

THE TELAVI HOARD OF CLIPPED UmayyAD DIRHAMS

Abstract

This study examines a hoard of clipped Umayyad dirhams discovered in 2022 in the environs of Telavi, a city in eastern Georgia. The hoard comprised only Umayyad dirhams, reportedly numbering between 20 and 25, including: Dimashq – 2 (11.8%); Wāsiṭ – 11 (64.7%); Al-Kūfah – 1 (5.9%); Al-Baṣrah – 2 (11.8%); Fīl (a rare mint of unknown location) – 1 (5.9%). The coins span the years AH 89–120, and the terminus ante quem non for the hoard, determined by its latest coin, is AH 120 (737/8). It was presumably deposited in the late 730s or 740s.

Before deposition, all of the dirhams had been clipped in a way that preserved their circular form but affected their weight. The average weight is 1.58 g (range: 1.49–1.69 g), calculated from seven clipped but unfragmented, weighed specimens.

The historical significance of this hoard derives from its unique composition and findspot:

1. It represents the earliest hoard datable to the period of Arab dominance in Georgia;
2. It contains only Umayyad dirhams, without any admixture of Sasanian drachms that had circulated locally before the Arab conquest; and
3. It consists solely of dirhams that were clipped to an as-yet-unclarified standard.

The Umayyad silver may have entered the monetary system of areas remote from Tiflīs as early as the 740s.

Keywords: *monetary circulation, hoard, clipped dirham, Arab dominance in Georgia*

Recent research has demonstrated that the eastern provinces of Georgia were directly incorporated to a greater or lesser extent into the Caliphate already by the early 8th century, i.e. at the beginning of the II period¹ of Arab dominance in Georgia. Primary evidence for the operation of Arab administrative institutions locally testifies to this view: Arabs were producing coinage at the Tiflīs mint since already AH 85 (704/5); and investing into the road

¹ ირაკლი ფაღავა, "საქართველოში არაბთა ბატონობის პერიოდიზაცია (ნუმისმატიკური მონაცემების გათვალისწინებით)", ახლო აღმოსავლეთი და საქართველო VIII (2014): 250-257, 342; Иракли Пагава, "Периодизация арабского владычества в Грузии (с учетом новых данных)", Нумизматические чтения Государственного исторического музея 2016 года. Москва, 22 и 23 ноября 2016 г. Материалы докладов и сообщений (Москва: РИА Внешторгиздат, 2016), 85-91.

infrastructure including the mīls, the milestones - evidently, developing the communication barīd system locally already in the 690s-700s.²

Nevertheless, two aspects of Arab control in Georgia perhaps still require further elucidation:

a) To what extent beyond Tiflīs and its environs did Arab authority extend during the first half of the 8th century, and how effective was that control; and

b) Was political (military) dominance accompanied by the economic incorporation of eastern Georgia into the Caliphate?

We suggest that the distribution of the Caliphal - particularly Umayyad - coin finds in Georgia may shed light on the latter question, and perhaps even provide some extra evidence for studying the former. Furthermore, a study of Kufic coins issued *and* circulating in the Georgian and Caucasian provinces can significantly contribute to further research of the broader monetary history of the Caliphate.

Irine Jalaghania, a prominent Georgian numismatist, has already researched the circulation of Umayyad coins in Georgia.³ Additional finds, including hoards, have been published by Tinatin Kutelia and Tsiala Ghvaberidze, Medea Tsotselia and Mariam Koridze, Irakli Paghava and Yevgeniy Lemberg.⁴ However, newly available data warrant a re-examination of this issue and provide an opportunity to do so. *This article, in particular, presents a remarkable hoard of clipped Umayyad dirhams from the environs of Telavi, a city in eastern Georgia.*

The hoard was reportedly accidentally discovered in 2022 on the ground surface by agricultural work (no precise information on its location or archeological context is available). Unfortunately, it was dispersed and entered the trade. Nevertheless, we were able to obtain weight indices and images for c. 80% of the coins. The hoard consisted exclusively of Umayyad silver coins, reportedly numbering between 20 and 25. We have data for 18 specimens, including images and metrology information for correspondingly 17 (Figs. 1-5, 7-18) and 7 coins (weights are given for unfragmented though clipped specimens; the remainder are all clipped and fragmented).

