

Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from Eastern Europe

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Among the tens of thousands of Islamic dirhams which were imported into Eastern Europe during the period ca. 800 to ca. 1015, there are a small number of Umayyad silver coins minted at al-Andalus or Cordova in Spain. These coins fall into two distinct groups. The first and earlier group includes those dirhams issued during the period of the Umayyad Caliphs of Damascus, i.e., pre-750. These coins will be referred to here as Umayyad dirhams struck in Spain. The second group belongs to the coinage of the Spanish Umayyad Amirs (756-1031). To distinguish these coins from those of the first group, they shall be called Spanish Umayyad dirhams.

To the best of my knowledge, the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams uncovered in Eastern Europe have never been the subject of a special study. The route by which they reached Eastern Europe was briefly discussed by E. Zambaur¹ and R. R. Fasmer.² V. L. Ianin mentioned them, in passing, among the eight dynastic groups found in early dirham hoards from medieval Rus'.³ More recently, V. M. Potin devoted several pages to these dirhams in a study primarily concerned with the western and central European deniers found in medieval Rus' and adjoining areas.⁴ But, to date, no work has focused exclusively on the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from Eastern Europe. Our purpose, then, is to remedy the neglect of this interesting group of coins which were struck at one end of Europe and deposited at the other end. Hopefully, our study will take its place among other recent works on medieval Islamic coins from Spain which have been uncovered in northern and Eastern Europe, e.g., U. S. Linder Welin's examination of the Spanish Umayyad coins from Scandinavia⁵ and the Dobrovol'skii-Potin article on Hungarian imitations of Almoravid dinars found in Eastern Europe.⁶

1. E. ZAMBAUR, *Orientalische Münzen in Nord-und Osteuropa* (Vienna: 1902), 5.

2. R. R. FASMER, «Ob izdanii novoi topografii nakhodok kuficheskikh monet v Vostochnoi Evrope», *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk*, 1933, No 6-7, 480.

3. V. L. IANIN, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy russkogo srednevekov'ia: Domongol'skii period* (Moscow: 1956), 91.

4. V. M. POTIN, *Drevniaia Rus' i evropeiskie gosudarstva v X-XIII vv.: Istoriko-numizmaticheskii ocherk* (Leningrad: 1968), 211-213.

5. U. S. LINDER WELIN, «Spanish-Umayyad Coins Found in Scandinavia», *Numismatiska Meddelanden*, 30 (1965), 15-25.

6. I. G. DOBROVOL'SKII, V. M. POTIN, «Vengerskie podrazhaniia Al'morazidskim dinaram», *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, 12 (1971), 120-125.

The various finds of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from Eastern Europe are listed in Appendix I. The reader will immediately notice that the information about some of these finds is incomplete. Furthermore, since the last topography of dirham finds from European Russia was published seventy years ago, it is quite possible that we have inadvertently omitted some Andalusian Umayyad dirhams found since that time. However, it is our hope that this initial study of these coins will inspire others who possess direct access to the data to publish more complete information on the dirhams listed here and to make known any other finds of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams which should be included.

Perhaps the most striking fact about the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from Eastern Europe is how few there are. Writing in the early 1930s, Richard Fasmer estimated that dirhams had been found at about 750 sites in the former Russian empire.⁷ At present, the number of find-spots with dirhams clearly exceeds 1,000. Yet, the number of find-spots from European Russia and the Ukraine with Andalusian Umayyad dirhams is under ten or less than one percent. In other words, Andalusian Umayyad dirhams are present in only one out of every hundred or so find-spots in Russia and the Ukraine which contain dirhams. While I have not done the calculations for Poland and the Caucasus, we should probably find that Andalusian Umayyad dirhams occur in only a very small percentage of find-spots with dirhams from these regions.

Another indicator of the rarity of Spanish Umayyad dirhams in Eastern Europe is the fact that they are often found in comparatively large hoards. For example, the most recent find from Russia comes from Timerevo and belongs to a hoard of over 2,600 dirhams (Appendix I, No. 6). The two coins in the Kiev find were part of a hoard of almost 2,800 dirhams while the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from Magilev came from a hoard of about 2,000 coins and coin fragments (Appendix I, No. 7, 3). The Uglich hoard, with its four or five Andalusian Umayyad dirhams, consisted of over 1,100 coins (Appendix I, No. 5). The Glazov hoard contained about 1,500 dirhams (Appendix I, No. 8). At the same time, only one stray or single find of an Andalusian Umayyad dirham is reported from all European Russia and the Ukraine (Appendix I, No. 9). This find-spot was located within the Khazar kaganate where comparatively few dirham finds occur. By way of contrast, Russia and the Ukraine contain numerous spots where one or a few dirhams from almost every Islamic dynasty of the time have been found. Andalusian Umayyad dirhams were so scarce in Russia and the Ukraine north of the steppe zone that they only occurred in large concentrations of coins.

