

***Ethnicity and Statehood in Pontic-Caspian Eurasia (8-13th c.):
Contributing to a Reassessment***

Alex M. Feldman

2018 PhD Thesis – University of Birmingham – Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies

List of Images



Fig. 1. Runic stone U 201, Angarn church, Sweden:
 "Tāgn and Gōdārv and Sunatr and Torulf had this stone set up in memory of Toke, their father.
 He met death in Greece. God help his spirit and soul"

Figure 1: Reproduced from Androshchuk, 2015, "Byzantine Imperial Seals in Southern Rus'," 43-54: a typical example of "Nordic" rune-writing.

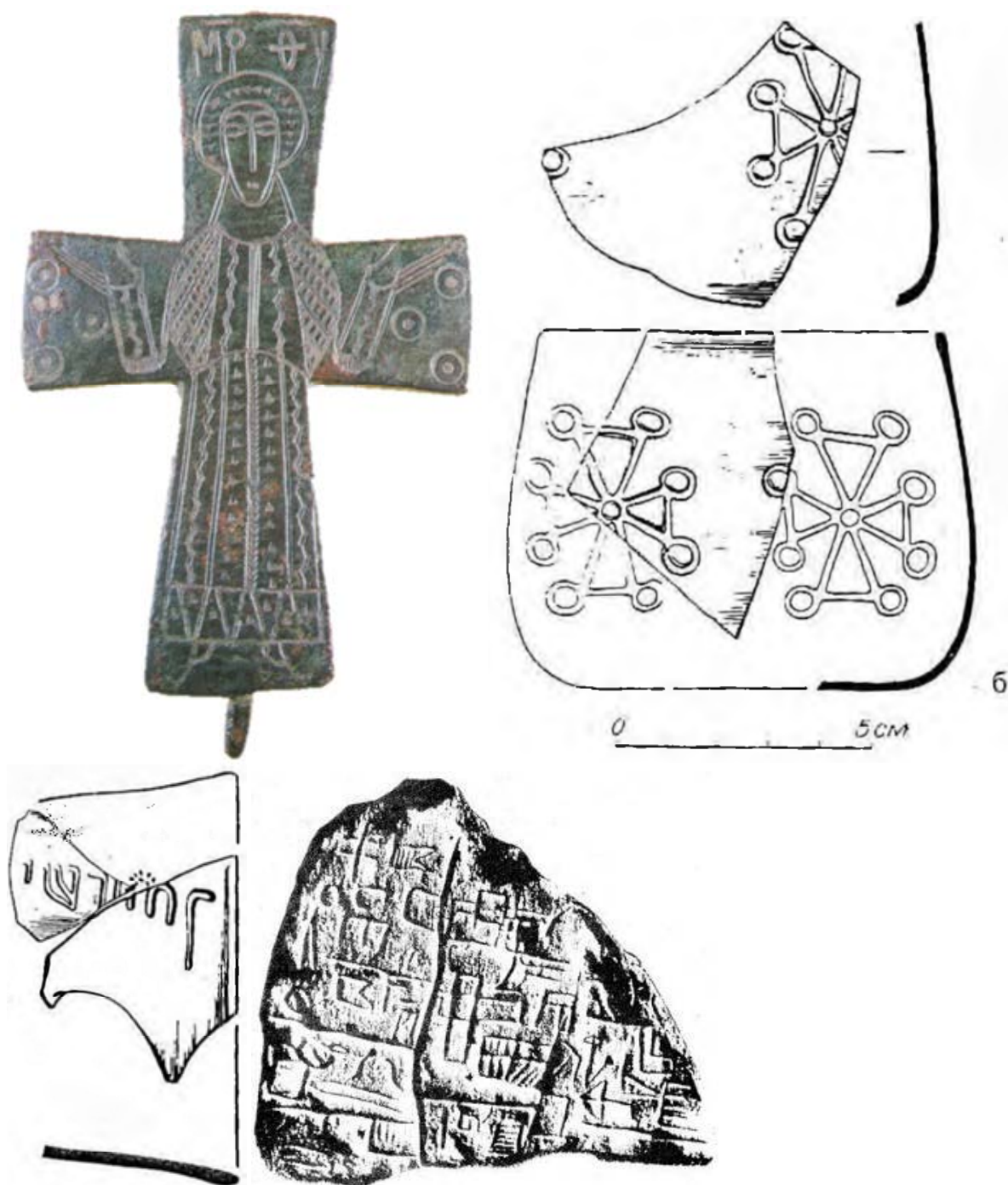


Fig. 6 : Khazaria in the 8th-9th centuries.

Figure 2: Reproduced from Callmer, 2000, "From West to East. The Penetration of Scandinavians into Eastern Europe ca. 500-900," 45-94: the riverine urbanization and sedentarization of Khazaria.



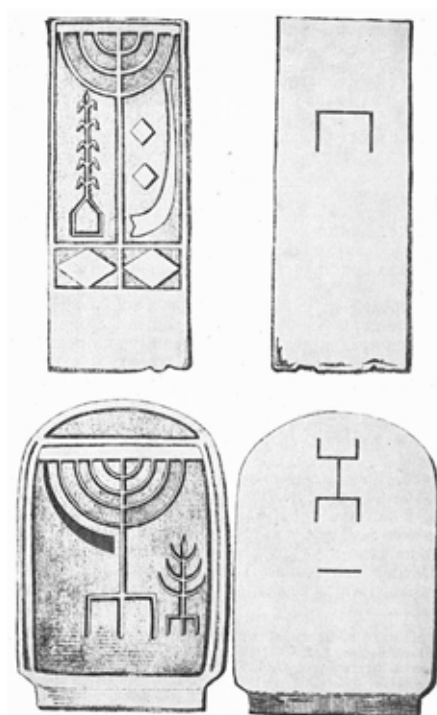
Figures 3-13: A collection of archaeological material dating to the Khazarian period and correlating either with Khazarian “wares” or products typical of the correlative Saltovo-Majacki archaeological culture, which includes glass and bead jewellery found at the Dimitrievskij Complex (top left and center – reproduced from Zalesskaja, et al., 1989, Съкровище на хан Кубрат, cat. nos. 198-203), silver strap ornaments found in Taman (top right – reproduced from Leskov, 2008, The Maikop Treasure, cat. no. 275), and numerous finds from Sarkel, including several silver and bronze belt buckles (bottom right – reproduced from Zalesskaja, et al., 1989, cat. nos. 230 and 275) and even one entire ornamentally carved silver belt itself (reproduced from Pletněva and Makarova, 1983, “Пояс знатного воина из Саркела,” 62-77, and Artamonov, 1962, История хазар, 340, although Artamonov interprets the find as “Hungarian,” without qualifying his statement), a silver and glass ring (bottom center-right – reproduced from Zalesskaja, et al., 1989, cat. no. 267), as well as imported luxury goods including a Byzantine-made glazed serving plate (center left – reproduced from Zalesskaja, et al., 1989, cat. no. 294), a Byzantine-made elephant ivory comb (bottom left – reproduced from Zalesskaja, et al., 1989, cat. no. 239. The comb has even been claimed to have been made specifically in Eastern Anatolia, which may imply Byzantine-Khazarian aristocratic ties, although this is simple conjecture. See also Artamonov, 1962, 374) and even an Indo-Persian-made elephant ivory chess piece (bottom center-left – reproduced from Artamonov, 1958, “Саркел – Белая Вежа: Труды Волго-Донской археологической экспедиции,” 75).



Figures 14-17: Archaeological evidence which may seem to corroborate various primary sources attesting to Christians, Jews and Muslims living together in urban centers within Khazaria. For example, a 10th-c. Syro-Palestinian-made bronze encolpion cross with Greek epigraphy, found in Sarkel along with crucigram epigraphy (top left and right – reproduced from Artamonov, 1958, fig. 13). Below left, Hebrew epigraphy on a fortress wall at the Majacki gorodische discovered and interpreted by Turčaninov, who read the graffiti as “Ben-Atýf,” for “gracious son.” See Turčaninov, 1990, Древние и средневековые памятники осетинского письма и языка, 89-90; and Afanas’ev, 2001, “Где же археологические свидетельства существования хазарского государства,” 46. Below right, another epigraphic find read in Hebrew as consisting of the word “Israel” by Ierusalimskaja, (reproduced from idem, 1992, Кавказ на Шелковом пути, 30-31), on fragments of a partially reconstructed glass vessel found at the Moščevaja Balka burial ground in the Northern Caucasus, has been interpreted as unequivocal evidence of Judaism and Jewish communities existing and thriving in the 8-9th-c. Khazarian northern Caucasus.



Знаки на кирпичах из Саркела. Эрмитаж.



Еврейские надгробия из Фанагории.

Figures 18-20: Examples of menorah-like graffiti in Khazaria. Reproduced from Artamonov, 1962, История хазар, 277, 303: above, inscriptions of “tamgas” of bricks at Sarkel, although there is little consensus of their meaning. I have enlarged one “tamga” which bears resemblance to images of Judaic menorot found on contemporaneous tombstones in the Taman Peninsula (Phanagoria/Tamatarcha/Tmutarakan’ – below left) and an earlier example of a 5-branched menorot epigraphic graffiti for comparison (below right – reproduced from BAR eds., “Strata: Is This What the Temple Menorah Looked Like?”



According to the Biblical Archaeology Society Review editors, the Israeli Antiquities Authority (IAA) press release was quoted, “a passerby who saw the [Temple] menorah with his own eyes...incised his impressions on a stone.” The incised graffiti on the stone in question was found “in a 2,000-year-old drainage channel near the City of David,” and appears as a roughly hewn five-branched menorah on a stone architectural fragment, bearing a close resemblance with the

“tamga” on the right excavated by Artamonov from Sarkel).

Finally, below right, a menorah image inscribed on a pot found in a burial near modern Mariupol on the north coast of the Sea of Azov, dated (by Flërov) to the years 772-773 according to nearby finds of caliphal dirhams. Reproduced from Flërov, 2018, “Иудаизм, христианство, ислам в хазарском каганате по археологическим данным (краткий обзор),” 140. He asserts that the small, clumsily inscribed cross on the top left has nothing to do with Christianity.



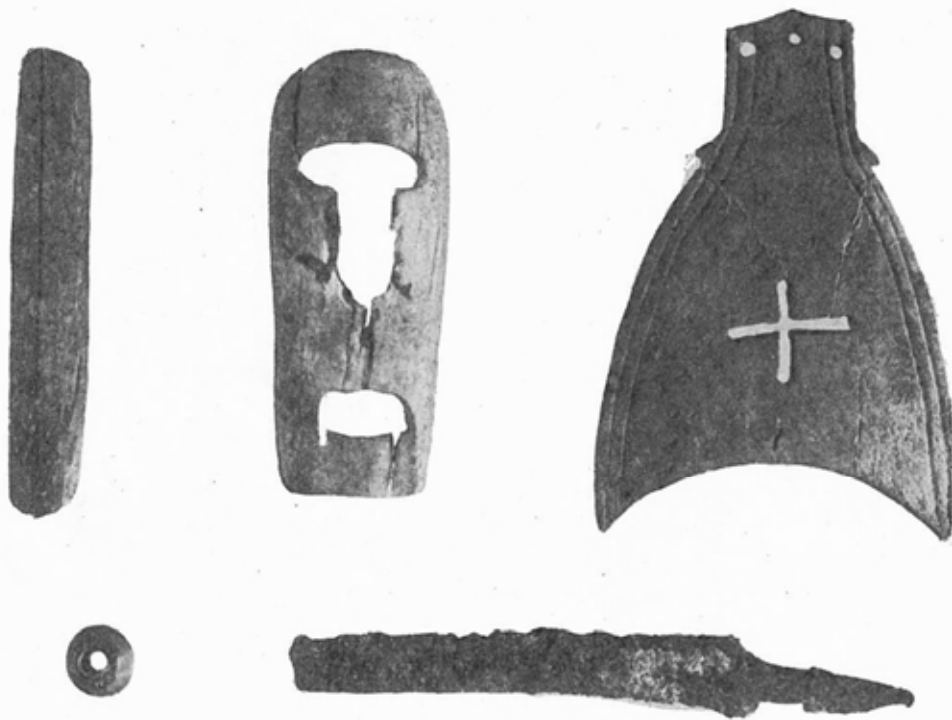
Figures 21-25: A representation of the majority of other finds from Sarkel dating to the Khazarian era described as being typical of a nomadic elite. From the top left: epigraphic graffiti on bone of human figures carrying maces on horseback pertaining to the SMC and found in the Majacki gorodische (reproduced from Pletnëva, 1967, *От кочевий к городам: Салтово-маяцкая культура, 178-179* and *idem*, 1984, *Маяцкое городище*, 74, and she claims that it is a depiction of the Turkic sky-god Tengri himself, as deity over the entire Khazar khaganate. Notice also what appears to be carvings representing the figure's genitals, unlikely a Judaic motif). Center left and top right: bone-carved and bronze mace-heads with tamga symbols (reproduced from Zalesskaja, et al., 1989, cat. nos. 247 and 263). And bottom left and right: bronze a horn fragments with a carved wolf-head motif (reproduced from Zalesskaja, et al., 1989, cat. no. 263). The wolf motif may fit in with the Turkic descent-myth from "a wolf ancestress." See Golden, 2007b, "The Conversion of the Khazars to Judaism," 158.



Зеркала из Верхнего Салтова. Эрмитаж.



Бронзовые украшения из Верхнего Салтова. Эрмитаж.



Вещи из погребения кочевника возле Саркела. Эрмитаж.

Figures 26-28: reproduced from Artamonov, 1962, История хазар, 296-297, 316: above, 9-10th-c. dated ritual objects found at the upper Saltovo gorodišče associated with pagan nomadism. Below, ritual burial objects found at Sarkel associated with nomadism. Most archaeologists familiar with Khazarian material agree that the six-pointed star design on the disc (above left) is not actually meant as a so-called "magen-David," but as a stylized sun, most likely within a pagan cultural milieu.



Fig. 1: The skull of a male from burial no. 9, Lysogorovka cemetery, with traces of a post-traumatic operation. On the zoomed image we can see the necrotic reaction.

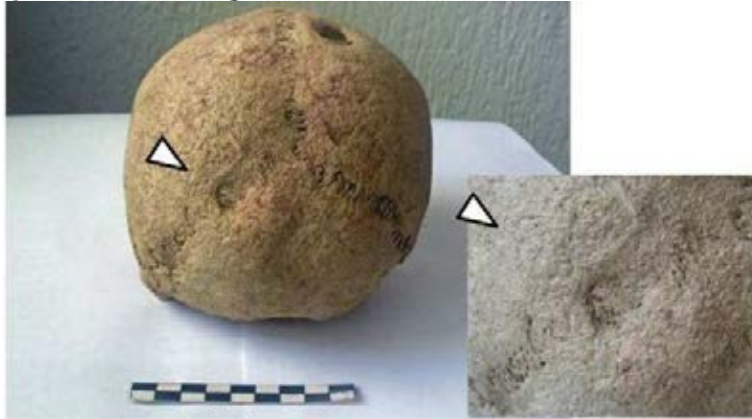


Fig. 2: The symbolic trephination on the lambdoid suture of burial no. 9.



Fig. 3: The skull of a male from burial no. 15, Zhetoe cemetery, with trephination, made using the template.

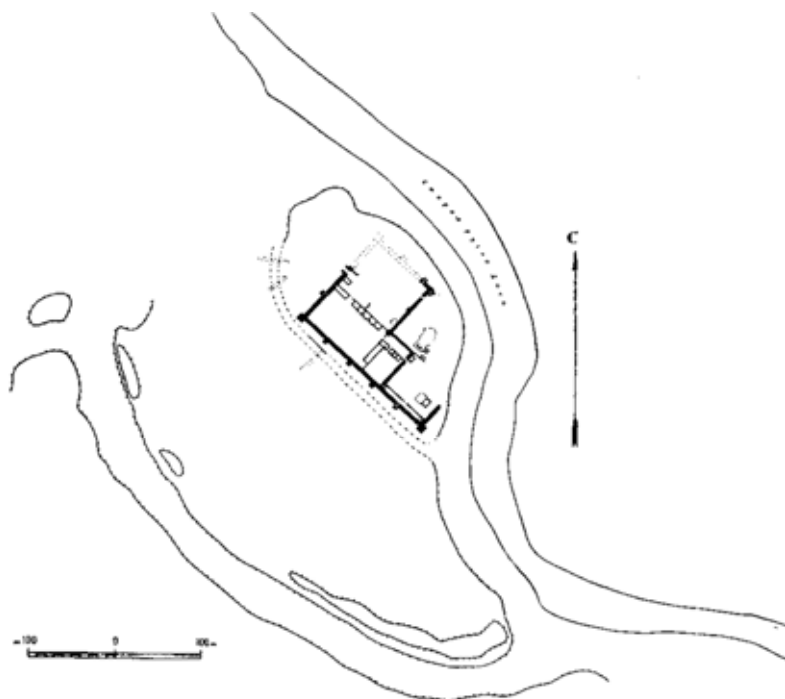


Fig. 4: The objects from the grave of burial no. 3, Zhetoe cemetery. The silver template is in the centre.