² ირაკლი ფაღავა, „სახალიფოს ადმინისტრაციული ერთეულის – „თბილისის საამიროს“ დაარსება არა-ნარატიული წყაროების მიხედვით (ადრეულ-არაბული მონეტები და ლაპიდარული წარწერები საქართველოდან)“, ქრონოსი: ივანე ჯავახიშვილის სახელობის ისტორიისა და ეთნოლოგიის ინსტიტუტის ჟურნალი 3 (2022): 86-131.

³ ირინე ჯალაღანია, "საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის ომაიანთა მონეტები", მასალები საქართველოს და კავკასიის არქეოლოგიისთვის, IV (1965): 138-156, ტაბ. I-III; ირინე ჯალაღანია, *ქუფური მონეტების ტოპოგრაფია საქართველოში* (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1972), 4-7, 10-30, ##1-5, 7-8, 10, 30-31, 33, 35-38, 40-41, 45, 47; ირინე ჯალაღანია, "ქუფური მონეტების მიმოქცევა VIII-X სს. საქართველოში", მაცნე, ისტორიის, არქეოლოგიის, ეთნოგრაფიისა და ხელოვნების სერია, 4 (1973): 69-76; Ирина Джалагания, *Иноземная монета в денежном обращении Грузии V-XVIII вв.* (Тбилиси: Мецниереба, 1979), 45-53.

⁴ თინათინ ქუთელია, ცილა ღვაბერიძე, „ინჩხურის განძი“, *საქართველოს ეროვნული მუზეუმის მოამბე* V (50-B) (2014): 212-218; მედეა წოწელია, მარიამი ქორიძე, „კონდოლის განძი“, *საქართველოს ეროვნული მუზეუმის მოამბე* V (50-B) (2014): 195-211; Иракли Пагава, Евгений Лемберг, "Обращение кувического серебра в западных и юго-западных провинциях Грузии (в свете новых находок)", *Эпиграфика Востока XXXI* (2015): 279-282, 284, 288, ##4, 7-8, 11, 16.

All of the coins had been clipped, effectively reducing their weight, yet all pertain to the standard *dirham* denomination. Some specimens were also fragmented.

All coins conform to the standard type of Umayyad silver coinage:

Obverse: Fragment of the Kalimah ash-Shahādah (Word of Testimony) in central area

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

there is no god but Allah, the One alone, without partner

Circular centripetal legend comprises the Bismillah and mint-date formula

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بـ... [في] سنة ...

In the name of God, this dirham was struck in ..., [in] the year ...

All within circles with some pellets.

Reverse: Fragment of Qur'an 112:1-4 in the central area

الله احد الله
الصمد لم يلد و
لم يولد و لم يكن
له كفوا احد

*Allah, the One! Allah, the eternally Besought of all! He begetteth not nor was begotten. And there is none comparable unto Him.*⁵

Within circle.

Circular centripetal legend comprises a fragment of Qur'an 48:29 and Qur'an 9:33

محمد رسول الله لرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. He it is Who hath sent His messenger with the guidance and the Religion of Truth, that He may cause it to prevail over all religion, however much the idolaters may be averse

Within yet another circle.

The hoard coins are as follows:

Dimashq mint:

Coin #1 (Fig. 1): AH 89; Major fragment, clipped; one-symbol-long graffito on top of central reverse legend; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الد[رهم بدم]شق سنة تسع و ثمانين

Coin #2 (Fig. 2): AH 90; Two fragments, clipped; obverse margin:

بسم[م] الله ضرب هذا الد[رهم بدمش]ق سنة تسعين

Wāsiṭ mint:

Coin #3 (Fig. 3): AH 92; Almost intact, edge chipped off, clipped; extended graffito between the top- and midlines of central obverse legend; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط في سنة اثنتين و تسعين

Coin #4 (Fig. 4): AH 94; Intact, clipped, weight 1.49 g; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط في سنة أربع و تسعين

⁵ Here and throughout quotations from Qur'an follow Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1930).