These same patterns —presence in fairly sizable hoards and few single finds— also prevail elsewhere in Eastern Europe. The single Andalusian Umayyad dirham from Vossberg in Pomerania (Appendix I, No. 11) was part of a hoard which originally consisted of over 9,000 coins. The Spanish Umayyad dirhams in the Starydworek and Wielowies finds (Appendix I, No. 12, 13) came from hoards of over 530 and 430 coins respectively. Other hoards from Poland-Pomerania, Finland, and the Caucasus with Andalusian Umayyad dirhams were smaller in number, but still sizable; the smallest was composed of 38 dirhams. Besides the one Andalusian dirham from Khazaria, the only

7. FASMER, «Ob izdaniï», 475.

other Andalusian Umayyad dirham from Eastern Europe found outside of a hoard was the fragment found in a grave in Finland (Appendix I, No. 15). In short, eighteen of the twenty finds of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from Eastern Europe (90 %) derive from hoards and many of these hoards are large.

Another indication of the paucity of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams in Eastern Europe is their small number within the few hoards where they do appear. Their percentage of the total coins in each hoard from Russia and the Ukraine is as follows: Kniashchino, 2.2 %; Nizhniaia Syrovatka, 5 %; Iarylovichi, 1.4 %; Uglich, 2.0-2.5 %; Timerevo, 0.8 %; and Kiev, 6 %. The comparable figures for Poland, Finland and the Caucasus are: Pomerania 6 %; Vossberg, 2 %; Starydworek, 2 %; Wielowies, 2 %; Hammarudda, 6 %; Buradygia, 4 %; Kirovabad, 1.6 %; Kavshiri, 2.6 %; Apeni, 3 %; and Pshaveli, 7 %. The only hoard which seems to have contained more than a few Andalusian Umayyad dirhams was Mogilev where, regrettably, our information is incomplete (Appendix I, No. 3). In short, Andalusian Umayyad dirhams only constituted a very small part of a very few hoards from Eastern Europe.

As noted above, the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams found in Eastern Europe can be divided into two dynastic groups: the Umayyad dirhams struck in Spain and the Spanish Umayyad dirhams. While our data leave much to be desired, we do find that there are eleven find-spots from Eastern Europe with Umayyad dirhams struck in Spain: Russia and the Ukraine, 6; Poland and Pomerania, 1; Finland, 0; and, the Caucasus, 4. Fourteen find-spots contain Spanish Umayyad dirhams: Russia and the Ukraine, 7; Poland and Pomerania, 4; Finland, 2; and, the Caucasus, 1. The overlap exists because five find-spots, four in Russia and one in Poland, contain coins of both groups.

It is impossible to provide exact figures on the number of dirhams in each group. Given the imperfect published data, it would appear that at least fourteen Umayyad dirhams struck in Spain have been noted in Eastern European finds: Russia and the Ukraine, 7; Poland and Pomerania, 1; Finland, 0; and, the Caucasus, 6. By way of comparison, there are over twenty-two Spanish Umayyad dirhams: Russia and the Ukraine, 14⁺; Poland and Pomerania, 5; Finland, 2; and, the Caucasus, 1. In short, among the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams seem to be somewhat greater in quantity and to occur in a somewhat larger number of find-spots.

A comparison of the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from Eastern Europe with those listed in the index of al-Andalus silver coins found in Miles' catalog is revealing.⁸ First of all, every year specifically represented among the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from Eastern Europe is also found in the Miles index. In terms of mint years, there are no exceptionally rare specimens among the Eastern European finds of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams. My colleagues in Eastern Europe and Spain will have to determine if the varieties from a given year uncovered in Eastern Europe are exceptional.

If the number of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from each year in the Miles index is in any way representative of the total emissions,⁹ then those issues which reached Eastern Europe raise several interesting problems. For

8. George MILES, *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain*, 2 parts (New York: 1950), 555-560.

9. According to Miles, *Coinage*, x, «it is safe to say that the number of citations after each issue (or in the index of issues at the end of the book...) is a good indication of relative, and a fair indication of absolute, rarity or commonness».

example, the number of specimens in the Miles index for each year between 722/23 and 766/67 never exceeds ten and is normally three or less. On the other hand, starting in 767/68 and extending through 885/86, the number of specimens for each year, with only two exceptions, is never less than ten, regularly exceeds twenty, and often reaches fifty or more, in other words, there seems to have been a marked increase in the quantity of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams struck during the century of so after 766/67. This increase in volume within Spain is not reflected in the Eastern European finds. At least fourteen of the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from these finds were struck before 767/68 while some nineteen plus fall into the period between 767/68 and 885/86. In other words, the dirhams issued before 767/68, primarily by the governors of the Umayyad Caliphs, are over-represented in the Eastern European materials. The marked upsurge in the coinage of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams after 766/67 had no notable impact in Eastern Europe.

