

Cultural Encounters on Byzantium's Northern Frontier,
c. AD 500–700

In the sixth century Byzantine emperors secured the provinces of the Balkans by engineering a frontier system of unprecedented complexity. Drawing on literary, archaeological, anthropological, and numismatic sources Andrei Gandila argues that cultural attraction was a crucial component of the political frontier of exclusion in the northern Balkans. If left unattended, the entire edifice could easily collapse under its own weight. Through a detailed analysis of the archaeological evidence the author demonstrates that communities living beyond the frontier competed for access to Byzantine goods and reshaped their identity as a result of continual negotiation, reinvention, and hybridization. In the hands of “barbarians” Byzantine objects, such as coins, jewelry, and terracotta lamps, possessed more than functional or economic value, bringing social prestige, conveying religious symbolism embedded in the iconography, and offering a general sense of sharing in the Early Byzantine provincial lifestyle.

ANDREI GANDILA is Assistant Professor of History and Director of Ancient and Medieval Studies at the University of Alabama in Huntsville. His numerous publications include articles in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, *Revue Numismatique*, *American Journal of Numismatics*, and *Archaeologia Bulgarica*.

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Coins, Artifacts and History

ANDREI GANDILA

University of Alabama, Huntsville



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*To my mother, Virginia
and my wife, Crina*

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An essay on frontiers could hardly pass over one's own limitations. While researching this book I have incurred many debts, which I am happy to acknowledge. This project would not have been completed successfully without help, advice, and cooperation from a large number of people. I am particularly grateful to my mentor, Florin Curta, for his constant guidance and intellectual rigor. I would like to thank the readers of my dissertation out of which this book developed, Bonnie Effros, David Geggus, Susan Gillespie, and Andrea Sterk, for their advice and encouragement. The research for this study, conducted in Europe and the United States, was made possible with generous support from a number of institutions including the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, the Medieval Academy of America, the American Numismatic Society, the International Association of Byzantine Studies, the International Numismatic Commission, the Center for the Humanities and the Public Sphere, University of Florida, and the Humanities Center of the University of Alabama in Huntsville.

A book is a journey not a destination, if I may adapt a famous quote about life often attributed to Ralph Waldo Emerson. Indeed, this book is the outcome of a long and exciting intellectual adventure started almost a decade ago. My dissertation defended in 2013 marked the first phase of this project which then meandered through several more years of extensive revision. I wrote the first chapter at Dumbarton Oaks during a short-term predoctoral residency in 2011, building on two early papers presented at the Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo. The text took its final shape in the summer of 2015 in the Art Deco building of the John Miller Burnam Classical Library (Cincinnati) where I was able to travel on a research grant provided by University of Alabama in Huntsville's Humanities Center. Research for the second, third, and fourth chapters began in Florida in 2011 and continued in Romania in 2012 with generous support from the Medieval Academy of America. In the following years Florin Curta's comprehensive archaeological database has provided a goldmine of information, without which the research period devoted to these chapters would have become agonizingly long. Archaeological research conducted at

Capidava since 2001, as part of a larger team led by Ioan C. Opreș from the University of Bucharest, has provided indispensable hands-on experience with archaeological material from the frontier region.

The fifth and sixth chapters, dealing with the numismatic evidence, are the result of several visits at the American Numismatic Society in New York from 2009 to 2015, where I have taken advantage of its unparalleled numismatic library. I have conducted additional research in Romania with generous funding from University of Florida's Center for the Humanities and the Public Sphere and the Humanities Center of the University of Alabama in Huntsville. Preliminary work for the seventh chapter required two stages. The beginnings of the project date back to my time as an Assistant Curator at the National History Museum of Romania in Bucharest, where I have benefited from the guidance and advice of Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu who initiated me into the fascinating world of numismatics. My narrative took shape in New York during the 2009 Summer Seminar generously sponsored by the American Numismatic Society, where I had the privilege to study one of the largest collections of Early Byzantine coins in the world. I enjoyed much help and hospitality from the ANS curators and I still treasure the frequent numismatic conversations with Robert Hoge, Peter van Alfen, Elena Stolyarik, and the late Richard Witschonke. My growing interest in the numismatic aspect of the frontier question was fueled by animated discussions at an international conference in Cracow in 2007 where I discovered the intellectual potential of the subject as well as the significant misconceptions attached to it. The original structure of the numismatic chapters developed in the genial atmosphere of Dumbarton Oaks during my one-year Junior Fellowship (2012–2013), where I availed myself of its wonderful library with great gusto. Indeed, its unrivaled collection of books and journals invited a much more ambitious undertaking than initially planned.

