

# Constantinople as Center and Crossroad

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SWEDISH RESEARCH INSTITUTE IN ISTANBUL  
TRANSACTIONS, VOL. 23

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# When and How Were Byzantine *Miliaresia* Brought to Scandinavia?

*Constantinople and the dissemination of silver  
coinage outside the empire\**

FEDIR ANDROSHCHUK

The appearance and circulation of Byzantine coins in the Viking World is somewhat enigmatic. On the one hand we have plenty of written evidence on trading and military expeditions of *Rhos* and *Varangians* in Byzantium; on the other hand, there are very few material objects that can support such developed trading contacts.<sup>1</sup> This becomes specifically clear when comparing the number of Byzantine coins with other coinage found in Scandinavia. According to the calculation there are about 107,749 German *pfennig*, 83,353 Islamic *dirhams*, 43,184 English and 590 Byzantine coins recorded in Sweden.<sup>2</sup> Many fewer Byzantine coins were discovered in Denmark (34 ex.) and Norway (19 ex.), but approximately the same sum as Sweden can be testified for the total number of finds made in Estonia (215 ex.), Latvia (22 ex.), Russia (162 ex.) and Ukraine (123 ex.).<sup>3</sup> The Byzantine coinage from the eighth to the eleventh centuries makes the picture much more confusing. It is well known that there were gold (*nomismata*), silver (*miliaresion*), and copper (*folles*) coins circulating in Byzantium in that time. Unlike gold and copper coins, however, silver coinage occurred very sporadically within the borders of the Byzantine Empire. Normally we have hoards and single finds of *nomismata* or *folles*.<sup>4</sup> The most finds come from graves and hoards

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\* This research was supported by Sven Svensson's foundation for numismatics. I am grateful to Nikolai Dutkinski, Dr Cecilia von Hejne, Professor Kenneth Jonsson, Professor Cécile Morrisson, Dr Kirill Myzgin and Gert Rispling for their comments and other help.

<sup>1</sup> For both recent discussions and previous research history, see F. Androshchuk, J. Shepard & M. White (eds.), *Byzantium and the Viking World* (Uppsala 2016).

<sup>2</sup> See K. Jonsson, "Viking Age Coins Found in Sweden", in L. Larsson et al. (eds.), *Small Things – Wide Horizons: Studies in Honour of Birgitta Härdh* (Oxford 2015), 54, table III.

<sup>3</sup> M. Jankowiak, "Byzantine Coins in Viking-Age Northern Lands" in Androshchuk, Shepard & White (eds.), *Byzantium and the Viking World*, 117–40, table 5.1. New finds from Ukraine which are presented in the present paper were not included in Jankowiak's calculation.

<sup>4</sup> M. Galani-Krikou et al., *Σύνταγμα βυζαντινών θησαυρών του Νομισματικού Μουσείου* (Athens 2002), 141. The only exception is eleven *miliaresia* found at Valandovo in Macedonia. These are coins struck

discovered in the wide territory north and north west of Black Sea, specifically on Gotland. How can such a strange distribution be explained?

It has been suggested that the ceremonial use of *miliaresia* ceased during Theophilos' reign (829–42) and became a regular part of Byzantine coinage.<sup>5</sup> However, if that would be the case we would find more of these coins at Byzantine sites on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, where gold and copper coins are still the most common finds. This gives a reason for the suggestion that *miliaresia* represent a relatively limited coinage, one associated with particular feasts and ceremonies.<sup>6</sup> This idea also explains why we find these coins predominantly in those areas that had special relations with the Byzantine Empire. The modest number of silver coins should be considered with regard to its economic and social value. To explain this fact, we need to apply a contextual approach highlighting those social, cultural, and economic circumstances that might have impacted the circulation of *miliaresia* in Viking Age society.

Let me start with a review of the available sources. A catalogue of Swedish finds including 635 gold, silver, and copper Byzantine coins was published thirty years ago.<sup>7</sup> The largest bulk of the published material deals with *miliaresia* dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries (Figs. 1–2).

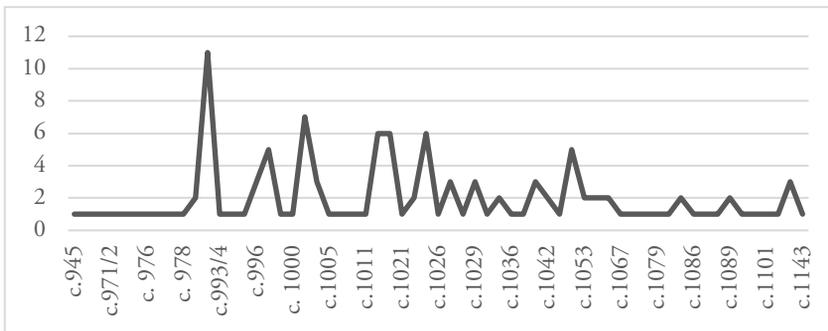


Fig. 1. Chronological distribution of Swedish hoards with Byzantine coinage (X – years, Y – quantities of hoards). Graphics by the author.

Few attempts have been made to explain the export of these coins to Scandinavia<sup>8</sup> and there still has been no contextual analysis of Scandinavian hoards with such

for Nikephoros II (2 ex.), John I (5 ex.), Basil II (3 ex.) and an imitative *miliaresion* of Basil II (V. Radić & V. Ivanišević, *Byzantine Coins from the National Museum in Belgrade* [Beograd 2006], 66, pl. 37–42, nos. 654, 655, 661–662, 667–668, 672, 683, 685, 687 and 697). However, the find circumstances are unclear and it is highly probable that we are dealing here with a scattered hoard.

<sup>5</sup> P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (Berkeley & Los Angeles 1982), 14, 102, 160, 180.

<sup>6</sup> F. Androshchuk, *Images of Power: Byzantium and Nordic Coinage 995–1035* (Kiev & Paris 2016), 106.

<sup>7</sup> I. Hammarberg, B. Malmer & T. Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins Found in Sweden* (Stockholm & London 1989).

<sup>8</sup> T. Noonan, *The Circulation of Byzantine Coins in Medieval Poland and Polabia*, Manuscript 1982–83 in the library of the Stockholm Numismatic Institute; C. Morrisson, “Le rôle des varanges dans la transmission de la monnaie byzantine en Scandinavie,” in R. Zeitler (ed.), *Les pays du Nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance). Actes du colloque nordique et international de byzantologie. Tenu à Upsal 20–22 avril 1979* (Uppsala 1981), 131–40; E. Piltz, “Varangian Companies for Long Distance Trade: Aspects of interchange between Scandinavia, Rus’ and Byzantium in the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries,” in E. Piltz (ed.), *Byzantium and Islam in Scandinavia* (Jonsered 1998), 85–106; B. Malmer, “Some Observations on the Importation of Byzantine Coins to Scandinavia in the Tenth and Eleventh

coinage. However, a couple of recently published works should be mentioned. Florent Audy has studied the secondary use of Byzantine coins as ornaments and symbols.<sup>9</sup> Marek Jankowiak has published an important survey of all recorded finds of Byzantine coins. He noted that the largest concentration of them has been found on Gotland and suggested two routes taken in their journey to the north—via Poland (Constantine VII / Romanos II, Nikephoros II, and John I *miliaresia*) and Rus (Basil II and Constantine VIII coinage).<sup>10</sup> Jankowiak came to the conclusion that *miliaresia*, just like Islamic *dirhams*, were used for payment in the extensive slave trade that took place during this time.<sup>11</sup>



Fig. 2. Selection of Byzantine *miliaresia* found in Swedish hoards.

No. 19: Romanos I / Constantine VII / Stephen / Constantine Lacapenos, (931–944)

No. 66: Constantine VII / Romanos II (945–959); 115: Nikephoros II (963–969)

No. 129: John I (969–976); 361, 419: Basil II / Constantine VIII (977–989).

Numbers after Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, photos by Ola Myrin, *The Royal Cabinet*, Stockholm; reprinted with permission from the photographer.

So far no attempts have been made to explain why the largest number of silver *miliaresia* are concentrated on Gotland. In my recently published work I argued that the reason for such a particular distribution of coins was the special place of

Centuries and the Scandinavian Response,” *Russian History* 28/1–4 (2001), 295–302 (summarizes Th. Noonan’s ideas on the entry of Byzantine coinage into Rus and Poland).

<sup>9</sup> F. Audy, “How were Byzantine coins used in Viking Age Scandinavia?”, in Androshchuk, Shepard & White (eds.), *Byzantium and the Viking World*, 141–68.

<sup>10</sup> This idea was also expressed by Noonan and Gliksman: Noonan, *The Circulation of Byzantine Coins*; A. Gliksman, “Some Remarks on the Beginning of Influx of Byzantine Coins into Wielkopolska in the 10<sup>th</sup> Century”, in M. Woloszyn (ed.), *Byzantine Coins in Central Europe Between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Century* (Krakow 2009), 605–23 and 617.

<sup>11</sup> Jankowiak, “Byzantine Coins.”

Gotland in the Viking Age economy. The evidence of Gotlandic production has been attested to in Finland, Rus, and even the Taman peninsula on the coast of the Black Sea. It is highly probable that local craftsmen were producing both jewelry and weaponry for their Scandinavian neighbors and residents of Viking diaspora in the Baltic region and in Rus. Customers from these areas paid with coins and jewelry. Judging from the particular types of jewelry found in hoards with Byzantine coins we may suggest that some owners of these collections of silver came from Denmark, Norway, the Swedish mainland, and eastern Europe. By carefully identifying all these objects we can suggest the most probable areas of origin of some of the customers.<sup>12</sup>

In order to trace the spreading of Byzantine coins to the north, we have to see if *miliaresia* in Scandinavian hoards represent the same types as those circulated in the areas that have been suggested as Viking itineraries (Poland, the Baltic, and Rus). For this reason, the composition of the hoards will be the focus of our interest in this article.

## Byzantine *miliaresia* in Viking Age hoards

Hoards are important for the study of various aspects of Viking Age society. They represent a main source for the study of economy, social life, and handicraft of the epoch. Archaeologists have identified various sites where hoards have been found: stones, fields, meadows, graves, cairns, and in the foundations of houses. On the basis of the content of the hoards several types have been distinguished: monetary hoards, assemblages of jewelry, hacksilver, and mixed collections combining all these groups.<sup>13</sup> All composite parts of a hoard reflect chronologically different stages of collecting. Both coins and ornaments of hoards have their own ‘biography.’ They illustrate changes in the social and economic status of their owners, their travels, encounters, and their final wishes. The material reasons for hoarding were important,<sup>14</sup> but have not always been essential. It has been noted elsewhere that the archaic concept of a ‘hoard’ is completely different from the modern understanding of this term.<sup>15</sup> For instance, the Beowulf poem describes the place of hoarding as a barrow, an earthy chamber, a vault under the ground, a treasure chamber, and a foeman’s vault. Also different are the sites for hoarding—open

<sup>12</sup> Androshchuk, *Images of Power*, 108–9.

<sup>13</sup> L. Thunmark-Nylén, *Die Wikingerzeit Gotlands*, vol. III–IV (Stockholm 2006), 451–70.

<sup>14</sup> T. Zachrisson, *Gård, gräns, gravfält, Sammanhang kring ädelmetalldepåer från vikingatid och tidigmedeltid i Uppland och Gästrikland* (Stockholm 1998); C. Kilger, “Kombinationer av föremål – de vikingatida mittspännedepåerna,” in K. Chilidis, J. Lund & C. Prescott (eds.), *Facets of Archeology: Essays in honour of Lotte Hedeager on her 60<sup>th</sup> birthday* (Oslo 2008), 323–38; Kilger “Wholeness and Holiness: Counting, Weighing and Valuing Silver at Kaupang in the Early Viking Period,” in ed. D. Skre (ed.), *Means of Exchange, Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age* (Århus 2008), 253–325; Kilger, “Hack-Silver, Weights and Coinage: The Anglo-Scandinavian Bullion Coinages and their Use in Late Viking-Age Society,” in J. Graham-Campbell, S. M. Sindbæk & G. Williams (eds.), *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia AD 800–1100* (Århus 2011), 259–81; Kilger, “Hoards and Sinuous Snakes: Significance and meaning of ring ornaments in Early Viking Age hoards from Gotland,” in Larsson et al. (eds.), *Small Things – Wide Horizons*, 35–42; K. Odebäck, “Familje- och släktskatter under äldre vikingatid.” *Myntstudier* 2 (2009), 9–25; K. Jonsson, “The English element in the 2012 Övide hoard, Eskelhem par., Gotland,” in R. Naismith, M. Allen & E. Screen (eds.), *Early Medieval Monetary History: Studies in Memory of Mark Blackburn* (Farnham 2014), 545–69.

<sup>15</sup> F. Androshchuk, *Viking Swords: Swords and Social Aspects of Weaponry in Viking Age Societies* (Stockholm 2014), 200.

ground, spots under grey rocks, or under water.<sup>16</sup> The hoard can consist of precious as well as rusty, unattractive objects. Generally speaking, there are many common features between burials and hoards and it has even been suggested that the latter were considered to be symbolic graves.<sup>17</sup> So it is apparently important to highlight the ‘biography’ of hoards and this is exactly what we aim to do in dealing with Viking Age hoards containing Byzantine coins.

In Scandinavia Byzantine silver coins have been found in graves, settlements, and hoards, or were recorded as casual finds. The majority of finds came from hoards, especially those discovered on Gotland. The oldest silver coin was uncovered in chamber-grave 632 of Birka cemetery on the Swedish mainland and was struck for Emperor Theophilos. This is one of the richest graves of the cemetery, containing oval brooches and a necklace of beads, including those made of carnelian and rock crystal of eastern origin.<sup>18</sup> Apart from them, there were some pendants of the same origin attached to a necklace from the Volga-Bulgarian area.<sup>19</sup> A *miliaresion* of Michael III/Theodora/Thecla has been found in chamber grave 557 of the same cemetery. This is also a rich grave that contained two oval and one rectangular brooches, beads (including some made of carnelian and rock crystal), a glass funnel-beaker, and a *dinar* struck for Charles the Bald (840–77).<sup>20</sup> These are two of the earliest Byzantine silver coins found in Sweden and can be dated to the second part of the ninth century.

There are several patterns when Byzantine silver coins appear in Viking Age hoards: when they represent coinage of a single emperor or co-emperors (group I) and when they combine coinage of two (group II), three (group III), and four (group IV) different emperors. Such a distribution could have casual as well as chronological reasons. Let us examine the content of the most typical finds. The earliest hoard of the first group came to light at När, in Othem Parish on Gotland. It did not contain any other object except some Islamic and two Byzantine coins struck for Constantine VII and Romanos II. The Islamic coins included 17 Abbasid (808–936/7) and 141 Samanid (893–936) coins, 1 Banijurid (883–93) *dirham*, and six Islamic imitations.<sup>21</sup> The most recent coin is the Abbasid *dirham* struck in 936/37 in Suq al-Ahwaz, a city in the southwest of Iran.<sup>22</sup> A very similar hoard was found at Smis, in the Lye Parish on Gotland, containing three

<sup>16</sup> See *Beowulf: With the Finnesburg Fragment*, ed. C. L. Wrenn (London 1958), lines 2242–45, 2410–12, 2744, 2760–67, 3046–49.