The Miles index raises an even more significant problem. As already noted, the sharp increase in the number of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams continued from 767/68 to 885/86 with few exceptions. However, the overwhelming majority of the dirhams from this period found in Eastern Europe date to the period before 800. A breakdown by decade of the seventeen coins from this entire period for which we have more or less good data is as follows: 760s (767/68-769/70) = 4; 770s = 5; 780s = 2; 790s = 2; 800s = 2; 810s = 1; 820s = 0; 830s = 0; 840s = 0; 850s = 1; 860s = 0; 870s = 0; and, 880s = 0. In other words, the number of Spanish Umayyad dirhams reaching Eastern Europe declined sharply after the 770s, stayed at a minimal number until the 810s, and then, for all practical purposes, ceased entirely.

Andalusian Umayyad dirhams only began to reach Eastern Europe again during the reign of Hisham II (976-1009, 1010-1013). Regrettably, we do not have the exact mint years for the three Hisham II dirhams found in Poland. Nevertheless, the Miles index suggests that his reign, especially from 976/77-977/78, 988/89-1007/08, and 1010/11-1011/12, was characterized by an exceptionally large emission of dirhams. But, the mere fact that Hisham II had numerous dirhams struck does not explain why some reached Eastern Europe. As we saw above, the quantity of coins struck in Spain seems to have been independent of the factors which brought some of them to Eastern Europe.

The above discussion indicates that the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from Eastern Europe fall into two distinct chronological groups. The first group dates from the 720s and extends until the 810s, i.e., 720-820. The vast majority of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams in Eastern Europe belong to this group. These coins, with the exception of the stray find from Khazaria, were found in hoards of the ninth and early tenth century. The dates of the most recent coin in these hoards are as follows: Kniashchino, 808/09; Nizhniaia Syrovatka, 812/13; Mogilev, 814/15; Iarylovichi, 820/21; Uglich 832/33; Timerevo-ca., 870; Kiev, 906/07; Glozov, 842/43; Pomerania 839/40; Hammarudda, 857/58; Buradygia, 2nd quarter of the ninth century; Kirovabad, 771/72; Kavshiri, 819/20; Apeni, 833/34; and, Pshaveli, 807/08. Recognizing the exceptions, one can characterize this group as Andalusian Umayyad dirhams of the eighth century deposited in Eastern European hoards of the ninth century.

Two other traits of the first chronological group should be noted. First of all, it includes all eight hoards from Russia and the Ukraine, all five Caucasian hoards, the single Finnish hoard, and only one of four Polish hoards.

In other words, this first chronological group is concentrated geographically in the Caucasus and European Russia-Ukraine. Second, most of the hoards in this initial chronological group were deposited by the first-third of the ninth century (nine of fifteen or 60 %) and almost all by the mid-ninth century (twelve fifteen or 80 %). The Andalusian Umayyad dirhams of the first chronological group occur primarily in Russian-Ukrainian and Causasian hoards deposited before 850.

Now that we have identified some of the characteristics of the first chronological group, we can turn to the question of how they reached Eastern Europe. In a recent study, I attempted to demonstrate that dirhams first began to reach Eastern Europe around the year 800 and that they were imported into Eastern Europe from the Near East by the Caucasus/Caspian route. This study also tried to show that dirhams were first imported into Transcaucasia from the Near East around 770, i.e., the earliest dirham hoards in the Caucasus date from 770.¹⁰ In short, dirhams began to flow north from the Near East to Transcaucasia around 770 and to Eastern Europe around 800.

Some time ago, Fasmer pointed out that one of the characteristics of the early Russian dirham hoard was their relatively high percentage of north African dirhams. Fasmer also argued that north African dirhams formed a comparatively large part of Russian dirham hoards deposited before 825.¹¹ North African dirhams constituted such a major part of early Russian-Ukrainian dirham hoards because, by the early ninth century, they had come to from a significant part of the coin stock within the Near East. Four recently published Near Eastern hoards of the period 808/09-819/20, for example, contained 56 %, 16 %, 32 %, and 19 % north African dirhams.¹² Therefore, the coin stock from which the dirhams exported to Eastern Europe and Transcaucasia was drawn included a large number of north African dirhams.