As the project expanded I have benefited from close collaboration with scholars from Bulgaria, Hungary, Macedonia, Georgia, Turkey, and Israel who generously gave me access to unpublished data and offered precious advice and comparanda material. I would like to thank Georges Abou Diwan, Gabriela Bijovsky, Zeliha Demirel-Gökalp, Maja Hadji-Maneva, Stoyan Mihaylov, Péter Somogyi, and Alena Tenchova for sharing the results of their research. As a member of the project "Framing the Late Antique and Early Medieval Economy" (FLAME) directed by Princeton University I gained a deeper appreciation of the large-scale implications of monetary production and circulation in the Mediterranean world.

Numerous discussions with Alan Stahl and my enthusiastic colleagues have helped me contextualize my own research in the frontier region.

At Dumbarton Oaks, Princeton, and elsewhere I have benefited from numerous thought-provoking conversations about history, archaeology, and numismatics with Cécile Morrisson, Alan Stahl, Julian Baker, Bruno Callegher, Rebecca Darley, Kuba Kabala, and Axel Nielsen. I have presented early versions of most chapters at scholarly meetings in Europe and the United States. Conference audiences in Kalamazoo, Princeton, Glasgow, Cracow, Sofia, Varna, and Taormina have made many useful and thoughtful comments for which I am grateful. The numismatic chapters, which have been in many ways the most challenging and time-consuming, required the collection of significant material from elusive local journals as well as unpublished finds, now available in the companion Catalogue published on Cambridge University Press' webpage (www.cambridge.org/9781108470421). I would like to thank Deborah Stewart, Librarian for Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, David Hill, Francis D. Campbell Librarian of the American Numismatic Society, and Charlotte Olson, Librarian at University of Alabama in Huntsville and chief liaison with the wonderful world of Interlibrary Loan. Special thanks are due to my friend and colleague Alexandru Tudorie whose ability to locate obscure and seemingly unreachable publications continues to puzzle me.

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Abbreviations

AA	<i>American Anthropologist</i> (Washington, 1888–).
AAASH	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest, 1951–).
AAC	<i>Acta Archaeologica Carpathica</i> (Cracow, 1958–).
AAAnth	<i>American Anthropologist</i> (Washington, DC, 1888–).
<i>Acta Orientalia</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest, 1950–).
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> (New York, NY, 1885–).
AJN	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i> (New York, NY, 1989–).
<i>Akten XII</i>	Dassmann, E., K. Thraede, and J. Engemann, eds. <i>Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie</i> . Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1995.
AM	<i>Arheologia Moldovei</i> (Bucharest, 1961–).
AMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> (Cluj-Napoca, 1964–).
<i>Anzeiger</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i> (Vienna, 1947–).
ARA	<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i> (Palo Alto, CA, 1972–).
<i>ArchBulg</i>	<i>Archaeologia Bulgarica</i> (Sofia, 1997–).
<i>ArchDelt</i>	<i>Archaïologikon Deltion</i> (Athens, 1915–).
<i>ArchÉrt</i>	<i>Archaeologiai Értesítő</i> (Budapest, 1881–).
ASGE	<i>Arkheologicheskii Sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha</i> (Leningrad, 1959–).
<i>Atlante</i>	Carandini, A., ed. <i>Atlante delle forme ceramiche, I. Ceramica fine romana nel Bacino Mediterraneo (medio e tardo Imperio)</i> . Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1981.
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i> (Oxford, 1974–).
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> (Ann Arbor, MI, 1919–).
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> (Athens/Paris, 1877–).
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i> (Oxford, 1975–).
BOR	<i>Biserica Ortodoxă Română</i> (Bucharest, 1874–).