<sup>17</sup> N. Myrberg, “The Hoarded Dead: Late Iron Age silver hoards as graves,” in I.-M. Back et al. (eds.), *Döda Personers Sällskap. Gravmaterialens identiteter och kulturella uttryck*, (Stockholm 2009), 131–45.

<sup>18</sup> H. Arbman, *Birka I, Die Gräber, Text* (Stockholm 1943), 210–13, Taf. 119; J. Callmer, *Trade Beads and Bead Trade in Scandinavia, ca. 800–1000 A.D.* (Bonn 1977), 29, no. 249; I. Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor. En studie av vikingatida standardsmycken med utgångspunkt från Björkö-fyndet* (Uppsala 1986), fig. 108.

<sup>19</sup> H. Arbman, *Birka I, Die Gräber, Tafeln* (Stockholm 1940) Taf. 96:2; Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor*, Tab. 10:1; I. Hammarberg, B. Malmer & T. Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins* no. 8; B. Ambrosiani & F. Androshchuk, “Vooruzhenie i vostochnye kontakty Birki,” in P. P. Tolochko (ed.), *Rus na perekhrestii svitiv mizhnarodni vplyvy na formuvannia Davnjoruskoi derzhavy IX–XI st.* (Chernihiv 2006), 3–16, 6, fig. 8; F. Androshchuk, *Vikings in the East: Essays on Contacts on the Road to Byzantium (800–1100)* (Uppsala 2013), 220, fig. 82.

<sup>20</sup> Arbman, *Birka I, Die Gräber, Text*, 176–79, Abb. 131; Callmer, *Trade beads*, 28, no. 244; Jansson, *Ovala spännbucklor*, fig. 108; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, no. 8.

<sup>21</sup> The years signify the earliest and the latest exact and/or approximate dates for the issue of the coins in the hoard.

<sup>22</sup> M. Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, Bd 2 (Lund 1947), 159, no. 408; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 72, find 126, nos. 100–100a; I am grateful to Gert Rispling who helped me with identifying Islamic coins.

Byzantine coins of the same emperors. Apart from 24 coins from the Abbasid (822/23–940/41) and 143 from the Samanid (895/96–946/47) dynasties there were also one coin each from the Saffarid (896/97), Banijurid (908/9), and Hamdanid (945/46) dynasties, two from the Buwayhid (941/42–946/50) dynasty, and one from the Ikshidid (951/52) dynasty. The last and most recent one was struck 951/2 in Palestine.<sup>23</sup>

The earliest hoard including a Byzantine coin in association with a selection of silver jewelry has been found in the above-mentioned Birka.<sup>24</sup> Apart from a single coin of Constantine VII and Romanos II, two Sasanian, and one Umayyad (*tpq.* 718) coins, there were 33 Abbasid (927–38) and 346 Samanid (893–961/77) coins discovered. Single finds were represented by Tahirid, Saffarid (*tpq.* 905/6), and Buwayhid (*tpq.* 934) coinage. There were also seven Hamdanid dirhams (941–63/64) and 54 imitations, including 31 struck in Volga Bulgaria and 12 in the territory of Rus. Jewelry included 12 arm-rings and one neck-ring of eastern Scandinavian type,<sup>25</sup> three ringed pins characteristic of Norway and Scotland, and one Terslev brooch, typical of southern Scandinavia. The most recent was a Hamdanid dirham minted in al-Massisa (Mopsuestia in Cilicia) in 963/64. There are no doubts that the only Byzantine coin of this hoard came to Birka together with Islamic coins. The way of transferring this collection of silver to the Baltic is documented by the presence of Volga Bulgar and Rus imitations. The Danish link in this hoard is indicated by the presence of the Terslev brooch. In three graves of Birka such brooches were found together with Islamic, Volga Bulgar (graves 834 and 965) imitations, and English coins (grave 731). In grave 965 a pendant made of a mount of oriental origin was found, most probably of Volga Bulgarian origin.<sup>26</sup>

The hoard from Gåshagen in Västerhejde Parish on Gotland is chronologically close to the one from Birka. It contained only two coins of Constantine VII and Romanos II, while the majority were coins of Abbasids (854/61–942/43, 11 ex.) and Samanids (897/98–976/97, 180 ex.). There were also Saffarid (904/08–926/27, 2 ex.), Buwayhid (936/37–947/77, 8 ex.), and Banijurid (876/92–904/5, 2 ex.) *dirhams* as well as one struck for the Amir of Khuttal (905/06). The most recent among the Islamic coins was the one struck between 976–97. This is also the earliest hoard on Gotland with German coins (6 ex.). The most recent coin of this hoard is a German penny dated to c. 975.<sup>27</sup> Further, five Nordic coins dated to the same year should be mentioned. Jewelry included arm-rings of Scandinavian production and one fragmentary brooch of Terslev type. Also amulet pendants similar to those that often occur in Danish hoards have to be noted.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands*, 143, no. 352; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 30, find 110, nos. 102–104; Gert Rispling's identification.

<sup>24</sup> H. Stolpe, *Naturhistoriska och arkeologiska undersökningar på Björkö i Mälaren, II. Redogörelse för undersökningarna år 1872* (Stockholm 1873), 18–23; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 29, find 4, no. 66, pl. 4; T. Zachrisson, "Silver and Gold Hoards from the Black Earth," in B. Ambrosiani (ed.), *Investigations in the Black Earth*, vol. 1 (Stockholm 1992), 52–63; T. Zachrisson, *Gård, gräns, gravfält*.

<sup>25</sup> However, there is one such neck-ring made of gold recorded in Norway: S. Grieg, *Vikingetidens skattefund* (Oslo 1929), no. 62, fig. 51.

<sup>26</sup> Arbman, *Birka I, Die Gräber*, Taf. 96:5.

<sup>27</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands*, 239–41, no. 592, Abb. 1-61; G. Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem Deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit* (Stockholm 1974), no. 10; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 84, find 170, nos. 85 and 90; B. Malmer, *Nordiska mynt före år 1000* (Bonn & Lund 1966), no. 71; G. Rispling's identification of Islamic coins.

<sup>28</sup> R. Skovmand, "De danske skattefund fra vikingetiden og den ældste middelalder indtil omkring 1150," in *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie* (1942), 1–275, nos. 31, fig. 19; 37, fig. 20; 30,

One more hoard also includes one coin of Constantine VII and Romanos II found at Övide, Eskelhem Parish, on Gotland and dated c. 976/7. The most numerous coins in this hoard are Abbasid (771/72–941/42, 50 ex.) and Samanid, (893/94–969/70, 426 ex.) together with imitations of Islamic coins (66 ex.); considerably fewer are coins struck by Saffarids (885/86–910/11, 6 ex.), Buwayhids (937/38–954/55, 8 ex.) and Hamdanids, (963/64, 1 ex.).<sup>29</sup> The hoard further contained Volga Bulgarian (949/50–976/77, 5 ex.) and German (3 ex.) coins, as well as an arm-ring of Scandinavian origin.

The hoard from Baldringe, Baldringe Parish, in Scania dated c. 983 is a classical Danish hoard of this period.<sup>30</sup> It contained two coins of Constantine VII and Romanos II apart from Abbasid (896/97–940/44, 9 ex.) and Samanid (899/900–969/70, 55 ex.) coins, Islamic imitations (8 ex., including four of Volga Bulgarian origin), and Volga Bulgarian (952/53–958/59, 2 ex.), German (41 ex.), English, (978/79, 1 ex.) and Nordic (188 ex.) coins. The most recent coin was a Samanid *dirham* struck around 976/77. There is a clear chronological gap between Islamic and Byzantine coins suggesting a long-term circulation of Byzantine *miliaresia*. Also jewelry of Scandinavian, Slavonic, and eastern Baltic origin has been found in the hoard.

A large hoard from Botels in Havdhem Parish on Gotland dated c. 983 represents a group of hoards containing Byzantine coins struck for different emperors.<sup>31</sup> There were twenty-one *miliaresia* discovered, which were struck for Constantine VII and Romanos I (1 ex.), Constantine VII and Romanos II (15 ex.), and five more coins were not specified. The earliest in the hoard were Sasanian (3 ex.) and Umayyad (*tpq.* 715/16, 5 ex.) coins. The majority are dirhams struck by the Samanids (847 ex.). Other more or less numerous coins of this hoard are dirhams struck by the Abbasids (74 ex.), Buwayhids (44 ex.), Volga Bulgarians (42 ex.), Hamdanids (22 ex.), Ikhshidids (7 ex.) and Sallarids (1 ex.). The German silver coins, 900/11–984/1002 (29 ex.) are the latest coins. The jewelry in the hoard consists of general Scandinavian objects (neck-rings, a shield-shaped pendant), including some of Gotlandic production,<sup>32</sup> and pieces originating from eastern Europe such as spiral arm-rings of type Sa 3 and moon-shaped pendants.<sup>33</sup>

The hoard from Östjädra in Dingtuna Parish in the Swedish province Västmanland, dated c. 991, is important for understanding the social context of the Swedish hoards with Byzantine coins.<sup>34</sup> The content of the hoard could be divided into several chronological groups. The earliest ones are Roman (117–38) and Carolingian silver coins. There are also one Sasanian (590–628) and one

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fig. 38; B. Hårdh, *Wikingzeitliche Depotfunde aus Südschweden: Katalog und Tafeln* (Bonn & Lund, 1976), Taf. 29:10.

<sup>29</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands* 53, no. 129; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 29, find 42, no. 52; Gert Rispling's identification.

<sup>30</sup> Malmer, *Nordiska mynt*, no. 45; Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr*, 212, no. 17; Hårdh, *Wikingzeitliche Depotfunde*, no. 35, Taf. 20–21; K. Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards and Late Anglo-Saxon Coins* (Stockholm 1987), 31; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 30 find 22, nos. 89, 93, pl. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands*, 99–101, No. 254, Abb. 53–54; Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr*, no. 18; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 72, find 76, pl. 2, no. 19.

<sup>32</sup> Arm-ring of type Ab 1, ringed pins of types Rn 1 and Rn 2 after M. Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingzeit*, vol. 1 (Uppsala 1958), 82, 106.

<sup>33</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingzeit*, vol. 1, 131–32.

<sup>34</sup> B. Schnittger, "Silverskatten från Östjädra," *Västmanlands Formminnesförenings Årsskrift* 10 (1920), 35–44; Malmer, *Nordiska mynt*, no. 110; Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr*, no. 51; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 30 find 36, nos. 95 and 96; B. Hårdh, *Silver in the Viking Age: A Regional-Economic Study* (Lund 1986), 205.

Umayyad coin (650–700). The most numerous is an eastern group of coins including dirhams (1880 ex.) from Oman, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Iran, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Tadjhikistan, Uzbekistan, and Volga Bulgaria and two fragmentary Byzantine *miliaresia*. There is a gap between the most recent Islamic coin (*tpq* 976/77) and the Byzantine *miliaresia* struck for Constantine VII and Romanos II, suggesting a long-term circulation of the later ones. One of the Islamic coins struck in 925–30 bears the inscribed image of a spear with a rhombus-shaped head.<sup>35</sup> The second group of silver is represented by a Hiddensee brooch, arm-ring and neck-rings, and Hedeby coinage of Danish origin. At last the most recent part of the hoard are German coins (Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige). The remarkable peculiarity of this hoard is the lack of English coins and their Scandinavian imitations which is a clear chronological indication—the silver was collected before the Danegeld time. The find was made 1.2 km from Dingtuna and 7–9 km from the coast. The first element of this place-name—Dynja—refers to the mound that is situated southwest of the Dingtuna church while the second element of the place-name—Tuna—refers to a fenced-in area, a local centre that had emerged before the Middle Ages.<sup>36</sup> All this makes it possible to see the owner of the hoard as a person belonging to the circle of the local aristocracy who had obtained his wealth in the east and at the court of Danish King Harald Bluetooth.

A distinguished hoard was discovered at Broa I, Halla Parish, on Gotland and dated c. 991.<sup>37</sup> The hoard contained a *miliaresion* of Constantine VII and Romanos II, Islamic (135 ex.), German (936/62–985/95, 22 ex.), and one English coin (979–85). Among the Islamic coins there were Abbasid (766/67–944/45, 12 ex.), Hamdanid (942–67, 1 ex.), Saffarid (884/85, 1 ex.), Banijurid, (898/99, 1 ex.), Buwayhid (942/43–948/49, 3 ex.), Samanid (895/96–968/69, 106 ex.) coins and Islamic imitations (11 ex.). The later ones included those originating in Volga Bulgaria (5 ex.) and Rus (4 ex.). The latest Islamic coin is a Samanid coin struck for Mansur bin Nuh in 970/71. A Hamdanid coin of al-Muti and Sayf ad-Dawla and Nasir al-Dawla struck in Nisibin in 942–67 is close to this and the date of the most recent Byzantine coin. The hoard also included a bar and a rod of gold. Among the Scandinavian jewelry was a fragmented brooch in the Hiddensee style, one cross-shaped and one strike-a-light-shaped pendant.

A clear Danish connection exists with a hoard found at Snäckarve in Stenkumla Parish on Gotland dated c. 991.<sup>38</sup> Apart from one Byzantine coin of Constantine VII and Romanos II the hoard contained Islamic (441 ex.), Volga Bulgarian (2 ex.), German (13 ex.), English (975/8, 1 ex.) and Nordic (975–80, 2 ex.) coins. Hacksilver included circular brooches decorated with filigree and granulation, arm-rings, and a spiral of Scandinavian origin.

<sup>35</sup> I. Hammarberg and G. Rispling, "Graffiter: Runor och tecken på kufiska mynt funna i Sverige," *Numismatisk Rapport* 8 (1986), 96–101, fig. 104.

<sup>36</sup> M. Wahlberg (ed.), *Svenskt ortnamnslexikon* (Uppsala 2003) 60, 328–329.

<sup>37</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, vol. 2, 95, no. 239, Abb. 183; Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr*, no. 28; Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards*, 19; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 29 find 73, no. 55.

<sup>38</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, vol. 2, 191–92, No. 484, Abb. 122, Textabb. 67–68; Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr*, no. 56; Malmer, *Nordiska mynt*, no. 90; Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards*, 19; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 30 find 149, no. 87.

Finally, one of the hoards of the late tenth century has been found at Sandes, Grötlingbo Parish on Gotland dated to around 997.<sup>39</sup> One Byzantine coin of Constantine VII and Romanos II was found together with Islamic coins (35 ex.)—both Abbasid (749–946, 4 ex.), and Samanid (904/5–917/18, 28 ex.), and two Islamic imitations, one of which was Volga Bulgarian—as well as German (72 ex.) and English (979–1003, 10 ex.) coins. The most recent Islamic coin is a Samanid dirham struck for Nasr bin Ahmad around 917/18. There is, again, a chronological gap between this coin and the most recent Byzantine coin, suggesting a long-term circulation of Islamic coins. The hacksilver discovered in the hoard included a Hiddensee brooch and a moon-shaped pendant of Slavic origin decorated with granulation.

