

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XX

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2025

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SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

- 9 Od redakcji
10 From the Editors

ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES

- 13 WIOLETTA PAZOWSKA
A New Specimen of the Krakow Type Stater
Nowy egzemplarz statera typu krakowskiego
- 23 ŁUKASZ KIEFERLING
Comments on the Technology of Production of Krakow Type Staters
Uwagi na temat technologii produkcji staterów typu krakowskiego
- 45 BARBARA ZAJĄC
The Cultural Identity of the “City of the Blind”. Roman Provincial Coinage in Calchedon
Tożsamość kulturowa „miasta ślepców”. Rzymskie mennictwo prowincjonalne Chalcedonu
- 67 SZYMON JELLONEK
Coins from the *Retentura* (Sector XIII) of the Legio I Italica Fortress in Novae
Monety z retentury (sektor XIII) obozu legionowego Legio I Italica w Novae
- 81 LAJOS JUHÁSZ
A Miscast Denarius from the Hungarian Barbaricum
Wadliwie odlany denar z węgierskiego Barbaricum
- 103 KRZYSZTOF JARZEŃKI
A Gold-plated Barbarian Imitation of a Roman Coin Found in Karczyn-Wieś in Kuyavia
Brązowe pozłacane barbarzyńskie naśladownictwo rzymskiej monety znalezione w Karczynie-Wsi na Kujawach
- 125 JACEK PIKULSKI, KYRYŁO MYZGIN, JAROSŁAW BODZEK
A New Find of a Solidus of Constantine I from the Vicinity of Jakuszowice
Nowe odkrycie solidu Konstantyna I z okolic Jakuszowic

- STEPAN STEPANENKO, ERIC OLLIVIER, HENNADII SVYSTUN,
IEVHENIIA KALUHINA
147 Tracing Early 9th-Century Islamic Silver Flows: New Evidence from Tsarino
(Mayaki) on the Donets River, Ukraine
*Śledzenie napływów islamskiego srebra na początku IX wieku: nowe dowody
z Tsarino (Mayaki) nad Dońcem, Ukraina*
- PAWEŁ MILEJSKI, RADOSŁAW ZDANIEWICZ
199 Coins from the Archaeological Research at the Church of St. George
in Czechowice
Monety z badań archeologicznych kościoła św. Jerzego w Czechowicach
- DARIUSZ F. JASEK
249 A Reassessment of the Attribution of the BB Dies of Sigismund III Vasa's
100 Ducats Issue
Rewizja atrybucji autorstwa stempli BB studukatówki Zygmunta III Wazy
- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
273 Zygmunt Mineyko (1840–1925) and His Gift of Ancient Greek, Roman,
and Byzantine Coins to the Jagiellonian University
*Zygmunt Mineyko (1840–1925) i jego dar starożytnych monet greckich,
rzymskich oraz bizantyńskich dla Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*
- BARBARA ZAJĄC
311 The Paper Money Collection of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National
Museum in Krakow between 1919–1949
*Kolekcja pieniądza papierowego Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum
Narodowego w Krakowie w latach 1919–1949*

RECENZJE / REVIEWS

- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
343 STEFAN KRMNICEK and EREN-CAN MERAL, *Sylloge Nummorum
Graecorum Deutschland. Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen 7.
Heft Ägypten: Alexandria und Gaumünzen. Augustus–Diocletianus. Nr 1–1154,
Propylaeum, Heidelberg 2025*
- PAWEŁ KOCHAŃSKI
346 PIERLUIGI DEBERNARDI, *Roman Republican Silver Coins. Vol. 1:
Beginnings – 200 BC*, Artemide Aste s.r.l., San Marino 2024

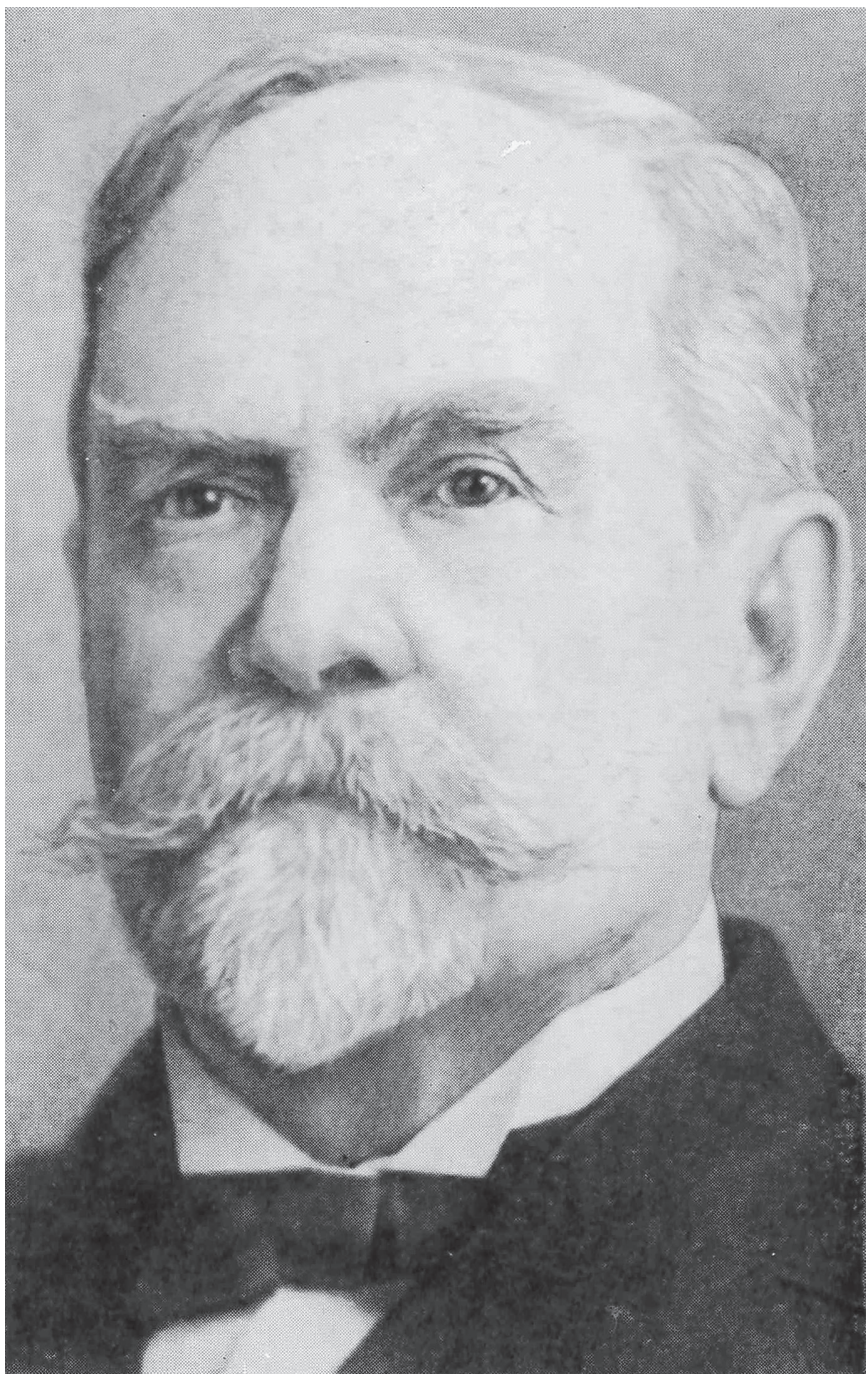
- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
 350 BARTŁOMIEJ BARTECKI, ANNA HYRCHAŁA and KYRYLO MYZGIN
 (eds.), *Skarb z Cichobórze. Studia nad depozytem rzymskich denarów oraz ich naśladownictw / The Cichobórz Hoard. A Study of the Deposit of Roman Denarii and Their Imitations*, Muzeum im. ks. Stanisława Staszica w Hrubieszowie, Hrubieszów 2023
- SZYMON JELLONEK
 355 AGATA ALEKSANDRA KLUCZEK, *Ktistes i inni. Bohaterowie mitów i legend w rzymskim mennictwie prowincjonalnym (235–276)*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2025
- BARBARA ZAJĄC
 358 CHRISTOPHER HOWGEGO, *Roman Provincial Coinage*. Vol. IV.4: *Antoninus Pius to Commodus (AD 138–192). Egypt*. Part 1: *Introduction and Catalogue*. Part 2: *Indexes and Plates*, British Museum Press, Bibliothèque nationale de France, London–Paris 2023
- KATARZYNA BALBUZA
 364 JEROME MAIRAT, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol. V.4: *The Gallic Empire (AD 260–274)*, Spink & Son Ltd, London 2023

KRONIKI / CHRONICLES

- MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK
 371 *Kronika Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (2024)*
 379 *The Chronicle of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow (2024)*
- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
 389 *Kronika Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie (2025)*
 391 *The Chronicle of the Numismatic Section of the Archaeological Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Krakow Branch (2025)*

NEKROLOGI / OBITUARIES

- NATHAN T. ELKINS
 397 William E. Metcalf (1947–2025)
 399 Bibliography of William Edward Metcalf
- HELLE W. HORSNÆS, JENS CHRISTIAN MOESGAARD
 411 Jørgen Steen Jensen (Frederiksberg, 1 November 1938–Frederiksberg, 1 February 2025)



Zygmunt Mineyko (1840–1925). Fot. Archiwum Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie
Zygmunt Mineyko (1840–1925). Photo: Archives of the National Museum in Krakow

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XX *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Zawartość obecnego tomu oraz tomy archiwalne są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Na stronie dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

Sto lat temu 27 grudnia 1925 roku zmarł w Atenach Zygmunt Mineyko (1840–1925), człowiek o niezwykłym życiorysie, oddany Ojczyźnie patriota, weteran Powstania Styczniowego, emigrant, a jednocześnie filhellen i honorowy obywatel Grecji. Jego zasługi na polu walki z rosyjskim zaborcą, emigracyjna tułaczka i wkład w budowę Państwa Greckiego są dosyć dobrze znane, głównie dzięki spisany przez niego samego pamiętnikom przechowywanym w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie, w części wydanych drukiem w 1971 roku pod tytułem *Z Tajgi pod Akropol*. Dzięki publikacjom polskich i greckich archeologów znane są również dokonania Mineyki na polu archeologii, a w szczególności jego udział w badaniach na terenie położonego w Epirze słynnego sanktuarium Zeusa w Dodonie.