<i>Broneer</i>	Broneer, O. <i>Terracotta Lamps. Corinth, IV, Part II</i> . Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930.
<i>BS</i>	<i>Balkan Studies</i> (Thessaloniki, 1960–).
<i>BSNR</i>	<i>Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române</i> (Bucharest, 1904–).
<i>BV</i>	<i>Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter</i> (Munich, 1921–).
<i>Byzantine Coins</i>	Wołoszyn, M., ed. <i>Byzantine Coins in Central Europe Between the 5th and 10th Century</i> . Cracow: Polish Academy of Sciences, 2009.
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> (Munich, 1892–).
<i>CAB</i>	<i>Cercetări arheologice în București</i> (Bucharest, 1963–).
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae</i> (Budapest 1981–).
<i>CN</i>	<i>Cercetări Numismatice</i> (Bucharest, 1978–).
<i>DOC</i>	Bellinger, A. R. and P. Grierson. <i>Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection</i> . Vols. I–II. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1966–1968.
<i>Donaulimes</i>	Schwarcz, A., P. Soustal, and A. Cholakova, eds. <i>Der Donaulimes in der Spätantike und im Frühmittelalter</i> . <i>Miscellanea Bulgarica</i> 22. Vienna: LIT, 2016.
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> (Washington, DC, 1941–).
<i>EB</i>	<i>Études Balkaniques</i> (Sofia, 1964–).
<i>EBPB</i>	<i>Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines</i> (Bucharest, 1979–).
<i>EN</i>	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> (Cluj-Napoca, 1991–).
<i>FHG</i>	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> .
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> (Cambridge, MA, 1959–).
<i>Hayes</i>	Hayes, J. W. <i>Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul. Vol. II. The Pottery</i> . Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.
<i>IAI</i>	<i>Izvestiia na Arkheologicheskii Institut</i> (Sofia, 1950–).
<i>Iconomu</i>	Iconomu, C. <i>Opaițe greco-romane</i> . Constanța: Muzeul regional de arheologie, 1967.
<i>IMIB</i>	<i>Izvestiia na Muzeite ot Iugoiztochna Bulgariia</i> (Plovdiv, 1976–).
<i>INMV</i>	<i>Izvestiia na Narodnii Muzei Varna</i> (Varna, 1965–).
<i>Istoria românilor 1</i>	Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. and A. Vulpe, eds. <i>Istoria românilor. Vol. 1: Moștenirea timpurilor îndepărtate</i> . Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2001.
<i>Istoria românilor 2</i>	Protase, D. and A. Suceveanu, eds. <i>Istoria românilor. Vol. 2: Daco-romani, romanici, alogeni</i> . Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2001.