Coin #5 (Fig. 5): AH 96; Double strike; intact, clipped, weight 1.54 g; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط في سنة ست و تسعين

Coin #6: AH 96 (no photograph available, hence no "Fig. 6");

Coin #7 (Fig. 7): AH 99; Intact, clipped, weight 1.59 g; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط سنة تسع و تسعين

Coin #8 (Fig. 8): AH 107; Intact, clipped, weight 1.65 g; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط سنة سبع و مئة

Coin #9 (Fig. 9): AH 112; Intact, clipped; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط سنة اثنتين عشرة و مئة

Coin #10 (Fig. 10): AH 118; Intact, clipped, weight 1.59 g; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط سنة ثمان عشرة و مئة

Coin #11 (Fig. 11): AH 119; Intact, clipped, weight 1.69 g; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط سنة تسع عشرة و مئة

Coin #12 (Fig. 12): AH 120; Intact, clipped; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط سنة عشرين و مئة

Coin #13 (Fig. 13): Date missing (AH 83⁶-99); two fragments, clipped; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط في سنّة [?]...

Al-Kūfah mint:

Coin #14 (Fig. 14): AH 101; Intact, clipped; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالكوفة سنة احدى و مئة

Al-Baṣrah mint:

Coin #15 (Fig. 15): AH 100; Double strike (or restrike?); intact, clipped, weight 1.54 g; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالبصرة سنة مئة

Coin #16 (Fig. 16): AH 101; Two fragments, one of them with edge chipped off; clipped; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالبصرة سنة احدى و مئة

Fil mint:

Coin #17 (Fig. 17): AH 80; Intact, clipped; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بفيل في سنة ثمانين

Mint missing (?):

Coin #18 (Fig. 18): AH 90; Major fragment; clipped; obverse margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ب... سنة تسعين

The minting places of 17 dirhams were identified, with the following distribution: Dimashq - 2 (11.8%); Wāsiṭ: 11 (64.7%); Al-Kūfah: 1 (5.9%); Al-Baṣrah: 2 (11.8%); Fil: 1 (5.9%) (Diagram 1). The dirham struck at Fil in AH 80 is quite noteworthy: the produce of this mint is quite rare, and its exact location (if the interpretation of graphemes is correct) remains unknown.⁷ At least 82.4% of the total number of coins (excluding the Fil specimen) were produced at Iraqi mints. Assuming that our sample represents a random selection from the hoard, these figures probably reflect its original composition with reasonable accuracy.

⁶ Cf. Michel Klat, *Catalogue of the Post-Reform Dirhams. The Umayyad Dynasty* (London, 2002), 264.

⁷ Ibid.

The *terminus ante quem non* for depositing the hoard can be approximated based on its youngest coin, dated to AH 120 (737/8). However, the dates of between 2 and 7 coins are unknown. Considering the available range – AH 89-120 (Diagram 2) - we would tentatively assign the latest issue to the AH 120s. The hoard was deposited in the late 730s or 740s.

The historical significance of the Telavi hoard derives from its distinctive and even unique composition and find location. It appears to be the earliest hoard datable to the period of Arab dominance in Georgia, and the only hoard so far discovered in the country that consists exclusively of Umayyad dirhams.