Zygmunt Mineyko interesował się również numizmatyką i nie były to zainteresowania powierzchowne. Spod jego pióra wyszło – niestety nigdy nieopublikowane – dzieło poświęcone jak sam pisał „objawom numizmatyki”. Rękopis tej pracy przechowywany obecnie we Lwowie, w dawnych zbiorach Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, pozwala uznać ją za bardzo nowoczesne i wyprzedzające swe czasy opracowanie. Zygmunt Mineyko jest również ściśle powiązany z historią zbiorów numizmatycznych Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. W latach 1924 i 1926 do zbiorów krakowskiego Muzeum Narodowego trafiło w dwóch transzach prawie sto antycznych monet podarowanych przez Stanisława Mineykę (1875–1924), syna Zygmunta. Choć formalnie ofiarodawcą był Stanisław najprawdopodobniej inspiratorem daru był jego ojciec, który z powodzeniem realizował ideę wzbogacania polskich instytucji naukowych i muzeów zespołami starożytnych monet. Dary takie zostały lub miały zostać przekazane Muzeum Narodowemu w Warszawie, Uniwersytetowi Wileńskiemu, Uniwersytetowi Jagiellońskiemu oraz jak wspomniano Muzeum Narodowemu w Krakowie. Niniejszy tom naszego czasopisma pragniemy dedykować pamięci Zygmunta i Stanisława Mineyków.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present you with volume 20 of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. As is our policy, we publish all texts in the congress languages, with English and Polish abstracts. The contents of current volume and archive numbers are available as PDF files on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). The website also provides all general information about the journal, along with guidelines for authors and reviewers.

One hundred years ago, on 27 December 1925, Zygmunt Mineyko (1840–1925) died in Athens. He was a man with an extraordinary life story, a devoted patriot, a veteran of the January Uprising, an emigrant, and at the same time a philhellene and honorary citizen of Greece. His achievements in the fight against the Russian invader, his wanderings as an emigrant, and his contribution to the building of the Greek state are quite well known, mainly thanks to his memoirs, stored in the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, some of which were published in 1971 under the title *Z Tajgi pod Akropol* (From the Taiga to the Acropolis). Thanks to publications by Polish and Greek archaeologists, Mineyko's achievements in the field of archaeology are also well known, in particular his participation in research at the famous sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona, located in Epirus.

Zygmunt Mineyko was also interested in numismatics, and this interest was far from superficial. He wrote a work devoted to what he called “the manifestations of numismatics”, which, unfortunately, was never published. The manuscript of this work, currently stored in Lviv, in the former collections of the Ossoliński National Institute, allows us to consider it a very modern and ahead-of-its-time study. Zygmunt Mineyko is also closely associated with the history of the numismatic collections of the National Museum in Krakow. In 1924 and 1926, almost a hundred ancient coins donated by Stanisław Mineyko (1875–1924), Zygmunt's son, were added in two tranches to the collection of the National Museum in Krakow. Although Stanisław was formally the donor, it was most likely his father who inspired the donation, as he had successfully implemented the idea of enriching Polish scientific institutions and museums with collections of ancient coins. Such donations were or were to be donated to the National Museum in Warsaw, Vilnius University, the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, and, as mentioned, the National Museum in Krakow. We would like to dedicate this volume to the memory of Zygmunt and Stanisław Mineyko.

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Tracing Early 9th-Century Islamic Silver Flows: New Evidence from Tsarino (Mayaki) on the Donets River, Ukraine

ABSTRACT: This article publishes and contextualises a dirham hoard recovered from the Tsarino (Mayaki) hillfort on the middle Siverskyi Donets (Donetsk oblast, Ukraine). The deposit was identified in 2015 during recovery work connected with Second World War remains, in an eroded section of terrain exposing redeposited archaeological strata, which limits precise reconstruction of the original deposition context. The assemblage has a *terminus post quem* of AH 195/AD 810–811 and belongs to the first major wave of Islamic silver movement into eastern Europe. Numismatic composition is dominated by ‘Abbāsid issues, with a pronounced Maghrebi component (ca. 27%) and a mint distribution consistent with early

9th-century routes operating through Khazar-controlled or Khazar-associated interfaces north of the Caucasus. The hoard is assessed against longstanding historiographic debates on the Donets hillforts, variously interpreted as a linear frontier chain or as locally grounded fortified districts responding to shifting security conditions. The paper argues that the Tsarino hoard supports an understanding of the Donets corridor as a contact zone where crossings, settlement systems, and long-distance exchange intersected prior to the mid-9th-century escalation of steppe conflict.

KEY WORDS: Islamic coinage, medieval trade, medieval economy, Saltiv-Mayaki culture, Ukrainian archaeology

ABSTRAKT: *Śledzenie napływów islamskiego srebra na początku IX wieku: nowe dowody z Tsarino (Mayaki) nad Dońcem, Ukraina*

W niniejszym artykule zaprezentowano i opisano kontekst skarbu dirhamów odkrytego na grodzisku Tsarino (Mayaki) nad środkowym biegiem Siewierskiego Dońca (obwód doniecki, Ukraina). Znaleźisko zostało zidentyfikowane w 2015 r. podczas prac poszukiwawczych, związanych z pozostałościami z II wojny światowej w erodowanej części terenu, odsłaniającej ponownie osadzone warstwy archeologiczne, co ogranicza możliwość dokładnej rekonstrukcji pierwotnego kontekstu depozytu. *Terminus post quem* omawianego zespołu to AH 195/AD 810–811 i należy on do pierwszej dużej fali islamskiego srebra, które dotarło do Europy Wschodniej. W składzie dominują dirhamy ‘abbāsydzkie, z wyraźnym udziałem monet maghrebińskich (ok. 27%), a rozmieszczenie mennic jest zgodne z trasami handlowymi z początku IX wieku, przebiegającymi przez kontrolowane lub związane z Chazarami punkty styku na północ od Kaukazu. Skarb jest oceniany w kontekście długotrwałych debat historiograficznych na temat grodzisk donieckich, różnie interpretowanych – jako liniowy łańcuch graniczny lub jako lokalne ufortyfikowane okręgi reagujące na zmieniające się warunki bezpieczeństwa. W artykule autorzy dowodzą, że skarb z Tsarino potwierdza interpretację korytarza donieckiego jako strefy kontaktu, gdzie krzyżowały się szlaki komunikacyjne, systemy osadnicze i wymiana dalekosiężna przed eskalacją konfliktu stepowego w połowie IX wieku.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: monety islamskie, handel średniowieczny, gospodarka średniowieczna, kultura sałtowo-majacka, archeologia ukraińska

A compact cluster of fortified sites active in the Khazar-era stands at modern-era fords along the middle Siverskyi Donets River, in the Donetsk oblast of Ukraine. Thought to be the border between Khazaria and the Slavs, the hillforts have been a point of historiographic debate, with the discussion centring on their contemporaneous operation and function, with differing opinions on whether they

operated purely as defensive strongholds or had a wider role in 9th century commerce. In particular, whether this area of easternmost Europe played a role in Islamic coin flows to the Baltic in the early 9th century.

This article presents a coin hoard found at one of the Donets hillforts, Tsarino (Mayaki), and looks at how the discovery informs the debate on coin flows in the early 9th century.¹

TSARINO (MAYAKI) HOARD

In the middle Siverskyi Donets, a tributary of the Don River, where steppe meets forest-steppe, fortified and open settlements took shape during the Khazar period. They were built on earlier horizons, from late Roman-Hunnic sites to 5th–7th-century Penkovka culture² settlements. One such site is Tsarino (Mayaki), where a hoard was discovered in 2015 during recovery work of Second World War remains (Fig. 1).

The work was carried out by the Sloviansk detachment of AIVIN “Platsdarm” under the direction of Oleksii Yukov, which was surveying a section of the former German defensive line near the Mayaki village, Kramatorsk Raion, Donetsk oblast, Ukraine. The area forms part of a present day protected cultural-heritage site of national significance, no. 050006H in the State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine. The team included the senior research fellow of the Sloviansk Local History Museum, Anatoliy Shamrai, who identified the find as a coin assemblage, spotting it in an eroded section of terrain, which exposed previously buried archaeological strata.

At the moment of discovery, part of the material lay in redeposited soil, likely the result of prior modern construction work at the site, which limits what can be said about the original depth and completeness of the deposit. The team that uncovered the find attest to several coins still bearing traces of organic matter when first lifted, which led them to suggest that the coins were placed in the ground within a cloth or leather purse.

¹ The authors express their gratitude to Ms Dorota Malarczyk, Mr Maksym Levada, Mr Oleksii Solovkin, and the Sloviansk Museum of Local Lore for their assistance. Stepan Stepanenko also acknowledges the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for its continued support. A preliminary report of this hoard was previously published in Ukrainian (without coin images or extensive contextual analysis) as: S. Stepanenko, E. Ollivier, H. Svystun, and Y. Kaluhina, “Hoard from The Maiatske (Tsaryne) Hillfort”, *The Ukrainian Numismatic Annual* 9 (2025): 182–208.

² An archaeological culture is the term used to group together sites that share a consistent pattern of material culture, such as pottery styles, burial customs, settlement layouts, building methods, and artefacts, within a defined time and place. It does not necessarily mean a single ethnic group, political entity, or people, but rather reflects recurring cultural traits that can be traced across a landscape. The Saltiv-Mayaki culture is one such construct, identified in the steppe and forest-steppe zones of eastern Ukraine, southern Russia, and parts of the North Caucasus between the 8th and 10th centuries. The culture is closely linked with the period of Khazar dominance in the region. Many see it as the material reflection of populations under Khazar political control.

Since May 2018, the hoard is kept by the Sloviansk Museum of Local Lore.

The hoard, with a *tpq* of AH 195/AD 810–811, sits in the heart of the phase when ‘Abbāsīd silver moved north in volume and when an east-west corridor took shape along the Oka, Desna and Seym. The mix is indicative of the find assemblage patterns in the Don Volga Baltic interface at this date, containing Maghrebi coins, but with a concentration at less than 50%.³

The oldest coin is Sasanian, a drachm of Pērōz from Kirmān, with further Sasanian issues through Xusrō II. The oldest post-reform Islamic coin is an Umayyad dirham of Wāsiṭ dated AH 94/AD 712–713. The oldest ‘Abbāsīd post-reform coin is of al-Saffāḥ from al-Kūfa, AH 132/AD 749–750, with early al-Baṣra at AH 134/AD 751–752 (Chart 1). The youngest coin is from Ma‘din Bāḡunays in Armenia at AH 195/AD 810–811, which is the *tpq*.

The dynastic composition shows ‘Abbāsīd dominance, with a Maghrebi component characteristic of the coins in the region north of the Caucasus in this period. Mint shares further support compatibility with routing through Khazar-controlled or Khazar-associated sites (Chart 2). If we look only at the post-reform coins, Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdad) dominates with 56 pieces, about 35% of the group. Maghrebi mints (Map 1) together follow with 43 coins (27%), divided chiefly between al-‘Abbāsīya (22; 16%) and Ifrīqīya (10; 6%), with Tudḡa adding seven (4%), al-Baṣra contributes 19 coins (12%), while al-Muḥammadiya in Ġibāl accounts for 12 (8%). Al-Kūfa provides eight (5%), and Armīniya five (3%).