I believe that it is reasonable to argue that the flow of dirhams from north Africa to the Near East also brought Andalusian Umayyad dirhams into the Near East, especially the Spanish Umayyad dirhams. In Appendix II, I have listed four recently published Near Eastern dirham hoards of the eighth and early ninth centuries containing Andalusian Umayyad dirhams. An analysis of the data indicates that Umayyad dirhams struck in Spain had begun to reach the Near East before the mid-eighth century. The 748/49 Damascus hoard, for example, contained 38 Umayyad dirhams struck in al-Andalus (Appendix II, No. 3). We might also note, in this connection, the recent hoard of 150 Umayyad dinars found in Syria which contained at least three north African dinars (719/20-723/24) and a dinar struck in al-Andalus, 737/38.¹³ In the early ninth century, we find three Near Eastern hoards (one in Iraq, one in Turkey, and one in Syria) with Andalusian Umayyad dirhams (Appendix II, No. 1, 2, 4). The Denizbaji hoard from Turkey is particularly worth noting since among its 2,505 coins were thirty-four Spanish Umayyad dirhams as well as two Umayyad dirhams struck in Spain. In brief, there can be no doubt that Andalusian Umayyad dirhams reached the Near East during the eighth

10. Thomas S. NOONAN, «When and How Dirhams First Reached Russia», forthcoming in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*.

11. R. R. FASMER, «Klad kuficheskikh monet, naidennyi v Novgorode v 1920 g.», *Izvestiia Gosudarstvennoi Akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury*, IV (1925), 267-268; idem., *Zavalishinskii klad kuficheskikh monet VIII-IX v.* (Leningrad: 1931), 9, 12; Ianin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy*, 92.

12. NOONAN, «When and How», Table XXI.

13. *Coin Hoards*, 2 (1976), pag. 97, n.º 365.

and early ninth centuries. Some had already been imported there prior to the Abbasid revolution while many, if not most, were apparently brought there as part of the massive imports of north African dirhams in the second-half of the eighth century. In any event, the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams found in Transcaucasian and Russian-Ukrainian hoards came from the Near East from whence they were carried north to the Caucasus starting about 770 and, by the Caucasus/Caspian route, to Russia and the Ukraine beginning around 800.

Many silver coins circulated within the Near East for a considerable time before being deposited. This phenomenon explains why Sasanian drachms, for instance, are found in Near Eastern, Transcaucasian, and Eastern European hoards of the eighth, ninth, and even tenth centuries. It also explains why coins of such eighth century rulers as the Ispahbads of Tabaristan and the Umayyad Caliphs appear in dirham hoards of the ninth and, on occasion, tenth centuries. Thus, there are good reasons to believe that a few of the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams imported into Russia and the Ukraine during the early ninth century might remain in circulation there for some time. In fact, I have recently sought to show that some Volga Bulgar dirhams struck in the middle Volga region of European Russia were only buried in northwestern Russia and the southeastern Baltic some 100 to 160 years later.¹⁴ If we accept this idea of the continued circulation of some dirhams for a considerable length of time, then it is not too hard to explain how Andalusian Umayyad dirhams were included in Russian-Ukrainian, Caucasian, and Polish hoards deposited up to a century after most of these dirhams were initially brought to Transcaucasia and Russia-Ukraine. Some of the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams imported into Eastern Europe in the late eighth-early ninth century were only deposited there at a later time.

The second chronological group of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams found in Eastern Europe comes from the reign of Hisham II (and possibly Hisham III) and dates to the late tenth-early eleventh century. This second group is quite different from the first group which probably explains why dirhams from the two groups are never found together. The second group was not only struck much later (976-1013 vs. 720s-810s); it came to Eastern Europe under completely different historical circumstances. The earlier group of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams was brought to Russia-Ukraine and the Caucasus from the Near East during the late eighth-early ninth century. Within Eastern Europe, dirhams of the second group are only found in Poland (Appendix I, No. 11, 12, 13). No dirhams of this group have yet been reported from Russia, the Ukraine, or the Caucasus. Therefore, the Hisham coins appear to have reached Poland by a very different route, a route which seemingly ran through central or western Europe instead of the Caucasus and Russia-Ukraine.