The content of 37 hoards with 105 Byzantine silver coins from the tenth century has been analyzed as follows (Table I).<sup>40</sup>

Hoard number	Place	Byzantine coins	Content	TPQ
126	Go, Othem parish, När, Sw no.	2 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 161 coins: Islamic 159 ex. including six imitations	c. 945
110	Go, Lye parish, Smiss	3 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 199 or 197 coins: Islamic 196 ex. including Hamdanid 1 ex., Ikhshidid 1 ex.	c. 951/2
32	Go, Burs parish, Häffinds II	1 ex. (Basil I)	Total 1441 coins: Islamic 1436 ex. including Hamdanid 2 ex., Volga Bulgarian 4 ex.	c. 957/8
4	Up, Adelsö parish, Björkö	1 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 450 coins: Islamic 442 ex. including Hamdanid 6 ex., Volga Bulgarian 5 ex., Volga Bulgarian imitations 31 ex., Rus imitations 12 ex., hacksilver including Scandinavian jewellery	c. 963/4
162	Go, Tingstäde parish, Bryor	4 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II 1 ex., Nikephoros II 1 ex., John I 2 ex.)	Total 295 coins: Islamic 291 ex., Volga Bulgarian 3 ex., hack-silver including Scandinavian jewellery (Hiddensee brooch); German bracteate.	c. 971/72
58	Go, Gerum parish, Botes	9 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II 6 ex., John I 1 ex., not specified 2 ex.)	Total 887 coins: Islamic 853 ex., Volga Bulgarian 1 ex., German 13 ex., English 1 ex., hacksilver including Scandinavian and Slavonic jewellery	c. 973
108	Go, Lye parish, Lilla Rone	3 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II 2 ex., John I 1 ex.)	Total 239 coins: Islamic 232 ex., German 3 ex., English 1 ex., hacksilver including Scandinavian jewellery	c. 973/4
170	Go, Västerhejde	2 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 244 coins: Islamic 285 ex., Volga Bulgarian 2 ex., German 6	c. 976

<sup>39</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, vol. 2, 81–82, no. 206, Abb.166; Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr*, 233 no. 386; Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards*, 20; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 30 find 67, nos. 86.

<sup>40</sup> Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, finds nos. 4, 17, 22, 32, 36, 39, 40, 42, 58, 59, 61, 65, 67, 72, 73, 76, 78, 86, 100, 108, 110, 111, 126, 131, 130, 133, 136, 137, 147, 149, 152, 153, 161, 162, 169, 170, 175.

	parish, Gåshagen		ex., Nordic 5 ex., hacksilver including Scandinavian jewellery	
42	Go, Eskelhem parish, Övide	1: (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 571 coins; Islamic 562 ex. including Hamdanid 1 ex., Volga Bulgarian 5 ex., German 3 ex., hacksilver including Scandinavian jewellery	c. 976/7
147	Sk, Ståvie, Ramså kern	1 ex. (Basil II)	Total 200+ x coins: Islamic 200 + ex., Volga Bulgarian imitation 1 ex., German 2 ex., hacksilver including Scandinavian and Slavonic jewellery	c. 977
78	Go, Havdhem parish, Lingvide I	2 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II 1 ex., John I 1 ex.)	Total 257 coins: Islamic 207 ex., Volga Bulgarian 7 ex., German 33 ex., English 3 ex., Nordic 2 ex., hacksilver including Scandinavian jewellery	c. 978
22	Sk, Baldringe parish, Baldringe	2 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 315 coins: Islamic 81, Islamic imitations 8 ex., Volga Bulgarian 4 ex., German 41 ex., Nordic 188 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian and Slavonic and eastern Baltic origin.	c. 983
76	Go, Havdhem parish, Botels	21 ex. (Constantine VII and Romanos I 1 ex., Constantine VII and Romanos II 15 ex., not specified 5 ex.)	Total 2316 coins: Sasanian 3 ex., Islamic 2261 ex. including Hamdanid 22 ex., Ikhshidid 7 ex., Volga Bulgarian 2 ex., German 29 ex., hacksilver included Scandinavian jewellery	c. 983
17	Go, Alskog parish, Mallgårds	1 ex. (Basil II)	Total 144 coins: Islamic 43 ex., Volga Bulgarian 1 ex., German 94 ex., English 5 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian and Slavonic origin	c. 991
36	Vs, Dingtuna parish, Östjädra	2 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 2116 coins: Roman 1 ex., Islamic 1982 ex., Volga Bulgarian 12 ex., Carolingian 1 ex., German 31 ex., Nordic 87 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian origin (Hiddensee brooch)	c. 991
39	Go, Endre parish, Hulte	1 ex. (Basil II)	Total 470 coins: Islamic 137 ex., Volga Bulgarian imitations 2 ex., German 317 ex., Bohemian 1 ex., English 4 ex., Nordic 9 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian and Slavonic origin	c. 991
59	Go, Gerum parish, Hågvalds	3 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II, John I, Basil II)	Total 1912 coins: Islamic 1298 ex., Volga Bulgarian 11 ex., Bohemian 2 ex., German 592 ex., English 6 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian origin (Hiddensee brooch)	c. 991

65	Go, Grötlingbo parish, Norrkvie II	11 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II 2 ex., John I 2 ex., Basil II 7 ex.)	Total 169 coins: Islamic 121 ex., German 21 ex., English 16 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian origin (Hiddensee brooch)	c. 991
73	Go, Halla parish, Broa I	1 ex. (Constantine VII and Romanos II)	Total 161 coins: Islamic 135 ex. including Hamdanid 1 ex., Volga Bulgarian imitations 5 ex., Rus imitations 4 ex., German 22 ex., English 1 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian origin (Hiddensee brooch 1 ex.)	c. 991
86	Go, Hellvi parish, Vivlings	9 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II 1 ex., John I 2 ex., Basil II 6 ex.)	Total 809 coins: Islamic 532 ex., Volga Bulgarian imitations 21 ex., Bohemian 18 ex., Italian 1 ex., German 242 ex., English 7 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian and Slavonic origin	c. 991
131	Go, Roma parish, Timans II	6 ex. (Constantine VII and Romanos I 1 ex., Constantine VII and Romanos II 2 ex., John I 3 ex.)	Total 140+ x coins: Islamic 109 ex., German 23 ex., English 2 ex.	c. 991
149	Go, Stenkumla parish, Snäckarve	1 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 460 coins: Islamic 441 ex., Volga Bulgarian 2, German 13 ex., English 1 ex., Nordic 2 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian origin (Hiddensee brooch 1 ex.)	c. 991
152	Go, Stenkyrka parish, Liknatte I	1 ex. (Nikephoros II)	Total 63 coins: Islamic 21 ex., Volga Bulgarian 1 ex., German 32 ex., English 6 ex., Nordic 2 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian and Slavonic origin	c. 991
169	Go, Väskinde parish, Stora Klintegårde	1 ex. (John I)	Total 84 coins: Islamic 19 ex., Bohemian 3 ex., German 49 ex., English 7 ex., Nordic 5 ex.	c. 991
72	Go, Hall parish, Gannarve II	2 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II 1 ex., Basil II 1 ex.)	Total 49 coins: Islamic 21 ex., Volga Bulgarian 6 ex., German 22 ex., English 2 ex., Nordic 1 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian origin	c. 993/4
175	Go, Vamlingbo parish, Kvarne	18 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II 1, John I 1 ex., Basil II 16 ex.)	Total 1008 coins: Islamic 606 ex., Volga Bulgarian 5 ex., Bohemian 5 ex., German 365 ex., Nordic 2 ex., hack-silver including jewellery of Scandinavian origin (Hiddensee brooch 1 ex.)	c. 994
137	Go, Rute parish, Talings	1 ex. (John I)	Total 59 coins: Islamic 8 ex., Volga Bulgarian 1 ex., Bohemian 2 ex., German 41 ex., English 7 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian origin	c. 995

100	Go, Levide parish, Mallgårds I	3 ex. (John I 2 ex., Basil II 1 ex.)	Total 229 coins: Islamic 144 ex., Volga Bulgarian 3 ex., Bohemian 2 ex., German 76 ex., English 1 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian origin	c. 996
136	Go, Rute parish, Risungs	1 ex. (Basil II)	Total 201 coins: Islamic 5 ex., German 87 ex., English 88 ex., Swedish 1 ex. hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian origin	c. 996
61	Sk, Glemminge parish, Klockarbacken	1 ex. (Basil II)	Total 937 coins: Islamic 10 ex., Volga Bulgarian 1 ex., Bohemian 9 ex., German 642 ex., English 229 ex., Nordic 37 ex., Scandinavian 4 ex., unspecified 4 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian and Slavonic origin	c. 996
40	Go, Eskelhem parish, Kvarna	2 ex. (Basil II)	Total 300 coins: Islamic 12 ex., German 160, English 118 ex., Swedish 5 ex., hacksilver	c. 997
67	Go, Grötlingbo parish, Sandes.	1 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 118 coins: Islamic 35 ex., Volga Bulgarian 1 ex., German 72 ex., English 10 ex., hacksilver including jewellery of Scandinavian (Hiddensee brooch 1 ex.) and Slavonic origin	c. 997
130	Go, Roma parish, Timans I	1 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 48 coins: Islamic 22 ex., German 14 ex., English 10 ex., Swedish 1 ex.	c. 997
133	Go, Rone parish, Högdarve,	2 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II 1 ex., Basil II 1 ex.)	Total 173 coins: Islamic 91 ex., Volga Bulgarian 4 ex., German 29, English 46 ex., Swedish 1 ex., hacksilver including Scandinavian and Slavonic jewellery	c. 997
153	Go, Stenkyrka parish, Stenkyrka	1 ex. (Basil II)	Total 127 coins: Islamic 4 ex., German 88 ex., English 33 ex., Scandinavian 1 ex.	c. 997
111	Go, Mästerby parish, Ammor	1 ex. (Basil II)	Total 213 coins: Islamic 47 ex., Volga Bulgarian 3 ex., German 136 ex., English 29 ex.	c. 999
161	Go, Sundre parish, Majstre	1 ex. (Constantine/Romanos II)	Total 84 coins: Islamic 79 ex. including Marwanid 1 ex., German 4 ex., hacksilver	c. 1000

Table I. The composition of 37 Swedish hoards with 105 Byzantine silver coins of the tenth century (Go – Gotland, Sk – Scania, Up – Uppland).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The number of hoards are given according to BCFS = Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*. The jewelry of the hoards is published in Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, vol. 2.

Many Viking Age hoards show that old Byzantine *miliaresia* were in circulation during a long period of time. The earliest *miliaresion* in Swedish hoards is that struck for Basil I (868–79) and found in Häffinds II, Burs Parish, on Gotland in a hoard dated to around 957/8. The coin was found in association with 58 Abbasid (786–944), 2 Saffarid (892–940), 1256 Samanid (903–55), 4 struck for Samanid rebels and vassals (913–46), 1 Salukid (913), 12 Buwayhid (933–51), 2 Hamdanid (940–44/950), 25 Volga Bulgar (918–57), and 76 imitations of Islamic dirhams.<sup>42</sup>

A coin struck for Romanos I, Constantine VII, and Stephen and Constantine Lekapenos (931–44) was discovered in Botels, Havdhem Parish, on Gotland in a hoard dated to c. 983. This hoard is interesting because apart from this coin it contained 15 others minted for Constantine VII and Romanos II and five unspecified *miliaresia*. It further contained 2261 Islamic coins, 78 Islamic imitations, and 29 German coins.

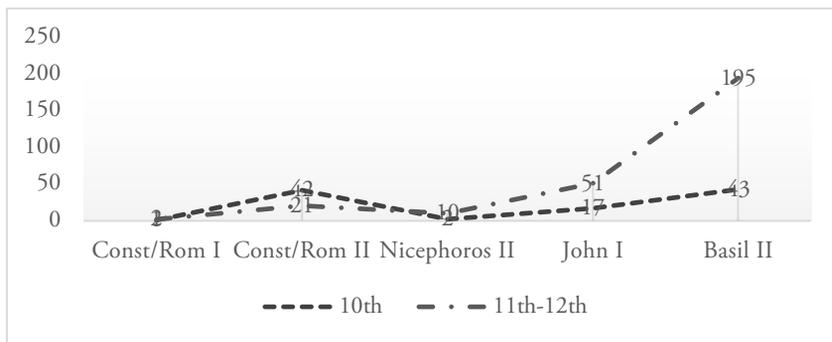


Fig. 3. Number of Byzantine *miliaresia* in Swedish hoards of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The chronological distribution of Byzantine coins in Swedish hoards shows an increasing number of hoards with Byzantine coins around 991 and 996/7 (see Fig. 1). However, many more *miliaresia* were found in hoards dated to the eleventh and twelfth century (Fig. 3). We are talking about 79 hoards including 317 coins, of which only the most characteristic will be mentioned here.<sup>43</sup>

In this period, the increase of hoards can be seen around 1002, 1017, and 1024, i.e., during the latter part of Basil II's reign. This is a remarkable chronological feature. The largest number of Constantine VII and Romanos II coins have been found in hoards of the tenth century while *miliaresia* struck for Nikephoros II and John I are largely represented in later hoards. It has to be noted that coins of John Tzimiskes (969–76) are found exclusively in graves in northern Russia belonging to the eleventh century.<sup>44</sup> This might indicate two things: either these *miliaresia* were still in circulation during Basil II's reign or that old coins were collected and kept as savings. Normally, there are only one or two Byzantine silver coins present

<sup>42</sup> B. Malmer, N. L. Rasmusson & P. Berghaus (eds.), *Catalogue of Coins from the Viking Age found in Sweden* (Stockholm 1977), no. 29, pl. 15–21; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, find no. 32, pl. 2, no. 16.

<sup>43</sup> Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, finds nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 23, 29, 31, 32, 34, 38, 41, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 57a, 62, 64, 68, 69, 70, 71, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 101, 104, 106, 107, 113, 115, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 134, 135, 141, 144, 145, 148, 154, 157, 158, 160, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 170, 173, 174, 176, 178.

<sup>44</sup> T. V. Ravdina, *Pogrebeniia X–XI vv. s monetami na territorii Rusi: Katalog* (Moscow 1988), nos 55-2; 109-1; 155-1; 155-1; 213-1; 219-1.

in Viking Age hoards. However, there are some exceptional cases where hoards contain several *miliaresia* struck for different emperors. In one hoard dated to c. 971/72 (Table I, no. 162)<sup>45</sup> we have coins of Constantine VII, Nikephoros II, and John I; in another hoard (Table I, no. 58) dated to c. 973–94,<sup>46</sup> there were nine coins struck for Constantine VII and John I; and three hoards (Table I, nos. 65, 86, 175)<sup>47</sup> dated to c. 994 contained from nine to eighteen coins of Constantine VII, John I, and Basil II. It is remarkable that many more such cases could be found in later hoards.<sup>48</sup> In these cases they appear to indicate that earlier issues of imperial *miliaresia* were still in currency during Basil II's reign.<sup>49</sup>

## How were Byzantine coins brought to Rus?

In Sweden single coins from around the middle of the ninth to the middle of the tenth centuries are almost exclusively associated with the trading center of Birka. Coins of Constantine VII and Romanos II, Nikephoros II, John I, and Basil II have been predominantly found on Gotland in mixed hoards with Islamic and/or West European coins. As for Byzantine coin finds in the territory of Rus, there is no recent estimate. However, on the basis of previously published catalogues,<sup>50</sup> it is possible to summarize their character and chronology as follows.