Some of the coins in the hoard bear marking which, for the purpose of this article, we shall call graffiti. Coins with obverse markings are 22, 25, 37, 58, 64, 85, 129, 141 and 169, whereas coins 31, 36, 44, 49, 50, 57, 61, 71 and 103 have graffiti on the reverse. Overall, graffiti occur on the main mints represented in the hoard (Madīnat al-Salām, al-Baṣra, Ifrīqīya/al-‘Abbāsīya, al-Muḥammadiya, and al-Kūfa), with a single marked Rustamid-period imitation. Most of these marks fall on earlier ‘Abbāsīd issues of the al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī period (roughly AH 142–160/AD 759–777), with additional examples on Maghrebi issues in the AH 170s, consistent with test marks or other signs on well-travelled pieces.

TSARINO (MAYAKI)

When considering the composition and academic importance of the hoard, it is worth giving some thought to the site where it was found. The Tsarino hillfort at the

³ During our work on this publication it was uncovered that the coin held by the museum, No.143 in our list, was replaced and, in October 2018 appeared on zeno.ru, #211033. The fact that it is the same coin is given away by the appearance of the coin, and the characteristic etched upside-down triangle on the obverse. As we were first provided with the coin photos before its disappearance, it remains a part of this collection. An Umayyad dirham of the Wāsiṭ mint, year AH 123/740–741 (Fig. 2) was placed into the collection as a replacement before discovery.

Mayaki village, Kramatorsk Raion, Donetsk Oblast, not to be confused with the Mayaki hillfort that lends its name to the Saltiv-Mayaki archaeological culture, stands among the larger Saltiv-Mayaki fortifications in the middle Siverskyi Donets.

Tsarino (Mayaki) occupies a high promontory on the right bank of the Siverskyi Donets, where steep river slopes and deeply incised ravines provide strong natural protection on multiple sides. The landward approach is constrained by a ditch and bank on the western side, which forms the only clearly defined artificial barrier in the defensive works.⁴

The site is comprised of a hillfort, two unfortified settlements and four cemeteries. The fortified platform measures roughly 670 by 360 m, or ca. 18 ha, with waste ash deposits on the hillfort – typical features of the Khazar Kaganate sites.

Tsarino lies approximately two kilometres north-west of a major ford later used for the founding of the Mayaky town in 1663, leading to suggestions of control over crossings and, by extension, traffic and exchange along steppe routes. Overall, the broader pattern of large Khazar- and Horde-period centres clustering at fords reinforces this interpretation,⁵ but does not negate the issue of the ford's existence in the 9th century.

The site is thought to have begun as a Penkov culture (5th–8th centuries) settlement, succeeded by the Saltiv-Mayaki phase, the hillfort occupying a local promontory above the Siverskyi Donets. Eduard Kravchenko dates the fort to the 8th century.⁶ Volodymyr Mikheev, one of the sites investigators, inferred repeated attacks on the hillfort in the Khazar period, suggesting a major episode at the end of the 9th century, after which the site ceased to function as a “large economic centre of the Saltiv culture”.⁷ Later activity includes an unfortified 11th–13th-century settlement⁸ and a Golden Horde-period presence ending in the 14th century.⁹

West of the fort, Mikheev noted an adjacent open settlement of about 30 ha,¹⁰ typical of Saltiv-Mayaki forts.

The attribution of Tsarino (Mayaki) to the Khazar period rests on the archaeological dominance of Saltiv-Mayaki material culture across the main archaeological horizons of the site. This includes characteristic wheel made grey ware and related ceramic forms that are thought to be standard markers of the 8th to 10th century Donets region cultural assemblage, together with extensive amphora fragmentation

⁴ MIKHEEV 1964.

⁵ KRAVCHENKO 2019: 683.

⁶ IDEM 2006: 290.

⁷ MIKHEEV 1985: 23–24.

⁸ KRAVCHENKO 2000.

⁹ HODZHAJOV et AL. 2012: 125.

¹⁰ MIKHEEV 1985.

indicating sustained engagement with long distance exchange networks.¹¹ The settlement's scale and internal structuring, including a fortified core and extensive extramural settlement zone, are consistent with a major early medieval community of the Saltiv world, and craft signatures such as metalworking evidence and specialised tool inventories reinforce the interpretation of sustained occupation rather than episodic use.¹²

Imported materials at Tsarino (Mayaki) are most clearly represented by extensive amphora sherd distributions across the occupation deposits, which indicate sustained participation in exchange routes connected to the Black Sea economic sphere.¹³ Additional non-local categories include red clay finewares and at least one glazed ceramic fragment, which implies access to products circulating beyond local Saltiv ceramic production, though the published descriptions do not always permit precise source attribution. Glass vessel fragments and a small number of bronze coins also point to broader connectivity,¹⁴ yet the lack of mint identifications on the bronzes limits the chronological resolution that can be extracted from past numismatic evidence alone, adding value to the utility of the new hoard.

DONETS HILLFORTS

Debate around the Khazar period phase of the Donets hillforts focuses on how the hillforts worked and whether they formed a single, contemporaneous chain or were used in succession, whether they acted mainly as administrative and craft-trading nodes or had a primarily defensive role, and whether their placement reflects planned control of roads and fords or the reuse of earlier strongholds.

The chain of fortified sites of the middle Siverskyi Donets form a closely spaced group along the right bank and near the confluences of the Nitrius and Cherny Zhrebets rivers. The sites include Osyanska Gora (Donetskyi), Sydorove, Tetyanivka, Sviatohirsk, Teplynske (Bohorodzchne), Novoselivka, the now-destroyed Raihorodok, and Tsarino (Mayaki) (Map 2). Their research is well documented in the Russian-language scholarship, notably by Kravchenko, Viktor Grib, Mykhailo Shvecov, Liudmyla Kuchugura and others.¹⁵ While the degree of investigation, preservation, and size of the sites vary, they lie ca. 5–10 km apart, and the existence of modern fords has encouraged some to project control points into the past for these locations.¹⁶

¹¹ IDEM 1964.

¹² IDEM 1965.

¹³ IDEM 1968.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ KRAVCHENKO 2004: 242–276; GRIB, KRAVCHENKO and KUCHUGURA 2014: 64–96; GRIB and SHVECOV 2017: 30–50.

¹⁶ KRAVCHENKO 2019: 672–673.

Some researchers¹⁷ view this concentration on a broader scale and read it less as a single linear border and more as a set of clustered defensive zones. A GIS based approach of Gennadij Afanas'ev treats Don basin hillforts as fortification agglomerations or fortified districts that reflect settlement organisation within micro regions, rather than one continuous wall. This makes a local territorial function more likely than a uniform frontier logic for the Donets chain as a whole. A point supported, through different reasoning, by Kravchenko, suggesting they were occupied in succession rather than as a single contemporaneous chain.¹⁸

Interpretations also often compare this series of sites to forest-steppe Saltiv-Mayaki control points on the Oskol, Tikhaya Sosna and upper Siverskyi Donets, especially in regards to fortification forms, building materials and mortuary practice.¹⁹ The Donets promontory locations exploit ravine-and-gully systems and site defences appear as single or echeloned lines using escarps, ditches and, in some cases, timber-earth constructions.

The Khazar position along the Don corridor can also be framed as a system of strategic responses to changing steppe pressure rather than as a stable, uniform control line. Constantin Zuckerman argues that the construction of Sarkel on the Don should be explained through a specific 9th century security crisis that prompted Khazar and Byzantine cooperation.²⁰

Several Donets hillforts, such as Sviatohirsk, Teplynske (Bohorodzhne) and Osyanska Gora (Donetskyi) were dated by Kravchenko to the last centuries BC, with the presence of burnt timbers in ramparts and the relative scarcity of Saltiv-Mayaki finds supporting this view.²¹ Yet earlier period hand-made ceramics do not preclude Early Medieval reuse, and discontinuous cultural deposits with operational breaks are common on Saltiv-Mayaki fortifications, as comparable patterns are recorded at Prystin on the lower Oskol and at Martove, Khotimlya, Staryi Saltiv, Kytsivka, Kotkovske (Pechenikhy) and Verbovske (Bairak) on the upper Siverskyi Donets. Even at the eponymous Verknii Saltiv, Early Medieval artefacts are not abundant. In many cases life occurred on adjacent open settlements, while the fortifications have been said to control terrain and shelter communities in danger rather than used to withstand prolonged siege, a point suggested by the defensive layouts lacking towers for flanking fire.²²

¹⁷ AFANAS'EV 2016.

¹⁸ KRAVCHENKO 2004: 270–271.

¹⁹ AFANAS'EV 1987: 88–142; IDEM 1993: 123–150; VINNIKOV and PLETNEVA 1998: 29–41, Figs. 5–7; PLETNEVA 1999: 24–64; SVISTUN 2007; IDEM 2014a: 51–102.

²⁰ ZUCKERMAN 1998: 663.

²¹ KRAVCHENKO 2004: 267.

²² SVISTUN 2007; IDEM 2012a; IDEM 2014a; IDEM 2014b; IDEM 2016; IDEM 2017; IDEM 2018.

Similarly, reuse of earlier strongholds seems commonplace. At Mokhnach and Koropovi Khutory (Koropove), Early Iron Age fortifications seem to have been co-opted in the Early Middle Ages.²³

While acknowledging that such an observation may invite critiques of environmental determinism, it would nevertheless be difficult to dispute the controlling position of the sites in the surrounding landscape, with Martove offering a direct ascent to the right-bank watershed plateau, Kochetok-II overlooking a ravine and riverside path, and Teplynske (Bohorodzchne) securing a path rising from the river to the plateau.²⁴ Considering the challenges of the period and defensive means at the disposal of the local populations (mainly constructing in earth and wood), it would be remiss of them not to utilise elevation and landscape features to the benefit of safety and security, which would also manifest as a means of territorial control through simple positioning in favourable locations along the most likely pathways – along the watersheds, or at fords.

A macro historical context for 9th century defensive intensification can be grounded in the crisis that Zuckerman associates with the emergence of the Hungarians as a new military force on the steppe frontier, already after our hoard *tpq*. He notes that modern explanations of Sarkel divide between a Rus centred threat scenario and an interpretation that links the fortress to the Hungarian presence, while stressing that only a general military danger can explain the Khazar and Byzantine decision to collaborate in construction.²⁵ This framework allows the Donets hillfort landscape to be treated as part of a wider security environment in which crossings and river corridors gained heightened significance, while still leaving open whether the Donets forts formed a single planned chain or represent locally grounded defensive solutions.