<i>Istoria românilor</i> 3	Pascu, Ș. and R. Teodorescu, eds. <i>Istoria românilor. Vol. 3: Genezele românești</i> . Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2001.
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> (Ann Arbor, MI, 1988–).
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> (London, 1911–).
KSIA	<i>Kratkie Soobshcheniia Instituta Arkheologii</i> (Moscow, 1952).
Kuzmanov	Kuzmanov, G. <i>Antichni lampi. Kolektsiia na Natsionalniia Arkheologicheski Muzei</i> . Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bulgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1992.
<i>Lychnological Acts</i> 2	Roman, C. A. and N. Gudea, eds. <i>Lychnological Acts 2. Trade and Local Production of Lamps from the Prehistory until the Middle Age. Acts of the 2nd International Congress on Ancient and Middle Age Lightning Devices (Zalău – Cluj-Napoca, 13th–18th May 2006)</i> . Zalău/Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2008.
MAIET	<i>Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii</i> (Simferopol, 1990–).
MCA	<i>Materiale și cercetări de arheologie</i> (Bucharest, 1955–).
MFME	<i>A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Evkönyve. Studia Archaeologica</i> (Szeged, 1995–).
MGH: AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi</i> .
MGH: SRM	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i> .
MGH: SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum Separatim Editi</i> .
MIB	Hahn, W. <i>Moneta Imperii Byzantini</i> . 3 vols. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973–1981.
MIBE	Hahn, W. and M. Metlich, <i>Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire</i> . Vienna: Österreichische Forschungsgesellschaft für Numismatik am Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, 2000, rev. 2013.
MIBEC	Hahn, W. and M. Metlich, <i>Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire Continued (Justin II – Revolt of the Heraclii 565–610)</i> . Vienna: Österreichische Forschungsgesellschaft für Numismatik, 2009.
Perlzweig	Miltner, F. <i>Das Cömeterium der Sieben Schläfer. Forschungen in Ephesos IV</i> . Baden: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1937.
<i>Money and Modernity</i>	Akin, D. and J. Robbins, eds. <i>Money and Modernity: State and Local Currencies in Melanesia</i> . Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999.

<i>Money and Morality</i>	Parry, J. and M. Bloch, eds. <i>Money and the Morality of Exchange</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
<i>Money in Africa</i>	Eagleton, C., H. Fuller, and J. Perkins, eds. <i>Money in Africa</i> . London: British Museum, 2009.
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> (London, 1838–).
<i>Neglected Barbarians</i>	Curta, F., ed. <i>Neglected Barbarians</i> . Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.
Perlzweig	Perlzweig, J. <i>The Athenian Agora. Lamps of the Roman Period VII</i> . Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961.
<i>Pontic-Danubian Realm</i>	Ivanišević, V. and M. Kazanski, eds. <i>The Pontic-Danubian Realm in the Period of the Great Migration</i> . Paris/Belgrade: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance/Arheološki Institut, 2012.
<i>Relations</i>	Constantinescu, M., Ş. Pascu, and P. Diaconu, eds. <i>Relations Between the Autochthonous Population and the Migratory Populations on the Territory of Romania</i> . Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1975.
RESEE	<i>Revue des études sud-est européennes</i> (Bucharest, 1963–).
RESS	<i>Revue européenne des sciences sociales (Cahiers Vilfredo Pareto)</i> (Geneva, 1963–).
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> . 10 vols. London: Spink, 1923–1994.
RIN	<i>Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini</i> (Milan, 1888–).
RN	<i>Revue Numismatique</i> (Paris, 1836–).
SA	<i>Sovetskaia Arkheologiia</i> (Moscow, 1933–).
SCIV(A)	<i>Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche (şi Arheologie)</i> (Bucharest, 1950–).
SCN	<i>Studii şi cercetări de numismatică</i> (Bucharest, 1957–).
SF	<i>Südost-Forschungen</i> (Leipzig, 1936–).
<i>Shifting Frontiers</i>	Mathisen, R. W., and H. S. Sivan, eds. <i>Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity</i> . Bodmin, Cornwall: Variorum, 1996.
<i>Transition</i>	Poulter, A. G., ed. <i>The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond</i> . Proceedings of the British Academy 141. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
<i>Trésors</i>	Morrisson, C., V. Popović, and V. Ivanišević, eds. <i>Les trésors monétaires byzantins des Balkans et d'Asie Mineure (491–713)</i> . Paris: Lethielleux, 2006.
VV	<i>Vizantiiskii Vremennik</i> (Moscow, 1947–).
ZfA	<i>Zeitschrift für Archäologie</i> (Berlin, 1967–).
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> (Bonn, 1967–).

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Illustration Credits

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