Both Yevgeniy Pakhomov and Irine Jalaghania refer to “Umayyad dirhams, including an Arminiyya issue of 103 (721-722) found near Tiflis in the 2nd quarter of the 19th century”, citing a note by Mikhail Barataev (Baratashvili);⁸ however, this information may be misleading, potentially even giving readers the false impression that these coins constituted *a hoard*. A careful fact-checking of the source disproves such interpretation: Mikhail Barataev’s original text mentions “a relatively significant number of coins minted in Armenia / Arminiyya by the caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty” (“Значительное количество монет, чеканенных в Армении халифами династии Оммиадов”); noting that these coins “have recently begun coming to light in the vicinity of Tiflis” (“Они недавно начали открываться близ Тифлиса”); and one of those was struck in AH 103.⁹ Prince Barataev’s note is, however, too vague precluding any sound conclusions. Careful reading leaves little doubt that these Umayyad dirhams “coming to light” (all at once or piecemeal?) did not necessarily form a hoard - let alone one composed solely of Umayyad dirhams. Even the reported find of an Arminiyya AH 103 dirham is rather an erroneous inference by Yevgeniy Pakhomov.

A number of hoards comprising the Umayyad dirhams have truly been discovered in Georgia, but they all include later issues (‘Abbasid and even post-‘Abbasid) and were clearly deposited long after the fall of the Umayyad dynasty (Diagram 3). We would list these hoards, along with their basic composition:

1. Pichkhovani (Akhmet’a rayon): 5 Sasanian; 12 Umayyad; 99 ‘Abbasid, Idrisid, Umayyads of Spain, 8 unspecified;¹⁰
2. Bakhtioni (Akhmet’a rayon): Only 4 coins recorded – 1 Sasanian; 1 Umayyad; 2 ‘Abbasid;
3. Pshaveli (Telavi rayon): 1 Sasanian; 1 Arab-Sasanian; 4 Umayyad; 121 ‘Abbasid, Umayyads of Spain, Aghlabid;¹¹
4. K’ondouli (Telavi rayon): 5 Sasanian; 4 Arab-Sasanian; 12 Umayyad; 153 ‘Abbasid;¹²

⁸ Евгений Пахомов, *Монетные клады Азербайджана и Закавказья* (Баку: Издание Общества обследования и изучения Азербайджана, 1926), 45, #73; Джалагания, *Иноземная монета в денежном обращении Грузии V-XVIII вв.*, 47, #6.

⁹ Михаил Баратаев, *Нумизматические факты Грузинского царства* (С-Петербург, 1844), разр. I, 67.

¹⁰ ირინე ჯალაღანია, *საქართველოს სამონეტო განძები. ნაწილი 1* (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1975), 41.

¹¹ იქვე, 35-36.

¹² წოწელია, ქორიძე, „კონდოლის განძი“, 195-211.

5. Ch'ik'aani (Qvareli rayon): Incl. Sasanian and 'Abbasid coins (unspecified number);¹³
6. Mtisdziri (Qvareli rayon): 3 Sasanian; 15 Umayyad; 286 'Abbasid, 'Abbasid partisans, Idrisid;¹⁴
7. Apeni (Lagodekhi rayon): 16 Sasanian; 4 Arab-Sasanian; 20 Tabaristan hemi-drachms; 13 Umayyad; 341 'Abbasid, Idrisid and Tahirid;¹⁵
8. Leliani (Lagodekhi rayon): 2 Sasanian; 1 Arab-Sasanian; 5 Tabaristan hemi-drachms; 12 Umayyad; 151 'Abbasid;¹⁶
9. K'avshiri (Lagodekhi rayon): 1 Sasanian; 1 Tabaristan hemi-drachm; 7 Umayyad; 29 'Abbasid;¹⁷
10. Mazykh (Zakatala rayon of the AR): Arab-Sasanian; Tabaristan; Umayyad dirhams;¹⁸
11. Lower Khalifli (Qazakh rayon of the AR): Up to 300 coins, 17 were recorded – Arab-Sasanian; Tabaristan; Umayyad; and 'Abbasid dirhams.¹⁹
12. Tbilisi (Botanical Garden hoard): Fragments of Umayyad and post-Umayyad silver coins;²⁰
13. Dlivli (Ninots'minda municipality): 1 Sasanian; 2 Tabaristan; 5 Umayyad; 25 'Abbasid;²¹
14. W/o find location: 15 Umayyad; 37 'Abbasid;²²
15. Savane (Sachkhere rayon): 1 Umayyad; 67 'Abbasid;²³
16. Inchkhuri (Mart'vili municipality): 10 Umayyad, 224 'Abbasid dirhams;²⁴
17. Arkabi (Artvin province, TR): Up to 300 coins – Umayyad and 'Abbasid coins, including the gold ones; 180 studied: 4 Umayyad; 176 'Abbasid.²⁵