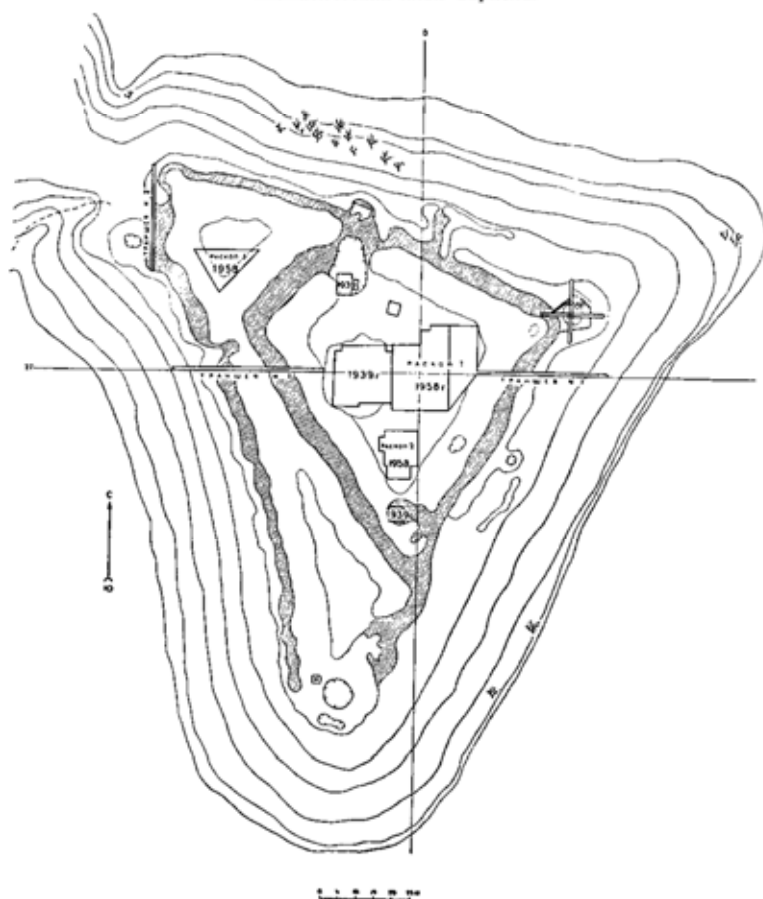


Fig. 5: The imposition of the silver plate onto the trephination.

Figures 29-33: Cases of trepanation (drilling into the cranial cavity of the skull) appear in burial grounds across the SMC, which attest not only to steppe paganism remaining among certain groups within Khazaria. Such practices would have been especially forbidden by Jewish strictures, which are well-known for prohibiting body modifications. These images are courtesy of Rešetova, 2012a, "Описание Индивидов С Трепанированными Черепами Среди Носителей Салтово-Маяцкой Культуры: Медицинская Практика Или Культ?" 151-157 and idem, 2012-2013b, "Trephination Cases from the Early Bulgarian Population (Saltovo-Mayaki Culture)," 9-14.



Схематический план Саркела.



План Правобережного Цимлянского городища (С. А. Плетнева).

Figures 34-35: reproduced from Artamonov, 1962, История хазар, 300, 317: schematic plans of Sarkel and the right-bank Cimpljansk gorodišči, both on opposite sides of the Don River in modern southern Russia.



Figures 36-38: Other finds in Sarkel and elsewhere of correspondingly much simpler clay wares described by Zalesskaja et al., 1989, cat. nos. 251, 257, 293, as "typical of tribal nomads."



Figures 39-41: reproduced from Artamonov, 1962, История хазар, 319-321: agricultural implements and ceramics found at the right-bank Cimljansk gorodišče.



Figures 42-43: Left: an example of 'Abd al-Maliq's post-reform gold dinar – dated to ca. 696-697 CE - from the Catalogue of the British Museum: “مروان بن الملك عبد الخليفة عهد من ذهبية عملة” Reproduced from webpage: <http://arabic.britishmuseum.org/middle-east/room34/gold-coin.html>. According to the British Museum: “This piece does not mention the name of the caliph or the mint, but only religious terms, beginning with the angular Kufic script, including the shahada, which is at the heart of the Islamic faith.” Specifically, the coin reads quite simply translated: “In the name of God, there is no God but God alone; Muhammed is the messenger of God.” Right: reproduced from Shams Eshragh, 2010, Silver Coinage of the Caliphs, cat. no. 226: a typical example of a post-reform silver dirham under 'Abd al-Maliq dating to 698 CE and struck in Damascus.



Figures 44-51: Silver and gold coins of Justinian II corresponding to his two reigns, according to Dr. Maria Vrij. In the four coins in the above first two rows, Christ is depicted on a solidus, semissis, tremissis and hexagram according to the so-called Pantokrator Christ-type (corresponding to Justinian II's first reign, 685-695 CE). In the four coins in the below two rows, Christ is depicted according on a solidus, semissis and tremissis of Justinian II and Tiberios according to the so-called Syrian Emmanouel Christ-type, (corresponding to his second reign, 705-711 CE). From left to right: the images correspond to cat. nos. B4383, B4386, B4387, B4391, B4462, B4463, B4466, B4467, reproduced from the University of Birmingham Barber Institute's coin collection.



Figures 52-55: reproduced from Shams Eshragh, 2010, Silver Coinage of the Caliphs, cat. nos. 1241-1244: typical examples of contemporary 'Abbasid dirhams contemporaneous to the Khazar Moses coin reform of 837/838 CE. From top left, these samples are from Esfahān, Fārs, Merv and al-Muhammadiyya, respectively.

The Khazarian Moses coinage:
 “Moses is the messenger of God” (Musa rasul Allah)



Figures 56-57: Examples of the famous “Khazarian Moses coinage” (above), found in the Spillings coin hoard in 1999 on the Swedish island of Gotland, and which unequivocally evoke Moses for Khazaria in coin, similarly to the case of Mohammed’s evocation for the Islamic Caliphate and Christ on Byzantine-Roman coinage. However, the Khazarian “Moses” coinage was discontinued after a very brief period, only between 837-838 CE, according to the numismatist Roman Kovalev, and along with King Joseph’s Reply, these two sources give us a hint of what the khaḡans wanted us to believe, but they do not necessarily give us the entire truth. See Kovalev, 2005a, “Creating Khazar Identity through Coins: the Special Issue Dirhams of 837/8,” 220-252 and idem, 2004, “What does Historical Numismatics Suggest about the Monetary History of Khazaria in the Ninth Century?—Question Revisited,” 97-129, and as a reference, based on an original ‘Abbasid-struck mid-9th-c. dirham (shown below), reproduced from webpage:

<http://web.archive.org/web/20070928092209/http://www.myntkabinettet.se/notiser/spillings/mynt14.jpg>

<p>al-Muhammadiya, المحمّدية سنة ست و سبعين و مائه</p> <p>Obv. «...Tāhir/bīn al-Hosayn» مولى المأمون ذو اليمينين طاهر/بن الحسين</p> <p>Rev. «By the command of servant of God 'Abd Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn» مما امر به عبدالله عبد الله امير المؤمنين</p> <p>Top الله / btm. الفضل «To God / al-Faḍl»</p> <p>2.39 g. 23 mm. LK —, QR —</p>	
<p>al-Muhammadiya, المحمّدية سنة خمس و تسعين و مائه</p> <p>Obv. Mar. طاهر بن الحسين مولى المأمون «Tāhir/bīn al-Hosayn / Mawlā / al-Ma'mūn»</p> <p>Btm. ⬆</p> <p>Rev. «By the command of al-Imām al-Ma'mūn / 'Abd Allāh bin Amīr al-Mu'minīn» مما امر به الامام المأمون / عبدالله بن امير المؤمنين</p> <p>Top الله / btm. الفضل «To God / al-Faḍl»</p> <p>2.86 g. 24.5 mm. LK 1924, QR 1845</p>	
<p>mn. al-Muhammadiya, المحمّدية سنة ست و تسعين و مائه</p> <p>Obv. ذو اليمينين طاهر بن الحسين مولى المأمون «...Tāhir/bīn al-Hosayn / Mawlā / al-Ma'mūn»</p> <p>Rev. «By the cm. of 'Abd Allāh servant of God / al-Ma'mūn Amīr al-Mu'minīn» مما امر به عبدالله عبد الله المأمون امير المؤمنين</p> <p>Top الله / btm. الفضل «To God / al-Faḍl»</p> <p>2.91 g. 23 mm. LK —, QR 1848</p>	

Figures 58-60: reproduced from Shams Eshragh, 2010, Silver Coinage of the Caliphs, cat. nos. 998, 1119 and 1136: examples of silver dirhams struck in al-Muhammadiyya in 792, 811 and 812, respectively, bearing only the name of the concurrent 'Abbasid caliphs, and disregarding the names of the local Ṭāhirid ruling dynasty.



101 Tahirid AR dirham, Talha, al-Muhammadiya, 210. Second obverse margin, Quran XXX, 3-4.

102 'Abbasid AR dirham, al-Shash, 224. Al-Mu'tasim, second obverse margin, Quran XXX, 3-4.

Coins bearing Tahirid names are otherwise of normal 'Abbasid type for their period and the reason for the omission of the Tahirid governor's name on certain issues is uncertain. This may indicate a rise in Caliphal influence or may identify coins sent back as tribute.

Figure 61: reproduced from Broome, 1985, A Handbook of Islamic Coins, cat. nos. 101-102 (p. 62): notes on Ṭāhirid coinage.



104 Saffarid AR dirham, Tahir bin Muhammad, Madinat Zaranj, 296, struck in the name of the Caliph al-Muqtadir.

Seemingly an 'Abbasid dirham but issued by the independent Saffarid Tahir at his headquarters at Zaranj.



105 Saffarid AV eighth-dinar with the name of Khalaf, Zaranj, [32]9.



106 Saffarid AV $\frac{1}{2}$ -dinar, Khalaf bin Ahmad; Sijistan, 3[6 or 7]7, struck in the name of the Caliph al-Tai'. Inner circles terminating in an arabesque at the base.

In spite of the long period between these two coins, it seems probable that the same person is referred to, the earlier piece being struck soon after Khalaf's birth when he was named as heir-apparent (perhaps with responsibility for the mints) of Ahmad bin Muhammad, the governor appointed by the Samanids. The omission of all reference to the Samanids, even on coins as small as these, is unusual, as is the omission on the earlier coin of the name of the Caliph, in recognition perhaps of the confused situations in Baghdad where rival powers set up puppet contenders for the Caliphate. The use of gold for small denominations points to the acute shortage of silver in this remote province and it may be only coincidental that the fractional dinars of the Spanish Umayyads had been introduced only a few years earlier.

Figures 62-63: reproduced from Broome, 1985, A Handbook of Islamic Coins, cat. nos. 104-106 (p. 63-64): notes on Ṣaffārīd coinage.



109 Samanid AV dinar, Mansur bin Nuh [Bu]khara, 351, Caliph al-Muti'.

A Samanid dinar in traditional style but showing the retention of the name of the Caliph al-Muti' 17 years after he had abdicated in favour of his son al-Tai'.



110 Samanid AV dinar, Nuh II bin Mansur, Nisabur, 372, in the name of Caliph al-Tai'; governor Husam al-Dawla (double-struck).

A typical late Samanid dinar. In 372, Nuh bin Mansur managed to replace the powerful Simjurid governor of Khurasan with his own nominee, Husam al-Dawla.



111 Samanid AR dirham, Nasr bin Ahmad, Samarqand, 301, in the name of the Caliph al-Muqtadir.

This coin differs from the normal contemporary 'Abbasid dirhams only in that it has the Samanid ruler's name below the reverse.

Figures 64-65: reproduced from Broome, 1985, A Handbook of Islamic Coins, cat. nos. 109-111 (p. 65-66): notes on typical Sāmānid coinage.



Figure 66: reproduced from Kovalev, 2016, “What Do ‘Official’ Volga Bulgār Coins Suggest about the Political History of the Middle Volga Region during the Second Half of the 10th Century?” 193. According to Kovalev, this coin is “The Most Common ‘Official’ Volga Bulgār Dirham Type in o/r Ṭālib ibn Aḥmad – al-Mustakfī,” minted in Suwār, 338 AH – 949/50 CE; and it is imitative of contemporaneous Sāmānid dirhams, albeit including the mintmarks of Suwār and later Bulgār – along with the names of local Sāmānid amīrs and the Caliph in Baghdad, “as well as their own rulers, such as Aḥmad ibn ‘D/K’ ‘Abdallāh Yāldawar, Almīsh/Ja‘far ibn ‘Abdallāh (al-Amīr Yaltawār), and Mīkā’il ibn Ja‘far” (p. 203).

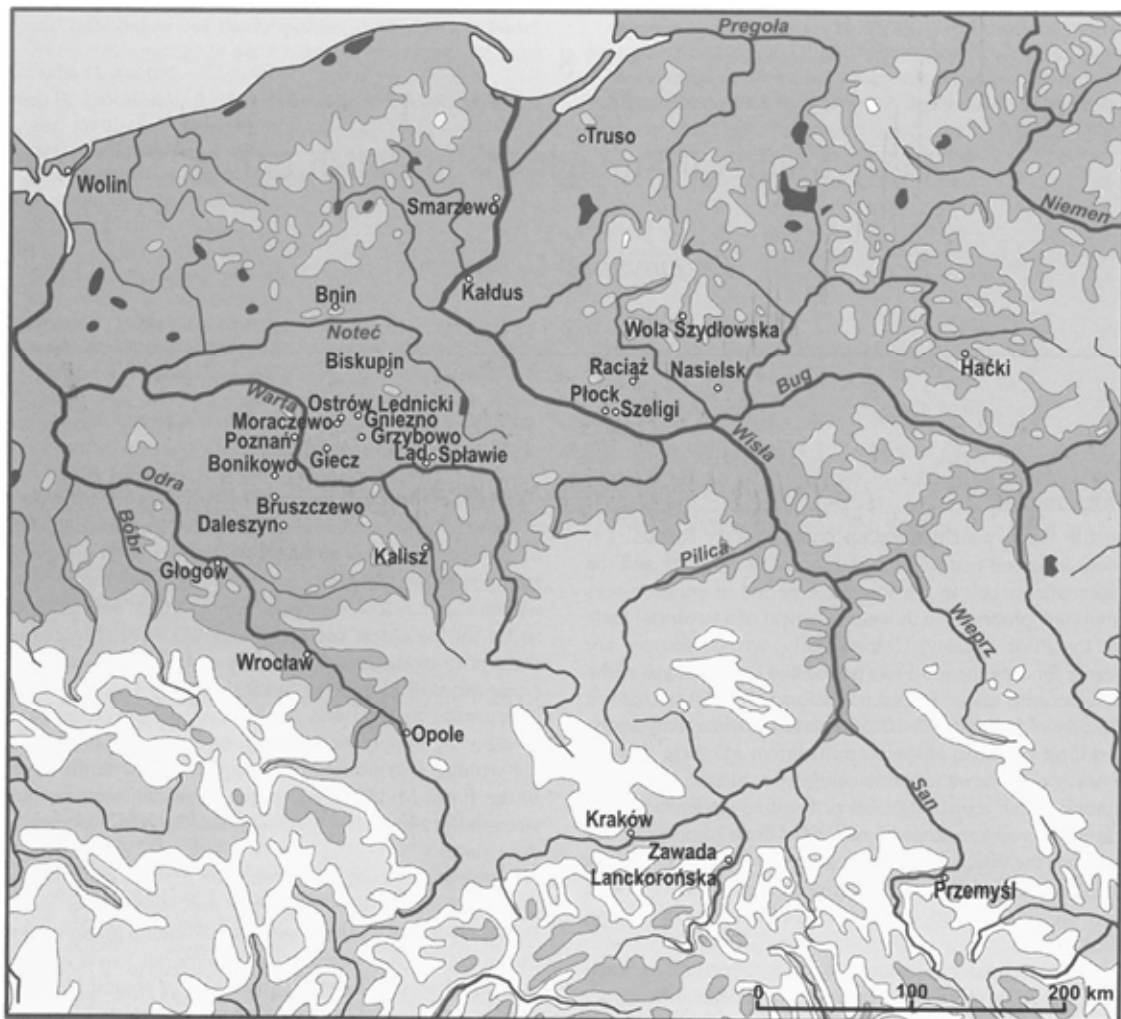


Figure 8.1. Sites mentioned in the text (Map drawn by K. Skrzyńska).