There are very few coins in the second group. In fact, only one Hisham dirham is reported from each hoard and they composed about 2 % of the total coins in each of the three hoards. These few Hisham dirhams apparently reached Poland in the early eleventh century since two of the hoards were buried then: Starydworek, 1025 and Wielowies, 1022. The presence of a Hisham dirham in the Vossberg hoard of 1084 can probably be attributed to its circulation in Poland for about a half-century. The second group can thus be

14. Thomas S. Noonan, «Monetary Circulation in Early Medieval Rus': A Study of Volga Bulgar Dirham Finds» forthcoming in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*.

described as a very few coins of Hisham II which reached Poland through central or western Europe in the early eleventh century. In fact, it would probably be most accurate to characterize this second group as a central Baltic phenomenon since dirhams of Hisham II are also found in Scandinavia.¹⁵

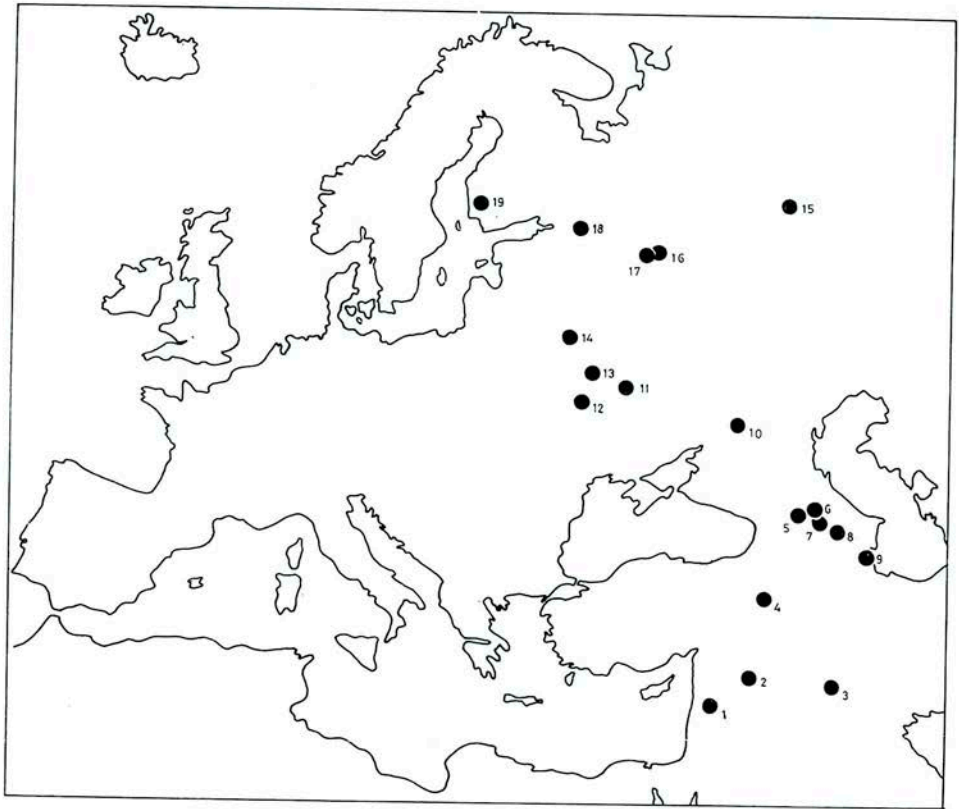
Before leaving the second chronological group, we should note the various imitations of Hisham dirhams, some quite unique, which appeared in Finland and Poland. Two imitations of Hisham II dirhams turned up at some unknown spot in Finland.¹⁶ More interesting are the hybrid or bilingual imitations with the name and title of Hisham II on one side in Arabic and the name of Emperor Henry II the Fowler (1002-1024) on the other side in Latin. According to Miles, these coins have been reported from three Polish hoards (Trzebun, Ciechanow, and Kowal) along with «regular» imitations of Hisham II dirhams in the Ciechanow hoard.¹⁷ It is not certain whether these bilingual imitations were done in Poland or Germany. However, it may well be that genuine Hisham II dirhams reached Poland and Scandinavia from Germany where they are also found.

In conclusion, we should not forget the Spanish Umayyad dirham of the mid-ninth century found in a Finnish grave (Appendix I, No. 15). This dirham does not readily fit into either chronological group. It is a little too late for the import of Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from the Near East into Russia-Ukraine and the Caucasus and much too early for the Hisham II dirhams which most likely were brought to Poland and Sweden from Germany. Perhaps information on the date of the grave and of the cemetery in which this coin was found would help. But, for the present, this coin does constitute an anomaly amongst the Andalusian Umayyad dirhams from Eastern Europe.