Single finds of Umayyad silver coins are also known from the territory of Georgia. In addition to dirham finds registered by Irine Jalaghania, and later by Irakli Paghava and Yevgeniy Lemberg,²⁶ two further Wāsiṭ dirhams (minted in AH 90s-100s) can be added to the record.

However, isolated finds of Umayyad dirhams (and dinars) do not provide decisive evidence for the active circulation of Umayyad money in Georgia - or even in eastern

¹³ ჯალაღანია, საქართველოს სამონეტო განძები. ნაწილი 1, 52.

¹⁴ იქვე, 37.

¹⁵ თამარ ლომოური, „სასანურ-არაბული ფულების სამი კახური განძი“, ლომოური, თამარი, ფულის მიმოქცევის ისტორიისათვის შუა საუკუნეების საქართველოში (რედაქტორი თინათინ ქუთელია) (თბილისი: არტანუჯი, 2005), 17-26.

¹⁶ იქვე, 27-31.

¹⁷ იქვე, 31-32.

¹⁸ Джалагания, Иноземная монета в денежном обращении Грузии V-XVIII вв., 49.

¹⁹ იქვე.

²⁰ ჯალაღანია, ქუფური მონეტების ტოპოგრაფია საქართველოში, 29-30, #47.

²¹ ჯალაღანია, საქართველოს სამონეტო განძები. ნაწილი 1, 39.

²² იქვე, 40.

²³ იქვე, 35.

²⁴ ქუთელია, ღვაბერიძე, „ინჩხურის განძი“, 212-218.

²⁵ Евгений Пахомов, Монеты Грузии. Часть I. (Домонгольский период) (С.-Петербург, 1910), 53. Cf. Пахомов, Монетные клады Азербайджана и Закавказья, 46, #80.

²⁶ Джалагания, Иноземная монета в денежном обращении Грузии V-XVIII вв., 47; Пагава, Лемберг, „Обращение куфического серебра в западных и юго-западных провинциях Грузии (в свете новых находок)“, 279-282, 284, 288, ##4, 7-8, 11, 16.

Georgia - *already* during the Umayyad era itself. Such pieces could easily have been imported from the inner provinces of the Caliphate at a later stage, already in the 'Abbasid epoch. Until now, we have lacked hoard evidence, i.e. the hoards composed solely of Umayyad coins, and with a composition (*tpqn*) indicating deposition in Georgia prior to the 'Abbasid revolution. Previously known hoards are of little help: although they include Umayyad dirhams, all were deposited well after the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in the Near East. Most present a mixed composition, comprising three major elements (Diagram 3):

- 1) Pre-Umayyad issues, i.e. Sasanian (and Arab-Sasanian) drachms;
- 2) Umayyad (post-reform, Islamic type) coinage;
- 3) Post-Umayyad coinage, issued after the fall of the Umayyads (the coins issued by the 'Abbasids and other contemporary dynasties, including the Umayyads of Spain).

Sasanian coins are known to have circulated in Georgia before the Arab conquest, as indicated by earlier, purely Sasanian coin hoards (without Kufic admixture).²⁷ This suggests that the Pre-Umayyad component of mixed hoards is 'local'. By contrast, we cannot assert the same for the Umayyad component. The predominance of non-Tiflis 'Abbasid dirhams in local hoards points to a massive influx of the 'Abbasid currency during the rule of this dynasty. Yet it remains uncertain, whether the Umayyad component of mixed hoards deposited in the 'Abbasid era represent a local residue of coins that had circulated in Georgia *before* the 'Abbasid victory; *or* whether it points to the later importation of the Umayyad dirhams *alongside* 'Abbasid issues already in the 'Abbasid era.