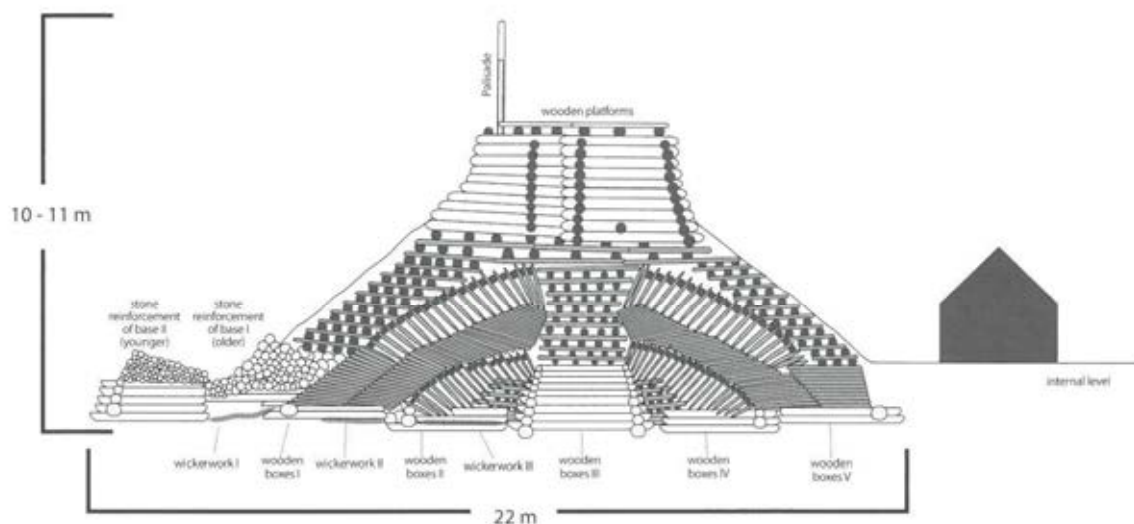


Figure 8.6. New reconstruction of the rampart at Poznań built in the 970s–980s (Image after Antonowska-Gorączniak 2013, Fig. 22 redrawn by Katie Gabriel Allen).

Figures 67-68: reproduced from Urbańczyk, 2016, "Early Medieval Strongholds in Polish Lands," 95-106: map and schematic reconstruction of early, specifically "Polish state" strongholds of the 10-11th c., including Gniezno and Poznań.



Figures 69-70: Examples of reproduced silver coinage of the Piast dynasty. Left: a denar of Bolesław I, bearing the legend: PRINCE[PS] POLONIE. Right: a denar of Bolesław I, bearing the legend GNEZDUN CIVITAS. Reproduced from Trzaski, Everta and Michalskiego (eds.), 1927, Polska, jej dzieje i kultura.



Figures 71-74: Examples of reproduced silver coinage of the Rjurikid dynasty. Specifically, srebreniki of Jaroslav I the Wise. Left: two examples of coins bearing the legend: ЯРОСЛАВЛЕ СРЕБРО (Jaroslav's silver). Right: two examples of coins evoking Jaroslav's patron Saint George in Byzantine style and Greek script. Reproduced from Gajdukov and Kalinin, 2012, "Древнейшие русские монеты," in Русь в IX-X веках. Археологическая панорама, 402-435; via webpage: <http://www.poludenga.ru/srebrenik/myv.html>.

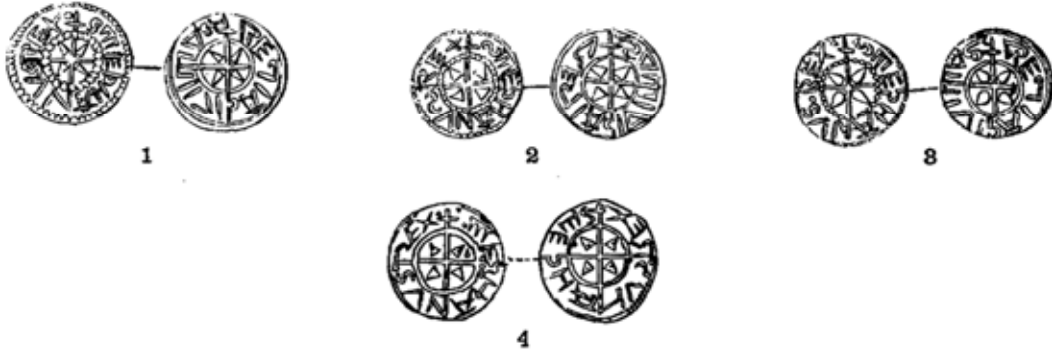


Figures 75-77: 11th-c. Árpadian silver coins. From top: cat. no. H1 2004: Stephen I Árpád (r. 1000-1038). Middle: cat. no. H2 2004: Peter I Orseolo "of Pannonia" (r. 1038-1041, 1044-1046). Bottom: cat. no. H3 2004: Andreas I Árpád (r. 1046-1060). Reproduced from the images in the University of Birmingham Barber Institute's coin collection.

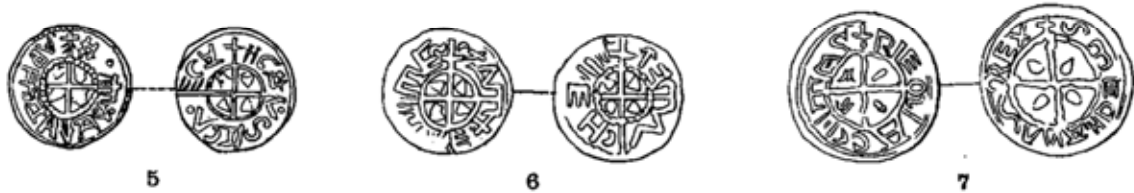
I

*Auf der Vs. der Name des Königs, auf der Rs. Regia Civitas, Pannonia, Pannoneia.
Auf beiden Seiten ein gleichschenkliges Kreuz, in den Winkeln gewöhnlich je ein
Dreieck*

Stefan I. 1000-1038



Stefan I. (gleichzeitige Nachahmungen)



Peter I. 1038-1041 und wieder 1044-1046



Samuel Alba 1041-1044



Andreas I. 1046-1061



Figure 78: A schematic chart of the silver coins of the first rulers of the Árpád dynasty, reproduced from Réthy and Probszt, 1958, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, I.



Figures 79-80: schematic reproductions of examples of Stephen I Árpád's initial coinage, reproduced from Gedai, 1986, *A magyar pénzverés kezdete*, cat. nos. 1-2. The legend of the obverse and reverse on cat. no. 1 read: LANCEA REGIS // REGIA [CI]VITAS. The legend of the obverse and reverse on cat. no. 2 read: [STE]PHANVS REX // [B]RESLAVVA CIV[ITAS].



Figures 81-87: Silver coins of Stephen I, Peter I Orseolo and Andreas I Árpád, reproduced from Huszár, 1979, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis Heute*, cat. nos. 1-9. From top left to right, the legends read: (cat. no. 1) [STE]PHANVS REX // [B]RESLAVVA CIV[ITAS]; (cat. no. 2) LANCEA REGIS // REGIA CIVITAS; (cat. no. 3) [STE]+PHANVS REX // [B]RESLAVVA CIV[ITAS]; (cat. nos. 4-5) STEPHANVS REX // REGIA CIVITVS; (cat. no. 6) PETRVS REX // PANNONIA; (cat. No. 8) REX ANDREAS // REGIA CIVITVS; (cat. no. 9) REX ANDREAS // PANONEIA.

TABLE XVI

Hoard	Manuel I, 4th Coinage (met.)	Imitative Series	Isaac II (met.)	Imitative Series	Alexius III (met.)	Imitative Series
Brestovo	19	386	290	157	370	267
Gradevo (II)	—	105	56	10	83	23
Kiustendil	20	75	154	25	183	50
Kiustendil reg.	1	183	9	80	27	14
Pokrovnik	9	118	66	51	98	85
Zheleznitsa	1	103	22	54	49	90
Uncertain prov.	25	47	215	12	117	18

Figure 88: reproduced from Hendy, 1969, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261*, 221: table of finds of Komnēnian coins and the so-called “Bulgarian imitative coinage” of the early 13th c. in modern Bulgaria.



Figures 89-94: Early 13th-c. Asenid “Bulgarian imitative coinage.” From the top left to right: cat. nos. B6049-B6053; B6055. Reproduced from the images in the University of Birmingham Barber Institute’s coin collection.



Фиг.7. Перпер от типа "Йоан III Ваташи" (XIII в.)



Фиг.8. Златен перпер на цар Иван Асен II (1218-1246), сечен в Солун през 1230 г.



Фиг.10. Перпер от типа "Йоан III Ваташи" с превъзвешена глава на мъж върху образа на Богородица (XIII в.)

Figures 95-97: Early 13th-c. Asenid "Bulgarian imitative coinage," (hyperpyres), reproduced from Avdev, 2005, Монетната система в средновековна България през XIII-XIV в., 25-28.



Фиг.4. Перпер на Йоан II Комнин (1118-1143)



Фиг.5. Перпер на Мануил I Комнин (1143-1180)



Фиг.6. Перпер на Андроник I Комнин (1183-1185)



Фиг.9. Електронова номизма на Теодор I Ласкарис (1208-1222)

Figures 98-101: 12-13th-c. Byzantine imperial hyperpyres (and one electrum nomisma), of the Komnēnian and Laskarid dynasties, reproduced from Avdev, 2005, Монетната система в средновековна България през XIII-XIV в., 19-21.

177. Seal of Theudatos Kurkutes(?)

[obverse]

	Text	Reconstruction
[Line 1]	— ט —	(He) Has Sealed
[Line 2]	תוי—טוס	Theudatos
[Line 3]	קורק—טיס	Kurkutes
[Line 4]	כ— — כ	Silversmith

Summary of obverse: Theudatos Kurkutes Silversmith Has Sealed.

[reverse]

	Text	Reconstruction
[Line 1]	— — —	(God)
[Line 2]	יברכהו	May Bless (Him)
[Line 3]	מעשה	The Work
[Line 4]	ידיו	(Of) His Hand

Summary of Reverse: May God Bless the Work of His Hand.

Dimensions: 18 mm. Matrix.

Location: Collection of Werner Seibt, -Vienna.†

Bibliography: Seibt and Dexinger, 1977.



No. 177, greatly enlarged. Left: obverse; right: reverse.



No. 177, attempted reconstruction. Left: obverse; right: reverse. From Seibt and Dexinger, 1977.

Figure 102: reproduced from Friedenberg, 1987, Medieval Jewish Seals from Europe, cat. no. 177: the "Byzantine" seal of "Theodatos Kurkutes" written in Hebrew.

6. Sceau de bronze à symboles juifs (Trébizonde, v^e-vii^e s.)

Inv. Froehner 511 (cahier VI, p. 514).

"Trébizonde 1906" (Fr. avait d'abord écrit, puis barré, "Syrie 1907").

Ht. 6,3 cm. Larg. 13,6 cm.

Inédit

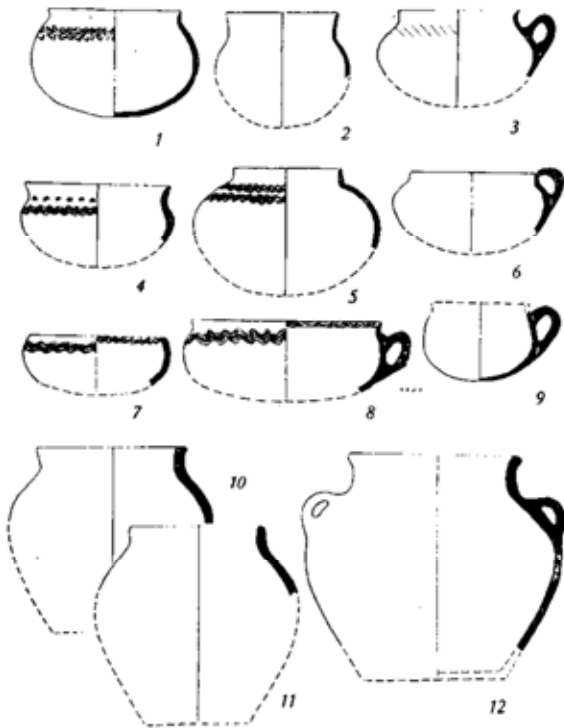
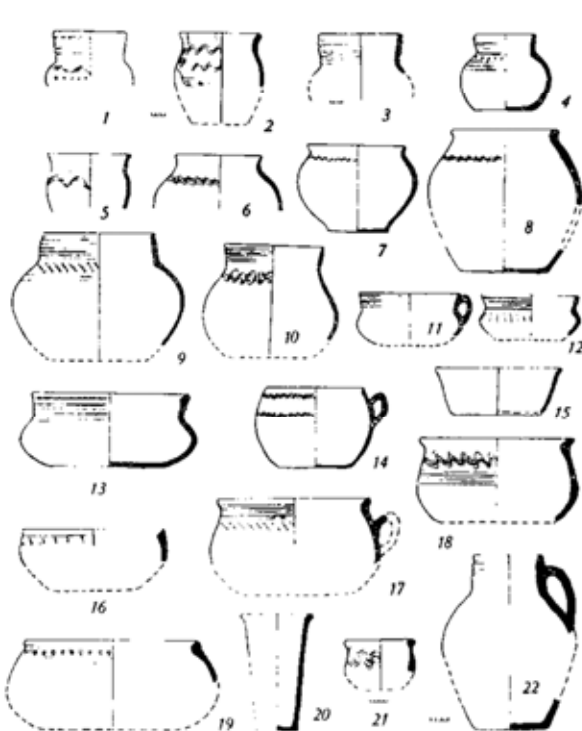
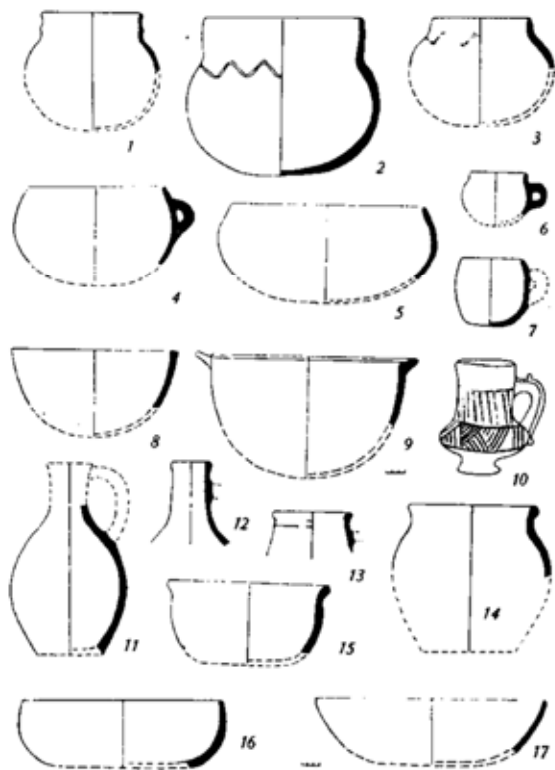
Sceau de bronze rectangulaire, muni au revers d'une poignée à volutes. Les lettres en relief, gravées à l'endroit, sont soudées à la plaque. À côté de l'inscription, les symboles habituels du culte juif : chandelier à sept bras (menorah), cédrat (ethrog) et trompette (shofar)



Εὐθυμίου (pour Εὐθυμίου, d'Euthymios)

Figure 103: A 5-7th-c. seal of a certain Eftymios, found in Trebizond and reproduced from Feissel, Morisson, Cheynet and Pitarakis, 2001, *Trois Donations Byzantines au Cabinet des Médailles*: Froehner (1925), Schlumberger (1929), Zacos (1998), 13. Clearly, the object contains the (misspelt) Christian Greek name Εὐθύμιος (of Eftymios; Εφθυμίου) along with other unquestionably Jewish symbols such as a prominent 7-branched menorah, along with what Feissel believes is an etrog (a ceremonial citrus) and a shofar (a ram's horn). I would suggest that the engraving on the device appears more as a different symbol, the lulav (the four bound species of foliage commonly coupled with the etrog) instead, due to its elongated shape and without a ram's horn's overt twist.

If this is acceptable, it would support the supposition that Black Sea rabbinical Jewish communities (in this case in Trebizond), contributed to the growth of rabbinical Judaism in Khazaria as opposed to Karaïsm, which rejects the lulav as an explicitly ceremonial item, along with the etrog as well. Additionally, such symbols of etrogim, lulavot and shofarim as well have all been found extensively on many Crimean Jewish tombstones dating before and after Khazarian times, signifying the extent of rabbinical Judaism around and across the Black Sea littoral during the period in question. See for example figure 19 above.



Figures 104-107: reproduced from Khuzin (ed.), 1993, Археология Волжской Булгарии: Проблемы, Поиски, Решения, 113-116, as discussed in the same volume by Kakhovskij and Kakhovskij, 1993, "Изучение Булгарских памятников на территории Чувашии," 32-46, who draw conclusions of ethnic attribution for the 9-10th-c. middle Volga region based ceramic typologies.



Figure 108: Trepanated skulls of a male and female, found in the 10th-c. burial ground of Tiszasüly-Éhhalom in modern Hungary (dated by the presence of a Sāmānid dirham of the then-emir Ahmad ibn Ismail, minted 907-912 CE), reproduced from Fodor, Wolf and Nepper (eds.), 1996b, *The Ancient Hungarians: Exhibition Catalogue*, 293-294.



Figure 109: A silver coin issued by Stephen I, found in grave 243 of the 10-11th-c. cemetery of Püspökladány-Eperjesvölgy in modern Hungary, reproduced from Fodor, Wolf and Nepper (eds.), 1996b, *The Ancient Hungarians: Exhibition Catalogue*, 253 (inv. no. IV.80.26.3). Notably, the authors claim that the ancient peoples buried in this cemetery can be ethnically attributed based on the grave inventories, in this case, they remark, “the people who buried their dead here were Bulgarians” (p. 245).