Zuckerman's reading encourages a functional interpretation that privileges control of movement and protection of communications over any assumption of a continuous frontier barrier. His interpretation also focuses solely on a top-down approach to the establishment of such sites, which leaves the extensive unfortified settlements adjacent to Saltiv-Mayaki hillforts along the Donets as lacking organic development.

Zuckerman's reconstruction of the Hungarian "shock" to the Pontic steppe in the 830s provides a strong interpretative frame for treating Sarkel not as an internal stronghold of a stable Khazar core, but as a fortress that marks a newly activated frontier of the Khazar heartland. Crucially, for the Donets area hillforts, he insists

²³ SVISTUN and CHENDEV 2002–2003; KOLODA and CHENDEV 2011.

²⁴ MIKHEEV 1972: 4; IDEM 1985: 21; SVISTUN 2012a.

²⁵ ZUCKERMAN 1998.

that the construction of Sarkel was an exceptional event, being “the only Khazar fortress of its kind at that time”, and that it emerged precisely because, by the late 830s, this point had become a border,²⁶ a sign that a previously secure zone had suddenly become exposed. Thus, if Sarkel represents the border-fortress of the core, then a periphery must have existed, and forts along the Donets corridor become highly plausible as outer-zone installations within that wider security landscape.

Against this background, a hoard with a *tpq* around 810–811 can be read coherently as a deposit belonging to a frontier/periphery system, rather than as anomalies requiring Sarkel to have been built deep inside the state for no strategic reason. If, instead, the Donets forts were dated only to “Hungarian times” in a narrow sense, one must ask why the Khazars would respond to an imminent steppe threat by building a massive fortress within the inner state rather than on the boundary, with the other strongholds.

Afanas’ev’s discussion of the Khazar *domena* is useful here not as a chronological key for individual hillforts, but as a reminder that Khazar control in the 9th century was unlikely to have operated as a single linear frontier with uniform infrastructure. Rather, the political geography implied by Saltiv assemblages and fortified settlement zones is consistent with a gradated landscape in which different sites could have served different²⁷ without requiring them to be contemporaneous or constructed as a single state-planned barrier. In this perspective, the middle Donets hillforts can be treated as a contact-zone phenomenon whose function and intensity may have varied across time, and whose relevance to an early 9th-century dirham deposit should be argued primarily through local archaeological and numismatic anchors rather than through later 9th-century crisis models. After all, the sites also feature a rich tapestry of imports, with just imports from Crimea and Taman being common finds, with amphorae alone comprising ca. 40% of ceramics at one of the hillforts – Sydorove and, while yielding a lower count, still being a substantial share at Tsarino (Mayaki).²⁸

After the Khaganate fell, the sites were reduced to small riverside villages in the 11th to 13th centuries, until an urban revival followed under the Golden Horde, reconnecting the Donets to wider Steppe-Black Sea exchanges.

ISLAMIC COINS IN EARLY 9TH CENTURY EASTERN UKRAINE

For the early 9th century and beyond, Thomas Noonan stresses that Viking and Rus engagement with Islamic trade networks was motivated by access to silver, and that the dirham stream provides one of the clearest datasets for tracing long range

²⁶ IDEM 1997: 665, 669, 673, 681.

²⁷ AFANAS’EV 2016: 41–46.

²⁸ KRAVCHENKO 2019: 673.

economic integration across Eurasia. He frames hoards as the primary evidence base for reconstructing the evolution of this exchange system, since their composition records shifting supply patterns and changing points of access over time.²⁹ Thus, this hoard offers an insight both into commerce and politics of the period.

To this day, one of the most revered sources on the location of Islamic silver coins in easternmost Europe is the early 20th century catalogue of Aleksey K. Markov. In his introduction, he outlines that Sasanian coins arrived together with Islamic issues, using the same routes and brought by the same people as their Islamic counterparts. Markov did attribute their arrival to Islamic and Persian traders directly,³⁰ a point which was repeated by Noonan, reflecting that Khazaria was one of the places where Islamic merchants and Rus traders met.³¹

Richard R. Vasmer stated that 8th-century hoards are still to be discovered in Rus, as only finds of 8th-century coins deposited in the 9th century have been made.³² A point of view which wasn't later taken up by Noonan, who saw the 786 Ladoga hoard as the earliest evidence of Islamic coin arrival in easternmost Europe, stating that "the first signs of Islamic commerce with Eastern and Northern Europe date to the 780s", with preparatory stages in the 770s, although admitting the limited scale of this trade until the first decades of the 9th century.³³

The discussions on the route taken by Islamic silver into easternmost Europe have centred largely on slightly later period history, associated with Rus trades. As such, Noonan considers the 860s mentions of trade via the Khazar lands and the Volga, and reflects on the events in late 8th century Tabaristan to present a compelling argument for a Caucasian route for the first coin flows, backed up by the hoard in Petrovskoe, dated to AD 804–805. A movement that he sees as sharply declining in 860s–870s, and one that was transient for the coins, which would have gathered south of the Caucasus region, as seen by the difference in concentration of African issues between Eastern European and Caucasian hoards.³⁴ A view that was echoed by Noonan's student, Roman Kovalev.³⁵

The appearance of Khazar sites north of the Caucasus, away from their prior strongholds of Dagestan, occurred roughly at the same time as this Caucasus flow and, according to Noonan, was motivated, at least in part, on a desire to prop up a struggling economy and capitalise on controlling the flow of goods that was

²⁹ NOONAN 1998: vii–viii.

³⁰ MARKOV 1910: ii.

³¹ NOONAN 1998: vii.

³² VASMER 1933: 476.

³³ NOONAN 1998: II-155–156.

³⁴ *Ibidem*: II-158, 165, 170.

³⁵ KOVALEV 2011: 50.

demanding by the Islamic world and facilitated by, what he termed, the Khazar-Islamic detente.³⁶

In discussing the early 9th century movement of dirhams into Eastern Europe, it is important to be explicit about what is meant by “Khazar sites north of the Caucasus”. In the present context, this does not only refer to the Caucasus proper but to Khazar controlled and Khazar associated settlement zones in the steppe and forest steppe immediately to the north, especially the Lower Don and Siverskyi Donets.

Looking at the general trend of coin flows between 800 and 825, the inflow of Islamic silver into Eastern Europe is dominated by ʿAbbāsīd issues with a pronounced Maghrebi component, including imitative pieces. The initial spatial patterning of finds indicates two main concentrations aligned on a north-south axis: a northern cluster centred on the Neva-Volkhov corridor, and a southern concentration across the steppe between the Caspian and Black Seas, in zones associated with Khazar polities.³⁷

In the following decade or two, ca. AH 195–215/AD 810–830/831 (possibly extending into the 830s), the geography of deposition shifts and broadens into a pronounced east-west corridor. Hoards increase in size, a classic signal of intensified throughput, and align along routes north of the Volga and on the Oka, Desna and Seym within the southern forest zone. These river systems, with their portages, offered reliable passage across watersheds and facilitated lateral movement between the Volga-Oka and Dnieper basins. The same horizon witnesses the first substantial body of dirhams south of the Baltic coast, most conspicuously at Truso, where excavation recovered abundant evidence of Islamic silver in an emporial context.³⁸ Connections from this southern Baltic hub towards Denmark are plausible, yet there is no contemporary signal to Sweden or Gotland, implying that distribution at this stage was oriented along the southern shore rather than across the central Baltic.

Western Ukrainian evidence is relevant to this picture because it demonstrates that early 9th century dirhams were not confined to a single north eastern corridor. The Yosypivka hoard in Lviv oblast provides a clear regional marker for western movement, with a latest coin dated AH 198/AD 813–814, and with a mint geography that includes both eastern Islamic centres and Maghrebi coins³⁹ consistent with an early westward land route that, rather than proceeding only through Baltic intermediaries, may have passed through Kyiv and onward along Prypiat–Bug connections, with a possible southern alternative via Red Ruthenia and Przemyśl,

³⁶ NOONAN 1998: II-278, III-50.

³⁷ KROPOTKIN 1978; NOONAN 1980; IDEM 1981; RISPLING 2007.

³⁸ BOGUCKI 2007.

³⁹ HUDYMA 2005: 3.

as proposed by Stanisław Suchodolski and Dorota Malarczyk.⁴⁰ This supports the plausibility of a westward route capable of feeding northern markets independently of the Lower Volga pathway.

The composition of the hoards underscores a bifurcation in supply. Easternmost European deposits frequently contain a high proportion of Maghrebi coins, at 20–60%, struck ca. AH 160–179/AD 776–777 to AD 795–796, a profile characteristic of hoards from Iraq and the Caucasus, and consistent with inflow via the Caspian-Caucasian route and Khazar intermediaries.

Prussian hoards of the same general horizon conspicuously lack Maghrebi issues. Christoph Kilger proposed that at least part of the Prussian stream may have been routed through the Carolingian realm,⁴¹ bypassing the Maghrebi-rich Caucasian conduit. Vasmer had already observed that later Prussian finds mirror the disappearance of Maghrebi dirhams from Near Eastern hoards, a synchrony that can be read as evidence for a distinct line of movement. On this reading, a direct route via western Ukraine becomes credible. The Lviv find with *tpq* AH 198/AD 813–814 offers early proof for such a pathway and helps explain the stark compositional contrast between the easternmost European and Prussian assemblages.⁴²

According to Stefan Heidemann, the Tall al-Bī‘a/al-Raqqā hoard (*tpq* AH 186/AD 802) indicates that, even in AD 800–825, circulation in northern Mesopotamia was dominated by North-African issues and scarcely included the renewed central emissions from Iraq and Ġibāl, although those mints had resumed large-scale output in AH 179–180 (AD 795–797). He describes this “asynchronous” mix as a negative selection drawn from everyday market cash.⁴³ In Heidemann’s assessment, these coins moved so efficiently because North African dirhams were typically lighter (≈ 2.6 – 2.8 g versus ≈ 2.9 g in the central lands) and of slightly lower fineness, traits that prompted discrimination in saving hoards and produced classic Gresham-law effects, leading to faster circulation “by tale”, or by piece, rather than by weight, thereby accelerating their diffusion into eastern markets.⁴⁴ This supply-side dynamic, rooted in new Maghrebi silver and Muhallabid/Ibādī production and trade networks, neatly explains the high Maghrebi shares in early 9th-century easternmost European hoards.

Heidemann also notes that North African dirhams reached Byzantium and, probably via northern Italy, the Carolingian realm, while another stream flowed to the Baltic shores through the Caucasus and Volga routes.⁴⁵ Heidemann’s model

⁴⁰ SUCHODOLSKI and MALARCZYK 2007: 93, 98.