Evidence indicates that the Umayyad administration established a mint in Tiflis as early as AH 85 (704/5), and continued – intermittently – its minting activities in subsequent years and decades.²⁸ The existence of a functioning mint, producing silver currency *as well as* the petty copper coins, demonstrates the presence of a monetary economy *in* Tiflis, and, presumably, its environs. Yet it is unclear, whether the more remote areas of the country were also integrated into *the monetary system of the Umayyad Caliphate*.

The Telavi hoard *suggests* that Umayyad silver may indeed have circulated in eastern Georgia *before* the beginning of the 'Abbasid period, or at least during the last decades of the Umayyad rule.

The hoards' composition posits another puzzle. Presumably deposited before the 'Abbasid victory, in the AH 120s / late 730s – 740s, it contains no 'Abbasid coins. But more striking is the absence of Sasanian drachms, even though later hoards from the 'Abbasid period contain them (Diagram 3). The reason is unclear. One possibility is that the Umayyad dirhams of the Telavi hoard were recently imported from the Caliphate's core territories, leaving no time for them to intermingle with the Sasanian drachms that had circulated locally for centuries. Yet Sasanian silver was still in circulation alongside Umayyad dirhams also in Syria and Mesopotamia,²⁹ and could have reached Georgia together with Umayyad coinage.

²⁷ Джалаганиа, *Иноземная монета в денежном обращении Грузии V-XVIII вв.*, 8-46.

²⁸ ფაღავა, „სახალიფოს ადმინისტრაციული ერთეულის – „თბილისის საამიროს“ დაარსება არა-ნარატიული წყაროების მიხედვით (აღრეულ-არაბული მონეტები და ლაპიდარული წარწერები საქართველოდან)“, 93-99.

²⁹ Stefan Heidemann, "The Merger of Two Currency Zones in Early Islam. The Byzantine and Sasanian Impact on the Circulation in Former Byzantine Syria and Northern Mesopotamia", *Iran XXXVI* (1998): 99-101.

A further enigma is posed by the weights of the coins from Telavi Hoard. As noted, the hoard comprised *exclusively* clipped dirhams,³⁰ in contrast to all other hoards deposited before the late 9th – 10th century, when the local monetary market began to adopt cut dirhams, as attested by hoards from Dlivī and Tbilisi (Arab Tiflīs) (the Botanical Garden Hoard).³¹

Some of the coins from the Telavi hoard were fragmented (Figs. 1-3, 13, 16, 18), apparently due to soil-related alteration of the alloy structure. More remarkably, before deposition, *all* the dirhams had been neatly clipped, generally preserving – likely intentionally – their circular shape while, naturally, affecting their weight. We could obtain the weight measurements for only seven specimens; however, *de visu*, all these clipped dirhams appeared to share similar dimensions, and, by implication, probably similar weight. This situation clearly differs from “hacksilber”, as

1) the hoard pertains to a stage of Islamic numismatic history when coins circulated as objects of a definite form and near uniform weight; and, even more importantly,

2) it is evident that the perpetrator, whatever were the motives, made an attempt to produce coins of a *consistent (standard?)*, though diminished weight.³²

The weight of the clipped dirhams cluster around an average of 1.58 g (range 1.49-1.69 g), based on 7 clipped but unfragmented specimens (coins nos. 4-5, 7-8, 10-11, 15; Diagram 4). Was this an effort to produce half-dirhams? Even so, the clipped pieces are slightly heavier than half of an unaltered Umayyad dirham (up to 2.97 g?). And if they were intended as *ad hoc* “half-dirhams”, the rationale for producing and then *exclusively* accumulating / depositing them remains elusive.

At this point we are not capable of offering any convincing explanation for either of the Telavi hoard’s two unique features:

1) Why all its Umayyad coins had been clipped, and

2) why it lacks any admixture of earlier (Sasanian) coins.

Nor could we determine whether Georgian provinces beyond the Tiflīs hinterland were truly integrated into the internal monetary sphere of the Umayyad Caliphate, defined by the acceptance and use of Umayyad silver currency.