There are five main patterns in the composition of Byzantine coins in eastern European hoards. The first comprises 'pure hoards' which exclusively contain Byzantine coins.<sup>51</sup> This group consists of eight hoards dating from the second half of the tenth to the twelfth centuries. The second comprises mixed hoards containing both Islamic and Byzantine coins,<sup>52</sup> dating from the late ninth to the late tenth century. The third comprises 13 mixed hoards which include Byzantine, Islamic, and Western European coins and jewelry<sup>53</sup> dating from the end of the tenth to the twelfth century. The fourth comprises a small group of hoards containing Byzantine coins and gold jewelry<sup>54</sup> dated largely to the twelfth century.<sup>55</sup> Finally, the fifth comprises, so far, only one hoard<sup>56</sup> containing both Byzantine and gold coins of Prince Vladimir, dating from the end of the tenth to the beginning of the eleventh centuries.<sup>57</sup>

The earliest hoard (c. 880) containing Byzantine coins was found at Khitrovka in Russia, containing a silver coin of Michael III (842–67) together with approximately 1000 Islamic coins from the eighth to the ninth centuries.<sup>58</sup> The hoard was discovered in the region of the river Oka and had probably arrived there via the Don or Volga waterways. There was a lull in the deposition of Byzantine

<sup>45</sup> Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, find no. 162.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, find no. 58.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, find nos. 65, 86, 175.

<sup>48</sup> See below, n. 115.

<sup>49</sup> Piltz, "Varangian Companies," 99.

<sup>50</sup> V. V. Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskich monet na territorii SSSR* (Moscow 1962).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, nos 92, 150, 153, 172, 177, 258, 270, 297.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, nos 64, 66, 73, 259.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, nos 62, 67, 71, 75, 80, 91, 103, 109, 163, 301, 303, Dop57, Dop67.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, nos 173, 176, 245.

<sup>55</sup> G. F. Korzukhina, *Russkie klady IX–XIII vv.* (Moscow & Leningrad 1954), nos 30 and 38.

<sup>56</sup> Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskich monet*, no. 267.

<sup>57</sup> M. P. Sotnikova & I. G. Spasskii, *Tysiacheletie Drevneishikh Monet Rosii* (Leningrad 1983), 56, 60, no. 13.

<sup>58</sup> Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskich monet*, no. 64.

coins in the first half of the tenth century, and it is only from the middle of the century that we again find them in Rus hoards. As for Byzantine silver coinage, it normally is represented in the hoards from Rus by single coins. There are only a few exceptions which we are going to discuss below.



Fig. 4. Hoard from Sumka oblast in Ukraine (Weight: 1-52.52 g, 2-49.18 g, 3-56.67 g, 4-63.36 g, 5-32.01 g, 6-61.0 g, 7-54.22 g, 8-194.19 g, 9-1.75 g, 10-2.12 g, 11-1.61 g, 12-1.83 g. Photos from the Ukrainian auction Violity ([auction.violity.com](http://auction.violity.com)), accessed 2015-05-28 and rearranged by the author.

A silver hoard was found in July 2015 by a treasure hunter in the Sumy area (Sumka oblast) in Ukraine.<sup>59</sup> It was buried in a handmade vessel of the so-called Romenska culture and consisted of eight plain arm-rings made of single rods with tapering cut-off ends, five Byzantine *miliaresia* (Fig. 4), a gilded button, a decorative nail, temple-rings, and some not specified ornaments. The total weight of the jewelry is 833.31 g. Six arm-rings are lozenge-shaped, one made of a single rod with a circular cross-section, while another was made of an eight-faceted rod. The *miliaresia* were coins struck for John Tzimiskes. The hoard is remarkable for several reasons. First, it was definitely found in the area of Slavonic population bordered with the Khazars; second, it contained so-called rings-money; third, it had only Byzantine coins. It has been noted that the rings-money that are characteristic of hoards in Scotland and Gotland are actually not ornaments but objects made with a certain weight of silver in mind.<sup>60</sup> The average weight of Scottish rings is 24 g while Swedish rings (16 recorded finds) are heavier, ranging

<sup>59</sup> The hoard was offered for sale at the Violity auction <http://forum.violity.com> on 28 May 2015.

<sup>60</sup> Grieg, "Vikingetidens skattefund," 272, 279; L. Lundström, *Bitsilver och betalningsringar* (Stockholm 1973), 37, 64; J. Graham-Campbell, *Viking Artefacts: A Select Catalogue* (London, 1980), 64, no. 235, and "Viking silver hoards: an introduction," in R. T. Farrell (ed.), *The Vikings* (Chichester 1982), 38.

from 41.87 to 109.75 g.<sup>61</sup> The weight of 24 g corresponds to a weight unit called in Viking Age Scandinavia *øre*. Eight *øre* are equal to one mark (c. 192–214 g) or 24 *ertogs* (one *ertog*: 8.0–8.9 g).<sup>62</sup> Thus the weight of seven above-mentioned Ukrainian rings corresponds to forty-six *ertogs* or two marks,<sup>63</sup> while the largest ring was a full Viking Age mark. The presence of *miliaresia* indicated that the date of this hoard was around 970. Similar rings-money have been found in Viking Age hoards in Khaicha in the Ovruch area<sup>64</sup> but the closest parallels might be found in the Zvenichev hoard in the Repki area of Chernihiv of Ukraine where such rings came to light in association with Islamic coins including Volga-Bulgaria coinage (*tpq* 951/2 or 956/7).<sup>65</sup>

In the same Sumy area another hoard has been discovered. It contained one Byzantine (Constantine VII/Romanos II), 98 Islamic (Samanid, 904–66, 78 ex., Buwayhid, 952, 5 ex., Marwanid 1 ex., Islamic imitations 4 ex.), 6 Sasanian coins, and three belt mounts of oriental type, a gold ring, and one Scandinavian arm-ring of silver.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, there is no weight recorded for the latter. However, the content of the hoard is important for its combination of Scandinavian jewelry, a Byzantine silver coin, and the Near Eastern *dirhams*.

The largest hoard with Byzantine silver coins was found on December 3, 2012, in a boggy site in Repkinski raion, Chernihiv oblast, in Ukraine. The hoard was exhumed from frozen soil together with broken pieces of a clay pot 250 mm height and 120–155–200 mm in diameter. Some wax has been detected on some of the *miliaresia* that could indicate that the coins were sealed in the pot. It is still unclear if all the coins were mixed in the pot or were laid in a certain chronological order. The hoard consisted of 3278+24 *dirhams*, 171 *miliaresia*, 1 *dharma*, 1 Roman *dinar* and 500–700 fragmentary coins and weighed about 11 kg. Unfortunately, the hoard was sold and dispersed among unknown collectors. There is only recorded documentation on the fragmentary pot and 70 of the *miliaresia* (Fig. 5).<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, vol. 2, nos. 67 and 293.

<sup>62</sup> A. W. Brøgger, "Mål og vekt i forhistorisk tid i Norge," in S. Aakjær (ed.), *Maal og vægt. Nordisk kultur* (Stockholm 1936), 79 and 81; H. P. Naumann, "Warenpreise und Wertverhältnisse im alten Norden," in K. Düwel et al. (eds.), *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa, Teil IV, Der Handel der Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit* (Göttingen 1987), 376, n. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Lundström, *Bitsilver och betalningsringar*, 65.

<sup>64</sup> This hoard included one more arm-ring and a neck-ring of Scandinavian origin; see Korzuchina, *Russkie klady*, 91, no. 31, pl. XI:1–2; F. Androshchuk and V. Zotsenko, *Scandinavian Antiquities of Southern Rus': A Catalogue* (Paris 2012), 156–57, nos. 106–7.

<sup>65</sup> V. P. Kovalenko, O. V. Fomin & O. V. Shekun, "Davnioruskyi Zvenychiv i skarb arabskykh dyrkhemiv," *Arkheologia* 1 (1992), 65, fig.6. The recorded weight of four of six rings are 23.41, 29.10, 40.16 and 87.50 g.

<sup>66</sup> A. K. Markov, *Topografia Kladov Vostochnykh Monet: Sasanidskikh i Kufisheskikh* (St. Petersburg 1910), 53, no. 305; Korzuchina, *Russkie klady*, 86, no. 19, pl. IX; Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskikh monet*, 36, no. 258; Androshchuk & Zotsenko, *Scandinavian Antiquities*, no. 245. According to Roman Kovalev there were six Buwayhid and one Hamdanid coin in this hoard: R. Kovalev, "Khazaria and Volga Bulgaria as Intermediaries in Trade Relations Between the Islamic Near East and the Rus' Lands During the Tenth to Early Eleventh Centuries: The Numismatic Evidence: Part I," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 18 (2011), 43–156, 120.

<sup>67</sup> Y. L. Pokras, K. K. Khromov, "Klad serebrianykh monet vtoroi poloviny X veka iz Chernigova," *Epokha vikingov v vostochnoi Evrope v pamiatnikakh numizmatiki VIII–XI vv.* (Saint Petersburg 2014), 1–6. In this very short published text about this remarkable hoard the location of the find is mistakenly given as Chernihiv. A careful investigation of the find circumstances was made by Nikolai Dutkinski who has collected reliable information on its content and provided me with all necessary information: see N. Dutkinskii, "Repkinski klad: 171 milarisii, dirkemy, zaitsy i trezubets Riurikovichei v prosreanstve," *Antikvar* (2015), 106–13.



Fig. 5. A selection of Byzantine and oriental coins presented in the hoard from Repki area, Chernihiv region, Ukraine. Photos by Pokras, Khromov (2014) and Dutkynii (2015), from the Ukrainian auction Violity ([auction.violity.com](http://auction.violity.com)), accessed 2012-12-03 and rearranged by the author.

The largest part of the Byzantine coins is dated to the reigns of Constantine VII and his co-emperors. The earliest is a pierced coin (Fig. 5:1) struck for Romanos I, Christophoros and Constantine VII (921–31). Five *miliaresia* are dated to the co-reign of Romanos I, Stephanos and Constantine VII (933–44, Fig. 5:2). Constantine VII and Romanos II's (945–59) coins are represented by 159 examples (Fig. 5:3), of which nine were pierced. The most recent coins in this group were *miliaresia* struck for Nikephoros II (963–69) (Fig. 5:4).

Islamic coins represented the greatest part of this hoard. Unfortunately, only a small selection of distinguished coins have been published and give us an idea about the content of this remarkable hoard. The hoard contained: Abbasid and Samanid *dirhams* from the reign of Ismail b. Ahmad (874–907) until Nuh bin Nasr (977–97), some coins struck by early Islamic dynasties (Umayyad, 724–43) and more than 100 imitations, one of which was one-sided. Among the rare Abbasid coins were two coins with representations of rabbits in an octagon.<sup>68</sup> One

<sup>68</sup> One such a coin has been noted in a hoard dated to c.1040, discovered at Borovskaia in the Peterhof district, St. Petersburg province in Russia (Markov, *Topografia Kladoy*, 31, no. 175; N. P. Bauer, "Die russischen Funde abendländischer Münzen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 39 (1929), 1–187, 78–179, no. 14; Kropotkin, *Klady vizantiiskich monet*, 25, no. 54). The indicated number of coins in this hoard vary. However, it is said that it contained one *miliaresion* struck for John I, ten for Basil II, as well as other Islamic (identified coins: Abbasid, 925–44 4 ex., Samanid, 817 or 902 1 ex., 914 1 ex., Buwayhid, 945 1 ex., Hamdanid, 940–44 1 ex., 984 1 ex.; Uqaylid, 1004 1 ex.; Marwanid, 995 2 ex.), English (Ethelred II, 978–1016; Cnut, 1016–35) and German (Thiel, Utrecht: Heinrich II and Konrad II 1002–39; Cologne: Otto and Heinrich II 936–1024, archbishop Pilgrim; Otto-Adelheide-Pfennige; Dortmund; Speyer: Otto I/II/III 936–1002; Augsburg: Bruno 1006–29;

of the coins (Fig. 5:5) has a circular inscription with the name of the Abbasid Caliph ar-Radi (907–40). Similar motifs can be found on *dirhams* struck between 908 and 932 for al-Imam al-Muqtadir billah Jafar in Mashriq.<sup>69</sup> Among Islamic imitations there is a group of five to six coins struck in Volga Bulgaria in the name of Talib b. Ahmad (949–58) and a single coin struck for Ahmad b. Muhammad (951–77). About ten Islamic coins had some inscribed graffiti. One of them was represented by a Samanid *dirham* struck for Nasr bin Ahmad in al-Shash in 313 AH, i.e., 925 AD, which had an inscribed princely symbol (prince Sviatoslav's sign). Finally, a rare Indian coin with a bull on one side and a rider with a spear on the other should be mentioned (Fig. 5:6).<sup>70</sup> The Repki hoard shows two important things: *miliaresia* struck for early emperors were still in currency during Nikephoros II's reign and their way to Rus went through Volga Bulgaria.

The Wõlla hoard is the second largest hoard with Byzantine *miliaresia*. It was found in 1903 in Estonia and consisted of 39 Islamic (Abbasid, 862–941 13 ex., Amir al-Umara, 940, 944 2 ex., Marwanid 1 ex., Hamdanid, 960 2 ex., Uqaylid, 1 ex., Samanid, 900–929 8 ex., Islamic imitations 2 ex., Buwayhid, 934–66 8 ex., Volga Bulgar, 976 1 ex.), 136 German (Otto I, 936–78, Otto II or III, 978–83 or 983–1002, Otto III, 983–1002) and 117 Byzantine (Constantine VII/Romanos II, 948–59 1 ex., Nikephoros II, 963–69 1 ex., John I, 969–76 1 ex., Basil II, 976–1025 112 ex., imitation 1 ex.) coins.<sup>71</sup> German silver coins minted in Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and Deventer<sup>72</sup> indicate the movement of silver along the Rhine. Despite the lack of Nordic coins, the whole numismatic composition of this Estonian hoard is very similar to many above-mentioned Scandinavian hoards. Judging from the content of eastern European hoards we can suggest that their original core consisting of Byzantine and Islamic coins had been collected most probably in north Syria<sup>73</sup> and then was brought to eastern Europe, passing through Khazaria and Volga Bulgaria.

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Regensburg; Freisingen; Salzburg: archbishops Hartwig and Dietmar 991–1011; undefined) coins. The chronological and geographical compositions indicate that Islamic and Byzantine coins are the original core of the hoard.

<sup>69</sup> See <http://numismatics.org/collection/1963.90.1> (last visited 2018-10-01).

<sup>70</sup> The prototype for such coins was first struck for Hindu ruler Spalapati Deva (c. 875) but then imitated by the Caliphs of Baghdad and Ghaznavids (962–1186) and Ghorids (1148–1215); see J. Walker, "Islamic Coins with Hindu Types," *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society* 6:3/4 (1946), 121–28, 127, fig. 2. A close parallel to this Ukrainian coin comes from a hoard discovered recently at Skedstad, Bredsättra Parish on Swedish Oland, dated to c. 1029. The hoard of 1189 coins included Islamic, Volga Bulgarian imitations, Bohemian, English, German, Irish, Italian, Scandinavian, and single Indian coins of similar 'Bull-and Horseman type' struck by the Brahman Kings of Ohind in Pakistan between 980 and 1000 AD. See E. Jonsson, *En rik handelsmans silverskatt* (Stockholm 2013), 26.