15. Linder WELIN, «Spanish-Umayyad Coins».

16. Beatrice GRANBERG, *Förteckning över kufiska myntfynd i Finland* (Helsinki: 1966), pag. 225, 1639-1640.

17. MILES, *Coinage*, 540; POTIN, *Drevniaia Rus'*, 212-213.



- 1) Damascus
- 2) Umm Hajarah
- 3) Kufa
- 4) Denizbaji
- 5) Kavshiri
- 6) Apeni
- 7) Pshalevi
- 8) Kirovabad
- 9) Buradygia
- 10) Tsimliansk

- 11) Nizhniaia Syrovatka
- 12) Kiev
- 13) Iarylovichi
- 14) Mogilev
- 15) Glazor
- 16) Timerevo
- 17) Uglich
- 18) Kniaschchino
- 19) Anivehmaanmaki
- 20) Hammarudda

The technical part of the map has been elaborated by P. Alegre of the Geography Department of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Bellaterra.

APPENDIX I. ANDALUSIAN UMAYYAD DIRHAMS FOUND IN EASTERN EUROPE

A. RUSSIA AND THE UKRAINE

1. Village of Kniashchino, Ladoga district, St. Petersburg province, 1874-1875. Several finds, all apparently from one hoard, were made. About 90 dirhams from a total total of some 300 coins were identified of which the most recent dated to 808/09. Among the coins were two Spanish Umayyad dirhams: Cordova (i.e., al-Andalus), 771/72 and al-Andalus, 777/78. (References: A. K. Markov, comp., *Topografiia kladov vostochnykh monet (sasanidskikh i kuficheskikh)* (St. Petersburg: 1910), p. 32, No. 179 and pp. 32-33, No. 180; V. L. Ianin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy russkogo rednevekov'ia: Domongol'skii period* (Moscow: 1956), Table II).

2. Nizhniaia Syrovatka, Sumy district, Khar'kov province, 1848. A hoard of 206 dirhams was found of which the most recent dated to 812/13. Among these coins was one Spanish Umayyad dirham. No mint or date are given. (Reference: E. A. Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaidzhana i drugikh respublik i kraev Kavkaza, II* (1938), p. 70, No. 610.)

3. Near Mogilev, Magilev province, before 1822. A hoard of around 2000 dirhams was found of which the most recent identified coin dated to 814/15. Among the coins were two (?) Umayyad dirhams struck in al-Andalus, 728/29 and 736/37, and Spanish Umayyad dirhams struck in al-Andalus between 767/68 and 802. Markov provides further information on the Spanish Umayyad dirhams except to suggest that were a rather large number of them. (References: Markov, *Topografiia*, pp. 25-26, No. 141; Ianin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy*, Table II.)

4. Iarylovichi, Garandnits district, Chernigov province, 1875. A hoard of 285 dirhams was found of which the most recent dated to 820/21. Among the coins were an Umayyad dirham struck in al-Andalus in 732/33 and three Spanish Umayyad dirhams struck in al-Andalus in 770, 797/98, and 800/01 (?). (References: Markov, *Topografiia*, pp. 50-51, No. 290; Ianin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy*, Table II.)

5. Near Uglich, Iaroslav' province, on the banks of the Oka River, 1879. A hoard of 205 whole coins and some 900 fragments was found of which 202 were studied. The most recent dirham dated to 832/33. Among the coins were an Umayyad dirham struck in al-Andalus in 723/23 and several Spanish Umayyad dirhams. Markov mentions three Spanish Umayyad coins, all struck in al-Andalus: 788/89, 789/90 (fragment), and 793/94. Ianin gives slightly different information about the hoard and indicates the presence of four Spanish Umayyad dirhams. (References: Markov, *Topografiia*, pp. 54-55, No. 314; Ianin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy*, Table II.)

6. Timerevo, near Iaroslav', Iaroslav' oblast', 1973. A hoard of 21618 dirhams was found of which the most recent dated to shortly before 870. Among these coins was an Umayyad dirham struck in al-Andalus (no date given) and a Spanish Umayyad dirham, Abd-ar-Rahman I, al-Andalus, 779-80. (Reference: I. G. Dobrovol'skii,

I. V. Dubov, «Kompleks pamiatnikov u derevni Bol'shoe Timerevo pod Iaroslavlem», *Vestnik Leningradskogo universiteta*, 1975, No. 2, 65-70.)

7. City of Kiev, Kiev province, 1913. A hoard of 2,760 dirhams was found of which 336 were studied. Of these 336 coins, the most recent dated to 906/07. Among the coins were two Spanish Umayyad dirhams, al-Andalus, 767/68 and 768/69. (Reference: Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaidzhana*, II (1938), pp. 70-71, No. 612.)

8. About 25 miles from Glazov, Viatka province, 1867. A hoard of 1,500 dirhams was found of which the most recent dated to 842/43. Among the coins were Umayyad dirhams struck in al-Andalus. The number and years are not given. (Reference: Markov, *Topografiia*, p. 8, No. 39.)