Nevertheless, the study and publication of the Telavi hoard would hopefully contribute to ongoing efforts to piece together the complex puzzles of the monetary circulation in the early-Islamic period of history. We pin our hopes on further discoveries of comparable hoards – whether in Georgia, the Caucasus, or other former provinces of the Caliphate. They may eventually provide the missing pieces of the puzzle.

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³⁰ Having studied the coin rims, we are confident they were not clipped recently; such alteration would, moreover, have drastically reduced their market value.

³¹ Джалаганиа, *Иноземная монета в денежном обращении Грузии V-XVIII вв.*, 53-54.

³² Cf. Heidemann, “The Merger of Two Currency Zones in Early Islam. The Byzantine and Sasanian Impact on the Circulation in Former Byzantine Syria and Northern Mesopotamia”, 99-101.

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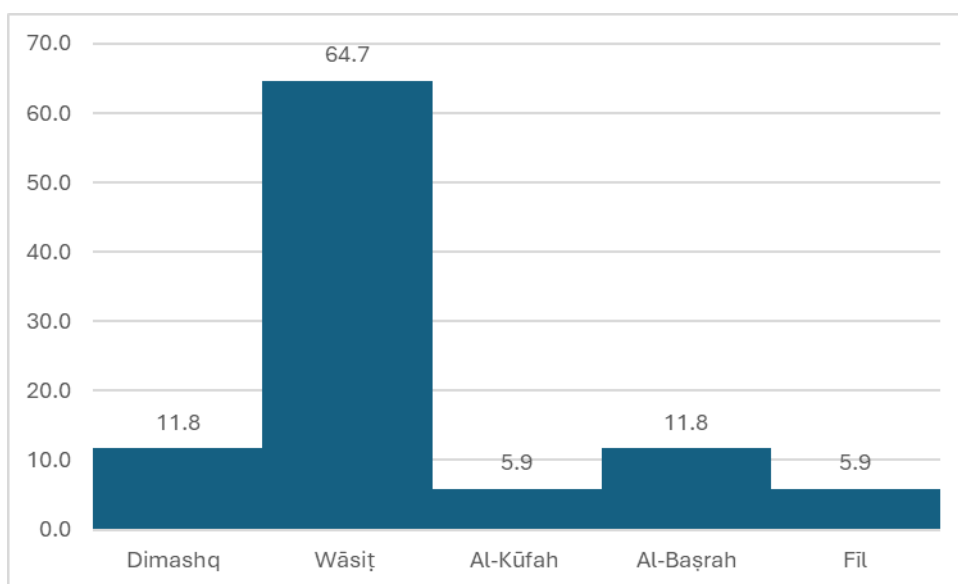


Diagram 1. Telavi Hoard dirhams, distribution by mints (%)

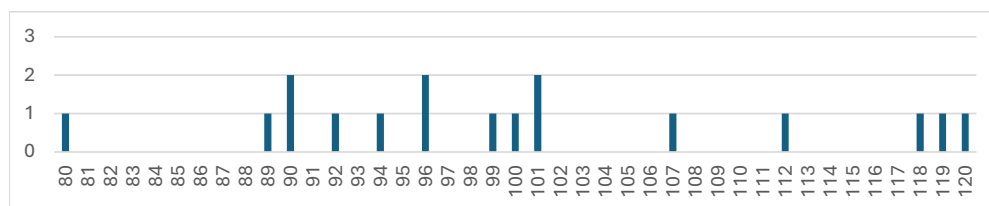


Diagram 2. Telavi Hoard dirhams, distribution by AH dates (absolute numbers)