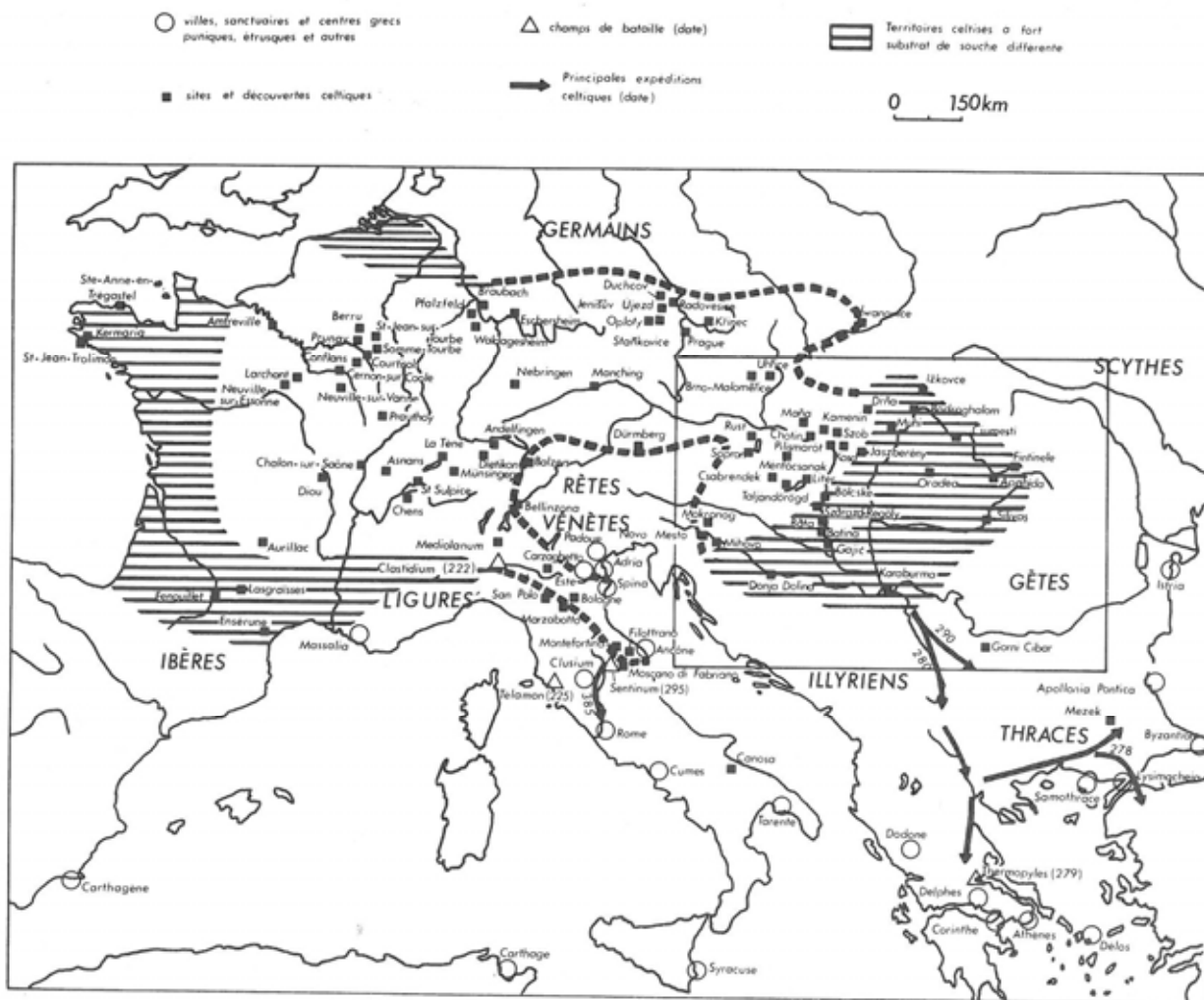
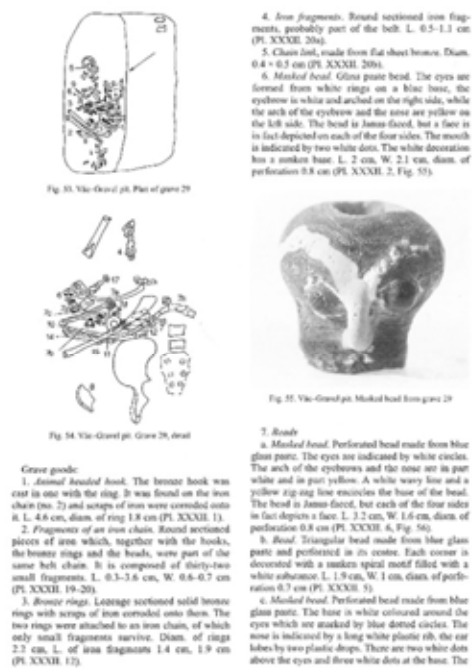


Figure 110: reproduced from Szabó, 1988, Les Celtes en Pannonie, map A.



spirals. There are twenty-five fragments. L. of bronze spirals 11.8 cm, diam. of beads 0.5 cm (Pl. XXXII, 21).

8. Pottery sherd. The fragments of a vessel (no. 4) from grave 31.

9. Pottery sherd. A pottery sherd, from a wheel-thrown yellow vessel. Biconvex, diam. of mouth 6.5 cm (Pl. XXXIII, 1).

10. Neck sherd. L. 3.1 cm, W. 1.2 cm (Pl. XXXIII, 2a).

11. Rim sherd with handle. The rim is slightly thickened and everted. The handle, rising above the rim, is in the form of a stylized animal head. The base of the animal is indicated by a small ridge flanked by grooving running down the length of the handle. The handle is biconvex in section. L. 6 cm (Pl. XXXIII, 2b).

12. Rim sherd. It is decorated with stamped arc and oval motifs, the former arranged into three rows. The neck of the vessel is constricted. L. of rim 4.2 cm (Pl. XXXIII, 2c).

13. Rim and neck sherd. It is decorated with stamped arc and oval motifs. L. 6 cm (Pl. XXXIII, 2d).



head in Janus-faced, but a face can in fact be made out on each of the four sides. L. 4 cm, W. 1.6–2.1 cm, diam. of perforation 1.3 cm (Pl. XXXII, 3, Fig. 37).

d. Biconical head. Made from iron and perforated. It is conical. L. 1.7 cm, diam. of perforation 0.5 cm (Pl. XXXII, 7).

e. Round head. Made from blue glass paste, it is decorated with white circles and curved lines. The head is perforated in its center. Diam. of head 1.6 cm, W. 1.2 cm, diam. of perforation 0.5 cm (Pl. XXXII, 8).

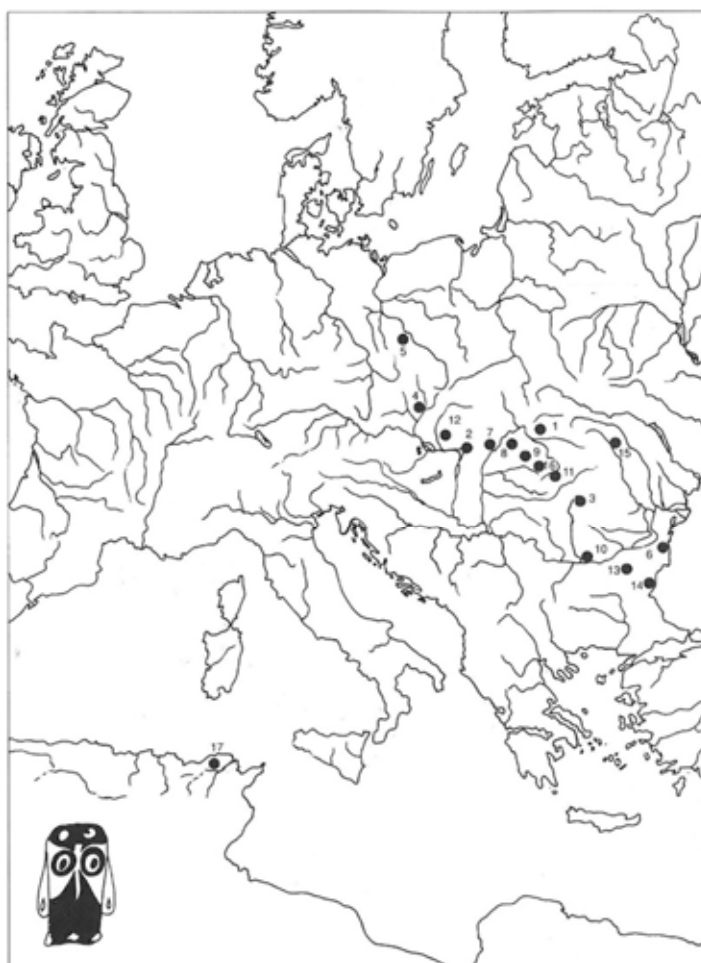
f. Round head. Made from blue glass paste, it is decorated with white circles enclosing blue dots. Diam. 1.5 cm, W. 0.5–0.7 cm, diam. of perforation 0.8 cm (Pl. XXXII, 9).

g. Round head. Made from blue glass paste. It is rather worn and about one-half of the head is yellow coloured. It is decorated with a white wavy line, one section of which is indistinct. Diam. 1.4 cm, W. 0.7 cm, diam. of perforation 0.6 cm (Pl. XXXII, 10).

h. Round head. Made from blue and yellow glass paste and decorated with a greenish-yellow spiralling line. Diam. 1.4 cm, W. 1.1 cm, diam. of perforation 0.5 cm (Pl. XXXII, 11).

i. Small heads. Nine flat heads, made from blue glass paste and strung into a necklace with bronze

Figures 111–113: reproduced from Hellebrandt, 1999, Celtic Finds From Northern Hungary, 68–69, 89. Description of Janus-faced beads, typology, attribution and locations of finds (below).



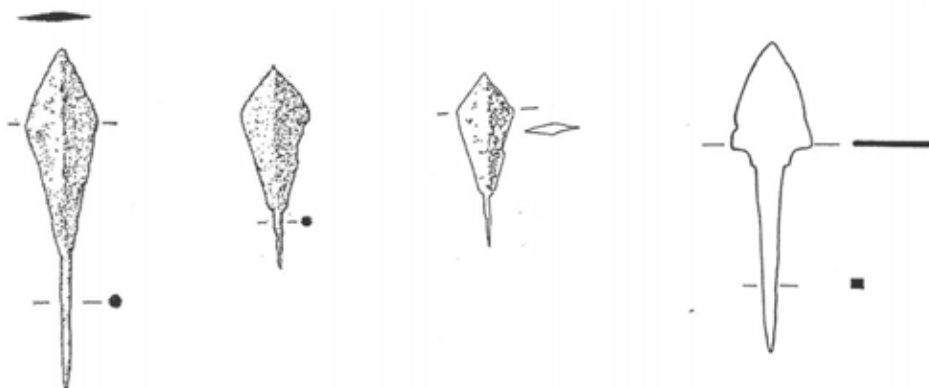
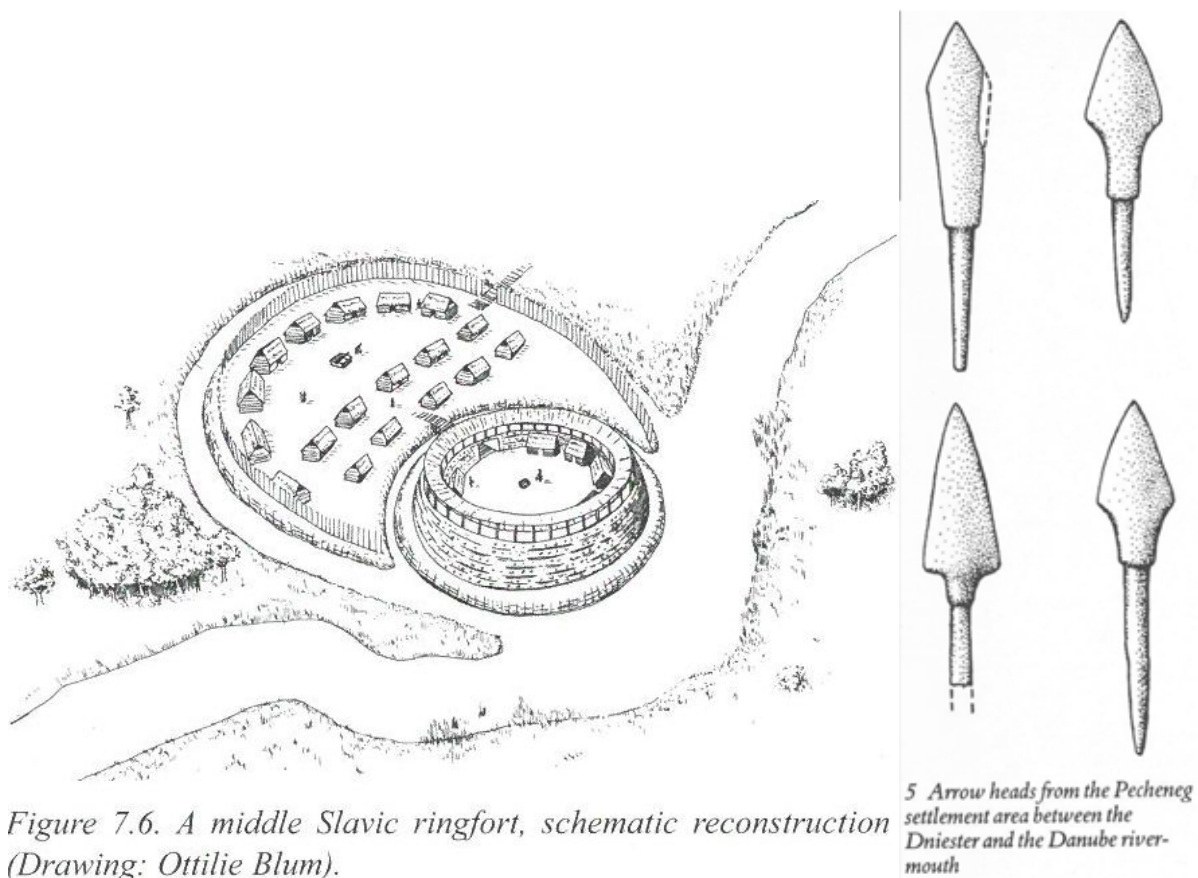


Figure 10.4. Hungarian arrowheads found in Switzerland (l-r): 1. Gross Chastel near Lostorf, Canton Solothurn; 2. Schiedberg near Sagogn, Canton Grisons; 3. unknown provenance; 4. Chur, Canton Grisons. Scale 1:2 (Sources: Matt 1981; Meyer 1977; Moser 1970; Zimmermann 2000).

Figures 114-116: reproduced from Biermann, 2016, "Northwestern Slavic Strongholds of the 8th-10th Centuries," 85-94; Horváth, 1989, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples of Medieval Hungary*, trans. T. Wilkinson; and Boschetti, 2016, "The Beginnings of Medieval Fortifications in the Late Carolingian Period from a Swiss Perspective," 121-135: above left, a reconstruction of an ethnically "Slavic" stronghold (or gorodišče), albeit found near the Baltic coast in modern Poland. To the right, ethnically "Pecheneg" arrowheads found in tri-national region of modern Romania, Ukraine and Moldova. Below, a reconstruction of ethnically "Hungarian" arrowheads found in modern Switzerland.



Figures 117-122: Some examples of so-called "Eastern find types," typically attributed, ethnically, to the ancient Magyars of the "Conquest period" and reproduced from Fodor, Wolf and Nepper (eds.), 1996b, *The Ancient Hungarians: Exhibition Catalogue*. In order from top left and center left: examples of palmette-ornamented leaf pendants and silver disc-braid ornaments with palmette motifs, dated to the first two thirds of the 10th c. and found in Tiszavasvári-Aranykerti field in modern Hungary (p. 199-200). Top right and center right: examples of silver disc-braid ornaments with palmette motifs (notice the swastika palmette design in the center-right braid ornament) found respectively in Tiszabő (p. 286, inv. no. 1/1939.1-2) and Biharkeresztes (p. 217-218), modern Hungary, and dated to the "Conquest period." Below left and right: examples of silver "sabretache plates" with palmette motifs found respectively in Szolonok-Strázsahalom (p. 282-283, inv. no. 58/1912.1) and Túrkeve-Ecsegpusztá (p. 295-296, inv. no. 65.22.1), modern Hungary, and dated to the "Conquest period."



Figures 123-126: Photographs of a replica of the so-called “Vienna Sabre,” reproduced from Fodor, Wolf and Nepper (eds.), 1996b, *The Ancient Hungarians: Exhibition Catalogue*, 67-71, around which many legends, theories and scholarly debates have swirled. While most scholars agree that it can be regarded as a primary example of the so-called “Hungarian sabres” which have themselves garnered their own share of debate regarding the consignment of ethnicity onto archaeological material such as weaponry, this sword itself has generated considerably more of such discussion. The authors allege that it can be dated to the early-10th c. and was forged “in one of the metal workshops of the Hungarian princes.” The ornamentation, they further argue, is attributable to “Hungarian craftsmen or [to] metalsmiths who had entered Hungarian service and who were familiar with the Kievan artistic vocabulary” (p. 71). Such remarks may be guided as much by modern ethno-nationalist considerations as by the content of the archaeological material itself.