⁴¹ KILGER 2008: 218–220.

⁴² VASMER 1933; KILGER 2008; BOGUICKI 2007.

⁴³ HEIDEMANN 2011: 455–456.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*: 457–458, 462.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*: 453–454.

can explain Maghrebi-heavy early inflow, even if it does not resolve every regional distribution (e.g., East Prussia), while Vasmer's observation and Heidemann's model emphasise different mechanisms behind the same broader distribution patterns.

In this context, we have the question of why the hoard was discovered at Tsarino (Mayaki) specifically and what role could the Donets hillforts play in the early 9th century coin flow.

CONCLUSION

The Tsarino (Mayaki) deposit ultimately matters less as a "proof" of one definitive route than as a corrective to the way the Donets hillforts have often been boxed into a single explanatory model, either a purely defensive frontier chain or a set of local strongholds with little relevance to long-distance exchange. What the hoard provides is a chronological signal that the middle Siverskyi Donets was already plugged into the early 9th-century silver economy before the better-known escalations of steppe insecurity and before narratives built around later Rus commercial expansion begin to dominate the evidence. In that sense, Tsarino (Mayaki) encourages us to treat the Donets corridor not as a marginal edge of Khazar space, but as an active pathway, where mobility, crossings, and settlement systems created opportunities for both protection and profit.

This has wider implications for how we reconstruct early phases of Eurasian connectivity. If the hoard reflects circulation through Khazar-associated networks north of the Caucasus, then the Donets was not merely a line to be held, but a landscape through which value moved with enough regularity to make accumulation possible. Future work can build on how fords, promontory fortifications, and extramural settlements functioned together as contact-zone systems, framing the Tsarino hoard less as a footnote to debates on dirham routes and more a prompt to rethink the Donets as one of the places where early medieval Europe's long-distance economy took shape.

CATALOGUE

SASANIAN EMPIRE

Pērōz (459–484)

Mint: Kirmān (KL)

1. Drachm, third crown: AD 474–484 or later. Obverse, two *sogdian* countermarks, another kind on reverse (7 h). Weight 3.55 g, diam 26 mm; Göbl 1968, C/β/III (without regnal year)

Xusrō II (591–628)

Mint: Hamadān (AHM)

2. Drachm, regnal year 35/AD 625–626. Weight 3.6 g, diam 31 mm; Göbl 1968, b/ε

Mint: uncertain mint in Kirmān Province (BN/?)

3. Drachm, regnal year 28/AD 618–619. Weight 3.97 g, diam 32 mm; Göbl 1968, b/ε

Mint: Garm Kirmān (GLM/?)

4. Drachm, regnal year 37/AD 627–628. Weight 3.06 g, diam 29 mm; Göbl 1968, b/ε; cf. M.I. Mochiri, 1985 (information given by Mrs Susan Tyler-Smith)

Mint: Rām-Hormizd (LA)

5. Drachm, regnal year 28/AD 618–619. Weight 3 g, diam 28 mm; Göbl 1968, b/ε

Mint: Arrajān? (WYHC/? uncertain mint, probably in Fars)

6. Drachm, regnal year 17/AD 607–608. Weight 2.93 g, diam 29 mm; Göbl 1968, b/ε

Pre-Reform Islamic Coinage (“Arab-Sasanian” series)

ZUBAYRID, Umayyad Caliph and Governor

‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr (rival caliph, AH 60–73/AD 680–692)

Mint: Dārābjird (DA)

7. Drachm, YE 57/AD 688–689. Monogram GM in reverse margin. Weight 3.82 g, diam 32 mm; Album 2011, #16

Mint: Kirmān (KLMAN)

8. Drachm, AH 65/AD 684–685. Arabic/Pehlevi legend in obverse margin. Weight 3.85 g, diam 30 mm; Album 2011, #16A var.; Album and Goodwin 2002, no. 312

Umayya ibn ‘Abd Allāh (Umayyad governor for Ḥurāsān, AH 73–78/AD 693–698)

Mint: The Court (BBA)

9. Drachm, AH 77/AD 696–697. Weight 2.65 g, diam 29 mm; Album 2011, #29

Caliph ‘Abd Al-Malik ibn Marwān (AH 65–86/AD 685–705)

Mint: Fasā (DA/P; P left of altar base)

10. Drachm, YE 60/AD 691–692. Weight 3.64 g, diam 28 mm; Album 2011, #32; Album and Goodwin 2002, nos. 273–277

Post-Reform Islamic Coinage

UMAYYAD CALIPHATE

al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (AH 86–96/AD 705–715)

Mint: Wāsiṭ

11. Dirham, AH 94/AD 712–713. Anonymous. Weight 2.87 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #128

‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (AH 99–101/AD 717–720)

Mint: al-Baṣra

12. Dirham, AH 100/AD 718–719. Anonymous. Weight 2.78 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #133

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walīd (AH 126–127/AD 744)

Mint: Wāsiṭ

13. Dirham, AH 127/AD 744. Anonymous. Weight 2.77 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #140

Marwān ibn Muḥammad (AH 127–132/AD 744–750)

Mint: Wāsiṭ

14. Dirham, AH 129/AD 746–747. Anonymous. Weight 2.88 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #142

‘ABBĀSID CALIPHATE

Abū al-‘Abbās al-Saffāḥ (AH 132–136/AD 749–754)

Mint: al-Baṣra

15. Dirham, AH 134/AD 751–752. Anonymous. Weight 2.83 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #211

16. Dirham, AH 134/AD 751–752. As no. 15. Weight 2.81 g, diam 24 mm

17. Dirham, AH 134/AD 751–752. As no. 15. Weight 2.62 g, diam 24 mm

Mint: al-Kūfa

18. Dirham, AH 132/AD 749–750. Anonymous. Weight 2.88 g, diam 23 mm; Album 2011, #211

19. Dirham, AH 135/AD 752–753. Anonymous. Weight 2.87 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #211

Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr (AH 136–158/AD 754–775)

Mint: Armīniya

20. Dirham, AH 149/AD 766–767. Anonymous, reverse with central point (default?). Weight 2.77 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213

21. Dirham, AH 152/AD 769–770. Anonymous. Weight 2.7 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213

Mint: al-Baṣra

22. Dirham, AH 142/AD 759–760. Anonymous. Graffiti on obverse. Weight 2.81 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213

23. Dirham, AH 142/AD 759–760. Anonymous. Weight 2.9 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213

24. Dirham, AH 143/AD 760–761. Anonymous. Weight 2.87 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #213

25. Dirham, AH 143/AD 760–761. Anonymous. Graffiti on obverse (small cross). Weight 2.94 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213

26. Dirham, AH 144/AD 761–762. Anonymous, letter *ṣm* below reverse. Weight 2.92 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213

27. Dirham, AH 146/AD 763–764. Anonymous, point below reverse. Weight 2.91 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213

28. Dirham, AH 146/AD 763–764. As no. 27. Weight 2.89 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213

29. Dirham, AH 146/AD 763–764. Anonymous, the name *salm* below reverse. Weight 2.88 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, # 213.3; Nicol 2012, nos. 574–577

30. Dirham, AH 147/AD 764–765. Anonymous. Weight 2.58 g, diam 23 mm; Album 2011, #213

31. Dirham, AH 147/AD 764–765. Anonymous, annulet below reverse. Graffiti (small cut) on reverse. Weight 2.71 g, diam 28 mm; Album 2011, #213

32. Dirham, AH 147/AD 764–765. Anonymous, two annulets below reverse. Weight 2.85 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213

33. Dirham, AH 147/AD 764–765. Anonymous, two points below reverse. Weight 2.94 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213

Mint: al-Kūfa

34. Dirham, AH 142/AD 759–760. Anonymous, three points below reverse. Weight 2.89 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213

35. Dirham, AH 142/AD 759–760. Anonymous. Weight 2.83 g, diam 26.6 mm; Album 2011, #213
36. Dirham, AH 143/AD 760–761. Anonymous, three points below reverse. Graffiti (small cut) on reverse. Weight 2.93 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213
37. Dirham, AH 145/AD 762–763. Anonymous, three points below reverse. Graffiti on obverse. Weight 2.71 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213
38. Dirham, AH 145/AD 762–763. As no. 37. Weight 2.9 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213
39. Dirham, AH 146/AD 763–764. Anonymous, three points below reverse. Weight 2.83 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213

Mint: al-Muḥammadīya

40. Dirham, AH 148/AD 765–766. Reverse with name of heir *al-Mahdī Muḥammad*. Weight 2.93 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213.2
41. Dirham, AH 154/AD 770–771. Reverse with name of heir *al-Mahdī Muḥammad*, annulet below. Weight 2.92 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213.2
42. Dirham, AH 155/AD 771–772. Reverse with name of heir *al-Mahdī Muḥammad*, annulet below. Weight 2.96 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213.2
43. Dirham, AH 155/AD 771–772. Reverse with name of heir *al-Mahdī Muḥammad*, large point below and metal defect (?) above. Weight 3.3 g (anomalous weight), diam 27 mm; Album, #213.2
44. Dirham, AH 155/AD 771–772. Reverse with name of heir *al-Mahdī Muḥammad*, annulet below reverse. Graffiti above reverse (small circle, no point). Weight 3.03 g (anomalous weight), diam 25 mm; Album, #213.2

Mint: Madīnat al-Salām

45. Dirham, AH 149/AD 766–767. Anonymous, *baḥḥ* below reverse. Weight 2.81 g, diam 26 mm; Album, #213
46. Dirham, AH 151/AD 768–769. Anonymous, *baḥḥ* below reverse. Weight 2.72 g, diam 26 mm; Album, #213
47. Dirham, AH 152/AD 769–770. Anonymous, *baḥḥ* below reverse. Weight 2.94 g, diam 23 mm; Album 2011, #213
48. Dirham, AH 152/AD 769–770. As no. 47. Weight 2.91 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213
49. Dirham, AH 152/AD 769–770. Anonymous, *baḥḥ* below reverse. Small graffiti (?) on reverse. Weight 2.9 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213
50. Dirham, AH 153/AD 770. Anonymous, *baḥḥ* below reverse. Graffiti above reverse. Weight 2.84 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213
51. Dirham, AH 153/AD 770. Anonymous, *baḥḥ* below reverse. Weight 2.93 g, diam 24 mm; Album, #213
52. Dirham, AH 154/AD 770–771. Anonymous, *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below reverse. Weight 2.91 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213