9. Tsimliansk, Tsimliansk district, Rostov oblast', 1939. During the excavation of the Right-bank Tsimliansk fortified site was found 2/3 of an Umayyad dirham, al-Andalus, 722/3. (Reference: V. V. Kropotkin, «Novye nakhodki sasanidskikh i kuficheskikh monet v Vostochnoi Evrope», *Numizmatika i epigrafika*, 9 (1971), p. 84, No. 74.)

B. POLAND AND POMERANIA

10. Somewhere in Pomerania, before 1829. About fifty dirhams from a hoard were identified the most recent of which dated to 839/40. Among the coins was an Umayyad dirham struck in al-Andalus, 736/37, and Spanish Umayyad dirhams of 768/69 and 814/15 from al-Andalus. The latter two dirhams are listed among the Umayyad coins, but, based on their dates, they must have been issued by the Spanish Umayyad Amirs. (Reference: Teresa i Ryszard Kiersnowscy, *Wczesnosredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Pomorza: Materiały* (Warsaw-Wroclaw: 1959), pp. 127-128, No. 232.)

11. Vossberg, Wolgast parish, now in the German Democratic Republic, 1883. A hoard of 8,700 whole coins and around 3,000 grams of fragments was found of which 532 coins were identified. The most recent coin dated to around 1084. Among the coins was a Spanish Umayyad dirham of Hisham II, 976-1009. (Reference: T. i R. Kiersnowscy, *Wczesnosredniowieczne*, pp. 113-116, No. 193.)

12. Starydworek, Skwierzyzna district, Greater Poland, 1872. A hoard of 536 coins was found of which the most recent dated to around 1025. Among the coins was a Spanish Umayyad dirham of Hisham II, 976-1013. (References: Markov, *Topografiia*, pp. 117, No. 7; Jacek Slaski i Stanislaw Tabaczynski, *Wczesnosredniowieczne skarby srebrne Wielkopolski: Materiały* (Warsaw-Wroclaw: 1959), pp. 62-63, No. 125.)

13. Wielowies, Krotoszyn district, Greater Poland, 1856. A hoard of 433 coins was found of which the most recent dated to around 1022. Among the coins was apparently a Spanish Umayyad dirham of Hisham II (976-1013) or Hisham III (1027-1031). (References: Markov, *Topografiia*, p. 116, No. 5; Slaski and Tabaczynski, *Wczesnosredniowieczne*, p. 70, No. 144.)

C. FINLAND

14. Hammarudda, Jomala district, Aland, 1865. A hoard of 157 dirhams was found of which the most recent dated to 857/58. Among the coins was the fragment of a Spanish Umayyad dirham Abd-ar-Rahman I, al-Andalus. The date of this coin is somewhat confused; it is given as 152 or 172 A. H. = 772/73 or 778/79 A. D. However, 152 A. H. = 769/70 and 172 A. H. = 788/89 while 772/75 = 156 A. H. and 778/79 = 162 A. H. (Reference: Beatrice Granberg, *Förteckning över kufiska myntfynd i Finland* [Studia orientalia, Vol. 34] (Helsinki: 1966), p. 34, § 135.)

15. Anivehmaanmäki, Yläne district, Egentliga Finland, 1955. In grave 14 was found a fragment of a Spanish Umayyad dirham of Muhammad I, al-Andalus, 854/55-858/59. (Reference: Granberg, *Förteckning*, p. 170, § 1.410.)

D. SOUTHEASTERN BALTIC

None.

E. CAUCASUS

16. Buradygia, Massalin district, Azerbaidzhan, 1914. A hoard of 226 dirhams, dating to the second-quarter of the ninth century, was found. Among the coins was one Spanish Umayyad dirham struck in al-Andalus. No date is given. (References: Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaidzhana*, II (1938), p. 23, No. 392; Kh. A. Mushegian, *Denezhnoe obrashchenie Dvina po numizmaticheskim dannym* (Erevan: [1962], 44).

17. Kirovabad (formerly Gandzha), Azerbaidzhan, in the 1920s. A hoard of 187 dirhams was found of which the most recent dated to 771/72. Among the coins were three Umayyad dirhams struck in al-Andalus: 724/25, 726/27, and 732/33. (Reference: Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaidzhana*, II ([1938], p. 21, No. 383).

18. Kavshiri, Lagodekh district, Georgia, 1921. A hoard of 38 coins was found of which the most recent dated to 819/20. Among the coins was an Umayyad dirham struck in al-Andalus. No date is given. (Reference: Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaidzhana*, II ([1938], p. 24, No. 393).