<sup>71</sup> A. K. Markov, "Lifliandskii klad," *Izvestia Arkheologicheskoi komissii* 17 (1905), 136–37. There are different numbers of coins given in the literature; see I. V. Sokolova, "Vizantiskie monety klady Vella," *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaga* 4 (1961), 10–11. Nils Rasmuson suggested that 150 English, Danish and German silver coins dated to c. 978–1100 that the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet bought in 1949 also belong to this hoard: N. Rasmuson, "Kungl. Myntkabinett Stockholm 1949," *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1950), 60. See a list of these coins in the museum's catalogue under no. 24071: <http://catview.historiska.se/catview/index.jsp> (last visited 2018-10-01). However, these later coins were discovered one year later than the other and there is no firm evidence that they represent the same hoard. See also Sokolva, "Vizantiskie monety," 14.

<sup>72</sup> Sokolva, "Vizantiskie monety," 17 and 21.

<sup>73</sup> This idea was expressed first by Kovalev, "Khazaria and Volga Bulgaria," 64–65 and 102. In his survey he analyzes the content of other important hoards from eastern Europe which are related to the subject of this paper; see esp. his observation on hoards in the Briansk region, 118–21.

## Byzantine raids in Syria and Hamdanid coinage of the Viking hoards

The majority of Byzantine *miliaresia* were found in Scandinavian hoards with Islamic coins struck under the Hamdanid, Ikhshidid, and Marwanid dynasties.<sup>74</sup> Usually they represent single coins in these hoards, but there are some exceptions. The hoard from Botels, Havdhem Parish, on Gotland, contained twenty-two *dirhams* struck in Baghdad (1 ex.: *tpq* 942/43), Mosul (2 ex.: *tpq* 946/47), Aleppo (1 ex.: *tpq* 947/48), al-Massisa, (4 ex: *tpq* 964/65), Nusaybin (1 ex.), Antakya (1 ex.: *tpq* 953/54), Mayafaraqin (1 ex.) and eleven coins struck in 946–66 by indeterminate mints. Among the Ikhshidid coins, five *dirhams* were struck by Abu'l-Qasin Unujur (2 ex. in Tabariyya, *tpq* 948/49, *tpq* 952/53) and two by Abu'l-Hasan Ali in Palestine in 965/66 and 961–66.<sup>75</sup> The mints of this hoard largely reflect the geographical area of the Hamdanid rulers which partly included former Byzantine dominions in Cilicia, southern parts of Anatolia, northern Mesopotamia, and Syria.

In the early tenth century, before the Hamdanids, northern Syria was controlled by Ikhshidids and had peaceful relations with Byzantium.<sup>76</sup> The situation changed in the middle of the century with the coming of Hasan ibn Hamdan, the 'Defender of the Empire' (*Nasir ad-Dawla*) in Mosul and his brother, Emir Ali bin Hamdan, the 'Sword of the Empire' (*Sayf ad-Dawla*) in Aleppo.<sup>77</sup> The latter launched regular summer raids against the Byzantines. During 935–39 Malatyah (Melitene/Malatya), Kharput (Charpete/Elazığ), and Nusaybin (Nisibin) were captured and in 944–45 Sayf ad-Dawla made Aleppo his capital. His second capital was Mayafaraqin (Martyropolis/Silvan) which, along with the fortified town Amid (Amida/Diyarbakır), was situated in the mountainous region. Towns such as Harran (Carrhae), ar-Ruha (Edessa/Şanlıurfa), Saruj (Batnae/ Suruç), and Sumaysat (Samosate/Samsat) were located in the province Diyar Mudhar.<sup>78</sup> The Hamdanid raids resulted in a military response from the Byzantine side: in 949 the Byzantines took the city of Mar'ash (Germanikeia/Kahramanmaraş) and one year later defeated Sayf ad-Dawla near Hadath (Adata), which was followed by the capture of Saruj in 952.<sup>79</sup> However, in 952–54 and 956 Sayf ad-Dawla defeated the Byzantine army near Marash, Hadath, and Tall-Batriq outside Malatyah. In

<sup>74</sup> U. S. Linder Welin, "Sayf al-Dawlah's Reign in Syria and Diyarbekr in the Light of the Numismatic Evidence," *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia Repertis I* (Stockholm 1961), 17–102; J. L. Bacharach, "Al-Ikhshid, the Hamdanids, and the Caliphate: The Numismatic Evidence," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974), 360–70; R. J. Bikhazi, "The Struggle for Syria and Mesopotamia (330–58/941–69) as reflected on Hamdanid and Ikhshidid coins," *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)* 28 (1983), 137–86; L. Ilisch, Viacheslav & S. Kuleshov, "Money Uqaylidov i Marwanidov iz Vaskovskogo klada v sobranii Ermitazha," *Soobshchenia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 74 (2016), 129–45.

<sup>75</sup> *SHM* catalogue.

<sup>76</sup> W. Garrood, "The Byzantine Conquest of Cilicia and the Hamdanids of Aleppo, 959–965," *Anatolian Studies* 58 (2008), 127–40, 129.

<sup>77</sup> The most recent surveys on the history of Hamdanids and Marwanids is H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century* (Harlow 2004), 259–82, and S. Humphreys, "Syria" in C. F. Robinson (ed.), *The New Cambridge History of Islam, vol. 1: The Formation of the Islamic World Sixth to Eleventh Centuries* (Cambridge 2011).

<sup>78</sup> Welin, "Sayf al-Dawlah's Reign," 26–33.

<sup>79</sup> Miskawayh, *The Experiences of the Nations*, ed. and tr. D. S. Margoliouth & H. F. Amedroz, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate: Original Chronicles of the Fourth Islamic Century*, vol. 5 (Oxford 1921), 117, 129, 150.

954 Bardas Phokas, the Domestic of the *scholae*, brought to northern Mesopotamia a number of the Rus warriors against Sayf ad-Dawla,<sup>80</sup> but this measure did not help much and it was only four years later, after the capture of Sumaysat by John Tzimiskes,<sup>81</sup> that the Byzantines managed to gain the upper hand against the Hamdanid forces.

The period between 959 and 965 in Byzantine policy is characterized by the eager intention to conquer Syria.<sup>82</sup> In 961 Ayn Zarba (Anazarbus/Anavarza) and in 962 Marash, Raban, Duluk (Doliche/Dülük), and Aleppo were captured by troops sent by Romanos II.<sup>83</sup> After his death the troops proclaimed Nikephoros II as emperor (963–69). In 965 Byzantine control was established over the cities al-Massisa (Mopsuestia) and Tarsus.<sup>84</sup> In 966 the army of Nikephoros took the areas around Amid, Dara, and Manbij in north-eastern Syria.<sup>85</sup> In 968 he returned to the east pursuing two main goals—conquering Antioch and Aleppo. The treaty with Qarghuyah, the administrator of Aleppo, concluded in 969, annexed Antioch to the Empire, made the population of Syria subject to imperial taxation and provided preferences for Byzantine commercial caravans.<sup>86</sup> The Rhos warriors, who were javeliners, are mentioned as members of the Byzantine army in Nikephoros Phokas' military treatises compiled in connection with his campaign in the east.<sup>87</sup> These accounts explain the appearance of Sayf ad-Dawla's coinage in early Swedish hoards. The Rhos were mercenaries and collaborators in the military campaigns of Nikephoros but enemies to his successor, John Tzimiskes, and we even know that they were planning revenge for his murder of Nikephoros.<sup>88</sup> That is why hardly any of the Rhos troops took part in John's raids to the north of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine in 973–76.

During the beginning of Basil II's reign, Syria was invaded by the Egyptian Fatimids and in 994–95 Basil personally participated in the military defense of Aleppo.<sup>89</sup> In 999 he was back in Syria, this time considerably strengthened by a unit of 6,000 Varangians sent to him by the Rus Prince Vladimir.<sup>90</sup> We do not know much about the Rus role in this campaign apart from the single account that they burnt St. Constantine's church in Homs together with the townspeople hiding inside. Then Basil's army moved on to Tripoli and spent some time in the

<sup>80</sup> G. Theotokis, "Rus, Varangian and Frankish Mercenaries in the Service of the Byzantine Emperors (9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> c.): Numbers, Organisation and Battle Tactics in the Operational Theatres of Asia Minor and the Balkans," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 22 (2012), 125–56, 132.

<sup>81</sup> A. A. Vasil'ev, "The struggle with the Saracens (867–1057)," in J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton & Z. N. Brooke (eds.), *The Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 4: The Eastern Roman Empire (717–1453)* (Cambridge, 1923), 119–52, 143.

<sup>82</sup> J. Shepard, "Holy land, Lost lands, Realpolitik: Imperial Byzantine thinking about Syria and Palestine in the later 10th and 11th centuries," *Al-Qantara* 33 (2012), 505–45, 511.

<sup>83</sup> Miskawayh, *The Experiences of the Nations*, 206–10; Garrood, "The Byzantine Conquest," 133.

<sup>84</sup> Miskawayh, *The Experiences of the Nations*, 216–17, 222, 225–26; Garrood, "The Byzantine Conquest", 138.

<sup>85</sup> Vasil'ev, "The struggle with the Saracens," 144–45.

<sup>86</sup> H. L. Adelson (ed.), *Medieval Commerce* (Princeton N.J. 1962), no. 23, p. 143–44; Vasil'ev, "The struggle with the Saracens," 146; Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, 280.

<sup>87</sup> E. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century* (Washington D.C. 1995), 15, 91, 208, 228.

<sup>88</sup> V. R. Rosen (ed.), *Imperator Vasilii Bolgaroboitsa. Izvlechenia iz letopisi Jakhii Antiokhiiskogo* (St. Petersburg 1883), 180–81.

<sup>89</sup> Vasil'ev, "The struggle with the Saracens," 149.

<sup>90</sup> A. Poppe, "The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus': Byzantine-Russian Relations between 986–989," *DOP* 30 (1976), 197–244; W. Seibt, "Der historische Hintergrund und die Chronologie der Taufe der Rus' (989)," in A.-E. Tachiaos (ed.), *The legacy of saints Cyril and Methodius to Kiev and Moscow*, (Thessaloniki 1992), 289–303.

vicinities of al-Massisa and Tarsus. After Syria, Basil marched to Armenia and Georgia where he met Abu Mansur Sa'id-ibn-Marwan, the ruler of Amid (Diyarbakir) and appointed him the rank of *magistros* and *doux* of the East.<sup>91</sup>

The frontier position of Syria is important for understanding the circulation of Islamic coins. Because of their importance in the running the jihad, the frontier cities of Syria and Cilicia were regularly supplied by subsidies from all parts of the Islamic world.<sup>92</sup> The coinage of Ikhshidid as well as Hamdanid governors was circulated in Tarsus,<sup>93</sup> and within the Hamdanid area circulated coins of various Islamic dynasties.<sup>94</sup> In December 962 the Byzantines sacked Aleppo and captured Sayf ad-Dawla's treasure that included "300 talents of silver belonging to him."<sup>95</sup> Some parts of this treasure could be used as payments for the Byzantine army and might be a possible circumstance in which *miliaresia* and Hamdanid coinage could be mixed. Moreover, after the retaking of Tarsus and Malatya the Byzantines completely resettled the cities by the Christians living under Muslim rule,<sup>96</sup> and it is highly possible that both Byzantine coins and *dirhams* were used in this frontier region. In 969 the city of Antioch fell and the Hamdanid dominion shrunk to a vassalage of the Byzantine Empire. After establishing himself in Aleppo, Sa'd al-Dawla, the son of Sayf ad-Dawla, became involved in a struggle with the Mamluk leader Bakjur. The eastern part of the Hamdanid territory became controlled by the Kurdish Marwanid dynasty. In the struggle against his enemies, Sa'd al-Dawla became entirely dependent on support from the emperor, who supplied him with 6,000 Byzantine and Armenian troops.<sup>97</sup> All this created an additional situation where Varangians might come across both Hamdanid and Marwanid coinage.

Thus, it can be concluded that the above-mentioned coinage that circulated within the territories of Syria and Cilicia was obtained by Scandinavian mercenaries during the Byzantine military campaigns of 964–69 and 999. These Islamic coins along with Byzantine *miliaresia* acquired as payments and largess became the core of their collections of silver, which they brought back with them to Scandinavia.

## How were Byzantine coins brought to Scandinavia?

The mixed character of Scandinavian hoards allows us to trace the ways in which Byzantine coins reached Scandinavia. In doing this we have to distinguish their content both chronologically and geographically. Among 120 hoards dated from 945 and up to 1145, which contained in total 97,156 coins (100%), German coins make up 49%, English 18%, Danish 2%, Scandinavian imitations of English coins and Swedish coins 1% each, while the other, including Byzantine coinage, makes up less than 1% of the whole (Table II). What is especially conspicuous is the high

<sup>91</sup> *Imperator Vasilii Bolgaroboitsa*, 41–42; Vasil'ev, "The struggle with the Saracens," 149; C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)* (Oxford 2005), 321.

<sup>92</sup> Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, 276.

<sup>93</sup> S. M. Stern, "The Coins of Thamal and of Other Governors of Tarsus," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80/3 (1960), 217–25, 221.

<sup>94</sup> The content of some of these hoards been recently analyzed: Kovalev, *Khazaria and Volga Bulgaria*, 43–156, 54–59, 63.

<sup>95</sup> Miskawayh, 209; Bikhazi, "The Struggle for Syria and Mesopotamia," 161.

<sup>96</sup> Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, 278.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

percentage of Danish coins. This number will rise if we bear in mind the south Scandinavian origin of 'Nordic' coins which is associated with the reign of Harald Bluetooth 958–98.

Provenance of coins	Number	Percentage
German	48 088	49 %
English	25 799	27%
Islamic	17 086	18%
Danish	1768	2%
Scandinavian	1317	1%
Unspecified	877	1%
Byzantine	525	1%
Swedish	494	1%
Nordic	379	<1%
Irish	341	<1%
Bohemian	202	<1%
Volga Bulgaria	112	<1%
Hungarian	65	<1%
Italian	42	<1%
Byzantine imitations	30	<1%
Norwegian	13	<1%
Sasanian	8	<1%
French	7	<1%
Carolingian	1	<1%
Georgian	1	<1%
Polish	1	<1%
Rus	1	<1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>97156</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table II. The numbers and percentage of different coins in hoards with Byzantine silver coins dated from c. 945 up to 1145.<sup>98</sup>

Western coinage in Viking Age hoards with Byzantine *miliaresia* can be subdivided into several chronological groups. One of them comprises Bohemian, German, and Italian coins, the second is Nordic coins minted in Old Denmark, the third is English and Irish coinage, and the last group is represented by Scandinavian imitations of English and Byzantine coinages and coins struck for Sven Forkbeard (985–1014), Cnut (1018–35), Harthacnut (1035–42), Magnus (1042–47), Sven Estridsen (1047–76) in Denmark and for Olav Skötkonung (995–1022) and Anund Jacob (1022–50) in Sweden.