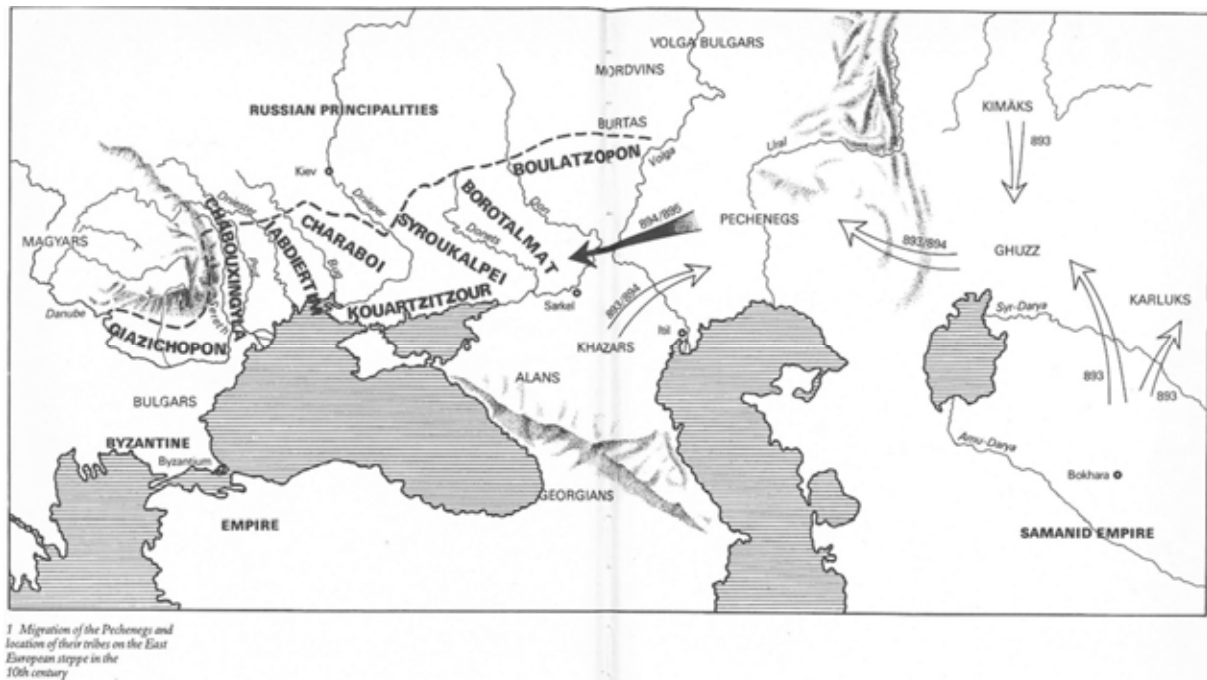
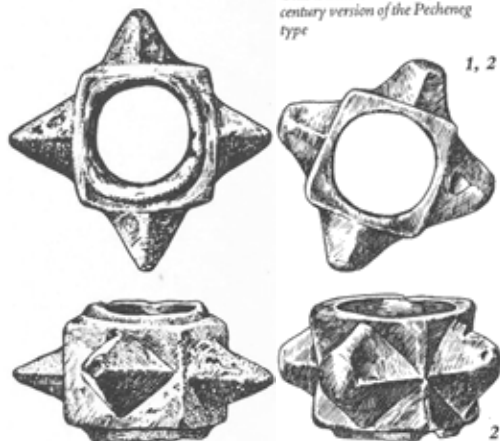


Figure 127: reproduced from Horváth, 1989, Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples of Medieval Hungary, trans. T. Wilkinson.

6 Iron mace with four spikes—a light cavalryman's weapon that became widespread in the Pecheneg era



19 Iron mace with four spikes from Szörényvár (Turmu Severin, Rumania) in the Magyar-Byzantine-Pecheneg frontierregion of the lower Danube. This is a more advanced, 12th-century version of the Pecheneg type

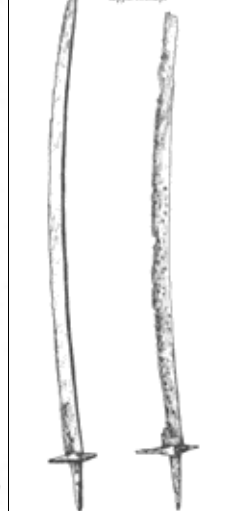
1, 2

7 Oriental-type sabre of the 11th–12th centuries

2

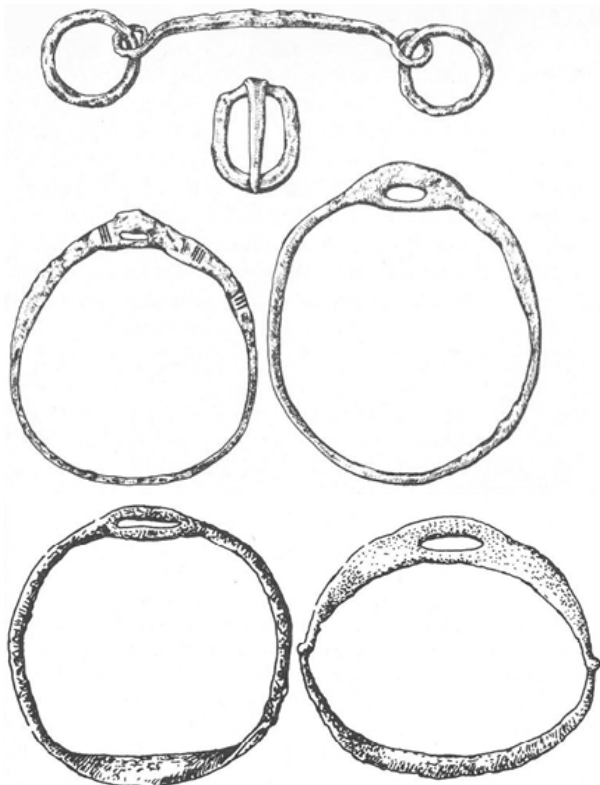


21 Sabre 1 from Tuzil. 22 Sabre 2 from Tuzil. The cross-guard and belt have traces of copper overlays



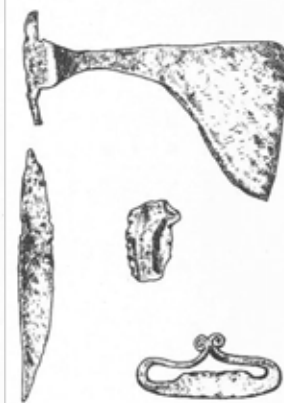
10 Pecheneg horse burial from the Crimean steppes. The skinned horse-hide, with the skull and fore-limb bones still attached, was placed on the left side of the man's body. A muffle was in the horse's mouth, the dead man had a flint and iron knife close to hand

11 Pecheneg horse-trappings: an unjoined snaffle, a pair of oval stirrups and girth buckle (from Vitanesti, Rumania)



20 Pecheneg stirrups (from sketch-book of Géza Nagy)

12 Axe, tinder set and iron knife from a Pecheneg horseman's equipment (Vitanesti, Rumania)



Figures 128-134: reproduced from Horváth, 1989, Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples of Medieval Hungary, trans. T. Wilkinson: ethnically "Pečeneg" weaponry, assemblages and funerary practices.



Fig. 1. Seal of a kommerkiarios (Oleksii Sheremetiev's collection, no. 878)

Figure 135: reproduced from Wassiliou-Seibt, 2015, "A Kommerkiarios Seal from the Last Year of Constans II's Reign (667/68) Found in the Upper Dniester Region," 37-41: a 7th-c. Byzantine Kommerkiarios' seal found in modern Ukraine.



Fig. 2. Seal of Nikephoros III Botaneiates found in southern Rus' (Sheremetiev's Museum, no. VP-225)

ΝΙΚΗ[ΦΟΡΟC]ΡΑCΙΑC ΕΥCΟΡΟΤΑΝ[
Νίκη[φόρος βασιλεὺς ὁ Βοτανιάτης].

Figure 136: reproduced from Androshchuk, 2015, "Byzantine Imperial Seals in Southern Rus'," 43-54: a seal of the emperor Nikēphoros III Votaneiatēs (1078-1081), found near the village of Šestovicja in Černigov oblast'.



Fig. 3. Seal of Alexios Komnenos found in southern Rus' (Sheremetiev's Museum, no. VP-930)

[+ΑΛΕΞΙ]ΩΔΕC[ΠΟΤΤΥΚΟΜΝΗΝΩ]
[+Ἀλεξί]ῳ δεC[πότ(η) τῷ Κομνηνῷ].

Figure 137: reproduced from Androshchuk, 2015, "Byzantine Imperial Seals in Southern Rus'," 43-54: a seal of the emperor Alexios I Komnēnos (1081-1118), also found in Černigov oblast'.



Fig. 5. Seal of Manuel I Komnenos found in southern Rus' (Sheremetiev's Museum, no. VP-719)

ΜΑΝΩΗΛ[ΔΕCΠΟΤΗΣ-ΟΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ]
Μανουήλ [δεσπότης ὁ πορφυρογέννητος].

Figure 138: reproduced from Androshchuk, 2015, "Byzantine Imperial Seals in Southern Rus'," 43-54: a seal of the emperor Manouēl I Komnēnos (1143-1180), also found in southern Rus'.

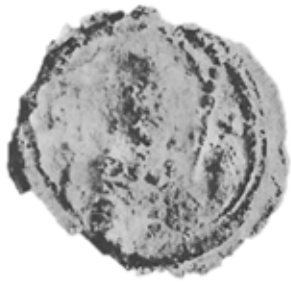


Figure 139: reproduced from Laurent, 1952, La Collection C. Orghidan, cat. no. 69, a seal of a prōtovestiarios, Iōannēs the Rōs (Ἰωάννης ὁ Ρῶς), with an image of the archangel Michael.



Fig. 1. Seal of Jaroslav the Wise (Novgorod, 1994)



Fig. 2. Seal of Jaroslav the Wise (Kyiv oblast, 2008)



Fig. 3. Silver coin of Prince Jaroslav



Fig. 4. Silver coin of Prince Jaroslav



Fig. 5. Copper or bronze copy of Jaroslav's coin



Figures 140-144: reproduced from Sotnikova, 2015, "A Seal of Jaroslav the Wise (Kyiv, 1019-1054)," 221-229: a comparison of the seals to the coins of Jaroslav the Wise (r. 1019-1054).



Fig. 1. Seal of Metropolitan Maximos (1286–1305) from the collection of Oleksii Sheremetiev
 +ΜΑΞΙΜΟ|ΣΕΛΕΥΘΥΜΡ|ΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣΑΠ|ΑΣΙΣΡΩΣΙΑΣ|ΚΑΙΝΠΕΡΤ|ΙΜΟΣ
 + Μάξιμος ἐλέω Θεοῦ μ(η)τροπολίτης ἀπάσης Ῥωσίας καὶ ὑπέρτιμος
 “+ Maximos, by the grace of God metropolitan of all Rus’ and hypertimos.”



Fig. 2. Seal of Metropolitan Peter (1305–1326)

Figures 145-146: reproduced from Eidel, 2015, “A Seal of Maximos, Metropolitan of Kyiv and All Rus’,” 231-234: two 13-14th-c. seals of Maximos, metropolitan of all Rus’ (above) and Peter (below).



Рис. 13.



Fig. 5. Seal of Vladimir Monomach (Evhen Eidel's collection)

Figures 147-148: reproduced from Kamenceva and Ustjugov, 1974, Русская сфрагистика и геральдика, 65: a seal of the 11th-c. Kievan prince, and grandson of Jaroslav the Wise, Vladimir Monomakh, entitled "archontos." Opposite, another seal of Vladimir Monomakh, stylized in a Byzantine imperial depiction, from Stepanenko, 2015, "Portraits' of Princes in the sigillography of Rus' from the Eleventh and the Twelfth Century," 245-260.



Рис. 16.



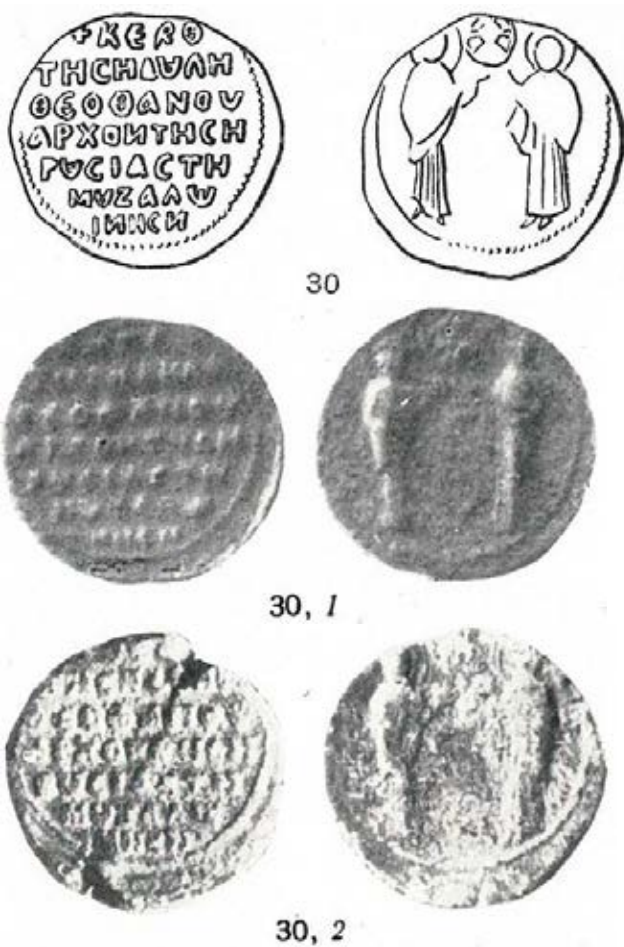
Рис. 17.

Figures 149-150: reproduced from Kamenceva and Ustjugov, 1974, Русская сфрагистика и геральдика, 71: two seals of 11th-c. Constantinopolitan-appointed Kievan metropolitans, Geōrgios and Nikēforos.



Рис. 18.

Figure 151: reproduced from Kamenceva and Ustjugov, 1974, Русская сфрагистика и геральдика, 72: an example of a “d’nislovo”-type seal.



Figures 152-154: reproduced from Janin, 1970, *Актовe печати древней Руси I*, cat. no. 30: analogous examples of seals of Theophanō Mouzalōnissa, bearing images of Christ, the Theotokos and St. Theophanō on the obverse, dated to the last third of the 11th century, due to her marriage to the Rus' prince Oleg Svjatoslavič in the late 1080s. Here, she is described as "archontissa of Rōsia."



48



48

Figures 155-156: reproduced from Janin, 1970, *Актовые печати древней Руси I*, cat. no. 48: the seal of a certain Michaël, chief pastor of Russia (ποιμενάρχης Ρωσίας), found in Dinogetia, modern-day Romania, and dated to the second quarter of the 13th c. by Janin, (although the seal has generated some debate as to its true owner).



52



52

Figures 157-158: reproduced from Janin, 1970, *Актовые печати древней Руси I*, cat. no. 52: the seal of a certain Nikēforos, chief pastor of Russia (ποιμενάρχης πάσης Ρωσίας), dated to the late 12th c.



ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΝ ΚΕΡΟΙΣ ΜΕΤΟΝΤΩ ΠΡΟΜΗΡΩ /
ΤΟΝ ΠΟΙΜΕΝΑΡ ΧΗΝΡΟΥΙ ΑΣΠΑΧΗΣ ΛΟΓΕ
+ Νικηφόρον σκέποις με τὸν τοῦ πρὸ Μύρου /
τὸν ποιμενάρχην Ρωσίας πάσης, Λόγε

"Logos (scil. Christ), protect me, Nikephoros, (nephew) of the elected metropolitan of Myra, himself metropolitan of All of Rosia."

Fig. 4. Seal of metropolitan Nikephoros in Oleksii Sheremetiev's collection (no. 12)

Figure 159: reproduced from Seibt, 2015, "Some Interesting Byzantine Seals with Surnames in the Collection of Oleksii Sheremetiev," 87-89: a seal of the metropolitan Nikēforos of all Rōsia.



Χ|ΟΑ|Ρ|Χ|Η|Ο|Χ|Ο|Ν|Α|Τ|
Ὁ ἀρχ(άγγελος) Μιχα(ελ) ὁ Χ(ω)νιάτ(ης).

Reverse: Inscription in seven lines:

---|+ΚΕΡΟΗΘ|ΤΟΥΔΗΛ|ΜΙΧΑΗΛΑΡ|ΧΟΝΤΙΣΔΟΝ|ΚΑΜΑΤΡΑΧ|
ΠΑΧΧΑΣΑ|-ΡΙΑΣ-
+ Κύ(ρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ) Μιχαήλ ἀρχοντι (καὶ) δούκα Ματράχ(ων)
[καὶ] πάσης Χαζαρίας
"+ Lord, help your servant Michael, archon and doux of Matracha
and all Khazaria."