19. Apeni, Lagodekh district, Georgia, 1924. A hoard of 392 dirhams was found of which the most recent dated to 833/34. Among the coins was an Umayyad dirham struck in al-Andalus. No date is given. (Reference: Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaidzhana*, p. 25, No. 396.)

20. Pshaveli, Telav district, Georgia, 1937. A hoard of 150 dirhams was found the most recent of which dated to 807/08. Among the coins was an Umayyad dirham struck in al-Andalus. No date is given. (Reference: Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaidzhana*, III [1940], p. 37, No. 822.)

APPENDIX II. ANDALUSIAN Umayyad DIRHAMS FROM THE NEAR EAST

1. Kufah, Iraq. A hoard of 178 coins was found of which the most recent dated to 808/09. Among the coins was an Umayyad dirham struck in al-Andalus, 736/37. (Reference: *Coin Hoards*, 2 [1976], p. 97, No. 369.)

2. Denizbaji, Turkey, 1937. A hoard of over 2,505 dirhams was found of which the most recent dated to 811/12. Among the coins were two Umayyad dirhams struck in al-Andalus, 731/32 and 737, and thirty-four Spanish Umayyad dirhams also struck in al-Andalus (763/64, 767/68 (2), 768/69, 769/70, 770, 770/71, 771/72 (2), 772/73, 776/77, 777/78 (2), 779/80 (2), 781/82 (2), 782/83 (4), 785/86, 786/87, 788/89, 789/90 (2), 792/93, 793/94 (2), 795/96 (2), 797/98, 799/800, 802/03). (Reference: Ibrahim Artuk, *Denizbaci Definesi* [Ankara: 1966]).

3. Damascus, Syria, 1950. A hoard of 3,815 coins was found of which the most recent dated to 748/49. Among the coins were thirty-eight Umayyad dirhams struck in al-Andalus (722/23 (3), 723/24 (2), 725/26 (5), 726/27, 727/28, 728/29 (3), 729/30, 730/31, 731/32, 732/33 (4), 733/34, 734/35 (3), 735/36, 736/37 (3), 737 (4), 737/38 (2), 739/740 (2)). (Reference: Muhammad Abu-l-Faraj al-'Ush, *The Silver Hoard of Damascus* (Damascus: 1972).

4. Umm Hajarah, Syria, 1970. A hoard of 408 coins was found of which the most recent dated to 808/09. Among the coins was a Spanish Umayyad dirham struck in al-Andalus, 786/87. (Reference: *Coin Hoards*, 1 [1975], p. 73, No. 270).

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RESUM

El motiu d'aquest estudi es el de donar a conèixer la presència de dirhems dels Omeies encunyats a al-Andalus a les troballes de moneda islàmica, entre el c. 800 a 1015, fetes als països de l'Est d'Europa.

Els dirhems andalusins trobats són realment un grup molt reduït de peces en front dels milers i milers d'exemplars de moneda islàmica apareguts en aquests tresors. Cal dividir les monedes d'al-Andalus en dos grups: 1. Monedes anteriors al 750, encunyades a la Península durant l'Emirat Depenent dels Califes de Damasc. 2. monedes del període 756-1031 encunyades a al-Andalus pels Emirs Omeies, independents dels Califes Abasides.

No és fàcil dir quants dirhems andalusins de cada grup varen ésser trobats a l'Est d'Europa, degut a que les informacions publicades disponibles són sovint inexactes. Sembla ésser, però, que els dirhems del grup I són unes 14 monedes i les del grup II, 22 peces; xifres molt reduïdes si es té en compte que la resta de les monedes islàmiques del mateix període trobades a l'Europa de l'Est sumen algunes decenes de milers.

Els dirhems andalusins que varen arribar a l'Est d'Europa poden dividir-se en dos grups cronològics. El primer va des de els anys 720 a 810 o 820, és el que té més nombre de monedes i el trobem en tresors amagats a la zona del Caucas i de Ucraïna europea.

L'evidència de les troballes del Pròxim Orient registra la presència de quantitats importants de dirhems nort-africans i també de dirhems d'al-Andalus, si bé en molt menor quantitat. Tot sembla indicar que els dirhems andalusins (720-820) arribaren a l'Est d'Europa a través del Pròxim Orient.

El segon grup cronològic de dirhems d'al-Andalus trobats a l'Est d'Europa és de finals del segle X o primers del XI i tant sols es troben a Polònia. Tot sembla indicar que el camí que seguiren aquestes peces era a través de Europa Occidental.

Es fa també esment de varies imitacions de dirhems de Hixam II que aparèixen a Finlàndia i Polònia i de la imitació bilingüe amb el nom d'Hixam II amb àrab, a un costat, i el de l'emperador Enric II (1002-1024) amb llatí al altre. (A.M.B.)