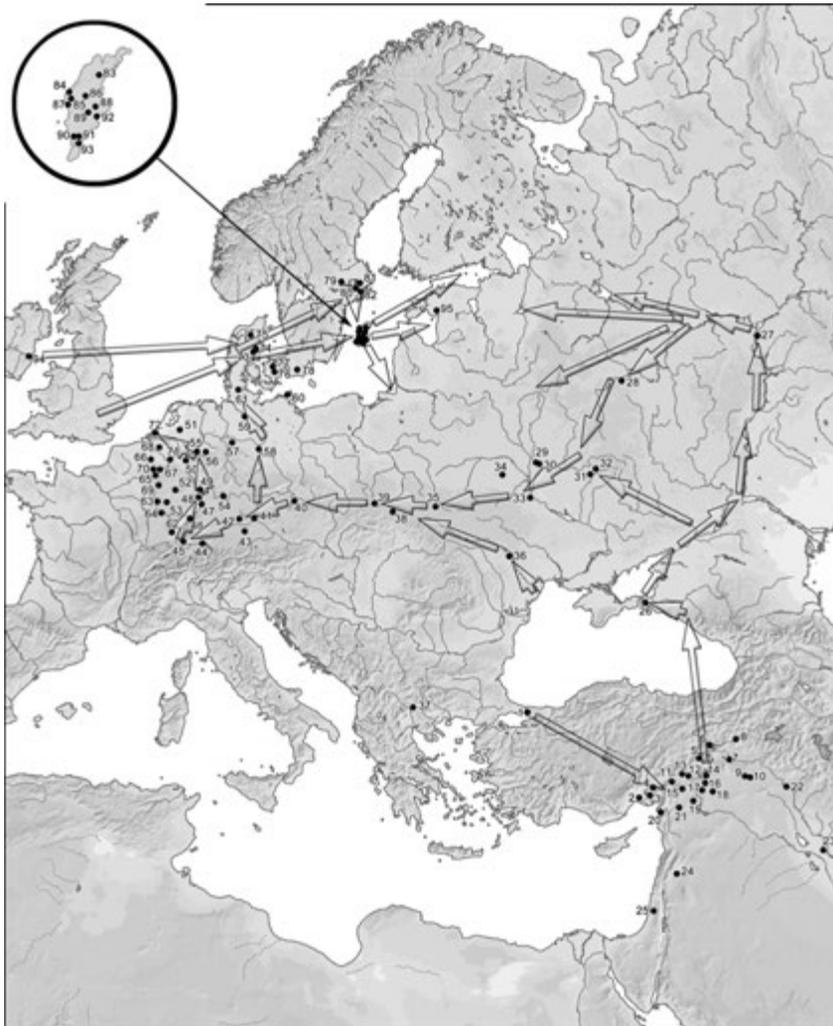
German coins appear in Viking Age hoards with Byzantine coins c. 971/72. One of the earliest hoards with German coins was found at Gåshagen, Västerhejde Parish, on Gotland. It is dated c. 976 and contained six silver coins minted in Regensburg, Augsburg, Alsace, Speyer, Mainz, and Saxony.<sup>99</sup> Another hoard from Gotland was found in Lingvide, Havdhem Parish, is dated to 978 and contained 33 coins minted in Regensburg, Eichstätt, Salzburg, Strasbourg, Worms, Mainz, Cologne, and Trier.<sup>100</sup> German coinage from the same mints and also mints such as Konstanz, Basel, Würzburg, Hildesheim, Dortmund, Soest, Deventer, Metz,

<sup>98</sup> My calculation is based on the published catalogue BCFS = Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*.

<sup>99</sup> Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr*, no. 10.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 212, no.16.

Remiremont, Brussels, Verdun, Toul, Huy, Brabant, Baulion, Namur, Dinant, Maastricht, Maaslande, Lüneburg, and Magdeburg are represented in later hoards that contain Byzantine coins.<sup>101</sup>



Map.1. Places mentioned in the paper: 1. Constantinople, 2. Tarsus, 3. al-Massisa, 4. Anazarbus, 5. Malatyah, 6. Hisn Ziyad, 7. Amid, 8. Mayafaraqin, 9. Dara, 10. Nusaybin, 11. Mar'ash, 12. Ra'ban, 13. Hadath, 14. Sumaysat, 15. Duluk, 16. ar-Ruba, 17. Sarudj, 18. Harran, 19. Manbij, 20. Antakiyya, 21. Aleppo, 22. Mosul, 23. Baghdad, 24. Damascus, 25. Palestine, 26. Tamatarkha / Tmutarakan, 27. Bolghar, 28. Khitrovka, 29. Repki, 30. Zvenichev, 31. Sumy, 32. Shilevka, 33. Kiev, 34. Khaicha, 35. Lviv, 36. Alchedar, 37. Valandovo, 38. Trzcinica, 39. Krakow, 40. Prague, 41. Regensburg, 42. Eichstätt, 43. Augsburg, 44. Konstanz, 45. Basel, 46. Strasbourg, 47. Speyer, 48. Worms, 49. Mainz, 50. Köln, 51. Deventer, 52. Trier, 53. Metz, 54. Würzburg, 55. Dortmund, 56. Soest, 57. Hildesheim, 58. Magdeburg, 59. Lüneburg, 60. Hiddensee, 61. Hedeby, 62. Remiremont, 63. Verdun, 64. Toul, 65. Dinant, 66. Brussel, 67. Huy, 68. Brabant, 69. Baulion, 70. Namur, 71. Maastricht, 72. Maaslande, 73. Århus, 74. Trelleborg, 75. Fyrkat, 76. Terslev, 77. Nonnebakken, 78. Baldringe, 79. Östjädra, 80. Birka, 81. Sigtuna, 82. Näsby, 83. När, 84. Gäshagen, 85. Snäckarve, 86. Broa, 87. Övide, 88. Smiss, 89. Ocksarve, 90. Botels in Haudhem, 91. Lingvide, 92. Häffinds, 93. Sandes, 94. Clontarf, 95. Wölla. Map by Maxim Levada and Fedir Androshchuk.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 212, no.17, 213, no. 33, 234, no. 390, Catalogue nos. 18, 28, 36, 39, 40, 46, 50, 51, 62, 69, 73, 80, 84, 88, 94, 98, 108, 112, 116, 126, 127, 130, 133, 136, 145, 166, 186.

All these mints reflect the movement of Byzantine coinage along the Danube, Rhine, and Elbe trade waterways (Map 1) up to the North Sea and Denmark.



Fig. 6. Hoard from Kännungs, Hellvi parish on Gotland where five *miliaresia* struck for Basil II were found (after Stenberger 1947, Abb.190). 1-3-Danish brooches in Hiddensee style, 5-6-German bracteates, 11-15-fragmentary jewellery of Slavonic origin, 17-18-Spiral rings of Gotlandic origin, 23-English and German looped coins. © Antivarisk-Topografiska Arkivet, Stockholm.

Along with the coins, some disc brooches—so called bracteates—were brought to Scandinavia (Fig. 6:5-6). These objects are decorated with a border of concentric bands of filigree and represent imitations of Roman or German coins. The bracteates bear a half-length representation or a human head in profile with head-gear and neck-ornament and a circular blundered inscription with Latin letters. The majority of such finds were most probably imported from northwest Germany where similar finds have been reported.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, vol. 1, 53–63; P. Berghaus, “Der Münzschmuck von Gärnsås, ksp. Herrestad (Skåne),” *Numismatiska meddelanden* XXX (1965), 29–38; A. Suhle, *Deutsche Münz- und Geldgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1964), 47–48.

The presence of Bohemian *pfennigs* in the hoards with German and Byzantine coins indicate Bohemia as a transit land on the route from Rus to Denmark. They were found in Swedish hoards along with Hungarian coins and German silver coins minted in Bavaria.<sup>103</sup> The Danish presence in hoards can be seen in bracteates minted for king Harald Bluetooth in Hedeby.<sup>104</sup> They have been found in Danish ring-forts such as Trelleborg (*tpq* 950), Nonnebakken (*tpq* 975), and Fyrkat (*tpq* 975).<sup>105</sup> Apart from coins there is evidence for the production of Hiddensee-style filigree jewelry at these sites (Fig. 6:1–4).<sup>106</sup>

It is important to underline that objects of this jewelry are strongly represented in hoards with Byzantine silver coinage (see Table I).<sup>107</sup> The early types of this jewelry are represented by circular brooches and pendants of gold and silver with a border of two beaded wires decorated in a filigree-ornamented knot-patterned cross motif and the background filled with granulation.<sup>108</sup> These ornaments are also known as the ‘Terslev type’ and had appeared around the 950s; then in the 980s they were replaced by larger circular brooches, circular-and Thor’s hammer-shaped pendants in similar decoration, which are classical examples of the so-called ‘Hiddensee style’. The later ones have within a border of several rows of twisted beaded wires three or four animals depicted with their heads in the middle. The Hiddensee brooches were replaced around 1000 AD by large disc brooches of silver or gold with filigree and granulation. The decorative pattern consists of scrolls, tendrils, and sometimes four animal-heads in the central part of these composite disc brooches. Bronze dies for producing of objects in Terslev and Hiddensee styles have been found in Hedeby, Fyrkat, and Aarhus. Most finds of such jewelry are concentrated in the territory of Old Denmark. Single finds in Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Rus should be considered as indications of the influence of the prestigious Danish court culture at the end of the reign of King Gorm and during his son Harald Bluetooth’s time.<sup>109</sup> The production of jewelry was controlled by

<sup>103</sup> This Bohemian coinage was minted for Boleslav I (929–67), Boleslav II (967–99), Boleslav III, 972–1003, Boleslav Chrobry, 1003–4, Jaromír, 1003–12, 1033–34 and Oldrich, 1012–34. See V. Hatz and G. Hatz, “*Böhmische Münzen des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts in schwedischen Funden*,” *Numismatický sborník* 13 (1973/74), 86–101.

<sup>104</sup> Malmer, *Nordiska mynt*, nos. 45, 49, 68, 71, 75, 76, 77, 79, 87, 88, 90, 94, 97, 104, 110, 180, 297; C. von Hejne, *Särpräglat. Vikingatida och tidigmedeltida myntfynd från Danmark, Skåne, Blekinge och Halland (ca 800–1130)*, (Stockholm 2004), no. 2.14; J. C. Moesgaard, *Harold’s Cross Coinage Christian Coins for the Merchants of Haithabu and the King’s soldiers* (Odense 2015).

<sup>105</sup> Heijne, *Särpräglat*, 60, nos. 4.107, 7.9, 9.21.

<sup>106</sup> F. Svanberg, “Exclusive Jewelry, Borgeby and Western Scania c. AD. 950–1050,” *Formvännen* 93 (1998), 113–24.

<sup>107</sup> Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, finds nos. 23, 36, 43, 44, 50, 53, 59, 63, 65, 67, 73, 82, 84, 89, 93, 107, 115, 117, 125, 145, 149, 151, 154, 162, 166, 168, 175, 178.

<sup>108</sup> K. F. Johansen, “Sølvskatten fra Terslev,” *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1912), 189–263; Skovmand, “De danske skattefund”, 56–58 and 143; R. Wiechmann, *Edelmetalldepots der Wikingerzeit in Schleswig-Holstein: vom “Ringbrecher, zur Münzwirtschaft* (Neumünster 1996), 53, Karte 68, Liste 19; S. Kleingärtner, “Der Terslev-Schmuck – Zeugnis christlicher Missionierung?,” *Archäologie in Schleswig* 9 (2001), 105–14; N. Eniosova, “Fibuly tipa ‘Terslev’ na territorii Drevnei Rusi,” *Goroda i vesi srednevekovoi Rusi, Arkheologia, istoria, kultura, K 60-letiu N.A.Makarova* (Moscow & Vologda 2015), 169–79.

<sup>109</sup> W. Duczko, “Slaviskt och gotländskt smide i ädla metaller,” in I. Jansson (ed.), *Gutar och vikingar* (Stockholm 1983), 330; Duczko, *The filigree and granulation work of the Viking period, Birka V* (Stockholm 1985), 82 and 111; Duczko, “Kungar, thegnar, Tegnebyar, juveler och silverskatter. Om danskt inflytande i Sverige under senvikingatid,” *Tor* 27 (1995), 625–62; I. Jansson, “År 970/971 och vikingatidens kronologi”, in M. Iversen (ed.), *Mammen. Grav, kunst og samfund i vikingetid* (Højbjerg 1991), 276–79; S. Kleingärtner, “Der Terslev-Schmuck”, and “Wikingerzeitliches Hofhandwerk – nachweisbar durch Pressblechschmuck?,” *Archäologie in Schleswig* 11 (2006), 113–20; B. R.,

the Danish King and was intended as gifts, rewards, and payment for his retainers and followers.<sup>110</sup> The strong presence of such jewelry in hoards with Byzantine coins, Hamdanid and Marwanid coinage appears to be a good argument for the conclusion that Prince Vladimir/Basil II's mercenaries were of Danish origin.<sup>111</sup>

In Denmark the owners of Byzantine coins came across English coins.<sup>112</sup> The coinage struck for Edgar (973/5), Ethelred II (978/9, 985–91, 991/7, 997–1003, 1003–9F) and Cnut (1017–23, 1023–29) is the most characteristic feature of Scandinavian hoards.<sup>113</sup> There is a relatively limited number of Anglo-Saxon coins found on the Swedish mainland and Öland (6 100 ex.) and a large quantity of them are recorded in Denmark (14 400 ex.). Those which are recorded on Gotland (24 800 ex.) are considered to be a result of trade with Denmark. From 1003 to 1018 there is a decrease in Anglo-Saxon coins in both Denmark and Gotland and from the 1020s their number increased largely by Cnut's issues.<sup>114</sup> The traditional interpretation of the inflow of Anglo-Saxon coinage into Scandinavia as a result of riding and tributes has been challenged by Kenneth Jonsson, who has shown that there is no correlation between recorded gelds/riding and the number of coin finds. Contrary to this, he came to the conclusion that German and English coins were imported into Scandinavia from Germany as a result of trade.<sup>115</sup> However, an analysis of the composition of southern Scandinavian and German hoards does not support this suggestion.<sup>116</sup> To my mind Swedish hoards with Byzantine coins show that German *pfennigs* were obtained by means of trade and reached Scandinavia via important trade routes. Unlike German coins, the presence of Anglo-Saxon coins in the same hoards are rather the result of their owners' stay in England, which can also be supported by the presence of Irish coins (see Table III).

Place	Irish coins	English coins	TPQ
Go, Hogrån parish, Stora Enbjänne, no. 93	8 ex. (Sihtric, Thymn and Ogsen, 999–1005)	270 ex. (Ethelred II, 1003–9)	c.1003 (after 1014?)
Up, Österåker parish, Näs, no. 120	3 ex. (Sihtric III, 989–1029)	500 ex. (Edgar, 973/5, Ethelred II, 997–1003)	c.1006 after 1014?)
Go, Othem parish, Barhage, no. 124	1 ex.	185 ex. (Ethelred II, 979–85, 1009–1017)	c.1011 after 1014?)
Go, Sundre parish, Digrans, no. 160	2 ex.	167 ex. (Ethelred II, 979–85, Cnut, 1016–35)	c.1017

Armbruster, "Die Preßmodel von Haithabu," in K. Brandt, M. Müller-Wille & C. Radtke (eds.), *Haithabu und die frühe Stadtentwicklung im nördlichen Europa* (Neumünster 2002), 219–80.

<sup>110</sup> Svanberg, "Exclusive Jewelry," 119.