Fig. 1. Seal of Prince Oleg Svjatoslavich (Oleksii Sheremetiev's collection, no. VP-480). Unpublished



Fig. 2. Seal of Prince Oleg Svjatoslavich (Oleksii Sheremetiev's collection, no. VP-847)

Figures 160-161: reproduced from Alf'orov, 2015, "A Seal of Michael, Archon and Doux of Matarcha and All Khazaria (in Oleksii Sheremetiev's Collection)," 97-106: two otherwise late-11th-c. "Rus'-categorized" seals explicitly referring to Khazaria.

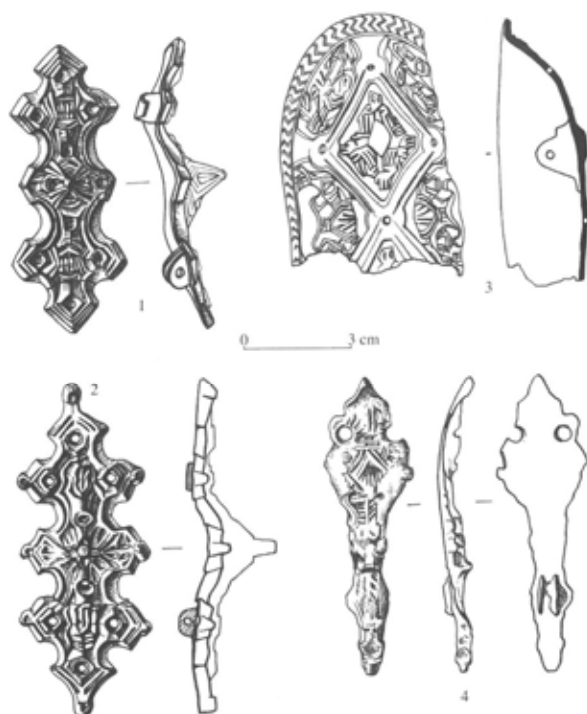


Fig. 6 : Rjurikovo Gorodišče. Fibules scandinaves.



Fig. 16 : Rjurikovo Gorodišče. Parures de tradition scandinave.



Fig. 17 : Rjurikovo Gorodišče. Fibules de types scandinaves.



Fig. 18 : Rjurikovo Gorodišče. Fibule à décor animalier (agrandissement).

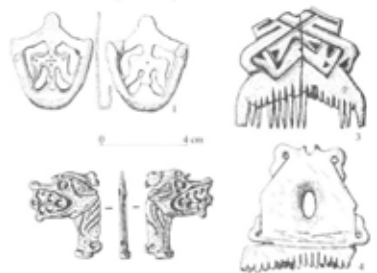


Fig. 19 : Rjurikovo Gorodišče. Objets provenant des niveaux du X^e s.



Fig. 20 : Rjurikovo Gorodišče. Objets de tradition scandinave.

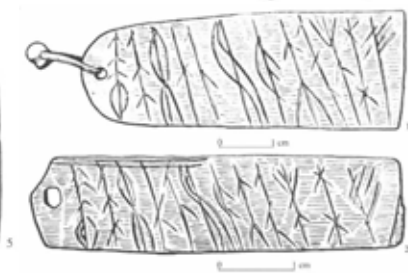
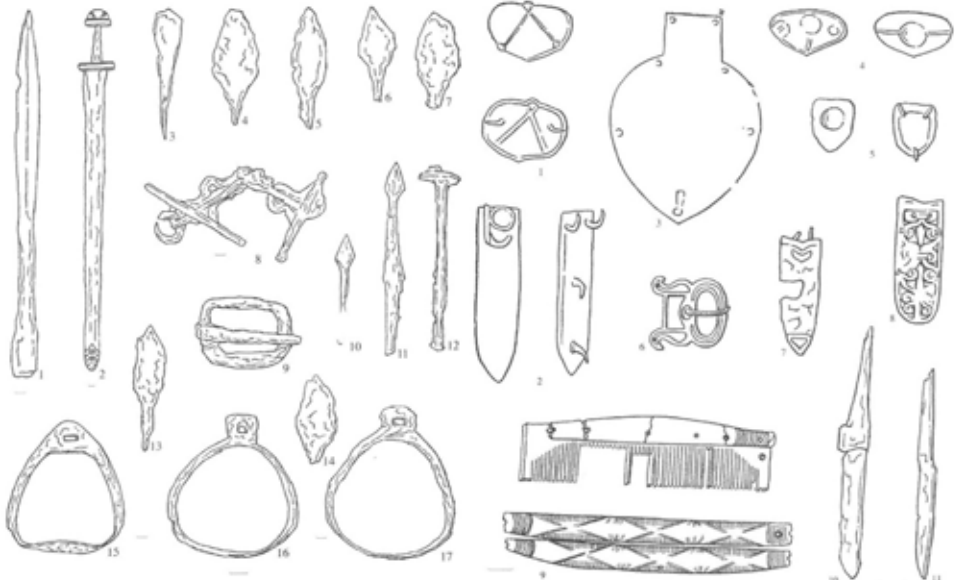


Fig. 21 : Rjurikovo Gorodišče. Pendentifs en bronze avec des inscriptions runiques.

Figures 162-168: reproduced from Nosov, 2000, "Rjurikovo Gorodišče et Novgorod," 143-172: ethnically "Scandinavian" bow-fibulae and other fineries excavated from the Rjurikovo gorodišče.



Fig. 1 : Les guerriers russes (reconstitution P.L. Kornienko).



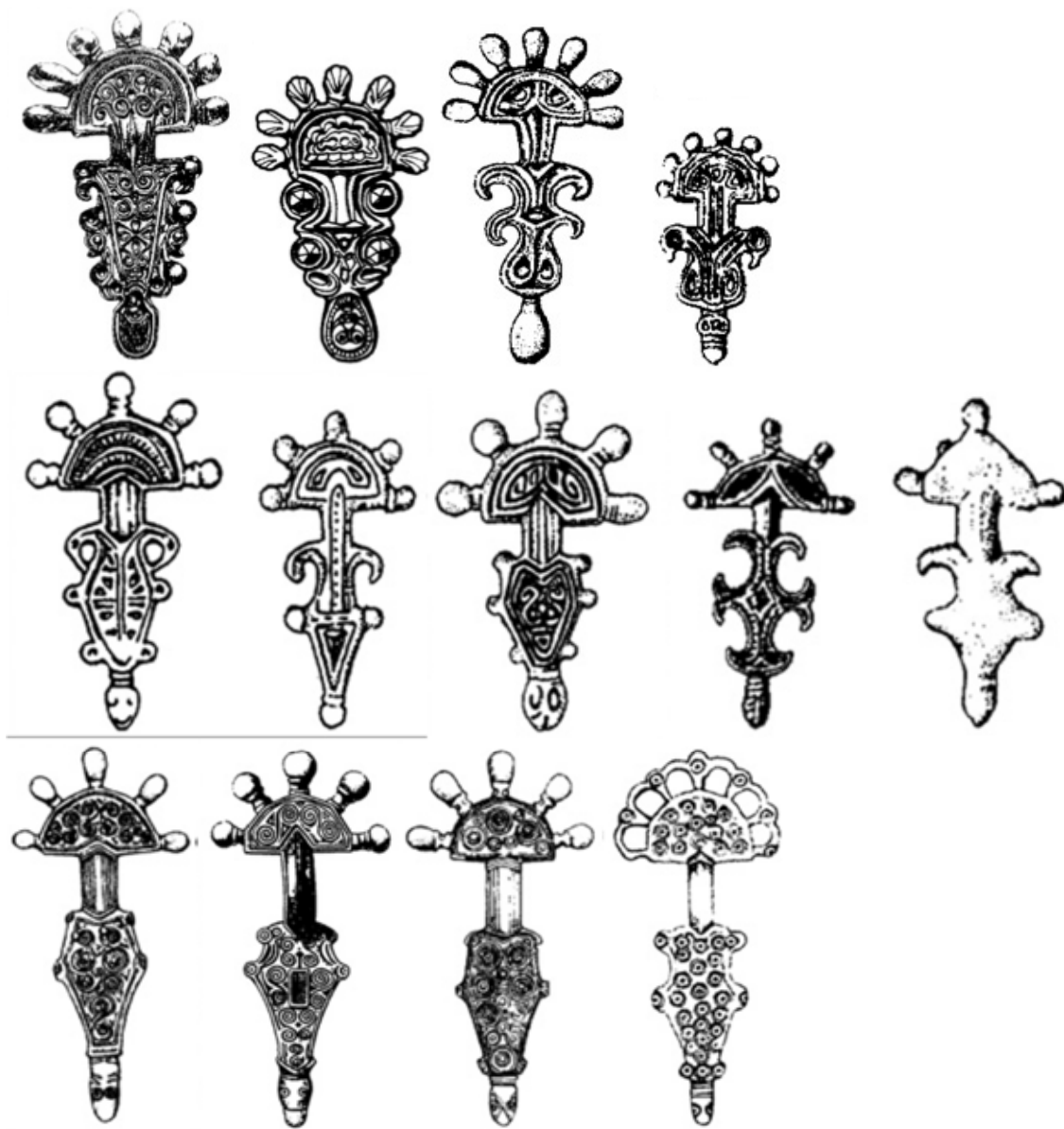
1: lance; 2: épée; 3-7,10,11,13: flèches; 8: mors; 9: boucle de harnachement; 12: clou; 15-17: étriers.

Fig. 6a : Le mobilier de la tombe 42 de Šestovica (d'après BURJAČO 1977).

1-2,4-9: garniture de ceinture, bronze; 3: plaque de harnachement, bronze (?); 9: peigne, os; 10,11: couteaux, fer.

Fig. 6b : Le mobilier de la tombe 42 de Šestovica (d'après BURJAČO 1977).

Figures 169-171: reproduced from Mocja, 2000, "Le rôle des élites guerrières dans la formation des centres urbains de la Rus' kiévienne," 267-282: Rus' warriors and ethnically "Scandinavian" accessories excavated from the Šestovica burial grounds.



Figures 172-181: reproduced from Curta, 2012, "'Slavic' Bow Fibulae: Twenty Years of Research," 1-108: Curta argues that it is over-simplistic to assume such fibulae to be ethnically attributable only to "Slavs." The types of fibulae depicted above correspond to classes first typologized by Joachim Werner in 1950 (in Curta's paraphrase) as "the index-fossil of the Slavic migration." These are categorized (top left to bottom right) as Werner's class I B, I C, I D, I F, I G, I H, II A, II B, II C and class II D. Curta remarks on their stylistically schematized typology (p. 5):

"I decided to abandon stylistic criteria altogether. Instead, I proposed to 'adopt the mode of thinking of the early medieval producers of brooches' and shift the emphasis from the class itself, which in any case is an archaeological construct, to the design elements of each individual brooch, 'the only firm ground that we have in order to draw comparisons between similar, but not identical fibulae'."



Figures 182-193: A comparison of Khazar coinage with the trident “twig-like” tamga symbol (𐰚) – (the bottom 4 Khazar dirhams from the Devica hoard in the Don Basin), and Rus’ coins with tridents (tryzuby) and bidents (the top 8 Rus’ coins). Reproduced from Býkov, 1974, “Из истории денежного обращения хазарии,” 36-37 (figs. 9-13); and Pritsak, 1998, *The Origins of the Old Rus’ Weights and Monetary Systems*, tables I-1-3. According to Kovalev’s reading of the Khazar coin (Kovalev, 2005a, “Creating Khazar Identity through Coins: the Special Issue Dirhams of 837/8,” 253):

“The obverse inscription (A) reads, ‘Muḥammadiyya, AH 150 (= AD 767/8)’; there is a tamgha (𐰚) at the bottom (chain 38) obv. 2. The reverse inscription (B) reads, ‘By the command of/al-Mahdī Muḥammad/son of the Commander of the Faithful’ (chain 38 rev. R1 R2).”

Conversely, Pritsak (p. 26-27) claims that the “twig-like sign” (𐰚) “can easily be recognized as the Old Norse rune R in the so-called Older Futhark alphabet – ʀ.” The problem is, as Kovalev points out, he cites no evidence that the Khazar khaḡans would have used Norse runes for any other reason. We know they were familiar with the Hebrew, Greek, Kufic and Turkic runic alphabets, but there is no reason to believe they would have adopted a dynastic tamga from Norse runes. According to Pritsak (p. 22-23), a total of 42 Khazarian dirhams with the “twig-like sign” (𐰚) are known from Sarkel and were found in a hoard in 1939 at Devica near the Don river (Voronež Oblast), which bear fictitious dates (between 759-779), but have been connected by Kovalev with the aforementioned Arḍ al-Khazar dirhams bearing the correct dates of 837-838.

Ultimately, Pritsak (p. 81) agrees that the trident and bident symbols were transplanted from symbols of Khazarian rule to the Rus’: “the explanation I propose is that the trident was of Khazarian origin and was taken over by the Rus’ branch of the dynasty, as their ‘pagan’ symbol of the charismatic ruler’s victory.”



Figures 194-196: reproduced from Cheynet, Gökyıldırım and Bulgurlu, 2012, *Les Sceaux Byzantins du Musée Archéologique d'Istanbul*, cat nos. 2.206 and 7.44: seals of Theodōros Gavras (left) and presumably, as they read it, a relative named Zacharias Gavras (center). Next, Laurent, 1981, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, vol. II: L'administration centrale, cat. no. 989: a seal of a certain Leōn Gavras (right), who he reads as an imperial "σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ πλοίαρχος."



Figures 197-199: reproduced from Bendall, 1977, "The Mint of Trebizond under Alexios I and the Gabrades," cat. nos. 13, 18-19: coins of emperor Alexios I Komnēnos, struck in Trebizond ostensibly by Theodōros Gavras, bearing a depiction and invocation of St. Theodōros on the obverse (notice the martial features of St. Theodore, with breastplate, spear and sagion – cat. no. 13) and those with a crucigram and legend reading, "AABP" for: ΑΛεξιω Βασιλει Ρωμαιων on the reverse (cat. nos. 18-19). Compare Theodōros Gavras' depiction of his namesake St. Theodōros in martial attire on his coin with his that of his seal (figs. 209-210 [16-17] below).



Fig. 7. DO seal 1(a)



Fig. 8. DO seal 1(b)



Fig. 9. DO seal 1(c)



Fig. 10. DO seal 2



Fig. 11. DO seal 3



Fig. 12. DO seal 4(a)



Fig. 13. DO seal 4(b)



Fig. 14. DO seal 5



Fig. 15. DO seal 6



Fig. 16. DO seal 7





Fig. 17. Barber Institute seal 0161B

Figures 200-210: reproduced from Bryer, Dunn and Nesbitt, 2003, "Theodore Gabras, Duke of Chaldia (†1098) and the Gabrades: Portraits, Sites and Seals," in Βυζάντιο Κράτος καὶ Κοινωνία: Μνημὴ Νίκου Οικονομίδη, eds. Avramea, Laiou and Chrysos, 69-70 (figs. 7-17): seals of various members of the 11-12th-c. Gavras family, as read and dated by Nesbitt (7-16) and Dunn (17). Note: figure 14 (DO seal 5) is the same seal of Leōn Gavras as read by Laurent, 1981, cat. no. 989, although Nesbitt replaces the "[π]λοίαρχος" with "χ[ι]λοίαρχος" and figure 16 (DO seal 7) is the same as read by Cheynet, et al., 2012, cat. no. 2.206. In order:

- 200 / [7]: DO 55.1.3028, (12th c.) Κ(ύριε) β(οή)θ(ει) Κων(σταντίνω) (πρωτο)νοβελισίμο το Γαβρᾶ.
 201 / [8]: DO 58.106.2496, (12th c.) Κ(ύριε) β(οή)θ(ει) Κων(σταντίνω) (πρωτο)νοβελισίμο το Γαβρᾶ.
 202 / [9]: Fogg 1033, (12th c.) Κ(ύριε) β(οή)θ(ει) Κων(σταντίνω) (πρωτο)νοβελισίμο το Γαβρᾶ.
 203 / [10]: Fogg 2055, (11th c.) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ [Γ]α[β]ρᾶς.
 204 / [11]: DO 47.2.1155, (12-13th c.) Ἰωάννης ὁ Γαβρᾶς.
 205 / [12]: DO 58.106.5687, (12th c.) Λέοντα Γαβρᾶν δυὰς ἀγίων σκέποις.
 206 / [13]: Fogg 481, (12th c.) Λέοντα Γαβρᾶν δυὰς ἀγίων σκέποις.
 207 / [14]: DO 58.106.2158, (12th c.) Λέων σπαθαροκανδ(ι)δ(ᾶτος) (καὶ) χ[ι]λοίαρχος ὁ Γαβρ(ᾶς).
 208 / [15]: DO 47.2.1156, (11-12th c.) Νικηφόρου σφράγισμα Γαβρᾶ τυγχάνω.
 209 / [16]: DO 58.106.4974, (11th c.) [Κ(ύριε) βοήθ]ει τῷ σῷ [δ]ούλο Θεο[δ]ώ(ρω) δουκὶ τῷ [Γ]αβρᾶ.
 210 / [17]: Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham 0161B (Seals), (11th c.)
 Σὸν [ὁ]μόνυμον σεβαστ(ὸν) τρ(ισ)μάκαρ ~~ἐ~~(ὄν) δ(ού)κ(α) Γαβρᾶν [᾿Α(γιε)] [φ]ί[λ]ατ(ε)/ [φ]ί[λ]άτ(οις) (?). A bust of St. Theodōros the Stratēlatēs appears on the obverse, marked by the inscription: Ὁ στρατηλά(της).