53. Dirham, AH 154/AD 770–771. Anonymous, clumsy script on obverse, only one *baḥḥ* below reverse. Weight 2.94 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #213
54. Dirham, AH 155/AD 771–772. Anonymous, two points below obverse, *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below reverse. Weight 2.75 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213
55. Dirham, AH 156/AD 772–773. Anonymous, *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below reverse. Weight 2.83 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213
56. Dirham, AH 156/AD 772–773. As no. 55. Weight 2.86 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213
57. Dirham, AH 157/AD 773–774. Anonymous, point above reverse, *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below. Graffiti above reverse. Weight 2.91 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213
58. Dirham, AH 157/AD 773–774. Anonymous, point above reverse, *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below. Graffiti (?) on obverse. Weight 2.93 g, diameter 26 mm; Album 2011, #213
59. Dirham, AH 157/AD 773–774. Anonymous, point above reverse, *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below. Weight 2.89 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213
60. Dirham, AH 157/AD 773–774. As no. 59. Weight 2.86 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213
61. Dirham, AH 157/AD 773–774. Anonymous, point above reverse and graffiti between *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below. Weight 2.92 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213
62. Dirham, AH 157/AD 773–774. Anonymous, no point above reverse, *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below. Weight 2.85 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213. Old 79
63. Dirham, AH 158/AD 774–775. Anonymous, letter *rā'* between *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below reverse. Weight 2.86 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #213
64. Dirham, AH 158/AD 774–775. Anonymous, letter *rā'* between *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below reverse. Graffiti on obverse. Weight 2.87 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #213
65. Dirham, AH 158/AD 774–775. Anonymous, letter *rā'* between *baḥḥ baḥḥ* below reverse. Weight 2.78 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213
66. Dirham, AH 158/AD 774–775. As no. 65. Weight 2.9 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #213

al-Mahdī Muḥammad (AH 158–169/AD 775–785)

Mint: Aḍarbayḡān

67. Dirham, AH 167/AD 783–784. Reverse with caliph's name, official *Nuṣayr* and letter *mīm* below. Weight 2.91 g, diam 24 mm; Auction LEU 62 (1985), no. 309

Mint: Armīniya

68. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. Reverse with caliph's name, horizontal crescent below. Weight 2.81 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #. 215.1; Auction LEU 62 (1985), no. 310
69. Dirham, AH 168/AD 784–785. Reverse with caliph's name, governor *ibn Khuzaym* below. Weight 2.79 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #. 215.1

Mint: Ifrīqīya

70. Dirham, AH 166/AD 782–783 Anonymous, annulet above reverse and governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 2.72 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #. 215.2; cf. Nicol 2012, no. 434

71. Dirham, AH 169/AD 785–786. Reverse with caliph's name and *Harūn* as son of the caliph. Weight 2.62 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #. 215.3

Mint: al-Bašra

72. Dirham, AH 160/AD 776–777. Reverse with caliph's name and citing *Muḥammad* below (vertical script). Graffiti above reverse. Weight 2.81 g, diam 24 mm; Album, #215.1; cf. Nicol 2012, no. 594

73. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. Reverse with caliph's name, two points above and official *Muḥammad* below. Weight 2.81 g, diam 23 mm; Album 2011, #215.2

74. Dirham, AH 167/AD 783–784. Reverse with caliph's name, citing *Mūsā* (future *al-Hādī*) as heir and *Nuṣayr* below. Weight 2.9 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.4

Mint: Tudġa

75. Dirham, AH 165/AD 781–782. Anonymous, point above reverse, trace of legend below, abnormal contrast between obverse and reverse (mule?), normal reverse circular legend. Weight 2.72 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1

76. Dirham, AH 165/AD 781–782. Anonymous, without governor name below reverse. Weight 2.71 g, diam 26 mm; Album, –; cf. Nicol 2012, no. 717

77. Dirham, AH 165/AD 781–782. As no 76. Weight 2.72 g, diam 27 mm; Album, –; cf. Nicol 2012, as above

78. Dirham, AH (165)/AD 781–782. Anonymous, without governor name below reverse. Weight 2.68, diam 27 mm; Album, –; cf. Nicol 2012, as above

Mint: Maḍīnat Ġayy

79. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. Reverse with caliph's name, citing *Yahyā* below. Weight 2.97 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #215.1

80. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. As no. 79. Weight 2.9 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #215.1

81. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. As no. 79. Weight 2.84 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #215.1

Mint: al-‘Abbāsīya

82. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. Anonymous, annulet above reverse, citing governor *Yazīd (ibn Ḥātim)* below. Weight 2.69 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.2

83. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. As no. 82. Weight 2.71 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.2

84. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. Anonymous, *baḥḥ* above reverse, citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 1.68 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.2

85. Dirham, AH (162)/AD 778–779. Anonymous, annulet above reverse, citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 2.93 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.2
86. Dirham, AH 166/AD 782–783 (unit of date written with a *tā' marbūṭa* ending). Anonymous, annulet above reverse, citing governor *Yazīd* below. Graffiti on obverse (small triangle). Weight 2.82 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #215.2; cf. Nicol 2012, nos. 1027–1029
87. Dirham, AH 166/AD 782–783. Anonymous, annulet above reverse, citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 2.71 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #215.2
88. Dirham, AH 166/AD 782–783. As no. 87. Weight 2.77 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #215.2
89. Dirham, AH 16(6)/AD 782–783. Anonymous, annulet above reverse, citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 2.75 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.2
90. Dirham, AH 167/AD 783–784. Anonymous, *baḥḥ* above reverse, citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 2.7 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, # 215.2
91. Dirham, AH 167/AD 783–784. As no. 90. Weight 2.8 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, # 215.2
92. Dirham, AH 16(9)/AD 785–786. Anonymous, *baḥḥ* above reverse, citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 2.64 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #215.2
93. Dirham, AH 16X/AD 78X. Anonymous, *baḥḥ* above reverse, citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 2.54 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.2

166

Mint: Kirmān

94. Dirham, AH 166/AD 782–783. Reverse with caliph's name, letter *rā'* above and *baḥḥ* below. Weight 2.71 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.1

Mint: al-Muḥammadīya

95. Dirham, AH 166/AD 782–783. Reverse with caliph's name, letter *mīm* below. Weight 2.9 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
96. Dirham, AH 167/AD 783–784. Reverse with caliph's name, point above and letter *zā'* below. Weight 2.87 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.1; cf. Nicol 2012, nos. 1363–1364
97. Dirham, AH 167/AD 783–784. Reverse with caliph's name, point above and *baḥḥ* below. Weight 2.88 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1

Mint: Madīnat al-Salām

98. Dirham, AH 159/AD 775–776. Reverse with caliph's name, no mintmarks or governor's name. Graffiti (or cuts) on obverse. Weight 2.93 g, diameter 27 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
99. Dirham, AH 159/AD 775–776. Reverse with caliph's name, no mintmark or governor's name. Weight 2.44 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
100. Dirham, AH 159/AD 775–776. As no. 99. Weight 3.07 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #215.1

101. Dirham, AH 160/AD 776–777. Reverse with caliph’s name, point below. Weight 2.9 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
102. Dirham, AH 160/AD 776–777. As no. 101. Weight 2.77 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
103. Dirham, AH 160/AD 776–777. As no. 101. Graffiti above reverse. Weight 2.93 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
104. Dirham, AH 160/AD 776–777. As no. 101. Weight 2.93 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
105. Dirham, AH 160/AD 776–777. As no. 101. Weight 2.88 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
106. Dirham, AH 160/AD 776–777. As no. 101. Weight 2.9 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
107. Dirham, AH 160/AD 776–777. Reverse with caliph’s name, point below (square on the tip). Weight 2.92 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
108. Dirham, AH 161/AD 777–778. Reverse with caliph’s name, point below. Weight 2.92 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
109. Dirham, AH 161/AD 777–778. As no. 108. Weight 2.93 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
110. Dirham, AH 161/AD 777–778. As no. 108. Weight 2.93 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
111. Dirham, AH 161/AD 777–778. As no. 108. Weight 2.76 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
112. Dirham, AH 161/AD 777–778. As no. 108. Weight 2.9 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
113. Dirham, AH 161/AD 777–778. As no. 108. Weight 2.76 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
114. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. Reverse with caliph’s name, point below. Weight 2.91 g, diam 23 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
115. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. Reverse with caliph’s name, point above, two points below. Weight 2.97 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
116. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. Reverse with caliph’s name, point below. Weight 2.84 g, diam 23 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
117. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. As no. 116. Weight 2.91 g, diam 28 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
118. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. As no. 116. Weight 2.75 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
119. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. As no. 116. Weight 2.81 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
120. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. As no. 116. Weight 2.87 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
121. Dirham, AH 162/AD 778–779. As no. 116. Weight 2.92 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1

122. Dirham, AH 163/AD 779–780. Reverse with caliph's name, point below. Weight 2.92 g, diam 20.4 mm; Album, #215.1
123. Dirham, AH 163/AD 779–780. As no. 122. Weight 2.89 g, diam 23 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
124. Dirham, AH 164/AD 780–781. Reverse with caliph's name, point below. Weight 2.89 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
125. Dirham, AH 164/AD 780–781. As no. 124. Weight 2.93 g, diam 23 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
126. Dirham, AH 165/AD 781–782. Reverse with caliph's name. Weight 2.91 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
127. Dirham, AH 165/AD 781–782. Reverse with caliph's name, *baḥḥ* below. Weight 2.9 g, diam 23 mm; Album 2011, #215.1
128. Dirham, AH 16X/AD 77X–77X. Reverse with caliph's name, point below. Weight 2.95 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #215.1

Mūsā al-Hādī (AH 169–170/AD 785–786)

Mint: Ifrīqīya (Barqa)

129. Dirham, AH 170/AD 786–787. Reverse with caliph's name and *Harūn* as heir of the muslims, small letters *bar* above and *qa* below (reference to the town of Barqa in Libya). Graffiti on obverse (?). Weight 2.74 g, diam 25 mm; cf. Bauden 2016, no. 9; Album 2011, #217.2

168

Mint: al-‘Abbāsīya

130. Dirham, AH 170/AD 786–787. Reverse without caliph, *baḥḥ* above and citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 2.82 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #217.3; cf. Nicol 2012, nos. 1069–1079
131. Dirham, AH 170/AD 786–787. As no. 130. Weight 2.98 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #217.3
132. Dirham, AH 170/AD 786–787. As no. 130. Weight 2.96 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #217.3
133. Dirham, AH 170/AD 786–787. As no. 130. Weight 2.52 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #217.3
134. Dirham, AH 17[0]/AD 786–787 (unit damaged). Reverse without caliph, *baḥḥ* above, citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 1.77 g, diam 21 mm; Album 2011, #217.3

Mint: al-Hārūnīya

135. Dirham, AH 169/AD 785–786. Reverse with caliph's name, citing *Hārūn* as son of the commander of the Faithfull, governor *Ḥuzayma* above, *ibn Ḥāzim* below. Weight 2.77 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #217.1; cf. Nicol 2012, nos. 2042–2044