<sup>111</sup> Androshchuk, *Images of Power*, 91–92, 109–12.

<sup>112</sup> However, in Kenneth Jonsson's opinion, German and English coins "were mixed already before they arrived in the Northern Lands"; see K. Jonsson, "The routes for the importation of German and English coins to the Northern Lands in the Viking Age," in B. Kluge (ed.), *Fernhandel und Geldwirtschaft. Beiträge zum deutschen Münzwesen in sächsischer und salischer Zeit, Ergebnisse des Dannenberg-Kolloquiums 1990*, (Sigmaringen 1993), 205–32, 217.

<sup>113</sup> Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards*, 19–22, 26–27, 31–33.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, 10, 14.

<sup>115</sup> Jonsson, "The routes for the importation of German and English coins," 205–32.

<sup>116</sup> See D. M. Metcalf, "Viking-Age Numismatics 4, The Currency of German and Anglo-Saxon coins in the Northern Lands," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 158 (1998), 345–71, 352 and 371; Heijne, *Särpräglat*, 137–39.

Go, Hejde parish, Ekeskogs, no. 81	6 ex.	264 ex. (Edgar, 973/5, Cnut, 1017–23)	c.1017
Go, Hogrån parish, Prostarve, no.92	1 ex.	63 ex. (Ethelred II, 991/7, Cnut, 1023–09)	c.1017
Go, Tofta parish, Norregårde, no. 164	2 ex.	60 ex. (Ethelred II, 997–1003, Cnut, 1016/35)	c.1017
Up, Solna parish, Karlberg, no. 144	2 ex.	90 ex. (Ethelred II, 991–1003/9)	c.1018
Go, Väske parish, Skäggs, no. 168	7 ex.	221 ex. (Edgar, 973–5, Cnut, 1017–23)	c.1018
Go, Grötlingbo, Kattlunds II, no. 64	8 ex. (Sihtric, 999–1005)	442 ex. (Edmund the Martyr, 975–8, Cnut, 1017–23)	c.1018
Ån, Styrnäs parish, Djuped I, no. 158	1 ex.	699 ex. (Edgar, 973–5, Cnut 1023–09)	c.1024
Go, Hellvi parish, Kännungs, no. 84	9 ex.	644 ex. (Edgar, 973–5, Cnut, 1017–23)	c.1025
Go, Sjonhem parish, Bjärby, no. 141	5 ex. (Sihtric III, 989–1029)	302 ex. (Edgar, 973/5, Cnut, 1017–23)	c.1027
Go, Fole parish, Öster Ryftes, no. 53	11 ex. (Sihtric, Thymn 999–1005)	638 ex. (Edgar 973–5, Cnut 1017–23)	c.1027
Sk, Lilla Slågarp parish, Villie, no. 102	6 ex. (Sihtric III, 989–1029)	206 ex. (Ethelred II, 1009–17)	c.1028
Go, Stånga parish, Bosarve, no. 145	4 ex. (Sihtric)	179 ex. (Edgar, 973–5, Cnut, 1029–35)	c.1029
Go, Othem parish, Kviende I, no. 125	4 ex. (Sihtric III, 995–1036),	185 ex. (Ethelred II, 979–85, Cnut, 1029–35)	c.1029
Go, Eskelhem parish, Valdarve, no. 43	10 ex. (Sihtric, 993/4–1042, Thymn)	523 ex. (Ethelred II, 979–985, 1009–17)	c.1031
Go, Rone parish, Stale, no. 134	13 ex. (Sihtric, 989–1029)	364 ex. (Ethelred II, 979–85, Harald, 1035–38)	c.1036
<b>Total</b>	<b>103 ex.</b>	<b>6002 ex.</b>	

Table III: Irish and Anglo-Saxon coinage from a selection of hoards dated from 1016 and until 1036 containing Byzantine coins.

There are 341 Irish coins issued by Sihtric ‘Silkbeard’ (989–1036), the King of Dublin,<sup>117</sup> recorded in Swedish hoards with Byzantine coins. Their number is not much compared to the Anglo-Saxon coinage from the same hoards (see Table III). In 19 hoards with Irish coins 12 contained coinage issued by Cnut the Great. It is important to underline that these hoards also contain jewelry decorated in Hiddensee style, which gives a good reason to believe that their owners were followers of Sven Forkbeard, king of Denmark, in his raids against England in 1003–4, 1006–7, and 1009–12. After becoming King of England, Sven suddenly died and his soldiers most probably went under the sway of his son, Cnut the Great. It seems that many Danish warriors were recruited by Sihtric, King of

<sup>117</sup> For a recent survey on the Irish coinage, see M. Blackburn, “Currency under the Vikings, Part 4: The Dublin Coinage c. 995–1050,” *The British numismatic journal* 78 (2008), 111–37.

Dublin to fight against the forces of Brian Boru, high king of Ireland at the Clontarf battle in 1014 and there are indications of good relations between Sihtric and Cnut after the latter defeated England in 1016.<sup>118</sup> The Danish veterans who survived the Clontarf battle left shortly to settle in Denmark and Sweden. It is not impossible that some of them also saw service in the court of Swedish King Olav Skötkonung. Strong evidence for this is the Näsby hoard discovered in Österåker Parish in the Swedish province Uppland.<sup>119</sup>

The hoard includes eastern and western groups of coins. The first one is the smallest and consists of two Samanid (901/2–907/8) and five Byzantine coins (John I 2 ex., Basil II 3 ex.). Their way via eastern Europe before 1000 AD is marked by two imitations of Volga Bulgaria and Rus origin. Twelve coins struck for Boleslav I (929–67), Boleslav II (967–99), and Soběslav Slavníkovec (981–95) indicate that Bohemia was a transit land on the route from Rus to Germany. The travel of the owner of this silver by the routes along the Danube, Rhine, Elbe, and possibly also by using land transportation, is reflected in the presence of German coins minted in Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, Upper and Lower Lorraine, Saxony, and Friesland. The most recent German coin of the hoard was struck in Augsburg for Bishop Bruno (1006–29), which means that the owner entered Bavaria shortly after 1006. His arrival in Denmark could be seen in the appearance of seven Nordic coins minted in 965, 975/980 as well as one coin struck for Sven Forkbeard (985–1014). Five hundred English coins represented by two types minted for Edgar (973–5) and for Ethelred II (997–1003), as well as two Irish coins struck for Sihtric, king of Dublin (989–1029), reflect the participation of the owner in the Viking host of Sven Forkbeard and at the Clontarf battle in 1014. He came to Sweden in the time when the English moneyers Snelling, Godwine, and Leofman minted imitations of Ethelred's coinage for King Olav in Sigtuna. At least fifty such coins have been preserved in the hoard. The location of the hoard is also worthy of mention. It was found near the shore of Täljeviken Bay at the very beginning of the so-called *Långhundra* fairway heading to Uppsala.<sup>120</sup> In the neighborhood of the fairway there are several stones with runic inscriptions carved in memory of people who travelled to Greece, Estonia, and England. Two of them are particularly remarkable because of the mentioning of people who collected English gelds.<sup>121</sup> We may suggest that several former Varangians and then retainers of Kings Sven Forkbeard and Cnut the Great bought farms in Sweden and paid with money they had obtained both in the east and in the west. It would explain

<sup>118</sup> C. Downham, "England and the Irish Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, (2003), 55–73, 61–62, and "The Battle Clontarf AD 1014 in the Wider World," *History Ireland* 22/2 (2014) 22–26, 23.

<sup>119</sup> Malmer, *Nordiska mynt*, no. 104; G. Hatz et al., "A hoard from Näs, Österåker, Uppland, found in 1704", *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis*, II (Stockholm 1968), 277–372; Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr*, no. 126; V. Hatz & G. Hatz, "Böhmische Münzen," no. 24; Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards*, 27; Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 33, 35, 37, 39 find 120, nos. 169, 169a, 271a, 327, 414, pl. 9, 15, 18, 23; B. Malmer, *The Sigtuna Coinage c. 995–1005*, *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia Repertis* (Stockholm 1989), nos. 3.72.00, 7.82.1, 8.59.00, 13.51.00, 10.74.00, 11.55.00, 17.67.00, 18.70.00, 21.87.00, 21.92.00, 76.84.1, 76.84.00; 220.685.2, 238.669.6, 238.669.7, 238.696.00; Malmer, *The Anglo-Scandinavian Coinage c. 995–1020* (Stockholm 1997), 335; Malmer, *Den Svenska mynthistorien*, nos. 44, 46.

<sup>120</sup> Hatz et al., "A hoard from Näs," 294–95, figs. 3 and 4.

<sup>121</sup> S. B. F. Jansson, *Runes in Sweden* (Stockholm 1987), 78; H. Gustavson, *Runstenar i Vallentuna* (Bjåsta, 1991), 90–93; Androshchuk, *Viking Swords*, 223–30.

the sudden appearance of a relatively large number of Byzantine coins as well as jewelry in the Hiddensee style in some hoards dated after 1017.<sup>122</sup>

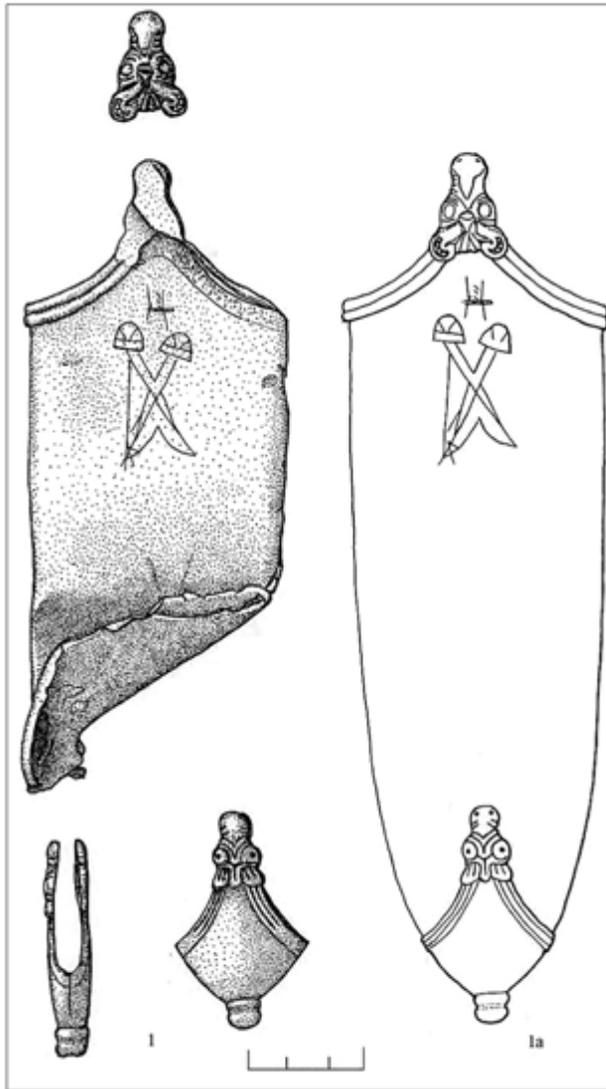


Fig. 7. Scabbard chape with a graffito from the hoard from Ocksarve, Henmse Parish, Gotland with miliaresia struck for Basil II and Constantine VIII. Reproduced with the permission of J. P. Lamm (2007, fig. 4).

Finds of sword scabbard chapes of silver in hoards with Byzantine coins are particularly interesting and support the interpretation that the original core of these hoards were the savings of individual retainers. Two such chapes of

<sup>122</sup> See e.g. hoards nos. 49 (4 ex.: Basil II), 53 (13 ex.: Constantine / Romanos II 2, John I 1, Basil II 10), 54 (6 ex.: Constantine / Romanos II 1, Nikephoros II 2, Basil II 3), 64 (8 ex.: Nikephoros II 2 ex., John I 1 ex., Basil II 5 ex.), 81 (7 ex.: John I 3 ex., Basil II 4 ex.), 82 (27 ex.: Constantine/Romanos II 3, John I 5, Basil II 19), 84 (Basil II 5 ex.), 97 (Basil II 11 ex.), 113 (4 ex.: John I 1, Basil II 3), 117 (4 ex.: John I 1, Basil II 3), 125 (7 ex.: Constantine / Romanos II 1, John I 1, Basil II 5), 127 (4 ex.: John I 1, Basil II 3), 163 (20 ex.: Constantine / Romanos II 1, John I 3, Basil II 16), 168 (Basil II 4 ex.), 170 (12 ex.: Constantine / Romanos II 2, John I 1, Basil II 5, not specified 3), 178 (19 ex.: Constantine / Romanos II 1, John I 3, Basil II 14) – after Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*.

Byzantine-Rus origin were found in Gotlandic hoards dated to 999 and 1031 (Figs. 7–8).<sup>123</sup> One more was found in the Trzcinica hoard in Poland (*tpq* 1018) in association with Bohemian, German, Scandinavian, and English coinage.<sup>124</sup>



Fig. 8. Hoard from Valdarve, Eskelhem Parish, Gotland with two *miliaresia* struck for John Tzimisces (after Stenberger 1947, Abb. 186: 1. bracteate, 5. Hiddensee brooch, 9. sword scabbard chape).  
© Antivarisk-Topografiska Arkivet, Stockholm.

On the surface of the scabbard chape from the Ocksarve hoard there is a graffito representing two single-edged crossed swords (Fig. 7). It has been suggested that it might be the owner's private mark.<sup>125</sup> It is obvious, however, that this image has a secondary origin and is basically an interpretation of the strange object which was not common on Gotland. Swords with double-edged blades and scabbards decorated with such chapes are a characteristic feature of eastern European weaponry.<sup>126</sup> Contrary to this, single-edged swords are typical for the Viking

<sup>123</sup> Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, vol. 2, 50, no. 122, Abb. 186; Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr*, no. 190; *Catalogue of Coins from the Viking Age found in Sweden, Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX–XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt, Gotland 1.3, Dalhem – Etlehem* (Stockholm 1982), 219–22; Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards*, 22 Hammarberg, Malmer & Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins*, 33 find 43, no. 167–68, pl. 9; Malmer, *The Sigtuna Coinage c. 995–1005*, no. 13.51.00; Malmer, *The Anglo-Scandinavian Coinage c. 995–1020*, 320; Thunmark-Nylén, *Die Wikingerzeit Gotlands*, 707–9; J. P. Lamm, “Two Large Silver Hoards from Ocksarve on Gotland, Evidence for Viking Period Trade and Warfare in the Baltric Region,” *Archaeologia Baltica* 8 (2007), 328–33, figs. 3–4; Androshchuk, *Vikings in the East*, 108–10, fig. 36:15.

<sup>124</sup> J. Gancarski, “Ozdobne okucie pochwy miecza z wczesnośredniowiecznego skarbu z grodziska w Trzciniicy gm. Jasło, stanowisko 1,” *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 48 (1996), 167–75; B. Reyman-Walczak et al., “Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Klempolen,” in M. Bogucki, P. Ilisch & S. Suchodolski (eds.), *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen Inventar IV Klempolen / Schlesien* (Warszaw 2013), no. 101, Taf. XXVI:101.

<sup>125</sup> Lamm, “Two Large Silver Hoards”, 330.