...|+TZVL|AR·CΠAΘ|APHYXP|ECWNO|...

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θει τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) Τζύλα β(ασιλικῷ) σπαθαρήῳ Χρεσῶνο(ς).



1) +TZO.|ΛAR·CΠ.|ΘCPI...|PC...|..

2) +TZOV|.AR·CΠA|.CΠ·ΩXΕ|.CQN|..

3) +TZO.|...CΠ|....X.|....|..

+ Ἅγιε Νικόλαε βοήθ(ει) Τζούλα β(ασιλικῷ) σπαθ(α)ρίῳ Χερσόνος.



1)

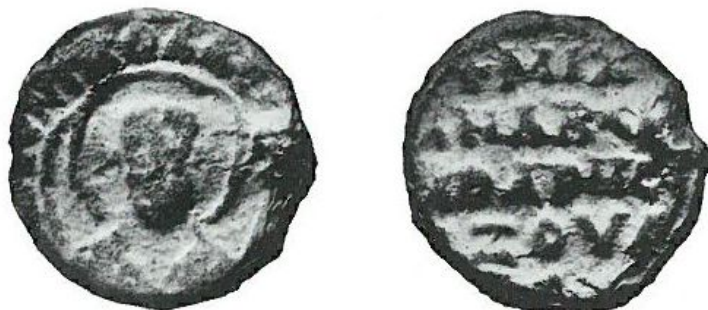
2)



3)

+MIX|AHΛP·A·C|AΘAPHO...|ZONΛ...|C...

+ [Ἅγιε] Νικόλα[ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ] Μιχαήλ β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σ[π]αθαρηῷ [τῷ] Τζούλ[α Χ]ε[ρσ(ῶνος) (?)].



Figures 211-215: reproduced from Alekseenko, 2012a, L'administration byzantine de cherson: catalogue des sceaux, cat. nos. 151-153, (231-233): the Tzoulas family, of Chersōn and elsewhere in the 10-11th-c. Crimea. Above, seals of a Tzoulas family member described as an "imperial spatharios of Chersōn" another unnamed Tzoulas family member also described as an "imperial spatharios of Chersōn" and a certain Michaēl Tzoulas, described as an "imperial prōtopatharios of Chersōn."

1) Θ|ΕΥ-|C|Τ|..|.

2) Θ|ΕΥ-...

Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Εὐστράτ(ιος).

Au revers, légende sur six lignes, précédée d'une croisette :

1) +ΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘΤΥCΥ|..ΛΦΥΤΙ|..CΠΑΘ|..ΤΖΥ|Λ·

2)|....Φ·|..ΛΦΥΤ·|..CΠΑΘ·|..ΥΤΖΥ|Λ·

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δοῦλ(ῳ) Φοτίῳ (ου Φοτ(ε)ίνῳ) (πρ(ο)το)σπαθ(α)ρίῳ τῷ Τζούλ(α).



1)



2)

Au revers, dans un cercle de grènetis, légende sur cinq lignes, précédée d'une croisette :

+ΚΕΡ·Θ·|ΤΥCΩΔΗ·|ΙΩΡ·ΝΟ|ΤΑΡΙΩ|ΤΟΤΖΥ.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δοῦλ(ῳ) Ἰω(άννη) β(ασιλικῷ) νοταρίῳ τῷ Τζούλ(α).



Figures 216-218: reproduced from Alekseenko, 2012a, L'administration byzantine de cherson: catalogue des sceaux, cat. nos. 154-155, (233-234): the 10-11th-c. seals of other members of the Tzoulas clan, Fōtios/Fōteinos, a "prōtospatharios" and Iōannēs, an "imperial notarios."

Au droit, dans un cercle de grènetis, légende sur quatre lignes :

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) ... ΕΡ... ΕΙΤΩ... ΔΟΝΛ | 2) +ΚΥΡ ...ΟΗΘ ...ΩCΩ ...Ω |
| 3) ..VP ...ΟΗΘ ...ΩCΩ ...ΛΩ | 4) +ΚΥΡ ΙΕΡΟΗΘ ΕΙΤΩCΩ ..ΥΛΩ |
| 5) ..Ρ ...ΟΗΘ ...CΩ ..VΛΩ | 6) .V ...ΟΗ... ...ΩCΩ ..VΛ. |

Au revers, légende sur quatre lignes, précédée d'une croisettes :

- 1)|ΓΙΩΡΑC...|ΘCΤΡΑΤΤ|ΩΖΟΝΛ
- 2) +ΓΕΟ...|ΓΙΩΡ...|ΘC...|Ω....
- 3) +ΓΕΟ...|ΓΙΩΡΑ...|ΘCΤΡ...|ΩΖ...
- 4) +ΓΕΟΡ|ΓΙΩΡ...Π...|CΤ...Τ|ΩΖ...Λ
- 5) +Γ...|ΓΙΩΡ...|ΘC...Τ...|ΩΖ...
- 6) ..Ε...|ΙΩΡ...Α...|...CΤΡΑ...|ΩΖΟΝ..

+ Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γεοργίῳ β(ασιλικῷ) (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) στρατ(ηγῷ) τῷ Τζούλ(α).



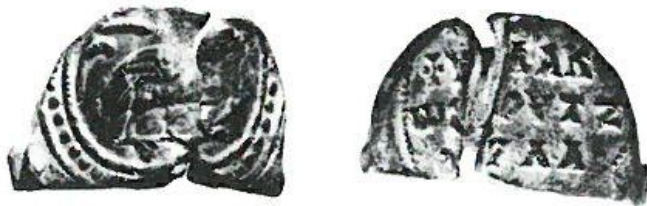
+ΙΓΝ|ΑΤΗΩΤ|ΟΝΤΖΟ|VΛΛ

+ Ἰγνατίῳ τοῦ Τζούλα.



Figures 219-225: reproduced from Alekseenko, 2012a, L'administration byzantine de cherson: catalogue des sceaux, cat. nos. 156-157, (234-236): the 10-11th-c. seals of other members of the Tzoulas clan, featuring a number of different seals of a certain Georgios Tzoulas described as an "imperial prōtopatharios and stratēgos" and another member of the family, Ignatios Tzoulas.

+...|ΦΝΛΑΚ.|Ω.ΟΝΤΖ|ΟΝΛΑ
 + [Θεο]φυλάκ[τ]ω [τ]οῦ Τζούλα.



+ΓΕΩ.|ΓΑΣΠΑ|.ΩΤΖΝ.Α|.ΟΠΟΖ|ΦΟΡ
 + Γεω[ρ]γ(ίος) (πρωτο)σπα[θ(αρίος)] ὁ Τζ(ο)ύ[λ]α τοῦ Ποσφόρ(ου).



1) +ΚΕΡ.|ΤΩCΩΔ.|ΜΟCΗΚΟ|ΤΖΩΛΑ
 2) +ΚΕΡ.|ΤΩCΩ.|ΜΟCΗΚ.|ΤΖΩΛΑ
 + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ούλῳ) Μοσηκῷ (τῷ) Τζούλ(α).



Figures 226-229: reproduced from Alekseenko, 2012a, L'administration byzantine de cherson: catalogue des sceaux, cat. nos. 158-160, (237-238): the 10-11th-c. seals of other members of the Tzoulas clan, featuring a Theofylaktos Tzoulas, a Geōrgios Tzoulas, "imperial prōtospatharios of Posforos" (modern Kerč), and Mosēkos (Moses) Tzoulas, with what appears to be a griffin.



Fig. 1. Seal of Zoilos, hypatos and archon of Cherson – Sergios, imperial strator of Cherson (lu. Tsepkov's private collection, Sevastopol)

+CΕΡΓ..|ΒΑCΙΑ|].CΤΡΑ..|..ΟΧΕ|.....
 + Σεργ[ίω] βασιλ[ικῷ] στρά[τωρ](ι) Χε[ρσόνος].

Figure 230: reproduced from Alekseienco, 2015, "The Particulars of the Byzantine Administration in Taurica: Seals of the Stratores of Cherson," 55-60: an 8-9th-c. seal of an imperial strator of Chersōn, named Zoilos, and simultaneously (or by substitution), a countermarked seal of a certain Sergios, imperial spatharios and hypatos of Chersōn.



Fig. 5 : The Early Medieval trade in North-Eastern Europe and westernmost Siberia.

Figure 231: (left) reproduced from Callmer, 2000, "From West to East. The Penetration of Scandinavians into Eastern Europe ca. 500-900," 45-94: coin finds (Byzantine, Chinese and Islamic) in 8-10th-c. Eurasia in hoards and single finds.

Tab. II : The percentage of dirhams hoards deposited in various regions of European Russia, ca. 900-ca. 1025

Northwest Russia	19.3%
Upper Dniepr/Upper Dvina	18.2%
Upper Volga	6.8%
Oka Basin	13.1%
Trans-Volga/Kama Basin	7.4%
Volga Bulgar Lands	11.4%
Left-Bank Middle Dniepr	10.8%
Right-Bank Ukraine	8.0%
Khazaria	4.5%
Region Unknown	0.6%
Total	100.1%

Tab. III : The difference between hoard frequency and hoard volume in various regions of European Russia, ca. 900-ca. 1025

Northwest Russia	+2.8%
Upper Dniepr/Upper Dvina	-2.8%
Upper Volga	+3.9%
Oka Basin	-9.4%
Trans-Volga/Kama Basin	+5.7%
Volga Bulgar Lands	+6.7%
Left-Bank Middle Dniepr	-5.0%
Right-Bank Ukraine	-3.2%
Khazaria	+1.0%
Region Unknown	+0.4%

Tab. I : The number of dirhams in hoards and total number of hoards from different parts of European Russia, ca. 900-ca. 1025

	900-924	925-949	950-974	975-999	X Cent.	1000-1025	XI Cent.	TOTAL
Northwest Russia	123/1	34/2	1,688/7	5,439/6	305/4	6,130/12	26/2	13,745/34 (16.5%)
Upper Dniepr / West Dvina	602/2	10,189/6	4,317/7	472/4	1221/9	771/4		17,572/32 (21.0%)
Upper Volga	1,800/1			83/4	520/6		25/1	2,428/12 (2.9%)
Oka Basin	100/1	15,100/2	8/1	2,279/9	905/9	399/1		18,791/23 (22.5%)
Trans-Volga / Kama Basin	507/2	6/1		42/4	859/6			1,414/13 (1.7%)
Volga Bulgar Lands	531/2	390/2	70/1	1,697/10	600/4	614/1		3,902/20 (4.7%)
Left-Bank Middle Dniepr	4,233/2	232/3	2,132/4	1,008/6	260/3	5,325/1		13,190/19 (15.8%)
Right-Bank Ukraine	6,143/5	2,492/6	500/1		250/2			9,385/14 (11.2%)
Khazaria	34/2	2,606/2	55/2	115/1	100/1			2,910/8 (3.5%)
Region Unknown	153/1							153/1 (0.2%)
TOTAL	14,226/19 (17.0%)	31,049/24 (37.2%)	8,770/23 (10.5%)	11,135/44 (13.3%)	5,020/44 (6.0%)	13,239/19 (15.9%)	51/3 (0.1%)	83,490/176 (100%)

Figures 232-233: reproduced from Noonan, 2000a, "The Impact of Islamic Trade Upon Urbanization in the Rus' Lands: The Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries," 379-394: 2 tables (above) documenting the frequency and volume of Islamic coin finds (dirhams) in hoards and single finds of Pontic-Caspian Eurasia.



Fig. 14. Single finds of early Byzantine coins of the 6th-11th centuries: No. 1 – hemifollis of Anastasius (Novosël'skoë, Rëni district, Odessa region); No. 2 – hemifollis of Justin I (area of Izmail); No. 3 – solidus of Heraclius (Rovnoë, Novoukrainka district, Kirovograd region); No. 4 – triens of Heraclius (Tudora, Ștefan Vodă district, Republic of Moldova); No. 5 – solidus of

[246]



Constantine V (Vypasnoë, Bëlgorod-Dnëstrovskij district, Odessa region); No. 6 – solidus of Michael III (Găvânoasa, Vulcănești district, Republic of Moldova); No. 7 – solidus Romanus I and Christophorus (area of Khërson); No. 8 – gold tetarteron of Constantine IX Monomachus (Majory, Beljaëvka district, Odessa region).

[247]



Fig. 15. Single finds of early Byzantine coins of the 10th-13th centuries: No. 1 – anonymous follis of Class B (the town of Rëni); No. 2-4 – anonymous folles of Class C (Orlovka); No. 5 – anonymous follis of Class E (Orlovka); No. 6 – copper coin of Alexis III (Rëni).

[248]

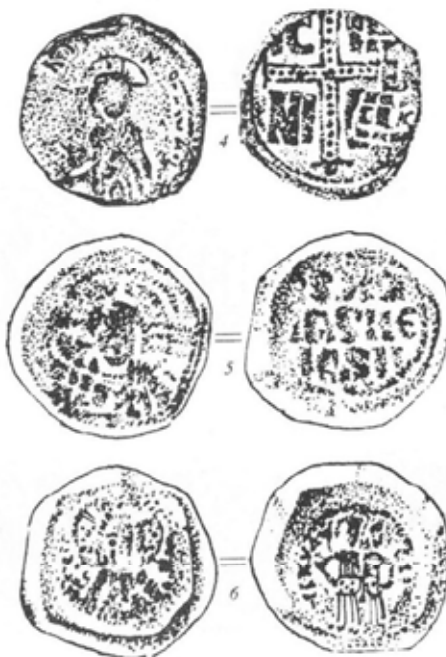




Fig. 17. Electron Byzantine coins of the 12th century from a nomadic burial near the village of Suvorovo, Izmail district, Odessa region: Nos. 1-3 – coins of Manuil I Comnenus.

[252]

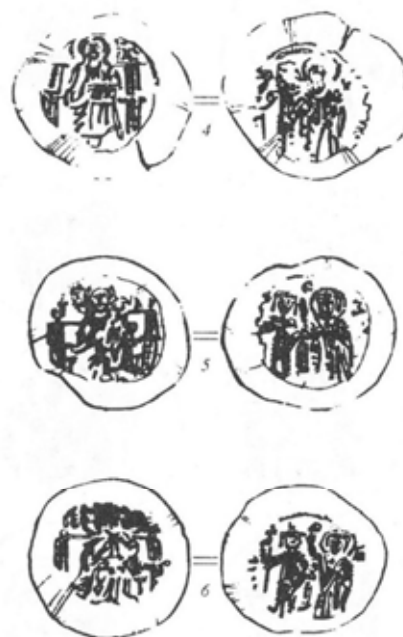


Fig. 18. Electron Byzantine coins of the 12th century from a nomadic burial near the village of Suvorovo, Izmail district, Odessa region: Nos. 4-6 – coins of Manuil I Comnenus.

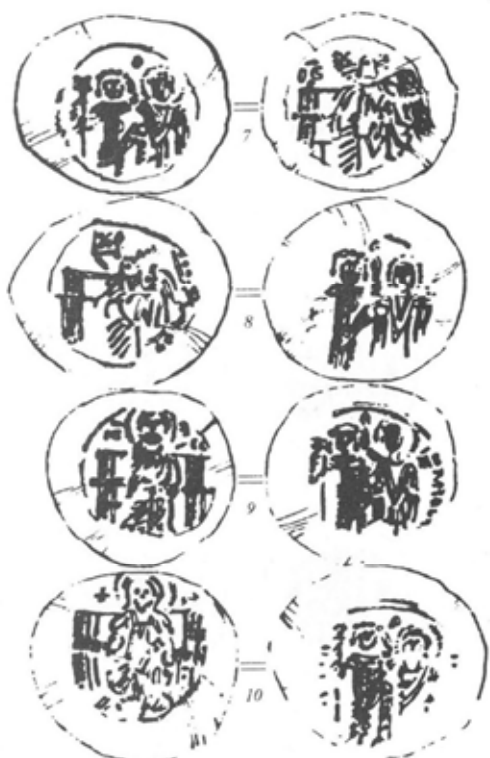


Fig. 19. Electron Byzantine coins of the 12th century from a nomadic burial near the village of Suvorovo, Izmail district, Odessa region: Nos. 7-10 – coins of Manuil I Comnenus.