Hārūn al-Rashīd (AH 170–193/AD 785–809)

Mint: Armīniya

136. Dirham, AH 185/AD 801–802. Reverse without caliph, citing *al-Amīn* as heir of the muslims and governor *Asad ibn* above, *Yazīd* below. Weight 3.02 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #219.9a

Mint: Ifrīqīya

137. Dirham, AH 170/AD 786–787. Reverse with caliph as *Hārūn*, traces of text above and below reverse (Barqa?). Weight 2.72 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #219.4; cf. Nicol 2012, no. 450

138. Dirham, AH 172/AD 788–789. Reverse without caliph, *baḥḥ* above and citing governor *Rūḥ (ibn Hātim)* below. Weight 2.56 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #219.2a

139. Dirham, AH 174/AD 790–791. Reverse without caliph, *baḥḥ* above and citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 1.91 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #219.2a

140. Dirham, AH 175/AD 791–792. Reverse without caliph, *baḥḥ baḥḥ* above and citing governor *Naṣr* below. Weight 2.8 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #219.2a

141. Dirham, AH 175/AD 791–792. Reverse without caliph, legend where the prophet is entitled *nabī* instead of *rasūl*, *baḥḥ baḥḥ* above and citing governor *Naṣr* below. Graffiti on obverse, letters(?). Weight 2.86 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #219.3

142. Dirham, AH 178/AD 794–795. Reverse without caliph, *baḥḥ* above, citing governor *al-Faḍl (ibn Yaḥyā)* below. Weight 1.86 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #219.2a

143. Dirham, AH 183/AD 799–800. Reverse with caliph as *Hārūn* in tiny letters above, citing heir *al-Amīn* in reverse margin and governor *Tamām (al-Tamīmī)* below. Weight 2.87 g, diam 26 mm; cf. ZENO #211033 (this coin!)

Mint: Madīnat Balḥ

144. Dirham, AH 182/AD 798–799. Reverse without caliph, citing *al-Amīn* as son of the caliph and heir to the muslims, *baḥḥ* below. Weight 2.92 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #219.2b

145. Dirham, AH 188/AD 803–804. Reverse without caliph, citing *al-Ma'mūn 'Abd Allāh* as son of the caliph and second heir to the muslims, *baḥḥ* below. Weight 2.87 g, diam 27 mm; Album 2011, #219.11

Mint: al-'Abbāsīya

146. Dirham, AH 171/AD 787–788. Reverse without caliph, *baḥḥ* above and citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 2.57 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #219.2a

147. Dirham, AH 171/AD 787–788. As no. 146. Weight 2.58 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #219.2a

148. Dirham, AH 171/AD 787–788. As no. 146. Weight 2.69 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #219.2a

149. Dirham, AH 173/AD 789–790. Reverse without caliph, *baḥḥ* above and citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 2.64 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #219.2a

150. Dirham, AH 176/AD 792–793. Reverse without caliph, *baḥḥ* above and citing governor *Yazīd* below. Weight 3.47 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #219.2a

Mint: Kirmān

151. Dirham, AH 178/AD 794–795. Reverse without caliph, letter *mīm* above and citing *Ġaʿfar* below. Weight 2.84 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #219.2a

Mint: al-Muḥammadiya

152. Dirham, AH 170/AD 786–787. Reverse with caliph as *al-Rašīd*, citing *Mubāʾ rak*. Weight 2.81 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #219.5; cf. Nicol 2012, nos. 1374–1378

153. Dirham, AH 170/AD 786–787. As no. 152. Weight 2.86 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #219.5

154. Dirham, AH 172/AD 788–789. Reverse with caliph as *al-Rašīd*, with *Muḥammad* as son of the caliph and citing *Ḥarīṭ* above, *Faḍl (ibn Yaḥyā)* below. Weight 2.9 g, diam 28 mm; Album 2011, #219.8

155. Dirham, AH 180/AD 796–797. Reverse without caliph, citing order of *al-Amīn Muḥammad* as son of the caliph *fī wilāyat Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā*, letter *wāw* above, *Ġaʿfar* below. Weight 2.92 g, diam 26 mm; Album 2011, #219.12; cf. Nicol 2012, nos. 1407–1408

Mint: Madīnat al-Salām

156. Dirham, AH 174/AD 790–791? (broken old obverse die dated AH 164 used). Reverse with caliph, as *ʿAbd Allah Ḥārūn* (highly condensed in the second marginal legend of the reverse). Weight 2.82 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #219.6a; cf. Nicol 2012, no. 1659 (with AH 174 obverse die)

157. Dirham, AH 189/AD 804–805. Reverse without caliph, letter *hāʾ* below. Weight 2.93 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #219.2

158. Dirham, AH 192/AD 807–808. Obverse with clumsy writing, word *sanat* lacking in circular legend. Reverse of good style, without caliph, letter *hāʾ* below. Weight 3.28 g, diam 23 mm; Album 2011, #219.2

Mint: Maʿdīn Bāḡunays

159. Dirham, AH 186/AD 802. With mint name al-Muḥammadiya (the style, the circular annulets and officials' names correspond to the mints of the Bāḡunays mine and have been reattributed to this mint as “The second al-Muḥammadiya”, cf. Bates 2011). Reverse without caliph, citing order of *al-Amīn Muḥammad* son of the caliph, citing *Dāʿūd* above, *Ṣurad* below. Weight 2.85 g, diam 25 mm; Bates 2011, p. 15, Fig. 5

Mint: al-Hārūniya

160. Dirham, AH 170/AD 786–787. Reverse with caliph *al-Rašīd* as *al-Mardī*, citing the official *Raḡāʾ*, mint mark: isolated letters: *ḡīm* and *bāʾ-wāw* below. Weight 2.92 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #219.1; cf. Nicol 2012, no. 2055

161. Dirham, AH 171/AD 787–788. Reverse with caliph as *al-Rašīd*, citing the official *Raḡāʾ*, mint mark: isolated letters *ḡīm* and *bāʾ-wāw* below. Weight 2.91 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #219.5

al-Amīn (AH 193–198/AD 809–813)

Mint: Ma‘din Bāḡunays

162. Dirham, AH 195/AD 810–811 (*tpq* of the hoard). Reverse citing *al-Amīn* as caliph and *amīr al-mu‘minīn*, ‘*Ubayd* below. Weight 3.02 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #221.3b (two years type); cf. Nicol 2012, no. 1968 (with *mīm* on top)

‘ABBĀSID GOVERNORS OF ṬABARISTĀN

Sa‘īd ibn al-Da‘laḡ (PYE 125–127/AD 776–778)

Mint: Ṭabaristān

163. Ṭabarī dirham, PYE 126/AD 777. Governor’s name right of bust (in Arabic). Weight 1.78 g, diam 24 mm; Album and Goodwin 2002, no. 412

IDRĪSIDS

Idrīs I (AH 172–175/AD 789–791)

Mint: Tudḡa

164. Dirham, AH 175/AD 791. Two points in obverse field, name of the sovereign in reverse margin, citing ‘*Alī* below. Weight 2.57 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #419
165. Dirham, AH 176/AD 792–793. First regency, posthumous coinage of Idrīs I. Name of Idrīs I in reverse margin, central point, citing ‘*Alī* below. Weight 2.55 g, diam 24 mm; Album 2011, #419

Mint: Walīla (Volubilis)

166. Dirham, AH 174/AD 790–791. Two points in obverse field, name of the sovereign in reverse margin, citing ‘*Alī* below. Weight 2.65 g, diam 25 mm; Album 2011, #419

ḤARĪĠITE OF TUDḠA

‘Amr ibn Ḥammād (AH 176/AD 792–793)

Mint: Tudḡa

167. Dirham, AH 176/AD 792–793. Obverse, *Maṭah* (?) left of the first line. Reverse, *Maṭah* (?) above, ‘*Amr* below (without final *wāw*), full name of the leader in circular margin. Weight 2.35 g, diam 26 mm; Eustache 1970–1971, p. 296, no. 48

UMAYYAD OF SPAIN

‘Abd al Raḥmān I (AH 138–172/AD 756–788)

Mint: al-Andalus

168. Dirham, AH 161/AD 777–778. Anonymous. Weight 2.47 g, diam 28 mm; Album 2011, #339

IMITATIONS

RUSTAMID STATE (?)

‘Abd (al-Raḥmān or al-Wahhāb). “Imitations” AH 173–175/AD 789–792

Mint: unknown (al-Mubāraka?)

169. Dirham, AH 174/AD 790–791. Hybrid: obverse taken from imitative dirham coinage of al-‘Abbāsīya AH 174, reverse typical Rustamid type with large letter *‘ayn* above and small *bā’-dāl* below, for *‘Abd al-Raḥmān* or *‘Abd al-Wahhāb*. Graffiti on obverse (divided rectangle). Weight 3.81 g, diam 25 mm; Ilisch 2017, no. 11, fig. 10; reverse as Nicol 2012, nos. 1297–1298 (for al-Mubāraka)

170. Dirham, AH 174/AD 790–791. As no. 169. Weight 3.09 g, diam 25 mm; Ilisch 2017, no. 11, fig. 10; reverse as Nicol 2012, nos. 1297–1298

UNATRIBUTED

Mint in Maghreb?