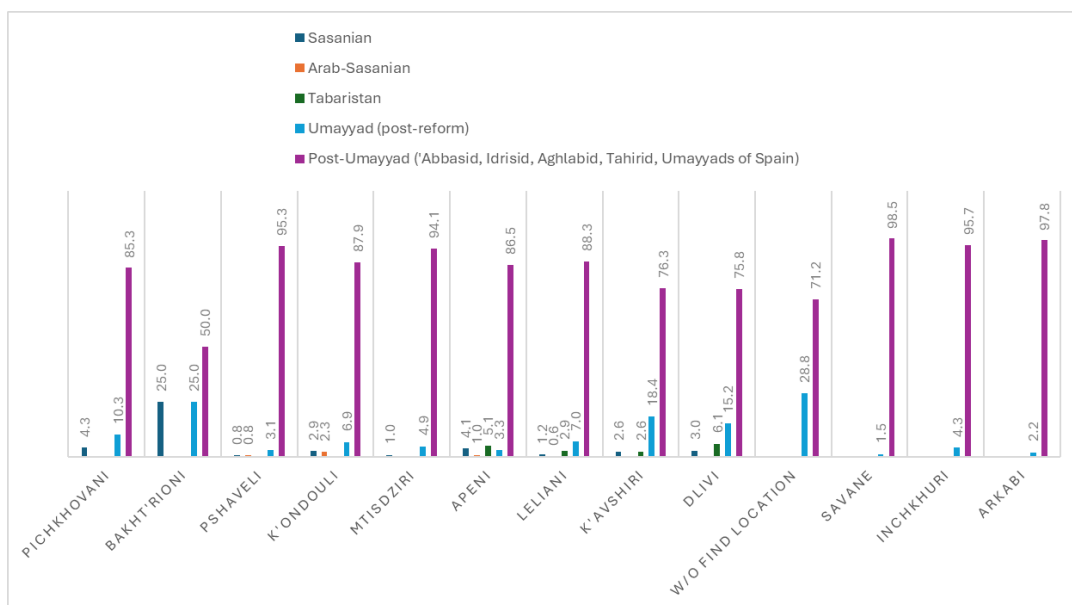


Diagram 3. Georgian hoards comprising Umayyad dirhams (composition by %)

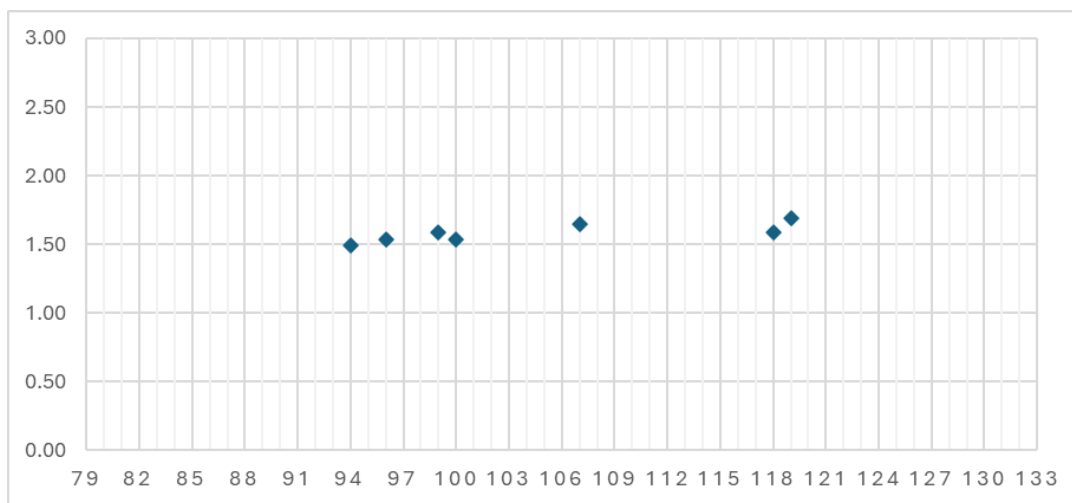


Diagram 4. Telavi Hoard dirhams, distribution of 7 weighed specimens by weight (g) and AH date



Fig1



Fig2



Fig3



Fig4



Fig5



Fig7



Fig8



Fig9



Fig10



Fig11



Fig12



Fig13



Fig14



Fig15



Fig16



Fig17



Fig18