[254]

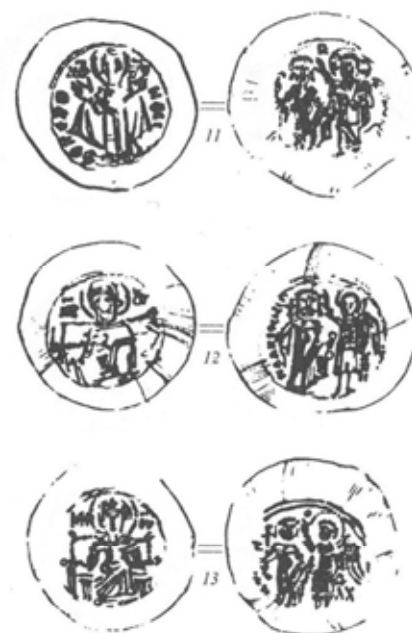


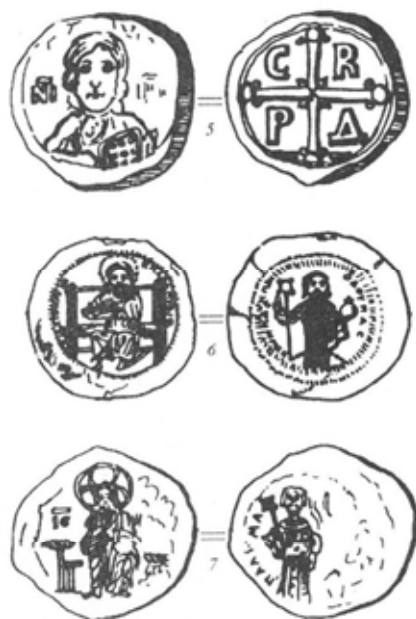
Fig. 20. Electron Byzantine coins of the 12th century from a nomadic burial near the village of Suvorovo, Izmail district, Odessa region: No. 11 – coin of Andronicus Comnenus; Nos. 12-13 – coins of Isaac Angelus.

[255]



Fig. 27. Byzantine coins from Zmčinyj Island (according to drawings by N. Murzakčevič): No. 1 – pentanummium of Justin I; No. 2 – follis of Justinian I; No. 3 – overstruck follis of Heraclius; No. 4 – miliareasion of Johannes

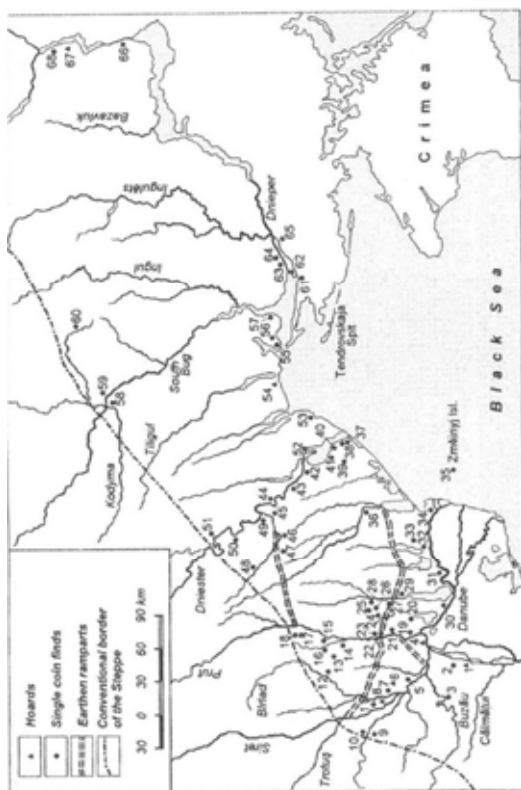
[256]



Tzimistzes; No. 5 – follis of Romanus IV Diogenes; No. 6 – gold stamenon of Constantine X Duca; No. 7 – electron aspron of Manuil Comnenus.

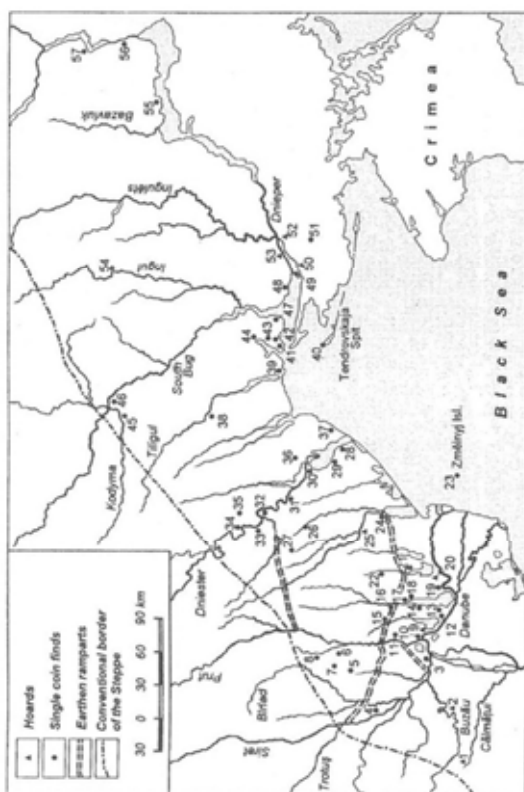
[257]

Figures 234-243: reproduced from Stoljarik, 1992, Essays on Monetary Circulation in the North-Western Black Sea Region in the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods: Late 3rd Century-Early 13th Century AD, trans. V. Petljučenko, 246-257: catalog of Byzantine coins found as single-finds or in hoards in the northern Black Sea littoral, 6-12th c.



Map 2. Distribution of hoards and single finds of early Byzantine coins in the Steppe Black Sea region (6th-9th centuries):

1 – Gropeni; 2 – Tichilești; 3 – Șutești; 4 – Galați; 5 – Vameși; 6 – Cudalbi; 7 – Salcia; 8 – Movileni; 9 – Putna; 10 – Panciu; 11 – Area of Tecuci; 12 – Birlălești; 13 – Sărățeni; 14 – Area of Sărățeni; 15 – Cîrja; 16 – Horga; 17 – Berezeni; 18 – Grumezoaia; 19 – Slobozia Mare; 20 – Cișmichioi; 21 – Colibași; 22 – Vadul lui Isac; 23 – Manta; 24 – Găvănoasa; 25 – Budăi; 26 – Trubaevka; 27 – Cîmpeni; 28 – Burlăcești; 29 – Area of Bolgrad; 30 – Novosel'skoë; 31 – Area of Izmail; 32 – Vasil'evka; 33 – Shevchenkovo; 34 – Vil'kovo; 35 – Zmînjy Island; 36 – Pavlovka; 37 – Zaitoka; 38 – Shabo; 39 – Marazli'evka; 40 – Bîlgod-Dnêstrovskij, fortress; 41 – Vypasnoë; 42 – Tudora; 43 – Olănești; 44 – Corotna; 45 – Leont'ëvo; 46 – Zaim; 47 – Sălcița; 48 – Tîpala; 49 – Hagimus; 50 – Șerpeni; 51 – Delacu; 52 – Majaki; 53 – Chîrnomorka; 54 – Staryë Bîljari; 55 – Ochakov; 56 – Area of Ochakov; 57 – Parutino; 58 – Area of Ol'viopol' (Pervomajsk); 59 – Migija; 60 – Rovnoë; 61 – Vinogradnoë; 62 – Kêlêgêjskië Khutora; 63 – Khêrson; 64 – Khêrson or its area; 65 – Alêshkinskië Khutora; 66 – Kichkas; 67 – Majstrov; 68 – Volosskoë.



[261]

Map 3. Distribution of hoards and single finds of Byzantine coins in the Steppe Black Sea region (10th-12th centuries):

1 – Buzău; 2 – Dedulești; 3 – Șendreni; 4 – Tecuci; 5 – Sărățeni; 6 – Murgeni; 7 – Horga; 8 – Șuletea; 9 – Rêni; 10 – Area of Rêni; 11 – Colibași; 12 – Orlovka; 13 – Novosel'skoë; 14 – Vladiceni; 15 – Găvănoasa; 16 – Musait; 17 – Bolgrad; 18 – Area of Bolgrad; 19 – Area of Izmail; 20 – Izmail; 21 – Suvorovo; 22 – Vinogradnoë; 23 – Zmînjy Island; 24 – Tatarbunary; 25 – Artsiz district, Odessa region; 26 – Faraonovka; 27 – Tarutino district, Odessa region, or Clăușeni district, Republic of Moldova; 28 – Bîlgod-Dnêstrovskij; 29 – Mologa; 30 – Palanca; 31 – Purcari; 32 – Mărânești; 33 – Tighina; 34 – Teia; 35 – Vêlikoploskoë; 36 – Majory; 37 – Sanzhejka; 38 – Dêmidovo; 39 – Rybakovka; 40 – Tendrovskaja Spit; 41 – Ochakov; 42 – Area of Ochakov; 43 – Izhitskoë; 44 – Limannoë; 45 – Krymka; 46 – Area of Ol'viopol' (Pervomajsk); 47 – Parutino; 48 – Stanislav; 49 – Staraja Zbur'evka; 50 – Konka; 51 – Mal'yë Kopani; 52 – Tsjurupinsk; 53 – Area of Khêrson; 54 – Ustinovka; 55 – Area of Nikopol'; 56 – Dnieper rapids, Zaporozh'ë region; 57 – Majstrov.

[263]

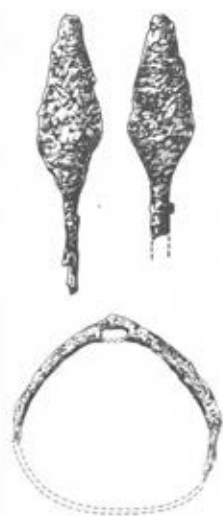
Figures 244-245: reproduced from Stoljarik, 1992, Essays on Monetary Circulation in the North-Western Black Sea Region in the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods: Late 3rd Century-Early 13th Century AD, trans. V. Petljučenko, 260-263: maps of dated Byzantine coin-finds in the northern Black Sea littoral.

23 Eastern Europe in the early 13th century:
 1) Eastern and southern frontiers of the Russian Principalities in 1055.
 2) Location of the Chernye Klobuki 'Black Cap' federation.
 3) The central settlement area of the Cumans and main site of distribution for their stone ancestor figures.

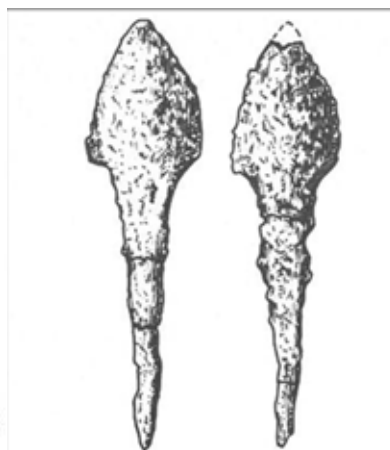


24 Statue of a Cuman noblewoman

25 Statue of a Cuman nobleman
 The drawing shows a leather cuirass worn over a tunic and buckled at the shoulders; the metal breast-plate gave additional protection



30 Arrow-heads and stirrup from a Cuman grave in the Don region (Ostrogzhsk)



33 Russian-style helmet and leaf-shaped arrow-tips from a Cuman grave in Moldavia



31 Fleeing group of Cumans.
 The womenfolk are being carried in a wagon covered with a felt canopy or tent



34 Miniature from the Chronicon Pictum [Illuminated Chronicle] showing a "Tartar" warrior in Cumanian attire

Figures 246-252: reproduced from Horváth, 1989, Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples of Medieval Hungary, trans. T. Wilkinson: ethnic "Cuman" statues, arrowheads and stirrups, as well as contemporaneous depictions of Cumans.

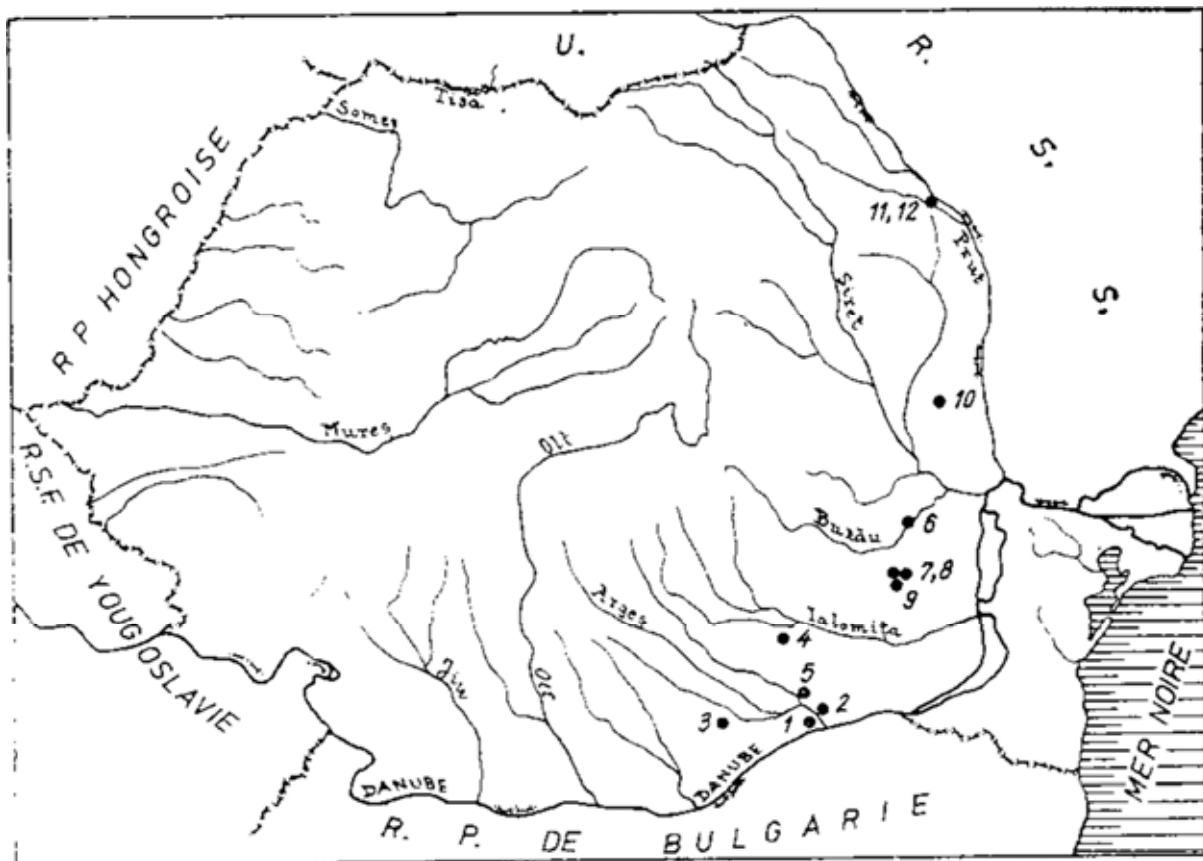


Fig. 1. Tombes de la région du Bas-Danube attribuées aux Coumans.

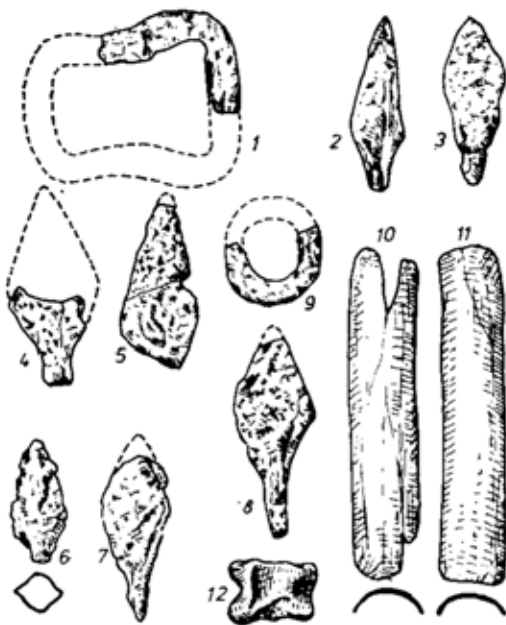


Fig. 2. Pièces de la tombe de Movilita.

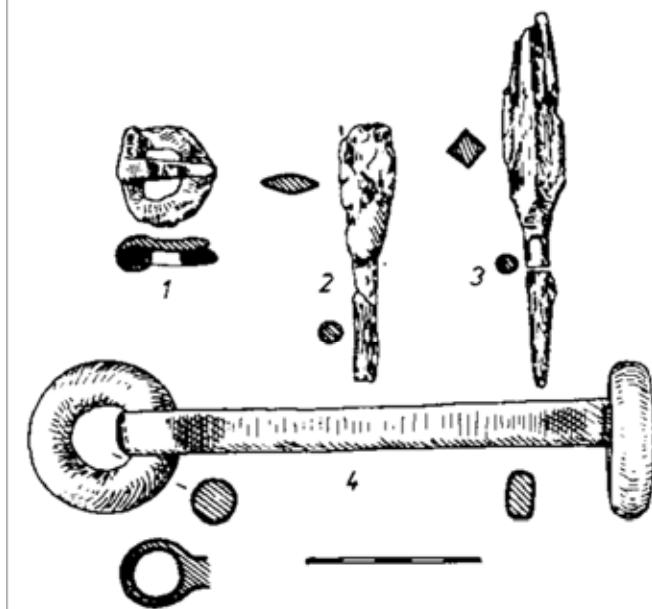


Fig. 3. Une partie du mobilier de la tombe de Curcani (d'après SCIV 3/1971).

Figures 253-255: reproduced from Diaconu, 1978, Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XIe et XIIe siècles, 14-21: burials of ethnic "Cumans" based on funerary assemblages, archaeological-typological attributions, and weaponry, differentiated from the ethnically "autochthonous Romanian-Dacian" population.