171. Dirham, ca. AH 180 /AD 796–797. Multiple strikes on obverse, worn reverse with a three-line legend, traces of text above and below. Weight 2.69 g, diam 25 mm

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PLATE 1	Fig. 1. Tsarino hoard upon discovery. Photo by O. Solovkin
PLATE 2	Chart. 1. Tsarino hoard composition by decade Chart. 2. Tsarino hoard, post-reform Islamic mint composition (Maghreb mints highlighted): 1 – Walīla; 2 – Tudġa; 3 – al-Andalus; 4 – Ifrīqīya; 5 – al-‘Abbāsīya; 6 – al-Hārūnīya; 7 – al-Kūfa; 8 – Armīnīya; 9 – Madīnat al-Salām; 10 – Wāsiṭ; 11 – Aḍarbayġān; 12 – al-Bašra; 13 – al-Muḥammadiya; 14 – Madīnat Ġayy; 15 – Kirmān; 16 – Ma‘din Bāġunays; 17 – Madīnat Balḥ; 18 – Ṭabaristān Fig. 2. Unprovenanced Umayyad dirham, Wāsiṭ, AH 123/AD 740–741. Photo by O. Solovkin
MAP 1	Mints and coin quantities from the Tsarino hoard: 1 – Walīla; 2 – Tudġa; 3 – al-Andalus; 4 – Ifrīqīya; 5 – al-‘Abbāsīya; 6 – al-Hārūnīya; 7 – al-Kūfa; 8 – Armīnīya; 9 – Madīnat al-Salām; 10 – Wāsiṭ; 11 – Aḍarbayġān; 12 – al-Bašra; 13 – al-Muḥammadiya; 14 – Madīnat Ġayy; 15 – Kirmān; 16 – Ma‘din Bāġunays; 17 – Madīnat Balḥ; 18 – Ṭabaristān. By S. Stepanenko and E. Ollivier
MAP 2	Selected Saltiv-Mayaki culture sites along the Siverskyi Donets: 1 – Verknii Saltiv; 2 – Saryi Saltiv; 3 – Khotimlya; 4 – Martove; 5 – Kochetok-II; 6 – Kotkovske (Pechenikhy); 7 – Kytsivka; 8 – Mokhnach; 9 – Koropovi Khutory (Koropove); 10 – Prystin; 11 – Verbovske (Bairak); 12 – Tetyanivka; 13 – Sviatohirsk; 14 – Kirovske (Zarichne); 15 – Novoselivka; 16 – Teplynske (Bohorodzchne); 17 – Sydorove; 18 – Tsarino (Mayaki); 19 – Raihorodok; 20 – Osyanska Gora (Donetskyi)
PLATES 3–20	Coins from Tsarino hoard. The numbers of the photographs correspond to the numbers of the coins as per “Catalogue”. Photos by O. Solovkin



Fig. 1

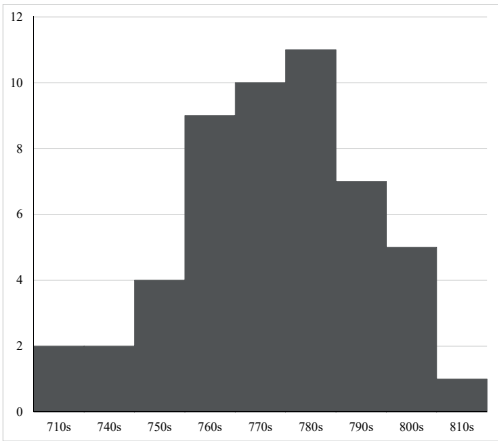


Chart. 1. Tsarino hoard composition by decade

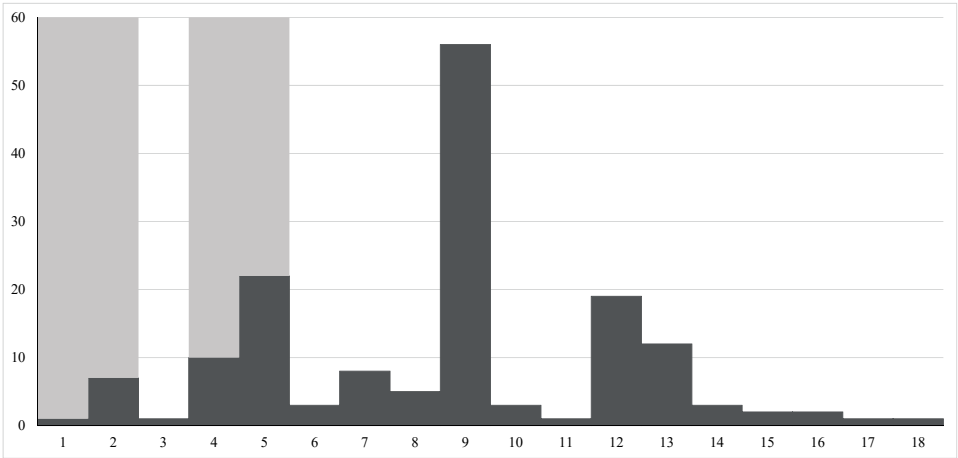
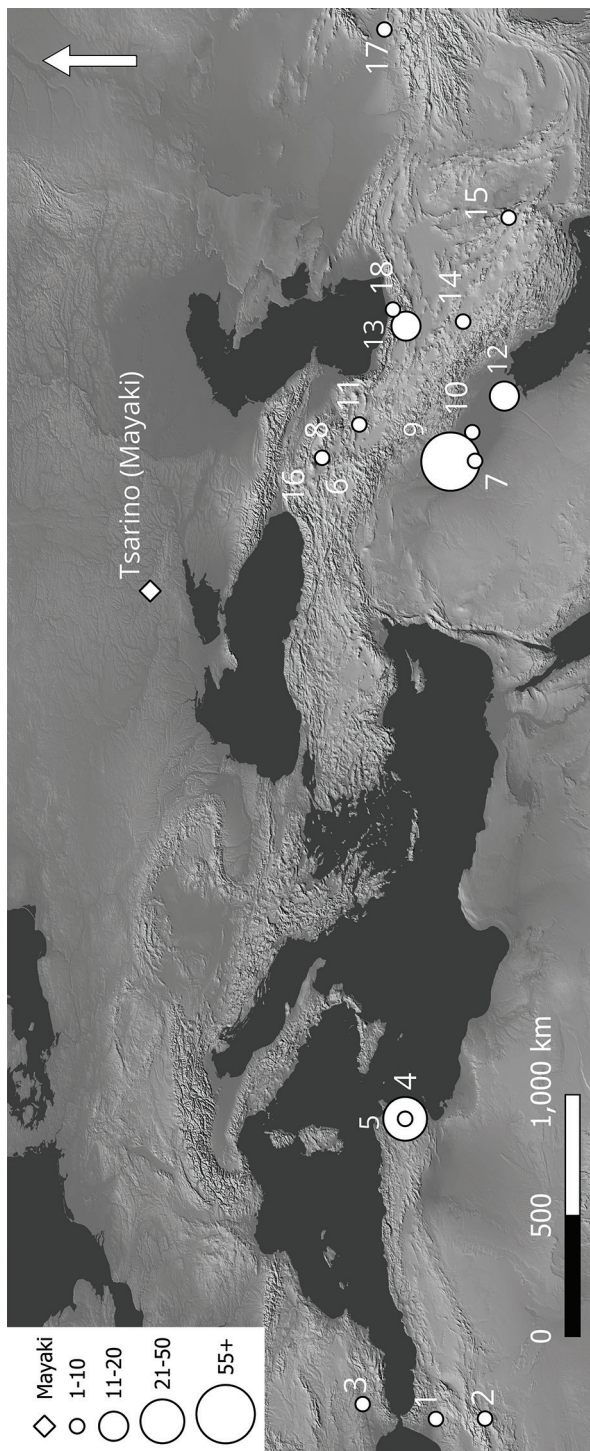
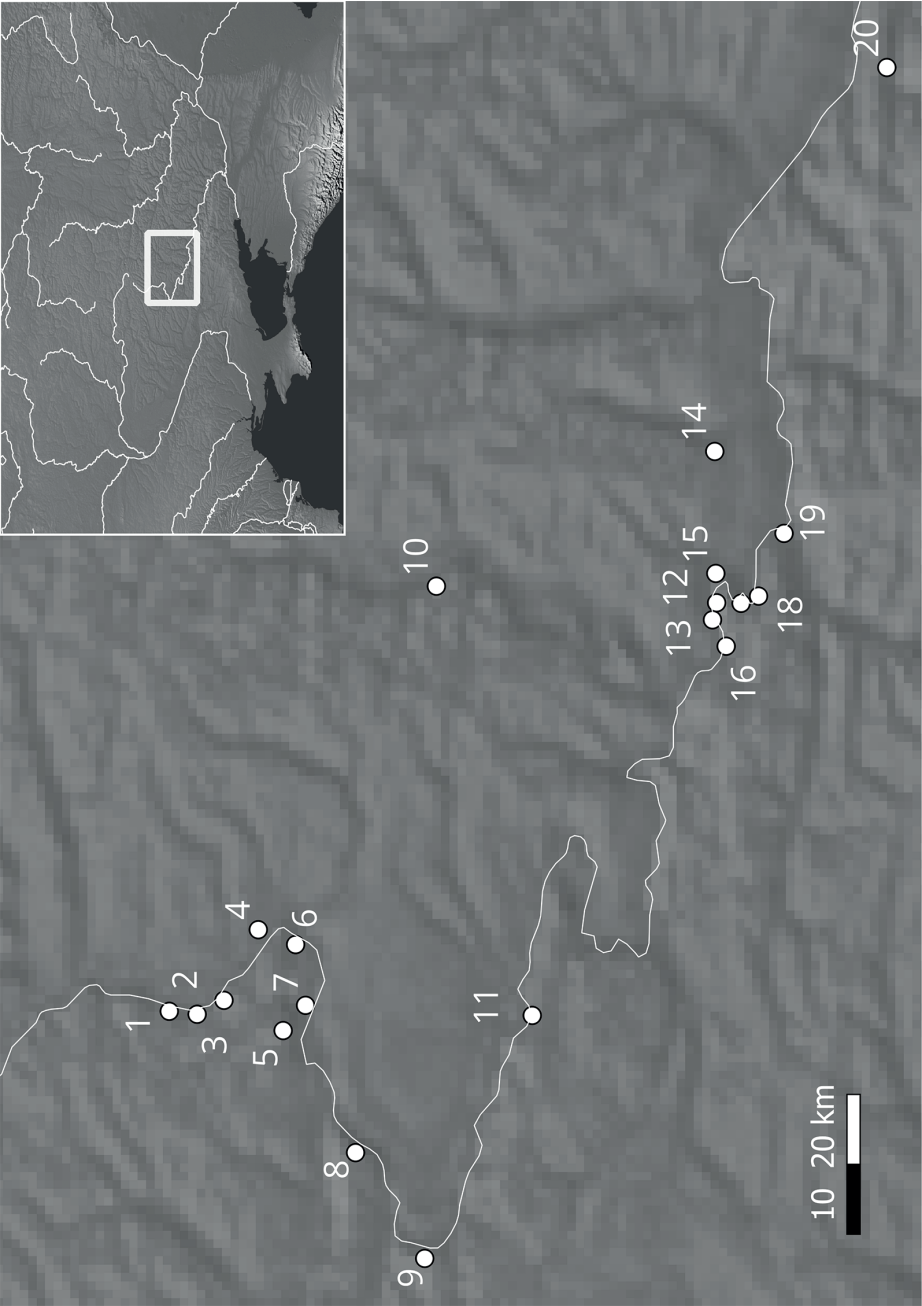


Chart. 2. Tsarino hoard, post-reform Islamic mint composition (Maghreb mints highlighted)



Fig. 2. Unprovenanced Umayyad dirham, Wāsiṭ, AH 123/AD 740–741. Photo by O. Solovkin





Map 2. Selected Saltiv-Mayaki culture sites along the Siverskyi Donets. By S. Stepanenko and E. Ollivier



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