<sup>126</sup> P. Paulsen, *Schwertortbänder der Wikingerzeit. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Osteuropas* (Stuttgart 1953), 67–84; V. Zotsenko, “Vysokie nakonechniki nozhen mechei kontsa X – nachala XI vv.,” *Rannesrednevekovye drevnosti severnoi Rusi i ee sosedei*, ed. Evgenii N. Nosov (Sankt Petersburg 1999), 35–48.

swords manufactured on Gotland<sup>127</sup> as well as spiral-shaped and other types of arm-rings discovered in this hoard.<sup>128</sup> Thus the most plausible interpretation is that the last owner of the collection of silver was a Gotlander who made this graffito and added the above-mentioned jewelry to the collection of silver. Totally there were 371 coins discovered in the hoard. Among the eastern group of coins was one Khazar imitation of an Abbasid *dirham*, one Samanid *dirham*, one *miliaresion* of Basil II, while 340 German, eight Bohemian, six English, and two Nordic coins were also found.<sup>129</sup> Such a content reveals the direction of the transferring of the silver by the original owner from Rus to Denmark via Bohemia and Germany and, at last, the final depositing of the silver in Gotland by its last possessor.

To sum up, the western coinage in hoards indicates the routes of silver owners and their trade and military activities. There were 48,088 German coins found in hoards dated from 973 to 1145 (Tables I and III) and it seems that the largest profit the Scandinavians made was in Germany. What was the source of this profit? According to Adam of Bremen, in his time the odor of strange furs “has inoculated ... the world with the deadly poison of pride,” as he put it, “we hanker after a martenskin robe as much as for supreme happiness.”<sup>130</sup> Thus fur was the largest export to Germany.<sup>131</sup> Its richest supplies were in Rus and this explains why Varangian mercenaries, after their service in Byzantium, did not use the shorter home way via the lower Danube. The presence of Bohemian and German coinage minted in Regensburg, Augsburg, and Konstanz shows that the trade route Kiev-Krakow-Regensburg was already well-known and used by Scandinavian merchants.<sup>132</sup> According to the Raffelstetten tool regulation (903–6 CE), Slavs from both Rugia/Rus and Bohemia selling beeswax, slaves and horses were active actors in marketplaces along the Danube.<sup>133</sup> Perhaps a material proof of these early contacts is a Hedeby coin found at an unknown site in the Zhovkva Raion, Lviv Oblast in Ukraine. It corresponds to an early type dated to c. 825.<sup>134</sup> The surface of it is very worn, which indicates its long-time circulation and most probably a later dating. In Denmark, apart from Ribe and its vicinity, most finds of this type are dated to the tenth and eleven centuries.<sup>135</sup> This is a totally unique find for the territory of Ukraine, made on or in the vicinity of the trade trail Kiev-Krakow-

<sup>127</sup> Androshchuk, *Viking Swords*, 102–3 and 182.

<sup>128</sup> Thunmark-Nylén, *Die Wikingerzeit Gotlands*, 708, Abb. III:62 B:1.

<sup>129</sup> M. Golabiewski Lannby, C. Kilger & E. Wiséhn, “The Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm 1997”, *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1997–99), 171–73.

<sup>130</sup> Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. Translated with an Introduction and Notes* by F. J. Tschann (New York 1959), 199.

<sup>131</sup> P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1993), 81.

<sup>132</sup> V. Vasilevskii, “Drevniaia torgovlia Kieva s Regensburgom,” *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo prosveshcheniia* July (1888), 121–50; J. Brutzkus, “Trade with Eastern Europe, 800–1200”, *Economic History Review* 8 (1943) 34–35; A. V. Nazarenko, *Drevnia Rus na mezhdunarodnykh putiakh, Mezhdistsiplinarnye ocherki kulturnykh, torgovykh, politicheskikh sviazei IX–XII vekov* (Moscow 2001), 81–112.

<sup>133</sup> Adelson, *Medieval Commerce*, no. 16, p. 132; Nazarenko, *Drevnia Rus*. On the role of the slave trade, see M. Jankowiak, “Two systems of trade in the Western Slavic lands in the 10th century”, in M. Bogucki & M. Rebkowski (eds.), *Economies, Monetisation and Society in the West Slavic Lands 800–1200 AD* (Szczecin 2013), 137–48, and “Byzantine Coins”; V. B. Perkhavko, “Drevnerusskie kuptysy v Podunavie (po arkhеologicheskim dannym)”, in T. N. Dzhakson & E. A. Melnikova (eds.), *Vostochnaya Evropa v istoricheskoi retrospektive* (Moscow 1999), 209–19.

<sup>134</sup> Nordic coin of type KG 5 after Malmer, *Nordiska mynt*, 209, 219, Pl. 33:6, and “South Scandinavian Coinage in the Ninth Century”, in ed. J. Graham-Campbell & G. Williams (eds.), *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* (Walnut Creek 2007), 13–27, figs. 2.1:III.

<sup>135</sup> Malmer, “South Scandinavian Coinage”, 20 and 24.

Prague-Regensburg. This coin as well as single finds of weaponry from the same time discovered in western Ukraine might be evidence for Scandinavian activity along the road.<sup>136</sup>

In the twelfth century the route between Regensburg and Kiev was considered as difficult but still appropriate for transporting carts loaded with furs.<sup>137</sup> These accounts can be complemented by Ibrahim Ibn Jakub, a Jewish traveler who mentions around 973 the Rus and Slavs coming with goods to the city of Prague “from Krakow.”<sup>138</sup> Islamic *dirhams* struck in Samarkand, oriental spices, and Byzantine goods such as gold-embroidered cloths and silk were brought to German towns such as, for instance, Mainz on the Rhine by this route.<sup>139</sup> The presence of Volga Bulgar coinage<sup>140</sup> and imitations of Islamic coins issued in Khazaria and Rus in the hoards were evidence that Byzantine *miliaresia* were brought to Germany and then to Scandinavia via these lands. The description of the reverse direction of this route dated around 1175 is left by Rabbis of Regensburg, a Jewish merchant who made a trip from Prague to Poland and from there to Kiev. After travelling six days along the Dnieper River he crossed the land of the Polovtsy and in sixteen days reached the sea. It took one day to cross it to reach Khazaria and after another eight days he arrived at a port situated on the fringe of Khazaria, most probably the town Tamatarkha or Tmutarakan.<sup>141</sup>

Thus it seems that the Scandinavians, mercenaries of Byzantine emperors, and Rus princes made money in Germany selling slaves, furs, and beeswax on their way back. Judging from the presence of Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish coins in the hoards, some of the owners of the hoards became members of the army of the Danish kings and took part in the raids against England and in the Battle of Clontarf in Ireland in 1014. After establishing Cnut as king of England, some members of his army departed for Sweden, reflected in the presence of coinage struck for Olav Skötkonung in their collections of silver. The accumulation of hoards of Danish and Swedish origin on Gotland at the end of the tenth and eleventh centuries most likely has to do with the special place of the island in the production of jewelry, weaponry, and the reselling of goods imported from the continent. The original core of this silver represents valuable objects collected by other people and later bought out by the Gotlanders.

<sup>136</sup> Androshchuk, *Vikings in the East*, 80–82, fig. 26.

<sup>137</sup> Vasilevskii, “Drevniaia torgovlia Kieva,” 135–36; Brutzkus, “Trade with Eastern Europe,” 31–41.

<sup>138</sup> Adelson, *Medieval Commerce*, no. 29, p. 155; Ibn Fadlan, *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness. Arab Travellers in the Far North, Translation and additional material by Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone* (London, 2012), 164.

<sup>139</sup> Brutzkus, “Trade with Eastern Europe,” 33 and 35; Ibn Fadlan, *Ibn Fadlan and the Land of Darkness*, 163.

<sup>140</sup> On the importance of Volga Bulgaria in trade with Scandinavia and western Europe, see T. S. Noonan, “Volga Bulgaria’s Tenth-century Trade with Samanid Central Asia”, *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 11 (2000), 140–218; R. K. Kovalev, “Khazaria and Volga Bulgaria as Intermediaries”; F. Curta, “Markets in Tenth-Century al-Andalus and Volga Bulgaria: Contrasting Views of Trade in Muslim Europe,” *Al-Masaq* 25 (2013), 305–330. The important account about route and trade between the city Bolghar, Kiev and Hungary is given by al-Gharnati: *Puteshestvie abu Khamida al-Garnati v vostochnuiu i tsentralnuiu Evropu (1131–1153 gg.)*, ed. O. G. Bolshakov and A. L. Mongait (Moscow 1971), 35–38.

<sup>141</sup> Brutzkus, “Trade with Eastern Europe,” 39.

## Conclusion

So let us return to the initial question of how the Byzantine *miliaresia* came to end up in Scandinavia. The earliest Byzantine silver coins appear in the Swedish trade center Birka in the ninth century. They are found together with beads made of carnelian and rock crystal as well as jewelry of eastern origin in rich graves, probably belonging to the early Christians of the town.<sup>142</sup> Likewise, during the early period, the Volga river with its tributaries was the most important route by which Byzantine objects came to eastern Europe and Scandinavia.<sup>143</sup> Also the Don river with its main tributary the Siversky Dinets were the main channels for dissemination of Byzantine coins, amphorae, and silk into the areas of the Khazars and the Slavs. Tamatarkha on Taman peninsula (or Matarcha and Tmutarakan)<sup>144</sup> was strategically important for trade and communication with Byzantium. Particularly after the destruction of the Khazar Khanate by Sviatoslav raids in the mid-960s, these areas became more accessible for Byzantine traders.<sup>145</sup> Byzantine silver coins reached Scandinavia in more considerable quantities only by the middle of the tenth century. In Scandinavia the most numerous were coins struck for Constantine VII/Romanos II (248 ex.) and Basil II and Constantine VIII (512 ex.). The majority of *miliaresia* struck for Nikephoros II (53 ex.) and John I (183 ex.)<sup>146</sup> come largely from the hoards dated to the end of the tenth and eleventh centuries, which means that they came to Scandinavia with Basil II and Constantine VIII's coinage. This makes it clear that there were not two particular ways of *miliaresia* inflow to the north—via Poland for Constantine VII/Romanos II, Nikephoros II and John I's *miliaresia* and via Rus for Basil II and Constantine VIII's coinage.<sup>147</sup> The two above-discussed Ukrainian hoards from Sumy and Repki areas show a long-term circulation of early issues of *miliaresia* struck for Constantine VII/Romanos II, Nikephoros II as well as their penetration to Rus via Khazaria and Volga Bulgaria. The Alchedar hoard in Moldova containing Islamic coinage, Slavonic, and Scandinavian jewelry and *miliaresia* struck for John I show the possibility of penetration of Byzantine coins via the Dniester River.<sup>148</sup> Within the area between the Southern Bug and Dniester rivers as well as Volynia there were several centers specializing in the manufacturing of Slavonic jewelry decorated with granulation which was also found in the above-mentioned Swedish hoards.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Androshchuk, *Vikings in the East*, 189–92, fig. 70.

<sup>143</sup> J. Callmer, "From West to East: The Penetration of Scandinavians into Eastern Europe ca. 500–900," in M. Kazanski, A. Necessian & C. Zuckerman, *Les Centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient, Actes du Colloque International tenu au Collège de France en octobre 1997* (Paris 2000), 45–94.

<sup>144</sup> J. Shepard, "Close encounters with the Byzantine world: the Rus at the Straits of Kerch," in L. Reyersen, T. G. Stavrou & J. D. Tracy (eds.), *Pre-modern Russia and its World* (Wiesbaden 2006), and "Mists and Portals: The Black Sea's north coast," in M. Mango (ed.), *Byzantine Trade, 4<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries* (Farnham 2009), 421–42; V. Chkhaidze, *Tamatarkha, Rannesrednevekovi gorod na Tamanskom poluostrove* (Moscow 2008).

<sup>145</sup> Shepard, "Mists and Portals", 428 and 433.

<sup>146</sup> All given numbers are based on Jankowiak's calculation, "Byzantine Coins" (Table 5.2).

<sup>147</sup> Glikzman, "Some Remarks;" Jankowiak, "Byzantine Coins," 126.

<sup>148</sup> S. S. Ryabtseva & N. P. Telnov, "Alchedarskii klad i tsentry Iuvelirnogo proizvodstva Vostochnoi Evropy kontsa IX-nachala XI vv.," *Stratum plus* 5 (2010), 285–99, 297; A. I. Bolduryanu & S. S. Ryabtseva, "Denezhno-veshchevye klady i otdelnye nakhodki monet v pamyatnikakh Karpato-Dnestrovskogo regiona IX-nachala XI vv.," *Epokha vikingov v Vostochnoi Evrope, Pamiatniki numizmatiki VIII–XI vv.* (Saint Petersburg 2015), 108–115, 30.

<sup>149</sup> Ryabtseva & Telnov, "Alchedarskii klad," 293–96.

Constantine VII/Romanos II silver was definitely in circulation during the reigns of Nikephoros II and John I in border areas such as Syria, where it passed through the lands of Khazar and Volga Bulgar to Rus together with coinage minted by the Hamdanids. Likewise, during Basil II's campaign in Syria, Islamic coins struck for Hamdanids and Marwanids along with his *miliaresia* were the pocket money of his Varangian mercenaries. These coins formed the original core of those collections of silver that Varangian veterans collected during their military service in Byzantium and Rus. From there they were brought to Volga Bulgar, and then from the upper reaches of the Volga river to north Russia, while another flow went in the direction of Kiev-Krakov-Prague-Regensburg. Undoubtedly some Islamic and Byzantine coins were spent in Volga Bulgar, Rus, Bohemian, and German markets, but the remaining number of them were brought along with acquired Bohemian and German coins to Scandinavia and were deposited in individual savings. In the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the latter were bought out by the tradesman and/or jewelers on Gotland. Some hoards of the eleventh century from Estonia, Poland, and Rus with compositions of coins and jewelry similar to Scandinavian hoards may indicate the return of their owners to trading activities in these lands. Some western European coins were brought to northern Russia from Gotland.<sup>150</sup> However, many originally Scandinavian collections of silver might simply have changed owners and come to belong to local traders or jewelers.

The relatively limited number of Byzantine silver coins compared to Islamic, Anglo-Saxon, and German coinage and the predominance of *miliaresia* issued for Constantine VII/Romanos II, Basil II and Constantine VIII indicate that this was ceremonial coinage obtained by the Scandinavians during the baptisms of Princess Olga in 946 or 957 and Prince Vladimir in 988.<sup>151</sup> It is not random that almost every third coin of these emperors was pierced or looped.<sup>152</sup> Such cases show that the *miliaresia* not only had an economic but also a social value as objects loaded with social prestige and status. It is probably for this reason that Byzantine silver coins had a very limited circulation in Scandinavia. They were kept as a sign of social capital and became a creative source for imitation by and inspiration for local Scandinavian coinage.



Fig. 9. Ribe half-bracteate from Lviv Oblast, Ukraine (W.0.8 g), offered for sale at the Ukrainian auction Violy (auction.violity.com) on February 26, 2016. I am grateful to Dr. Kiril Myzgin (Warsaw) who has consulted me on this matter.

<sup>150</sup> V. M. Potin, *Drevnia Rus i evropeiskie gosudarstva v X–XIII vv.* (Leningrad 1968), 69.

<sup>151</sup> Androshchuk, *Images of Power*, 110–11.

<sup>152</sup> Audy, “How were Byzantine coins used?”.