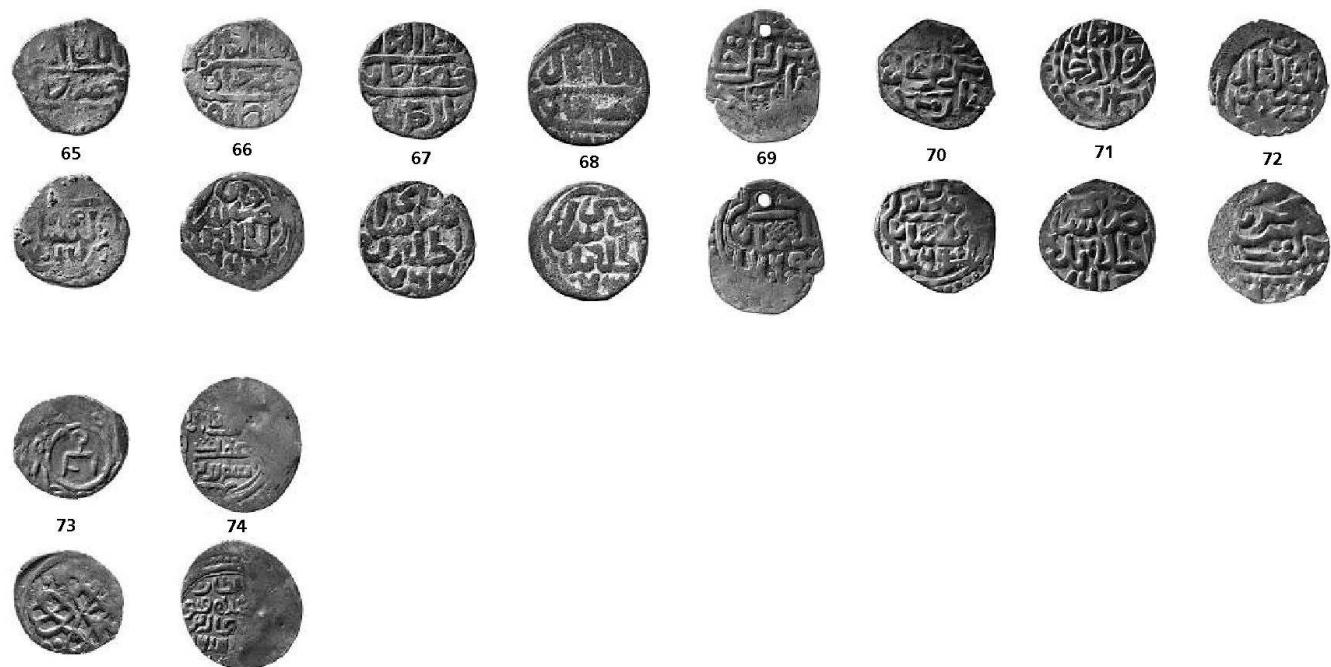
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Cat. 1–32: Coins of Batu Sain Khan or Bereke (cat. 1), Toktu (Toktogu) Khan (cat. 2–6), Uzbek Khan (cat. 7–21) and Janibeg Khan (cat. 22–32).



Cat. 33–64: Coins of Janibeg Khan (33–57), Nouruzbeg Khan (cat. 58–60) and Khizr Khan (cat. 61–64).



Cat. 65–74: Coins of Khizr Khan (cat. 65–68), Murid Khan (cat. 69–70), Khir Pulad (Pulad Khojah) Khan (cat. 71), 'Aziz Shaykh Khan (cat. 72), Anonymous (cat. 73) and coin of the Eretnids (cat. 74).